

World Martial Arts

Towards a global overview



United Nations
Educational, Scientific and
Cultural Organization



International Centre of Martial Arts
for Youth Development and Engagement
under the auspices of UNESCO

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The Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) regarding the International Centre of Martial Arts for Youth Development and Engagement under the auspices of UNESCO (ICM) (Category 2) stipulates that ICM is mandated to 'collect, preserve and disseminate records and materials on martial arts from all countries in order to support educational and academic activities in the field'. This report is authored as an outcome of research on martial arts around the world. The project and publication were made possible through the support from the Republic of Korea's Ministry of the Culture, Sports and Tourism, and Korea Sports Promotion Foundation. The views expressed in this report do not represent those of the sponsors.

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Executive Summary





EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report aims to map a global overview of martial arts from around the world. To this end, we explored and collected information about three hundred martial arts that are recognised by either UNESCO, international martial arts competitions, martial arts communities or existing literature. The martial arts were classified and compiled into databases by their origin, main techniques and weapons for numerical analyses. Some statistical findings include the preponderance of Asian martial arts and pervasiveness of folk-wrestling styles in every corner of the world. The West lost many of its native martial arts practices and knowledge in the aftermath of modernisation in weaponry and armament. It is also noted that since the mid-twentieth century, multiple East Asian martial arts have been reinvented into variations of hybrid arts in North and Central America, mainly the US. While accounting for a small proportion of the recorded arts, equivalent to those of North and Central America, martial arts in Africa are found to have a far richer history tracing back to ancient times. Regarding the main techniques, there appear to be as many unarmed martial arts as weapon-based arts in the world. Weapon-based systems are more likely to include multiple types of weapons in the practice system, rather than having a focus on a specific piece of weaponry.

These quantitative findings are complemented by thematic analyses of the martial arts that elucidate development, general trends and contemporary issues in and around martial arts. We reaffirmed that martial arts are an epitome of ever-evolving heritage infused with the cultural, historical, political and social dynamics of different societies. They have been enriched with indigenous musical elements, body cultures and folk games, often for the sake of surviving external influences and pressure. Martial arts have been de-militarised, codified and modernised with safety measures, rules and regulations, and governing bodies. Such alterations in trends were opportunities for many traditional martial arts to seek institutional recognition and support, but also sources of existential debate between the desire to adhere to authenticity and the need to transition to modern practices. Globalisation is the overarching driving force that has mainstreamed certain martial arts, but simultaneously marginalised the vast majority of others.

Martial arts are also a manifestation of personal and collective aspirations. Practitioners attempt to gain reputation and respect from their communities by engaging in martial activities, and particularly, those with lower socioeconomic status try to achieve fortune and increase their social mobility through martial arts. It is also noted that the growing presence of women in martial arts is associated with their endeavours to acquire self-defence abilities to protect themselves against crime and to eliminate gender barriers and socially ingrained perceptions around gender. On a national level, resistance to foreign cultural and martial elements entailing repression of local traditions could act as a catalyst for the creation of indigenous martial arts coupled with nationalist sentiments.

Building on the findings and achievements of this initial research, we urge ICM to continue to discover additional martial activities to improve the proposed global overview with a long-term perspective. ICM will need to produce and collect a diversity of data to expand its capacity to support the transmission and safeguarding of martial arts. Delving into contemporary thematic issues situated at the intersection between martial arts and varied sociocultural aspects will remain the key to deepening and expanding the discourse around martial arts studies. Along with these pillars of research, ICM is also expected to conduct regionally focused in-depth studies in collaboration with local scholars and experts. Through the experiences of developing local partnerships and gaining insight into regional environments, ICM will strengthen its own capabilities to discover areas of cooperation and implement joint initiatives engaging with like-minded stakeholders. For ICM, which has limited financial and human resources to fulfil its broad-based missions, collaborations are key to carrying out target-focused projects in a sustainable manner, producing deliverables of high quality and underlining its global footprint. These approaches will not only assist in mainstreaming and enriching research on martial arts but also enhance ICM's organisational capacity to work for and in tandem with various potential beneficiaries around the world.

SECTION 1

Introduction

Martial arts and UNESCO

Rationale of research

Research methodology

Research targets and information sources





MARTIAL ARTS AND UNESCO

There are countless martial arts and related disciplines around the world. A few have been widely practised, diversified, and systematically studied and transmitted with appreciation and support from different levels of society, enough to have led their sportification and commercialisation. The vast majority of other martial arts, by contrast, remain largely underexplored, often facing the risk of marginalisation and even extinction. Since the early 2000s, however, UNESCO has played a leading role in safeguarding them through its Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. Yueju opera, a Chinese martial culture, was inscribed on the list for the first time under the concept of martial arts in 2009, followed by Iranian Pahlevani and Zoorkhnei ritual, Korean taekkyeon, Brazilian capoeira circle, and others. Seventeen *martial activities* have been granted their heritage status under such concepts as rituals, dance, and wrestling in the early part of the twenty-first century among a total of 492 elements from 128 countries in the Representative List (see Table 1). Growing institutional recognitions from the international community has generated significant momentum in promoting and transmitting underrepresented martial arts. In academia, martial arts concerned with sport sciences, culture and historical studies, health and medical sciences have attracted greater attention.

Table 1. Martial activities inscribed in the UNESCO's Representative List of Intangible Cultural Humanity as of June 2021 (UNESCO 2021)

| | Element | Martial art | Concepts | Country | Year |
|---|--|---------------|---|----------|------|
| 1 | Yueju opera | Yueju opera | Martial arts, Opera, Theatre, Vocal music | China | 2009 |
| 2 | Pahlevani and Zoorkhanei rituals | Pahlevani | Martial arts, Rituals | Iran | 2010 |
| 3 | Naadam, Mongolian traditional festival | Bukh | Festivals, Rituals, Sports competitions | Mongolia | |
| 4 | Kirkpinar oil wrestling festival | Oil wrestling | Sports competitions, Wrestling | Turkey | |

| | Element | Martial art | Concepts | Country | Year |
|----|---|-----------------|--|--------------------------|------|
| 5 | Taekkyeon, a traditional Korean martial art | Taekkyeon | Health, Martial arts, Sports activity | South Korea | 2011 |
| 6 | Capoeira circle | Capoeira | Dance, Martial arts, Sports activity | Brazil | 2014 |
| 7 | Kuresi in Kazakhstan | Kuresi | Sports competitions, Wrestling | Kazakhstan | 2016 |
| 8 | Tahteeb, stick game | Tahteeb | Games, Sports competitions | Egypt | |
| 9 | Chogān, a horse-riding game accompanied by music and storytelling | Chogān | Equestrian games, Story telling | Iran | 2017 |
| 10 | Kok boru, traditional horse game | Kok boru | Equestrian games, Sports competitions | Kyrgyzstan | |
| 11 | Taskiwin, martial dance of the western High Atlas | Taskiwin | Dance | Morocco | |
| 12 | Traditional Turkish Archery | Turkish archery | Archery, Craft workers, Sports competitions | Turkey | |
| 13 | Traditional Korean wrestling (Ssirum/Ssireum) | Ssirum/Ssireum | Games, Sports competitions, Wrestling | South Korea, North Korea | 2018 |
| 14 | Chidaoba, wrestling in Georgia | Chidaoba | Instrumental music, Martial arts, Wrestling | Georgia | 2019 |
| 15 | Silat | Silat | Martial arts, Sport | Malaysia | |
| 16 | Traditions of Pencak Silat | Pencak Silat | Instrument making, Martial arts, Sports competitions | Indonesia | |
| 17 | Taijiquan | Taijiquan | Health, Philosophy, Physical education | China | 2020 |

RATIONALE OF RESEARCH

There are several obstacles preventing us from achieving a comprehensive understanding of various martial arts. Many of these impediments are due to the nature of the arts themselves. From ancient to modern times, martial arts have been developed and enriched within the sociocultural, political, economic, and historical dynamics of communities. Grasping a martial system thus entails integrative, holistic considerations of a plethora of elements, including the art's origination, development, dissemination, and variations. However, debate still rages over the aspects of an art, before we even consider the variety of different schools stemming from it. This may boil down to the dilemma of whether it is possible to draw on common findings based on reliable sources, allowing for the building of consensus among various stakeholders. Numerous martial arts that claim to boast a long history have mostly been transmitted by word of mouth from master to disciple and from generation to generation, leaving meagre documented accounts. There is also a lack of systematic, persistent efforts to consolidate conflicting knowledge about and interests embedded in martial arts. The need for interdisciplinary studies entangled with the complexities in ascertaining the identity of martial arts has contributed to the incompleteness of extant research in this field. Undoubtedly, such challenges in building shared knowledge about each martial art has led to difficulties in mapping a broad, general overview of the world's martial arts as a whole.

Against this backdrop, and pursuant to its key functions stipulated in the agreement between UNESCO and the government of the Republic of Korea, ICM envisions developing a clearing house that collects and disseminates a wealth of knowledge and data about martial arts (Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and UNESCO regarding ICM 2015). As a stepping stone towards the mission, this report presents an overview of martial arts around the world from different analytical standpoints. It categorises three hundred martial arts according to their originated regions, main techniques and weapons, and discusses other qualitative characteristics, followed by a brief description of the martial arts. It is intended to capture the gist of each art, including general information and its historical

development. This report is expected to make a substantive contribution to raising awareness of diverse martial arts and identifying their originations, grey areas and future directions of research. However, the study does not necessarily extend such that it delves into the legitimacy and originality of the martial arts and their different schools. Conducted between May 2020 and May 2021, this research requires continued further improvements. It is also intended to lay the foundations for pushing forward with ICM's in-depth research on the world's martial arts, adopting a regionally focused approach.

In the absence of universal consensus on the definition and scope of martial arts, this study accepts varied forms, elements and activities related to martial arts, including rituals, dances and folk games. A generic term, "martial activities", is often used to collectively refer to all types of activities that can be regarded as martial arts.

This report will proceed in six sections. The first section sketches out the context and procedure of the research. The second briefly discusses definitions of martial arts and explores a few criteria to classify martial arts. Following this, an overview of the martial arts and analyses of these are presented in the third section. The fourth section lists the three hundred martial arts. The next section discusses findings from the research while the last section concludes the report.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To serve the aforementioned purposes, research has been carried out through the following steps:

1. List all fighting systems, disciplines, and activities that are and can generally be considered martial arts (see Figure 2);
2. Categorise and classify the discovered martial arts with reference to criteria such as place of origin, techniques, and weapons;
3. Create databases with the identified criteria (see Appendix B);
4. Develop a standardised research form for gathering key information about each art;
5. Complete the forms recording general information, history, transmission status, and relevant organisations relating to the martial arts;
6. Analyse the databases and the forms quantitatively and qualitatively;
7. Draw on implications from the analysis that provides a comprehensive overview and characteristics of the discovered arts.

Figure 1. Research steps

RESEARCH TARGETS AND INFORMATION SOURCES

The researchers' initial step was outlining the scope of the research. We firstly included the martial activities listed on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. We then confirmed a range of targets, from those recognised by international sports organisations and international martial arts and combat sports competitions such as the International Olympic Committee, World Combat Games, Asian and Indoor Martial Arts Games, and World Martial Arts Masterships, to others affiliated with the World Martial Arts Union (WoMAU), a non-governmental organisation representing sixty-seven martial arts organisations in forty-six countries. We further added more arts by referring to literature such as Thomas Green's *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia*, Thomas Green and Joseph Svinth's *Martial Arts of the World: An Encyclopedia of History and Innovation*, Chris Crudelli's *The Way of the Warrior: Martial Arts and Fighting Styles from Around the World*, T. J. Desch-Obi's *Fighting for Honor: The History of African Martial Art Traditions in the Atlantic World*, and other similarly pioneering work. Lastly, we attempted to discover lesser-known disciplines by navigating numerous open sources and also incorporated ICM's own data obtained from previous research. As a result, three hundred martial arts were identified to be studied in a given time frame, despite the prospect of there being an exhaustive number of martial activities.

Aware of the delicacy required in martial arts research, we aimed to collect and organise data as objectively as possible. Instead of reaching out to martial arts communities on a grassroots level, we prioritised acquiring well-grounded and unbiased sources predominantly from books, journal articles, dissertations, conference papers and repositories. The official websites of martial arts and combat sports competitions and organisations became the sources of general information. Nevertheless, we could not help but rely on other media channelling our attention into regional newspapers, magazines, personal websites and open sources to shed light on many martial arts that had seldom been addressed. This may have affected the accuracy of information to an extent, entailing further research to correct.

Taking into account the research scope, limited timeline and the enduring impact of the COVID-19 pandemic in particular, fieldwork and ethnographic approaches for primary sources, as well as a deep review of scientific literature and databases were not considered.

1. Martial activities inscribed on UNESCO's List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity

2. Martial arts and combat sports recognised by international competitions such as the World Combat Games, Asian and Indoor Martial Arts Games, World Martial Arts Masterships

3. Martial arts organisations affiliated with the WoMAU

4. Martial arts addressed in existing literature on the subject

5. Other arts found through many different online sources and identified in ICM's previous research activities

Figure 2. Research targets

SECTION 2

Definitions and classifications

What are martial arts?

Against definition and conceptualisation

Classifications and categorisations

The approach of this research





WHAT ARE MARTIAL ARTS?

