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ESOTERIC BUDDHIST ELEMENTS IN THE FAMENSI RELIQUARY DEPOSIT

Roderick Whitfield

In an earlier article published in the inaugural issue of *Buddhica Britannica*, I have summarized some of the recent finds of Buddhist reliquary deposits found in China in recent decades.¹ Such deposits, usually found within or on the site of the pagodas which stood at the heart of every Chinese Buddhist monastery, and which frequently are the last part of the monastery to survive, provide a wealth of material on Buddhist belief, images and ritual implements. They have been found from almost every period from the Northern Wei to the Ming dynasty, and their contents and the manner of their consecration help to document changes in Buddhism and its various schools over the centuries.

At first sight the discovery in 1987 of a reliquary deposit in the Tang foundations of a collapsed Ming dynasty pagoda at the Famensi, Fufeng, Shaanxi province, well fits the common pattern of a neglected pagoda, its surrounding monastery long since decayed, yielding an intact deposit which had been added to at various stages in the history of the monastery.² But in the present case, there are differences of scale and of disposition. Not only is the deposit rich out of all compare to those previously discovered, at least in the number of gold and silver items found, 121 in all, but it is clear from their arrangement, as well as from historical records,³ that this

1 *Buddhica Britannica*, no. 1 (1990). See also Yu Pingfang, 'Excavations of Tang and Song Pagoda Foundations' (with a list of 21 dated foundation deposits) in *Xin Zhongguo de kaogu faxian he yanjiu*, Beijing 1984: 613-16, 653-4, which I had not then seen.

2 See Bibliography. The principal articles to have appeared so far are in *Wenwu*, 10 (1988) and *Kaogu yu Wenwu*, 2 (1988). They give a breakdown of the finds by material and intended use, but only a few articles in each category are reproduced or described in detail. Two souvenir publications, bearing the same title, *Famensi digong zhenbao* (Precious Cultural Relics from the Crypt of the Famensi) have so far been issued at the site, where a museum has been built to house and display the finds. Among the latter, the many gifts of silks and embroideries display all the techniques known in the Tang dynasty, but are much decayed and will require extensive conservation work. On the other hand, the many gold and silver items have survived intact and untarnished, still gleaming as if new.

3 These are summarized by Ma Shichang (*Wenwu* 10 (1988), pp. 40-3) and in the article by Kegusawa Yasunori (table p. 101).

was a deposit which had remained accessible, whereas in most cases, the relics were sealed within the very centre of the pagoda foundations, and would have only been opened and added to on the occasion of the rebuilding of the monument. Such occasions were not infrequent, particularly when the pagoda was built of wood and liable to burn down, but the nature of the reliquary chamber was generally such as to preclude access except when rebuilding was necessary. In this case, however, the 'underground palace' itself was rebuilt in 874 in the 15th and last year of the reign of Emperor Yizong (reigned 860-874). The magnificence of the Famensi deposit was, no doubt, due to the special position which the monastery enjoyed as one of the four Chinese monasteries to have received authentic relics of the Buddha.⁴ The great store set by these relics ensured that during the Tang dynasty frequent imperial commands required their translation to the court, where they would remain for some time before being reconveyed in sumptuous procession back to the monastery and its pagoda. It is not hard to imagine such scenes, for they roused Han Yu to his forthright protest of 819, on one of the seven or eight occasions during the Tang dynasty when the relics from Famensi were taken out and received in the palace. After noting that the Buddha was of barbarian origin and unacquainted with Chinese society, he suggests that were the Buddha himself to be still living and to come as an emissary, he would be received courteously, given gifts, and sent on his way under escort to the border, but no more:

How much the less, now that he has long been dead, is it fitting that his decayed and rotten bones, his ill-omened and filthy remains, should be allowed to enter in the forbidden precincts of the Palace? Confucius said, 'Respect ghosts and spirits, but keep away from them.' The feudal lords of ancient times, when they went to pay a visit of condolence in their states, made it their practice to have exorcists go before with rushbrooms and peachwood branches to dispel evil influences. Only after such precautions did they make their visit of condolence. Not without reason you have taken up an unclean thing and examined it in person when no exorcist had gone before, when neither rushbroom nor peachwood branch had been employed. But your ministers did not speak of the wrong nor did the censors call attention to the impropriety. I am in truth ashamed of them. (translated by K.K.S. Chen)⁵

4 The other monasteries were the Puwangsi at Sizhou (which sank in the 19th year of Kangxi, 1680, in Lake Huze), and the Wutai at Daizhou and at Zhongnan, both destroyed in the Huichang persecution, so that no trace of their buildings has survived to the present.

5 K.K.S. Chen, *Buddhism in China*. Princeton 1964: 225-6.

What is fascinating in the present case, is that the Famensi relics, comprising the so-called “finger-bones” of the Buddha, were the very ones of which Han Yu was complaining. In fact, we can easily see features of the deposit which mark the degree to which Buddhism had responded to court patronage and to Chinese sensibilities. During the Tang it was common for the reliquary container to be in the form of a richly-ornamented sarcophagus,⁶ with a rounded top cover higher at the head end than at the foot; the ashes of high-ranking monks were also kept in somewhat larger, but still quite small coffins, carved of stone.⁷ One of the relics at the Famensi is also enshrined in a nesting pair of miniature coffins, one carved of rock crystal and the second, just visible through its walls when placed within it, of jade (fig. 11).⁸ Two more are found within parcel-gilt silver sarcophagi of the same form (figs. 6, 10).⁹ The adoption of this form for Buddhist relics is a clear adaptation to Chinese taste; but in this case the parallels with secular burial go much further, for the construction of the entire suite of reliquary chambers is planned much on the lines of the royal and imperial burials of the Tang. As is well known from the excavations in the 1960s of the tombs of Princess Yongtai, Prince Zhang Huai and Prince Yide (all datable to 706), access to such tombs was by means of a long sloping passageway, near the lower end of which was the *mu-zhiming* or epitaph tablet of the deceased. At the end of the slope, a level corridor gave access to an antechamber and then to the actual burial chamber, reflecting the axial sequence of courtyards and buildings of palace architecture (fig. 2). At the Famensi pagoda (fig. 1), access to the relics from ground level outside the *hangtu* foundations of the square Tang pagoda, its double row of pillar bases still largely intact, is by a long sloping flight to steps; then a level corridor leads to a low square doorway with a threshold of deeply carved lotus petals and a semi-circular lintel with confronting phoenixes (a purely Chinese motif with imperial associa-

6 Cf. the silver-gilt sarcophagus and gold coffin both richly encrusted with pearls, from the site of the Tang monastery Qingshansi, found in a deposit with some 120 items in 1985 near the tomb of Qin Shihuangdi (colour plates in *Qiannian gudu Xi'an*. Hong Kong: Commercial Press 1987: 328-9).

7 Cf. the Song tomb with niches and ledges for 25 such small stone sarcophagi and ashes of monks, from the Jinlingsi, Shang xian, Shaanxi province, reported in *Kaogu* 6 (1960): 18-20 and pl. VII.

8 These were found inside the casket in the secret niche beneath the rear wall of the rear chamber. The excavators believe them to be of High Tang date. See *Kaogu yu Wenwu*, 5,6 (1988): inside back cover, fig. 3; *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 7; pl. IV, 1.

