



Korean Tug-of-War: Diversity and Its Significance

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1. Introduction

Throughout the years, I have been researching Korean recreational activities, and among them, the tug-of-war was definitely the most central theme. According to my research, the Korean tug-of-war has many different features following the different regional characteristics, but they also have similar patterns. Although it is possible to speculate that the diverse characteristics of each region's tug-of-war is due to the area's geo-ecological, sociocultural, and magico-religious factors and culture exchange, it is difficult to prove these factors in-depth. Thus, this paper examines the diverse features present in the tug-of-war through studies completed up to now. Also I would like to add that only the intent for the tug-of-war studies was to compile and examine them in this report.

Despite many methods in examining the diversity of tug-of-war, this paper sets a few standards to reveal the present features, and with these standards, the meaning of Korean tug-of-war can be understood.

2. The Diversity of Tug-of-War

The project will highlight many characteristics, including the size of the transmission group, space and time, type of rope, the composition of teams, processing mode of the rope, material of the rope, and the relationship with the community god.

Transmission Group Size

The community in the pre-modern times can be classified geographically into three levels: village, county, and country. There could also be a township level between the village and country, or a province between the county and country level, but except for special cases, it was not easy to form regional belongingness at these administrative district levels. Therefore, the community festivals existed naturally in the three levels as village festivals, county festivals, and country festivals. Nationwide competitions existed in ancient times, but these festivals in the country level gradually disappeared. The festivals of the county and village levels were established according to factors such as changes in administrative policies, enhancement of agricultural productivity, and so on. The tug-of-war was conducted as the main role of the festivals; it has been transmitted naturally at the village and county level.

For the 'county type' of tug-of-war, transmitted at the county level, members of the county would normally gather together to participate in a small scale. However, in certain circumstances of celebrations regarding good harvest or emergencies such as illnesses in the community, the majority of the county people took part, and the tug-of-war became an extra-large event. If one would call the former tug-of-war a 'closed county type tug-of-war', the latter would be called an 'opened county type tug-of-war'. Meanwhile, the same aspects can be found in the 'village type' of tug-of-war, where the transmission of tug-of-war is based on the village level. Usually just the villagers would participate on a small scale, but in certain circumstances, people from nearby villages would also join, making the tug-of-war a big event. Similarly, the former would be a 'closed village type tug-of-war' and the latter would be an 'opened village type tug-of-war'. The 'opened village type tug-of-war' where members of an out-group can participate was not possible for all villages. It was practicable in areas of bigger villages, such as villages with a train station, township office, or military bases. For this kind of discriminative tug-of-war, a folklore categorisation system could be used interchangeably. A tug-of-war guaranteeing the participation of an out-group member was called 'big rope', and the others were called 'alley rope', 'town rope', or 'baby rope'.

Space and Time

From information researched up to now, the Korean tug-of-war is practiced in two different ways; those held at a certain fixed time, and others held in special cases. The latter case implies special circumstances, such as extreme drought or epidemic. The tug-of-war events held during certain fixed times would most likely be practiced before and after the first full moon of the lunar calendar year (*Daeboreum*). However, when reviewing literature from the past, we can find that tug-of-war events were also held during the fifth day of the fifth month of the year according to the lunar calendar (*Dano*) and on the Korean Thanksgiving Day (*Chuseok*). According to *Haksungji*, a tug-of-war named 'Maduhee' was held in the Ulsan area every year during Dano. Also in *Dongguksesigi*, it is mentioned that a tug-of-war named 'Jorijihee' was held on Jeju Island

every year during Chuseok. In reference to this information, we can see that Dano and Chuseok were also periods for participating in a tug-of-war, but it is not clear when this period was unified to before and after the Daeboreum.

The spatial area for tug-of-war was simply a place where pulling a long rope would be convenient. The area was determined according to the size of the rope and geographical conditions of the region. Farmland or large roads would be chosen for the inland areas and even alleys for small-scale tug-of-wars. Whereas inland areas with a large river, the wide open space near the water would most likely be chosen. The tug-of-war held in Jangheung, Jeonranamdo Province, located near the River Tamjin, would be an example of this kind. In comparison, the coastal areas would generally have the tug-of-war on the sandy beach. Tug-of-war events of the eastern coast of Korea would represent this kind.

