



Traditional Tug-of-War as Shared Intangible Cultural Heritage in East Asia

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1. Introduction

The tug-of-war is one of the most well-known intangible cultural heritage elements that represent Korea. Tug-of-war games were widely enjoyed by people across the country before the 1930s to 1940s. During the 1960s, the tug-of-war came under the protection of Cultural Heritage Conservation Policy and has been appointed and is being managed by local and national governments. In Korea, eight separate tug-of-war traditions have been inscribed on the national inventory list. Moreover, compared to other ICH element studies, there is a significant amount of research that has accumulated.

Tug-of-war is a cultural heritage element of many East Asian nations, and these nations are preparing to inscribe the element on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. In this context, the goal of this paper is to discover universal traits in tug-of-war traditions in East Asian. However, other than Korea and Japan, there is insufficient research on tug-of-war traditions in the region, which limits scope of this presentation. In case of China, despite the existence of various records on tug-of-war in literature, the tradition as exists in China today seems to be more of a sports match than a ritual event. I would also like to mention that this paper is a draft based on the materials on document records, the Internet, and the academic symposium hosted by Gijisi Tug-of-war Conservation Institute.

2. Main Discourse

1) Tug-of-war and the term of *war*

There are many names given to a tug-of-war. However, it is very interesting that the word *war* exists in both English and Korean terminology. In English, it is called "a tug-of-war". In Sino-Korean characters, it is called *galjeon* (葛戰) or *sakjeon* (索戰). Moreover, in Korean tug-of-war includes terms such as 'rope commander' and 'flag', which suggest a relationship to war in the ritual. In case of China, although there are no terms that directly suggest *war*, there are many titles for tug-of-war, such as *gugang* (鉤強), *gyeongu* (牽鉤), *sigoo* (施鉤), and *tagoo* (拖鉤), which originate from tools used during naval battles of the Oh and Cho kingdoms. In addition, in *The Journal of Bong* (封氏聞見錄), Bong Yeon of the Dang dynasty writes, "A tug-of-war is called *balha* (拔河). On the Day of the First Full Moon, people are divided into two teams and compete in a tug-of-war using double knotted ropes made of bamboo bark. This ritual originates from imitating the war between Cho and Oh". This indicates that *ha* (河) in *balha* (拔河) relates to a naval battle. The expression of *war* in English is indicative of the intense struggles that match those in battles during a war. On the other hand, in Japan, a tug-of-war is called *tsunahikari* (綱引き), which more literally describes the act of pulling ropes.

2) Geographical distribution of tug-of-war

The practice of tug-of-war is found in the Americas, Africa, and Europe, but it is primarily concentrated in North-East Asia and South-East Asia—Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Laos, Myanmar, Taiwan, and Thailand. Since these are all nations with large agricultural sectors, tug-of-war matches are generally recognised as games played by rice farmers. In Japan, too, tug-of-war is heavily concentrated around the Kyuyshu area, where rice farming is well developed. Also, in China, in the Hyungcho region, which is thought to be where the tug-of-war began in China, is also the centre of rice farming. Yankor Wat of Khmer, which has a tug-of-war wall painting, is also a traditional centre of rice farming. Tug-of-war is also found in fire-field farmers of South-East Asia, but it is generally distributed heavily in rice farming regions. Therefore, it is regarded as a custom of agricultural farmers. It is the same case with Korea.

Looking at a survey on tug-of-war that was done in the 1930s, out of 161 locations surveyed, tug-of-war was found mostly in the southern region of the Korean peninsula, where rice farming was prevalent. Also, tug-of-war is not found in Hamgyeongbuk-do, which is also not a rice farming area, and this further corroborates the hypothesis that tug-of-war was mostly done in rice farming regions. In terms of distribution by province, the share of rice farming in Korea is as follows: Jeolla-do, Gyeongsang-do, and Chungcheong-do are about 70 per cent; Gyeonggi-do and Gangwon-do, about 50 per cent; and Hwanghae-do, Pyeongan-do, and Hamgyeong-do, about 20 per cent. It is speculated that such phenomenon is due to the fact that the main materials

to make a rope for tug-of-war was rice straw, along with kudzu, silver grass, and bamboo bark as supplementary materials.

However, the rope that first appeared in the records of North-East Asian literature sources was made not of rice straw but of bamboo bark, kudzu, and silver grass. Also, tug-of-war in Japan and Korea was not confined exclusively to rice farming regions. Therefore, attributing the use of rice straw to explain this phenomenon appears to have insufficient validation.

