



REVIVING THE CAM DANCE TRADITION IN MONGOLIA

ZSUZSA MAJER AND KRISZTINA TELEKI

TRADITIONAL MONGOLIAN CULTURE II

Reviving the Cam Dance Tradition in Mongolia

by Zsuzsa Majer and Krisztina Teleki

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EDITOR'S PREFACE

The Department of Inner Asian Studies of the Institute of East Asian Studies at Eötvös Loránd University has been carrying on systematic, philology-based field research for over two decades. Since 1991 the Department – and until 2006 the Research Group of Altaic Studies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – has conducted field research on diverse themes in different areas of Mongolia, in cooperation with the Institutes of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the departments of the Mongolian State University. The primary focus is on linguistic and dialectal folklore and narrative texts with emphasis on religion (shamanism, folk religion, Buddhism). During our fieldwork we managed to collect and process materials in several areas of Mongolian spiritual and material culture whose publication offers an insight into the traditions and present state of transforming Mongolian nomadic culture. To present our research results we chose the DVD format because it allows for the attachment of sound and video materials to the still primary body of texts.

The first part of the series was the joint publication with the Institute für vergleichende Architekturforschung, Vienna, presenting the material culture of Mongolian nomads: *Material Culture (Traditional Mongolian Culture I). Materielle Kultur. (Traditionelle mongolische Kultur I.). A mongol nomádok anyagi műveltsége. (Hagyományos mongol műveltség I.). Уламжлалт монгол соёл.* Szerk./Ed./Hrsg. Birtalan, Ágnes. Wien – Budapest, IVA-ICRA Verlag – ELTE, Belső-ázsiai Tanszék 2008.

Several individual researchers on scholarships have also gone on research trips in connection with the centrally organized expeditions. The achievements of two of them, Zsuzsa Majer and Krisztina Teleki, provide the material for the present DVD. They conducted field research in Mongolia several times to study reviving Buddhism. The second DVD of our series introduces the *Cam* ritual of Tibetan origin which is also popular among Mongolians. The authors' on-the-spot investigations with sound and video recordings complemented with the photos of the expedition archives combine into a unique presentation of this important and spectacular phenomenon of today's Mongolian Buddhist religious practice even amidst earlier and recent publications on *Cam*.

The latest field researches were supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund grant no. 100613 (theme leader: Ágnes Birtalan).

Ágnes Birtalan

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the present DVD is to make publicly available the material collected from 2004 on on the revitalization of the *Cam* (T. 'cham(s)) dances, a main and very spectacular Tantric practice in Mongolia. With hundreds of pictures and a number of videos showing all characters, special accessories, and main events of the dance it is hoped that the material will be interesting to the wider public as well. The revived *Cam* dance was mainly documented in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery in Ulānbātar in several subsequent years, where it was observed in 2004, 2005, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, and 2013. In addition, the dance of *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery, Selenge province was observed in 2005, 2009 and 2010, and the dance of *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery, Bulgan province in 2005. The results of the survey on Mongolian *Cam* as observed in 2004 and 2005 are available in a detailed English description in the PhD dissertation of Zsuzsa Majer (*A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial Practice in Present-day Mongolian Monasteries*, Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Arts, Doctoral School of Linguistics, Program on Mongolian Linguistics, Budapest, 2008, 285 pages). That was updated by the observations in 2009, and the observations by Krisztina Teleki in 2010, 2011, 2012 and 2013 on the changes and improvements of the dances, which gives more insight into the gradual revival of this practice in Mongolia as well as her remarks in the last chapter. Photos, voice records, and videos of the DVD were mainly made by the authors themselves, but others also provided additional pictures. All photos and videos were captioned in detail by the authors and placed with the appropriate chapter to help the understanding of the different events of the *Cam* period and bringing closer its characters. In addition, to show the *Cam* day events in full, two films are available on the DVD in the chapter *Revival*: the one presenting the dance at *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery was made by Zsuzsa Majer in 2009 (76 minutes), and the other illustrating some important details of the *Cam* performance at *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery was recorded by Krisztina Teleki in 2009 and 2010 (65 minutes). Short parts of these films are also available at the appropriate chapters. Cited books and other sources are listed in the bibliography. Tibetan (T.), Sanskrit (S.) and Khalkha Mongolian terms are used in the text (see *Transcription of Foreign Terms* for details).



ZSUZSA MAJER'S CV

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Zsuzsa Majer has a PhD in Mongolian linguistics and philology (2009, ELTE University, Faculty of Arts, Budapest, Hungary) and degrees as Tibetologist and Mongolist (2002, 2003). Her PhD thesis was written on the ritual and ceremonial practice in present-day Mongolian monasteries (*A Comparative Study of the Ceremonial Practice in Present-day Mongolian Monasteries*, PhD dissertation, Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Arts, Doctoral School of Linguistics, Program on Mongolian Linguistics, Budapest, 2008, 285 pages). A part of this was, along with the comparative study of the ceremonies of all Ulaanbaatar temples being active that time, a 34 pages English language description of the Mongolian Cam dances. This is now revised, updated and completed with further materials and published in two languages.

She has been to Mongolia 6 times since 1999, on scholarships and research trips for periods between two months – one and a half year, where, apart from studying related written sources, she was working in monasteries, libraries and archives surveying the history and revival of Mongolian Buddhism, the present-day religious life, ceremonies, and the history of the old Mongolian monasteries ruined in the 1937 purges. Her researches and publications mainly dealt with the following fields: history of Mongolian Buddhism; monasteries, monastic life, ceremonial and ritual practice once and now; revival of Mongolian Buddhism after 1990; terminology concerning the offerings, accessories and equipments of monasteries; and descriptions of Mongolian holy places written in Tibetan and Mongolian.

Her main researches, executed mostly in co-authorship with Krisztina Teleki, were a survey and documentation of old monastery sites of *Ix xürē* or *Bogdın xürē*, the old monastic capital city of Mongolia (all in all 100 old monastic sites) that stood on the site of the present-day Ulaanbaatar; a survey of all active temples of Ulaanbaatar (40 in number) and their ceremonial system in 2005–2006; and the documentation of 150 old monastery sites and 40 present-day temples in Öwörxangai and Dundgow' provinces and the south part of Töv province in the framework of the Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries project of Arts Council of Mongolia in 2007. For the countrywide survey, together with Krisztina Teleki, they helped to elaborate the survey methodology and questionnaires about present-day or revived monasteries as well as old monastic sites and for interviewing old (ex-)monks.

In the last decade they executed interviews with all in all 80 old lamas aged 80-106 who had been monks before the purges on the old way of monastic life and

ceremonial system, during research trips between 2005–2009, starting with the first 31 interviews recorded in 2006 with old lamas that time still gathering in one of the monasteries in Ulaanbaatar and Jünmod, Töv aimag and later doing interviews with the same methodology countrywide.

Apart from the ACM survey, she had studied about 20 old and current monastic sites in other Mongolian provinces during the last several years.

In 2009 she executed with Krisztina Teleki a detailed background research for the Museum of Prehistoric Anthropology of Monaco and the Institute of Archaeology of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences surveying the old Jaya gegēn monastery and the smaller monastic sites once subordinated to it, also studying the revival of the two monastic parts of the old monastery. They published a book on the history and revival of this monastery.

In the last three years (2010–2013) on a research scholarship given by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (Bolyai János Research Scholarship) she elaborated research at the Inner Asian Department, Institute for Far Eastern Studies of Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Arts, and produced publications on the monastic system of Mongolian Buddhism and its main monasteries.

Her new researches however focus on after-death rites and practices connected to death and dying and their Tibetan language texts used in the practice of present-day Mongolian Buddhism.



KRISZTINA TELEKI'S CV

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Krisztina Teleki has a PhD degree in Mongolian linguistics and philology (ELTE University, Faculty of Arts, Budapest, Hungary) and MA degrees in Tibetology and Mongolistics (2002). She defended her PhD in April, 2009 about the temples of the old Urga (entitled *Bogdiin Khüree: Monasteries and Temples of the Mongolian Capital, 1651–1938*) that was completed and published in 2011 by the Mongolian Academy of Sciences entitled *Monasteries and Temples of Bogdiin Khüree*.

She has been to Mongolia ten times since 1999 on scholarships and research trips for periods between three months – one year, where, apart from studying related written sources, she was working in monasteries, libraries and archives in order to study the history, the revival of Mongolian Buddhism, and the ceremonies and everyday lives of Buddhist monasteries demolished in 1937 and newly built after 1990. Regarding the present-day monastic practices she studied the monastic educational system in 2001, and also the revival of the *Cam* dance tradition with Zsuzsa Majer in detail from 2004 on.

Her main research works, executed mostly in cooperation with Zsuzsa Majer, were the survey and the documentation of all monastic sites of Urga (all in all 100 sites), the old monastic capital city of Mongolia (present Ulaanbaatar) and a survey of all active Buddhist temples in Ulaanbaatar (cc 40 in number) and their ceremonial systems in 2005–2006; the documentation of 150 old monastery sites and 40 present-day temples in the whole area of Öwörxangai and Dundgow' province, and the south part of Töv province in the framework of the *Documentation of Mongolian Monasteries* project organized by the Arts Council of Mongolia (ACM) and Gandantegčênlin Monastery in 2007. This 2007 countrywide survey of the ACM was based on the methodology and questionnaires of the above-mentioned Ulaanbaatar survey as well as a pilot survey in Töv province executed in 2004. The authors contributed a lot to the questionnaire of old monks, and also provided a Mongolian-Tibetan-English glossary including 877 terms (www.mongoliantemples.net). They recorded interviews with about 80 old monks aged 80–106 who had been monks before the monastery demolitions, thus were able to give accounts on the old way of monastic life of different monasteries. The first 31 interviews were recorded in February and March, 2006.

In 2009 the authors executed a detailed survey for the Museum of Prehistoric Anthropology of Monaco and the Institute of Archaeology of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences about Jaya gegên's monastery and the smaller monastic sites once

subordinated to it, and studied the revival and the operation of the present-day temples located now in Cecerleg. The survey results were published in a monograph in 2013 entitled *History of Zaya Gegeenii Khüree, the Monastery of the Khalkha Zaya Pandita*.

Krisztina Teleki had studied about 60 old and current monastic sites in other Mongolian provinces, especially in 2010 when she documented the heritage of the monasteries visited by A. M. Pozdneev (1851–1920) in 1892–1893. This survey was supported by the Research Grant of the Stein-Arnold Exploration Fund of the British Academy (SA 100018).

At present (2001–2014) she runs a postdoctoral research project as a research fellow in the Department of Inner Asian Studies at ELTE University, Budapest, supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA PD 83465) in order to study the heritage of Urga with the analysis of old photos, drawings, remained artefacts, archival sources, and other relevant materials available in different institutes in Ulaanbaatar. Meanwhile, as parts of the heritage of Urga she identified the Cam figures preserved in different European museums in 2012 in the frame of the *Mongolian Ethnographica of the Austrian Collector Hans Leder in European Museums* project, and wrote an article about their connections with the *Xürē Cam*, whilst the project leader, Maria-Katharina Lang (PhD) introduced the figures to the public in the same volume.

Her new research focuses on the lives, lineages and monasteries of Mongolia's main saints, reincarnations and other famous lamas.

TRANSCRIPTION OF FOREIGN TERMS

Mongolian words and phrases are written in Roman transcription, which mostly follows the Cyrillic orthography used in Mongolia. The following table shows the correspondence between the Roman transcription, the Mongolian Cyrillic alphabet and the Mongolian sounds.

Vowels

Only short vowels occurring in the first syllables are pronounced clearly, while short vowels of non-first syllables are pronounced very short. Short vowel signs occurring in word final position or after certain consonants should be not pronounced (or sometimes pronounced very short). These vowels just modify the pronunciation of the preceding consonant or appear due to certain spelling rules (see consonants below).

Roman	Cyrillic	IPA	Pronunciation and description
<i>a</i>	<i>а</i>	a	short <i>a</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>аа</i>	a:	long <i>a</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>э</i>	e	short, close <i>e</i> , almost as close as <i>i</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ээ</i>	e:	long, close <i>e</i>
<i>i</i>	<i>и</i>	i	short <i>i</i> in the first syllables, while in non-first syllables it denotes a very short <i>i</i> or the palatalization of the preceding consonant
<i>ī</i>	<i>ий, ы</i>	i:	long <i>i</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>о</i>	ɔ	a short and rounded open-mid back vowel
<i>ō</i>	<i>оо</i>	ɔ:	a long and rounded open-mid back vowel
<i>ö</i>	<i>ө</i>	o	a short and rounded close-mid back or central vowel
<i>ō̄</i>	<i>өө</i>	o:	a long and rounded close-mid back or central vowel
<i>u</i>	<i>у</i>	ʊ	a short and rounded near-close back or central vowel
<i>ū</i>	<i>уу</i>	ʊ:	a long and rounded near-close back or central vowel
<i>ü</i>	<i>ү</i>	u	a short and rounded close back vowel
<i>ū̄</i>	<i>үү</i>	u:	a long and rounded close back vowel
<i>ai</i>	<i>ай</i>	aɛ	a diphthong; its first element is <i>a</i> , the second is a short <i>e</i> like sound

<i>ei</i>	эй	e:	long, close <i>e</i>
<i>oi</i>	ой	ɔɛ̃	a diphthong; its first element is a rounded open-mid back vowel, the second is a short <i>e</i> like sound
<i>ui</i>	уй	ʊɛ̃	a diphthong; its first element is a rounded near-close back or central vowel, the second is a short <i>e</i> like sound
<i>üi</i>	үй	uɛ̃	a diphthong; its first element is a rounded close back vowel, the second is a short <i>e</i> like sound

Consonants

Roman	Cyrillic	IPA	Pronunciation and description
<i>b</i>	б	p	semi-voiced or voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop <i>p</i>
<i>b'</i>	бу	p ^j	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>c</i>	ц	ts ^h	voiceless aspirated dental affricate <i>ts</i>
č	ч	tʃ ^h	voiceless aspirated alveopalatal affricate <i>ch</i>
<i>d</i>	д	t	semi-voiced or voiceless unaspirated dental stop <i>d~t</i>
<i>d'</i>	дь, ду	t ^j	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>g</i>	г	G, g	if a vowel sign follows it in the transcription, then it denotes an uvular <i>g</i> (and the following short vowel should be not pronounced in final positions), otherwise a velar <i>g</i>
<i>g'</i>	гь, гу	g ^j	palatalized <i>g</i>
<i>j</i>	ж	ts	semi-voiced or voiceless unaspirated dental affricate <i>dz~ts</i>
ǰ	ж	tʃ	semi-voiced or voiceless unaspirated alveopalatal affricate <i>j~ch</i>
<i>l</i>	л	ɮ	voiced <i>l</i>
<i>l'</i>	ль, ли	ɮ ^j	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>lx</i>	лх	ɮ̥	voiceless <i>l</i>
<i>m</i>	м	m	bilabial nasal stop <i>m</i>

<i>m'</i>	<i>мь, ми</i>	<i>m^j</i>	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>n</i>	<i>н</i>	<i>n, ŋ</i>	if it is followed by a vowel mark in the transcription, then it denotes a dental nasal stop (and the following short vowel should be not pronounced in final positions), otherwise a velar nasal consonant
<i>n'</i>	<i>нь, ни</i>	<i>n^j</i>	a palatalised <i>n</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>п</i>	<i>p^h</i>	voiceless, aspirated labial stop <i>p</i> (it occurs in foreign and onomatopoeic words)
<i>r</i>	<i>р</i>	<i>r</i>	dental rhotic <i>r</i>
<i>r'</i>	<i>рь, ри</i>	<i>r^j</i>	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>s</i>	<i>с</i>	<i>s</i>	a voiceless dental fricative <i>s</i>
<i>š</i>	<i>ш</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	a voiceless alveopalatal fricative <i>sh</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>т</i>	<i>t^h</i>	voiceless, aspirated dental stop <i>t</i>
<i>t'</i>	<i>ть, ти</i>	<i>t^{h,j}</i>	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>w</i>	<i>в</i>	<i>w</i>	bilabial glide <i>w</i>
<i>w'</i>	<i>вь, ви</i>	<i>w^j</i>	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>x</i>	<i>х</i>	<i>x</i>	voiceless, velar fricative <i>kh</i>
<i>x'</i>		<i>x^j</i>	the palatalized variant of the preceding consonant
<i>y</i>	<i>е, ё, ю, я</i>	<i>j</i>	palatal glide <i>y</i> , which is always marked together with a vowel in the Cyrillic orthography (<i>e = ye/yö, ё = yo, ю = yu/yü, я = ya</i>). If it is preceded by a consonant, then does not mark a <i>y</i> , but the palatalization of the preceding consonant.

by Attila Rákos

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THE CAM DANCE'S ORIGIN AND SOURCES

Nowadays, after the 1990 revival, *Cam* is held in Mongolia only at three places, in *£ün xürē Daščoilin* Monastery in Ulānbātar since 2002, *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery in Selenge aimag, Barūn-Büren sum since 2001, and partly in *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery in Bulgan aimag centre with only one dancer since 2000. On the contrary, in ancient times, till the 1920–1930's, and till it was completely banned after 1937 (with all the monasteries and temples destroyed in the purge), *Cam* was performed in about one-fourth of the around 1100 monastic places of Mongolia.

On Tibetan *Cam* dance (T. 'cham(s)) the most important source was written by R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, who described, among other types of *Cham*, the Gelukpa dances in detail based on personal observations, also publishing the translation of a Tibetan source text. There are other important publications, such as that of B. Ya. Vladimircov and J. Kolmaš. However, on its Mongolian version only scarce data are available. Nevertheless travellers and researchers from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century described some features of Mongolian and Buryat *Cam* dance. Such descriptions were written by N. Šastina, A. M. Pozdneev, and the Buryat pilgrim G. C. Cybikov and others. Baradin Bajar composed a work on the Buryat dances. In the latest years numerous illustrated albums were published on Mongolian *Cam* dance and articles also appeared. However, from the scientific point of view, only V. C. Naidakova, W. Forman – B. Rintschen, L. Xürelbātar, D. Gangā, and Kimura Ayako issued valuable data on Mongolian *Cam*, and all of them only on its old forms. B. Mōngönčimeg compiled a DVD some years ago, and a DVD about *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery's dance was published in 2003. In English, till now no publication appeared on the special Mongolian form of *Cam*. Moreover, as for now, there is no publication dealing with the revived *Cam* in Mongolia (either in Mongolian), and this is the gap the present description aims at filling.