Type of Rope

There are two types of rope in Korea tug-of-war; single and double. In the Honam region, the single rope is commonly seen, and the double rope is used in other areas. Since the single rope is only one rope, there is no division of gender, but the double rope is divided into male rope and female rope. There has not yet been any variation for the single rope type. It is normal to pull on the whole rope itself, without any side ropes. On the contrary, the double rope shows many variations. Mostly, many service ropes (*jongjul*) are hung around the whole rope so that people can pull on the *jongjul*. This type is called 'centipede rope' (*jinejul*) because it takes the form of a centipede. However, in areas such as Samcheok, Gangwon Province, or Dongnae of Busan, the whole rope itself is made of many ropes, and on each of the many ropes many *jongjul* are hung around and people would pull on the *jongjul*. This type is called 'crab rope' (*gaejul*) because the form looks like a crab.

When discussing matters of the rope type, one cannot forget about the *gaejul*. The rope is thin and about five to six meters long. Connecting the two ends of the rope, it goes around between the participants' legs and over the necks of two people lying down toe to toe, facing opposite directions. Then the two people crawl in opposite directions; the one who gets pulled back loses. The *gaejul* tug-of-war of Gamnae of Miryang in Gyeosangnamdo Province would be representative of this type. Similar forms can be also found in Uljin, Yeongdeok, Punggi, and Sunsan areas of Gyeongsangbukdo Province.

Composition of Teams

The tug-of-war is a competition between two teams from the community. There are two ways of dividing teams. One is to divide by gender, and the other would be to divide according to the member's location. When divided by gender, the female team members include not only females but also unmarried men. The male team only includes married men. For example, if there is a family of a father, a mother, and three unmarried children, the father would be on the male team and the others would be on the female team.

When dividing the team according to location, it is general to divide by east/west, north/south, and upper and lower sides. Dividing as male and female is seen in all single rope tug-of-wars and double rope tug-of-wars held in Honam area and some areas of the Gyeonggi Province. The location-compiled team composition is seen in most double rope tug-of-wars, excluding the examples above.

In connection to composing teams, areas that divide the teams according to gender see a female victory as a guarantee for abundance and fertility in the region. There are many opinions, so it is difficult to classify this competition as a real competition. However, this kind of opinion is due to lack of examination of the attributes or constructional matters that the competitive activity pursues. In fact, we can verify that both team members pull with all their strength when we see them at the site. The male team does not purposely lose to the female team. The problem is that there exists a custom where the male team is unfairly composed.

Processing Mode of the Rope

After the tug-of-war is finished, the processing mode can be classified in two ways: the 'consuming type' and the 'preserving type'. The consuming type can be divided again into two: 'instant consumption type' and 'sending bad luck type'. The former can be commonly seen in most double rope tug-of-wars and the latter is especially found in those held near the riverside. The 'preserving type' can be divided again into two: 'one-year preservation type' and 'permanent preservation type'. The former can be found in the single rope tug-of-war, soaking the rope in Dangsang, the body of the community god, and changing it with the new rope the following year. In the 'permanent preservation type', the people would consider the rope itself as the community god and worship it.

The instant consumption type would cut the rope into many pieces or use the rope after the tug-of-war is finished. There are superstitions related to the rope's usage.

- Your house will not have bad luck if you put the rope on top of the roof
- There will be good harvest if you put the rope in the farmland
- Bad luck cannot come in if you hang the rope on the front door
- If a sterile woman drinks a tea made from boiling the rope, she can become pregnant
- If the sick drinks a tea made from boiling the rope, he or she can become well
- There will be a rich catch if you put the rope on the boat and sail
- There will be sufficient water and no drought if you block the reservoir

All of the above is based on the prevention of misfortune, which is seen as the role of the rope. Since the tug-of-war includes wishes for driving out evil spirits and bringing peace, the rope contributes to guaranteeing each family's peace. Thus, the double rope, instant consumption type of tug-of-war shows the subdivision and intensified aspects of the rope's effect from the village level to the family level.