The term “martial” having its origins in the name of Mars (the Roman God of War) is essentially related to combat (Cynarski & Skowron 2014; Martínková & Parry 2016). Dictionaries define “martial” as “relating to soldiers, war, or life in the armed forces” and “connected with fighting or war” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.; Oxford Learner’s Dictionaries, n.d.). While there is much debate to be had, “art” can be loosely taken as referring to techniques. Thus, martial arts in its intuitive sense simply refers to fighting techniques. Defining martial arts has for a long time been a contested area where scholars have added to this basic understanding. For example, Green (2001: xvi) presents an operational definition in his work:

Martial arts are considered to be systems that blend the physical components of combat with strategy, philosophy, tradition, or other features that distinguish them from pure physical reaction (in other words, a technique, armed or unarmed, employed randomly or idiosyncratically would not be considered a martial art).

According to Cynarski and Skowron (2014: 53), martial arts can be understood as follows:

The forms of psychophysical activity linked to a certain tradition of hand-to-hand fighting or using weapons, aimed at personal development and merging educational methods with improvement in the spiritual dimension.

It is noticeable that both definitions suggest that martial arts consist of physical combat and other non-physical elements, recognising that they are something more than just fighting. In particular, Cynarski and Skowron’s notion specifies that martial arts training is associated with cultivating one’s “internal” qualities through self-development and improvement. Phillips (2016: 29) resonates with this viewpoint by

identifying a number of other qualities, including leadership and self-motivation, which children, and implicitly others, are expected to learn by participating in martial arts. He believes that such expectations are possible because “martial arts were always about more than fighting”. Monahan (2007: 16) adds a more philosophical insight, stating that practising martial arts can be conceived as a “manifestation of Nietzschean self-overcoming”. He claims that practising martial arts, in line with a Nietzschean ethos, is a relentless process of discovering one’s strengths and weaknesses to overcome and strive towards self-perfection.

Although these conceptualisations have organised the general concept and deepened understanding of martial arts, it is still almost impossible to claim that they fully describe martial activities of endless kinds. Conversely, it is not always straightforward to judge whether an activity is considered a martial art according to the definitions. This is because “definitions are inevitably focused by [certain variables and thus] destined to be less than universal” (Green 2001: xv). In this context, Bowman (2019: 1) discusses two main positions regarding the matter of defining martial arts: *strict literalist* and *relativist*. Literalists are those who tend to have a rigid, fixed boundary of “proper” martial arts meeting certain criteria, whereas relativists are more flexible in their perception of martial arts, basically accepting anything that is generally considered a martial art.

AGAINST DEFINITION AND CONCEPTUALISATION

Bowman (2019: 1) believes that the strict literalist position is subject to criticism that it may be “self-blinding or myopic”, excluding a number of practices that are usually accepted as martial arts in reality. For example, the literalist view may be reluctant to accept judo, taijiquan or aikido as martial arts, mainly because they were not created for combat on the battlefield (Bowman 2019). While acknowledging that many martial arts are indeed combat-oriented, Judkins (2016a: 8) also implies that it would not always be “central to our understanding of them”. He takes the example of archery, which may have been employed for hunting and rituals before used for combat purposes. Lorge (2011) adds another example, noting that unarmed striking styles

like boxing in China were practised by soldiers for mental and physical health and recreational activity, rather than for actual fighting.

This is in line with our perspective and reflections consolidated through the research. We confirmed that martial activities, from the very beginning, served non-martial functions, for example as performing arts, folk games and competitions at festive events between tribes and villages. In addition, practical (and perhaps lethal) fighting arts have been transformed into modern styles and practices in situations that certainly cannot be described as life-threatening. The need for close combat and weapon-handling techniques has diminished with modern technology and military advancements, further expediting the demilitarisation of martial arts and the diminished focus on practicality. There are, by contrast, also cases where certain disciplines have become more effective and practical for combat over time. Judkins (2016: 8) summarises these dynamics in claiming that “the modern martial practices and their supposed battlefield origins are more complicated than current mythmaking might lead [to one another]”. The multifunctional, versatile nature of martial activities, coupled with their ever-evolving characteristics, dissuades us from devising or adopting a specific definition for this research.

CLASSIFICATIONS AND CATEGORISATIONS

Classifying martial arts has received as much scholarly attention as the attempts to define them have. Draeger (1981, cited by Judkins 2016b) was at the forefront of the work, providing a dichotomous classification: martial arts and civilian arts (Table 2).

Table 2. Draeger's (1981) classification of fighting systems

| Martial arts | Civilian arts |
|--|---|
| Promote group solidarity | For self-protection and home defence |
| Designed for battlefield use | Largely urban based |
| Designed and practised as weapon arts use | Mainly 'empty handed', limited weapons |
| Designed for natural terrain and climate and flors | Designed for ideal surfaces, roads, streets |
| Designed for wearing armour | Designed for civilian clothing |
| Use a wide range of weapons and skills and limited | Skills (and weapons) use is specialised |
| Use genuine weapons rather than domestic tools | Weapons tend to be domestic tools |
| Developed by professional fighting class | Part-time training is best |

Although significant as one of the pioneering approaches, Draeger's classification is believed to be flawed in that it may have been heavily influenced, or perhaps biased, by his personal experiences and hierarchy of values as a military officer, revealed in his discussion of "true" or "real" martial arts for combat and what he describes as civilian arts (Judkins 2016b). Bowman (2019: 2) also points out that "cultural or social category is always connected to and even infused with elements of others", critiquing Draeger's narrow understanding of martial arts. This also applies to the East–West dichotomy centred on cultural differences, which holds that practising Eastern martial arts is associated with the acquisition of added values other than physical techniques, such as "non-violence, artistic enjoyment" (Back & Kim 1979: 19–28; Donohue & Taylor 1994).

Friday (2001a) discusses three Japanese terms referring to martial arts from different perspectives: *bugei*, *budo* and *bujutsu*. *Bugei* is an umbrella term meaning “military science” that includes both *bujutsu* and *budo*. *Bu* means “warrior” and *jutsu* means “technique or skill”, while *do* can be translated as “way” or “path” (DeMarco 2017). *Bujutsu* thus means warrior skills while *budo* refers to warrior paths. Some martial arts that fall into the *budo* category are aikido and judo, placing their emphasis on self-development rather than fighting (Emru 2017). Martial arts considered *bujutsu* types are kenjutsu and jujutsu. However, this classification based on the Japanese terms may only apply to East Asian disciplines and potentially their derivatives, suggesting no clear answers about many other arts of the world. Given that martial arts are generally imbued with both physical and mental aspects in a single system, the conceptual boundary between *budo* and *bujutsu* can easily become blurred and left subject to one’s own perspectives and interpretations.

The Korea Institute of Sport Science (KISS), in a government-commissioned report (2009: 5–7), suggests that martial arts can be grouped into four categories according to their main techniques or origins (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Types of martial arts by techniques (KISS 2009)

| Type | Criteria |
|---------|---|
| Unarmed | Does not use any weapons; bare-handed fighting systems |
| Armed | Uses weapons |
| Mixed | Includes both unarmed and armed techniques |
| Others | Focuses on meditation, breathing, and self-discipline, not fighting |

Table 4. Types of martial arts by origins (KISS 2009)

| Type | Criteria |
|-------------|---|
| Transmitted | Passed down from generation to generation for more than 100years* and three generations, and recognised by other martial arts community (*Workin group of Council of Europe's criterion to define 'traditional game') |
| Revived | Revived, recovered as original forms based on clear, verifiable references such as Muye Dobo Tongji and Muye Jebo |
| Created | Newly practised or advocated martial arts that sre created by combining transmitted and imported ones |
| Imported | Imported martial arts from overseas which maintain their original forms and practice systems |

The techniques classification is clear and generally works for martial arts of different origins. However, the origins classification has constraints in covering non-Korean martial arts, and there are too many variations that do not fall into any given type. As in the cases of Brazilian jiu-jitsu and hapkido, it is common that a martial art associated with one country is founded upon the basis of a pre-existing, established art that originated in another. The new martial art may be viewed as a “created” discipline, but also one that is “imported” from abroad, depending on how people choose to appreciate the art’s historical and technical authenticity.

In addition, we were not able to find any reasonable grounds for the proposed period of one hundred years for martial arts to be regarded as “transmitted”. The “revived” category also does not fully function since the process of “reviving” itself would already involve the activity of “creation” or subjective interpretation by those who try to recover martial arts from old sources and records. It is not without a doubt that such “revived” martial arts could realistically be evaluated as the representations of their original forms. Moreover, it is likely that many recovered disciplines would be neglected that in reality are not necessarily based on written accounts, but more on other transmission efforts continued by contemporary figures.

Martínková and Parry (2016) propose a different categorisation that considers the purpose of activity. Here, they attempt to pinpoint the original purpose of martial activities, not individual intentions. They posit that it is confusing to categorise by weapons and techniques as there are so many sub-types, all of which signify different characteristics of martial arts. Their alternative categories are set out in Table 5.

Table 5. Types of martial arts by purpose (Martínková & Parry 2016)

| Type | Criteria |
|----------------|---|
| Close Combat | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pragmatic use of martial techniques for fighting from immediate distance to defend oneself from attack or defeat an opponent Life-threatening and dangerous, no constraining rules Used by the police and the army |
| Warrior Arts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focused on learning of martial techniques to defend oneself or defeat an opponent in real-life fighting Associated with the great personae of combat – the warriors (knights, Samurai, etc.) fighting especially in duels Emphasis on combat-pragmatic function, can be lethal Often exhibited as chivalric duels |
| Martial Arts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Educational activities for improvement in fighting through acquiring martial techniques, also emphasising self-development Adherence to moral principles and codes of conduct Combat in a modified form, no real need to fight someone Set up to be safe activities, often artificially constrained to prevent damage and injury |
| Martial Paths | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasise the role of philosophical and religious systems or ways of life within the context of acquiring martial technique Greater purpose to wield weapons in a spiritual manner Understood as spiritual paths for the development of human being Safe practices, no use of lethal weapons |
| Martial Sports | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acquire martial techniques to participate in sport competition Accessible for everyone Safe and rule-limited systems Competition is of great importance De-emphasise their martial roots Contact or non-contact |

Despite their attempt to contemplate on the initial purpose of martial arts, the category is deemed to be too philosophical with many possible overlaps between two or more categories. For instance, close combat and warrior arts are already very similar in that they have a particular focus on lethal use of pragmatic techniques at close range. It would also be controversial if we view judo and taekwondo as just martial sports, not martial arts, since the two have started and never distanced themselves from the domain of 'martial arts'.

THE APPROACH OF THIS RESEARCH

As discussed earlier in this section, there appears to be little to no general consensus on an unequivocal definition of martial arts that draws a clear line among them (Green 2001; Channon & Jennings 2014). Nor is defining always a prerequisite or desired for furthering martial arts scholarship (Judkins 2016a; Bowman 2019). As such, we decided to take a broad perspective to embrace innumerable forms of martial activities, ranging from conventional fighting systems characterised by their practical use of fighting techniques and weapons, to more distinctive types such as folk games, dances, rituals, meditations and other manifestations. This serves the purpose of this research, building a comprehensive and open understanding of martial arts around the world. Regarding the classifications, contested as they may be, we will use only three basic, in most cases evident criteria to avoid unnecessary confusion and provide an intuitive overview. The criteria are origins, main techniques and weapons.

Origins

When considering the origins, we divided the world into six large regions: Africa, Asia, Europe, North and Central America, Oceania, and South America. States in the Caribbean are grouped under South America, and Pacific Islands states are viewed as Oceanian considering their geographical proximity, while Hawaiian martial arts are seen as North and Central American. Some transcontinental countries are grouped in either of two regions. For instance, Turkey, Russia, Georgia, and Armenia are regarded as part of Europe. The "Stan" Countries are considered as part of Asian.

Main techniques

We identified six sub-categories under the classification of main techniques: grappling, striking, weapon-based, low-impact/meditative, mixed, horseback, and others. These are loose categories, and we did not try to classify any technique further. For example, grappling includes many hand-to-hand techniques used for close combat such as throws, chokes, submissions, holds and takedowns. Judo, jujutsu, and many other wrestling styles fall into the range of grappling. Striking styles are characterised by use of techniques like punches, kicks, knee and elbow strikes, and headbutts. Muay thai, taekwondo and karate are well-known striking arts. Weapon-based martial arts here refer to those that use weapon techniques only. Martial arts characterised by their practical focus on breathing, meditation, exercise and health are placed under the low-impact/meditative type. Taijiquan is an exemplary case of such type that was officially recognised by UNESCO in 2020. Horseback was used to include equestrian arts and games. The type is often combined with weapons seen in the examples of bajutsu and jousting, which then come to be under the “mixed” category. The latter category counts those arts that contain more than two main techniques of the six sub-categories in a single system. Japanese kasagake and yabusame are grouped under this category as they are both horseback and weapon-based (archery). Greek pankration consisting of both grappling and striking techniques is another archetypal example of the category.

Weapons

The weapons category is divided into six sub-types: bows and arrows, swords or knives, sticks or staffs, spears, multiple, and others. Considering the distinctiveness of many different weapons, we used the generic, umbrella terms to encompass many specific, indigenous weapons under each category for analytical purposes. For example, the “swords or knives” category includes varied forms of bladed weapons such as daggers and machetes. The “multiple” category refers to arts that make use of two or more weapons. Pencak silat is a good example of using multiple weapons, including staffs and knives.

Appendix B shows how each martial activity has been classified under the three categories and their sub-categories addressed above. The next section will organise the numerical data using the three criteria and present an overview.

