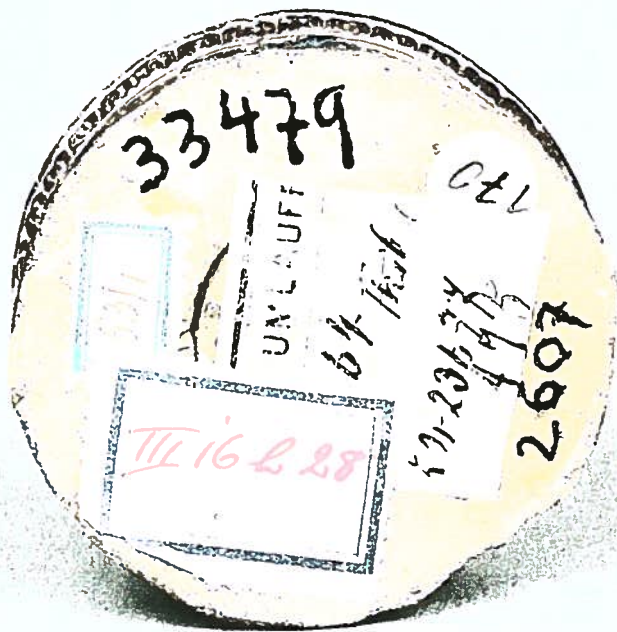


# The Mongolian Collections Retracing Hans Leder



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# The Khüree-Tsam and its Relations with the Tsam Figures of the Leder Collections

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## History of Khüree-Tsam<sup>1</sup>

The Jakhar (*ǰaxar*) Tsam<sup>2</sup> or Khüree-Tsam was introduced in Uрга / Ikh Khüree (or Ix xürē, Dā xürē, Nislel xürē, Bogdın xürē, later Ulaanbaatar) in 1811, in the period of the Fourth Bogd (or Bogd gegēn / ǰawjandamba xutagt, Tib. *rje-btsun dam-pa*, 1775–1813). That year an eminent monk, Öndör khachin (Öndör xacın, Tib. *mkhan chen*) of the Tibetan Tashilhunpo Monastery taught the Jakhar-Tsam tradition to local Mongolian lamas, based on the rules prescribed by the Fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) (Gangaa 2003: 18). In 1836 Agwaanluwsankhaidaw (Agwānluwsanxaidaw, Tib. *ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhas-'grub*, 1779–1838), the head abbot of Ikh Khüree, wrote a handbook<sup>3</sup> containing all the secret teachings and rules related to Tsam. The Fifth Bogd (1815–1841) was opposed to the spread of the dance, as it was not the original teaching of Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), founder of the Gelukpa school, but finally, at the request of nobles and high-ranking monks, he permitted it (Gangaa 2003: 18). Apart from the Tibetan handbook by abbot Agwaanluwsankhaidaw, the most important source regarding Khüree-Tsam is a 123-page document preserved today in the National Archives of Mongolia (M-85, D-1, 488a). This was written in Tibetan and in Mongolian in 1875, and contains technical instructions on organising the Khüree-Tsam dance. The Khüree-Tsam was held annually in Uрга on 127 occasions until its termination in 1937. The tradition was revived in the Züün Khüree Dashchoilin (Jūn Xürē Daščoilin) Monastery in 2002 by the monks R. Sereeter (–2004) of Ikh Khüree, L. Chimedrawdan (Čimedrawdan, 1911–2009) of the former Dūüregch wangiin khüree (Dūüregč wangin xürē), Khöwsgöl province, Dashdorj (Dašdorj, born 1908) of the former Khutagt lamiin khiid (Xutagt lamın xīd), Dundgow' province, and other monks. These monks arranged the Tsam dance and prepared the offerings and garments based on their memories and experiences, as well as on the handbook by abbot Agwaanluwsankhaidaw. The Tsam has been performed annually ever since.