Today, the rope for tug-of-war is made mostly of straw, and this is why some people relate tug-of-war directly to rice farming. However, in the mountain and coastal areas, kudzu, hemp, and bamboo were used instead of straw. In addition, even in rice farming areas, using rice straw, which was used for a lot of different purposes, must have not been easy. Therefore, hemp cloth, kudzu vines, and dried grass were also used in addition to rice straw. It appears that straw was used for making ropes as rice farming using waterways became more common and straw became more readily available. In *Donggookyojiseunglam (A Travel Record of Eastern Nations)* introduces a tug-of-war in Jeju Island, and it is clear that rice straw was not used.

Using arrowroot rope is prominent in the Youngnam region, and the tug-of-war in this region was called *galjeon*. In fact, the main materials used to make a rope in the eastern coastal areas of Korea, such as Wooljin and Youngil in Gyeongsangbuk-do, were kudzu and hemp, with bark from bamboo and other trees as supplements. Kudzu and hemp ropes were used as ropes for boating after tug-of-war was over because these materials are stronger than straw. However, using kudzu to make ropes was not a general practice and was used only when straw was not available because of a bad harvest.

The ropes are also made of straw in Japan, where they have tug-of-war in January and August. However, in Kagoshima Prefecture, both kudzu and straws are used together or silver grass is used. In Yakujima, kudzu is used to make the rope spine, and the mixture of silver grass and straw is used cover the spine.

The ropes in China were also made of bamboo and hemp. *The Journal of Bong* reports that, bamboo strips were once used but that hemp was used during Dang dynasty and its length was forty to fifty strips (one strip is 3.03m). *Hyungchosesigi* by Jongreum indicates that in ancient tug-of-war matches, a rope made of bamboo bark was hung across several li (里) between the two ridges of rice field and people began pulling the rope at the sound of a drum.

According to Professor Sakurai Tatsuhiko, although tug-of-war in Asia was predominantly played by rice farmers, others people such as fire-field farmers, hunters, and fishermen also enjoyed tug-of-war. And this proposes a new theory that the tug-of-war was enjoyed by both farmers and fishermen in East Asia. Evidence for this theory was that, in Japan, tug-of-war traditions are heavily concentrated along the coastal area. In fact, tug-of-war is not only played on land but also at sea, where not only big harvest of rice but also a big catch of fish was prayed for. However, in a place where fishing is the only industry, a case of tug-of-war has not been found. In the coastal region of Gangwon-

do and Gyeongsang-do in eastern Korea, the goal of the tug-of-war ritual is to pray for a good harvest. There are some cases where the custom of loading the boat with ropes represented good catch of fish, but there are no cases of fishermen doing tug-of-war.

My opinion is that the tug-of-war is traditional custom of farming regions and that straw and other readily obtained materials were used to make ropes. Then, as rice farming improved and many acquired a ready supply of straw, rice straw was exclusively used to make ropes. However, in the mountain regions where it is hard to obtain straw, other materials, such as kudzu, hemp, and silver grass, were used to make ropes.

The ropes used in tug-of-war differ depending on the size of number of participants. In Korea, ropes used in tug-of-war in farming community are short because of the limitation on the number of participants. However, in the tug-of-war where many farming communities participate, the length of ropes becomes longer. By the way, the tug-of-war using long ropes was played in special cases, where there was a special celebration or the possibility of calamities, such as famine and diseases, at the community level, not as an annual event. Therefore, unlike the tug-of-war that was played after the ceremony for the first full moon in January, these matches were held during the day and had strong entertainment qualities. The rope that is longer than 100m that appears in Chinese literature also represents a long rope used during communal events.

3) Korea, the final destination in the tug-of-war Silk Road

There are many forms of tug-of-war in Korea such as single rope, twin rope, and multiple ropes. They represent locality and diversity reflected in different regions, but they all contain culturally universal elements. Such is the case in other East Asian countries. In Japan, single rope is predominant. In Okinawa, however, twin rope is dominant. There is a record of twin ropes in Chinese records, and today some nomadic minority races in China play multiple rope games. They play a single rope game too but it appears in a modern sport game form. In the case of South-East Asia, a single rope is the predominant form.