The *Cam* dance itself is contained in the Ten Great and Small Sciences (*ix бага арван ухānī oron*, T. *rig gnas bcu*). The art of dancing (*dūrain būjig*, T. *zlos-gar*, S. *tandava*) is one of the arts, and thus belongs to the category of Five Small Sciences (*бага таван ухānī oron*, T. *rig gnas chung lnga*).

Concerning the origin of the *Cam* dance, the Indian master Padmasambhava ((Lowon) Badamjunai, T. (slob-dpon) Pad-ma 'byung-gnas), is said to have organized the first *Cam* dance by means of which he tamed and defeated the benevolent guard spirits and started to spread the Buddhist Teaching, establishing the first Tibetan monastery, Samye (*Samiyā*, T. *bsam-yas*). After that time the *Cam* dance became more and more widespread in monasteries of Tibet. The special *Cam* dance of the Gelukpa (*gelüg*, T. *dge-lugs-pa*) lineage was first held when the First (or Fourth) Panchen Lama (Luwsančoijijāncan, T. blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan, 1570–1622) established a Tantric monastic school (*£üd dacan*, T. *rgyud grwa-tshang*) in 1652 in Tashilhunpo Monastery (*Dašlxünbe*, T. *bkra-shis lhun-po*) and organized a *Cam* dance there.

The Fifth Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyatso (Luwsanᠶамс, Т. blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, 1617–1682) composed a book with the title ‘Handbook of the Glorious Ritual Dagger *Cam* – a Divine Dance’ (*Baṅč’in pürewīn camᠵi ᠶedᠵūn lxaī rolgar*, Т. *dpal chen phur-bu*’i ‘chams-kyi brjed byang lha’i rol-gar, in Mongolian translation: *Ix cogt pürewīn camīn temdeglel bičig*, *Burxanī cengex бүᠵиг*, 47 folios), which became the main instruction manual describing the rules of *Cam* dance.

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THE SPREAD OF CAM TO MONGOLIA

The Tibetan origin *Cam* dance became widespread in several other Buddhist lands, namely in Bhutan, Nepal, Ladakh, China, Mongolia, Buryatia and Tuva. *Cam* has its own characteristics in every area. There are differences in the numbers and types of characters appearing in the dance, and in the duration of time of the performance.

According to Nyambū, in Mongolia the first *Cam* dance was performed in 1723 in the territory of the Oirats. In the monastery of *Erdene jū* it was first performed in 1786.

However, the special *£axar cam*, which became especially widespread in Mongolia, appeared only later in Mongolia, where it further developed. It was the tradition of the *Cam* dance of Tashilhunpo Monastery following the Gelukpa practice, which came to Mongolia at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and became known there as *£axar cam* (T. *lcags mkhar, tömör ordon* in Mongolian translation, 'metal palace'), named after the palace of the Lord of Death (*Erleg nomun xān* or *Čoiĵō / Čoiĵil* or *Damĵan / Damĵin Čoiĵō*, T. *dam-can chos-rgyal*, S. *Dharmarājā, Yama*). It is also known as *Xürē cam*, with the Mongolian word *xürē* ('circle, place fenced off') referring to the fact that the *Cam* dancers move in a circle, or, with the other meaning of this word *xürē* (monastic city) referring to *Ix Xürē*, the Mongolian capital of the time. Other names for this type of *Cam* can be *Čoiĵōgīn cam*, *Erleg nomon xānī cam* and also *Xangalīn cam* and *Dogšidīn cam*, these later referring to the fact that in this type of *Cam* not only the Lord of Death, *Čoiĵō* but other fearful deities participate.

The first *£axar cam* was held in 1811 (Iron-Sheep year of the 14th cycle) in *Ix Xürē* (the biggest monastic "town" and later the capital city of Mongolia) in the time of the fourth *£ewcündamba xutagt*, Luwsan tüwdenwāncügĵigmidĵamc (T. Blo-bzang thub-bstan dbang-phyug 'jigs-med rgya-mtsho, 1775–1813). In this time the masks and clothes were prepared based on the instructions described by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

About the spreading of *£axar cam* to Mongolia the following legend is known. In the year of 1811 a lama called *Öndör Xačīn / Lxačīn* (T. *mkhas chen*) was invited from the Tibetan Tashilhunpo Monastery. This lama, according to the wish of Mongolian lamas, taught them the tradition of *£axar cam*. But, because he did not preach them about the '*Dansrūn ĵamčīn garčīm*' (T. *bstan-bsrung rgya-mtsho 'i gar-'cham*), the book in which the detailed secret teachings of the *Cam* are described, or did not give them this important handbook, the twelfth abbot of *Ix Xürē*, Agwānxaidaw or Agwānluwsanxaidaw (T. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang mkhas-'grub, 1779–1838), who was known as Xaidaw Abbot of *£adar aimag* in *Ix xürē* (T. *kye('i) rdo-rje / kye-rdor*, S. Hevajra) wrote himself a book in 1836. His book, *Dansrūn ĵamčīn garčīm* (T. *bstan-bsrung rgya-mtsho 'i gar-'chams gsal byed dam-ldan snying-gi me-long zhes bya-ba bzhuḡs-so*, in Mongolian translation *Šašnī saxiusand dalain büĵīg cam xarailtīg todorxoilson tangarag tögsögčidīn jürxnī tol' oršwoi*,

‘Explanation of the Cam Dance of the Ocean of the Protector Deities, Mirror of the Heart Keeping the Samaya Vows’) became very similar to the source book of the same title. It is still (or rather again) used when organising Mongolian *Cam* dances.

According to Gangā, the fifth *£ewcündamba xutagt*, Luwsancültemjigmiddambī-ñancan (T. Blo-bzang tshul-khriḡs ‘jigs-med bstan-pa’i rgyal-mtshan (1815–1841) did not support the spreading of the *Cam* in Mongolia, because in his opinion the tradition of the *Cam* dance itself was not the original Teaching of the holy Tsongkhapa (1357–1419), the founder of the Gelukpa Stream. However, the nobles and high-ranked lamas kept asking him again and again so finally he gave his approval to perform *Cam* dance in Mongolia.

There are special parts of the ritual (for example the ceremony of the burning of *Sor* (T. *zor*) or the destroying of the *lingka* effigy) having deep Tantric meaning that cannot be understood by lay people. Therefore originally the *Cam* dance was a secret and hidden ritual monastic activity in which only those lamas participated who had taken the vows, and solely only fully ordained lamas (*gelen*, T. *dge-slong*) could appear in the dance. Later, the believers were also permitted to be present in this special event. In this way it lost from its secrecy, but became one of the most important events in devotees’ life, who gathered to watch it in large number.

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TYPES OF CAM IN MONGOLIA

According to Gangā and Nyambū, there are basically two different types of the performance: *Cam* with narration (*varian cam*) and masked *cam* (*bagt cam*, T. ‘*bag ‘cham*). The narrative form, similarly to the medieval mystery plays, narrated the life events of famous saints with a narrator and some dancers. *Myal bogdīn cam*, on the life of Milarepa (T. *Mi-la ras-pa*, 1040–1123), belonged to this type. The other variations of *Cam* belong to the category of masked *Cam*, such as *Maidarīn cam* which was held during the Maitreya circumambulation, *Geserīn cam* referring to Geser hero, *Saran xöxōnī cam* composed by Noyon xutagt Danjanrawjā (1803–1856), *Dar’ exīn cam* (the black hat dancers were also called as *Dar’ ex*, T. *sgrol-ma*, S. *Tara*), *Erleg nomun xānī cam* or *Buxīn (Buxan) cam*, *Ix cam* are the variations of the above-mentioned *£axar cam*. In Kālacakra monastic schools (*Düinxor dacan*, T. *dus-‘khor grwa-tshang*) *Taxilīn cam* was performed. From among the above types, *£axar cam* was the most popular in Mongolia, including traditions like the burning of the *Sor* and the *£axar* or the destruction of the effigy (*lingka / linga*), being invariably parts of this type of *Cam* ceremony.

Though *Xürē cam* is originated in Tibet, Mongolian conditions and customs became dissolved into it, and it was able to further develop and flourish in Mongolia. Thus Mongolian *Cam* dance developed special characteristics. Some special characters also appeared, such as *Očirwān’* (T. *phyag-na rdo-rje*, S. *Vajrapāṇi*), who appear in *Xürē cam*. The White Old Man, a comical secondary character and the spirits of the four peaks surrounding Ulānbātar (*dörwön ülīn ejen*) as well as the lion (*arслан*, T. *seng-ge*) are also special characters of *Xürē cam*.

The tradition of *Xürē cam* started in 1811 in *Ix xürē* and was only broken in 1937 by the Communist regime. During that period *Cam* dance was performed every year in front of the Yellow Palace or *Šar ordon* (the palace of the Bogd and the centre of *Jūn xürē*) 127 times in all. Here *£axar cam* was organized on the 29th of the last winter month, and only Black Hat dancers, the messengers of the Lord of Death participated in it, without any masked dancers. *Taxilīn cam* was also performed in *Ix xürē*, on the 4th of the last summer month, and *Ix cam*, the greatest of these, on the 9th of the same month. *Jūn Xürē Daščoilin* Monastery was able to revive the tradition of *Ix cam*.

In the old monastic capital apart from this main dance, a different *Cam* was performed in the *Čoijin lamīn sūm* temple complex but only three times in all (1916–1918). Near the capital in the North in *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery and in the South to the south of Bogd xan ūl, in *Manjšir* Monastery dances were performed, too. *Cam* was organized in many countryside monasteries as well. From the about 1100 monastic sites of Mongolia, it was performed in presumably one-fourth. The monasteries followed different traditions or rules (*deg*, T. *sgrig*) in their dances (*Xürē deg*, *£alxanj xutagtīn deg*, etc.). The tradition was broken finally by 1937 with the Communist repression.

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CAM ARTEFACTS

Cam masks and robes of the *Xürē cam* that were saved in the purges are now displayed at the Museum of *Čoiĵin Lam* (*Čoiĵin Lamīn mujei*) and in Janabajar Museum of Fine Art (*Janabajar neremĵit Dürslex urlaġin mujei*). The picture, *Xürē cam* painted by D. Damdinsüren ex-monk in 1966 depicts a scene of the *Cam* dance of *Ix xürē* hangs in the Janabajar Museum of Fine Art, whilst two beautiful old drawings of the *Ix Cam* are preserved in the Bogd Xān Palace Museum. In the Film Archives and the Photo Archives of the Mongolian National Academy of Sciences several old photos of the *Cam* dances of *Ix xürē*, *Dašcoinxorlin* Monastery and *Manĵsir* Monastery are kept, some of which has appeared in print in different publications.

Several branches of Fine Arts developed in connection with *Cam*. Examples include the preparation of masks, the pieces of clothing and decorations of the dancer's robes, or the huge silken appliqué put up beside the dance field (*jēgt nāmal*).

The preparation of *Cam* masks is a special branch of Mongolian Fine Art. Usually a *Cam* mask is two times bigger than a man's head, and the dancer looks out through the mask's mouth. They are made of papier-mâché, with varied decorations and corals. Several Mongolian monks and art masters became famous for their masks, such as Puncog-Osor (T. *phun-tshogs 'od-zer*) of *Ix xürē*, who made the mask of *Ulān saxius* or *Ēamsran* (T. *lcām-sring, Beg-tse*) from many thousand pieces of corals (different sources say 7881 or 6000). The beard and the eyebrows are of gold. The mask weights 30 kilogram and together with the garments and ornaments 70 kilogram. It is on exhibit in the Temple Museum of *Čoiĵin Lam* in Ulānbātar, together with many other old *Cam* masks. With the leading of Puncog-Osor, artists of *Ix xürē*, such as the painters Cend and Ēügder and the sculptor Luwsanceren prepared new masks and robes of about 100 characters in the turn of the 20th century. One of these was the mask of *Ulān saxius* described above. Another famous *Ulān saxius* mask was prepared by the above-mentioned Luwsanceren. Another famous artist, just before the repression, was Danjan, known as the sculptor (*lawčīn*) of *Čoir* or Uran Danjan, who made the masks of the lion-faced *Sendom* (T. *seng-gdong, lion-headed đākinī, Sirmhamukhā*) and *Čoiĵō* (T. *chos-rgyal*). Both are displayed in the same museum.

Silken appliqué were also needed for the dances. The old appliqué of *Očirwān'* (T. *phyag-na rdo-rje, S. Vajrapāṇi*, size: 14×12 meters), was prepared by the craftsmen of *Ix xürē* in the turn of the 20th century based on the sketch of the renown artist, Cend. This vast appliqué used to be displayed at the *Ix cam* performed in *Ix xürē*, and is kept today in the Janabajar Museum of Fine Art as well as three other vast appliqué used for the *Taxilīn cam*.

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REVIVAL

With the revival the old traditions were started to be revived gradually. However, *Cam* dance, being one of the most complicated ceremonies of Tantric Buddhism, difficult to organize and also requiring considerable funds due to the special costumes, masks and other equipments, could be revived till today only in some of the biggest monasteries in Mongolia. Moreover, for the performance of *Cam* at least twenty or thirty dancers are required, and many of the smaller Mongolian monasteries have far less lamas, in some cases not reaching even four. Unfortunately, by now some countryside monasteries with the passing away of old lamas became abandoned, with the young lamas left without a master disrobing or leaving for the capital. Therefore, today monasteries that would have enough lamas for organizing the dances are very rare. Besides their majority do not have the tradition of the dance.

Notwithstanding this, *Cam* dance tradition was revived in Mongolia in small steps, led by those old lamas who had mastered the tradition before the repression and still remembered well the special elements, movements, melodies and Tantric practices of the dance.

A film was made on *Cam* in 1989 with the aim of documentation the dance not yet revived for the next generations, with the lama R. Serēter (passed away in 2004), a high ranked lama with the honorific title *darxan gesgūi* ('honourable disciplinary master') of Kālacakra monastic school (*Düinxor dacan*, T. *dus-'khor grwa-tshang*) of Gandan Monastery organizing and teaching the dance movements, and playing the main role (*Čambon*, T. *'cham-dpon*, 'master of *Cam*'). Old lamas, who had been lamas and acted in *Cam* dances or at least witnessed these in different monasteries before 1937 participated in it. The readings and music were performed by them, and some of them participated as masked dancers (*Camč'in*). Also professional dancers were involved in the film as *Cam* dancers as a consequence of the lack of lamas after the long years of oppression. One of the dancers was Xosbayar, teacher of Mongolian traditional dances. Later he helped the lamas of *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery in elaborating the dance movements. This *Cam* dance aimed at making a film on *Cam* and serving as a base of reviving it was performed in front of the Winter Palace of the Bogd Xān (*Bogd xānī öwlīn ordon / Bogd xānī nogōn sūm*) known today as the Bogd Xān Palace Museum (*Bogd xānī ordon mujei*). The dancers wore the original masks kept in the Temple Museum of Čoiĵin Lama.

Another old lama having a main role in the revival was D. Danjan lama (Dugarĵawīn Danjan, 1916–2005) or Uran Danjan, artist Danjan, the famous artist and sculptor from the present Bulgan aimag. Since the age of seven he was a lama of (*Daič'in*) *Wangīn xūrē* (at the site of this old Monastery the present *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery is situated in Bulgan aimag centre), belonging to its Kālacakra monastic school (*Düinxor dacan*). There he learnt the rules of *Cam* (*camīn deg*) form Baldanceren *gawĵ* (T. *bka'-bcu*) and Daščamc *rawĵamba gawĵ* (T. *rab-'byams-pa*) and participated in the *Cam* ceremonies for ten years. In 1935 he went to Ix xūrē where he

was a lama till 1937. After becoming free from the military service he was forced to, since 1947 till his death he fulfilled different ranks in *Gandan* Monastery such as *taxilč* (offering preparer), *gesgüi* (disciplinary master), and *dāmal* (manager). Being an artist he took a great role in restoring the buildings and their decorations and preparing new worship objects. He initiated the foundation of *Düinxor dacan*, and got the rank *darxan lowon* and *darxan unjad* there (honourable disciplinary master and honourable chanting master).

In 1999 the practice of *Xürē cam* was revived in *Gandan* Monastery in accordance with the methods and rules used before in *Ix xürē*. This dance was organized by Serēter and Danjan lamas. However, it was the only occasion when *Cam* dance was held at *Gandan* Monastery (the dancers also performed a smaller *Cam* in Paris that year).

Danjan taught the *Cam* not only to the lamas of *Düinxor dacan* of *Gandan*, but to the lamas of *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery and *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery as well, reviving the dance at these rural monasteries: in *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery in 2001 and in *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery in 2000.

Among the *Gandan* lamas who learnt from him, three are participating in the *Cam* dance of *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery every year. Lamas of *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery and *Düinxor dacan* (*Gandan*) also participate in the *Cam* ceremonies every year in Bulgan, as these three monasteries are connected together by the master Danjan, who taught the tunes, texts and movements of *Cam* to their disciples. Danjan also prepared some masks and robes for the *Cam* dances of these monasteries. On the *Amarbayasgalant Cam* a DVD was published in 2003 by Adventure Company, and in 2005 lamas recorded the dance by video recorder in order to document and later analyze it.

