

作为中国历史上最后一个封建王朝，清王朝，统治中国近三个世纪。其审时度势、因地制宜地制定的诸项民族及边疆政策是其帝祚绵长的主要原因之一。清王朝在全国少数民族地区所施行的一系列统治政策虽未达到其“长治久安”的最终目的，但对当时各少数民族社会历史发展的进程及今天我们多民族国家的发展都产生了极其深远的影响。西藏紧扼西南边陲的门户，因此，治藏政策的逐步制定和完善，在清代治理边疆史上占有十分重要的地位。

清在元、明两代对西藏地方施政的基础上，对西藏地方进行了更为直接全面和有效的统治，其治理西藏地方的政治、经济、宗教等诸项政策更加完备，也更具特色，并且对后世乃至今天都产生了重大的影响。所以，深入细致地研究总结清王朝治理西藏地方的各项政策，具有重要的历史和现实意义。

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清代治藏政策研究

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序

自元始，历代治藏，各有奇招，或扶植一派，号令僧俗，或众封多建，以分其势，招数到处，各有成败，然均不抵清。清廷治藏，凡250余年，虽有年代推移、西藏地方情势之不同，然余以为其力主要倾于三事：

其一曰“兴黄教”。因何“兴黄教”？其始因在于蒙古，后延至西藏。从地缘上看，清欲展宏图，占据中原，当有三难：一为以人数最多不过60万众之民族统治一个多民族的泱泱大国，有军力不足之难；二为始以渔猎为主，文化积淀尚欠深厚，要统治一个以汉族为代表有源远流长的文化传统的民族，有“文化力”不足之难；三便是蒙古之势力威胁。满族是个善学、上进的民族，前二者均以兼纳之法得以解决，如军力之难，以八旗满洲外设八旗蒙古、八旗汉军等解决之；思想文化之缺，则以尊奉孔孟，崇尚儒学，重用汉官，重视科举，沿用明制诸法解决之。故而汉区虽有史可法、黄道周、李定国之反抗，仍显稳定。其后顾之忧是蒙古。蒙古若以其战略地位从中扼制，可令清失其鹿，难图长远。从当时各实力集团的政治动向看，元朝灭亡后，蒙古各地豪强，复国愿望仍未泯灭。因而在当时环境下笼络蒙古诸部成为清王朝得以打江山、坐天下的要务。换言之，对于清来说，蒙古不顺，难顺全局，蒙古不定，难定全国。何以为然呢？从清对蒙古所采用的手段可知一二：

对于蒙古，清军事、政治二策并举，如对于准噶尔部的反抗等，实行严厉打击；对其内部则以分而治之，如不准其他蒙古与喀尔喀、厄鲁特蒙古通婚和往来（同时也对蒙藏民族实行隔离政策）；对其上层极尽笼络，给以高官厚禄，亲王、郡王、贝勒、贝子，不一而足。然这一切尚未从根本上解决问题。清发现了另一

有利武器，即藏传佛教。

自元始，藏、蒙古两大民族接触紧密，在思想意识形态领域蒙古族已受到以藏传佛教为代表的藏族文化的深刻影响，而在蒙古地区传播最甚者为藏传佛教格鲁派，清朝的皇帝们便紧紧抓住了这一旗帜。乾隆在其著于1792年的《喇嘛说》中对此进行了精辟概括：“盖中外黄教，总司此二人（指达赖、班禅），各部蒙古，一心归之。兴黄教，即所以安众蒙古，所系非小，故不可不保护之。”所谓黄教即为藏传佛教之格鲁派。这一段话至少有两层重要含义，一是在宗教上举起黄教这一旗子，意义并不在于黄教的兴旺，而在于安定众蒙古，换句话便是“兴黄教”是一种关乎大局的政治策略，而不仅仅是一种宗教考虑；二是黄教的巨大作用在于“各部蒙古，一心归之”，这是一种强大的思想信仰力量。信仰基础同样是一种群众基础、凝聚基础。土尔扈特蒙古的回归，就是最为典型的事例。乾隆在其著于1771年的《土尔扈特全部归顺记》中，同样讲了一段耐人寻味的话：“今之汗渥巴锡者，即阿玉奇之曾孙也。以俄罗斯征调师旅不息，近且征其子入质；而俄罗斯又属别教，非黄教，故与合族台吉密谋，挈全部投中国兴黄教之地，以息焉。”其中或许有别的原因，但宗教、文化的认同，我以为是其首要原因。乾隆之所以将“兴黄教”作为安抚、统治蒙藏地区的基本国策和指导思想，正是从这些具体的实例上得到了启示。