9 See *Kaogu yu Wenwu*, 5,6 (1988), inside back cover, fig. 1.

tions) in low relief. Through this doorway is a series of three chambers.¹⁰ The construction throughout is of limestone or marble blocks. The most precious relics and the greatest number of accompanying objects were placed in the innermost chamber, which lay approximately beneath the centre of the pagoda, as the burial chamber of an imperial tomb lay beneath the tumulus raised on the ground above it. At the inner end of the corridor, in front of the door to the first chamber, two inscribed stone tablets provide a record of the deposit and an inventory of the relics and the gifts which accompanied them. Thus both the layout and even some details (such as the written record of gifts, and the stone doors providing access to each chamber) correspond closely to the architecture and arrangement of Tang tombs.

Despite Han Yu's heartfelt plea for the total elimination of the Buddha's bones, both the Famensi and its relics were to survive the widespread destruction of Buddhist monasteries during the Huichang persecution of 842-5, for the final sealing of the deposit, recorded on the inscribed tablets, was not until 874 when the Tang dynasty was nearing its close. This date is borne out in some ways by the iconographical content of some of the deposits, and by inscriptions which reveal close connections with Esoteric Buddhist monasteries.¹¹

As yet it is neither possible nor appropriate, before the comprehensive publication of the entire treasure which one hopes will be forthcoming from China in the near future, to describe the whole find in detail. In the reports, the finds are categorized by material (gold and silver, ceramics, glass, and stone carvings) and then by type. This classification leaves something to be desired: for instance, censers are placed among objects for daily use rather than religious implements: in fact it would seem likely that most of the gold and silver vessels were intended to serve a religious purpose, and few of them can have been for daily use. Some brief notice of the contents and arrangement within the three chambers of the founda-

10 The sequence of steps, passage, and front, middle and rear chambers are given the reference numbers FD1, FD2, FD3, FD4 and FD5 respectively by the excavators. Where possible, the reference numbers of particular objects will be given in the plate captions so that it is clear from which chamber they were excavated.

11 For instance, Ma Shichang (*Wenwu* 10 1988: 42) cites the inscription on a silver casket, containing a gold one, which states that its provenance was from the Daxingshansi, one of the major monasteries of the capital and the seat of Amoghatripitaka, hence a patriarchal cloister of Esoteric Buddhism.

tion is necessary, in order to see some at least of the finds in their relation to each other.

The entire deposit, as recorded in detail (the inventory slab has no less than 1700 characters) on the two stone slabs which stood in front of the door to the first chamber, consists of items presented to accompany the actual relics, four hollow 'finger-bones' of the Buddha, each some two inches long, on the occasion of their return to the monastery following their display in the palace at Chang'an. Elements of Esoteric Buddhist belief and practice may be found in the objects themselves, and perhaps also in their diaposition within the deposit. Since gifts and additions were made over a considerable period, objects in it necessarily reflect the tenets of more than one school. Nor is it entirely clear that all of the relics previously enshrined were opened and rewrapped in 874; it seems possible that attention was focused upon the latest additions to the relic treasury.

A glance of the plan of the contents of the three chambers (fig. 3) is quite revealing of the concentration of the majority of the precious items inside the rear or third chamber, or immediately in front of the door leading to it, since there was clearly not room enough for all of them inside. A large incense burner¹² is centrally placed against the door, which bears paintings of two vajrapani and which is additionally guarded by two marble seated Guardian Kings. Two other guardian kings, completing the set of four corresponding to the Four Directions, are within the rear chamber against the rear wall.

In this chamber, several features are especially worth noting. Leaning in one corner of the chamber is a truly enormous silver gilt *khakkara* or Buddhist staff (detail, fig. 4), 196.5 cm high and engraved on the gilt handle with the figures of twelve pratyeka-buddhas. Unlike the majority of *khakkara*, this has a head with two crossed wheels, each segment holding three rings, while the central shaft at this point features in the middle a double-headed vajra, so that its esoteric character is plain to see. It may have been appropriate to lead a procession from the imperial palace but appears somewhat inconveniently large for placing in the small confines of the chamber, where it was necessary to lean it against one corner in order to get it to fit in beneath the ceiling.

12 Height 56 cm (*Wenwu* 10 (1988): 47). The tea utensils have naturally attracted much attention. Han Wei (see bibliography) argues that this, the largest of the censers, although clearly described in the inventory tablet as 'a silver incense burner and iron basin together weighing 103 *liang*', is in fact a *fenglu* or 'wind stove' for heating water. Its position in front of the chamber door, however, seems appropriate to a censer.

Next to be noted is the arrangement in the four corners of the chamber of four *arghyas* or vases for offerings of scented water (fig. 5), each bearing four vajra medallions symmetrically disposed about the centre of the body. Trident ends of vajras are also seen appearing between lotus petals around the foot of each vase and where the foot joins the body. From their position in the corners of the chamber, as well as from the characters for South, East and North inscribed in ink in the footing respectively of three of them, it is quite clear that they were placed in the chamber before any of the other objects, and we may therefore imagine that they formed part of the purification ceremony preparatory to receiving the relics. As such we may presume that they date from the final occasion on which the deposit was sealed, in 874. Similarly, we may presume that the heavy and bulky polychrome marble figures of the Guardian Kings were also placed in position inside the chamber and at its entrance before the arrival of the relics and precious gifts.

Finally, the ceiling of the chamber is of two slabs of stone with a central octagonal well ornamented with a lotus motif, whose petals, individually attached and curving downwards, are of openwork silver in two motifs each with a central floret surrounded by radiating or scrolling lines (fig. 7). These may be comparable in their elegant elaboration with decorations of the High Tang period; if so, could this lotus motif be earlier, possibly an original feature of the chamber still retained after a considerable period since its construction? I shall return to this point below in considering the Asoka marble pagoda found in the first chamber.

By contrast with the third, rear chamber, the first and second chambers appear relatively sparsely furnished with offerings. Most conspicuous in the centre of the second chamber, where it occupies almost the whole of the available width, is the large reliquary termed a *lingzhang*, carved of white marble, and with a double-eaved roof. Photographs of this have not yet been published, but it is clearly seen in the plan and section of the middle chamber. Undecorated on the outside, the main section of this, a cube of some 90 cm, consists of a single block of white marble, housing an iron casket wrapped in many layers of silks, and enclosing in its turn a silver coffin (fig. 6) with a *fogu* or 'finger-bone' of the Buddha. The decoration of the *lingzhang*, in the form of eight figures of devas in relief, is carved on the inner sides, two figures to a side, so that all face inwards to the relics that they guard. Dated to the 2nd year of Yinglong (AD 708), it is a unique object and shows the complete mastery of which the Tang sculptors were possessed, since the whole is carved out of the solid block, working in an extremely restricted space. Each face of the cover is carved

with the figures of seven high-ranking monks, fourteen of them identified by name in ink.