The *Jūn Xürē Daščoilin* Monastery dance, being organized since 2002, follows a different tradition (*deg*, T. *sgrig*): the *Xürē deg*. Here high ranked lamas learnt the tradition from Serēter monk and also saw *Cam* in the Tibetan monasteries of Kumbum (*Gümbüm*, T. *sku-'bum*) and Labrang (*Lawran*, T. *bla-brang*), and also studied the rules in Tashilhunpo Monastery. In the revival of *Cam* here, old lamas also took an active part, such as L. Čimedrawdan *corj* (fulfilled the position till 2008, 1911–2009), who had been a lama in the area of the present Xöwsgöl aimag, Cecerleg sum, *Tesin xürē* or *Düregč wangin xürē* (revived with the name of *Daščilin* or *Dašlin*), and had been a *taxilč* lama in its *Ěalxanjin xürē*; D. Dašdorj *da čowombo* (T. *mchod-dpon*) (born 1908), who had been a lama in the area of the present Dundgow' aimag, Saixan owō sum, *Ongin xid* or *Xutaqt lamın xid*, being a *taxilč* lama in its different temples, and even acting in *Cam* dances there for four years appearing as different deities; and four old lamas who had been lamas in *Ix xürē*, namely M. Luwsandamba, N. Dašceren, M. Lxamsüren, and P. Luwsandanjan.

The *Cam* dance of *Jūn Xürē Daščoilin* Monastery can be considered as the revival of the old *Cam* dance of the monastic capital, *Xürē cam*, partly due to its old masters from *Ix xürē*, and partly because the monastery is operating in the two remained yurt temples of the *Jūn xürē* monastic part of the old capital. The dances of

Amarbayasagalant and Daščoinxorlin can be considered as the revived dances of *Wangīn xūrē*, situated once in Bulgan, as the monks learnt its rules from their master.

CAM DANCE IN JŮN XŮRĚ DAŠČOILIN MONASTERY

After the re-opening of the monastery in 1990, the first *Cam* dance was performed in 2002. All lamas of the monastery participate in the ceremonies and events of *Cam*. In 2004 there were about 40 dancers, in 2005 53, and their number increase every year.

The *Cam* dance, the special *£axar cam* or *Xürĕ cam* is one of the most spectacular events of the monastery, attracting many people. The preparation period of the dance lasts for almost two months, including learning of the movements by the participating lamas, meditation (*nyamba/ nyamba/ nyamba düwa*, T. *bsnyen-pa sgrub-pa*) on *£iqĭid* the main meditational deity (*yadam*, T. *yi-dam*) of the dance, and at the end of the one-week meditational period the fire-offering called *£insreg* (T. *sbyin-sgreg*). Four days before the *Cam* dance, on the 6th of the month, the ceremonies start when the ritual cakes and other offerings used at the dance and the masks and robes worn then and the other accessories are consecrated and blessed. On the 7th and 8th of the lunar month during the *£axar* ceremonies the special inner *Cam* dance (*Dotor Cam*) is presented with only one dancer inside the shrine. On the great day (*düicen ödör*, T. *dus-chen*) of the *Cam* (which is, following the old traditions of Ix xürĕ, the 9th of the last summer month), the ceremonies start during the night. There is an inner *Cam* as well, and afterwards the outer *cam* (*Gadūr Cam*) takes place on the monastery's courtyard, with the dancers embodying different Buddhist deities. The *Cam* dance ends with the ritual burning of the *Sor* or *Sorĭn balin* (T. *zor*) and the *£axar* (T. *lcags mkhar*), which are sacred wooden constructions used for combating the evil spirits. Then a special thanksgiving offering, *Čoiĭō danrag* (T. *chos-rgyal-gyi gtang-rag*) is presented in the evening, and on the next day the last, closing ceremony is held. All these events and how they are performed today in *JŮn Xürĕ Daščoilin* Monastery are described in detail below.

PREPARATION FOR THE DANCE

The *Cam* dance is held on the 9th of the last summer month (*juni adag/ sūl sarin* 9) in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery. However, for all the participating lamas, the preparations start more than a month before the dance.

The exact date of the *Cam* dance, the names of the lamas participating and the roles they will perform, the first day of the preparation are all according to the decision of the Monastery Council (*Xergemtenī xurlin šidwer*), consisting of the Abbot and the most important ranked lamas of the monastery. After this decision, the preparation (*Camīn deg*, T. *sgrig*, ‘preparations, arrangement’) starts, which means some hours of preparation for all the lamas participating in the dance itself, in one of the temples, learning of the movements of the dance every afternoon after the ceremony of the given day ended. To these preparations no one else is allowed to enter other than the dancers themselves. The preparation also includes a meditation session lasting for a week, and a fire-offering as its closing act. In the last fifteen days before the *Cam* dance day, four of the lamas read the text of *Damjan Čoižil* (T. *dam-can chos-rgyal*) every afternoon. The participating lamas also go for a some-day’s preparation to the countryside with all of the lamas participating at the dance, when they first try the movements in the open air, in the field, but hidden from secular spectators. Some days before the dance, or exactly the preceding day of the outer dance, there are rehearsals (*goyo deg*) at night with or without masks on the monastery’s courtyard, where the dance will be held.

The preparations and the ceremonies preceding the *Cam* dance, as they were held traditionally in *Ix Xūrē* are described in *Gangā’s* book in details. As today the same source books are used as were in use before the repression, and all the rules of *Cam* are kept according to the tradition, the events of the present-day *Cam* are in accordance with the events described by him regarding *Ix Xūrē*. According to him, the preparations started at the 1st of the middle summer month, when the lamas gathered and started to recite Tantric mystic formulas (*tarni*, T. *gzungs*, S. *dhāraṇī*), and the ceremonies started to invite the Buddhas and protector deities of the *Cam* dance. On the 15th of the middle summer month the five *dāmal* lamas (leaders, ranked lamas responsible for the dance) of the *Cam* made decision on the participating lamas. The list of the names was appealed to the abbot of *Ix xūrē* and to the discipline master (*gesgüi*) of the *Cogčin* temple, which was the main assembly hall of the monastic town. The final decision was confirmed by the *Bogd xān* himself (He passed away in 1924.) From that time, the lamas participated in the preparational course (*deg*, T. *sgrig*, ‘preparation, arrangement’) held twice a day, where they acquired the rules of the dance based on the texts. The dress rehearsal (*Goyo deg*) was held two days before the dance, without masks but with the special costumes. The ceremonies of the *Cam* started some days before the *Cam* dance day. Between the 1st and 10th of the last spring month sixteen lamas held the so called *Towūmerjewegīn nyamba* (T. *khro-bo sme brtsegs-pa’i bsnyen-pa*), in *Šaddüwlin xīd* (T. *bshad-sgrub gling*), a meditational monastery North of the capital at the foot of the Čingeltei Mountain in the valley of *Bumbat*, where sixteen fully ordained lamas (*gelen*) and four novices (*gecel*) lived.

They prepared the incense and holy water (*rašān*, S. *rasayāna*) which was used later to purify the field of *Cam* dance, and where they meditated on the meditational and protector deities (*yadam čoiĵin saxius*, T. *yi-dam chos-skyong bstan-bsrung*). After the announcement of the names of participating lamas, a ceremony called *Damĵan Čoiĵal xural* (*Damĵan Čoiĵō/ Damĵin Čoiĵō*, written erroneously as *Damdin Čoiĵō*, T. *Dam-can chos-rgyal-gyi cho-ga*) were held every day. The *Corĵ* lama who was responsible for the *Cam* dance, and the five *dāmal* lamas held *Ěiqĵidīn nyamba* (T. *'jigs-byed bsnyen-pa*, 'meditation on Yāmāntaka') which lasted for a week.

This is exactly how the preparations are executed today, though adapted to today's conditions.

The Meditation Period

As a special aspect of the preparations for the *£axar Cam*, those lamas who participate in the dance start meditating (*nyanba düwa*, T. *bsnyen-pa sgrub-pa*, practice of approaching the meditational deity) many days before the *Cam* dance, visualizing on the Huge Terrifying Yāmāntaka (*£iqǰid*, T. *'jigs-byed*) deity. This meditation procedure lasts for one week, with the participation of only those dancers who have the special initiation (*wan / awšig*, T. *dbang*, S. *abhišeka*, 'empowerment, initiation') into *£iqǰid* (*Yamandagīn awšig / £iqǰidīn wan*). The number of meditators was 33 in 2005 out of the 55 dancers. The lamas are meditating on *£iqǰid bāwō ḡigpa* (T. *'jigs-byed dpa'-bo gciq-pa*), that is, the single form of Yāmāntaka without consort (*yūm / ex*, T. *yum*, S. *śakti*). Yāmāntaka is not only the meditational deity of the monastery, but also the dance.

During the seven days of meditation the participants are confined to a separate room in one of the monastery's buildings. They are not allowed to leave the room, and nobody, except from the two *Camyog* lamas (T. *'cham g-yog*, *Cam* servants'), the Tibetan lama teacher of the monastery, Sonomdorǰ *gewš* (T. *dge-bshes* Bsod-nams rdo-rje), the doctor lama, and the main chanting master (*umjad*) of the monastery, are allowed to enter into. These five people could also participate in the meditation, and their lack is represented by five pebbles put in their seats in the meditation room. This limitation is shown by the so called *Camta* (T. *mtshams mtha'*, 'end of retreat, boundary line') placed on a shelf above the door. *Camta* is a special cylinder shaped object, filled with seeds and covered by blue textile with the seed syllable DZAH written on it. It protects the place of meditation in the name of *Čoiǰō*.

The reciting and the meditation last from early morning till late in the evening, with only some hours allowed for sleeping every night. Every day during the meditation, the lamas wake up at 4.40am, and the recitation starts at 5am. The ritual text (*čogo*, T. *cho-ga*) being read during the days of practice is divided into four sessions (*tun*, T. *thun*, session, meditation / practice session) every day. In every session the recitation of the appropriate part of the *Čogo* takes up about half an hour, then, the lamas recite the required amount of mystic formulas (*tarni*, T. *gzungs*, S. *dhāraṇī*) to themselves in meditation, finishing it according to their own rate within 40 minutes to two hours. The first session is read from 5am to 7.30am. Afterwards, tea and breakfast are served. The second part is read from 9am to noon. After the lunch, the third session starts, from 2pm to 5pm. After a small dinner, the last part is read from 7pm to 10pm. Then the lamas are allowed to have a rest till 4am, but with the lack of any comfort, blankets or beds.

As a closing act of the one-week meditation, a special fire-offering is performed.

References

Гангаа, Д.: *Хүрээ Цам*. Улаанбаатар 2003, pp. 29–30 [Cam Dance of Ix Xürē]

The Fire-Offering

The *£insreg* (T. *sbyin-sreg(s)*, S. *homa*) ritual is a kind of fire offering rite completed by burning different types of food and precious things. The term *£insreg* itself means ‘burnt offering’, being the combination of the words *sbyin* ‘to give, donate, confer’ and *sreg* ‘roast, broil, fry, burn’.

The ritual text read during the ceremony and describing the proper method of the fire-offering includes 30 folios and is entitled ‘*Dpal rdo-rje ‘jigs-byed dpa’-bo gcig-pa’i bsnyen-pa’i skabs kha-skong-gi sbyin-bsregs bya-tshul sdig-ltung mun-pa ‘jom-pa-shing dngos-grub ‘od-dkar ‘byed-pa’i zla-gzhon zhes-bya-ba ‘di ni sku-gsum gzhah-med-khang-du bgrod-pa’i bē-dhur zhun-ma’i them-skas-las bcu-pa’o*’ [The way of doing the fire pūja offering for amending faults of duplications and omissions during the approaching of the glorious Vajrabhairava yidam deity, ‘The full moon subjugating evil deeds, sins, and obscurities and opening the white light of perfection, being the tenth of the purified steps of lapis lazuli leading to the celestial palace of the three Buddha bodies’].

The fire-offering is performed in the courtyard of the monastery. At the ceremony only those lamas participate who previously sat in the meditation itself (33 lamas in 2005). The ceremony is usually led by the *Lowon* (T. *slob-dpon*, ‘teacher, master’, one of the high ranks in a monastery), fulfilling the *Lamtax lam* position. This leading lama sits on a throne in the North of the fireplace, and his role is to put all the offerings into the fire accompanied by the appropriate hand gestures. The burning ritual observed in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery belongs to the so called *kha-skong sbyin-sreg* type of fire-offerings. *Kha-skong sbyin-sreg* is a fire offering liturgy to amend (*kha-skong*, ‘amendment, addition, anything that makes up a shortage or deficit’) faults or to make up for defects in the practice of mantra and ritual.

This type of *£insreg* must be performed in case of *Nyamba*, to correct the faults, defects and omissions that may have been committed during the meditation. As *nyamba* can be performed by a single lama alone at his home as well, in which case *£insreg* is needed similarly, in this case four other lamas must help him in making the smaller fire offering, which is performed in his home. Apart from the size of the fire, all the offerings are the same. However, in case of *nyamba* made by more lamas of one monastery, the *£insreg* is performed outside on the monastery’s courtyard, with a big fire.

In *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery *£insreg* is performed on the courtyard, between the two temples. On one side there is the fireplace and the throne of the lama leading the ceremony, and at the other three sides there are the seats of the participating lamas.

The preparation of the fireplace (*tab*, T. *thab*, ‘cooking stove, fireplace’) is carried out with great attention. The type of fireplace that has to be prepared is called ‘the fireplace for the peaceful fire offering’ (T. *zhi-ba’i sbyin-sreg-gi thab*), and the way of its preparation and the maṅḍala is described in detail in the text. The base of the fire and the fire screen (*meyol*, T. *me-yol*) is prepared from concrete on the previous days, in the Western side of the field. On the day of the offering, early in the morning the

maṇḍala which makes the base of the fire is drawn on it by white, red, and blue powders. It is drawn by means of sticks and measuring threads following the guidance of the Tibetan master, the chanting master or other experienced monk of the monastery. The syllable *BAM* is written on the fire-screen. When the fireplace is ready, pieces of fire wood are arranged around it in a circle.

On the Western side of the fire place the throne and the table of the ceremony's leader lama is put up when the fireplace have been prepared. The lamas's seats and tables are carried out from the shrine and are arranged on the other three sides of the fireplace. After this preparation, the monks arrive leaving the confinement of the meditational period and put on the special robes and caps needed for the ceremony (described below). Two big tables are placed in the South of the field on which the thirteen kinds of offerings to be burnt, the ceremonial cakes (*balin*, T. *gtor-ma*, S. *bali*) of the fire offering and the other required offerings are arranged in rows.

The offerings to be burnt are placed at plates arranged in a row. All the thirteen kinds of offerings are offered by the leading lama three times during the ceremony. When one of them has been offered, the plate is filled again with the same kind of offering and prepared to be offered again. The thirteen kinds of burnt offerings are the following:

- Fire wood (*yamšin* or *burgas*, T. *yam-shing*)
- Melted butter, clarified butter (*marxu* or *šar tos*, T. *mar-khu*) (this is used to dip the ends of the firewood in it and to sprinkle it on the fire)
- Black sesamum (*tilnag* or *günj'id*, T. *til nag*)
- Straw, weeds (*durwa* or *ders*, T. *dur-ba*)
- Rice (*brai* or *caḡān budā*, T. 'bras)
- Campa, roasted/parched barley flour (*jambā*, T. *zan / rtsam-pa*), or the same with curds (*taragtai jambā*, T. *zho-zan*)
- Kuśa grass, sacred grass used in certain religious ceremonies, poa cynosuroides (*gūš*, T. *ku-sha*, S. *Kuśa*, grass with long stalks and numerous pointed leaves)
- Unhusked grain, barley, millet (*sowa* or *xöc budā / üst arwai*, T. *so-ba*)
- Barley (*nai* or *arwai* , T. *nas*)
- White mustard (*yungar*, T. *yungs-kar/ yungs-dkar*)
- Peas/dry peas (*sran* or *būrcag* , T. *sran-ma*)
- Wheat (*do* or *būdai*, T. *gro*)
- 'Supreme/ special offering substances' (*čadwarčanjijai*, T. *khyad-par-can-gyi rdzas*) [the term means the three following items: camphor (T. *ga-bur*) the three sweets (T. *mngar-gsum* that are *buram*, T. *bu-ram*, *čixer*, T. *bye-ma ka-ra*, (*jögīn*) *bal*, T. *sbrang-rtsi*), and betel (T. *so-rtsi*)]

As it is clear from the above, most of the offerings are different kinds of grains (five kinds of them are called together T. 'bru lnga, 'five grains': *nas*, 'bras, gro, sran, so-ba, i.e. 'barley, rice, wheat, peas, millet'). The other offerings are the fire wood, melted butter in which piles of fire wood are dipped in to burn easily, straw, the sacred kuśa grass, campa and the supreme offerings (camphor, the three sweets, and betel).

The fire wood (*burgas / yamšin*) is placed at the table in three piles tied together by a *xadag*. One pile is on a plate, and once it has been offered the next is placed in its place. From the weeds or straw (*ders / durwa*) a small bunch is placed at the plate. From the other offerings, the grains, heaps are placed on plates in a row. The melted butter (*šar tos / marxu*) is in a big container. The kuša grass (*güš*) is tied in small bundles and placed in the row in its place between the row of plates. The ‘supreme offering substances’, *čadwarčanjijai*, which can be substituted by fruits, is also arranged on plates.

There are three kinds of sacrificial cakes (*balin*, T. *gtor-ma*, S. *bali*) needed for the performance of *£insreg*. The *Melai dorom* (T. *me-lha'i gtor-ma*, ‘offering cake for the Fire God’) is placed in front of the fireplace as an offering to the Fire God (T. *me lha*, S. *Agnideva*) who lives in the fire and is also is the protector of the South-East direction as is one of the ten guardians of the directions (*čogjon ču*, T. *phyogs skyong bcu*). The second sacrificial cake is the *šawdagdorom* (T. *gzhi-bdag-gi gtor-ma*, ‘offering cake to the local spirits’). Of the third one, *jšinsreg dorom* (T. *sbyin-sreg-gi gtor-ma*, ‘offering cake for the fire-offering’) there are two, both to be thrown into the fire during the ceremony. This last one is a sacrificial cake placed on a plate, decorated by four petals on its neck and one on its top with a six leafed flower decoration.