其二曰明法度。清时尤其在康雍乾三朝之时，全国情况并不复杂，而藏内诸地却云起雾飞，多不宁静。作为一基本指导思想，清对格鲁派极尽扶植，有五世达赖、六世班禅之进京觐见之举，据《理藩院则例》等资料介绍，清时在定额之内的在京喇嘛就有两千四五百人，格鲁派在京兴盛一时，有清人诗为证：

琳宫梵宇碧峻嶒，
宝塔高高最上层，
冬季嗒经门外贴，

相逢多少喇嘛僧！

（路工编《清代竹枝词十三种》）

喇嘛地位也高，宫内宫外，八面威风：

男女咸钦是喇嘛，

恪恭五体拜袈裟。

（姚元之：《竹叶亭杂记》）

但是，清对违法喇嘛的惩处却毫不手软，法度鲜明，同如泰山。有二例为证。一为康熙时，归化城掌印喇嘛伊拉古克三私自逃往当时尚未被清统一的厄鲁特蒙古，被康熙捕归，“集诸王以下蒙古王、文武大臣、官员、喇嘛等于黄寺”，凌迟处死。二为乾隆时，六世班禅兄弟三人同为活佛，六世班禅进京，深得乾隆皇帝关爱，所赐厚重。然而，在廓尔喀入侵事件中，六世之弟噶玛噶举派活佛沙玛尔巴通敌，乾隆厉令终止转世，将其全部财产充公，虽死，仍严惩不贷；六世之兄仲巴呼图克图因临阵脱逃，将其押解北京；其余负有责任者，如济仲活佛等被“对众剥黄正法”，不因为他们是格鲁派的活佛或者因为格鲁派座主的兄弟而宽宥。读《清高宗实录》卷一三九三载乾隆语，可知其对喇嘛之政策：“朕于黄教素虽爱护，但必于奉教守法之喇嘛等方加以恩遇。若为教中败类，罪在不赦者，即当明正典刑，断不稍为袒护。诸如元季之供养喇嘛，一意崇奉，漫无区别，致有詈骂者割舌、殴打者截手之事，令喇嘛等无所忌憚，尚复成何政体！此次办理占卜惑众之罗卜藏丹巴一事，即于卫护黄教之中，示以彰明宪典之意。”乾隆对宗教信仰与国家法度是区别对待的。国家法度高于一切，一切臣民百姓均在国法约束之下，自然喇嘛也不例外，杀斩之，废之贬之，依律而行。

其三曰立章程。整章立制，是人类文明进步之表现，也是从一文明阶段进入另一新阶段的重要手段。任何事物都有其发展的一定规律，寻求事物发展的一般原理，必须使机构中的大系统与小系统，小系统与小系统，小系统与更小的系统彼此之间有效配

合，融为一体，无多余之干扰，亦无失当之不足，浑然一体，尽其功用，得其效能，利国利民。政失其当，抑或有渐变维持之时日，然其祸不远。清在藏先后有《青海善后事宜十三条》、《十三条章程》、《钦定藏内善后章程二十九条》，以及在清末张荫棠时所颁布的《传谕善后问题二十四条》等，从而确立了噶伦制度、驻藏大臣制度、金瓶掣签制度等，对西藏地区的管理起到了非常重要的作用。