Returning to the first chamber, the most prominent object is the Asoka marble pagoda (fig. 8, so identified in the text of the inventory tablet), which is not centrally placed but almost seems to have been pushed aside to allow access to the chambers beyond, and which is also somewhat chipped around the base and projecting corners, suggesting that it had been moved around on more than one occasion. It consists of three parts: a plinth of Sumeru form, with three circular medallions with masks on each of the four sides in the central waisted section, a central almost cubical block, with a simulated padlocked door attended by two Bodhisattvas on each of the four sides, and a top part in the form of eaves projecting in several steps and a pyramidal roof of eleven steps crowned with a pointed lotus bud of bronze. Flowers are painted in the semi-circular lunette over each of the doors, and the walls are painted with a kind of triple cloud motif in a lightly-sketched network of chains. The style of the Bodhisattvas, in gentle *tribhanga* poses, and displaying a variety of mudras and attributes (one is clearly Avalokitesvara, holding a willow branch and a vase, others are in *anjali mudra* or bear various gifts) is that of the early or High Tang, and the form of the single storey pagoda itself would also suggest such a date. Moreover, the contents of the hollow interior may also be consistent with an early Tang date. Here, wrapped in silks and partially dismantled to fit into the confined space, was an elaborate bronze model of a wooden pagoda (fig. 9), rising on terraces from a lotus pool.¹³ Two guardian figures flank the main entrance, and on each of the four sides steps and bridges provide access across the lotus pool from the outer railing to the terrace and to the body of the pagoda. The slender columns support the projecting eaves, with *renzigong* (intermediate bracket sets) in the form of an inverted letter V, much as represented in the engraved lintel over the west doorway of the Dayanta in Xi'an, datable to 701-704.¹⁴ The mast above has six chatras, then a canopy, a halo, crescent moon and jewel, with a final lotus bud finial. In architectural form and detail, this is a work of the early or at the latest of the High Tang, reflecting Pure Land Buddhism with no hint of any Esoteric elements. Within the body of this bronze pagoda, wrapped in silks, lay a parcel-gilt silver coffin with figures of *kalavinkas*, on a base

13 See *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 5,6 (1988): front cover; *Wenwu* 10 (1988), pl. V.

14 *Seian Hirin* (The Forest of Stelae at Xi'an). Tokyo: Kodansha, 1966, pl. 64.

with arcaded openings (*humenzuo*) (fig. 10).¹⁵ Although the *kalavinka* figures suggest the imagery of the Pure Land, the workmanship of this coffin appears no finer than that of most of the gifts seen in the rear chamber, datable to the 870s. This suggests that the relic it contained was rewrapped in 874. If it is true that the crystal and jade caskets (fig. 11) are of High Tang date, it may be that they were once placed within the bronze reliquary pagoda, inside the Asoka pagoda. I would go further and speculate that this Asoka pagoda, somewhat casually placed to one side in the outermost of the three chambers (as if to leave the centre of the passage free), originally belonged in the innermost, rear chamber, whose small proportions would suit it almost ideally, and where it would have been sheltered by the lotus canopy with silver openwork petals, already described (fig. 7). In the final deposit of 874, this canopy hardly seems to relate to any of the objects beneath it (the nest of eight caskets was placed against the north wall at the rear of the chamber, and the two-tiered, five-legged incense burner which is more or less in the centre is really quite low).¹⁶ The construction of this chamber is noted by the excavators as being especially fine; from this fact and from its position at the very centre of the square Tang foundations, we may hazard that this chamber is itself earlier than the other chambers and the approach corridor, which break through the *hangtu* foundations.

The four *fogu* or 'Buddha Bones' are each encased within protective layers of silks and caskets of precious metals. Hidden beneath the rear wall of the innermost chamber, it would seem that one of them was regarded as the most precious or sacred of all. Its outer casket was of iron, with gold designs on the lid; when this was prised off, two crystal balls were revealed, and beneath them an inner gilded casket, inscribed as presented by the Emperor, and bearing a group of five Buddhas on each of its four sides and on the lid (forty-five figures in all).¹⁷ Inside this in turn were the crystal coffin (fig. 11), originally decorated with five sandalwood figures

15 Reproduced in colour in *Kaogu yu Wenwu* 5,6 (1988): inside back cover, fig. 1.

16 See *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 5,6 (1988): inside front cover, 4; and *China Pictorial* 3 (1988) for the only pictures of this censer on its matching stand.

17 No photograph of this casket has yet been officially published, but the slides shown in lectures at the School of Oriental Studies and Musée Guimet in 1989 show groups of five seated images, with Vairocana in the centre, on each face of the casket, as well as on each of the bevelled faces of the lid. Presumably the ninth group of five is in the centre of the lid. A border of vajras within flaming haloes are found on the vertical sides of the lid. The inscription reads: 'offered for the Emperor's reverent dedication of the true body of Sakyamuni'.

of disciples on each side, and inside it the jade inner coffin with the *fogu* relic.¹⁸

Some esoteric influences may also be seen in the set of eight caskets set one within another at the back of the rear chamber to enshrine the Buddha bone relic. Of the outermost casket of sandalwood carved with Pure Land figures and inscriptions only small fragments remain. Next in order of size is a gilded casket, on the four sides of which are seated the Four Guardian Kings, each seated and with demonic attendants on either side (fig. 12). In the case of Vaisravana, Guardian King of the North, in the principal position on the front of the casket, these demonic soldiers include an archer preparing to shoot down a garuda out of the sky, in a detail that at once recalls the silk painting of Vaisravana crossing the sea, from Dunhuang, now in the British Museum.¹⁹ The third casket is of plain silver; the fourth, silver-gilt, 16.2 cm high, has crossed vajras on the lid with a trident at each corner, while the sides are again decorated with figures in repoussé technique, featuring a Buddha group on the front, Manjusri on his lion on one side, Samantabhadra on the other, each with demonic attendants, and Ksitigarbha, wearing a head cloth and attended by four Bodhisattvas, at the back.²⁰ Within this casket, the fifth casket of gold is worked in a similar technique, and here the main images are of Cintamani-cakra, on the front of the casket, and Bhaisajyaguru, Vairocana, and Sakyamuni on the other three sides (fig. 13).

A number of other objects are of manifest Esoteric or Vajrayana character, such as the three pairs of armlets decorated with double vajras,²¹ found for the first time, and a circular bronze box with crossed vajras on the lid.²² Most notable is a kneeling Bodhisattva, 38.5 cm high, placed next to one of the Guardian Kings outside the door of the rear chamber (fig. 14). The Bodhisattva, described as 'Bodhisattva offering the true body [of the Buddha]' kneels on one knee to offer on a lotus leaf a tray

18 Information from lecture given by Madame Wang Yarong in lectures given at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, and Musée National d'Art Oriental Guimet, Paris.

19 R. Whitfield, *Art of Central Asia, Paintings from Dunhuang*, Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983, vol. II, pl. 16. The detail on the casket is more plainly visible in the drawing made from it, see *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 21, fig. 24.

20 Crypt, 1989: pl. 44. Published photographs only show the front of this casket, but the description 'Buddha wearing a hat surrounded by 4 Bodhisattvas' seems most likely to refer to Ksitigarbha.