According to the sending bad luck type of tug-of-war, if the rope, which was stacked in a circle, is carried away, the misfortune of that year is also washed away. In Heunam-ri, Yeosu-gun of Gyeonggi Province, the people would put the rope on the frozen river, and when the river melted in the spring, the rope would be swept away. The people believed that the bad luck in their village would also be swept away with the rope. In Mokgae, Jungwon of Chungcheongbukdo Province, the people would put the male and female rope side by side on the lake, and if the two ropes were carried away at the same time, they believed it was a very positive sign. On the other hand, in Asan of Chungcheongnamdo Province, the tug-of-war is practiced after the Dragon King Ceremony (*Yongwangjae*). Here, the rope was seen as the body of the Dragon King. In the ceremony, the people would pray to the shaman to prevent disasters and bad luck and for happiness and peace. Then the tug-of-war was held, and the rope was stacked near the riverside in a circle similar to the shape of a snake. When the rope was swept away, in other words, when the dragon goes back to the water, the people believed that the bad luck of the village also went away.

The 'one-year preservation type' does not damage the rope after the tug-of-war; instead the rope is tied around the community god, Dongsan. Taekgyu Kim perceives the rope as a symbol of the sexual organ and giving the example of Ipseok-ri of Gimje Jeonrabukdo Province, he sees that the act of tying the rope symbolises a sexual act. Hyungoo Kang looks at the event as bringing the Dragon King to the village and praying for peacefulness as well as an act for a good harvest. Tying the rope on to the Dongsan was recognised as putting clothes on Dongsan, and this means it is a combination of the Dragon King and the Dongsan. In Dolmosan, Buan Jeonbuk, the Dongsan Ritual's written prayer says, 'Removal of old clothes and put on new clothes'. Gisun Cha mentions that this act personifies and gives individuality to the Dongsan, and thus includes Dongsan as a member of the town. As a phenomenon, it can be interpreted this way, but the motif of the combination between the Dragon and the Dongsan is more pervasive.

Not only in Ipseok-ri, Gimje-si but also in Naeyo-ri, Buam-eup, and Jeongnyang-ri, Jeongeup-si, the rope pulled by women wound at the bottom of the Dongsan, and the rope is pulled by men wound on the top of the rope pulled by the women. Most regions enacting a tug-of-war using a single line and the Ho-nam region's enactment with double lines also go through the same process as described as above. This represents a sexual act, similar to the representations in Golmaegijul in Mopo-ri, Pohang-si Gyeongsangbuk Province. Considering that coiling a string at the Dongsan is regarded as combining a huge organ with Dongsan or personifying Dongsan lacks isn't very persuasive. As stated earlier, the primary meaning of this action is to pray for richness and fecundity by combining Dongsin (the village god), who influences stability and peace, with Yongsin (the sea god), who influences a good and bad harvest. The secondary meaning is a continuous guarantee of annual richness via sexual acts of Yongsin.

Among the permanent preservation type, in the tug-of-war of Mopo-ri, Janggi-myeon, Pohang-si in Gyeongsangbukdo Province, the middle rope is regarded as the body

of the village god. In this village, the female rope symbolises an old woman(*Golmaegi Halmae*) while the male rope symbolises an old man(*Golmaegi Halbae*). When a tug-of-war ends, the ropes are stored in a village temple, Dongsu. The storage method is in the same context as the aforementioned Dressing Dangsang by covering the female rope with the male rope. Transmission groups regard it as a sexual connection between the old man and old woman. However, different from Dressing Dangsang, the ropes themselves are regarded as village gods.