## The Khüree-Tsam Procedure

According to the accounts of the painter D. Damdinsüren (1909–1984), who was a monk living in Choinkhorlin (Čoinxorlin) aimag in Ikh Khüree, there were various different dances in Ikh Khüree (Damdinsüren 1995: 47). First, the Takhiliin-Tsam (*Taxilīn Cam*; Čogar, Tib. *mchod gar*) was performed on the 4<sup>th</sup> of the last summer month<sup>4</sup> in front of the Yellow Palace with the participation of about 30 monks from the Kālacakra Temple (*Dečingalaw* or *Dūinxor dacan*, Tib. *bde-chen bskal-pa, dus-'khor grwa-tshang*, Damdinsüren 1995: 17). The biggest dance festival, Ikh-Tsam (*Ix Cam*, “Great Cam”) was held on the 9<sup>th</sup> of the last summer month, with about 108 participants, including the Dharma Protectors (*Arwan xangal*)<sup>5</sup> and their escorts (Damdinsüren 1995: 47). The Ikh-Tsam is what we now call the Khüree-Tsam. Another dance, the Jakhar-Tsam, was performed in winter with the participation of Black Hat dancers, and was related to a ceremony of Choijoo (Čoijō, Yama), the Lord of Death.

The preparations and the ceremonies that preceded the Ikh-Tsam dance are described in detail by Gangaa (2003: 29–30) and Majer (2008): on the 1<sup>st</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> of the last spring month the Nyamba meditation (*Nyanba*, *Nyanba düwa*, Tib. *bsnyen-pa sgrub-pa*) was held by the fully ordained monks of Shaddüwlin (*Šaddüwlin*, Tib. *bshad-sgrub gling*) Monastery or hermitage, which was situated about ten km north of Urga. The preparations for the dance started on the 1<sup>st</sup> of the middle summer month, when the monks started to learn tantric magical formulas and to hold ceremonies inviting the deities of the Tsam dance. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of the middle summer month the five Daamal (*Dāmal*) monks who were responsible for the Tsam procedure decided who was to participate. The list of names was presented to the head abbot (*Xamba nomon xan*) of Ikh Khüree and to the disciplinary masters (*Gesgüi*, Tib. *dge-bskyos*) of the main assembly hall. The final decision was confirmed by the Bogd himself.<sup>6</sup> After the announcement of the names of participating lamas, a ceremony called Chojjoo khural (*Čojjō xural*) was held every day. The Tsorj lama (*corj*, Tib. *chos-rje*), the main person responsible for the Tsam dance, and the five Daamal monks held meditations on Yāmāntaka (*Ĵigjīdīn nyamba*, Tib. *jigs-byed-kyi bsnyen-pa*) for a week. The participants in the dance were given instruction (*deg*, Tib. *sgrig*) twice a day in order to learn the dancing rules and choreography. The dress rehearsal was held without masks two days before the performance. The ceremonies themselves started some days before the dance. The *Jakhariin adislaga* (Tib. *byin-rlabs*) consecration was held in the yurt palace of Baruun örgöö when the *Sor* (Tib. *zor*), the Jakhar, the offering cakes, and the other offerings were consecrated. The next day, the three days of Jakhar ceremonies started in Baruun örgöö (Damdinsüren 1995: 10), during which the Chambon (*Čambon*, Tib. *'cham dpon*) performed the inner Tsam dance (*Dotor Cam*) alone. After his last dance on the night of the 8<sup>th</sup> or morning of the 9<sup>th</sup>, a huge 12 x 16 m painted scroll of Vajrapāṇi (*Očirwān*, Tib. *phyag-nardo-rje*) was carried out from the Maitreya Temple and mounted south of the Tsam dance field. Participants in the Tsam dance arrived at the dance field from Baruun örgöö: all in all about 70 dancers (Damdinsüren 1995: 19). The dance was performed in front of the Yellow Palace in the centre of Urga.