21 FD5: 092, see *Wenwu* 10 (1988): fig. 22.

22 Crypt, 1989: pl. 8.

inscribed with an imperial inscription of AD 871, is richly crowned and decked with pearls. The lotus pedestal on which he kneels is made up of rows of eight petals, on the face of each of which is engraved a Bodhisattva or a musician; below this is a globular stem, with images of the four Guardian Kings. Supporting the whole is an inverted hemisphere, with eight raised lotus petals featuring Sanskrit seed syllables, and, around its base, eight vajra deities, some with six arms and three heads. The tray he holds has an openwork lid, connected to the tray by chains, and pierced to make a double-ended vajra trident. This whole figure, as with the set of eight caskets, can as Ma Shichang has pointed out, be seen as a complete mandala.²³

There is no way in which with the available published materials that this discussion can be exhaustive. Su Bai, commenting on questions raised by the find, has pointed out the importance of the esoteric material, and particularly of the groups of the Buddhas of the Five Directions which may be the representation of the Vajradhatu mandala;²⁴ no doubt there are many other instances of Vajrayana iconography among the finds from the Famensi deposit, and there are certainly many other problems of great interest, such as the various utensils for the preparation of tea, or the analysis of the extremely numerous silks which accompanied many of the offerings, some of which are also listed in the inscribed tablets. This brief and cursory examination does suggest how the finds from this extraordinary deposit may be interpreted, and how their disposition in the 'underground palace' beneath the pagoda may in turn reveal something of the occasions and the manner in which they were enshrined. Much more will be learnt from the eventual official publication, and especially from the texts of the dedication and inventory tablets, which give the precise names of a great many of the objects, as well as the names of the donors.

23 *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 42.

24 *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 29.

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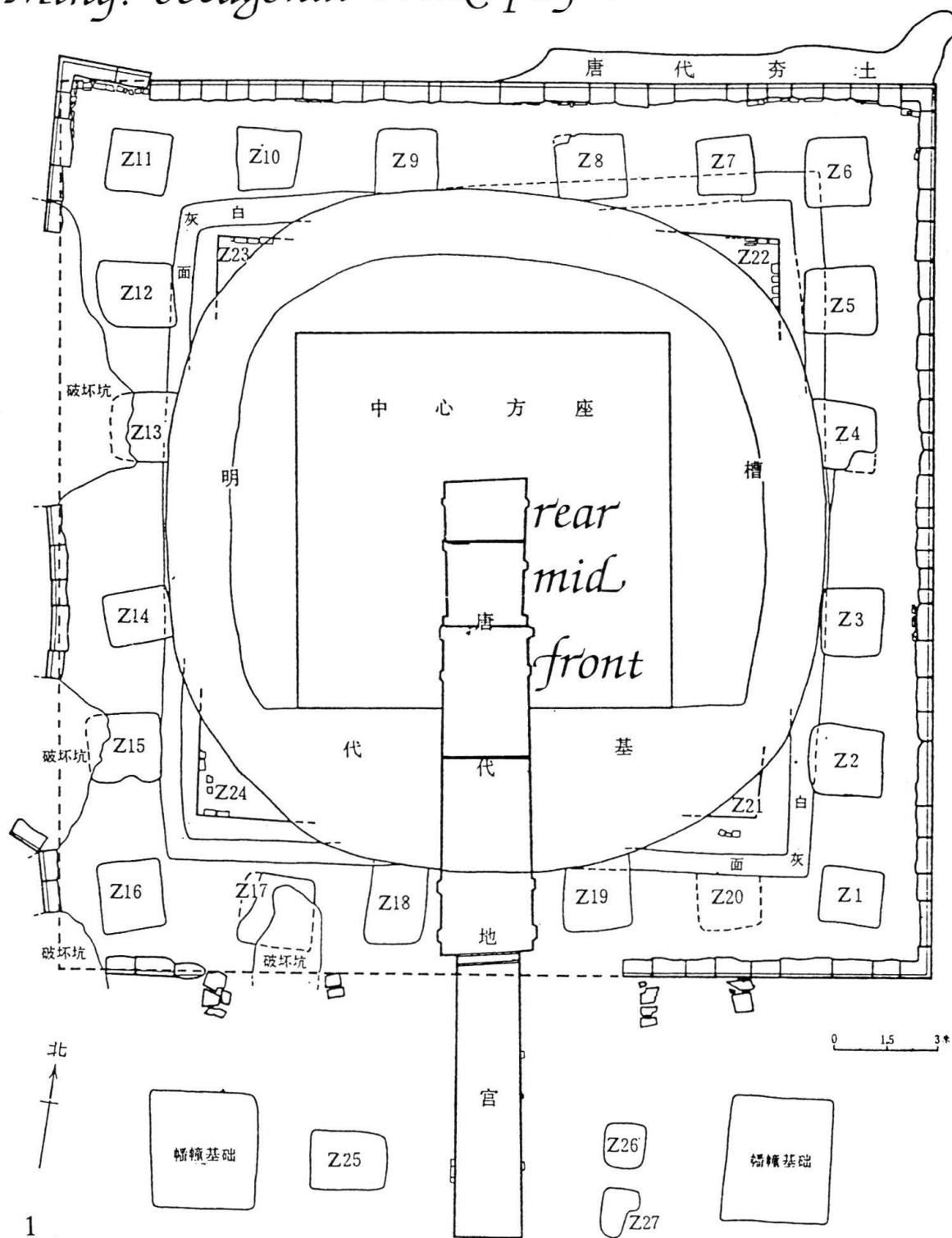
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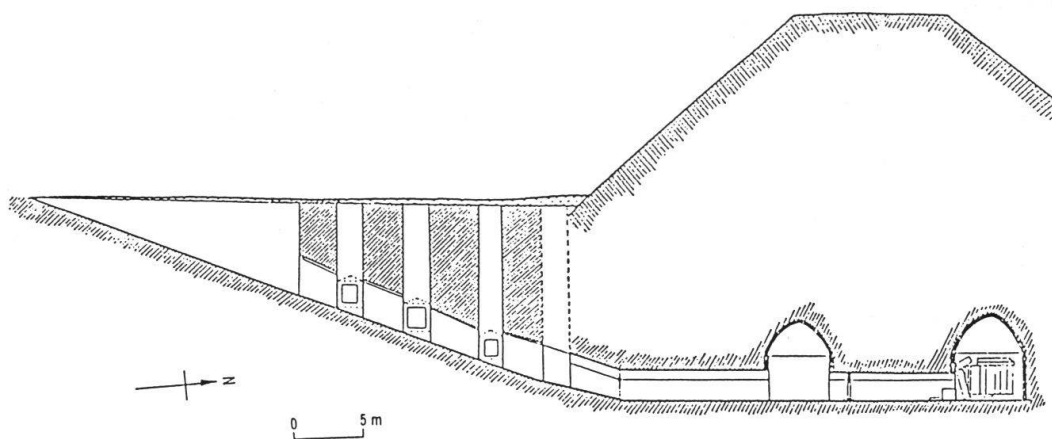
Figures

1. Plan of the pagoda foundations, Famensi (from *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 2, fig. 2)
2. Section of the tomb of Prince Zhang Huai, dated 706 (after H. Brinker and R. Goepfer, *Kunstschätze aus China*, Zürich: Kunsthaus Zürich, 1980: 242)
3. Section of the Famensi crypt or 'underground palace' and plan of the three chambers (from *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 4, fig. 3; 10, 12, figs. 9, 10, 12)
4. Head of the *khakkara* (from Crypt 1989, pl. 29)
5. Silver *arghya* vase with gilt vajra motifs, h. 19.8 cm (FD5: 017, from Crypt, 1989, pl. 39)
6. Silver parcel-gilt coffin with two phoenixes, length of lid 10.2 cm (FD4: 017-1, from *Wenwu* 10 (1988): pl. IV, 1)
7. Lotus canopy with openwork silver petals, diameter 39.5 cm, from vault of rear chamber (from Crypt, 1989, pl. 92)
8. Asoka pagoda, polychrome marble, h. 78.5 cm (FD3: 002, from Crypt, 1988, pl. 28)
9. Bronze reliquary pagoda, h. 53.5 cm (FD3:002-2, from *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 20, pl. V)
10. Silver parcel-gilt coffin with *kalavinkas*, length of lid 10.2 cm (from *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 5, 6 (1988): inside rear cover, 1)
11. Crystal coffin containing a smaller jade coffin (from *Kaogu yu wenwu*, 5, 6, (1988): inside rear cover, 3)
12. Silver-gilt casket with the Four Guardian Kings, h. 23.5 cm, width 20.2 cm (FD5: 011-2) enclosing plain silver casket (FD5: 011-3) (from Crypt 1988, pl. 42)
13. Drawings of repoussé designs on gold casket, showing (left to right) Cintamani-cakra, Bhaisajyaguru, Vairocana and Sakyamuni (from *Wenwu* 10 (1988): 9, fig. 8)
14. Bodhisattva to accompany Sakyamuni's true body relic, h. 38.5 cm (from Crypt 1989, pl. 25)