可以说在“兴黄教”、明法度、立章程方面，清几乎达到了不遗余力的地步，皇帝对各种问题的批文之多是空前的，且有十分深入的思考。如对活佛出于一族的纠正。活佛转世出于一族，同如世袭爵禄，显然是世俗的私心在作怪。乾隆针对此种情况写就名文《喇嘛说》，曰：“孰意近世其风日下，所生之呼必（毕）勒罕（转世活佛），率出一族，斯则与世袭爵禄何异，予意以为大不然。盖佛本无生，岂能转世，但使今无转世之呼图克图，则数万番僧无所皈依，不得不如此耳。去岁廓尔喀之听沙玛尔巴之语，劫掠藏地，已其明验。虽兴兵进剿，彼即畏罪请降，藏地以安，然转世之呼必勒罕出于一族，是乃为私。佛岂有私，故不可不禁。兹予制一金瓶，送往西藏，于凡转世之呼必勒罕，众所举数人，各书其名置瓶中，掣签以定。虽不能尽去其弊，较之从一人之授意者，或略公矣。”

活佛转世，不过藏内宗教细务，察之可，不察亦无不可；究之可，不究，亦无不可。而乾隆所思，可谓高屋建瓴，统览全局，细而深远。转世灵童者，于宗教，为大小之“神”之座主，百姓敬仰，顶礼膜拜者也；于政治，为大小之领袖之长官，势盛权重者也。此事粗观虽小，深察则重，之于藏蒙，系缚千钧，宽之日久，疾瘤不除，必累及稳定，进而殃及国家社稷，故不可不察，不可不究。此同如诸葛亮在《便宜十六策》中所云：“治乱之政，谓省官并职，去文就质也。夫绵绵之绝，必有乱结；纤纤不伐，必成妖孽。夫三纲不正，六纪不理，则大乱生矣。故治国者，

圆不失规，方不失矩，本不失末，为政不失其道，万事可成，其功可保。”其立意高远，故而有远见卓识，秋毫之察。虽为区区一瓶，而利在一隅，功在百世千秋。

苏发祥同志为近年涌现的藏学新秀，所著《清代治藏政策研究》（原名《论清朝对西藏地方的治理》）是其博士论文。余因充数教授之列，为委员会主席，故而有缘详读全文，知其有良好史学训练和修养，治学严谨，好学上进，汉藏史籍，中西资料，均广集之，细研之，乃成就此书，其成绩特点在于较为全面而系统地分析探讨了清王朝对西藏地方施政中的诸多政策、措施，如噶伦制度、驻藏大臣制度、金瓶掣签制度、扶植格鲁派、通过达赖班禅二活佛管理西藏等。这些举措不仅在当时产生过重要作用与影响，而且对今天的藏事工作和相关问题的处理也有重要的参考意义。尤其是清朝治理西藏的宗教政策和经济政策，是清王朝管理西藏的重要环节，作者着力进行了梳理和论述，不乏新见、深意，实属难能可贵。

是以为序。

丹珠昂奔

藏历土虎年十月初一

于中央民族大学

前 言

作为中国历史上最后一个封建王朝——清王朝，统治中国近三个世纪。其审时度势、因地制宜地制定的诸项民族及边疆政策是其帝祚绵长的主要原因之一。清王朝在全国少数民族地区所施行的一系列统治政策虽未达到其“长治久安”的最终目的，但对当时各少数民族社会历史发展的进程及今天我们多民族国家的发展都产生了极其深远的影响。西藏紧扼西南边疆的门户，因此，治藏政策的逐步制定和完善，在清代治理边疆史上占有十分重要的地位。

历代中央王朝对西藏地方的治理状况是国内外藏学界一直比较重视的研究课题，也是长期以来人们比较关注的焦点之一，许多具有很大争议和分歧的学术乃至政治问题，都集中在这一研究领域。清在元、明两代对西藏地方施政的基础上，对西藏地方进行了更为直接全面和有效的统治。但这种统治不是一蹴而就的，而是随着全国及西藏地方社会历史发展的进程逐步实现的。较之元明两代，清朝治理西藏地方的政治、经济、宗教等诸项政策更加完备，也更具特色，并且对后世乃至今天都产生了重大的影响。所以，深入细致地研究总结清王朝治理西藏地方的各项政策，具有重要的历史和现实意义。

前人论及清代藏事有两个比较显著的特点，一是重视对清前期统治西藏地方状况的研究，而对后期历史研究不够。可能因为清在西藏地方诸项制度、政策的确立和制定基本上是顺治至乾隆年间完成，大量史料对清前期在西藏地方的重大举措都有比较详细的记载，而对乾隆朝以后西藏地方的状况记载不多有关。二是多拘于就事论事或以点代面，缺乏全面系统的研究，而从制度及政策演变之角度进行研究者尤为不多。近年来，随着对清代藏事