SECTION 3

An overview of martial arts

By regions

By main techniques and weapons
(weapon-based and mixed with weapons)





BY REGIONS

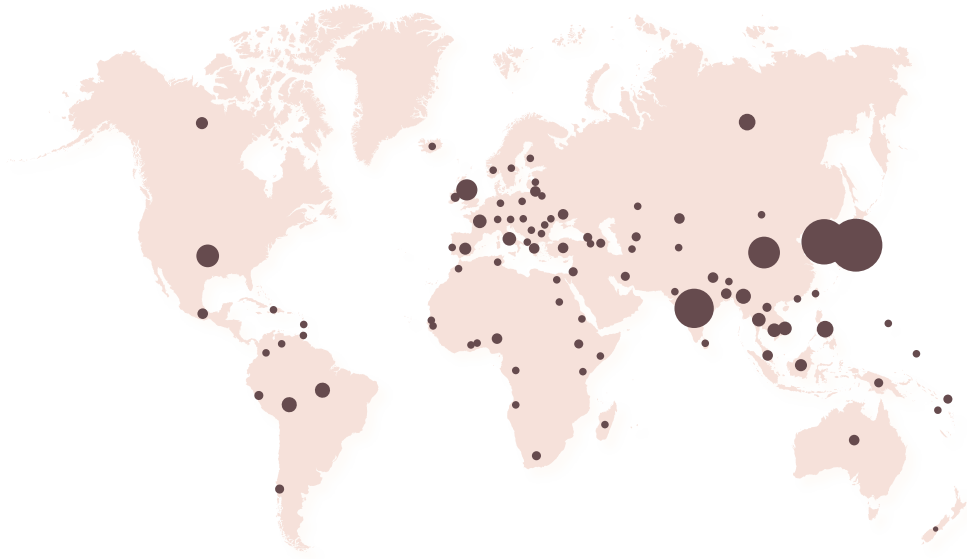


Figure 3. Global distribution of martial arts

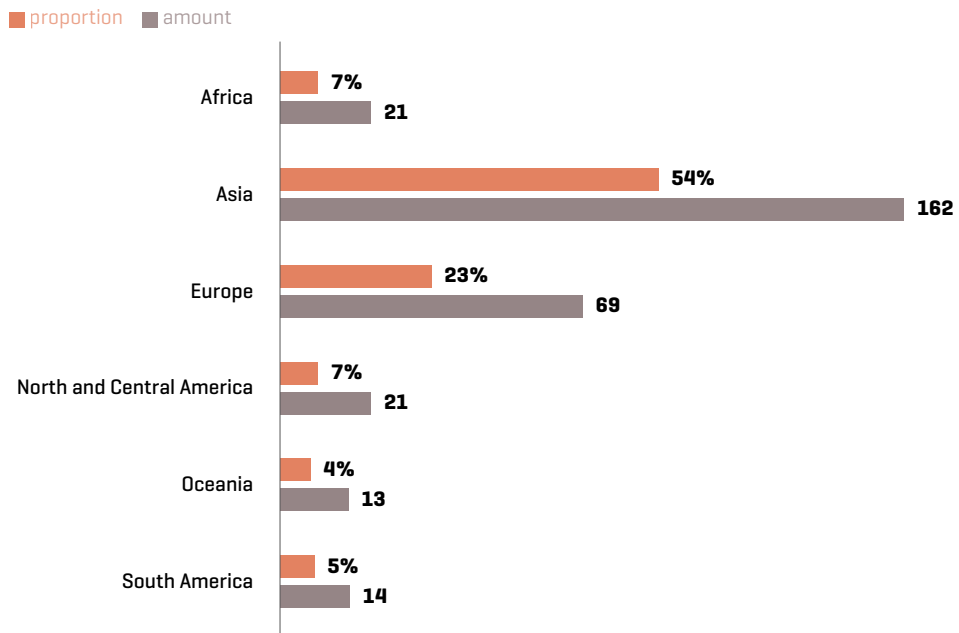


Figure 4. Martial arts by regions

Regarding the origins of the martial arts, Asia is confirmed, perhaps unsurprisingly, to be the largest cradle with 162 out of the 300 identified martial arts, outnumbering those originating from the rest of the regions combined. Within that total, China, Japan, Korea and India are the four biggest contributors, accounting for 44% of all Asian martial arts. Europe has given rise to sixty-nine martial activities, twenty-seven of which are folk-wrestling styles.

The relative obscurity of Western fighting arts is largely attributed to frequent outbreaks of war and armed conflicts. The pursuit of lethal practicality in warfare triggered rapid development and modernisation in weaponry. The use of firearms was already common in the seventeenth century, making various conventional weapons like sticks, swords and spears, not to mention unarmed combat, obsolete (Green 2001). Swords like rapiers ended up becoming *de facto* accessories carried in Europe for fashion rather than fighting (Osada 2013). The decline of traditional fighting methods undermined development and transmission of traditional martial practices and knowledge. The outbreak of the two world wars and “the spread of modern combat sports” in the twentieth century also contributed to the interruption of European martial traditions (Jaquet *et al.* 2020: 8).

In contrast, Asian countries from which many martial arts originated remained relatively more peaceful while the use of gunpowder was bringing about a seismic shift in the dynamics of warfare across most of the world. For instance, Japan enjoyed about 250 years of peace and prosperity from the foundation of Tokugawa shogunate in the early seventeenth century to the Meiji Restoration of the mid-nineteenth century. The use of firearms was prohibited and monopolised by the shogunate, which in turn allowed for the persistence of traditional martial arts. Traditional martial arts with no use in modern warfare have diverted into more spiritual, religious and educational disciplines since this era (e.g. kenjutsu becoming kendo).

There have been movements since the 1990s to recover martial arts of European or broadly Western origin, which is exemplified by the development of historical European martial arts (HEMA), also known as renaissance martial arts. Practitioners have revived swordsmanship based on pre-existing “connections” to the past, including historical documents and artefacts (Jaquet *et al.* 2020). *Fechtbuch*,

meaning “fencing book” in German, is the archetype of fight books initially written in the fourteenth century. However, in many cases such historical references were published for personal reasons and in cryptic languages so others would struggle to understand and techniques could be kept secret, leaving much space for individual interpretations (Osada 2013). It was also common to make errors and give confusing explanations in portraying movements and techniques in the absence of illustrations and modern writing systems (Osada 2013). Martial arts texts in Asia, by contrast, were generally produced in a more organised, systematic way, led by the leadership or bureaucrats, and thus served as a firm foundation for future generations to recover, transmit and develop martial arts knowledge.

Martial activities from North and Central America account for only 7% of the total. We observed that most of them were founded around the mid-twentieth century, and tended to be based on existing disciplines. Some well-known cases are American kempo and its different variations, heavily influenced by Japanese and Chinese striking arts. Kajukenbo is another hybrid martial art of North American origin developed by four local practitioners who combined karate, judo/jujutsu, kempo and boxing (Harris 2001a). These reinventions of East Asian martial arts were driven by Americans who had been exposed to Eastern cultures around the time of the Second World War, and subsequently the Korean War. American military officers stationed in Japan and South Korea played a key part in importing Asian martial arts to the homeland during the 1950s and 1960s (Murakami 2018). The emergence of Asian martial arts in modern times was also fuelled by the American media and entertainment industry, epitomised by Bruce Lee’s popularity and accomplishments. This short, cross-cultural development history of North American martial arts is contrasted by that of African elements. African martial activities account for the same small proportion as North American in the statistics, yet most of them are found to have a far longer history dating back thousands of years (see Kwesi 2009; Kambon 2018).

BY MAIN TECHNIQUES AND WEAPONS (WEAPON-BASED AND MIXED WITH WEAPONS)

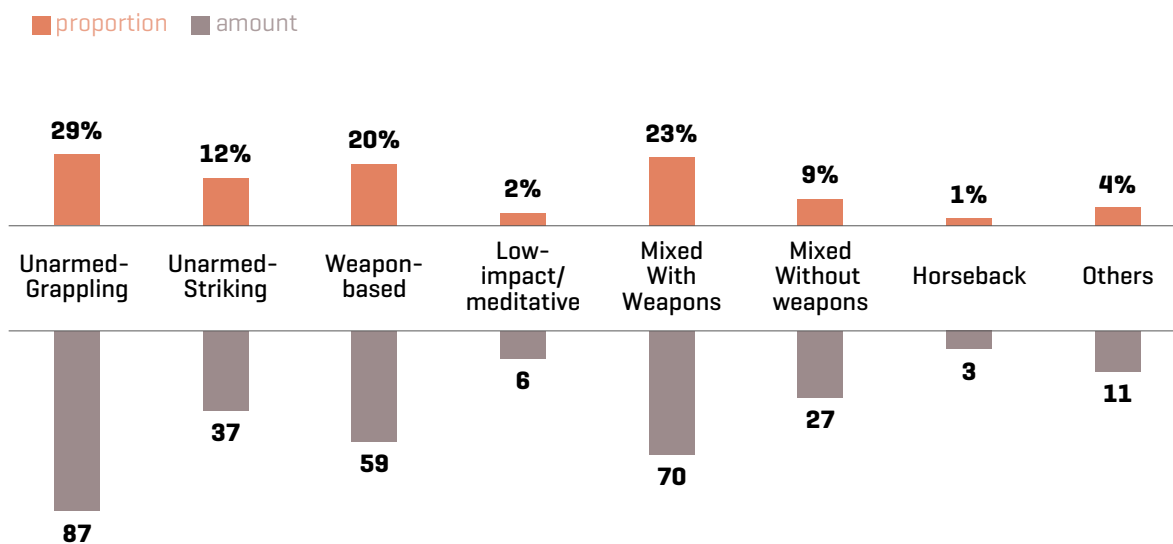


Figure 5. Martial arts by main techniques

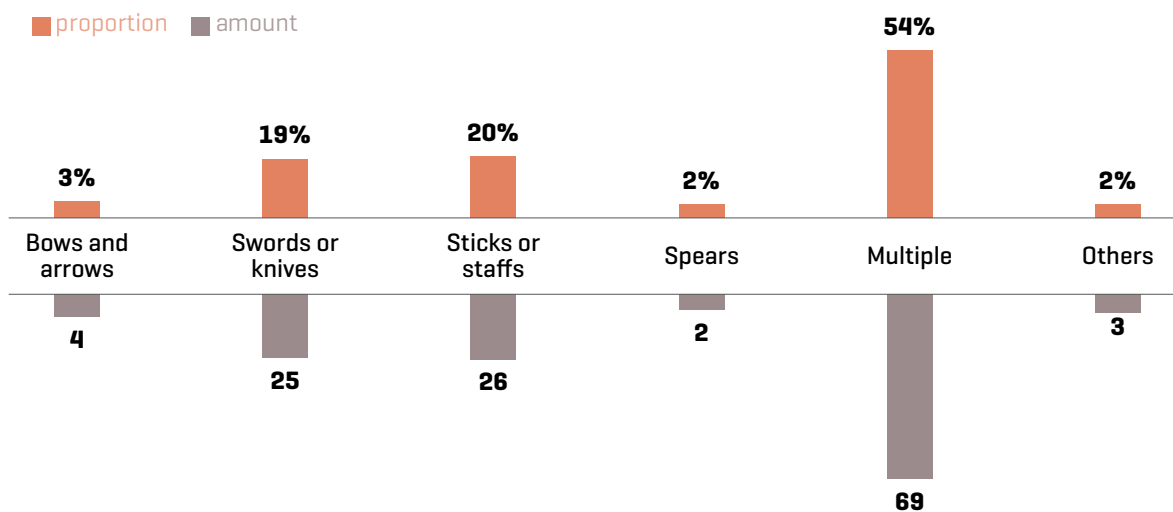


Figure 6. Martial arts by weapons

In terms of main techniques, unarmed martial arts consisting of grappling and striking seem to be more pervasive than (purely) weapon-based arts. However, since there are seventy mixed arts incorporating weapon techniques in their systems, there is not much difference between the numbers of unarmed and armed martial arts as a whole.

Among unarmed martial arts, grappling systems outnumber those with striking techniques. The preponderance of grappling arts is closely associated with the prevalence of folk-wrestling styles that exist in every corner of the world. This is in line with the anthropological speculation that humans, as many of their mammal ancestors, have instinctively wrestled for self-defence with such basic moves as holding, grappling and throwing each other since primitive times (Tausk 2001).

Regarding weapon-based martial activities, the findings show that using multiple weapons is more common than specialising in a single weapon. From our qualitative analyses in the next section, we argue that this is associated with increasing efficiency and survivability in addressing varied combat situations and threats. In some disciplines, there is a class of weapons that practitioners encounter in training. Focusing on practising only with one weapon is found to be more relevant to cultivating internal qualities like self-development and spiritual growth.

Short, lightweight weapons such as daggers, sticks and staffs are preferred to bulky weaponry in gaining victory quickly and efficiently at close range in real-life situations. Weapons like bows, pikes and spears became obsolete in modern warfare, where the advent of firearms led to the decline of traditional martial weaponry (Tedeschi 2003). This in a way resonates with Reid and Croucher's view on the use of light and heavy weapons: they note the different nature of fighting "*within* the social group" and "*between* social groups" (Buckler 2016: 7), where the former is generally for the purpose of entertainment, sport and ritual with lighter weapons used for small attack whereas the latter occurs within the context of warfare involving heavier weapons for mass attack (Reid & Croucher 1983; Buckler 2016). Given the rare occurrence of large-scale warfare, it can be inferred that lighter and non-lethal weapons have become dominant in modern martial arts as they shift towards being non-combative, educational, spiritual and religious disciplines.