#### The Revived Tsam Performance at Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery

The procedure of the original Ikh-Tsam or Khüree-Tsam was very similar to the present practice of the Jakhar-Tsam in Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery, which revived the tradition of Khüree-Tsam in 2002.<sup>7</sup> The structure of the dance in Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery is as follows:<sup>8</sup>

Every year all the monks of the monastery are required to participate in the Tsam ceremonies. The dance is performed on the 9<sup>th</sup> of the last summer month, as this was the date of the Ikh-Tsam before its suppression. Today, about 70 characters participate in the dance. The Tsam is a complex tantric practice: it has a long preparation procedure, a four-day ceremony preceding the dance, special rituals on the dance day itself, and a closing ritual.

For the dancers the physical training starts more than a month before the dance day. The participants study the movements every afternoon. For fifteen days preceding the dance, four monks recite the sutra of Chojjoo every afternoon. Moreover, the dancers leave for countryside for some days to rehearse the movements in open air. Rehearsals take place in the monastery's courtyard on the night before the dance. The Tsam requires special mental preparation: as the dancers represent various different powerful deities in the dance, they start the *Nyanba* meditation beforehand. There is a week of shared contemplation for the participants with

special initiations. They meditate on Jigjid baawoo jigwa (*Jigjid bāwō jigwa*, Tib. *ʼjigs-byed dpa'-bo gcig-pa*), the single form of Yamāntaka. As a closing act of the meditation, a fire-offering, called Jinsreg (*Jinsreg*, Tib. *sbyin-sreg(s)*), is completed by burning 13 different types of food and precious objects to correct errors and omissions that the monks might have committed during the meditation.

The first great ceremony, called *Adislaga* (Tib. *byin-rlabs*), is held four days before the Tsam dance day. It is intended to consecrate the offerings, masks, garments and other accessories of the Tsam. During this ritual the special offerings are hidden behind a black curtain.

Next morning the three-day Jakhar ceremony starts, including the dance called the inner Tsam (*Dotor Cam*). During these ceremonies the monks meditate to prepare the Jakhar, the metal palace residence of Chojjoo. When the monks come to the text of the “invitation” (*Jandan*, Tib. *spyān-drang*) one of them starts a calling ceremony to invite one of the three main messengers of Chojjoo. This is a Black Hat dancer (*Šanag*, Tib. *zhwa nag*), namely the Chambon, the Argamba (Skt. *arḡham*, Tib. *mchod-yon*) or the Serjimba (*Serjimba*, Tib. *gser-skyems-pa*), who enters the temple and performs the dance alone.

The essence of his dance is the symbolic destruction of a dough effigy (*lingka/lyanga*, Tib. *ling-ga*: the dancer makes movements with ten weapons (*arwan bagaʼj dalčog*, Tib. *bsgral-chog*) one after another throwing them onto a triangular box in front of him. The box contains the dough effigy that represents all the obstacles to all sentient being and to Buddhism. At the end he destroys the effigy by stabbing it with the ritual dagger (*pürew*, Tib. *phur-bu*). The same ceremonies take place on the second and on the third days. The third day is the Tsam dance day itself. The Jakhar ceremony starts at around 2 a.m. With the first rays of dawn, the site of the open-air dance is cleaned. Then, the field of the Tsam dance, the square-based, seven-storey maṇḍala-shaped palace of Chojjoo, is drawn on the ground with white powder. As in a maṇḍala, the innermost circle means the top floor of the palace where a yellow pavilion called the Soriin asar (*Sorin asar*, “tent of the Sor”) is erected. Huge thangkas are hung to the south of the dance field. Before the start of the outside Tsam, the people are sent out of the temple as the monks put on their garments and present a special offering to Chojjoo.

During the outer Tsam, the dancers leave the temple for the dance field, mostly in pairs. They wear special masks and garments and hold different attributes in their hands in accordance with the Buddhist iconography. There are the main characters such as the Dharma Protectors, figures referring to history, such as the Black Hat dancers, and secondary characters such as the White Old Man, the lions and local spirits. The steps of the main figures are said to destroy the living places of the internal and external enemies of all sentient beings and of Buddhism, while their leaps and turns are said to deceive and persuade them. Music has a significant role during the dance; seven or eight types of musical instrument are played during the performance.