研究的不断深入和大量藏汉文史料的不断发掘，为进一步全面系统地研究不同历史时期清朝治理西藏地方的诸项方针政策具备了良好的条件。

本书在总结吸收前人研究成果的基础上，尝试性地运用编年体与专题研究相结合的方法，力求在 17 至 20 世纪初中国历史发展的大环境中，系统纵向地论述清王朝治理西藏地方的各项制度及政策的演变，从而试图揭示不同历史时期西藏地方社会历史的不同特点、清王朝根据这些特点而制定的各项统治政策以及这些政策的现实作用和历史意义，同时阐述作者本人对清代藏族历史上一些重大问题的认识和观点，并试图补充和修改前人论述清代藏事中的一些不足。全书共分八章，各章集中论述的主要问题有：

一、同中国总的历史发展大趋势相一致，17 世纪中叶前后是西藏政治舞台风云变化莫侧、社会动荡不定的一个时期。1642 年，和硕特蒙古首领固始汗帮助黄教寺院势力集团在拉萨建立了甘丹颇章地方政权。甘丹颇章地方政权对西藏社会历史发展的进程和清朝对藏政策的制定都产生了重大影响。由于对甘丹颇章地方政权的性质认识不同，因而对当时西藏地方社会制度的性质及清朝治藏政策的特点都产生了重大分歧。17 世纪上半叶西藏的形势究竟如何呢？甘丹颇章地方政权是如何建立的呢？其性质究竟如何？这是本书首先论述的问题。

二、清入关后，比较顺利地继元明两代实现了对西藏地方的和平统一。从清初直到 1720 年（康熙五十九年）清王朝在西藏地方推行政教分离、以蒙治藏的统治政策。满、藏地方统治阶级间的早期联系是怎样建立起来的呢？政教分离、以蒙治藏的统治政策是在什么样的历史条件下产生的？是通过何种方式制定的？清朝为什么要在达赖喇嘛活佛转世系统之外，又建立班禅额尔德尼活佛转世系统？这是本书第二章论述的问题。

三、从 1721 年（康熙六十年）至 1750 年（乾隆十五年）清朝在坚持政教分离这一基本统治政策的前提下，以各种方式扶植

西藏地方的世俗领袖，通过他们实现对西藏地方的羁縻统治，并逐步加强中央王朝对西藏地方事务的直接管理。所以第三章要论述的问题有：清王朝是如何结束蒙古势力对西藏地方的控制的？众噶伦负责制是在什么样的历史条件下建立起来的？其结果如何？西藏地方世俗统治是怎样结束的？政教合一的行政制度是怎样建立起来的？

四、从 1757 年（乾隆二十二年）到 1895 年（光绪二十一年）西藏地方的实权掌握在清廷任命的历届摄政手中。所以本章主要讨论：摄政及摄政制度的起源；历届摄政是如何具体执行清朝各项治藏政策的；清王朝在帝国主义入侵我国西藏地方的过程中采取了哪些错误乃至反动的政策等。

五、清末西藏地方的新政经过了几个阶段？其主要内容是什么？怎样评价清末西藏地方的新政？

六、清朝在西藏地方实行的经济政策的主要内容及其评价。

七、清朝在西藏地方实行的宗教政策的主要内容及其评价。

八、西藏在清代全国行政区划中的位置；驻藏大臣设置的时间及其权力的演变过程；《理藩院则例》中有哪些关于藏事的具体规定？清朝在西藏地方的驻防制度是如何建立起来的？其具体驻防情况怎样？

最后是简短的总结。

古人云：“以铜为镜，可以正衣冠；以古为镜，可以知兴替；以人为镜，可以明得失。”本书如能为那些关心、支持和热爱当今社会主义新西藏建设的仁人志士们提供哪怕一点有益的借鉴，便是作者最大的心愿。