4) Dragon (snake), the water god

The idea of rope invokes images of a dragon or male genitalia. We recognise the rope in the tug-of-war as the dragon rope, and the head of single rope is the dragon head while the end of the rope is the dragon tail. In Hoenseong, Gangwong-do, people hang scales on the rope to visually reconstruct a dragon. In case of twin ropes, they assign gender to ropes, one rope is the female dragon and the other is the male dragon. They also see the tug-of-war as a fight between two dragons or sometimes between a dragon and tiger.

The tendency to look at the rope as a dragon is found in China, Thailand, and Laos. In Japan and Cambodia, represents a snake, and this is also the case in some places in Korea, such as Gwacheon, where it is called *imoogyi*. Dragon and snakes are often understood in the same context because of the belief that when a snake ascends to

heaven, it becomes a dragon. Imoogyi is a snake that failed to ascend to heaven and it is usually viewed as harmful as there is a belief that it causes harm to compensate for his sorrow of not ascending to heaven. In Japan, there is a case where people throw the snake into the sea after tug-of-war is over to comfort the soul of imoogyi and to ward off bad luck. This is done every year as a ritual.

The fact that rope is a symbol of dragon is conspicuously revealed in the handling of ropes. In the area around the River Han in Korea, after tug-of-war is over, the ropes are placed on the frozen river so that they can be washed away to sea when the ice melts. In many other areas in Korea, people consider it a good sign when the ropes are washed away to the sea. The ritual is the act of sending the dragon back home. In some areas of Gyeonggi-do, the ropes are placed around the stream so that the dragon can stay near water. In Jookjeon, Yongin, people believe that using the ropes to block the dams make water more abundant and prevent draught. They believe they get help of the dragon, who is a water god. Also related to the idea of water is that the tug-of-war was part of a draught ritual because the act of pulling at both ends was thought to induce a fight between two dragons in the heavens, which would result in clouds and ultimately rain.

In Jeollabuk-do region, the act of coiling a string around Dangsang after the tug-of-war is over is a reproductive ritual, symbolising sexual acts. It is also thought of as a dragon belief where people would bring a dragon to the village and pray for peace and good harvest. Also, it could be viewed as symbol of abundance and fertility through combining of god of farming and dragon god that determines good harvests. The secondary symbolic meaning was to view it as prayer for good harvest for a year through sexual acts of dragon gods around Dangsang, which marks and defines the territory of the community.

In Nghe An region in Viet Nam, people of Con Cuong has been practicing a ritual to pray for rain called "Pulling dragon tails". This used to believe that draught occurs when dragon was sleeping too long or locked underground, and therefore they had to wake up the dragon by pulling its tail. After tug-of-war is over, people in the village would bury the tail that symbolised the dragon's tail and leave the place as a holy ground. Then they would perform a ritual of beating drums to represent the sound of thunder and prayer for good harvest.

5) Stem, the symbol of genitalia

In Korea and China, the ropes made by twisting symbolise a close bond and strong act of interlocking. In this respect, the rope not only represents dragon and snakes but also symbolises the penis or sexual intercourse. That is, as genitalia are the root of all reproduction, the rope symbolises the power of production. Also, the act of pulling a rope symbolises sexual intercourse and is a kind of black magic that prays for good harvest through direct imitation of sexual acts.

The meaning of genitalia symbolised by rope is also revealed in the process of handling ropes. Crossing the rope in storage means pregnancy. If a sterile woman eats

the rope boiled, she becomes pregnant. All these myths express the reproductive function of the rope as a sexual organ. In addition, if you hang a rope on the roof or at the gate, evil cannot enter your house. If a sick person eats it boiled, he or she is cured. These myths are also created to suppress evil and yin using the power of yang. In *Suseo*, Jiriji of China wrote "according to a folklore, tug-of-war can defeat evil".

In Buan, Jeongeup and Gimje of Jeollabuk-do, people coil Dangsans (trees and stones) with ropes after tug-of-war is over. They lay a female rope on the ground and then lay a male rope over it. This is considered sexual intercourse.

6) Tug-of-war between two genders and imitation of sexual act

Tug-of-war in Asia is generally done by dividing men and women into a team. Of course, tug-of-war is also played by dividing communal space to east-west, north-south and up-down regardless of gender, but east, north, and up are viewed as male, and west, south, and down are regarded as female. In division of gender, the victory of female is a prediction for a good harvest. Fertility of female is being related to fertility in agriculture (good harvest). Tug-of-war between two genders is common and widespread in Asia.