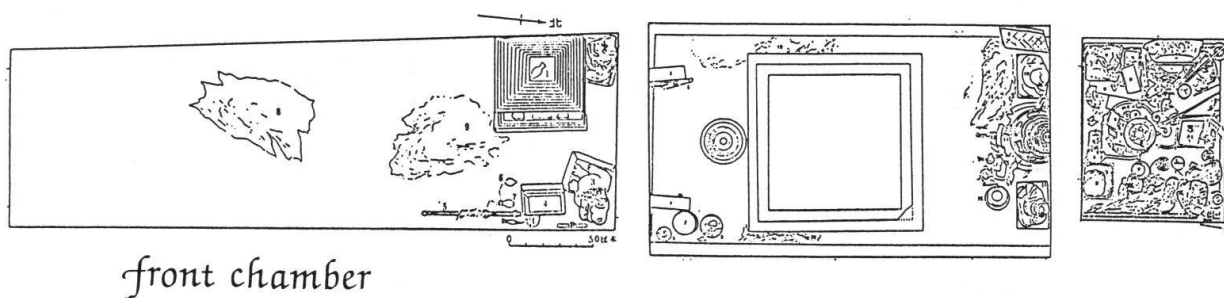
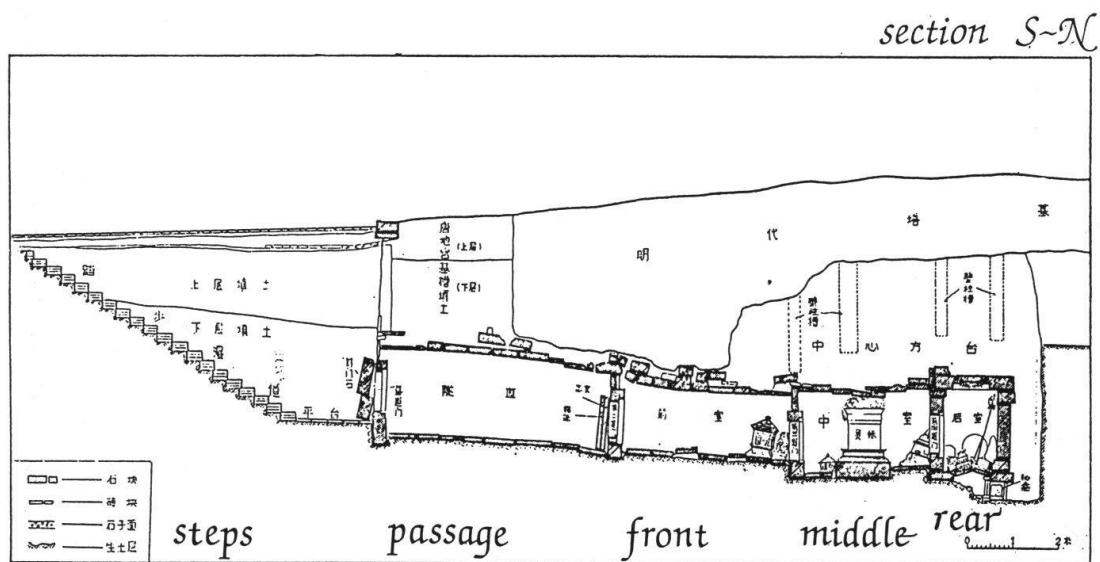
Tang: square wood pagoda