The fire is lighted by a torch called (*galan*) *bambar* (T. *dpal-'bar* - ‘blazing with brilliance/splendour’, torchlight with oil-soaked cloth). Its end is wrapped in *xadag* (T. *kha-btags*) ceremonial scarves. When it is lighted, it is the task of the ceremony leading lama and the Tibetan master of the monastery to light the fire by it and furthermore to execute the offerings. Once the fire is light, the thirteen kinds of offerings are put into the fire ceremonially, all of them three times (except the melted butter which is poured into it many times to keep the fire blazing). The offering plates are given one by one to the leading lama at the appropriate time by the *unjad* chanting master or other main assistant of the ceremony. The leading lama throws the heap of the given offering from the plate into the fire, accompanied by the appropriate hand gestures and formulas. When a kind of offering is offered, all the lamas beat the skull drums called *damar* (T. *ča-ma-ru* or *rnga-chung*, S. *damaru*). Then melted butter is poured into the fire.

There are two long spoons or ladles used as tools to pour melted butter to the fire at fire offerings. These two equipments together are called together as *ganlüg* (T. *dgang-blugs*). These are the *ganser* (T. *dgang-gzar*, S. *patri*), that is, the ‘filler’ with which butter is poured into the other ladle, and the *lügser* (T. *blugs-gzar*, S. *šruva*) the ‘pouder’, or ritual ladle with a long handle to pour clarified butter in the sacrificial fire. The melted butter is poured to the *lügser* by the *ganser*, and from the long beak of the *lügser* it is poured into the fire. This is repeated many times during the ceremony to keep the fire burning in flames.

The two sacrificial cakes called *£insreg dorom* (T. *sbyin-sreg-gi gtor-ma*) are also burnt. The first is placed on the *ganser* and put into the fire by it, the same repeated again with the second *£insreg dorom*. Also white *xadags* are offered by putting them into the fire at the end of the thirteen offerings. From a vase (*bumba*, T. *bum-pa*) with

peacock feather (being the type called *namjil bumba*, T. *rnam-rgyal bum-pa*, ‘all victorious vase’) sacred water is sprinkled to the fire, too.

When the *£insreg* ends, the lamas are served by food, rice with milk, and from it they also offer some, putting into the fire.

In the case of the *£insreg* ceremony the lamas have to wear special kinds of garment: a colourful robe made of brocade and silks. It consists of two pieces of clothing. The *dod’ig/ dodyog* (T. *stod-g-yog(s)* ‘upper cloth’) is a cape-like piece of clothing, worn only at special Tantric ceremonial occasions. Its decoration is the lotus decoration (*badam xē*), that is, four embroidered petals. The other piece of garment is called *mat’ig/ madyog* (T. *smad-g-yog(s)*, ‘lower garment, skirt’), and is a square shaped apron. It is decorated by a pattern called *došil / došal* (or *jē bad*, T. ‘*dod-zhal*), an embroidered monster or demon head. The heads of the participating lamas are decorated with a five-lobed crown called *rigana* (T. *rigs lnga*, *rigs-lnga cod-pan*, ‘crown of the five families’) or *ǰodwon* (T. (*rigs-lnga cod-pan*). The five petals of the crown show the five Tathāgata Buddhas in their own colours. The crown has a conical shaped, black coloured part, a crest or prominence above the crown of the head, called *banjai* (T. *ban-gzan/ban-rdzas?*) or *ǰügder* (T. *gtsug-tor*, S. *uṣṇīṣa*). Monks’ eyes are protected by a magic screen of loosely hanging black coloured threads hanging down from this conical top. Two long pieces of silk ribbon (*ǰawdar*, T. *rgyab-dar*, ‘silk of the back’) hang down from the two back sides of the crown.

When the fire-offering ends, the lamas return once again to the place where they held the meditation, and they perform the so called *Cogčid* (T. *tshogs-mchod*, S. *gaṇapūjā*, ‘accumulation of offerings’, feast offering) offering to *£iqǰid* (*£iqǰidīn cogčid*), to express their thanks to him as a closing event of the meditational period. Then, they chant the text of *Čoiǰō düǰǰū* (T. *chos-rgyal drug-bcu*), and the meditational section ends during the morning or early afternoon of the eighth day.

CONSECRATION RITUAL

According to Gangā, in *Ix Xūrē* the ceremony called *£axarīn adislaga* (‘consecration of the *£axar*’) was held in *Barūn örgö*, which was a big yurt palace also known as *Awtai sain xanii örgö*, situated in the Western side of the Yellow Palace. During this ceremony the triangular shaped *Sor*, the huge seven storey palace called *£axar*, the offering cakes (*balin*, T. *gtor-ma*), and the different offerings were consecrated by the power of the dhāraṇīs. The accessories and the weapons used for the destruction of the effigy were consecrated during the *Adislaga* ceremony.

Today the ceremonies of the *Cam* start four days before the outer *Cam* dance, with the Consecration ceremony taking place inside the temple of the protectors (*Saxiusnī dugan*) in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery.

This first ceremony, called consecration or blessing (*ǰanlaw* or *oršōx adislaga*, T. *byin-rlabs*) is aimed at the consecration of the ritual cakes used at the *£axar cam*, the masks and robes worn than, and the other offerings and accessories. Before the Consecration ceremony starts in the afternoon, the *Cam* masks, robes and other accessories are brought in the shrine and placed at the two sides on the altar, and in the cupboards behind the altar. The offerings for the *Cam* were prepared by the two *taxilč* lamas of the monastery, and placed at three tables placed side by side at the main central place in front of the altar. The offerings are prepared, and before the ceremony starts, they are curtained off by a black curtain, decorated with the so called ‘wet / humid heads’ (*noiton tolgoi*). The curtain is painted by orange coloured paint with the help of stencils. The offerings are not displayed at all, so normal people, and even lamas other than the *taxilč* lamas themselves (who goes inside the curtain at certain parts of the ceremonies, arranges the offerings and takes out what is necessary at that time) or the *gesgüi* disciplinary master can not see them during the ceremonies of the four days. After the *Cam* dance and its closing *Danrag* thanksgiving, and after the leaving of people these offerings are taken parts on the 9th of the month.

On the three conjoining tables the following offerings are placed: at the big table in the back row six *balin* offering cakes (with two petals) are put as offerings for *Gombo*, *Gongor*, *Čoiǰō*, *Lxam*, *Jamsran*, and *£igǰid*. In front of these *balins*, a row of nine offering cups are placed, containing different offerings, called together *lamīn taxil*. This variety of offerings consists of four sacred waters (drinking water, T. *mchod-yon*, S. *argham* and washing water, T. *zhabs gsil*, S. *padyam*), a flower (T. *me-tog*, S. *pušpe*), incense (T. *gdug spos*, S. *dhūpe*), butter lamp (T. *mar-me*, S. *aloke*), water representing fragrant perfume (T. *dri-chab*, S. *gandhe*) and a small offering cake (*šalsai*, T. *zhal-zas*, S. *naividyā*, ‘sacrificial cake, food offering’).

In front of this row of offering cups, other offering cups are arranged at nine parallel rows. In one row, one can find the same seven pieced row four times. The seven offerings are the following: two sacred waters, a flower, incense, butter lamp, water, and a *šalsai*. These offerings are for the same deities as the *balins* at the back row. The offerings of *Gombo*, *Gongor*, *Čoiǰō*, *Lxam*, and *£amsran* consist of four such offerings rows, that is, one-one row of this fourfold offering. The offering placed for *£igǰid* consists of sixteen of them, that is, four fourfold rows. These all together

make the nine fourfold rows. *£iqj̄id* has more offerings than the other five deities, his text is read in more details during the ceremonies of *Cam*, and during the *nyamba* lamas meditate on him, as he is the main *yadam* (T. *yi-dam*, ‘meditational deity’) of the monastery and the dance. The *daqj̄id* (T. *bdag-bskyed*, ‘self generation, self visualisation’) part of the ceremony is also on *£iqj̄id*. At the left side of the table another type of *balin*, called *šawdag dorom* is placed beside these offering rows.

On a somewhat smaller table, at the left side of the before mentioned one, other offerings are placed. From the left side, first there are sixteen pieces of so called *ürils* (T. *ril-bu*, ‘relic pill, small ball’) in a tray made of wood used for placing offerings. The *ürils* are used at the inner *Cam* dances, and also during the outer *Cam*, by fours. Next, there are 16 pieces of *yuügũ* (T. *dbyu(g)-gu*, ‘sixty’). *Yuügũ* is also a special kind of *balin*. It is triangular shaped, with cuts on its surface dividing it into sixteen pieces, and as there are four pieces of such, together making sixty-four pieces. On the day of the *Cam*, it is placed on the tray of the *Sor* itself, during the recitation of the *Čoij̄o dügj̄ũ* text. At the left of these *balins*, there are again rows of the sevenfold offerings, here in five rows. Next to them, there are two skull cups, one of them filled with blood (*cus*, T. *khrag*), the other filled with salt (*daws*, T. *tshwa*).

The third table, placed in front of the biggest table in the centre, is covered with a piece of cloth or artificial fur, substituting the skin of a tiger or leopard. A ritual bell (*xonx*) is placed on it on the right side. During the first day’s ceremony, when the *Sor* and the *£axar* are taken to the temple and placed inside the black curtain, the *Sor* is placed at this skin cover on this small table.

The last of the tables holds an important object used at the *Cam*, the effigy. At this small triangular table, which is covered by a black table-cloth, a triangular shaped black box is put covered also by black cloth. This box contains the *lingka* (T. *ling-ga*) effigy used during the *Cam* dances (also at the inner dances).

The ceremony starts at around 6 o’clock in the afternoon. The importance of this event and the four-day *Cam* ceremonies are obvious as all the lamas participating in it, dressed in their special lama robes worn only on great days. On the great day of the outer *Cam*, they are supposed to wear red robes, but on the other *Cam* days the colour is not prescribed. Meanwhile, devotees come in greater number, giving donations to the lamas. The crowd reaches its summit at the *Cam* dance day. Certain other differences from other ceremonies confirm the importance of this starting ceremony. For example, the *taxilč* lamas wear a black mask (at other ceremonies they wear a yellow or a red one), the lamas are called to the ceremony by a gong (*xaranga*, T. *mkhar-rnga*) and not by the usual conch shell (*dun*, T. *dung*) from the platform called *bürēn šat* (platform used for calling lamas to ceremonies). The musical instruments used are in concordance with the ceremony’s character, that it is for the wrathful deities, and are the same as used in the monthly *Saxius* ceremonies: the skull drums called *damar* (T. *ča-ma-ru* or *rnga-chung*, S. *damaru*), the big drums (*xengerge*, T. *rnga*) beaten now by the curved drum stick (*doxiur*, T. *rnga-yog/dbyug*), the trumpet or flute called *bišgũr* (T. *gling-bu*), the bone trumpet called *ganlin* (T. *rkang-gling*, thigh-bone trumpet) and the huge trumpets called *üxer bürē* (‘oxen trumpet’). The ceremony, and all other ceremonies of the *Cam* are lead by the *Sorin lam*, being one

of the high ranked lamas of the monastery, mostly the Abbot, the *Corj* or the *Lowon*. In *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery it was the *Lowon* in 2004, 2005, and the *Corj* in 2009, 2010, 2011, and 2012. During the *Sor* ceremony, and all the ceremonies of the *Cam* (from the *Adislag*a on) he has to wear the so called *gijjūg malgai* (also called as *yesün üjūrt* or *lowon malgai*, T. *rtse-dgu*, ‘the nine peaked’), which was the hat type worn by Padmasambhava (*Lowon Badamjūnai*, T. *slob-dpon pad-ma* ‘byung-gnas’) according to legends.

The Consecration ceremony starts with the chanting of *Itgel* (T. *skyabs-gro*, ‘taking refuge’), which is read at the beginning of every ceremony. Then, the text *Gegdor* (T. *bgegs-gtor*, ‘hindrance food offering for the obstructing forces or harmful spirits’) is read, during which the *taxilč* takes the *gegdor* offering out of the temple and offers it to the local spirits by throwing it away. The *gegdor* is a kind of sacrificial cake consisting of three similar brown-coloured cakes with two-two petals placed on a small plate with three small flat ritual balls made also from barley dough (T. *ting-lo*) with three round balls at their tops (T. *changs-bu*, ‘pinch of barley dough, barley dough squeezed out between the fingers’). (This is also offered at every *Lxogo* (T. *lho sgo*) ceremony and at other occasions.)

The so called *bainjen* (T. *spos-dzin*), a wooden staff decorated with a dragon head with incense sticks attached to its end is used at the beginning of the ceremony, when the disciplinary master goes around the temple to purify the site with it.

Then the first part of *Lamīn čodow* (T. *bla-ma’i mchod-pa*, S. *gurupūjā*, ‘Offering to the master’, ceremony for Tsongkhapa, the teachers and masters who transmit the Buddhist Teaching) is recited, till the part called *Ansol* (T. *mnga-gsol*, ‘benediction’) or *Šinči(g) damba* (T. *zhing mchog dam-pa*, ‘The excellent pure fields’, beginning of the 84th stanza). Then the *Pūncog gūsūm* text is read (T. *phun-tshogs sku-gsum*, ‘The three perfect buddha bodies’, the biography, praise of Tārānātha, the predecessor of the *Bogds*, and a prayer to him).

The *Cam* masks, robes and other accessories, and the *Sor* itself, which are all brought in the shrine and placed at the two sides behind the altar before the ceremony starts, are all blessed at the first day’s ceremony. After the first part of the *Lamīn čodow*, lamas start to read the four blessings or consecrations (*dörwön janlaw*, T. *byin-rlabs bzhi*). These are for blessing the offering cakes (*dorom janlaw*, T. *gtor-ma byin-rlabs*), the offerings (*čodow janlaw*, T. *mchod-pa byin-rlabs*), the fulfillment articles (*ganjā / ganjai*, T. *bskang-rdzas byin-rlabs*), and the ‘six mystic formulas and six hand gestures’ (*andüig čandüig*, T. *sngags drug phyag drug*, S. mantra and mudrā). While these are recited, the cymbals (*can*, T. *zangs*) are beaten for 108 times resulting in a wonderful melody. This was introduced to Mongolia by Öndör gegēn Janabajar according to legends.

At the end the remaining parts of the *Lamīn čodow* are read, the *Yerōl* (T. *smon-lam*) *Joriulax / Joriulga* (T. *bsngo-ba*, ‘dedication’), *Dodsol* (T. ‘*dod-gsol*’, ‘request, petition’), and the *Sodsol* (T. *bzod-gsol*, ‘apology’). The ceremony ends with *Magtāl* (T. *bstod-pa*, ‘praise’), *Daš* (T. *bkra-shis*, ‘auspiciousness’, verse of auspiciousness), and *Megjem* (T. *dmigs-brtse-ma*, ‘loving kindness’, a prayer to Tsongkhapa).

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Гангаа, Д.: *Хүрээ Цам*. Улаанбаатар 2003, p. 29 [Cam Dance of Ix Xūrē]

£AXAR CEREMONIES

According to Gangā, in the old times three days before the *Cam* performance the ceremonies called the ‘three days of £axar’ (*£axarīn gurwan ödör*) started. During this period the protector deities were worshipped and invoked by various types of offerings. The *ded čambon* (‘vice master of the dance’) performed the inner *Cam*, and danced through the night of the 8th and the 9th of the month till dawn.

Today, during these three days of £axar ceremonies there is similarly a *Cam* dance every day inside the temple called *Dotor Cam*. During the £axar ceremonies the lamas meditatively (*düwlex*, a Mongolian verb derived from the Tibetan *sgrub*, ‘accomplish / practice’) prepare the *xot mandal*, the residence of *Erleg nomun xān* or *Čoiĵil*, that is, the so called £axar.

On the days of 7th and 8th of the month the ceremonies held are similar to each other. The ceremony lasts from early in the morning till late afternoon / evening. There is a *Cam* dance performed inside the temple in the afternoon (and on the outer dance day the same but in the morning), lasting for about one hour. When it ends, the ceremony lasts for about one more hour.

The readings of the second and the third days (7th and 8th) are the following. As in every ceremony, the texts are read for the trinity of the lama (*lam*, T. *bla-ma*), the tutelary or meditational deities (*yadam*, T. *yi-dam*) and the protectors (*čoiĵin / saxius*, T. *chos-skyong, bstan-bsrung*). In case of the *Cam* the lama is the lama who leads the ceremonies and the burning of the *Sor*, the so called *lamtax / lamdax lam* or in case of *Cam* ceremonies, the *Sorīn lam*. In *Jūn Xürē Daščoilin* Monastery in 2004 and 2005 it was the *Lowon*, but it can be any of the high ranked lamas, such as the abbot or the *Corĵ*. The meditational deity (*yadam*, T. *yi-dam*) of the *Cam* dance is *£iqĵid* (the highest yidam of Tantric Buddhism), and the protector (*čoiĵin*, T. *chos-skyong*) is *Čoiĵō*.

The first and the closing parts of the recitation are for the lama. It is the text of *Lamīn čodow* (T. *bla-ma'i mchod-pa*). First the *Itgel* (T. *skyabs-'gro*, ‘taking refuge’) is read, as the beginning. Then the first part of *Lamīn čodow* is recited, till the part called *Šinči(g) damba* (T. *zhing-mchog dam-pa*). Then the *Püncog gūsüm* (T. *phun-tshogs sku-gsum*) is read.

Afterwards, the text of *Gegdor* (T. *bgegs-gtor*, ‘hindrance food offering for the obstructing forces or harmful spirits’) is recited.

Then follows the part read for the tutelary deity, namely the *£iqĵidīn čogo* (T. *'jigs-byed cho-ga*, ‘ritual of Yāmāntaka’), as he is the main tutelary deity of the *Cam* dance held there. The two skull cups containing salt (*daws*, T. *tshwa*) and blood (*cus*, T. *khrag*) are shown to all the lamas by the *taxilč* on the 7th, 8th and 9th day when the mystic formula (*tarni*, T. *gzungs*, S. *dhāraṇī*), of *£iqĵid* is read. The skull cups are stored with the other offerings behind the black curtain.