The low-impact/meditative disciplines accounted for only a marginal proportion, 2% of the total, and they were all East Asian, including Chinese taijiquan. Although it is common in martial arts to practise breathing techniques for physiological effects like relaxation and concentration, meditation itself is unlikely to be the objective of the practice, especially when it comes to modern and non-Asian martial arts. This is underpinned by the contention that meditation is usually practised for “a few seconds” in order to be relaxed and ready for physical training (Holt 2001).

The next section will briefly present the three hundred martial arts, arranged by the six identified regions. We have tried to describe the martial arts objectively, but the depth of information may vary. The ideas about the martial arts covered in this report may not necessarily represent and correspond to the perspectives of their broader communities. This points to the accessibility and limitations of current literature, but by no means reflects the importance of each martial art.

SECTION 4

Martial arts of the world

Africa

Asia

Europe

North and Central America

Oceania

South America





AFRICA

Borey*Boreh, borreh*

Borey or boreh is an indigenous wrestling from Gambia, and is one of the most popular national sports alongside football. It has been emphasised by different sources that borey is not just a sport and entertainment, but a traditional culture involving and reflecting the spirits and beliefs of society.

Matches traditionally took place between wrestlers from two different villages (Briggs & Fenton 2017). These inter-village competitions were arranged after the harvest season when people had more spare time and there was enough food to feed the spectators (Access Gambia, n.d.). The competition is characterised by “a sense of progression”, where the least-skilled combatants would compete first, followed by skilled fighters, with the champions wrestling in the final bout (Briggs & Fenton 2017: 21). Like at other Gambian festive events, drums are played during the wrestling matches. Borey has one simple rule to win: bring the opponent to the ground. Unlike Senegalese wrestling, which is said to have the same origin, borey seems most focused on

grappling techniques, not allowing punches and strikes, although several references suggest that there are no explicit restrictions.

The Gambia Wrestling Association was established in 2007 to promote wrestling and its cultural values in the country. Led by President Serign Modou Faye, it is now affiliated with the international body, United World Wrestling (UWW).

Dambe*Hausa boxing, dembe*

Dambe is a fighting art that originated among the Hausa people in West Africa, mainly Nigeria. It is a striking art, using hands, feet and the head. One hand is wrapped with cloth (*kara*) and rope (*zare*), giving it protection and the ability to deliver strong punches. This hand is referred to as the “spear”. The other hand is used as a shield. A fight consists of maximum three rounds and the goal is to knock the opponent to the floor within the allotted time (Green 2010b: 6; Mafua 2020). The growing popularity of dambe has raised some concerns regarding safety as serious injuries among the fighters are common.



Nigerian dambe game of the hausa fulani tribe © Oteikwu Joshua

Dambe found its origin among butchers and fishermen who held festivals where they would fight when they exchanged meat and fish. Later, it turned into a way of teaching and practising military skills (Green 2010: 6; Mafua 2020). Nowadays, dambe is often seen at festivals and events to celebrate harvests and at naming ceremonies and funerals (Rivett-Carnac 2018).

In 2017, a league was started with the aim of developing a more conventional dambe and hopefully making the sport suitable for export. More clubs are joining the league and clothing is being standardised to provide more safety for the contestants. Systems for scoring and consistent rules are being created; for example, rounds can now

last at most three minutes and weight classes are to be introduced. The league also hired a doctor to monitor the fights. The league has also tried to ban some of the traditional customs that might cause problems when the sport grows. Examples of these are traditional medicine and amulets worn during the fights (Rivett-Carnac 2018). Dambe is also becoming an area of commercial interest (Crudelli 2008: 289; Rivett-Carnac 2018). In order to be safeguarded and expanded, the art must adapt and let go of some of its traditional aspects.

The YouTube channel Dambe Warriors is increasingly gaining in popularity. With 60% of subscribers coming from outside of Nigeria, Hausa boxing has found an international audience (Mafua 2020).

Donga stick-fighting

Donga is an Ethiopian stick-fighting tradition associated with the Mursi, Surma and Suri people. The fights usually take place in the context of festivals and have a ritual character. Practitioners prepare for the fight by drinking milk and blood from their herd (Green & White 2010: 336). The winners of the yearly tournament between villages can marry well and are awarded a high rank within society (Woodard 2019a). Matches have rules and are controlled by referees. Most fights end after a few hits, but if it lasts longer, it becomes more violent (Woodard 2019a). Donga shares many similarities with Nguni stick-fighting from the Zulu people in Southern Africa.

The long sticks used for cattle herding were also used for defending oneself as well as ritual fighting (Green 2020: 236–237). Because of donga's violent nature, the Ethiopian government banned the practice in 1994, after which the tradition continued at undisclosed locations. Jeff Woodard from the Historical African Martial Arts (HAMA) Association points out that use of guns has become prevalent among, for example, the Mursi and that the stick-fighting tradition might be close to extinction (Woodard 2019a).

Engolo

Ngolo

Engolo or ngolo is a martial ritual performed by different ethnic groups inhabiting the area around the Cunene River in southern Angola. The art is hypothesised as the mother of Brazilian capoeira and has had a significant influence on martial art traditions in the Americas (Desch-Obi 2008: 3; Martialask, n.d.-b). Techniques used are mainly kicks and punches (Martialask, n.d.-b), and the footwork is particularly notable. The art makes use of inverted, circular, and push kicks. These kicks are not to be blocked but rather avoided to produce fluid movements (Desch-Obi 2008: 206). Kicks are for defence and acrobatic movements are employed for attacks (Desch-Obi 2008: 2). It is common to see engolo practitioners standing on both hands, kicking with their feet while upside down. This symbolises the ancestors who live in an inverted world (Desch-Obi 2008: 4).

Desch-Obi states that African martial arts often reflect specific worldviews and philosophies. In engolo's case it is closely linked to *kalunga*, a paradigm identifying aspects of both the natural and supernatural worlds (Desch-Obi 2008: 3–4). Engolo originated in

ancient Angola (Desch-Obi 2008: 3). It was a way to gain recognition in the tribe as well as attention from potential marriage partners. It was also used as a form of entertainment performed with music. Conflict resolution and battlefield training were also common purposes (Desch-Obi 2008: 11–12).

There are no official engolo schools, and the art is naturally passed on within the tribes of southern Angola.

Ethiopian tigil wrestling

Tigil, tigel, gibbigibb, qilis

Tigil, gibbigibb, and qilis are all names for wrestling in Ethiopia. From the 1970s, the wrestling style slowly became sportified as well as recognised as a cultural game in Ethiopia. The Ethiopian Cultural Sport Federation, organised under the Sport Commission, eventually published a manual with rules to regulate tigil on a national level (Bromber 2012: 30).

Wrestling in Ethiopia was very popular during the reign of Tewodros II (1818–1868). Before the mid-nineteenth century, wrestling in Ethiopia was not documented, and Ethiopian researchers only started to look into wrestling in the 1970s. Sporting competitions were then established in order to promote, coordinate,

and study it as one of Ethiopia's traditional sports. However, these studies only observed the wrestling activities as they were at the time, and did not acknowledge earlier changes or potential future evolution (Bromber 2012: 25–26).

Evala

Evala is a traditional wrestling game of the Kabiye ethnic group in Togo. It serves as a rite of passage for young men (*The African* 2019; Exploring Africa, n.d.). It includes crossing three mountains, physical and metal training, and circumcision. The shame that losing a fight brings upon the wrestler's family encourages him to train hard. An evala festival is held annually (Crudelli 2008: 289). Wrestling matches are



Evala festival © Erik Cleves Kristensen

accompanied by drums, flutes, and other musical instruments (*The African* 2019). In the past, sticks were used in evala, but they have disappeared over time.

Evala has seen some expansion within Togo, and the festival now attracts curious tourists from around the world as well (Adzafo 2014). There is one practice associated with the festival that is highly controversial and has evoked many negative reactions – the slaughtering of dogs, which is believed to give the wrestlers supernatural powers for the contest. Some suggest it might be time to modernise in order to become more professional and to open up to other cultures (*The African* 2019).

Ghanaian wrestling

Mbe'ere traditional wrestling

Mbe'ere or Ghanaian wrestling is a traditional grappling style in Ghana. The techniques include grabbing, pulling, lifting, throwing and locking the opponent's limbs. The fights can be violent, although actions such as grabbing the genitals, strangling and biting are forbidden. Fights usually last until one of the wrestlers is floored. There is no formal ranking system and winners are rewarded merely with respect from their peers and the elders.

According to the Ghana Wrestling Association, established in 2010, Mbe'ere wrestling originated among the young shepherds of the Gurune people of the Upper East Region of Ghana. On the grazing fields, the shepherd boys would engage in wrestling as a way to decide roles and divide their food.

When vaccinations for cattle were introduced, the different clans would gather their herds and travel to the vaccination centre. Vaccinating could take up to a few days so shepherds organised wrestling matches between clans to pass the time. Wrestling later became more popular in the different communities and inter-communal wrestling for social entertainment was born. Mbe'ere is still practised in many traditional Gurune communities purely for entertainment, but the inter-community competitions have become rare.

The Ghanaian Wrestling Association promotes and regulates wrestling. It established regional associations for the purposes of training wrestlers, regulating and supervising the practice of wrestling and it organises tournaments to promote wrestling among the local communities.

Gidigbo

Yoruba wrestling, eke, ijakadi

Gidigbo is a traditional wrestling form associated with the Yoruba people in West Africa. The Yoruba inhabit Nigeria as well as other nearby areas in West-Central Africa.

The rules of gidigbo vary from town to town, but generally the contest ends when a participant's back or knees touch the ground. The wrestlers are male, and matches are accompanied by drums. Medicines and magic are not always condoned publicly anymore, but are still widely used (White 2010: 10). Traditionally, passing on the necessary skills starts within the family circle, and these skills are tested at festivals and informal contests (White 2010: 12). Most Nigerian Olympic wrestlers started out practising the traditional style (My-Wrestling-Guide.com, n.d.).

Wrestling continues to be practised, but the number of people with a comprehensive knowledge is in steady decline. At state level, wrestling receives financial support from organisations like the Economic Community of West African States (White 2010: 13).

Grech

Grech is a traditional wrestling style of Tunisia. It is played on sand with wrestlers attempting to bring their opponent to the ground.

There is a lack of research and information about this martial art and no credible sources in English are currently available, other than to describe its very basic features.

Istunka

Dab Shib

Istunka is a three-day annual festival in Somalia, coinciding with the Somalian New Year. The festival shares its name with the traditional Somalian stick-fighting



tradition. It is a mock battle between the populations of the different sides of the Shebeele River that runs through the city of Afgooye. The festival and its stick-fighting event mark the beginning of the new planting season in August/September and are supposed to bring good fortune (Mukhtar 2003: 123; HAMA Association, n.d.).

According to legend, the tradition stems from an ancient battle to decide who would be allowed to use the water from the river during the dry season. Another possibility is that the festival used to serve the purpose of training warriors to defend their territory (Mukhtar 2003: 123). The festival attracts many visitors, including from outside Somalia (Mukhtar 2003: 124).

Traditionally, combat weapons including axes, swords and daggers were used, but nowadays for safety reasons these have been replaced by sticks (Ahmed 2015). There is no intention to do harm to the other participants (HAMA Association, n.d.). Men taking part in the event are naked with the exception of a loincloth and headband, and amulets are worn around the neck or arm. They carry fresh sticks in their left hand, which are used, one-by-one, to hit their opponent (Mukhtar 2003: 124; HAMA Association, n.d.).

Kabubu

Kabubu is the traditional wrestling style originating in Congo. The practitioners wrestle each other while on their knees, holding their opponent's belt.

Kandoshin

Kandoshin is a hybrid martial art founded in 1975 by Happy John Uvwiefenigwere from Nigeria. Uvwiefenigwere studied and practised many martial arts systems, including Korean, Japanese, Chinese and African ones, as well as African fighting arts. Karate, taekwondo, kung fu, jujutsu, aikido, boxing and others thus became the essence of kandoshin (Enacademic, n.d.).

The Nigeria United Kandoshin Union was established in 1975 and became a part of the Karate Federation of Nigeria, which was recognised by Nigerian sports ministry in 1991. Kandoshin has spread from Nigeria to Cameroon, Germany, England, South Africa and the US (Kandoshin Arts Federation International, n.d.).

Laamb

Senegalese wrestling, njom, làmb, lutte sénégalaise

Laamb is a style of wrestling from Senegal. Laamb or *làmb* literally means “to fight” in

the Wolof language (Crudelli 2008: 288). In Serer, meanwhile, the wrestling style is referred to as njom. Laamb is a national sport in Senegal. The traditional version incorporates striking (*lutte traditionnelle avec frappe*), but the modern international version does not (*lutte traditionnelle sans frappe*). Senegalese wrestlers usually practise both (Wikipedia, n.d.-g).

According to Green and Tausk (2001: 5), laamb bears more resemblance with Greco-Roman wrestling than modern freestyle wrestling, unlike many other

African wrestling systems.