First, two skeletons, the Lords of the Cemetery (*Xoximoi* or *Dürted dagwa*, Tib. *dur-khrod (-kyi) bdag-po*, Skt. *Citipati*, Fig. VI/1–2)<sup>9</sup> arrive to clean and bless the ground. Then the high-ranking monks and the musicians come out, and some of them take seats under a blue canvas. Together with the Sor and the Jakhar, the offerings are placed under the tent of the Sor, and the Lünneṃba (Tib. *rlung gnyen-pa*), who is responsible for the protection of the Sor, also takes a seat there to protect the offerings from wind and hail. Two Mongolian heroes, Būuwei baatar (*Būuwei bātar*) and Shijir baatar (*Šijir bātar*) (cf. Fig. VI/4), protect the offerings from

the tasting of the Raven (*Xerē*, Tib. *bya-roq*, Fig. VI/3). Simultaneously, the patron Khashin Khan (*Xašin xan* or *Xūšan / Xūšin xan*, Tib. *hwa-shwang* (*rgyal-po*), Ch. *he-shang*, “Buddhist lama”, Fig. VI/7) comes accompanied by his six sons. According to the monks from the monastery, he represents the Manchu emperor, Kangxi (Enx Amgalan, 1663–1722), who supported the spread of Tibetan Buddhism in the Mongol lands. Fifteen direction protectors holding banners arrive to protect the ceremony from any harm, and two fully ordained monks clean and bless the field of the dance with sacred water. The spirits of the four mountains surrounding Ulaanbaatar also appear on the scene: the Garuda bird (*Xan Garid*, Tib. *khyung*, Skt. *Garuḍa*, Fig. VI/24), who is the Lord of Bogd Khan Mountain in the south, the Blue Old Man (*Xöx öwgön*, Fig. VI/25), who is the Lord of Songino Mountain in the west, the Sow-headed (*Pagdom* or *Gaxain nūrt*, Tib. *phag gdong*, Fig. VI/26), who is the protector of Chingeltei Mountain in the north, and the Dog-headed (*Čidon* or *Noxoi nūrt*, Tib. *khyi gdong*, Fig. VI/27), the Lord of Bayanzürkh Mountain in the east.

The Argamba pours blood from a skull cup onto the base of the *Sor* offering. As the first dancers, the Deer (*Buga* or *Šiwa*, Tib. *sha-ba*, Fig. VI/9) and the Bull (*Bux* or *Maxe*, Tib. *ma-he*) dance and jump to suppress and frighten away the enemies. After their withdrawal to the temple, the two protector deities arrive – the White Mahākāla (*Gongor*, Tib. *mgon-dkar*, Skt. *Sitamahākāla*) and the God of Wealth (*Namsrai*, Tib. *nam-sras* or *nam-thos sras*, Skt. *Vaiśravaṇa*, Fig. VI/10) – and they dance in order to increase fortune and wealth. After his two female attendants – Rigwii Ikham (*Rigwī lcam*, Tib. *rig(s)-pa'i lha-mo*, Fig. VI/16) or Donmaraw (Tib. *gdong dmar-po*) and Laikhan Sorogdag (*Laixan sorogdag*, Tib. *las-mkhan srog-bdag*, Fig. VI/17) – the Red Protector, Jamsran or Begtse (*Jamsran* or *Begj*, *Ulān saxius*, Tib. *lcam-sring*, *beg-tse*, Fig. VI/18), comes, and they dance together. The next dancer is the black protector, Gombo (Tib. *mgon-po*, Skt. *Mahākāla*, Fig. VI/22), who comes after his four attendants or together with Lhamo (*Lcam*, Tib. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, Skt. *Śrīdevī*, Fig. VI/20).