In Huu Chap of Bac Ninh, Viet Nam, tug-of-war matches are between unmarried males and females. Male team symbolises yang and a dry season while the female team represents yin and a rainy season. Despite the high chance of the male team winning, usually the female team is allowed to win in order to pray for good harvest. Such ritualistic acts often occur in minority races in Thailand.

In Cambodia, usually men and women are divided to play tug-of-war. In this case, it is worth noting that there are more females than males playing the game. In terms of strategy, each team places the strongest person either in the middle or at the end, and often one of the male team members plays a drum or gong standing in the middle as the two teams face each other. The role of the person holding the musical instrument is to cheer for the team. They would play music faster to encourage their team members. In a single rope tug-of-war in Jeollabuk-do, Korea, young single males are included on the female team to determine the win fairly, but the act of including young males in the female rope indirectly plays in favour for the female victory.

In Tich Son village of the Vinh region in Viet Nam, people believe the winning of the east team that represent male is a sign for good harvest. In this game, only males participate on January 3 in lunar calendar and they pull the ropes in east-west direction. They divide the team by female rope in the west and male rope in the east. A win by the female rope would signal good harvest for that year. Unlike other regions, older males are placed in the east and the young males in the west. According to traditional belief in Viet Nam, a win by the east team would signal a good harvest, and therefore, the east team was allowed to win. It seems to contain male genitalia worship.

In twin rope tug-of-war in Korea, ropes are given gender and tug-of-war represents sexual intercourse. Therefore, the connecting of two ropes symbolise combining two sexes and represents fertility and good harvest. When female and male

ropes interlock, it is a direct expression of sexual intercourse. It takes a long time for the two ropes to combine. In China, the act of lowering and stretching your body when pulling ropes is viewed as symbolising sexual intercourse. As such, tug-of-war in all cases has a function of praying for fertility and good harvest through sexual intercourse of male and female.

The tug-of-war in Okinawa also reveals imitative act of sexual intercourse and the goal is to pray for rain. That is, rain is considered semen in a sexual relationship. Song Seokha viewed the tug-of-war of Myanmar also as a kind of black magic to pray for rain. In Korea, there are cases of playing tug-of-war during draught. This is considered, as mentioned before, as a way to entice dragons to produce rain.

The ultimate goal in tug-of-war is to pray for good harvest. In a poem by Jang Seol of the Dang dynasty is written "Spring came and tug-of-war is being played, the goal is to hope for good harvest in fall," indicating the goal of tug-of-war. In *Suseo*, Jiriji also wrote that the goal of tug-of-war is a good harvest.

7) Seasonal game

In Korea, tug-of-war is the most widely played in the first full moon day (Jeongwol Daeboreum) although it is often played on the first day of February in the lunar calendar and on Dano, Chuseok (Korean Thanksgiving Day), and other holidays. Similarly, it is played in the beginning of the year in China and South-East Asia. In Japan, the time of tug-of-war varies by region.

In China, although traditional tug-of-war has been lost, it was played in the first full moon day according to the historic documents. It is because spring is the planting season and planting means wishes of an abundant harvest later in the year.

The Japanese tug-of-war is distributed in Okinawa and northeast regions and played at different times. In the north-east region (Aomori and Akita), the tug of war takes place on the first full moon day, as it does in Korea. The tug of war happens at other times as well, on 15 July and August in Kansai region (Chiba and Ibaraki), on Chuseok in the Kyushu region, and in June, which is the harvest season, in Okinawa. In conclusion, tug-of-war is always played for the New Year in accordance with the agricultural calendar since from June to August is harvest season as well as the planting season in Okinawa.

The table below shows tug-of-war in South-East Asia by Dr Sougawa Suneo and Sakurai Tazuhiko. Although it is fragmented, it demonstrates that there is a link between South-East Asian and Korean tug-of-war according to the fact that tug-of-war is a game in which men and women as separate teams draw a rope. Furthermore, it is played during a ritual for rain not throughout the year.