Fanoli (2019) claims laamb has a “position of exception” in the field of international sports, referring to its seemingly contradictory characteristics. The mystical practices and folkloric aspects, along with the allowance of bare-fist punches and the absence of an official ranking system, points and (until recently) weight classes, make it hard to classify it among modern Olympic wrestling styles. But at the same time laamb receives mass-media attention and



incorporates techniques from modern boxing, other martial arts and body building. Because of this, according to Fanoli, *laamb* finds itself somewhere in between traditional wrestling and modern sports. M'Baye (2013) also points out that "Senegalese Wolof wrestling is both a traditional and a modern sport".

Over the course of its history *laamb* has gone through a notable evolution: "Compared to the descriptions of wrestling that we found in the writings of explorers, missionaries and colonial administrators, we notice the enormous changes that have made *laamb* a billions CFA franc business

linked to state and global institutions, 'the first national sport' with written rules, championships and titles, disseminated by the mass media in the country and in the Senegalese diaspora" (Fanoli, n.d.).

The sport has become more popular among women, partly thanks to Isabelle Sambou, a 2012 Olympic wrestler, who has gone to great effort to get more women involved in the sport. Some hope this eventually could also help with issues regarding gender equality in Senegal (Van Oot 2016).

Moraingy

Moraingy is a striking martial art indigenous to Madagascar. Most attacks are basically punches with straight, hook and uppercut variations (Ratsimbazafy 2010).

As *moraingy* was traditionally a male culture and form of physical education where elders would test the physical abilities of the youth, participation was regarded as a privilege. In competitions, the youth took the opportunity to experience and practise how to tackle obstacles themselves (Ratsimbazafy 2010).

The game was a platform that brought together different groups of



Moraingy, a traditional sport in Madagascar
© Hery Zo Rakotondramanana

elders within the village, contributing to strengthening community cohesion (Ratsimbazafy 2010). Young men typically aged between 10 and 35 from two different villages participate in the fighting. The fighters are called *kidabolahy* (Ratsimbazafy 2010: 15).

Musangwe

Musangwe is a type of bare-knuckle boxing from South Africa. Almost nothing is off limits in this fighting style. There are three ways in which the winner is decided: if the opponent bleeds, surrenders or is knocked out (Wende 2011). There are different age categories, 9–12, 13–18, 19–34, 35–45 and over 45. Fighters from the north are always paired with fighters from the south (Woodard 2019b). There are no rewards for the winner and participation is for one's own enjoyment, empowerment and status (Woodard 2019b). In the current era, the sport is said to shape young boys' character, dissuading them from involvement in crime and teaching them to respect women and to withstand economic hardships (Wende 2011; Woodard 2019b).

Historically, musangwe served as a way to select the strongest men to fight for the tribe (Wende 2011). In the 1800s boys would bring their cattle to the river

to be bathed. The bulls would fight each other and the boys would copy their play-fighting (Woodard 2019b).

In 2007 musangwe was the focus of an-hour-long documentary, *Musangwe Fight Club*.

Nakbabuka

Nakbabuka is a traditional wrestling style originating in Kenya. It is a martial art associated with the Luhya, a group of Bantu tribes in the Eastern African country.

Traditionally, the winner of the wrestling contest would be given a girl to marry. The matches are accompanied by the cheers of women, beating drums and other instruments (WoMAU, n.d.-c). The Nakbabuka Martial Arts Association has been a member of the WoMAU since 2002.

Nguni stick-fighting

Zulu stick-fighting

Nguni stick-fighting is a traditional South African martial art. It is also known as Zulu stick-fighting. The Zulu people are one of the Northern Nguni peoples of Southern Africa (Coetzee 2010). Nguni is a collective name for the ethnic groups of Bantu people residing in Southern Africa

(South African History Online 2016).

Zulu men traditionally own fighting sticks. They can either make their own or have one crafted for them by a specialist. Apartheid laws preventing people of colour from owning weapons encouraged the use of objects such as umbrellas and walking sticks as substitutes for the traditional *izinduku* (fighting stick).

Zulu stick-fighting enables men to distinguish themselves and earn respect from the community. Unless used in warfare or in the case of a blood feud, stick-fighting is generally considered a game and can be rather playful (Coetzee 2002, 2010). The combatants generally use two sticks or a

stick and shield (*ihawu*) made of cowhide (Coetzee 2010; Traditional Sports, n.d.-e). Fights are preceded by a dance, often with comic elements included, that represents an invitation to the opponent to fight. If an opponent enters the arena, the challenge is accepted and the fight begins. The goal is to hit the opponent's head and the fight ends when blood is drawn or the referee intervenes. Sportsmanship is a highly regarded quality and the victor is expected to tend to any injuries his opponent may have sustained (Coetzee 2010: 22).

Nguni stick-fighting originated among the young herders taking care of their cattle. While herding, young boys



would spar with each other, and those who had reached puberty could start fighting at public ceremonies, weddings and festivals. Duels are also used to settle disputes (Coetzee 2010). In the 1810s, during the reign of Shaka (c.1787–1828), stick-fighting was used as a way of training young men in warfare and self-defence (Coetzee 2002). Stick-fighting in general is one of the oldest types of martial art on the African continent. Zulu stick-fighting shares many similarities with Ethiopian donga stick-fighting.

Without a formal training process, Zulu stick-fighting is passed on from the older generations to the younger. It is a symbol of masculinity, cultural identity and tradition. In immigrant communities, Zulu stick-fighting is sometimes taught as a martial art. Demonstrations or performances of stick-fighting are sometimes put on for tourists (Coetzee 2002). Attempts in South Africa to redefine notions of ethnicity have coincided with a return of belief in the value of indigenous practices and performances that each have their own unique aesthetics (Coetzee 2000: 110).

Nuba wrestling

Nuba wrestling is a traditional grappling style among the Nuba tribes of Sudan. It

is a standing wrestling system. The goal is to bring the opponent to the ground.

Like many martial arts traditions in Africa and the wider world, Nuba wrestling is traditionally tied directly to the agricultural cycle (Green & White 2010: 337). It is not just a means of combat, but also a sporting and ceremonial practice (Green & Tausk 2001: 5).

This ritualised wrestling is an age-old tradition and an important expression of the Nuba identity. Although different tribes have many variations, the essence of Nuba wrestling unites all the tribes (McCormick 2014).

Nuba wrestling has evolved over time. Traditionally, the naked wrestlers were covered with ash or butter before fighting, but this attire has been replaced with modern clothing like shorts and sleeveless vests (McCormick 2014). Starting from 1983, the government's programme of forced Islamisation also had an impact on the tradition. The Islamic Government rejects the unique cultural identity of the Nuba people and seeks to change or prohibit cultural traditions (de Waal 2004; Jok 2012: 64). In 2014, *National Geographic* reported how wrestling kept the spirits and cultural traditions alive among the Nuba people in refugee camps (McCormick 2014).

Famous photographers like George Rodger (1908–95) and the controversial Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003) documented the fighting arts of the Nuba tribes. Riefenstahl's work faced strong criticism from writer and activist Susan Sontag, whose essay "Fascinating Fascism" (1975) noted that Riefenstahl's fascist views (she is well known for having worked for the Nazis) were reflected in her work.

Tahteeb

Tahtib

Tahteeb is a traditional martial art from upper Egypt. Performed in front of an

audience, it involves a brief, non-violent interchange between two opponents who each wield a long stick while folk music is played in the background. Complete control must be exercised as no striking is allowed. Practitioners are males both young and old, most of whom are from the Saeedy populations in upper Egypt, particularly rural areas where the tahteeb stick has traditionally been used by inhabitants as part of their daily lives and is considered a sign of manhood. Recently, however, tahteeb has opened up to women (Noureldin 2017). The rules of the game are based on values such as mutual respect, friendship, courage, strength, chivalry



Upper Egypt's men playing Tahteeb © Yasser Elrasoul

and pride. The game instils confidence through the acquired skills and a sense of pride arising from performing before their community. It also helps strengthen family ties and foster good communal relations (UNESCO 2016b).

In Ancient Egypt, tahteeb was used as a form of martial art. Its role has since changed to that of a festive game, but some of the symbolism and values associated with the practice remain (UNESCO 2016b). It can be traced back to the time of the pharaohs – drawings on the walls of the ancient tombs of kings from that era show figures practising the art using kendo-style postures (Menard 2001c: 562). In recent years, tahteeb has also taken the form of a dance, usually as part of cultural events.

Tahteeb is practised in public and private social settings. Competitions and special tahteeb evenings involving different governorates are sometimes held to encourage new players to take up the art; the competitions can last almost a week. Transmission occurs within families, neighbourhoods and to anyone who wishes to learn (*Daily News Egypt*, n.d.). The Association of Upper Egypt for Education and Development organises a programme teaching young girls modern tahteeb.

Taskiwin

The taskiwin is a Moroccan martial dance originating in the western High Atlas mountain range. The dance was named after the richly decorated horn (the *tiskit*) that a dancer carries. It involves the art of shaking one's shoulders to the rhythm of tambourines and flutes (UNESCO 2017c). The taskiwin is traditionally performed at night by about twenty men, and nowadays women can participate as well. The dance consists of sometimes up to thirty-two different moves. During the dance, poems are recited with the choice of the verses depending on the occasion (Oudrhiri 2017). Practitioners dress in white with red details. Men wear a *foukia* (dress), *rezza* (turban) and sarouel as well as a *burnous* (woollen coat). Their outfit is adorned with a *ghamd*, an embroidered belt with a *khâjar* (dagger) and a *tiskit* on the left shoulder. Women wear a caftan of unspecified colour, *haik*, red belt and a *ch'biik* (silver head jewel).

The practice fosters social cohesion and harmony and provides a key means of socialisation for young people (UNESCO 2017c).

According to Morocco's list of cultural heritage the taskiwin dates back to the tenth century (Oudrhiri 2017). The martial dance is now limited to a

small number of villages and is at risk of disappearing entirely. The remaining enthusiasts and bearers have difficulty finding aspirants to whom they can transmit their knowledge. Craftsmanship related to the instruments and accessories is also in decline. Nonetheless, the last two decades have seen an increased collective awareness of the need to ensure the viability of taskiwin among some communities (UNESCO 2017). Requiring urgent safeguarding measures, the dance

was inscribed on UNESCO's List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2017.

Local associations dedicated to taskiwin have been created. After the first association was formed in 1993, several other villages followed the initiative.

Testa

Testa, also referred to as rtesy, is a fighting style originating in Eritrea (Traditional Sports, n.d.-g). The style uses vicious headbutts as its primary



Taskiwin © Association Targa-Aide (Rabat, Maroc)

weapon (Green 2010a). *Testa* is Italian for “head”, and is a word adopted during the colonial era after the Italians arrived in the nineteenth century. The original local name, still sometimes used, is *riesy*, which means “headfight” (Bruster 1982). It is based on hand-to-hand combat techniques but often takes the form of a dance performance, hiding its true purpose (AnyMartialArts 2009b). Performances and some practice matches will be accompanied by drums. The difference between a performance and an actual fight is notable: the latter can be extremely brutal.

There are two styles of *testa* – one using only headbutts and one using kicks, strikes and other techniques to complement the headbutts (Bruster 1982). It is common for *testa* practitioners to use “dirty” techniques when they fight. There are no limitations, and eye-gouging, biting and attacking the groin are all common. These techniques, however, are not openly taught or practised (AnyMartialArts 2009b).

There are no historical sources regarding *testa* other than the techniques themselves, which have been passed on from generation to generation (AnyMartialArts 2009b). *Testa* came

into existence out of a need for self-preservation, not as a sport (Bruster 1982).

The system was adapted by Dennis Newsome (1947–). He notes that the exact style adopted in *testa* will change according to the individual practitioner, but in essence it stays the same (Bruster 1982). Newsome has set some pedagogical goals, among which is honouring the cultural heritage of African American communities (Green 2010a: 630). He also carefully laid out a path that *testa* practitioners can follow. For example, beginners are not immediately permitted to take part in fights, but must wait until they are truly ready. Matches follow clear rules and are supported by a points system. A fight usually lasts five minutes (Bruster 1982).

ASIA

Adithada, Adithadi

Adithada is an empty-handed striking martial art that originated in southern India. Elbows, kicks and knees are also used to the extent that the martial art is often considered a form of kick-boxing. Adithada in its literal meaning refers to “hitting and blocking”.

Aikido

Aikido is a modern Japanese martial art that is often described as “a way of harmony and an art of peace” (Ueshiba 2008;

Lefebvre 2016: 92). Aikido practitioners seek to defend themselves without causing injury to their partner. The art is thus conducted in such a way that one person acts as an attacker and the other practises defensive techniques. The defender strives to neutralise the aggressor’s attack with throwing, locking, controlling and pinning, as well as balance-breaking techniques. In particular, joint locks at anatomically weak points on the body are effective in defeating a taller, stronger opponent (Kamata & Shimizu 1992).



Aikido © Yoseikan 2013

Aikido was founded in the 1920s using daito-ryu aiki-jujutsu as a basis by Morihei Ueshiba who learnt the latter art from its founder, Sokaku Takeda. Having practised different martial arts, including judo, swordsmanship and jujutsu styles, Ueshiba founded aikido with a view to transforming offensive, lethal techniques against an opponent into reciprocal physical interaction that would lead to the self-development of both participants (Lefebvre 2016). Influenced by its ancestry art daito-ryu aiki-jujutsu, there had been no contest between practitioners until Tomiki Kenji, a student of Ueshiba, developed a sport and competition style called Tomiki aikido in 1967. Ueshiba believed that treating aikido as a sport was wrong, and practitioners were told to take their daily practice seriously.