Two Azar masters (*Ajar*, Tib. *a-tsarya / a-tsa-ra*, Skt. *ācārya*, Fig. VI/28 and VI/29) represent the scholars from holy India. They assist the White Old Man (*Caḡān öwgön*, Tib. *rgan-po dkar-po*, Fig. VI/30), who is considered to bring long life, long-lasting happiness, good luck, and well-being.<sup>10</sup> He gives blessings and makes the audience smile by throwing sweets and acting for them. Meanwhile, the lions (*arslan*, Tib. *seng-ge*, Fig. VI/31.) entertain the audience with a frightening growling.

After these funny episodes the messengers of Chojoo, the 21 Shanag Black Hat dancers (Fig. VI/32) arrive – with the Chambon, the Argamba and the Serjimba being the first of them. They dance together with the same movements. The last deities to arrive on the dance field are Zamundi (Jamundi), who is the consort of Chojoo, and Chojoo himself (Fig. VI/38 and VI/39). Chojoo's dance defeats and drives away the enemies of Buddhism. After some special offerings to Chojoo, all of the masked deities return from the temple to the dance field and start to dance together clockwise, everybody in his or her determined position with the same movements. Simultaneously, the Chambon executes the destruction of the dough effigy in front of the yellow pavilion, performing the same dance as in the inner Tsam. Then he burns the effigy drawn on paper (*cāsan lingka / lyanga* or *šoglin*, Tib. *shog-(g)ling*). After completing this task, he dances back to the field and the common dance continues.

Then the burning of the *Sor* and the *Jakhar*, intended to annihilate all obstacles, begins. All the dancers and monks leave the monastery in a procession to the fireplace, called Soriin owookhoi (*Sorin owōxoi*). The lead-

ing lama recites the appropriate mantras and makes the appropriate hand gestures as the *Jakhar* is put into the Soriin owookhoi, and he throws the *Sor* into the fire. Afterwards, the monks and dancers return to the dance field to continue the common dance. Finally they leave the scene, entering the temple in pairs. When the people enter the temple again, all the monks are sitting on their benches wearing their robes. As a closing event of the day, a thanksgiving offering, called *Choijoo danrag* (Tib. *chos-rgyal-gyi gtang-rag*), is presented. The closing recitation of the Tsam is held the following afternoon.

### The Characters of the Khüree-Tsam and the Figures in the Leder Collections

Though more than 70 monks participate in the dance at the Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery, it is said that the original Khüree-Tsam had 108 characters. Rinchen (1967), and Nyambuu (2002: 142–144) provide detailed lists of characters who participated in the Khüree-Tsam. Apart from those in the revived dance, the following characters also participated: two Gugor / Gügor (Tib. *dgu-skor?*),<sup>11</sup> two Luwa / Lüwa (Tib. *bstu-ba?*), “entice”, two Shindö / Jiroi (Tib. *bzhi-’gros?*), two Dünjidma (*Dünjidma*, Tib. *bdun brgya-ma*),<sup>12</sup> Vajrapāṇi (Fig. VI/12), Siṁhāvaktṛā (*Sendom* or *Sendonma*, Tib. *seng gdong-ma*, Fig. VI/13), Makaravaktṛā (*Matar tergūt*, Tib. *chu-srin gdong-can*, Fig. VI/14), Vyāgravaktṛā (*Bar tergūt*, Tib. *stag gdong-ma*, Fig. VI/15), the Bear-faced one, the eight Sword-bearers (*Ditogjad*, Tib. *gri thogs brgyad*) who are the eightfold retinue of Jamsran, and Chandraabal (Tib. *zhing-skyong*, Skt. *Kṣetrapāla*, Fig. VI/19), Zinamidraa, Dagiranjaa, and Daragshid,<sup>13</sup> who are the fourfold retinue of Mahākāla. Four Azar masters and two lions participated in the Khüree-Tsam.<sup>14</sup> Rinchen and Nyambuu do not quote a written source for their lists of characters. Rinchen himself witnessed Tsam performances in several monasteries (Forman and Rintschen 1967: 137). They may have used the Tibetan text by Agwaanluwsankhaidaw or a Russian description of the Tsam characters of the Buryad Gusino Ozero Monastery that is available in the National Library of Mongolia.<sup>15</sup>