ABSTRACT

It has been an important subject for Tibetologists at home and abroad to study how dynasties in Chinese history successively ruled Tibetan area, namely Tibetan Autonomous Region of People's Republic of China at present time. It has also been one of the main focuses to which many people who are interested in Tibet give their attention. Political and economic policies formulated by the Yuan and the Ming dynasties for the Tibetan area have been studied relatively thoroughly, but that of the Qing dynasty have not been studied systematically and all-sided so far. Accumulated historical materials in Chinese, Tibetan and English published in recent years, by means of combining annals style and monographic study, the author try to expound systematically the policies that the Qing dynasty worked out for the Tibetan area in the different periods. The book is composed of eight chapters. The main idea and content of each chapter are as follows:

Chapter one: The author discusses simply how dgav-ldan-pho-brang local government was established and what nature it was. Gushi Khan, the chief of Qosot Mongols, united the Tibetan area by means of strong Mongolia army and helped the Yellow-Hat sect to set up dgav-ldan-pho-brang local government in 1637-1642. Manyscholars hold different views about the regime of Tibetan area and the policies carried out by the Qing dynasty in Tibetan area, as they have different standpoints about the nature of dgav-ldan-pho-brang local government. The author of this treatise considers that dgav-ldan-pho-brang government was a local coalition government

of Mongol and Tibet that was one of the bases on which the Qing dynasty made its early policies towards the Tibetan area.

Chapter two: The author expounds briefly the policies of the early Qing dynasty towards Tibet. The relationship between the Qing and the Tibetan area was established before 1644. Soon after the Qing army seized Beijing, the Tibetan ruling class recognized the reign of the Qing monarch voluntarily and peacefully. In 1652 the fifth Dalai Lama paid his respects in Beijing to the emperor Shunzhi, who, in the following year, granted him the title of "Buddha of Great Compassion in the West, leader of the Buddhist Faith Beneath the Sky, Holder of the Vajra, the Dalai Lama". Meanwhile, Gushi Khan, the Mongol chief, was also bestowed the title of the Obedient and Protecting Dharma Khan by the emperor. Then the fifth Dalai Lama was authorized to take charge of the religious affairs in the Tibetan and Mongolian areas and Gushi Khan manages the local government affairs separately. In 1713 the fifth Panchen Lama was granted the title of "Panchen Erdeni". From that time the two greatest incarnation systems of the Yellow-Hat Sect were established in the Tibetan area by the Qing dynasty. However, the Qing ruled the Tibetan area indirectly through Qosot Mongol till 1717.

Chapter three: The author elaborates the policies and systems practiced by the Qing dynasty in the Tibetan area in 1720-1751. In 1720 an army of the Qing imperial court escorted the seventh Dalai Lama to Lhasa and driven out Dzungar aggressors. It was the first time that the Qing dynasty dispatched an army to the Tibetan area. Afterward, the Qing dynasty took local feudal lords of Tibet as performers of its policies and appointed five ministers (kalon) who jointly took charge of the administrative affairs of the Tibetan area. In ad-

dition, 3000 soldiers were stationed in Tibetan area as garrison. In 1727, after suppressing an internal disorder in Tibet, the Qing dynasty began to appoint Grand Minister Residents of Tibet to supervise the Tibetan area. In 1727-1750 Junwang pho-lha-nas and his second son vgyur-med-rnam -rgyal was in charge of the administrative affairs of Tibet in succession in accordance with the order of the Qing emperor. In 1751 the Kashag-the administrative council of the Tibetan local government composed of four ministers (kalon) --was officially set up in Tibet. From that time the Dalai Lama became the highest-ranking chief of Kashag and the regime that combined the political and religious powers was established in Tibet until 1959.

Chapter four: Regent institution is the main topic to be pounded in this chapter. However, it is not the author's intention to write a chronicle of Tibet in the 18th and 19th centuries. When did the regent system begin? The author of this treatise agrees with those scholars' view that the first regent in Tibetan history was appointed in 1757 by the Qing emperor. Regents played an important role during the last two centuries in the Tibetan history. As a matter of fact, the regents were invariably the actual rulers of Tibetan area in 1757-1895. There were thirteen regents in Qing dynasty who successively handled general administrative affairs in compliance with the order of Grand Minister Residents of Tibet whose official position prior to the regent. The regent system maintained the regime that combined the political and religious powers and limited secular powers of the feudal lords in Tibet.