Ming: octagonal brick pagoda

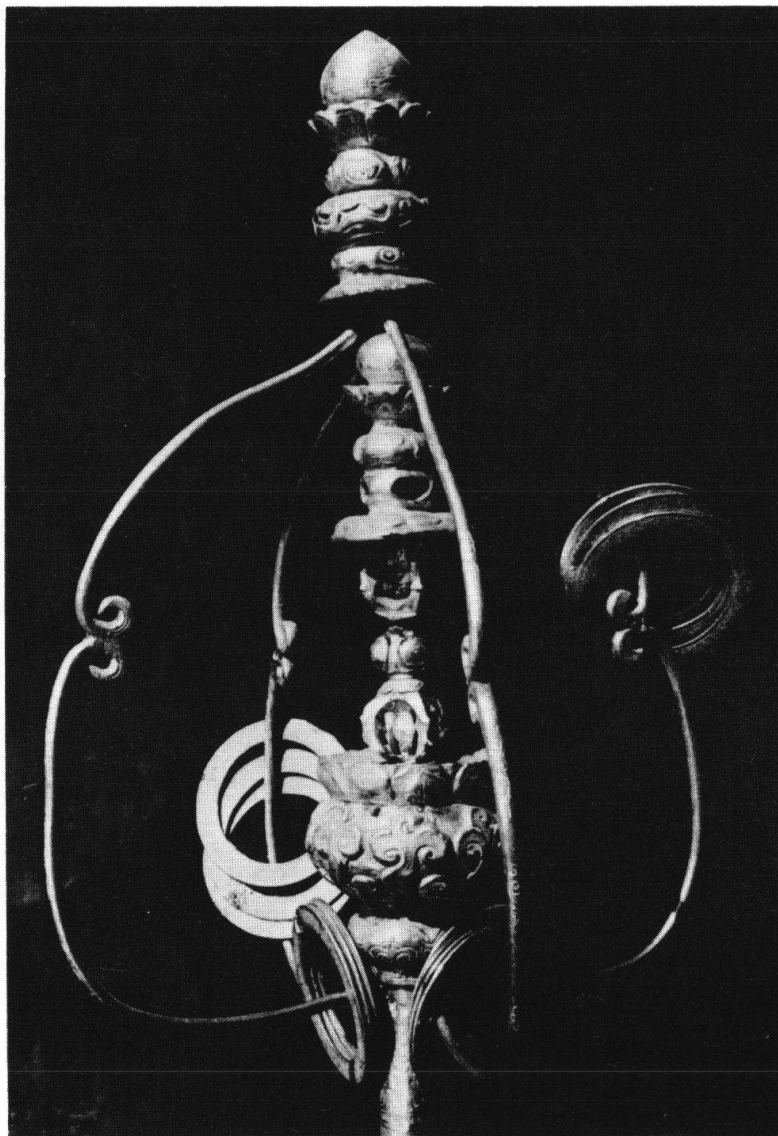




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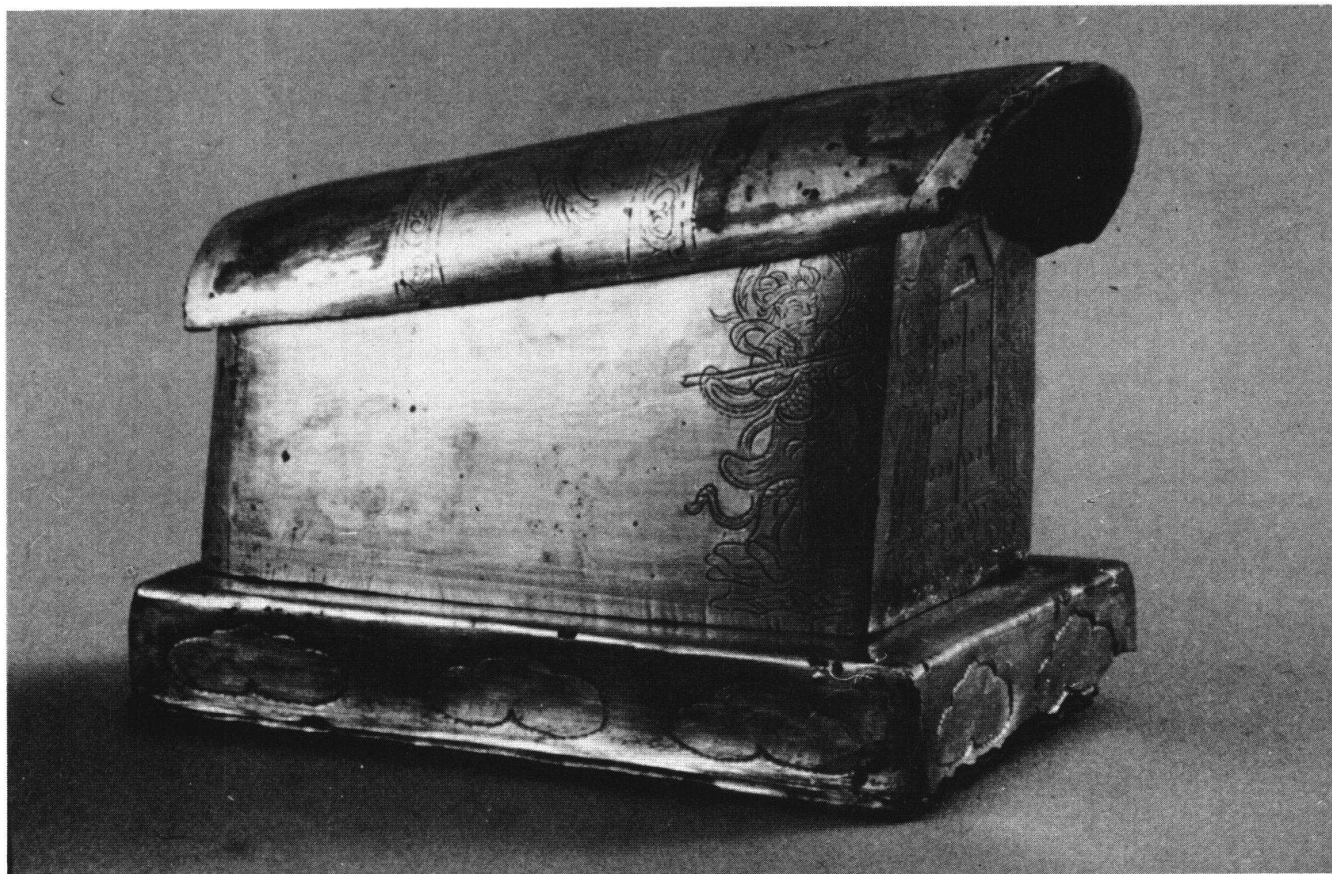
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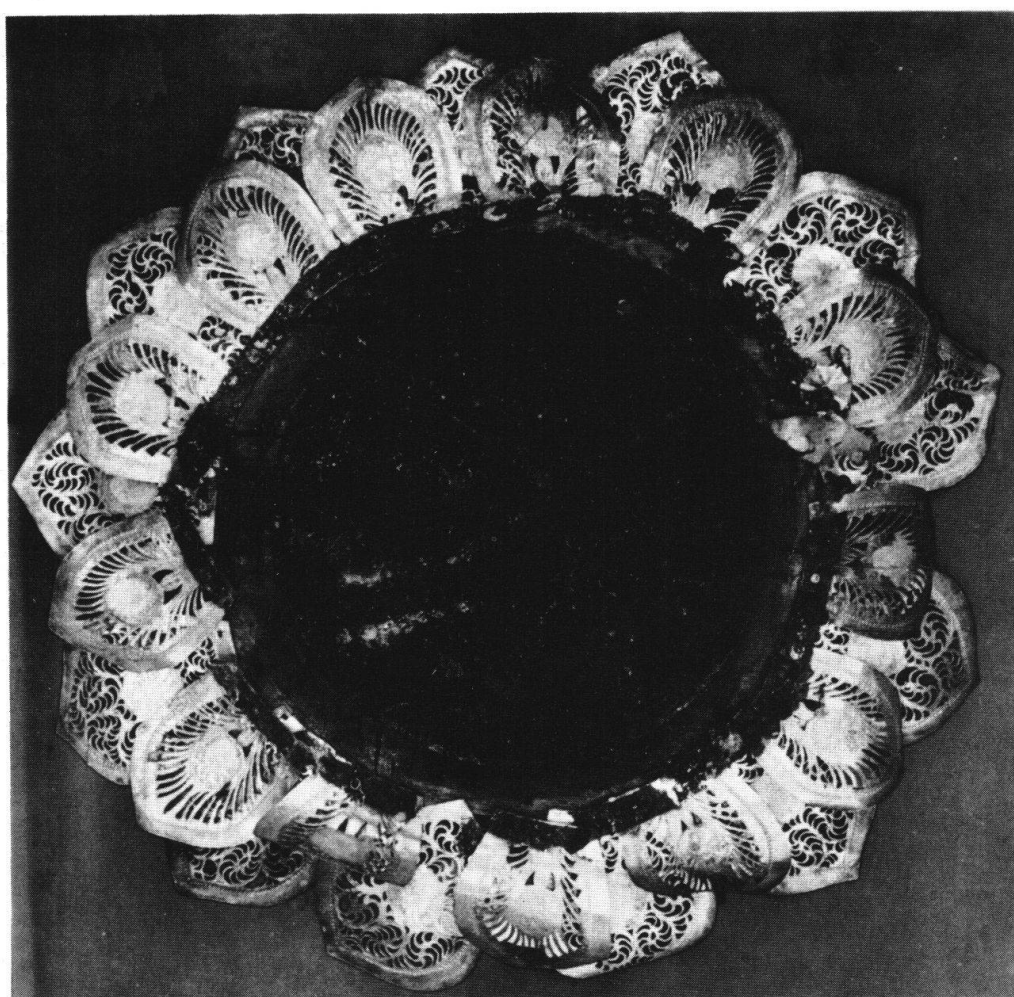