Aikido has been transmitted throughout the world and has diversified into different variations with a range of interpretation. The International Aikido Federation, founded in 1976, now has fifty-six member federations.

Aki kiti

Sumi kick-fighting

Aki kiti is an indigenous kick-fighting style

originating among the Sümi Naga people in Nagaland, India. Only the feet are used in this martial art, both for striking and blocking. The goal is to bring the opponent to their knees or force them out of the fighting ring where the contest takes place (Crudelli 2008).

A game usually lasts three to four minutes and consists of three rounds. Practitioners require strength, skills, dexterity, agility and flexibility (Kohima 2018). No training syllabus exists for the art – general strength and flexibility exercises, as well as target practice, are part of the fighters training. Serious injuries are rare, despite the fact that no padding is worn in this fighting practice (Crudelli 2008).

In earlier times, aki kiti probably served as a way to settle disputes and restore honour among tribes and tribesmen (Crudelli 2008). But due to the popularisation of modern games, knowledge of the ancient form of aki kiti became lost. The Aphuyemi Akikiti Association was formed in 2014 to promote and revive aki kiti and to pass on the legacy of the indigenous game to future generations.

Alysh

Alysh is a traditional belt-wrestling form and the national sport of Kyrgyzstan. Alysh means “to fight to determine the strongest” in old Turkic language (UWW, n.d.). Matches are organised for both men and women as well as different weight categories (UWW, n.d.).

Bouts last for three minutes and are held on standard UWW mats of 12 by 12 metres. Wrestlers dress in white trousers and a blue or green jacket with a red belt. The aim is to throw the opponent to the ground while holding on to their belt (UWW, n.d.). In the gripping position, the left arm goes over the opponent's

right, and the wrestlers put their heads on each other's right shoulder (World Nomad Games, n.d.-a). Throws are awarded with points: one point if the opponent lands on his knee or his behind, two points if he lands on his side and six points if he lands on his back. The first competitor to score six points wins.

In the past, alysh sports clubs served as a cover for the training of paramilitary forces and the organised drug trade (Cornell & Swanström 2005; 2006). The name of wrestler and politician Bayaman Erkinbayev (1967–2005) is closely associated with the development of the relationship between crime and sports clubs in Kyrgyzstan. Erkinbayev controlled the drug market and became a member of parliament in 2005 despite the criminal cases raised against him since 1991. He supported the Tulip Revolution in March 2005 in order to expand his business, with his popularity reaching a peak during these events (Ulusoy 2008: 182–183).

Erkinbayev's power was largely built on a cooperation with the practitioners of alysh. Erkinbayev was the president of the International Federation of Wrestling on Belts Alysh (now better known as the World Alysh Federation). It is estimated that he could gather more than two



thousand sportsmen if needed and had four hundred mobilised at all times. Through the world of professional wrestling and the organisation of events like the World Alysh Championship 2002 in Osh, he ran his transnational drug trafficking business and laundered the money made from it. Countries like Lithuania and Russia, where the alysh federation was most active, are all located on major trafficking routes. Erkinbayev was assassinated in September 2005 (Ulusoy 2008: 182–183).

Since 2008, alysh has been recognised by the international governing body for wrestling, UWW (UWW, n.d.). Meanwhile, in 2017 a study was undertaken about the benefits of alysh as part of the physical education syllabus and the impact it has on the development of students' motor skills (Voloshyn & Pryimakova 2017).

Angampora

Angam

Angampora, referring to “body combat”, is Sri Lanka’s indigenous martial art. It is widely practised in Western, Southern and Sabaragamuwa provinces. Angampora techniques are divided into four categories: striking, lock and gripping, takedowns and grappling, and attacking

vital points (Angampora STIMA, n.d.).

Angampora includes armed techniques, called elangampora, which practitioners only being to train in after two years of unarmed training (Angampora STIMA, n.d.). There are twenty-one main weapons, including swords, staffs, spears and axes, and students must have permission from their guru to learn these armed techniques (Angampora STIMA, n.d.). The permission is granted with a ritual where the teacher hands over a weapon to the student. Despite the diversity of weapons taught, it is believed that a practitioner can only master two or three weapons (Angampora STIMA, n.d.).



Illangam fighting scene with swords and shields at korathota angampora tradition © Angampora

It is often said that angampora was founded in the era of Sri Lanka's legendary emperor Ravana, and that it can be traced back over 5,000 years. However, the exact origin is considered unclear and the details are inconsistent in the absence of official, reliable references. Angampora developed over a long period as a means of training the military and fighting against foreign invaders. Despite its rich history, the art is currently at risk of extinction as there are not many practitioners and gurus around to transmit the art.

Angampora STIMA, the official organisation, plays a leading role in safeguarding the art by holding training

sessions, workshops and performances. It has eight local branches and, further afield, German Angam Maduwa, founded in 2011, which is the first overseas branch of angampora and the only currently active one (Angampora STIMA, n.d.). Angampora is recognised as the intangible cultural heritage of Sri Lanka.

Arnīs

Eskrima, escrima, kali

Arnīs, also known as eskrima, escrima or kali, is a Filipino martial art using sticks, staffs and bladed weapons. It also includes empty-hand fighting techniques such as grappling and weapon-disarming



Performing arnis demonstration © ICM

skills. Use of short sticks and daggers in arnis instead of broadswords or spears reflects the art's pragmatic quality (Paman 2007). Unlike many other Asian martial arts, it does not necessarily place an emphasis on self-discipline and spiritual growth, but rather on practical and efficient use of skills to combat threats. Arnis artists typically use two sticks, quickly striking the opponent with one stick while protecting themselves with the other (Ollhoff 2010).

The early history of arnis is not known as the art has been mostly transmitted by word of mouth without written accounts. Many claim that arnis originated in Cebu, near Mactan Island, where Lapu Lapu and his men defeated Spanish invaders led by the explorer Ferdinand Magellan in 1521. It is believed that the Filipinos “fought with spears, swords and sharpened sticks, which is the first reference to the existence of the ancient [arnis]” (Godhania 2010).

During the period of colonial rule, Spanish fencing had a significant impact on Filipino fighting arts – indeed, the name *eskrima* came from the Spanish *esgrima*, meaning “fencing”. To control the Philippines, Spaniards banned the practice of native fighting arts with bladed weapons, with the death penalty

imposed for violations. This also led arnis practitioners to use rattan sticks instead of daggers. They soon realised that the sticks could make better and more versatile strikes than those of swords. Some claim stick-based Asian martial arts such as Indian silambam may also have affected the development of arnis.

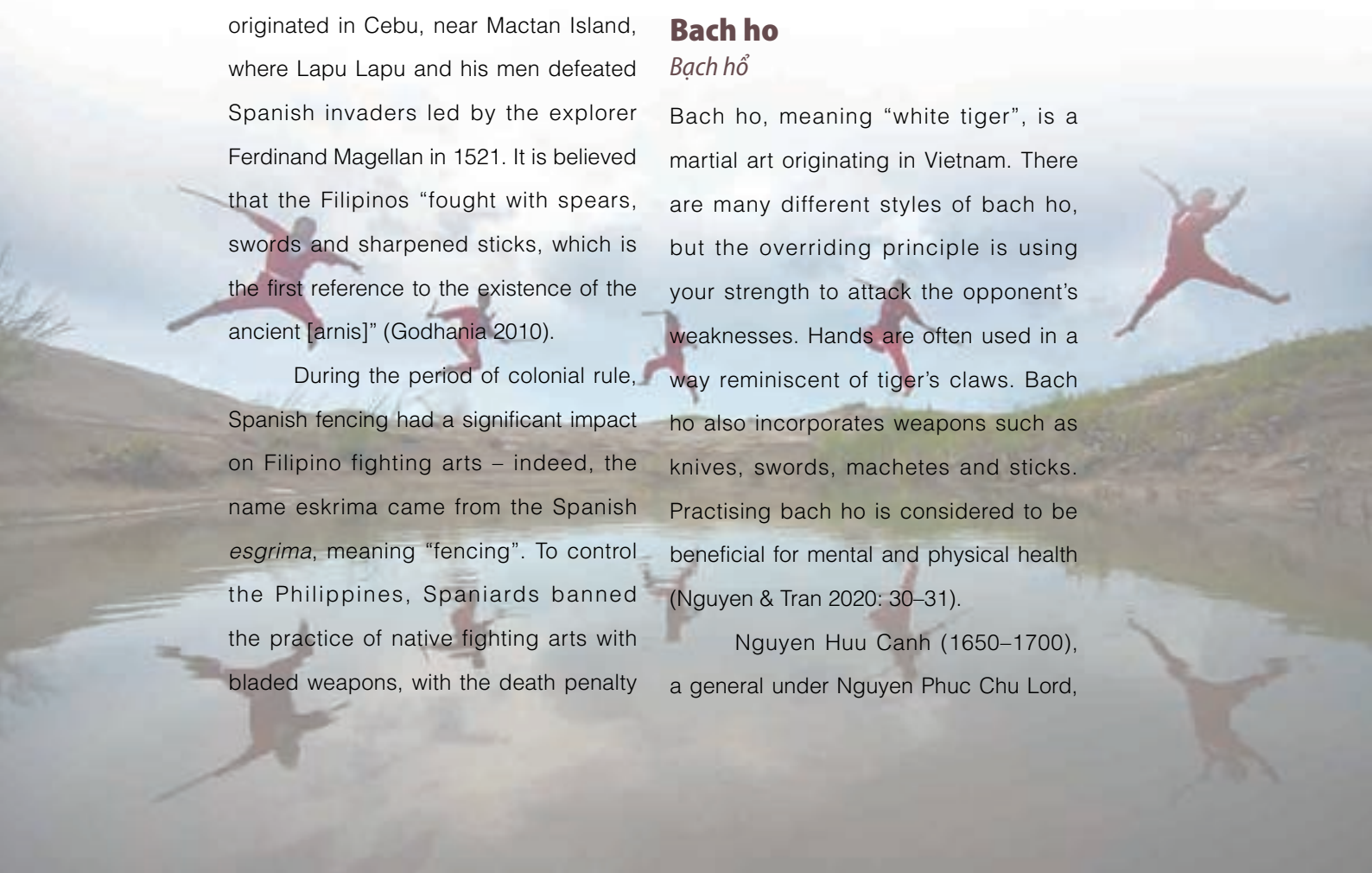
Arnis was declared as the National Martial Art and Sport of the Philippines in 2009 through Republic Act 9850, paving the way for promoting arnis to compete with other popular non-Filipino martial arts such as judo and taekwondo.

Bach ho

Bạch hổ

Bach ho, meaning “white tiger”, is a martial art originating in Vietnam. There are many different styles of bach ho, but the overriding principle is using your strength to attack the opponent's weaknesses. Hands are often used in a way reminiscent of tiger's claws. Bach ho also incorporates weapons such as knives, swords, machetes and sticks. Practising bach ho is considered to be beneficial for mental and physical health (Nguyen & Tran 2020: 30–31).

Nguyen Huu Canh (1650–1700), a general under Nguyen Phuc Chu Lord,



is known to be the creator of bach ho. The art was taught to the Vietnamese population in the nineteenth century and became especially popular in the twentieth century among people in the resistance movement against French colonialisation. Since the colonising forces prohibited the art, they practised in secret, often at night. Between the 1960s and the 2000s, bach ho was among the most practised martial arts in Vietnam (Nguyen & Tran 2020: 29–30).

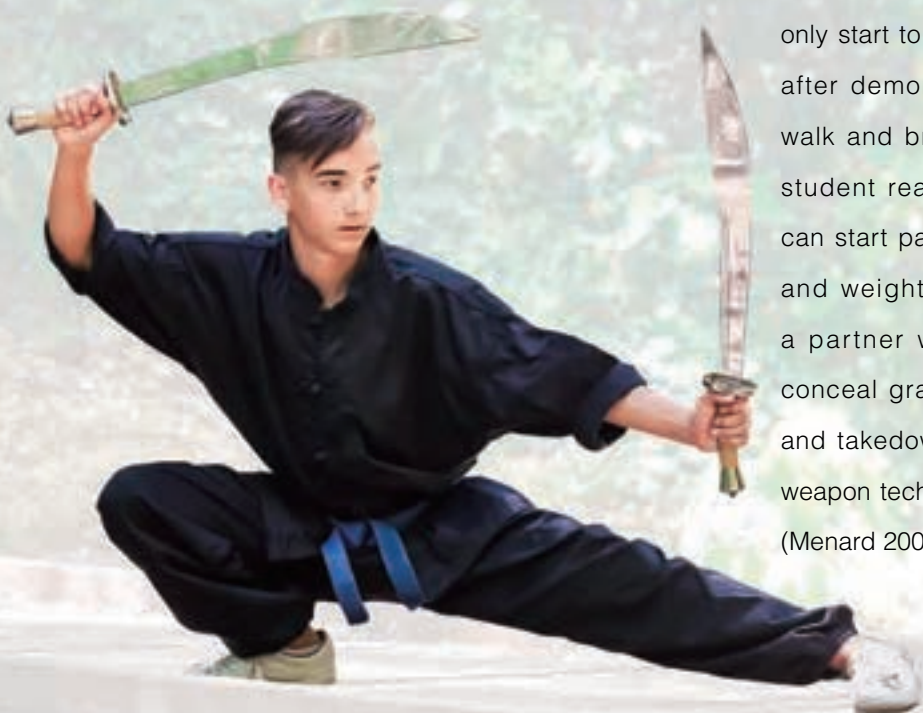
Currently, many bach ho masters find it difficult to transmit the art to students since there is a lack of assistance from the government, cultural groups and community associations. Masters have to earn a living by working a second full-time job, often forcing them to stop teaching altogether (Nguyen & Tran 2020: 32).