Country	Time and Location	Method	Occupation
Taiwan Ami Tribe	Chestnut cultivation, millet harvest/storage for heads of hunted animals		Fire-field
Malaysia Island of Borneo	Planting rice seed on the fire-field	Male/Female	Fire-field
Indonesia Taninbal Island	Planting in November, Prekaje (congratulation on the sexual union of heaven and hearth)	Male/Female	Fire-field
India Asam Ao-Naga Tribe	After planting rice/sward beans	Male/Female	Fire-field
Bali Island Denbaser	New Year (late March), using hemp palms	Male/Female	Rice farming
Malaysia	New Year	Male/Female	Rice farming
Cambodia	New Year (April) Water Festival	Male/Female	Rice farming
Laos	New Year (April) Water Festival	Male/Female	Rice farming
Thailand Sham tribe	New Year (April) Water Festival, Ritual for Rain	Male/Female	Rice farming
China Winnanseong Dai tribe	New Year (April) Water Festival	Male/Female	Rice farming
Viet Nam	The 3 January (Donkin Plain) The 15 January (Thai Tribe)	Male/Female	Rice farming

In Laos, tug-of-war is an agricultural ritual happening before planting in spring and a rope is a symbol of snake. Also, people tend to believe that if the female team wins, the year will be abundant. In Cambodia, people enjoy tug-of-war for three days in mid-April during the New Year Festival. The Khmer call tug-of-war *teanhprot*, which means 'pulling a rope'. Everybody can participate in the tug-of-war at large public places, such as a Buddhist religious house. It is played without distinction of age or gender and the thickness of a rope is similar to the thickness of a wrist. The origin of tug-of-war in Cambodia comes from a bas-relief at the temple of Angkor Wat in Cambodia includes a depiction of gods and devils playing tug-of-war holding a big snake with five heads to 'stir up the Ocean of Milk'. This means not to decide a victory or defeat of the game but to start a vicious Soma through the alternating motion of a rope, which stirs up harmfulness. Thus, it is different from the tug-of-war of agricultural villages. A similar relief of the ninth century is found in Punjab, India.

The purpose of 'Ocean of Milk' by gods and evils is an attempt to free the precious objects lost from within, including the elixir of immortality called amrita. It is well-known that this myth was imitated by the ancient capital built in the late twelfth century in Cambodia in accordance with findings of gods and evils reliefs at the entrance of the capital.

8) Wishes for peace and union in village

There are difficulties in understanding tug-of-war, a cultural phenomenon, in East Asia including Korea if we focus on 'rice farming' or 'rice straw'. Tug-of-war is not only for farmers, but also for hunting people and fishermen, which is a community play for all people, young and old, men and women. In this regard, the main purpose of tug-of-war is to wish for peace in the village.

Tug-of-war is often to prevent misfortune or a drought. And this is also a common reason throughout Korea (Gijisi, Eonyang, Cheongdo Hwayang, Samcheok, Gwacheon, Icheon, and other places). Similarly, there are many cases to wish for rain in East Asia countries. Tug-of-war contains the meaning of fighting to misfortune. People believe that the power of community can prevent misfortune. For instance, the Samcheok tug-of-war in Korea shows the purpose of tug-of-war as wishing for peace and unity in the village.

Before playing tug-of-war, people tend to walk around the village holding a rope. This scenario represents a dragon flying into the sky. This is also considered as a form of vitality for a new born dragon as well as safety of the dragon. This performance is similar to 'Jisibapgi' and both tug-of-war and Jisinbapgi are to wish for peace and tranquility of the village. There are good examples of this in Japan.

In Japan, there is a performance to walking around the village holding a rope before tug-of-war. In particular, it is considered that the performance of pulling a rope up and down and right and left is a symbol of a present of a snake in Yakujima, Japan. Furthermore, there are examples of this performance in Kagosima, Fukuoka, and Chikugo in Japan. The reason why people walk around the village is to wish for peace and to prevent misfortune in the village. In this point, there is an opinion that tug-of-war is not for fighting itself.

That is, it is found that the relationship between tug-of-war and fortune-telling of a good harvest of the year was formed as tug-of-war had been transmitted from the performance of walking around the village holding a rope. There is another meaning in tug-of-war: people tend to pull a rope until the rope is broken. *Dong-guk-yeojiseungram* says that the tug-of-war in Jeju continued until the rope broke, and this is also the case in Kagosima, Japan. It is considered a part of 'Yongjageuk' to pull a rope and chop the rope after the performance.

In Cambodia, a tug-of-war lasts about five to ten and is repeated until one team gives up. This game has a strong religious meaning to refresh New Year and recreate the universe.