The part of the readings for the protector means parts from the text of the *Arwan xangal* (T. *bstan-bsrung chos-skyong*, ‘ten protectors’). Parts relating to *Gombo*, *Gongor*, *Lxam*, *Čoiĵō*, and *£amsran* (the six wrathful deities with *£iqĵid* being the sixth one worshipped during the *Cam*) are read. The parts read now from their texts

are the following: *Joriulga* (T. *bsngo-ba*, ‘dedication’), *Taxil* (T. *mchod-pa*, ‘offering’), *Magtāl* (T. *bstod-pa*, ‘praise’), and *Šagwa / Šawog* (T. *bshags-pa*, ‘confession’).

The *Daščiraw san* (T. *bkra-shis char-'bebs bsangs*, ‘incense offering causing rainfall of auspiciousness’) is recited.

After this, other parts of the *Arwan xangal* are read, from the *Šagwa / Šawog* on. These parts are the *Gansol* (T. *bskang-gsol*, ‘fulfillment ritual’), the *Magtāl* (T. *bstod-pa*, ‘praise’), till the part called *Ansol* (T. *mnga'-gsol*, ‘benediction’). Here the recitation of *Arwan xangal* is interrupted, and will be finished only after the inner *Cam* dance and its text, at the close of the ceremony.

Once the lamas got to the text of *£andan* (T. *spyen-drangs*, ‘invitation’ or *čülganti oron jālga*x, T. *tshogs-zhing spyen-'dren*, ‘inviting the field of refuge, invocation, invitation’) in the readings, the *Čowombo* (T. *mchod-dpon*, ‘master of the offerings’) or the *Taxilč* stands between the two main rows of lama seats, with his back to the altar, facing the door of the shrine from where the dancer will arrive, and starts the calling ceremony. He holds the so called *yandar* (T. *g-yab dar*, ‘silk used to signal / to beckon’, silk fan), a five coloured silk with a knot at its end and makes calling movements with it, circling it in the air with his right hand. During this he holds an incense pot in his left hand, which hangs down on a chain. This calling part, which is aimed at inviting *Čoiĵō* and *£iqĵid*, the protector and the tutelary deity of the dance, lasts for about half an hour.

After the *£andan*, the lamas start to read the *£axar Čoiĵil* text (T. *lcags-mkhar chos-rgyal*, ‘the metal palace of *Čoiĵō*’), during which the inner *Cam* takes place. Before the *Šanag* dancer arrives to the shrine, the *gesgüis* (‘disciplinary master’), two *bišgürč* lamas (‘lamas blowing the trumpet or flute’), and two helper lamas go out to fetch him and the dancer arrives in their accompany. The *Gesgüi* holds the *bainjen* (T. *spos-'dzin*) ritual incense holder in his hands to purify the way. The two *Bišgürč* lamas go on the two sides, and the helpers hold the dancer under his armpit to support him. When they enter the shrine the dancer starts to dance and the two *Gesgüi* lamas remain standing near the door at the two sides. As soon as they enter, the doors of the shrine are closed, and for a while no one is allowed inside from outside.

In front of the door, inside the temple the *Šanag* dancer pours blood from the skull cup held in his hands into another skull cup held in front of him by the *Taxilč* lama. This inner *Cam* (*dotor cam*) is performed by only one of the dancers, one of the main important *Šanags* (T. *zhwa nag*), the messengers of *Čoiĵō*, that is, the *Čambon*, the *Argamba* (*argam*, S. *argham*, T. *mchod-yon*, ‘offering water’, *argamba* is ‘the lama offering *argam*’) or the *Serĵimba* (T. *gser-skyems*, ‘golden drink libation or offering’, *Serĵimba* is ‘the lama performing the offering of golden beverage’), any of these three alone. On the three subsequent days they appear one by one, or, one of them can appear in more occasions. In *Jūn Xürē Daščoilin* Monastery the three took turns during the three days, each appearing on one of the three inner dances.

The appearance and garments of these three are similar. The dancer’s face is decorated by three black coloured spots, symbolizing ash. He wears a black hat, similarly to the other Black Hat dancers (*Šanag*), with wide brim. It is decorated by

five skulls and golden flames. On the two sides of his head, from the hat black threads are hanging down. In his right hand he holds his ritual dagger (*pürew*, T. *phur-bu*) and a skull cup filled with blood (*band*, *gawal*, *custai todow*, T. *thod-khrag*) in his left. His blue coloured garment has wide sleeves ornamented by flames, white skulls and vajra motives. He wears a bone necklace and apron, and red boots.

The essence of this dance or this special ceremony is the destruction of the effigy (*lingka/ lyanga ewdex*, T. *ling bsgral*) through meditation, symbolically by the ten weapons and by stabbing the ritual dagger into it (T. *ling-ga-la phur-pa gdab*). The *lingka* (T. *ling-ga*) is the effigy of devil or enemy, which is used in wrathful rituals (the word also means ‘sign, mark, male organ or phallus’, S. *liṅgam*). It is an ugly human like figure (*jolig*) made of barley dough: his legs in fetters, his arms in shackles, with tousled hair, long thin neck and a big belly. It is placed on a triangular shaped tray. Every bad thing and evil, the enemies of the Teaching are made to dissolve into it during the ceremony, and with its destruction every bad thing is considered to be cleared off. The type of effigy destroyed by the inner *Cam* dancer is a *lingka* made of barley dough called *baglin / baglam* or *guril(an) lingka / lyanga* (T. *spag-ling*). The act of the destruction of the *lingka* made of barley dough is called *guril(an) lingka / lyanga ewdex*, *gurilan balin ewdex* or *baglin ewdex* in Mongolian.

Before the symbolic destruction of the effigy by the ten weapons, first the dancer gets four small balls made of barley dough (*ürel*, T. *ril-bu*) one by one from the *Taxilč*, puts it in a cup held in his hand, performs a dance with it and then pours it into a vessel held by the *Taxilč*. He performs it four times with the four balls one by one (this is substituted in other monasteries by a fourfold *serjīm* offering). The *Taxilč* covers the vessel with the balls by a black cloth.

When this part ends, the ten weapons which are placed on a tray covered by a black cloth are brought out from behind the black curtain, when it is stored together with the offerings and the *Sor*. The tray is placed near the door, between the two central rows of seats, on a small table. Other offerings and accessories, such as *nančid* (T. *nang-mchod*, ‘inner offering’, a sort of potion, S. *rakta*) or *serjīm*, stored in a small skull shaped container standing on three legs are placed beside it. The dough effigy is brought out as well from behind the curtain. It is inside the black coloured triangular box (T. ‘*brub-khung/brub(s)-khung*, ‘triangular pit, triangular hole or box for destruction ritual’), covered by black cloth. The triangular box with the effigy is placed near the door, on its low triangular table also covered by a black cloth. Below this table a tiger skin is spread.

The dancer uses ten types of accessories or weapons (*arwan багај / dalčog*, T. *bsgral-chog*) to destroy the effigy:

- hook (*jağjü*, T. *lcags-kyu*)
- noose, lasso (*šagwa / šawag*, T. *zhags-pa*)
- iron chain (*jağdog*, T. *lcags-sgrog*)
- bell (*delbü*, T. *dril-bu*)
- hammer (*towō / towa*, T. *tho-ba*)
- ax (*dasta / dasdā*, T. *dgra-sta*)
- trident (*jesüm*, T. *rtse-gsum*)

- ritual dagger (*pürew*, T. *phur-bu*)
- sword (*arild / raldi*, T. *ral-gri*)
- hooked knife (*digüg*, T. *gri-gug*)

On the tray of the weapons two pieces of feather are placed to keep the weapons clean. These are the ‘black feather’ (*xar öd*) being the feather of a raven (*xerē*) and the ‘yellow feather’ (*šar öd*) being the feather of an owl (*šar šuwū*).

The dancer makes movements with these ten weapons one by one after each other, given into his right hand by the *Taxilč* lamas, with the ritual dagger being held in the meanwhile in his left hand. After dancing for a while with the first weapon, he throws it on the box of the effigy. Then his own attributes, the ritual dagger (*pürew*, T. *phur-bu*) made of wood and the skull cup (made of plastic, its upper part being painted in red as if it would be filled with blood) are given back to his hands for dancing with them. Then the second weapon is given to him, then again his own attributes. Every time he dances with the given weapons and throw it on the box. His dance has a deeper meaning, as he meditatively destroys all obstacles represented by the effigy with his dance by the ten weapons. During his dance incense is burned near him on a small table and musical instruments are played, being in this case the *ganlin* (thigh bone trumpet), *üxer bürē* (huge trumpets), and the skull drums called *damar*. During his performance, which lasts for about an hour, he dances between the two central rows of the lamas’ benches, between the offerings curtained off and the door of the shrine, or more punctually, the small table placed before it with the tray containing the weapons and the other accessories. During his dance, the two *Gesgüi* lamas, the *Taxilč* lamas and some other lama assistants stand beside this table to help him and to keep devotees away. These monks wear a black or yellow coloured mask to keep the accessories pure, and to prevent breathing on them.

After he performed his dance with the ten weapons, uttering magical formulas he throws seeds and scatters *serjim* on the box containing the effigy. Then his wooden ritual dagger (*modon pürew*) is put in his right hand. In his left hand there is his bell. With the dagger he stabs the effigy many times with fearful movements, but as it can not be seen by anybody, the *Taxilč* lamas hide the box from the spectators’ eyes, covering it by their *orximj* (one of the lama robes, red coloured scarf worn over the left shoulder) from the two sides. During this a frightful screaming can be heard, and also all the musical instruments are played loudly.

When the effigy has been destroyed, it is covered again by the black cloth. Then the dancer holds its triangular box in his two hands, and dances towards the black curtain, behind which it is placed again by the *Taxilč*. He places the remaining of the effigy to the triangular base of the *Sor*, in front of the *Sor*, with which it will be burnt together on the outer *Cam* dance day.

After he performed all his tasks and dance, the inner *Cam* dancer finishes his performance and leaves the shrine with the same accompaniment.

The ceremony continues with the text of *Arwan xangal* read on now from the *Ansol*. Then the remaining parts of *Lamīn čodow* are recited, the *Yerōl* (T. *smon-lam*), *Joriulga* (T. *bsngo-ba*, ‘dedication’), *Dodsol* (T. ‘*dod-gsol*, ‘request, petition’), and

the *Sodsol* (T. *bzod-gsol*, ‘apology’). The ceremony ends with *Magtāl* (T. *bstod-pa*, ‘praise’), *Daš* (T. *bkra-shis*, ‘auspiciousness’) and *Megjem* (T. *dmigs-brtse-ma*, ‘loving kindness’).

References

Гангаа, Д.: *Хүрээ Цам*. Улаанбаатар 2003, p. 29 [Cam Dance of Ix Xürē]

SEQUENCES OF THE CAM DANCE DAY

The ceremony of the *Cam* dance day (being the 9th of the month) starts from around 2 o'clock at night. On this day the most significant events of the whole *Cam* procedure are performed, like inner and outer *Cam* dances (the inner one for the third time this day), the burning the effigy drawn to paper (*cāsan lingkka/ lyanga šatāx* sometimes as *cāsan balin ewdex*), the burning the *Sor* (*Sor jalax* or *Sor šatāx*, *Sorīn balin šatāx*) and the thanksgiving offering to *Čoiĵō* (*Čoiĵō danrag*).

The readings of the *Cam* dance day are the same as the readings of the two preceding days. The same books are read, but, because of having the inner *Cam* dance and also the longer outer dance after it (during which the text of *£axar Čoiĵō* is recited again, for the second time that day), in order to achieve to perform all the readings and performances in one day, the ceremony starts not at 7 o'clock in the morning but five hours before, during the night.

The Field of the Dance

As every feature of the *Cam* dance the preparation of the dance field is also determined by standard rules laid down in the text. The field should form the palace of *Čoiĵō*, an image should be hanged in the South, the *Sorin asar* ('tent for the Sor') should be placed in the middle of the dance field and tents for lamas and guests should be put up in the two sides of the temple.

In *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery with the first rays of dawn, when the ceremony is still in process inside the temple, first the spot of the outer dance is cleaned in front of the temple. Then, in the South of the dance field, huge pictures of *Senggera / Senggīn araw* (T. *(rgyal-ba) seng-ge'i nga-ro*, 'lion's roar', name of a Buddha) and the White Tārā (*Cagān Dar' ex*) are put on a frame. This is called in Mongolian *burxan delgex*, 'to spread out the Buddha(s image)'. Originally, when the dance was revived the picture of *Cewegmed* (S. Amitāyus) was also hanged. In 1999 when the *Cam* dance was revived in *Gandan* Monastery, the picture of the *Bogd gegēn* was spread. According to Gangā, in *Ix Xūrē* the picture of *Očirwān* (S. *Vajrapāṇi*) was hanged.)

Then the field of the *Cam* dance, namely the square based, seven storey maṇḍala-shaped palace of *Čoiĵō*, is drawn on the ground by white powder made from bone or white chalk. With the help of sticks and measuring-threads the circles (*gortig*, T. *skor-thig*) of the dance of the different types of characters are marked as follows (from the outermost circle to the inner ones):

- empty line (T. *stong thig*)
- square line (T. *gru-bzhi thig*)
- line of the black hat dancers (*Šanag*) (T. *zhwa-nag thig*)
- line of the masked dancers (*bag*) (T. 'bag thig)
- line of the *Čambon* (T. 'cham-dpon thig)
- line of the *Sor*, or line of the metal palace or *£axar* (T. *zor thig-gam lcags-mkhar thig*)
- line of the *Sor* pavilion (T. *zor-khang thig*)

Consequently, the *Šanag* dancers move between the first and second lines from outside (T. *zhwa-nag thig*), the masked characters between the next two lines (T. 'bag thig) and the *Čambon* in the inner circle (T. 'cham-dpon thig).

In the same time four tents or pavilions are also put up. As in a maṇḍala, the most internal circle means the most upper floor of the palace of *Čoiĵō*. A yellow pavilion (*Sorin asar*) is put up there, where the *Sor* and other offerings are placed on a table. Outside the dance field, a blue coloured tent is put on the left side of the temple. Here the high-ranked lamas and musicians will take their seats during the outer *Cam*. There are two additional tents on the right side for lamas and guests.

In front of the temple door, where dancers approach the dance field, a shell (*lawai / dūn*, T. *dung*) was drawn symbolising the revival of the *Cam* tradition in 2002 (first performed in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery in that year), a lotus (*lyanxua*, T. *pad-me*) symbolising the spreading of the tradition in 2004, and a sword (*selem*, T.

ral-gri) symbolising the protection of the Teaching in 2005, and a svastika in 2012. The symbol is different every year.

References

Гангаа, Д.: *Хүрээ Цам*. Улаанбаатар 2003, р. 39 [Sam Dance of Ix Xürē]

Masks and Garments

In the case of the outer *Cam* the participating lamas wear special kinds of masks, garments, and hold different kinds of attributes in their hands as determined in the texts in accordance with the Buddhist iconography. There are main and secondary characters in the dance. The about 100 costumes of the dance were sewn by D. Dašdorj monk (born 1908), who had been a lama in the area of the present Dundgow aimag, Saixan owō sum, *Ongin xid* or *Xutagt lamın xid*, and the dressmakers of the monastery such as B. Ewshinsüren.

The main figures of the dance should wear a colourful robe made of brocade and silk. This robe has triangular-shaped sleeves (*šošiiv/šüšiiv*, T. *phod-ka*, ‘wide sleeved robe or garment’) decorated by symbols like skulls, flames, jewels or vajra. The *dod’ig/ dodyog* (*cējnī ömsgöl*, T. *stod-g-yog(s)* ‘upper cloth’) is another piece of garment, a cape-like piece of clothing, worn only at special ceremonial occasions. It is decorated by the lotus ornament (*badam xē*), that is, four embroidered petals in the form of vajra. It can also be decorated by a golden or silver mirror or wheel. According to Gangā its decoration could be vajra, sword, flower or *čandman*’ (T. *yid-bzhin nor-bu*, S. *cintamāṇi cintamāṇi*, wish fulfilling jewel). The *mat’ig / madyog* (*xormogčın*, T. *smad-g-yog(s)*, ‘lower garment, skirt’) is a square shaped apron. The *mat’ig / madyogs* of the *Šanag* dancers are decorated by a pattern called *došil / došal* (or *jē bad*, T. ‘*dod-zhal*), an embroidered monster or demon head. The garments are held by a special belt (*büs / gerag*, T. *ska-rags*). A type of ornament made of bone or bone-like material, such as white plastic is called *ürüjın* or *rüjın* (T. *rus-rgyan*, ‘bone ornament’). It can be either an apron or a necklace decorated by the Dharma Wheel, with a golden or silver mirror and 12–16 pieces of bells. The masks (*bag*, T. ‘*bag*) of the deities are of the same colour as the deity itself according to the specifications of iconography. The main characters have three eyes, flamed eyebrows and a moustache. They wear big earrings decorated by colourful *xadags* (white, red, yellow, blue). Their heads are topped with a diadem with five skulls, and the top of their helmets there is a decoration called *üjür čimeg* or *jejın* (T. *rtse-rgyan*, ‘top decoration’).

A long piece of silk ribbon (*jawdar*, T. *rgyab-dar* ‘silk of the back’) hangs down from the back sides of the caps or masks of the main role dancers (cap in case of the *Šanag* dancers and mask for the other dancers). According to Gangā this is (or used to be) signed by the seed syllable of the deity, and decorated by wheel, *čandman*’ jewel and vajra. Another silk ornament hangs down from the two sides of the caps or masks. These are called *darjın* (T. *dar-rgyan*, ‘silk ornament’).

The main characters (like *£amsran*, *Gongor*, *Jamundi*, and *Čoijō*) wear red boots with green crocodile-shaped toe (*matar*) and thick white sole.

References

Гангаа, Д.: *Хүрээ Цам*. Улаанбаатар 2003, p. 38 [Cam Dance of Ix Xürē]

Steps and Movements

In the dance every character has its own determined movements (*Camīn xödölgöñ*) with their own name and symbolism. Music has significant role during the whole dance, and different movements are accompanied by different music. The steps of the figures are said to destroy the living place of the enemies, while their jumpings and roundings are said to deceive and pursue them. By movements of their right legs all male demons (*er čötgör*) are said to be destroyed and by movements of their left leg all witches (*em šulmas*, T. *ma-mo*) are said to be annihilated.