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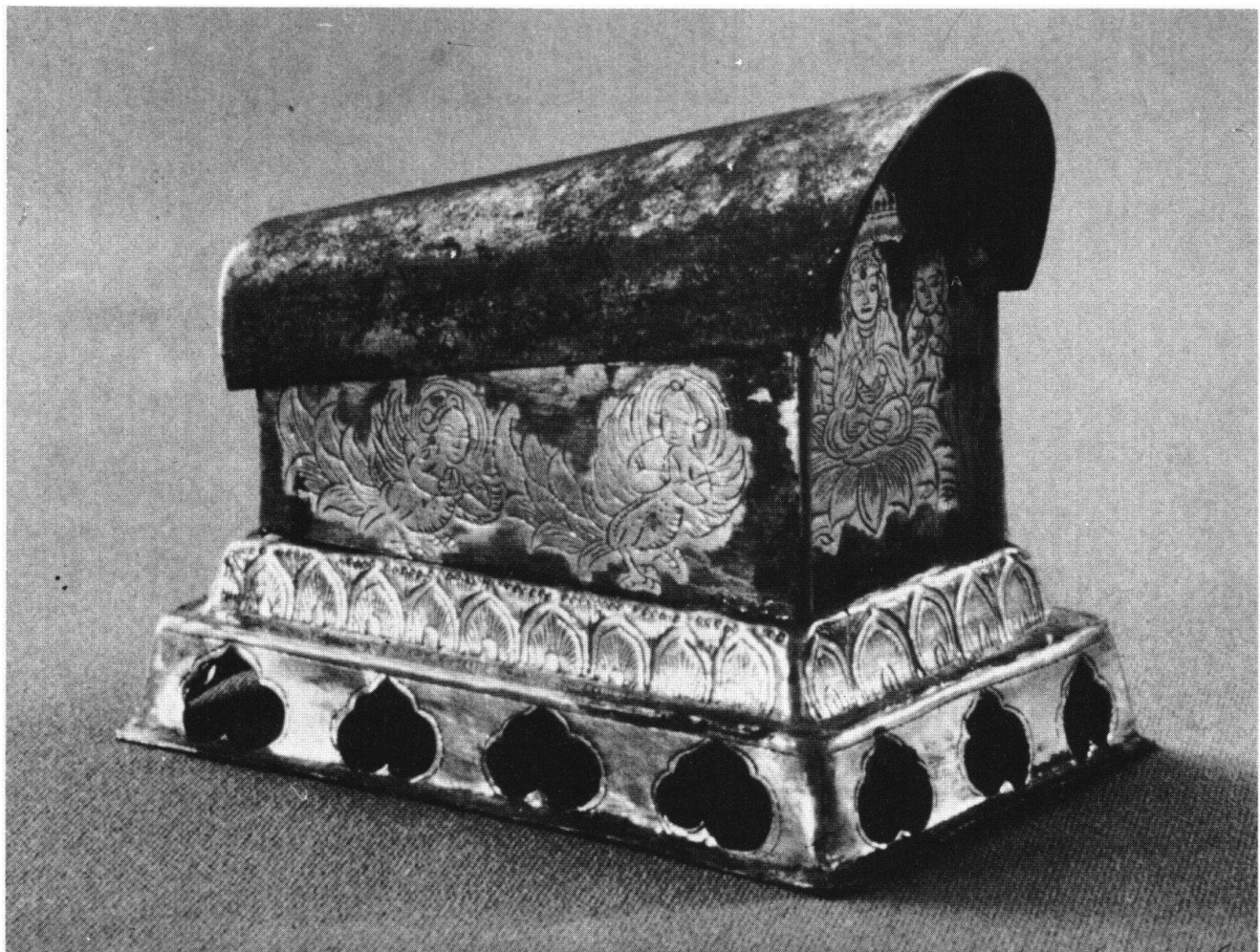
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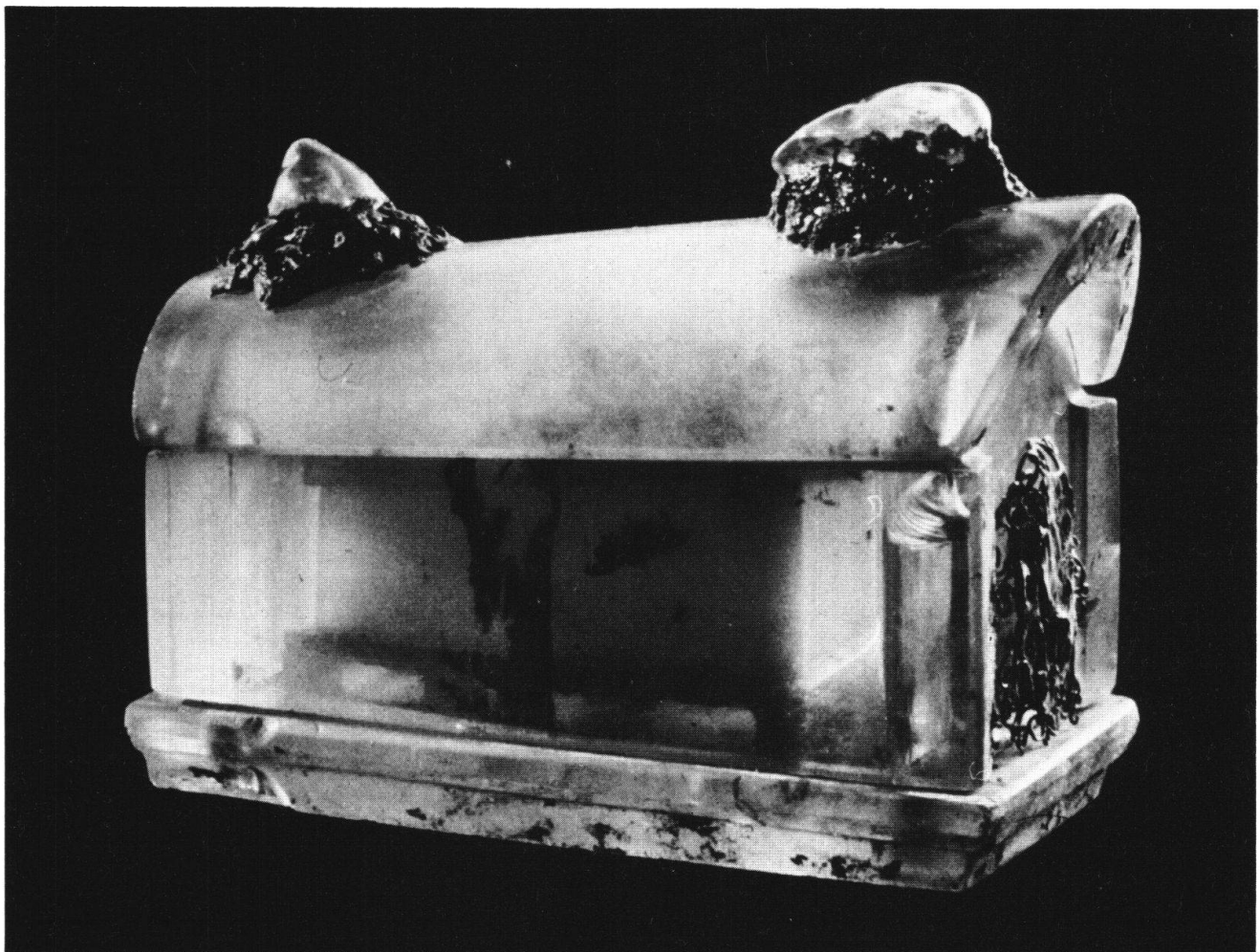