Materials of Rope

Generally, ropes are traditionally made of rice straw. However, in the regions around the East Sea, including Uljin coastal areas, the ropes were made with kudzu during the 1920s and 1930s, and then made of Manila hemp and nylon used in fisheries. Searching through literature, it was discovered that kudzu and hemp had been used for making ropes, while bamboo trees and barks had been used as stiffener. The Galjeon tug-of-war, which is introduced in the “Daeboreum” section of *Dongguksesigi*, implies that kudzu had been used for making ropes. When making ropes in Mopo of Gyeongsangbukdo Province, kudzu is used as the main material, and it is reinforced with bark. The kudzu ropes are stronger than those made of rice straw and can be preserved permanently. The case of the Gijisi tug-of-war is another example of making ropes with not only rice straw but with other materials such as hemp, straw, and arrowroot vines. Based on these examples, it is believed that each region used kudzu, hemp, and rice straw as the materials for ropes at first, and then, as rice cultivation is became more stable and resulted in higher yields, the materials for the ropes were limited to straw. In a few regions, the tradition still remains. In general, bamboo trees had been used as a stiffener for the rope. The use of bamboo trees is observed from Samchuk of the East Sea to Jangheung of the South-West Sea region, and the distribution coincided with the dispersion of the northern boundary line of bamboo trees.

Pre-Play and Post-Play Activities

When the rope is made, prior to starting a tug-of-war, the village is involved with pre-play activities. The pre-play activities are divided according to the scale and type of the rope. *Gossaum*, for example, is a Korean sport in which the two teams each carry a large braided straw structure called a *go*. The object of the game is to knock the other team’s *go* to the ground. *Gossaum* is currently being conducted independently, but originally it was a pre-play activity for the double rope tug-of-war. The most representative one currently being conducted is in Otdol-ri, Gwangsan-gu, Gwangju, in Jeonranamdo Province. Issaum of Youngsan in Changnyeong-gun and Yongdussaum of Danyang in Chungcheongbukdo Province; Yongmeorissaum of Hujeong, Jukbyeon, Uljin, in Gyeongsangbukdo Province; and the Yonghonoru of Muan, Milyang in Gyeongsangnamdo province have pre-play activities similar *gossaum*. While these games were merely conducted as a pre-play for the tug-of-war, the final match ended through the tug-of-war.

In the case of a single rope type, there are no formal pre-play activities, but there is a unique activity called *masildolgi*. While the rope is being prepared, the people bring it around the village accompanied by a *pungmul*, a traditional Korean folk band with flags of different colours to encourage a festive mood.

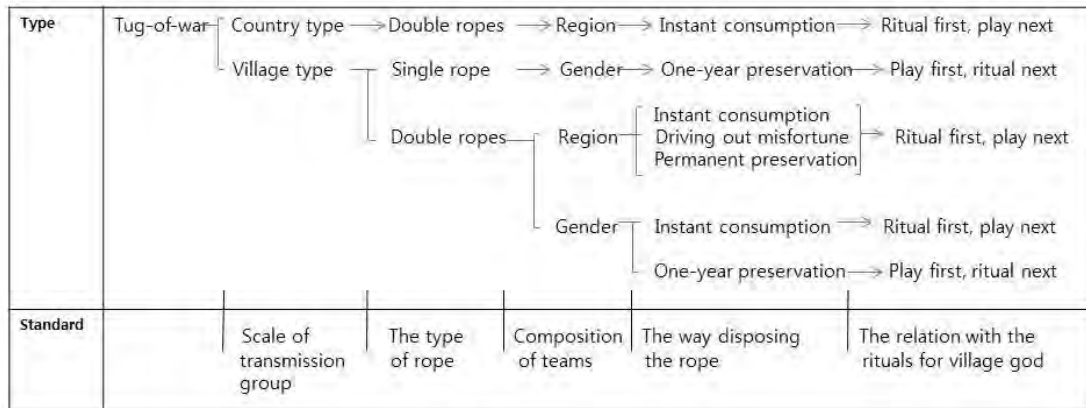
Meanwhile, the activities conducted after the tug-of-war are *singjeonori* of Suncheon in Jeonranamdo province and *bagsissaum* of Jungok-myeon, Sachon-ri, *uisung* in Gyeongsangbukdo province, and *jingsagi* of Jeongryang in Jeonrabukdo province. Singjeonori is a game in which the winning group goes to the village of the losing group and makes fun of them and the losing group respond to the banter. Bagsissaum is an activity in which both groups interact with each other by pushing and pulling at each other, and jingsagi is an activity in which the people carrying the rope organise battle arrays accompanied by a *pungmul*. Such activities are promptly conducted compared to pre-play activities, and the format is not directly related to the tug-of-war. Moreover, these games have their origins from the empty coffin activities performed on the day before the procession. Bagsissaum is played independently in nearby regions. However, the *got* tree fighting, which is a post-play activity to the tug-of-war in Youngchun in Gyeongsangbukdo Province, has different features. In this activity, the participants fight to take the tree that is used for connecting each rope. People seem to be more interested in the tree fight than in the tug-of-war. When the match concludes, the fighters at the head of the rope struggle to get the tree, and the winner is the one who has the tree at the end of the game. The fighting takes place until the first day of February. This aspect is different from the other post-play games as well as the pre-play activities, such as *gossaum*, and *masildolgi*. Moreover, considering that this play is conducted in succession to the tug-of-war and it is using the *got* tree as part of the rope, it is evident that this is originated from the tug-of-war. However, since people recognise it as an independent format, *got* tree fighting is distinctive from other pre-play and post-play activities.