Though the majority of the figures in Leder’s collections undoubtedly present the characters of the Khüree-Tsam, and especially the figures of the lords of the four mountains surrounding Urga confirm this, some characters seem to be missing (e.g. Zamundi), while certain figures that are irrelevant to the Khüree-Tsam are included in the Leder collections. These unusual figures or at least some of them may have been carved at the collector’s special request.<sup>16</sup> As Leder ordered the Tsam figurines to be made, it is possible that he also requested other tantric deities or interesting figures to be carved as well. For instance, the mule of Śrīdevī (Fig. VI/21) definitely did not participate in any of the dances. Vajrayoginī (*Narxajid*, Tib. *rdo-rje rnal-’byor-ma*, *na-ro mkha’-spyod*, Skt. *Vajrayoginī*, *Nārōpa Khecarī*, Fig. VI/36) did not participate in the Khüree-Tsam. Her wooden figure may have been used as ritual object. Though Nyambuu (2002: 142–144) mentions Machig lkhām nagwo (*Mačig lkhām nagwo*, Tib. *ma-gcig lha-mo nag-mo*) as a Tsam participant, the participation of the ḍākinī holding a damaru drum in the Khüree-Tsam is not known to the author (Fig. VI/37). Hayagrīva’s participation in the Khüree-Tsam is not documented. Leder gives Damdin Yansan (Tib. *rta-mgrin yang-gsang*) as the local name for this figure (Fig. VI/33), although the name Dünjidma (Tib. *bdun brgya-ma*) fits it better, as it is a Hayagrīva form of the Saptashatika-kalpa (Tib. *rtog-pa bdun brgya-pa-las gsung-pa’i rta-mgrin*).<sup>17</sup> Not even the Five Kings (*Tawan xan*, Tib. *rgyal-po sku-lnga*) or Pehar (Tib. *’phrin-las rgyal-po*, Fig. VI/34) participated in the Khüree-Tsam. In 1916, 1917 and 1918 another Tsam dance, which differed from the Khüree-Tsam, was also held in Urga. This was the dance of the temple complex of Choijin Lama, the State Oracle (Dariimaa 2003: 41, Öljii 1992: 92, 113), and special characters such as *Mam* (Tib. *ma-mo*), *Jan*

(Tib. *brtsan*) and the Five Kings (*Tawan xan*) acted in it (Bawden 1997: 11, 689). However, this dance was held more than ten years after Leder's last visit to Urga. An elephant figure is also part of the Leder Collections, which seemed surprising at first sight as it is not mentioned in written sources; however, it is shown on the painting of the Khüree-Tsam by D. Damdinsüren (painted in 1966, held in Zanabazar Museum of Fine Arts) as well as by Yadamsüren (2005: 25) as one of the direction protectors (Fig. VI/6). The identification of some other characters remains uncertain, such as the identity of the warriors (Fig. VI/5 and 35), a red figure (maybe Lüwa, Fig. VI/8), a white peaceful deity (maybe Gongor, the White Mahākāla, Fig. VI/11.), and a monkey (or possibly the Tiger-faced one, Fig. VI/23). The forms of the figures of Laikhan sorogdog and Rigwii Ikham are unusual (Fig. VI/16 and 17). It should be emphasised that many figures are carrying *vajra*, and as not enough information is available about the appearance of the Gügor, Lüwa, Jiroi (Jiroi) and Dünjidma groups, some uncertain figures may be identified as members of these groups. The four figures (a Däkinī, a Black Hat dancer, a Deer, and Begtse / Jamsran), which are held in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Hamburg, raises the question of whether certain figures were carved twice at the request of the collector (e.g. Begtse / Jamsran, Choijoo) or even if there were three sets of Tsam figures within Leder's collections.