D. Namjid dancer (*ulsīn gaw'yāt jūjigčīn*) determined the special Mongolian terminology of the different movements or steps: *tawan tasalīn* ('five breaks or tears'), *dolōn xōltnī tasal* ('seven feet break or tear'), *dolōn ix comorlog* ('seven great bunches'), *ceceg delgerex* ('spreading out flowers'), *xilencīg darax* ('subjugating the sinful'), *dörwön jügīg bōlčlon erxšēx* ('controlling the four directions'). However, as for the dance the Tibetan source book is used, lamas call the steps in their Tibetan names, as follows (in the order of performing them):

- *lamdoi sūrwa*, T. *lam'gros zur-ba* ('bent / angular approach gait')
- *lamdoi dalwa*, T. *lam-'gros dal-ba* ('easy / slow approach gait')
- *bēr dam ši*, T. *sber sbram bzhi* (four steps)
- *awad ma*, T. *Inga rbad-ma* (five steps)
- *yemčün / yömčün*, T. *yom-chung* ('small unsteady')
- *lūwa*, T. *bslu-ba* ('deception', might be also the name of a former character of *Ix Cam*)
- *yem čen / yömčen*, T. *yom-chen* ('great unsteady')
- *bēr dam ši*, T. *sber sbram bzhi*
- *gūgar nyi*, T. *dgu-bskor gnyis* ('nine circles twice', might be also the name of a former character of *Ix Cam*)
- *ā camjad*, T. *Inga mtshams gcod* ('cutting five corners')
- *čogši dūdülma*, T. *phyogs-bzhi'i bdud 'dul-ma* ('subduing the demons of the four directions')
- *dün ganjad*, T. *bdun rkang bcag* ('breaking seven legs' (??))
- *dün conjid*, T. *bdun mtshon 'gyed* ('distributing seven fingers' (??))
- *bēr dam ši*, T. *sber sbram bzhi*
- *šindoi*, T. *bzhi-'gros* ('four stances / jumps', might be also the name of a former character of *Ix Cam*)
- *bēr dam ši*, T. *sber sbram bzhi*
- *derē šü camjad*, T. ? *shrī shu mtshams gcod* ('cutting corners')
- *jesüm*, T. *rtse-gsum* ('three points')
- *dagig bünjam*, T. *dgra bgegs dpung 'jom-ma* ('subduing the troops of enemies and demons')
- *piwānši*, T. *pheb-pa'i bzhi* ('four departing')
- *gü dung*, T. *dgu brdung* ('nine beats')

References

Гангаа, Д.: *Хүрээ Цам. Улаанбаатар* 2003, p. 40 [Cam Dance of *Ix Xüre*]

The Start of the Dance

After the inner *Cam* the devotees are sent out from the temple and the ceremony continues behind closed doors. It is also the time for the lamas to have a lunch and to put on the clothes, garments and masks of the dance. The *yūḡḡ* (T. *dbyu-gu*) is placed around the base of the *Sor* with special magical gestures (this is executed in the same way during the *Sor jalax* before *Caḡān sar*) while the text of *Čoiḡō dūḡjū* is read (the *Sor* itself being essentially a bigger variation of *dūḡjū*). During this, the dancers stand in front of the *Sor* wearing their masks and clothes.

After finishing the *Čoiḡō dūḡjū* text, the dancers and the lamas fulfilling other duties come out from the temple one by one or in pairs from behind a yellow curtain drawn previously in front of the temple. This outer *Cam*, the most attractive part of the whole *Cam* period, starts at about noon. The main figures of the dance come out to the dance field preceded by their messengers or consorts (*yūm*, T. *yum*, S. *śakti*). They perform their dance in their own prescribed circle of the field. The measure of masks, the colourfulness of garments and the quantity of bone and other ornaments show the significance of the given characters, who are all dressed and equipped with attributes in accordance with the rules of iconography. There are also additional characters appearing during the dance to make the whole performance closer to the sense of the audience and to make them laugh at some points.

The number and type of characters appearing depends on the tradition followed in the dance. Nyambū gives, for example, a detailed list of the characters who participated in the *Cam* of *Erdene jū* (25 types of characters) and *Ix xūrē* (31 types of characters), unfortunately without naming his sources. Pozdneevev also describes a *Cam* dance detailing the characters.

In *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery first of all, the two skeletons, the Lords of the Cemetery (*Xoximoi*, *Dürted dagwa* / *Dürted dawag* / *Dürtet dagwa*, T. *dur-khrod(-kyi) bdag-po*, S. *Citipati*) come out from the temple to dance in a circle to clean and bless the ground. During their performance there is no music. They dance in the outermost circle. They wear a white costume decorated with red lines symbolizing bones. Their masks form white skulls with three round red holes as eyes and four sharp eye-teeth in their mouth. Five skulls decorate their foreheads as a diadem. In both side of the mask there is a five coloured rainbow-fan and a flag (*jalcan*, T. *rgyal-mtshan*) on the top of their heads. In their hands there is a red stick (*mod*) which they put to the ground before they start to dance. After their dance until the dance ends they protect the way the deities enter and field of the *Cam* standing and then sitting on the two sides of the door with the stick in their hand and with arm akimbo.

Half an hour after the Lords of the Cemetery appear, the high ranked lamas wearing *owōdoi* cap and the musicians come out. Firstly, the two big trumpets (*ūxer būrē*) are placed in the pavilion that had been set up in the right side of the temple. The two disciplinary masters stand at the left side in front of the gate holding their *berē* in their hands. Then, two lamas wearing *šašir* cap stand at the right side in front of the gate. Their task is during the dance to blow their trumpet (*bišḡūr*) every time a new deity appears. Two other lamas wearing an *owōdoi* like cap and holding a five-

coloured *yandar* stand on the right side of the gate to invite the deities one by one by making calling movements with the *yandar* when a new deity appears. Following them, the *Xamba*, the *Corǰ* and the *Lowon* (the high ranking lamas) take a seat in the pavilion. The two chanting masters beating cymbals come out and the two *Taxilč* wearing black masks bring out the *Sorīn balin* and the *£axar* from the temple accompanied by the two disciplinary masters. They are placed in the *Sor* pavilion (*Sorīn asar*, T. *zor khang*) that had been set up in the middle of the circle, on the tiger-skin that is spread below it. Then, the *Lūnnemba* (or *salxi daragč*, *salxi borō dāsan lam*, T. *rlung gnyen-pa*), who is responsible for the protection of the *Sor* also takes a seat in the pavilion to protect the *Sor* and other offerings from wind and hail. In *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery it was the *Čowombo* (T. *mchod-dpon*, ‘offering master’) lama who fulfilled this duty for several years, and nowadays a younger fully-ordained monk (*gelen*) fulfills this duty.

Then two heroes, namely *Būwei bātar* or *Beil bātar* and *Šijir bātar*, the two Mongolian heroes connected to *Öndör Gegēn Janabajar* and *Awtai sain xan* (1534–1589) appear, dressed in armour clothes and helmets. They, equipped by shield and sabre, come to protect the *Sor* by their yak-tailed lance from the tasting of the Raven (*Xerē*, T. *bya-roq*).

Simultaneously, the patron (*öglögīn ejen*, T. *sbyin-bdag*) *Xašin xān* (*Xūšan/Xašin/Xūšin xān*, T. *hwa-shwang rgyal-po*, Chinese *he-shang*, ‘Buddhist lama’) comes in the circle together with his six sons. They sit down on a bench near the left side pavilion. According to monks *Xašin xān* represents the Manchu emperor, Kang-xi (Enx Amgalan in Mongolian, 1663–1722), who supported the dissemination of the Yellow Stream tradition of Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia. He had a great role in spreading the Teaching that is why his figure appears in the *Cam*. *Xašin xān* welcomes the main characters of the dance by bowing his head and binding a ceremonial scarf (*xadag*, T. *kha-btags*) to their necks. His yellow mask with a wide smile on his face is twice as large as a head of a normal man and it has a *ǰawdar* hanging down at the back. He wears a yellow *dēl* and holds a sack in his hand to throw candies to the believers when he goes around the dance field from time to time during the performance. The mask of the children are similar to his one.

In the same time, 15 lamas arrive to protect the *Cam* ceremony from any harm. They act as the 15 direction protectors (*jügīn tetgegč / saxigč*, *tugčīn*, *čogjon* (*jon’a*), T. *phyogs-skyong* (*bcu-linga*), that is, the protectors of the cardinal and intermediate directions, the up and down, past, present and future, and the two ‘of the doors’. They stand up in a circle, in their own fixed places around the square shaped outline of *Cam* field. All are wearing *šašir* and holding banners and flags with different Buddhist symbols in their hands. They are young novices of the monastery. Sometimes children who are not monks also hold banners.

In the recent years four new characters have appear in the dance field. They are the protectors of the four mountains surrounding *Ulānbātar*, namely the Garuda bird (*Xan Garid*, T. *khyung*, S. *garuḍa*), who is the lord of the Bogd xan Mountain in he South, the Blue Old Man (*Xöx öwgön*), who is the lord of Songino Mountain in the west, the Pig-headed (*Pagdom*, *Gaxain nūrt*, T. *phag gdong*), who is the protector of

Čingeltei Mountain in the North, and the Dog-headed (*Čidon, Noxoi nūrt*, T. *khyi gdong*), who is the lord of Bayanjūrx Mountain in the East. During the dance they stand around the dance field in accordance with their directions.

In the same time two lamas who usually had taken the *gelen* vow come out wearing *šašir* and *lagai* (T. *bla-gos*, a yellow coloured upper robe or shawl). Their task is to clear the field of *Cam* and to bless the deities coming. One of them wearing black mask holds the ‘all victorious vase’ filled with holy water (*namjil bumba / namjal bumba*, T. *rnam-rgyal bum-pa*) in his hand and sprinkles holy water from it by the peacock feather. The other holds a lion-headed incense holder (*bainjen*, T. *spos-'dzin*) decorated by yellow and blue silks as a means of purification.

Then, the *Argamba* (T. *mchod-yon*, S. *argham*), one of the Black Hat dancers (*Šanag*), called ‘the one bringing sacred blood’ appears supported by two helpers and pours blood (*argam*, S. *argham*) from a skull cup to the base of the *Sor*.

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The dance

The Deer and the Bull

The dance starts. Firstly, the messengers of *Erleg nomun xan* or *Čoiĵō*, namely the deer (*buga, šiwa*, T. *shi-ba*), and the bull (*bux, maxe*, T. *ma-he*) come to the scene. They are said to oppress and frighten away the enemies of the Teaching, kicking by their legs and dancing with nimble quick movements. Another name of these might be *moĵad* or *em naiman elč* (T. *mo bryad*). *Šiwa* has a green mask with yellow beard, a yellow striped brocade cloth, red boots and bone apron. *Maxe* has a blue mask and garment and a bone apron. Their triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by vajra. They move in the second circle (from outside), the circle of the masked dancers with huge jumps but not circling the *Sor* pavilion. After their dance they leave the dance field and return to the temple.

Gongor and Namsrai

Following them, the two peaceful deities, *Gongor* (T. *mgon-dkar*, S. *Sitamahākāla*) and *Namsrai* (T. *rnam-sras* or *rnam-thos sras*, S. *Vaiśravaṇa*) arrive, who are said to increase fortune and wealth and therefore are considered to clean up every kind of obstacles, especially the sufferings of the needy and the poor. *Namsrai* is the peaceful yellow-coloured god of wealth, one of the ten protectors of the Teaching and is one of the guards of the four directions (*dörwön maxranj*, T. *rgyal chen bzhi*, S. *catvāri mahārāja*), namely the guard of the northern quarter. He holds a banner (*erdene ĵancan*, T. *rgyal-mtshan*, S. *dhvaja*) in his right hand and a mongoose vomiting precious gems (*xulgana*, T. *rigs-med/ ne'u-le*, S. *nakula*) in his left. His golden mask is decorated by five golden jewels forming a diadem. He wears yellow boots. *Gongor* is holding a wish-fulfilling jewel (*čandman' / jendmene*, *xüslig xangagč erdene*, T. *yid-bzhin nor-bu*, S. *cintamāṇi*) in his right hand, and a skull cup filled with precious gems (*erdenēr dūršen gawal xumx*) in his left. His white mask is decorated by five white jewels forming a diadem. He is wearing bone necklace and bone apron and red boots. They both wear the *dod'yog* and *madyog* robes and their triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by colourful jewels. These two deities move in the 3rd circle of the dance field.

The Red Protector

After that the two attendants of the Red Wrathful Protector deity (*£amsran* or *Begce*, T. *lcam-sring*), namely *Rigbī lxamo* (*Rigbī / Regwī lxamo*, T. *rig(s)-pa'i lha-mo* or *Donmaraw / Don marwū*, T. *gdong dmar-po* ('red faced'), and *Laixan* (*Laixan sorogdag / Laixan srogdox*, T. *las-mkhan srog-bdag*) arrive to the field. They start their dance to clear and purify the road where *£amsran* is to come. *Rigbī lxam* wears a red armour robe with a flame like apron. She is holding a sword (*arild*, T. *ral-gri*) in his right hand and a lasso (*calam*, T. *zhags-pa*) in her left. Her red mask is decorated by one skull. *Laixan* wears blue garment, with white skulls as decoration on its triangular shaped sleeves, bone apron, bone necklace, and holds a curved sword (*čüdi*) in her right and a ritual dagger (*pürew*, T. *phur-bu*) in her left hand. Her red mask is decorated by five skulls. Their triangular shaped sleeves are ornamented by white skulls and both are wearing red boots. They move in the circle of the masked dancers, which is the 2nd circle. After this, the Red Wrathful Protector (*Dogšin ulān saxius*), *£amsran* himself comes in, and goes in the circle making movements 'to threaten and tear into pieces the various enemies and hindering obstacles'. His triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by flames and skulls. He is wearing a red armour robe with red flaming apron and a huge red mask decorated with five flags. His mouth is opened wide, showing his teeth out in anger. He holds a flaming sword (*arild*, *rild*, T. *ral-gri*) in his right hand, and a lung and heart (*jürx*, T. *snying-po*) of an evil spirit in his left hand. An arrow and a bow (*num sum*, T. *mda'gzhu*) also hang down from his neck. *Xašin xān* welcomes him by binding a ceremonial scarf to his neck. He dances together with *Rigbī lxamo* and *Laixan* before they withdraw to the temple together. In *Xürē Cam* and other *Cam* dances eight other attendants of *£amsran* also participated acted by mainly young novices called *Selemčid* or *Ditoqjad* (T. *gri thogs brgyad*) as they hold swords in their hands.

Lxam

Lxam (T. *dpal-ldan lha-mo*, S. *Śrīdevī*), the only goddess or female divinity among the protectors of the Teaching comes to the scene. She wears blue mask and blue garments with an apron decorated by skulls. Her triangular shaped sleeve is decorated by skulls and flames. She wears a bone necklace. Her flaming red hair is covered by a peacock leather umbrella (T. *rma bya'i gduns*). A *ǰawdar* hangs on the back of her mask. Two earrings decorate her ears. She holds a hooked knife (*digüg/ degüg*, T. *gri-gug*) in her left hand, and skull cup filled with blood (*custai gawal*, T. *thod khrag*) in her right hand. *Lxam* first appeared in the dance only some years ago, as the pair of *Gombo*, who previously danced together with his four attendants.

Gombo

The next *Cam* dancer is *Maxgal* or *Gombo* (T. *mgon-po*, S. *Mahākāla*), who comes into the *Cam* following *Lxam* or his own four accompanying deities, the four spirits with red hair (actually in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery three of them wore blue and one wore brown costume), namely *Čandrā bala*, *Jina midra*, *Daggi raja*, and *Darağčid*. They all wear bone necklaces (but not the bone aprons) and their masks are decorated by one skull on their tops. Their triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by white skulls. *Čandrābal* / *Čadrā bala* / *Čadrābal* (T. *zhing skyong*/ *Ksh.a-tra-pā-la*/ *Ksh.ē-tra-pā-la*, S. *Kṣetrapāla*) wears a dark blue (T. *mthing-nag*) mask and garment, and holds a hooked-knife (*digüg/ degüg*, T. *gri-gug*) in his right and a skull (*gawal*, T. *thod*) in his left hand. *Jina midra*/ *Jinamidra* (T. *Dzi-na-mit-rā*, S. *Jinamitra*) wears brown or dark red (T. *dmar nag*) mask and garment, and holds skull cup (*damar*) and a skull filled with blood (*custai gawal*, T. *thod khrag*) in his hands. *Daggi raja*/ *Dagiranjā* (T. *T.a-kki-rā-dza*, S. *Takkiraja*) wears dark blue mask and garment, and holds a curved sword (*jad*) in his right and a small drum (*dalir*, T. *chang-te'u*) in his left hand. *Darğıšid* / *Darağšid* / *Darağčid* (*nagwū*) (T. *bdud-mgon chen-po* / *Tra-kshad* (*nag-po*), S. *Tra kṣad*) wears a red mask and garment, and holds a little flag (*xiur*, T. *ru-mtshon*) in his right and a skull filled with blood (*gawal, custai todow*, T. *thod-khrag*) in his left hand. One of the four can have a red coloured sword (*selem*) and a human head (*noiton tolgoi*) in his hand.

At the end of their dance *Gombo* is coming wearing a bigger dark blue mask decorated with five dry skulls and a jewel on its top, with the *jawdar* hanging from it. He has brownish hair. He is wearing a blue garment decorated by skulls and frames, bone necklace and bone apron, and crocodile-shaped (*matar*) boots and is holding a hooked-knife (*digüg*, T. *gri-gug*) with blue and yellow *xadags* on it in his right hand and a skull filled with blood (*gawal, custai todow*, T. *thod khrag*) in his left. His triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by flames and white skulls. *Xašin xān* welcomes him by binding a ceremonial scarf to his neck. He is moving between the 2nd and 3rd circles. With his dance he aims to defeat the enemies of the religion and to clear off all the obstacles and hindrances. He dances together with *Lxam* or his four submitters. Then, they withdraw to the temple.