Relations with the Rituals for Village God

The tug-of-war is accompanied by rituals for the village god and by various folk arts. In festivals, the tug-of-war is connected to rituals in a certain way. The single rope tug-of-war and double rope tug-of-war in Honam province are conducted prior to the ritual on the same day. This is called the *play first, ritual next* style. Different from this, the double rope tug-of-war in other regions is conducted not on the day of ritual, but the day after ritual or a few days after. This is called the *ritual first, play next* style. In the *play first, ritual next* style, the tug-of-war is directly connected to the ritual. In these regions, making the ropes, rope exorcisms, walking around the village, rituals, and post-play are conducted successively in a single day, and the processes are closely connected. Compared to this, in the type of *ritual first, play next*, the tug-of-war and the rituals don't seem to be connected to each other at first glance, as they are conducted over long intervals. However, when the whole period of the tug-of-war is regarded as a New Year's festival, this gap will not be as noticeable.

Categorization of tug-of-war

Based on aforementioned, the category of Korean tug-of-war in various types is as follows:



At first, based on the size of transmission group, the tug-of-war in Korea has been transmitted a county type and village type. County type uses double ropes while village type uses both single rope and double ropes. While the single rope type appears in Honam Province, double rope types appear in Honam Province and other regions. By the manner in which the participants line up, the county type makes groups according to regions, while village type makes groups based on gender in the case of single rope. However, in the case of double ropes, they make groups sometimes based on gender, and other times based on regions, such as in Gyeonggi Province and Honam Province. This is connected to the way of disposing the ropes, a single rope usually goes through the one-year preservation, while there are various aspects in the case of double ropes. First, if the grouping is according to regions, instant consumption, driving off misfortune, and permanent preservation type appears. Driving off misfortune type appears only in the areas around the river such as River Han. Permanent preservation type only appears in the Mopo-ri, Janggi in Gyeongsangbukdo province. Other regions have instant consumption type. When a group is decided by gender, Gyeonggi province shows the instant consumption type, and Honam province shows one year preservation type. Such aspects are connected to the ritual for village god. While the *ritual first, play next* type is generally in making a group by regions, in the other regions making groups by gender have different aspects, such as the *play first, ritual next* type in the instant consumption type, and *ritual first, play next* type in the one year preservation region. Likewise, the tug-of-war in Korea cannot be divided by the type of rope but by the organic connection of various elements.