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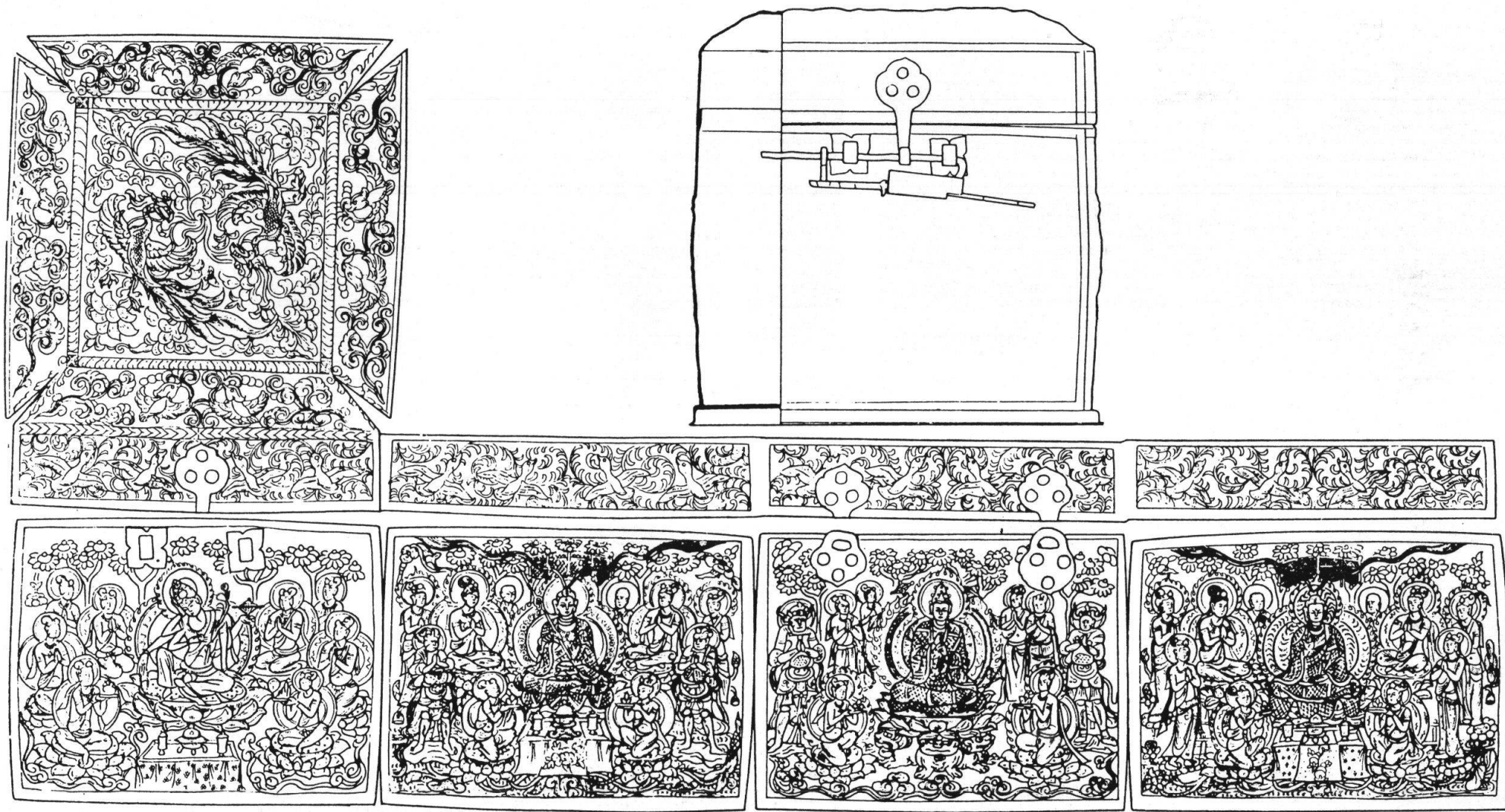
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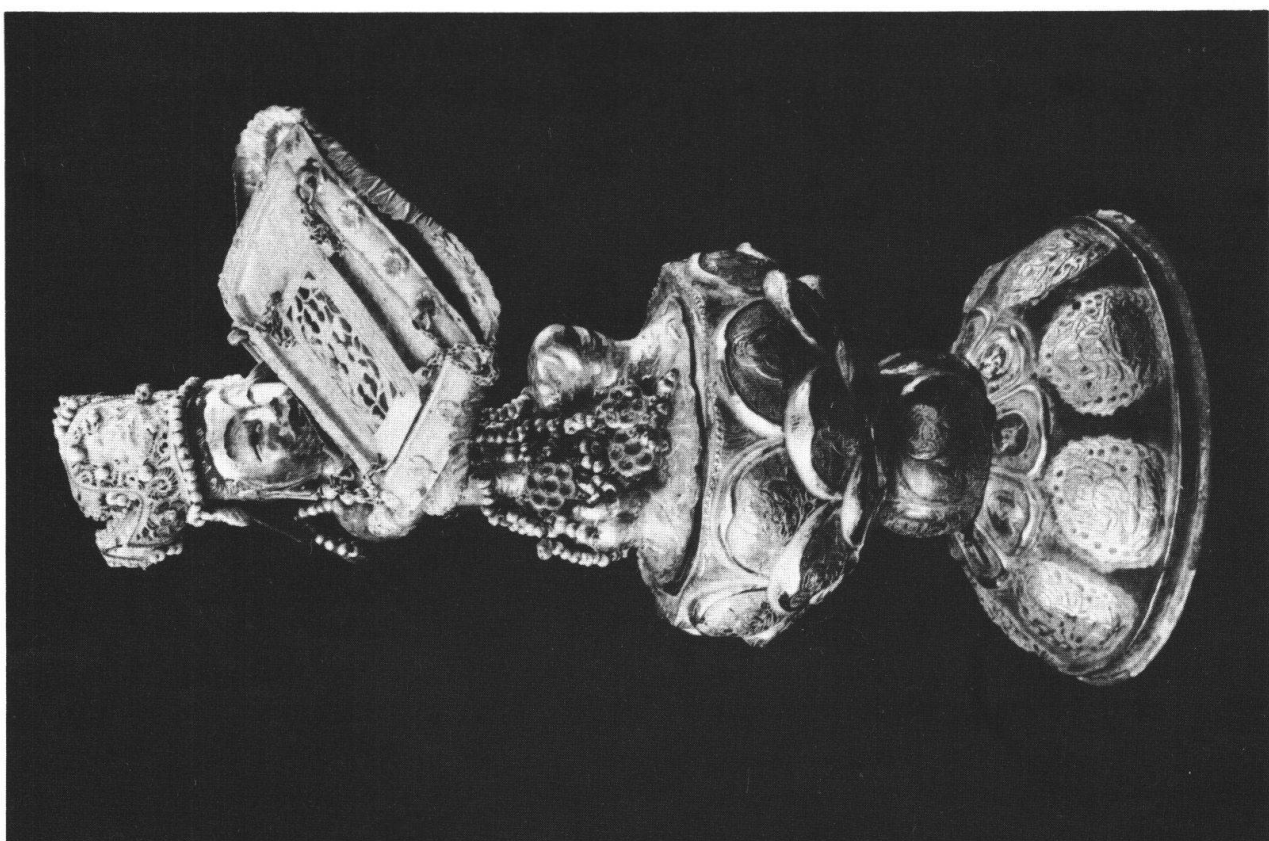
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