The Two Indian Masters, the White Old Man and the Lion

After that come out the two long-haired Indian teachers, the two *Ajars* (*ajar*, T. (*mon*) *a-tsarya* / *a-tsa-ra*, S. *ācārya*, Indian wandering mendicant, *ācārya* ‘teacher’), who are representing the religious scholars of the holy India. They wear golden coloured silk shirts, skirts (*xantāj*, *tanšin*), belts with tassels (*cacag*), and big earrings decorated by silks in different colours. They hold a red stick (*mod*) in their right hands. One of them has a red mask and an Indian turban on his head, while the other has yellow mask and a prominence above the top of his head.

After the two *Ajars*, the elderly White Old Man (*Cagān öwgön*, T. *rgan-po dkar-po*) called in his Tibetan-origin name *Lxačinceren* (*Tengerin ix urt nast*, T. *lha chen tshе-ring*) comes out from the temple, dancing in a friendly way. The two *Ajars* help him, getting his cap and dragon-headed stick from his hand. He wears a yellow mask with wide smile, white brocade dress and tiger-skin boots. He has white long hair and beard. He throws grains to the ground in front of him and lies down to sleep. One of *Xašin xān*’s children tries to wake him up by beating cymbals near his ear but succeeds in fleeing from him when he gets up and tries to catch the boy. Finally, he catches the tricky child and put his own cap on his head and hangs his own rosary in his neck. He is considered to bring long life, long-lasting happiness, good luck and well-being to the spectators by his dance, giving blessings and making the audience smile by throwing candies to them when he goes round the dance field from time to time.

After the White Old Man, the Lion (*arslan*, T. *seng-ge*), represented by two people in one green costume, comes out. He has a white mask with a big red tongue hanging down. He goes around the dance field from time to time, opening his mouth and growling at the audience making them laugh. This character appeared in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery dance first in 2005.

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Black Hat Dancers

After these funny episodes the messengers of *Erleg Nomīn Xān*, namely the 21 *Šanag* dancers (T. *zhwa nag*) arrive. Their number can be 11 or 21 (in 2004 11, after 2005 21 *Šanags* participate). Among them, firstly the *Čambon* (*camīn noyon*, T. ‘*cham-dpon*’), the head of the *Cam* dance arrives accompanied by the two *Ajars*. He is wearing a red hat with black brim decorated by five skulls and golden flames. From the two sides of the hat black strings are hanging down, reminding of long black hair. Three spots are painted at his face and forehead symbolizing the ash of the cemetery. He is holding a ritual dagger (*pūrew*, T. *phur-bu*) in his right hand and a skull filled with blood (*band, gawal, custai todow*, T. *thod-khrag*) in his left. He has a colourful blue dress, with its triangular shaped sleeves decorated by flames and white skulls and vajras. He is wearing bone necklace, bone apron and red boots. *Xašin xān* welcomes him by binding a ceremonial scarf to his neck and bowing to him. He starts to dance. Finally he crosses his hands in front of his chest and waits for the next dancer.

Following him, the *Argamba* (S. *argham*, T. *mchod-yon*), a main Black Hat dancer ‘bringing sacred blood’ is coming out again, and starts to dance together with the *Čambon*. The other important *Šanag* dancer ‘bringing the sacred spirit’, the *Serjimba* (T. *gser-skyems-pa*) comes, too. Their garments, clothes and equipments are completely the same as that of the *Čambon*.

The other Black Hat messengers come in pairs. Their clothes are not as colourful as the garments of the above-mentioned three main *Šanag* dancers, though very similar, and there is only one skull on the top of their hats. They hold smaller ritual daggers (*pūrew*, T. *phur-bu*) in their right hands, and black-haired skulls (*band*, T. *thod-khrag*) in their lefts. They join in the dance in pairs, firstly the two wearing yellow garments, than those pairs wearing green, yellow, blue, orange, reddish, dark green, and whitish costumes. All of them wear bone necklace and apron. Their triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by flames and white skulls. Finally, all the 21 *Šanag* dancers dance together with the same movements. In the way they move, it is said that they oppress and defeat the various vicious ghosts (*ad*), wicked spirits (*don*, T. *gdon*), devils (*būdi*, S. *bhūta*, T. ‘*byung-po*’), and evil spirits (*šimnus*) living in the four cardinal and the eight intermediate directions. The *Čambon* himself is moving in the most internal circle of the dancers (between the third and the fourth line), while the other black hat dancers in the outermost (between the first and second lines from outside). Then, they all take a seat in the chairs placed for them around the *Cam* field (theirs is the outermost circle in the dance field).

The Lord of Death and his Consort

The consort (*yūm*, T. *yum*, S. *śakti*) of *Erleg Nomun xān*, called *Jamundi* arrives to the scene. She wears a blue coloured mask and robes, bone necklace and apron. Her triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by flames and white skulls. She holds a trident (*jesūm*, T. *rtse-gsum*, S. *triśūla*) in her right hand with a black flag and a vajra on its top and a black-haired skull cup (*gawal/ todwa*, T. *thod-pa*, S. *kapāla*) in her left. She wears a blue mask decorated by five skulls and a golden vajra on its top and crocodile-shaped (*matar*) boots. She dances in the 3rd circle (between the second and third lines from outside), of the masked dancers.

Finally, the Lord of the Death, *Čoiĵō* (*Erlig nomun xan*, *Damdin Čoiĵō*, *Damĵan Čoiĵal*, T. *Chos-rgyal*, *Dam-can chos-rgyal*, S. *Yama*) comes into the field as the main figure of the *Cam*, defeating and driving away the enemies of the religion. He wears a dark blue bull-shaped mask, with three eyes and two horns, a skull diadem, and a blue vajra on the top of it and *matar*-shaped boots. He has a dark blue coloured robe covered by bone ornaments, including a bone bracelet. His triangular shaped sleeves are decorated by flames and white skulls. He holds a lasso (*calam*, T. *zhags-pa*) in his right hand and a skeleton (*arag yas*, T. *keng-rus*) in his left.

The *Serĵimba* holding a silver cup filled with *serĵim* in his right hand comes in front of the *Sor* and pours it on it as an offering while the ranked lamas recite the text.

Manifold Destruction of the Effigy

After the dance of *Jamundi* and *Čoiĵō*, the recitation of the proper text, and the destruction of the *lingka* (*lingin unšlaga*) begins. The *lingka* and the ten weapons (*arwan bagaj*) are brought out from the temple. After making offerings, and offering sacred spirit to *Čoiĵō* all of the masked deities return in reverse order in how they appeared on the field (*Gombo* and his accompany, *Ľamsran*, *Laixan*, *Donmaraw*, *Gongor*, *Namsrai*, *Šiwa*, *Maxe*). They are blessed again by sacred water and they all start to dance together with the 21 *Šanag* dancers. The *Šanag* dancers move between the first and second lines from the outer (T. *zhwa nag thig*), the masked characters between the second and the third lines (T. *'bag thig*) and the *Čambon* between the third and the fourth (T. *'cham-dpon thig*), in front of the *Sor* pavilion which faces the temple door.

Simultaneously, the *Čambon* executes the *lingka ewdex*, that is, the destruction of the dough effigy again, in front of the *Sor* pavilion, in front of the temple, in exactly the same way as it was performed during the inner *Cam* dances.

Another way of destroying the effigy (*lingka ewdrex*, T. *ling bsgral*) is the burning of the *lingka* drawn on a paper (*šoglin*, T. *shog-(g)ling*, 'paper *lingka*'). This act is called *cāsan lyanga šatāx* ('burning the paper *lingka*') or sometimes *cāsan balin ewdex* ('destroying the paper *balin*', here *balin* (sacrificial cake) is used in the meaning of *lingka*) in Mongolian. It is performed during the outer *Cam* dance by the *Čambon*, with the help of the *Taxilč* lama. At the appropriate part of the dance and its text, the dancers stop dancing and the *Čambon* leaving them there dances to the fireplace (*tulga*, the traditional three or four legged stand used in Mongolian yurts) set up on the south-west of the *Cam* field. He is accompanied by the *Gesġui* of the monastery, one of the *duganč* shrinekeeper lamas and the *Taxilč* lama. On the top of the *tulga*, a big cauldron is placed, full of boiling melted butter. The *Čambon* pours a skull cup of *serĵim*, given to his hands by the *Taxilč* (another helper stands at their back with a *bumba*, T. *bum-pa*), into the cauldron to make it flaming. Then the *Taxilč* holds the *šoglin* (the paper with the effigy drawn to it) which is attached to a wooden frame with a long handle into the fire. Afterwards, even the fire stand is knocked over to get a bigger fire in which the *lingka* burns completely. After completing this task, the *Čambon* dances back to the dance field and the dance continues.

The Burning of the Sor and the *£axar*

The next event is the burning of the *£axar* and the *Sor* (*Sor jalax*, T. *zor* ‘phen pa or *Sor šatāx*, *Sorīn balin šatāx*). At the end of the *Cam* dance, the *Sorīn balin* is thrown into fire, with the aim of combating the evil spirits. Also the droughts, destructions in the animal stock due to harsh winter cold (*jud*) and other natural disasters and conflagrations are supposed to get rid of.

The *Sor* itself is a triangular based wooden construction painted in orange, decorated by red flames and containing an offering cake inside, and surrounded by intestines. Its top is decorated by a skull and a blue coloured half vajra. The offering cake placed inside is the *düǰǰū*, the triangular shaped *balin*, with the *yūǰū*s and the remains of the *lingkas* that were destroyed during the inner *Cam* dances and the outer *Cam* around it. Its lower parts are tied around by ropes resembling bowels. It can be as high as a human body. By means of mystic formulas (*tarni*, T. *gzungs*, S. *dhāraṇī*), all the bad things of the year are dissolved into it, and are all cleared away with its burning. The *£axar* itself has round foundation and seven floors. It is decorated by human shaped figures, skeletons, skulls and intestines. Its top is decorated by a blue vajra.

This ceremony is lead by the same *Sorīn lam*, one of the high ranked lamas of the monastery, who leads all *Cam* ceremonies. During the *Sor* ceremony, and all the ceremonies of the *Cam* (from the *Adisлага* on) he has to wear the so called *ǰūǰū malgai* (also called as *yesün üǰǰurt* or *lowon malgai*, T. *rtse dgu*, ‘the nine peaked’).

All the dancers, the ranked lamas and all other lamas go out of the monastery in a procession to the fireplace (*Sorīn owōxoi*), a some metres high pile of firewood which has been set up previously for this purpose of burning the *Sor* always taking place outside the monastery. In the procession dancers and lamas parade in the prescribed order. First go the skeletons, than goes a lama who carries the triangular shaped table of the *Sor*, and the tiger skin, on which it is put when they stop to recite. Then the two purifiers with the *bainjen* and the *bumba* go on the two sides and also the offering cakes of *Sor* are carried by lamas. The two *Gesǰūis* go on the two sides, and the two *Bišǰūřč*. Then follows the *Sorīn lam*. Then the two *Taxilč* wearing black masks and *šašir* carry the *Sor* itself. The two *Bātars* go on the two sides with the *Rawen* near them. *Čoiǰō* and *Jamundi* lead the dancers, with the *Šanags* and then all the other masked dancers following them. All kinds of musical instruments, among them drums and two big trumpets (*üxer būrē*) are also carried and played (other instrument played during the ceremony include *bišǰūr* trumpets, *xengereg* drums, *can* cymbals, *ganlin* bone trumpets, *dün* conch shells and *damar* skull drums).

Before they reach the *Sorīn owōxoi*, they stop twice, arrange the *Sor* on its table and recite texts. For each year a suitable place is found outside the monastery walls to build the fire. (There is no fixed direction for this).

When they reach the fireplace, the lamas stop and start reciting, with the *Sorīn lam* standing in the front. *Čoiǰō* stands beside him, crossing his hands in front of him. The lamas stand beside him carrying the offering cakes of the *Sor* ceremony and other equipment (like a *bumba* and a *cögc*). One of the *Taxilč* lamas stands behind the *Sorīn*

lam holding the arrow with the image of *Očirwān*’ which hangs down from it. This arrow was leant against the *Sor* till now, being a part of it, but now it is not burnt with it. The two disciplinary masters and the two purifiers stand on the two sides, and *Duganč* lamas direct away from the fireplace the people gathered there. Behind them stand the high ranked lamas, the abbot, the *Corj* and the two chanting masters with two cymbals. Behind them are standing the masked dancers and the *Šanags*, dancing.

During the recitation, the *Sorin lam* holds his bell and vajra in his hands and makes the appropriate hand gestures (*mūdra*) during the recitation. His right wrist is bind in a black piece of cloth. First, the *Łaxar* is thrown to the fireplace, cut into pieces. Then, the fire is light. First the *Sorin lam* throws the *šawdag dorom*, which was placed till now on the tray of the *Sor*, in front of it, to the ground, in front of the fire. It is offered to the *lus* (T. *klu*, S. *nāga*, ‘spirits of the water’) so it is not burnt in the fire.

There are two other offering cakes called *denčig dorom* (T. ? *gtor-ma*) and *lančig dorom* (T. *lan-gcig gtor-ma*) or *Sorin balin* (‘sacrificial cake of the *Sor*’) and *Čoijōgīn balin* (‘sacrificial cake to Čoijō’) which are thrown into the fire by the *Sorin lam*.

When they get to that part in the readings, the *Sorin lam* throws the *Sor* into the fire, holding it in front of him by two hands for a while during the recitation.

When the *Sor* is thrown into the fire, the lamas pour petrol on it so it starts burning in big flames. As previously small fireworks were also placed in the fireplace, their explosions make the spectators withdraw from the fire a bit. Notwithstanding this, the devotees try to hold on and throw their wishes written on small pieces of papers into the fire. This is not ‘part’ of the ceremonial events so the disciplinary masters and lamas try to prevent them from doing it. The black coloured triangular base of the *Sor*, a metal tray, is taken out of the burning fire. (This is used again the next year.)

Then the lamas and dancers go back to the monastery, going in the same order they went to the fire. They all stop in front of the monastery gate to recite. Here the *Šanags* dance again, at music. The *Sorin lam* makes hand gestures again with the vajra and the bell, the black coloured cloth being tied to his wrist, stepping in the meanwhile with his right leg on the triangular shaped base of the *Sor*.

Then the dancers go back to the dance field. The dancers dance again, dancing around their own line three times, then with the text of *Ansol* (T. *mnga’-gsol*, ‘benediction’), *Daš* (T. *bkra-shis*, ‘auspiciousness’), *Sodsol* (T. *bzod-gsol*, ‘apology’) and *Molom yerōl* (T. *smon-lam*) the dance ends.

At the end the dancers lead by Čoijō and *Jamundi* leave the *Cam* field and enter into the shrine. All the dancers, before entering, speed up their dance movements as the music is speeded up as well with the cymbals being beaten quickly. This quick dance is called *xurdan cesem / jesem*.

The dancers leave the field in the same order they came out. After Čoijō and *Jamundi*, *Gombo* and *Lxam* (or *Gombo*’s accompany), then *Gongor* and *Namsrai*, *Łamsran* and his accompany, then *Šiwa* and *Maxe*, and finally the *Šanag* dancers. Of them, first the ordinary *Šanags*, than the *Argamba*, *Serjimba*, and finally the Čambon leaves the field. The secondary characters, such as *Xašin xān* and the White Old Man,

the direction protectors and also the musicians and the high ranked lamas go inside the temple after all the dancers had left.

When the devotees are finally let in, all lamas had taken off their costumes and masks, and are sitting in their lama benches in lama robes, where the ceremony is continued.

The Thanksgiving Offering and the Closing Sequence

As a closing event of the day, in the evening hours, a special thanksgiving offering (Danrag, T. gtang-rag, S. subharman; Danrag dorom, T. gtang-rag gtor-ma; ačlax taxil, ačlax balin, T. gtang-rag gtor-ma), called Čoiĵō(gīn) danrag (T. chos-rgyal-gyi gtang-rag) is presented to the Lord of Death in the evening. This sort of thanksgiving offering belongs to the called 'spreading Danrag' type (Łaiw danrag, T. rgyas-pa gtang-rag, delgerex danrag). The Čoiĵō(gīn) danrag itself is performed twice a year here, connected to the Sor jalax ceremony: in the summer during the Cam dances and in winter on the 29th of the last winter month, when the central deity of the Saxius ceremony is Čoiĵō and there is also the burning of the Sor. When they got to this part in the texts, the offerings are placed and arranged in a table in the middle of the temple, offered and then taken outside, arranged there again on a table, and offered again. Only after that are the offerings and the three main balins taken back to the temple, where two of them are divided into pieces and given to the lama community together with their portions of cakes and sweets and meat, while the third balin is burnt. The three balins are smaller than other balins used for thanksgiving, and their decorations are also different.

After the *Danrag* offering, the ceremony ends with the remaining parts of *Lamīn čodow*, the *Yerōl*, *Joriulga*, *Dodsol*, and the *Sodsol*, similarly to the *Adisłaga* ceremony or the other two *Łaxar* ceremony days and the ceremony ends with *Daš* and *Meĵem*.

In *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery as a closing ceremony of the *Cam* procedure the *Čoiĵō xural* is held in the afternoon of the 10th of the month, after the everyday ceremony has ended, in the *Cogčīn* temple. This is not frequented by devotees, and is a shorter ceremony.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN THE DANCES OF DAŠČOILIN AND THE TWO RURAL MONASTERIES

Amarbayasgalant Monastery (Selenge aimag, Barūn-Büren sum), and *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery (Bulgan aimag centre) follow the rules (*deg*, T. *sgrig(s)*) of the old *Wangīn xūrē Cam*, as they learnt the way and methods of *Cam* from the same old lama, D. Danjan, who was once a lama in the present Bulgan aimag, *Wangīn xūrē*, which was revived under the name *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery. After the revival of Buddhism in Mongolia, he was the lama of *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery after its reopening, before going to Ulānbātar, to the Kālacakra Temple (*Düinxor dacan*) of *Gandan* Monastery, where he spent his last years as its honourable chanting master and *lowon* (*darxan unjad / lowon*).