3. Conclusion

South Korea is the most representative nation in East Asian in terms of various types of tug-of-war. There are different types of ropes and play methods in different regions, such

as Ssangjul, Oejul, and Gejul (Gijul). Besides, tug-of-war is not only a game but also a ritual that unites of village.

Japanese scholars have researched on the characteristics of tug-of-war in East Asia. Dr Sougawa Tsuneo (寒天恒夫) asserts that the characteristics of tug-of-war in East Asia are: 1) rice farming zone; 2) using rice straw; 3) concentrated in the first full moon day (beginning of farming); 4) dragon (China and South Korea) and snake (Japan); 5) fortune-telling by years, community spirit regiment function, wishes for abundance; 6) if female team wins, the year will be abundance. Dr Sakurai classifies seven common points of tug-of-war of farmers, such as fire-field farmers and rice farmers using water, in the Asia regions. 1) agricultural ritual for abundance; 2) fortune-telling about abundance for the new year; 3) symbolic act of sexual association; 4) if female wins, it means a good harvest; 5) concept of sexual union of heaven and earth; 6) folkway to pray for rain (so called semen of the sky) through union of two ropes; 7) understanding of rope as dragon or snake.

These concepts are not different from Korean scholars: Dr Jang Joogeun and Dr Kim Takgyu who study Korean tug-of-war. Dr Jang, however, suggests that additional characters of Korean tug-of-war, such as productivity of full moon and a ritual act, believes tug-of-war on the farms symbolises sex between male and female, which is a ritual act to wish for an abundant harvest.

The origin of tug-of-war is categorised into the Chinese theory, South-East Asia theory, Indian theory, two directions theory, and natural growth theory. First, Chinese theory says that tug-of-war in Japan and Korea was transmitted from China based on *Hyeongchosesigi* which is the first record of tug-of-war in sixth century, and this theory is commonly adopted. However, Chinese tug-of-war is now performed by minorities, and it is not a seasonal folklore but a competition as an event of the Minorities Traditional Sport Festival. Recently, there is a tendency of representing the traditional tug-of-war according to the local newspaper's records in the past. In this regards, Imdamhyeon in Gamsukseong is the most representative region in China. There are, however, similarities between Korean and Chinese traditional tug-of-war, as both types use two ropes and people tend to predict a good harvest depending on the victor of the match. Furthermore, both use hemp or bamboo for rope materials. It is, however, very difficult to understand the culture fully due to limit of documents as well as discontinuity of traditional tug-of-war culture.

In accordance with South-East Asia theory, tug-of-war comes from Indonesia, Laos, Cambodia, and the Union of Myanmar which are all famous in rice farming. In this reason, tug-of-war of both Korean and South-East Asia are deeply related to agriculture. Furthermore, there are other similarities: people tend to consider rope as dragon or snake; the tug-of-war is seen as sexual act; and if female part wins, there must be a good harvest. In fact, even if there are documents that mentioned bamboo or hemp has been used for rope materials and if one part wins, the parts will enjoy a good harvest in

Chinese tradition. Chinese tug-of-war does not mean shamanic ritual acts like Korea and South-East Asia.

Indian theory demonstrates that Juldarigi is originated from Indian Esoteric Buddhism and it handed down from Okinawa to Korea by riding an ocean current. This means tug-of-war is not related to rice farming but a spread of religion. Although this theory is new, it is difficult to answer the tug-of-war's Soojeon (game on river or sea) theory and agricultural regions distribution. There is also possibility that tug-of-war originated in Korea on the analogy of only documents. Spread theory has found that regions spread the tug-of-war and that they are similar to rice farming regions; there is, however, no demonstration on its route and time. Nonetheless, it is commonly understood that tug-of-war belongs to agricultural civilisation.

Today, there is tug-of-war culture in mountain villages and sea villages. However, as there is no tug-of-war culture in a sea village that specialises solely in the fishing industry, it can be accepted that tug-of-war is based on agriculture societies. Even if tug-of-war in a sea village, it is about wishing for an abundant harvest. Thus, today's tug-of-war in Korea is an important culture based on agriculture in agricultural villages, mountain villages and sea villages.

Tug-of-war is a communal heritage as a part of agricultural rituals in East Asia. Traditional tug-of-war contains its similarities, differences, and creativeness in accordance with its own culture, weather, and environment. We are now aware of its desperate need of preservation as society rapidly changes.