3. Meaning of the Tug-of-War

The tug-of-war is mostly implemented during beginning of the year to bid farewell to the old year and greet the new, but it has also taken place during Dano and Chuseok in some

regions. Usually Daeboreum, Dano, and Chuseok are classified as holidays, but when considering the cultural characteristics, these are in the turning points of the year and seasons, and they were regional festivals for communities to organise and systemise a year. The holidays as festivals had created non-typical times and places that juxtaposed to daily life, and *daedongnori* is a collective human behaviour conducted during these times. Among this collective, the tug-of-war is situated at the centre of the performances with *jisinbabgi*, *ganggangsulae* and other non-competitive activities fulfilling the collectiveness of the festival for people of all ages and both genders. The reason that the tug-of-war is the most universal performance among the activities is because the participants are openly participating.

The festiveness of the tug-of-war materialises while the ridged rules of daily life decrease or disappear during the tug-of-war period. The leader of the rope during the tug-of-war is an example. Usually the leader of the rope is selected among the rich and middle-class farmers of the communities but a powerful lower-class person can also be selected. The leader of the rope leads community based on his authority as the leader of the festival during the tug-of-war, from the preparation to implementation. In the case of Youngsan, the leader hangs a flag at his house and rides on a cow or a horse accompanied by the *pungmul* band when he moves. Even though he is a commoner in daily life, he is the leader during the festival. This aspect is reminiscent of a carnival king, even if each context is different, and is an example showing a situation in which the dominant rules of society are replaced by those of the festivals. Furthermore, the festivals also show the changes of daily rules within human relationships. The single rope tug-of-war in Jeonrado Province shows the priority of the female group and shows change to the male-oriented structure of daily lives. This also appears in the double rope tug-of-war by females and males. For example, in the case of Wolsong tug-of-war of Byeonghaeup, Uljington in Gyeongsangbukdo Province, the newlywed bride was pulling the rope under the groin of her father-in-law. This episode shows the festivity of the tug-of-war, without any discrimination, only focusing the pulling behaviour itself. Moreover, the tremendous sexual connection represented by the connection of the female rope and the male rope accompanied by the sexual conversations, and the contact of female and male participants in a same group will be interpreted as the role of breaking the daily taboos pressured by the dominant ideology, the sexual expressions, and communications.

The religious characteristics of the Korean tug-of-war are found through the mother earth religion, praying for fertility by imitating the sexual connection and the Dragon King. First of all, let's look into the matter of mother earth religion. Every type of tug-of-war regards female group win as a year of abundance. This same belief is also present in the double rope tug-of-war, where win by the western parts, bottom parts, and southern parts also represents richness during a year. Accepting the winning of female part as the positive conclusion is connected to the belief towards the mother earth god. In agrarian society, the belief towards the earth mother god is inevitable, and

this belief is reflected in the daedongnori and the practices that regard the winning of west part representing the female is generalised.

Let's take a look at the fertility prayers demonstrating or representing sexual intercourse. Crossing the male and female rope is considered a union of the dual gender. In Seongnam-si, Gyeonggi Province, and Uljin-si, Gyeongsangbukdo Province, the male rope is referred to as the male dragon, and the female rope is called the female dragon. Combining the two ropes is considered a sexual act between the two dragons. In other regions, the combination of the two dragons is not well known, but instead, the focus is on combining the man and woman. In terms of the Youngsan tug-of-war practiced in Changnyeong-si, Gyeongsangnamdo Province in 1993, very strong, direct, and caricatured sexual discourse was communicated during one-hour long tug-of-war. This is not only limited to the Youngsan tug-of-war but is the common aspect of the double rope type tug-of-war in the other regions. Obviously the union of the ropes is considered the beginning of sexual intercourse. This is also true in the *yongho* games in Milyang-si and Wolsong tug-of-war in Uljin-si. Besides the *yongho* fight of, the union of two ropes is considered a combination of the two genders.