Baguazhang

Pa kua chuan

Baguazhang is a *wushu* style and one of the *neijia*, or internal martial arts of China, along with taijiquan and xingyiquan. The power of the art lies in the use of the opponent's strength and energy to one's own advantage (Starr 2021). The meaning of the word baguazhang is “eight trigram palm”, after the pattern used in Chinese philosophy and fortune telling (Menard 2001b). The philosophy behind the art that every student needs a different approach depending on their talents has resulted in many different styles developing (Yuan 2018).

Practitioners walk in circles while practising different elegantly executed movements. There are eight hand positions in baguazhang. A student can only start to practise the hand positions after demonstrating they are able to walk and breathe correctly. When the student reaches a certain level they can start partner training, pole training and weighted training. Training with a partner will show how the moves conceal grappling techniques, throws and takedowns. As training continues, weapon techniques will also be included (Menard 2001b).



The art is characterised by its breathing techniques and meditative qualities. Students focus on learning to control their internal energy, or *qi*. Baguazhang is probably related to Daoist schools that practise meditation while walking in a circle. Today, baguazhang is practised as a form of meditation and Daoist yoga as well as a fighting art (Menard 2001b).

Baguazhang is believed to have originated in the early nineteenth century. The story goes that Dong Haichuan (1797 or 1813–1882), who is considered the founder of the school, claimed he learnt the art from an old man in the mountains. Dong Haichuan became a servant in the palace, and after being recognised for his skills he became a bodyguard and a martial arts instructor (Menard 2001b; Starr 2021).

Baguazhang is still widely practised and has appeared in multiple films, television series and comics.

Bajutsu

Jobajutsu

Bajutsu is a type of Japanese military horsemanship that originated in the seventh century and was one of the key fighting skills of the samurai. Bajutsu

focuses on using various weapons on horseback, including swords, spears and bows. It is still practised in some ninjutsu and bujutsu schools (Black Belt Wiki, n.d.-b). Yabusame, a mounted archery practice, can be considered part of bajutsu.

Bali khela

Boli khela

Bali khela (pronounced as “boli khela”) is a traditional wrestling game originating in Chittagong, Bangladesh. “Bali” means wrestling and “khela” means game, so the literal translation is “wrestling game”. Matches are held on sand floors and are accompanied by drums.

The history of bali khela is unclear but it is believed to have its origin in the Mughal period. Zamindars (rulers of semi-autonomous states) used to keep well-known wrestlers on their estate for security and status. Their physical strength was judged through bali khela matches. The winners used to be called “bali”, which also has the meaning of “powerful” (Haque 2012).

In 1909 Abdul Jabbar Saodagar introduced the style of bali khela through a desire to unite and prepare the youth for fighting against the British rule; this

style is still present today. For this reason, bali khela is sometimes referred to as “Jabbar-er bali khela”. The practice peaked from the end of the First World War to the end of the Second World War (Haque 2012).

The game is played throughout the year, but is most popular in March and April (Bangladesh.com, n.d.). Every year after Bengali New Year a festival takes place on 25 April at the historic Laldighi Maidan in the port city of Chittagong (New Age 2013). The descendants of Abdul Jabbar Saodagar have, with the support of local people, upheld the tradition. The event attracts many visitors from all ages and backgrounds (The Daily Star 2010).

Bando

Bando is the basis of the traditional fighting style of Myanmar and is an unarmed martial art. Bando teaches self-defence against attacking measures without weapons. There are two kinds of bando: hard and soft. Hard bando, or lethwei (boxing), is referred to as “exterior-focused bando”; meanwhile, soft bando is the method of evading attack and reacting (Roebuck & Manandhar 2016). Bando is trained individually, in pairs and in group form.

Myanmar bando has nine ways or positions to adopt at the beginning of a fight, and nine fields of point of balance and movements for both fighting and evasion, comprising eight compass points and the upward direction. There are sixty-three techniques of basic bando, and the preliminary stage of training takes several months. According to the laws of thaing, an umbrella term encompassing all Burmese martial arts, defence comes first, then attack and finally offence. The defensive approach is meant to discourage violence and students are taught to apply their skills with that in mind. Offensive moves are taught in the final stage (MTF, n.d.).

The basic bando techniques are trained as methods of Aka (dance), which most thaing masters use to demonstrate their skills. Aka is first practised solo and then with two or more partners. After that, the techniques are applied in contests like open fighting. The fighting style of bando uses zoomorphism – that is, techniques are based on the movements of animals, likely through the influence of animal styles from India and China.

Bando uses animal behaviour not only in gestures but especially in the exploitation of strategic behaviour, including defensive solutions from the

intimidation of the aggressor, offensive and deterrence techniques, to aggressive manoeuvres and stratagems of all kinds.

This is an excerpt from “Myanmar Thaing” contributed by Aung in the joint ICM/ICHCAP publication *Living Heritage Series: Traditional Martial Arts* (2020).

Banshay

Banshay is a system of martial arts comparable to bando but using weapons like swords, spears, wooden (bamboo) batons and so on. The banshay system in general uses the sword (*dha* in the local language) in pairs. Sword training is initially undertaken with bamboo batons, before trainees begin to practise with swords at the intermediate level. When the master presents the student with the sword, the scabbard is fixed so that the student is discouraged from killing opponents.

When the student has the required fortitude and willpower, the traditional weapons such as the bladed *dha*, together with various sticks, staffs, spears, shields and other weapons including projectiles and flexible weapons are introduced. Banshay has thirty-seven sword forms divided among four categories: bird, umbrella, necklace and sash. These four

styles are separated into male and female positions, so in total there are eight sword categories. In the male sword style, the blade of the sword is prostrated and faces downward when striking; in the female style, the blade direction is the reverse of the male style. The *dha* can of course be used in aggressive actions, but it is used more for preventing enemy attacks (Chit Than, n.d.).

Practising the banshay style increases the danger and decreases the margin for error in conflict. In situations where an unarmed martial art can be applied, the use of a sword or other weapon would be too easy. If a practitioner wishes to use a weapon in practising a



martial art, they must first learn the skills of unarmed combat. After banshay training, a student should be able to use almost any object as a weapon.

This is an excerpt from “Myanmar Thaing” contributed by Aung in the joint ICM/ICHCAP publication *Living Heritage Series: Traditional Martial Arts* (2020).

Bebintih

Bebintih is a wrestling style practised by the Kutai people of the island of Borneo, Indonesia. Bibintih means “mutual tackle”, and the style shows similarities to sumo. Practitioners, who are always male, hold on to each other’s loincloths while using their shoulders and legs to cause their opponent to fall. The goal is to push the opponent out of the circle or bring them to the ground. The fights take place in dry rice fields after harvesting (Wikipedia, n.d.-b).

Beiga

北嘎, *youri* (有日), *xiezhe* (寫澤), *jiareze* (卡惹則)

Beiga is a Tibetan belt-wrestling style. It is also known as *jiazhe* or *youri* in Tibet. In Western Sichuan, it is called *xiezhe*, and in Qinghai, *jiareze* (Wikipedia, n.d.-b). The practitioners compete barefoot and are required to hold on to their opponent’s belt throughout the whole contest. Tripping used to be illegal, but there are now forms where it is allowed. Wrestling competitions are held in the form of individual matches and tournaments (Rice & Thompson 2016).

Wrestling is an important part of Tibetan culture and has been around for a long time. The activity is even depicted in a wall mural in the Potala Palace (Weng 2001). It was a form of close combat and used in battles between different tribes. Nowadays, it is considered a sport and a popular recreation for many Tibetans (Rice & Thompson 2016).



Tibetan wrestlers have had some international success. An example is Shilok Drolma, who won the Wrestling World Championships in Turkey in 2011 and became the first Tibetan to win a world title in the international sports arena (Yanina 2011).

Bokator

Bokator is a Cambodian martial art that allows attacks using almost all parts of the body – knees, elbows, hands, feet and others. Weapons such as bamboo sticks and spears are also used in many moves. The term “bokator” translates as “pounding a lion”, which is a reference to

a mythical hero who defeated a lion using only a sword. As with many other martial arts, bokator has actions based on the movement of animals, including the elephant, lion and monkey. The art was designed to fight and win in real combat, rather than to practise as a sport. Around their waist, bokator fighters wear a krama, a traditional coloured scarf that signifies their skill level, from white through green, blue, red, brown to black.

Many claim bokator originated in the twelfth century as there are depictions of bokator fighters on the walls of the Angkor Wat temple, although there is no definitive evidence to support these claims. Many



Bokator fighters © ICM



Bokator fighting demonstration © ICM

bokator practitioners were targeted by the genocidal Khmer Rouge regime, and for a time the art had to be taught and practised secretly. Grandmaster San Kim Sean, the father of modern bokator, survived the oppression and went to America where he taught bokator to Cambodians there. He returned to his homeland in 1992 and has been committed to revitalising the art “as culture, sport, entertainment and a way of life that the Khmer people can be proud of” (Sankimsean, n.d.). In 2004, with government approval Kim Sean established the Cambodia Bokator Federation and Cambodia Bokator Academy, which gave birth to many training centres nationally and resulted in growing popularity. Sean Kim’s journey to revive the art was presented in a documentary film, *Surviving Bokator*.

Bok cham bab

Khmer traditional wrestling

Bok cham bab is a traditional wrestling style originating in Cambodia, also referred to as “Khmer wrestling”. The rules are similar to general freestyle wrestling, as seen in the Olympic Games, but the addition of dancing gives it its unique and typical atmosphere.

Traditional wrestling is popular in Cambodia. It is not only a competitive sport, but also exercise as well as a cultural performance (Taing 2017). Traditional wrestling competitions consist of three rounds. To win, the competitor must get their opponent on their back on the ground at least twice.

Wrestling competitions are played out to the accompaniment of two drums, a male (*skor ngey*) and a female drum (*chhmol*). Wrestlers interact with the drums by dancing to the beat in order to engage the public and rile up the opponent (Vanna 2002; Taing 2017).

Bok cham bab used to be a way to choose leaders to reign over the newly established Khmer territory. It was a match of strength and technique, and the strongest wrestlers usually won. Representations of Khmer wrestling have been found in the twelfth-century temple

of Angkor Wat (Green 2001a: 541). It used to be passed on from the older to the younger generations in the village. Now, it is practised in some wrestling associations in Pursat, Kampong Chhnang, Kandal, Prey Veng, Takeo and Battambang provinces. Women can also take part, and have done so throughout history (Vanna 2002).

Bukh

Mongolian wrestling

Bukh is a form of traditional Mongolian wrestling recognised by UNESCO in 2010 as part of the Naadam festival that includes bukh, horse racing and archery, the three sports of men in the country

(Tomikawa 2006). Bukh is a standing wrestling style practised only by male wrestlers, with the aim being to try to make the opponent's backs, knees and elbows touch the ground.

Contests take place in an open grassy area and no weight classes are applied. Bukh competitions take place during holidays, including the Naadam festival in the second week of July. Wrestlers participate in several rounds of matches during the festival, which decides the rank of each wrestler. They perform a dance imitating animals like lions, tigers, falcons and the mythical bird Garuda before the match begins, showing their bravery, power and grace.



Bukh does not involve ground-fighting techniques, unlike many other wrestling styles. This is thought to be attributed to Mongolian military traditions relating to cavalry troops; it is known that ground-fighting was not developed due to its disadvantages against an armed opponent on horseback (Fields 2010).

Bukh has two mainstream variations: Khalkh bukh in Mongolia and Ujumchin bukh in Inner Mongolia; the variations have different attire, traditions and rules (Tomikawa 2006). Mongolian wrestlers take part in international wrestling competitions and have achieved notable success particularly in Japanese sumo by adapting their techniques. According to Dashzevegiin Altankhuyag, a former sumo journalist from Mongolia, there are more than forty Mongolian sumo wrestlers in Japan (Graceffo 2020). The participation of Mongolian wrestlers in sumo started when Japan began recruiting them in 1992 when Mongolia suffered severe economic woes in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Many Mongolians expressed interest in the Japanese recruitment drive, seeing the opportunity to earn a living in Japan as professional wrestlers (Graceffo 2020).