#### Notes on the Places of Creation and Artistic Production

Hans Leder visited Urga during the period of the Eighth Bogd (1870–1924). In 1902 he ordered the Tsam figures in the collection now held in the Néprajzi Múzeum in Budapest from a lama who had created the Tsam figures for Russian collectors, and “who lived some miles away from Urga in a Monastery” (cf. Lang in this publication). Three monasteries were located about 8 to 15 km to the north of Urga: Dambadarjaalin (*Dambadarjālin*, Tib. *bstan-pa dar rgyas gling*), Dashchoinkhorlin (*Daščoinxorlin*, Tib. *bkra-shis chos-'khor gling*), and Shaddüwlin (*Šaddüwlin*, Tib. *bshad-sgrub gling*). There is no evidence regarding the residential monastery of the creator. Dambadarjaa (*Dambadarjā*) was a large monastery, but the Tsam dance was not held there (Damdinsüren 1995: 29). Though the Jakhar-type Tsam was held annually in Dashchoinkhorlin Monastery on the 29<sup>th</sup> of the last summer month (Damdinsüren 1995: 29) – in the 1920s (and presumably before, Forbáth 1934: 162) its masks and robes were stored in a room of the main temple and several old photos show scenes from it (e.g. Forbáth 1934, Tsultem 1989, Mongolia State Film Archive) – the monastery did not have a large number of monks. Shaddüwlin was a hermitage where 16 fully-ordained monks and four novices lived and meditated, so it is unlikely that they carved and sold such figures. Manzsir (*Manjšir*) Monastery, where another type of Tsam was held, was 40 km from Urga. This distance seems to be more than “some miles”.

Concerning the Tsam figures in the collections in Leipzig and Vienna, Leder provides information that they were created by a monk, and we can suppose that they were ordered in 1904/1905 or earlier (cf. Lang in this publication) in or near Urga. Though the names of the figures were given to Leder, who listed them in his inventories, there are misspellings and some misidentifications. Analysis of the masks, garments and attributes of the wooden figures shows that it is indisputable that the creator(s) knew the Tsam characters very well. The artists may have used pictures (drawings or paintings) of the characters when carving and painting the figures, or they may have had access to Tsam masks and garments. There is no precise information regarding the place where the Tsam masks and robes were kept in Urga.<sup>18</sup>

Artist monks were well-known in Urga; several sculptors and artists even became famous for their Tsam masks. In 1909, under the leadership of Puntsog-Osor (Puncog-Osor), many monks and other artists such as Yondon, Achit Samdan (Ačit Samdan), Baldan, Agwaandandar (Agwāndandar), Jügder (Jügder), Luwsantseren (Luwsanceren) and Tsend (Cend) prepared new masks and robes for about 100 characters (Tsulterm 1989: Introduction, Damdinsüren 1995: 47, 54).<sup>19</sup> Though this took place few years after Leder's visits, the monk(s) who created the figures in Leder's collections may have been involved in this work as well. This also means that by 1909/1910 both old masks and robes as new masks and robes of the Khüree-Tsam characters were available in Urga (Damdinsüren 1995: 47). The figures in the Leder collections created before 1905 represent the earlier style.

Apparently there are still questions regarding the history and identification of some figures in the Leder collections. Further comparison of these objects with the figures in the Kunstkamera in St. Petersburg or with other unpublished paintings of the Khüree-Tsam held in the Bogd Khan Palace Museum in Ulaanbaatar (Uranchimeg 2009: Illustrations), with old masks and archival photographs available in Ulaanbaatar, as well as unpublished written sources may result in an even more complex picture of the history of the Khüree-Tsam and its relations to the figures of the Leder collections.