Chapter five: The author expounds mainly about the new policies of the Qing towards Tibet during 1900-1911. According to times and contents of the new policies, the author pointed out that

the practicing of the new policies in Tibet experienced three different periods. The Qing ruler recognized the serious situation of Tibet and ordered Fengquan, who was appointed vice-Grand Minister Resident of Tibet in 1904, performed some new measures in Tibet during the first period (1900-1906). Zhangyingtang, who was appointed vice-Dutong and arrived in Lhasa in 1906, claimed his reform programs during the second period (1906. 10-1907. 5). As the last Grand Minister Resident of Tibet in the Qing dynasty, Lianyu, who was appointed vice-Grand Minister Resident of Tibet in 1905 and Grand Minister Resident of Tibet in 1906, executed some new policies in Tibetan area during the third period (1907-1911). However, except some objective results, the author is afraid that the new policies of the late Qing dynasty towards Tibet bore on few positive nature.

Chapter six: The economic policy of the Qing imperial court in Tibet is the main topic in this chapter. The Qing dynasty not only exempted from taxation in the Tibetan area, but also offered a lot of financial aid to Tibet every year in order to maintain Tibetan local government. Grand Minister Residents of Tibet supervised financial affairs of Tibet after 1793 reform. The Qing imperial court laid down special trade and money policies for the Tibetan area. Those policies kept Tibet steady and promoted economic development of the feudal serfdom of the Tibetan area in a certain sense. In the late time of the Qing dynasty western imperialists launched economic invasion of Tibet and the Qing government made toward wrong policies for the Tibetan area.

Chapter seven: The author focuses discussion in this chapter on the religious policy of the Qing dynasty in Tibet. As religion had kept a tremendous influence on almost every aspect of the Tibetan

society, especially the Yellow-Hat sect which had become a predominance religious and political force in the Tibet and Mongolian area since 17th century, the Qing ruler spared no pains to support spreading and development of the Yellow-Hat sect in Tibet and Mongolia in order to keep steady of Tibet and Mongolia. Through the institution of " Drawing A Lot From The Golden Urn " prescribed by the Qing dynasty in 1793 , the Qing dynasty not only used it effectively for the selection of living Buddha of the Yellow-Hat Sect, but also accomplished and amended the reincarnation system of the Yellow-Hat Sect. The tribute-paying system was also an important religious policy in regard to Tibet . It showed undoubtedly Tibet's subordination to the Qing central government. In brief, the religious policy of the Qing imperial court in the Tibetan and Mongolian area seriously hindered development of the Tibetan and Mongolian society.

Chapter eight: In the last chapter of this dissertation the author discusses administrative situation, legislation and garrison system of Tibet in the Qing dynasty. As one of the special administrative regions , Grand Minister Residents of Tibet was the highest-ranking official appointed by the Qing emperor in Tibet. It was 1728 when the Qing imperial court began to appoint Grand Minister Residents of Tibet. Neigexueshi Sengge and vice-Dutong Mailu was the first Grand Minister Residents of Tibet. According to the views of the author, the time that Grand Minister Residents of Tibet performed his power in Tibet may be divided into four different periods. Grand Minister Residents of Tibet managed almost every great affair in each field of the Tibetan area during 1793-1844." The Laws of Lifanyuan" was the statute book in which recorded legal provisions formulated by the Qing dynasty for minority areas . Legal

articles draw up specially for the Tibetan area and recorded in "The Laws of Lifanyuan" should be played more attention to. The garrison system established by the Qing imperial court in Tibet stated clearly that the Qing dynasty exercised its sovereignty over Tibet completely. In the last part of this chapter the author introduces the general situation of how the garrison system was set up and the concrete situation of garrison troops in the Tibetan area.

In a word, all policies laid down by the Qing dynasty for Tibet made clear that the Qing Dynasty, after the Yuan and Ming, had exercised completely sovereignty over Tibet during nearly three centuries. In addition, those policies of the Qing dynasty in Tibet, generally speaking, strengthened the unification of China and promoted the economic development of the Tibetan feudal serf society to some degree.