In 2005 in *Amarbayasgalant*, the dance was held on the 29th day of the last summer month. In *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery the dance was held on the 29th day of the middle autumn month. However, in the recent years the dance in *Daščoinxorlin* is performed in summer, and in *Amarbayasgalant* in the beginning of September. In both monasteries, *Cam* is performed again since 2000/2001.

None of the two monasteries held *Nyamba* and *£insreg* every year. In *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery, according to the informants it was held when the *Cam* was first performed in 2001, and then all the dancers and participating lamas did it. *£insreg* was performed just in 2001, in front of the *Jū* Temple, following the *nyamba*. In 2010 *nyamba* was held in the *Jū* Temple. In Bulgan *Nyamba* and *£insreg* were held in 2001 and 2002 (data is not available after 2005).

In *Amarbayasgalant*, preparations started a month before the *Cam* dance. As the monastery has considerably few lamas, around 30, and many of them are children, there were young novices, aged around ten, acting in the dance as well as in 2005 there were three dancers from *Düinxor dacan* of *Gandan* Monastery (acting that year as *Jamundi* and *Čambon*). These dancers arrived some days before the dance, and they practiced together with the lamas of *Amarbayasgalant* for some days. Every year the same lamas come to participate, the students of Uran Danjan. Also the *unjad* of *Düinxor dacan* and the *unjad* and *gesgüi* of *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery come to participate and lead the chanting of the *Cam* ceremonies.

In Bulgan, as it has a community of only around ten lamas, with only a few being old and trained enough, the dance could be revived only partially, with no masked dancers and the outer *Cam* being held by only one *Čambon*. Here the lamas of *Amarbayasgalant* and *Düinxor dacan* help the work of preparation and help to perform the ceremonies, but the whole dance is still impossible to perform.

Considering the *Cam* ceremonies, these are the same as in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery and as in the old days: *Adislağa* is held three days before the *Cam*, and the *£axar* ceremonies with the inner *Cam* last for three days starting two days before the day of the outer *Cam*. Also all the events of the *Cam* dance day and the elements of the outer dance are similar: *lingka ewdex*, *cāsan lingka šatāx*, *Sor jalax*, *Čoiĵō*

danrag. However, the day following the *Cam* day, *Čoiĵō* ceremony is not held. The *Cam* ceremonies end with the *Čoiĵō danrag* performed in the evening of the outer *Cam*. An important difference is that while in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery in the beginning only the *Sor* was burnt and *£axar* has been constructed only recently, in both rural monasteries *£axar* was part of the offerings from the very beginning.

However, the following differences were observed in comparison with the same type of *Cam* held in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery: differences in melody and movements, in the number and type of characters appearing in the dance, and in the order they came out to dance. For example the four accompanies of *Gombo* and the two consorts of *£amsran* did not appear, also *Šiwa* and *Maxe*, and there were only 11 *Šanag* dancers. *Lxam* appears as the pair of *Gombo*. (Recently it became the same in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin*, too). In *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery 26 characters appeared in 2005. As *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery has only a few lamas, it resulted in several necessary changes, for example very young lamas, about ten years old, participating in the dance and some lamas performed more than one tasks during the ceremonies. Banners are delivered by laymen. In Bulgan, there was no real outer *Cam* dance held, apart from the inner dance during the three ceremonies (after the *Adisłaga* held in the first day), only the *Čambon* performed his dance outside as well, with the same readings, and all the parts (*lingka ewdex*, *cāsan lingka šatāx*, *Sor jalax*, *Čoiĵō danrag*) of the *Cam* ceremony were performed.

Concerning the offerings placed inside the black curtain, the offerings were only for *Čoiĵil* (the seven offerings being the following: two sacred waters, a flower, incense, butter lamp, water, and a *šalsai*). The offerings were placed at the same manner as in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery, in front of the throne in the middle of the temple, similarly curtained off. In Bulgan these were placed on the *Adisłaga* day at the left of the altar, as there was not enough place for it in the small temple in front of it. The same kind of black curtain encircled the offerings, with the top of the *Sor*, *£axar*, and the *sum* (arrow) visible above the curtain. The curtain was decorated with human skulls with red eyes (the same *noiton tolgoi*, ‘humid heads’, decoration as in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery), lungs and hearts hanging down from the skulls, the skulls interconnected with garlands. The *£axar* and the *Sor* are placed on the two triangular dust maṇḍalas called *Saxar* made of coloured powder. The triangular based red and black coloured *Sor* is decorated by a blue vajra in its top similarly. The *£axar* is placed on a round shaped metal tray, and was covered by a black cloth.

The role of *Sorin lam* was fulfilled by the *da lam* in *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery and by the abbot in Bulgan. They wore *gūjūg* cap.

In these two monasteries the inner dance was performed by the three main Black Hat dancers in turns on the three days, these being the *Čambon*, the *Argamba* and the *Dalčid* (T. *bsgral mchod?*). In *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery the first day the *Čambon*, the second day the *Argamba*, and at the *Cam* dance day the *Dalčid* performed the dance. In Bulgan the first inner *Cam* and the outer *Cam* was performed by the same *Čambon*, while on the other two occasions by two other lamas.

Concerning the inner *Cam* dances, the following differences were observed. The dance lasted longer. The lamas who participated in the inner *Cam* procedure as

helpers of the dancers were wearing *owōdoi* decorated with red ribbon, and they more actively helped the dancer. During the performance of the inner *Cam* the calling of the deities were executed by two lamas wearing *šašir* and the dancer himself. Before the inner *Cam* started four lamas wearing *owōdoi* with red ribbon went out. One of them was the dancer himself, one performed the calling standing outside the temple door till the dancer arrived, and the other two was who accompanied the dancer. At the same time all the lamas inside the temple put on their hats. Two of them wearing a *šašir* stood on the two sides of the inner row of seats. When the dancer arrived, one lama wearing an *owōdoi* with red ribbon held the *bainjen*.

There were some differences in the way of the *lingka ewdex* but the main features were the same as in *Jūn Xūrē Dašcoilin* Monastery.

The dancer's garments were of the same type as in *Jūn Xūrē Dašcoilin* Monastery dance. The apron (*madyog*) was decorated by a monster head, the *dodyog* by a *višvavajra*, its edges by skulls and *noiton tolgois*, the *jawdar* by the eight auspicious symbols. There was a separate red piece of clothing covering the neck decorated by a vajra. His bone apron and necklace had many small bells tinkling as he danced.

Firstly, accompanied with a strange screaming the dancer poured blood offering (*argam*) in front of the curtain into the cup held by the *Taxilč* lama, and then got his equipment from him, the ritual dagger (*pürew*, T. *phur-bu*, S. *kila*) and the skull. Taking these in his hands he started to dance inside the rows of the seats. One of his accompany helped him to perform some special movements such as higher arm-movements and crouching (seeming as a collapse), supporting him.

Inviting the deity was performed by the two lamas wearing *šašir* and holding *ganlin* bone trumpet in their left hand and the *yandar* in their right hands.

Then, the alcohol offering of *serjīm* was performed by the dancer with moving in y slow way to the slow music and pouring the content of the cup to a pot. Then he started to dance again holding his attributes. The offering of *serjīm* was repeated four times in the same way. This fourfold *serjīm* offering corresponds to the fourfold *ürel* offering of *Jūn Xūrē Dašcoilin* Monastery.

The black triangular shaped box of the *lingka* covered by a black cloth was placed in the middle of a carpet representing a tiger, with its head to the south, just like in *Jūn Xūrē Dašcoilin* Monastery. During his dance the 10 weapons (*bagaŋ*) were placed on a small table. Following the *serjīm* offering the dancer took these one by one in his hands and presented destroying movements to the direction of the *lingka*. The order of using the different weapons was the same as observed in *Dašcoilin* monastery. He circled a white coloured cup containing grain around at the high off his waist three times, then he spitted on the grains and threw them on the *lingka*, also sprinkling *nančid* on it. It is almost the same as in *Jūn Xūrē Dašcoilin*'s ritual. Then, the dancer holding the hammer (*towa*, T. *tho-ba*) in his right and the ritual dagger (*pürew*) in his left hand performed a quick movement like that of driving a nail in, hitting the dagger by the hammer. Then, accompanied by loud music, he executed the *lingka ewdex* by the hook (*jaqjü*, T. *lcags-kyu*) and the ritual dagger, cutting it into pieces. In *Jūn Xūrē Dašcoilin* he performs stabbing movements. *Dašcoinxorlin*'s performance is similar to *Amarbayasgalant*'s.

In *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery during the night preceding the outer *Cam* dance the lamas did a practice on the *Cam* dance field. From the roof of the monastery lamas played the so called *üxer бүрē* trumpets. This is called *yansan* (T. *dbyangs bzang?*, ‘nice melody’). In *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* trumpets are not blown.

As concerning the outer *Cam*, the *Cam* dance field, in *Amarbayasgalant* Monastery the dance took place in front of the monastery, outside the wall, between the main gate and the *yampai* (protecting screen wall), the traditional site for the dance in monasteries of this type. The dance *tigs*, mainly the same as in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery, were drawn days before the *Cam* dance. There were four circles inside the outer square line, and a separate circle for the *Čambon*, and an other for the *Sor* tent, both inside the inner circle. The tents were put up at dawn, as well as the fireplace for burning the paper *lingka*. On the *yampai* the scroll image of *Čoijō* was hanged. The place for burning the *cāsan lingka* was on the south-western corner of the field, but inside the outer field-line (the square-shaped *tig*). In Bulgan, the *tigs* were drawn on the day of the outer *Cam* dance. The flags of the direction protectors were held by devotees in both monasteries being not enough lamas for this.

The ceremonies of the third day in both countryside monasteries started at night, so the inner *Cam* was performed in the morning and the outer *Cam* itself started about 11 o'clock.

As for the main differences of the outer *Cam*, these present themselves mainly in the different melodies, different movements and in the number of lamas participating as well as in deities appearing and in the order they appear. These result from the different traditions followed.

In *Amarbayasgalant* the four attendants of *Gombo*, the two consorts of *£amsran*, the (*Šiwa*) and the bull (*Maxe*) did not appear in the dance. *Xašin xān* has two or more sons. *Lxam* goddess as the pair of *Gombo* appeared. When new deities (or pairs of deities) appeared on the scene, through the southern main gate, two lamas blew their trumpets (*bišgūr*) to welcome them. After the two *Dürtoddagwa*, *Lxam* and *Gombo*, then *Gongor* and *Namsrai*, *£amsran*, the two *Ajars*, then the White Old Man, the *Čambon* and the other ten Black Hat dancers appeared, followed at last by *Jamundi* and *Čoijō*. Then all characters who had left the dance field after their circles of dance, appeared again together and performed a dance together.

In both countryside monasteries the *Čambon* presented his dance outside similarly to the inner dance, then got his hammer into his hands, but did not execute the destroying of the *lingka* as inside or as in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery's outer dance, but only the burning of the paper *lingka*. This was similar to that seen in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery. During this, all other deities stood on the dance field without moving. When the burning was finished, they all marched to the *Sorin owōxoi* on the south (in Bulgan it was the south-west, in *Amarbayasgalant* south-east) to execute the burning of the *Sor* and the *£axar*. The march is lead by *Čoijō*. Devotees throw their wishes on small papers (actually the number of family members is written on it). In both places the *£axar* was thrown into the pile of wood before lighting the fire by lay people torn into pieces. The lamas placed the *Sor*, the *yūgū* and the arrow (*sum*) on a table, while the *Sorin lam* executed a recitation and finally it

was him who threw the *Sor* into the fire. In Amarbayasgalant the dancers started a new dance then (in Bulgan the only *Čambon*), returning to the monastery, to the dance field. In their way they stop, and recites texts. The *Sorin lam* putting his foot to the round base of the *£axar* makes hand gestures with his black scarf. In the dance field they dance again, with the *Čambon* in *Amarbayasgalant* dancing separately to the south from the other dancers. In Amarbayasgalant the dance ended at about five o'clock with the dancers returning to the temple in reverse order how they appeared at the beginning. Then, in both countryside monasteries in the temple as a closing event of the *Cam* procedure, *Čoiĵo danrag* was prepared and offered, inside and outside.

CONCLUSIONS

Reviving the *Cam* dance, such a complicated Tantric ritual had an outstanding importance in the revival of Mongolian Buddhism. Though all three dances revived till now belong to the same *£axar Cam* category, specialities can be observed in their performances, and also deficiencies compared with each other or especially with the dances of the old times. *Cam* is, however, much more than a spectacular event, the main emphasis is on the rituals, so in terms of Tantric practice, all the three dances are complete. Bringing the performance to perfection is still in process: the number of characters increases gradually. What is the most important is that in spite of the suppression of more decades the old lamas succeeded to a certain extent in reviving at least one of the traditional Mongolian *Cam* forms, passing over the instructions they had got from their own masters in their teenager ages. As currently with the passing away of the old master who organized the dances in *Amarbayasgalant* and in *Bulgan*, and with the masters in *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* Monastery also reaching an old age, it is in all three places the younger generation now having different monastic ranks in the assemblies who continue organizing and improving *Cam*. The *Cam* at *Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin* is considered to be the revival of the *Xūrē Cam* tradition, thus it is an important heritage of the old Mongolian monastic capital city, *Urga* or *Ix Xūrē*.

SOME REMARKS

Nowadays, it happens that for a particular event a group of monks of these three monasteries are invited to other rural monasteries to perform *Cam* in a small scale. It was the case at the anniversary of Bragri Lama Damcigdorj (1781–1848) in 2011 (Dundgow' province, Saixan-Owō sum), and at the opening ceremony of Šaddūwdarjālin Monastery (Bulgan province, Büregxangai sum) in 2011, where the monks of Jūn Xūrē Daščoilin Monastery performed the dance. The monks of Xamarin xīd (Dornogow' province), the famous Red Stream monastery founded by Noyon xutagt Danjanrawjāa (1803–1856), often invites the monks of Amarbayasgalant Monastery and Daščoinxorlin Monastery to perform the dance there. It also happens that monks going abroad perform the dance, but it is just a performance without Tantric ceremonies. In Mongolia a short *Cam* performance is also the part of national performances organised for tourists to popularize Mongolian art and culture. These can be performed by professional dancers or anybody as these dances do not have any Tantric meaning.

Moreover, in 2010 Mongolian *Cam* was requested to be listed as UNESCO's World Heritage list as intangible cultural heritage of Mongolia.

Regarding *Cam* dances of the past, the history and spreading of *Cam* in Mongolia requires further studies. Apart from the Tibetan handbook of *Xūrē Cam* written by Agwānluwsanxaidaw abbot some archival sources help to learn more about its history. For instance a 123-page book (M–85, D–1, 488a.) is preserved in the National Archives of Mongolia, which was written in 1875 in Tibetan and in Mongolian, and contains technical instructions to organise the *Xūrē Cam* dance. A 124-page book written in 1811 prescribed the catering and other items of *Cam* (M–85, D–1, 48a). A 128-page book discusses the garments and decorations of *Cam* (M–85, D–1, 1567, without date). Special orders also include data on *Cam*: the rules of veneration at such special events as *Cam* were determined in 1917 (A–88, D–1, 20); the rules followed by female visitors' at such special events as *Cam* were prescribed in 1905 (M–101, D–1, 27); a discipline of vagabonds who caused turbulances during the period of *Cam* was issued in 1829 (M–85, D–2, 545.), and the title of a document mentions that the requirements of *Cam* robes were written down in 1919 (A–225. D–1, 2). The Archives of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party preserves a document regarding Maitreya procession and *Cam* written on 25 March 1937 (F1/6/7). Moreover, the Tibetan Collection of the National Library of Mongolia preserves a handbook of a *Cam* dance written by Agwānluwsandambijāncan (Ngagdbang blo-bzang bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, Nga, 1012/97; 928/97), entitled *Chos-sde chen-po dge'-phel dga'-ldan chos-mdzad gling-gi gar-'chams-kyi bca'-sgrigs 'gyur-med rdo-rje'i re-kha zhes bya-ba bzhugs-so* [Unchanging Vajra Figure: Rules of *Cam* Dance performed in *Dge'-phel dga'-ldan chos-mdzad gling* Monastery].

Reminiscences of old monks regarding *Cam* has great significance as well. Damdinsüren's and ʘambal's memories were published, and old monks can still give accounts about their memories.

Photographs taken by foreign travelers are also available related to the old *Cam* dances of *Ix Xürē*, *Daščoinxorlin* Monastery, *Manjšir* Monastery, *Erdene Jū*, *Said wangīn xürē*, and some other monastic sites. Many of these photographs are available in the Film Archives in Ulānbātar, and many other photos of *Cam* performed in *Erdene Jū* were published in 2011 in Mongolia, and in 2012 in Poland.

Another treasury of the heritage of *Cam* is the Temple Museum of Čoiĵin Lama, which includes numerous masks of *Xürē Cam*, whilst others are kept in the Janabajar Museum of Fine Arts. Paintings presentings *Xürē Cam* need to be further studied as well. Carved *Cam* figures are available in St-Petersburg and in the collections of Hans Leder in some European countries.

Few old films about *Cam* have been remained, whilst new photos and films are available in the monasteries where *Cam* is performed.

Relevant and useful data are also available on the web (keyword: Mongolian Tsam), such as new photos, short films, the masks of the collection of the Temple Museum of Čoiĵin Lama, and short but useful descriptions about the supposed and real meanings of *Cam*.

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- M-85, D-1, 1567. *Цам гарахад хэрэглэх хувцас чимэглэл зэргийг бичсэн данс.* (128) [List of garments and accessories of Cam]
- M-101, D-1, 27. *Хүрээ хийдийн дүйцэн хурал, цам бүжиглэх, бөх барилдах зэрэг үед эмэгтэйчүүдийг хугацааны дотор явуулж байхыг бичсэн нугалбар бичиг.* 1905 (1) [Rules of female visitors of monasteries who come for festivals, Cam, wrestling, etc.]
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