On the other hand, in the single rope tug-of-war, the motif of combining two genders is not expressed as much. However, combining two genders, dividing into two groups, and competing with each other show a similar sequential development of meaning (symbol of two genders → combination → interaction), so the same interpretation possible. Moreover, the female team, made up of women and single men, makes direct physical contact possible. Also, when the rope is wound in a sacred place after the tug-of-war, placing the male rope on the female rope is also considered a sexual act. Meanwhile, in case of Donryeung tug-of-war in Songtan-si, Galmaeul tug-of-war in Yicheon-si, and Wolsong tug-of-war in Uljin-si, males and females appear with groom and bride costumes and demonstrate the wedding while expressing diverse sexual motifs. Combining two genders is based on the solidarity between the form and the action of the living, and based on the faith that actual or demonstrative sexual acts bring fertility and the richness.

Next is about the dragon faith in the tug-of-war. The dragon faith in Korea has two characteristics related to the gods of water and farming. Tug-of-war activities focus on the features of a dragon faith related to the agriculture. Examples that show the relations between the rope and the dragon are found everywhere. In Jeongnyang-ri, Jeongeup-si, the head part of the rope is called the head of the dragon, and the tail part of the rope is called the tail of the dragon. In Hujeong, Uljin-si, the female rope is called female dragon, and the male rope is called the male dragon, and the same terminology is used in Heunam, Yeosu-si. In Hoengseong-si, the dragon is projected with scales on the dragon rope. In some places, such as Milyang-si in and Wolsong, Uljin-si, the female rope is called a dragon and the male rope is called a tiger, but this is an exception. Lee Woo Young in Dangjin-si, a Gijisi tug-of-war skill holder, described the scene of the rope moving as follows:

The scene of the rope moving is the most magnificent march and majestic sight of all the events. The rope becomes a dragon. The wind rises and as does the dust and dirt. This is why the tug-of-war is called the harmony of a dragon or the harmony of a god, and people say this year will have a good harvest.

He sees the scene of the moving rope as a dragon rising to heaven. Also, he has faith in the year having a good harvest since the dragon has supernatural power. The scene of carrying the rope through the village is a simulation of the dragon wriggling and flying. The double rope type tug-of-war has a ritual of visiting the patron saint before being moved to the place where the tug-of-war is performed. This is a reunion of the dragon and the patron saint. This reunion is a form of the dragon giving birth to the patron saint. People pray that the tug-of-war will go without any accidents. In Hujeong, Uljin-si, before and after the tug-of-war, people carry the rope to the house of the patron saint and ritually coil the rope. Before and after this process, the “head game” is played. This game, beginning with crossing the two ropes, is also called “rising of the dragon” or “fight of the dragon head.” Crossing the two rope heads is considered a fight between the dragons. The song that people sing when they carry the rope and move clearly shows the relations between the rope and the dragon.

*Go, go, let's go
go to pull the rope
look at the village from the top of the dragon
go, go, let's go.*

When carrying the rope through the village, one person is lifted onto the rope. This person is the first singer of the rope song because the top of the rope is considered the top of dragon.

Through the facts examined above, in the most places, the identification of the rope and the dragon was very general. But the difference is how the dragon faith of each tug-of-war has appeared. The attitude toward the dragon is ambivalent. The ritual for rain and the dragon jar are the representative examples that show the ambivalent attitude toward the dragon. In the ritual for rain, the dragon is stimulated and abused to comply with the people's wishes. However, in the faith of the dragon jar, the dragon is worshiped. This kind of ambivalent characteristics of the dragon faith can be seen in the tug-of-war.

First, let's take a look at the case that dragon is being worshiped. In the single rope type, when the rope making is completed, a *julgut* (exorcism) is performed with the scattered rope. In the double rope type, the *julgosa* (shamanistic ritual) is performed. In Jeongnyang-ri, Jeongeup-si, after the completed single rope arrives at the place, a pungmul band plays while running back and forth between the head and the tail of the rope. In the double rope type in Changnyeong -si and Uljin-si, *gosa* is practiced at the

front of the dragon head. Also in the double rope type in Chungdo, praying for a safe tug-of-war and a good harvest and rich year are seen in the written prayer. In this aspect, the patron saint is another form of the dragon god, the motif of the ceremonial dragon faith can be read. Rotating through the village is found in most of the single rope types and some of the double rope types also seem to be related to the dragon faith. Before practicing the tug-of-war, people carry the completed rope and rotate through the village. Men and women participate in this process by carrying the rope and going around the village. This can be thought of as a newly born dragon showing off of its vitality or as a projection of the dragon's appearance. Also the act of lifting the rope can be seen as cheering for the dragon.