## Notes

- 1 This was written within the framework of a three-year project to document the tangible and intangible heritage of Ikh Khüree, supported by the OTKA PD83465 Postdoctoral Research Fellowship of OTKA National Research Fund, Hungary.
- 2 Tib. *lcags-mkhar*, "metal palace" of the Lord of Death who is also known as Erleg nomun Khan or Chojoo (*Erleg nomun xān*, *Čoijō*, *Čoijil*, *Damjan*/*Damjin Čoijō*, Tib. *chos-rgyal*, *dam-can chos-rgyal*, Skt. *Yama*).
- 3 In Tibetan the text is entitled: *bstan-bsrung rgya-mtsho'i gar-'chams gsal-byed dam-ldan snying-gi me-long*, "Explanation of the Tsam Dance of the Ocean of the Protector Deities, Mirror of the Heart Keeping the Samaya Vows".
- 4 The Mongolian lunar New Year starts in January or February with the first spring month. Usually each season consists of three months: the first, middle and last. The last summer month therefore usually corresponds to July.
- 5 The *Arwan khangal* (*Arwan xangal*, *Arwan saxius* or *Arwan dogšid*; Tib. *drag-gshed*, *bstan-bsrung*) group are: Mahākāla, Sita-mahākāla, Yama, Śrīdevī, Kuvera/Vaiśravaṇa, Begtse, Brahmā/Esrua, Yamāntaka, Vajrapāṇi, and the four-faced Mahākāla.
- 6 The system described by Gangaa refers to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the Eighth Bogd passed away in 1924.
- 7 Unlike Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery, which revived the Khüree-Tsam, both the Amarbayasgalant and Dashchoin-khorlin monasteries follow the tradition of the old Daichin wangiin khüree. Differences in the performances of the two traditions can be observed. However, they are generally similar, being two different traditions of the same Jakhar-Tsam type, which is the dance in honour of the Lord of Death and other wrathful deities.
- 8 The dances of Züün Khüree Dashchoilin Monastery were observed in 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012. The results of the surveys are available in Majer 2008 and in a forthcoming DVD publication by the Inner-Asian Department, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. These were used as the basis for this summary.
- 9 Figure numbers (Fig.) refer to the photos published by M-K. Lang in her article *The Tsam Figures – A Reunion*. Question marks were used when the relationship of a given figure and a given Tsam participant was unsure.
- 10 For more details on this character see article by Ágnes Birtalan in the present publication (pp. 84).
- 11 Question marks indicate uncertain identifications.
- 12 Together with the Deer and the Bull these characters may have been the escorts of Chojoo. Some of their masks (Gügor and Dünjidma) are available in the Temple Museum of Chojin Lama. Their Tibetan names and exact roles in the dance are not clarified.
- 13 Chandraabal (*Čandrābal*/*Čadrā bala*/*Čadrābal*, Tib. *zhang skyong*/*Ksh.a-tra-pā-la*/*Ksh.ē-tra-pā-la*, Skt. *Kṣetrapāla*), Zinamid-*raa* (*Jina midra*/*Jinamidrā*, Tib. *Dzi-na-mit-rā*, Skt. *Jinamitra*), Dagiranzaa (*Daggi raja*/*Dagiranjā*, Tib. *Tā-kki-rā-dza*, Skt. *Takkiraja*), Daragshid (*Dargišid*/*Daragšid*/*Daragšid* (*nagwū*), Tib. *baud-mgon chen-po*/*Tra-kshad* (*nag-po*), Skt. *Tra kśād*).



- 14 Nyambuu mentions 16 Arhats but does not give evidence. He mentions that Machig lkham nagwo (*Mačig lkam nagwo*, Tib. *ma-gcig lha-mo nag-mo*) participated in the dance as well as a demon (*mangas*) and a witch (*šulam*).
- 15 A Russian article is preserved in the National Library of Mongolia regarding the characters of the Buryad Gusino Ozero Monastery entitled *Programma i kratkoe obyasnienie "Cam'-Kborala"* (No. 2943/6/192).
- 16 I am grateful for the advice of Béla Kelényi.
- 17 I would like to express my thanks to Beáta Kakas, ELTE University, who clarified this identification.
- 18 Tsam masks and robes were supposedly kept in Gegeenii san (*Gegēnī san*) – the treasury of the Bogd – or in the Maitreya Temple.
- 19 Puncog-Osor himself was a monk of Erkhem toinii aimag (*Erxem toinī aimag*) of Urga, and was the Chambon and a Daamal of Khüree-Tsam (Damdinsüren 1995: 47).

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