More obvious dragon worship appears in the process of handling the rope after practicing the tug-of-war. Most of the single rope type and some double rope type are wound around the sacred place where the patron saint is located, and the rope is worshiped with the patron saint throughout the year. In Gangchon area, the River Han, where the rope is considered a dragon god, the double type rope is floated in the river after being used in the tug-of-war. This is sending the dragon to the water, its original place. Mopo-ri in Pohang-si, the rope is considered the body of the patron saint and it is preserved and worshiped permanently, which shows an extreme case of the dragon worship.

Beside this motif of the dragon worship, there is another motif that stimulates the dragon. We can discover the motif that tries to achieve its wishes through stimulating the dragon. According to the documents, people threw the tiger's head into a deep well, where it was believed that the dragon was dwelling. In today's ritual for rain, not the tiger's, but the dog's, the pig's or the cock's head is thrown to the well. All these kinds of acts are based on the stimulating of the dragon.

In the *muon yongho* game, the head game of the tug-of-war, and in the Wolsong tug-of-war, pulling the rope transfers to the dragon and to the tiger, the people on each team are also related to stimulating the dragon. By making dragon fight with the tiger, people are trying to stimulate the dragon to achieve their wishes. As we can see in *Murayama*, the tug-of-war practiced in Ulsan-si and Jinju-si, one kind of ritual for rain occurred through pulling the rope or through making the two dragons fight. According to the documents from Jeongnyang-ri, Jeongeup-si, and in Suncheon-si, we can see the case of pulling the rope until it snaps since they believed the tug-of-war was in effect only when the rope snapped. Regarding this, the *jorijih* on Jeju Island as it appears in *Dongguksesigi* indicates that people laugh loudly when the centre of the rope is snapped. So the question is a matter of how to interpret this laughter. But breaking the rope can be interpreted as an expected situation. Cutting off the rope right after the tug-of-war finishes can also be interpreted as cutting the body of the dragon. Those actions can be understood as the trying to achieve their purpose by teasing the dragon by stimulating and abusing the dragon.

Eventually, we can find that both motifs of worshipping and stimulating the dragon of the tug-of-war as the mirror of the dragon faith. The process of accomplishing the wishes through influencing and sometimes threatening the dragon can also be found in the *getje* in Dae-dun Island, as reported by Choi Deokwon. This mixed attitude of worshipping, stimulating, soothing, and threatening the dragon is considered a traditional problem solving method that relies on the supernatural powers.

4. Questions unsolved

Based on the field research and the literature review, I have examined the diverse and present aspects and the meanings in the tug-of-war. In conclusion, the tug-of-war in Korea has a wide range of diversity in its scale of the participants, type of the rope, composition of the team, the way disposing the rope, the material used in the rope, and the relation with the rituals for village god. These diversities are related to each other systematically and show certain kinds of typology. Also, the tug-of-war has social-cultural and magico-religious functions and universality in its semantic network.

Although the summarised outcomes mentioned above, there are some questions still unsolved:

- Why are the single rope tug-of-wars concentrated in the Honam area?
- What are the relationships between the typology of the tug-of-war and the geo-ecological, socio-cultural, and magico-religious background of it?
- How is the Korean tug-of-war related to the other cultural aspects including rice paddy cultivation?
- What are the similarities and differences of the social-cultural and magico-religious meanings of the Korean tug-of-war compared to those practiced in other cultural areas?

To answer those questions, we need to examine regionalisms and the universality through the extensive research on the present aspects of the Korean tug-of-war. After that, we can continue comparative studies on tug-of-wars in the East Asia and the cross-cultural studies on tug-of-wars in the world.