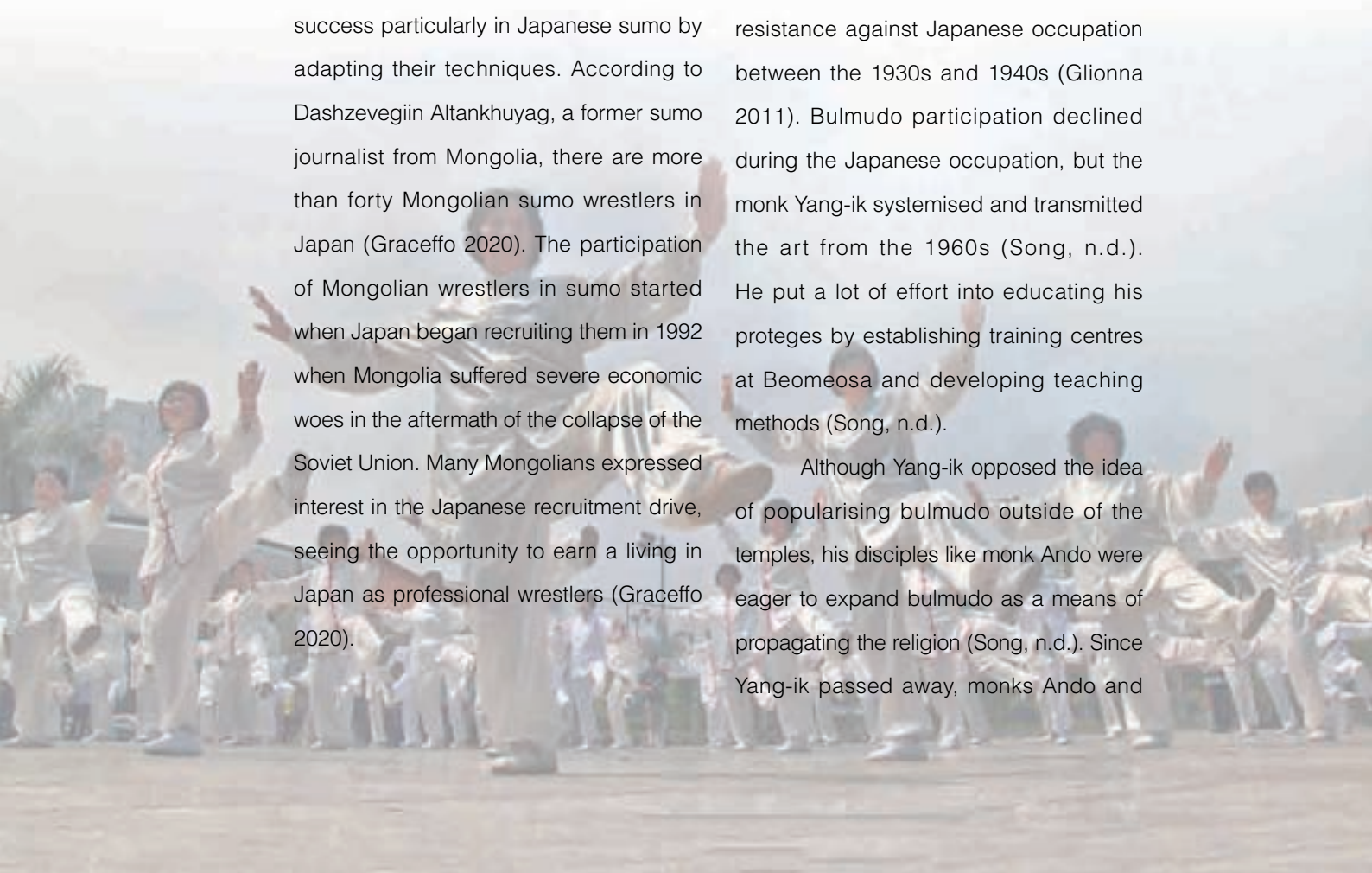
Bulmudo

Sunmudo

Bulmudo, commonly known as sunmudo since 1985, is a low-impact/meditative Buddhist martial practice originating from Beomeosa Temple, Korea. Bulmudo focuses on self-cultivation and mind-body control through yoga, breathing and meditation activities based on Buddhist principles and philosophy.

Beomesa Temple was a place where monks fought against Japanese invaders in the late sixteenth century (Glionna 2011). It was also the underground headquarters for monks' resistance against Japanese occupation between the 1930s and 1940s (Glionna 2011). Bulmudo participation declined during the Japanese occupation, but the monk Yang-ik systemised and transmitted the art from the 1960s (Song, n.d.). He put a lot of effort into educating his proteges by establishing training centres at Beomeosa and developing teaching methods (Song, n.d.).

Although Yang-ik opposed the idea of popularising bulmudo outside of the temples, his disciples like monk Ando were eager to expand bulmudo as a means of propagating the religion (Song, n.d.). Since Yang-ik passed away, monks Ando and



Jeok-un have actively spread bulmudo and its derivatives across the country and the world, developing diverse content and programmes including temple stays and holding festivals and competitions. The rising popularity of bulmudo/sunmudo is attributed to the masters' inspiration that martial arts can be great cultural and commercial assets, attracting and interacting with the public (Song, n.d.).

Bultong

Bultong is a folk-wrestling game of the Ifugao people in the Philippines. It is a type of belt-wrestling and is similar to Japanese sumo. The wrestling is displayed through local festivals featuring Ifugao sports. It is a pastime activity enjoyed by different generations.

One fairly unique property is that bultong was traditionally a means of conflict resolution among the Ifugao. It was used for settling land disputes, including demarcating the boundary of two adjacent lots. The matches involve pre-bout rituals that ask the elders and ancestors to guide the event and give a fair decision. There are further rituals after the event signifying peace and acceptance of the result, and gratitude to their ancestors for helping to resolve the dispute.

Butthan

Butthan is a martial art originating in Bangladesh. It is said to focus on overall improvement of body and mind, beyond just the physical skills. It is a hybrid style, containing elements derived from Chinese, Indian, Myanmar and Tibetan martial arts. Butthan is recognised by the National Sports Council, the Ministry of Youth and Sports of Bangladesh. According to founder Acharya Yuree Vajramunee, butthan has four pillars: sports, self-purification, well-being and self-defence (International Butthan Federation, n.d.).

Butthan was founded by Mak Yuree (Acharya Yuree Vajramunee) who wanted to revive the martial arts heritage of the Indian subcontinent under the name of "Butthan". The International Butthan Federation was inaugurated in 1996 in Texas, USA (International Butthan Federation, n.d.). Founder Yuree travels the world to promote the art (Mohammad 2019).

Caci

Caci is a traditional martial art and an iconic cultural element native to the Manggarai region of Indonesia. Caci in its literal meaning refers to one-on-one



A boisterous war dance performed by men only © Hendri Suhandi

fighting where two men try to hit each other with a whip made of rattan. They also use a shield and a stick.

As developed with many cultural elements involving dance, song and musical instruments, the martial art is often referred to as *caci* dance. It was traditionally displayed at a thanksgiving festive event, *penti*, which celebrated the past year's harvest and expressed hope for a prosperous new year (Ministry of Tourism, Republic of Indonesia 2020). Currently, it is more often performed as a tourist entertainment for domestic and international audiences (Flores Plus, n.d.).

Cakalele, Cakalele dance

Cakalele is a form of traditional war dance originating from Maluku Province, Indonesia. It is typically practised by about thirty men and women to welcome important guests and honour their sailor ancestors who would party and dance before going to sea (Indonesia-Tourism.com 2012; Sopamena & Juhaevah 2019). "The dance illustrates the massacre of the village heads who resisted Dutch rule" (Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Indonesia to UNESCO 2015).

Male dancers in red and yellow armour carry a machete and a shield, and women in white traditional clothes

hold handkerchiefs in both hands (Indonesia-Tourism.com 2012). The dance is accompanied by the sound of traditional percussion instruments.

Cheena di

Cheena di is a striking martial art originating in Sri Lanka. As its name, meaning “Chinese Punch”, suggests, it is known to be derived from Chinese wushu. Legend has it that cheena di was brought to Sri Lanka by Shaolin monks (Martialask, n.d.-a). Cheena di and angampora are the two representative martial arts native to Sri Lanka, although it seems the former is hardly ever practised nowadays.

Chhau dance

Chau

Chhau is a martial dance originating in eastern India. Chhau dance incorporates martial arts, athletics, acrobatics and folklore dance (Bhattacharya 2019). The powerful movements and kicks reveal the dance’s martial origin. Hunting movements, animal movements and movements mimicked household chores are also included (UNESCO 2010). There are three types of chhau dance: *mayurbhanj*, *purulia chhau* and *seraikela chhau*. For the latter two, practitioners

wear masks (Miettinen, n.d.). Costumes are very colourful and the dance is accompanied by music. Chhau dance is inscribed on UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

At the end of the twentieth century this art, which has a very long history, finally became known both nationally and internationally. Chhau dance is often part of festivals, and contemporary choreographies also draw from these ancient dance traditions (Miettinen, n.d.). Bollywood has been inspired by traditional Indian dance forms for a long time (Indian Sun 2018).

Traditionally, only male dancers participated (Miettinen, n.d.; Bhattacharya 2019). Recently, however, there has been a change. Chowdhury (2019) testifies that she is the first female chhau dancer in her community and has inspired other young girls to follow in her footsteps. The organisation Feminism in India also reports a change regarding the inclusion of women in the tradition (Bhattacharya 2019).

Chogān

Chovgan

Chogān was inscribed on UNESCO’s Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2017.

UNESCO (2017a) explains chogān as follows:

Chogān is a traditional horse-riding game accompanied by music and storytelling; it has a history of over 2,000 years in Iran and has mostly been played in royal courts and urban fields. In chogān, two rider teams compete and the aim is to pass the ball through the opposing team's goal posts using a wooden stick. Chogān includes the main game, a corresponding musical performance and storytelling. Bearers include three primary groups: the players, the storytellers and the musicians. Chogān is a cultural, artistic and athletic element with a strong connection to the identity and history of its bearers and practitioners. It has a strong presence in the literature, storytelling, proverbs, handicrafts and ornaments that are valuable parts of the symbolism of

its practitioners. As an element that promotes the health of the body and soul, Chogān also establishes a connection between nature, humankind and horses. Traditionally, transmission has occurred informally within the family or in workshops, and chogān techniques continue to be actively safeguarded by families and local practitioners. However, over the last decades, chogān associations have also been established, which hold training courses, support local masters and provide assistance in transmitting all aspects of Chogān while safeguarding local diversity.

Daito-ryu aiki-jujutsu

Daitō-ryū aiki-jūjutsu is a form of jujutsu that places emphasis on neutralising armed or unarmed attacks by using techniques like throws and takedowns.



According to the Daitō-ryū Aikijūjutsu Headquarters (n.d.), the art was originally founded by Yoshimitsu Minamoto (1045-1127), who lived in a place called Daito in Omi province (modern Shiga prefecture), and thus his art became known as daito-ryu (Daito-ryu Aikijūjutsu Headquarters, n.d.). It is claimed that the art originated in centuries ago and was only transmitted through the Takeda samurai family until it was revealed to the public by Takeda Sokaku in the late 19th century. Yet there is no clear evidence supporting the traditional identity of the art dating back to earlier times. Currently, Kondo Katsuyuki is the leader of the daito-ryu aikijūjutsu. He is the only practitioner who gained a certificate of complete transmission of the art from the Takeda family (Daito-ryu Aikijūjutsu Headquarters, n.d.). He leads various activities to promote and distribute the art, including holding international seminars and training sessions in different locations.

Daito-ryu aikijūjutsu is affiliated with the Association of Japanese Traditional Martial Arts (Nihon Kobudo Kyokai) and the Association for the Promotion of Japanese Traditional Martial Arts (Nihon Kobudo Shinkokai). “The leaders and

representatives of the organisations participate in martial arts demonstrations held at the Nippon Budokan, Asakusa Riverside Sports Center, Meiji Shrine, Kashima Shrine, and other locations across Japan” (Daito-ryu Aikijūjutsu Headquarters, n.d.). Daito-ryu aikijūjutsu has spread across the world and it has training halls in America, Australia, Hong Kong, and many European countries (Daito-ryu Aikijūjutsu Headquarters, n.d.).

Dau vat

Dau vat literally means “wrestling” and is used to refer to a traditional Vietnamese form. The same term is also used for Western wrestling. The popular Vietnamese martial art vovinam includes dau vat techniques.

Vietnamese traditional wrestling is often part of festivals all over the country, most taking place at the beginning of the lunar year. A drum or gong accompanies the wrestling matches. The contestants wear shorts and a cloth belt around the waist (Tran 2020). Matches start with a warm-up dance lasting about two minutes to the rhythm of the drum. Once the fight officially begins, the drum will continue to follow the action, the beat accelerating and slowing to enhance the impact

and thrill (Roth 2012; Tran 2020). Every fighter in a festival will compete in at least six matches, and the overall winner is awarded with a small amount of cash and honour for him and his family (Roth 2012).

The wrestlers have to get their opponent's shoulders on the ground in order to win the match (Tran 2020). Traditional matches could last hours, but following the introduction of modern regulations bouts are now composed of three four-minute rounds (Tran 2020).

Dumong, buno

Dumog and buno are grappling styles native to the Philippines. Grappling is called buno in Luzon and dumog in the Visayas (Harris 2001c: 430). The term *buno* means "to throw" in Tagalog and is used to refer to wrestling. *Dumog*, meanwhile, is the Visayan word for wrestling. The two types are very similar to each other and vary depending on the region.

There are hundreds of styles of dumog or buno practised in the Philippines (de Leon 2005). Usually, they are part of other Filipino martial arts curricula and the term is used to refer to the grappling techniques within that art. Grappling techniques include sweeps,

throws and locks (Harris 2001c: 430). A relatively well-known style that focuses mainly on the buno/dumog techniques themselves is harimaw buno (Crudelli 2008: 176). Buno and dumog share similarities with Western wrestling as well as the weight-shifting techniques of, for example, aikido (Crudelli 2008: 183).

For the indigenous Filipino people, dumog/buno is a sport as well as a warrior art. It is considered the oldest Filipino form of sports entertainment since it was often performed at large gatherings and fiestas (de Leon 2005).

Er enish

Er enish, or oodarush, is an equestrian game played in Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan (World Nomad Games, n.d.-b; Isaak 2019). It is a Kyrgyz traditional wrestling form on horseback. The game requires strength, dexterity and trust from both the horse and its rider. The goal is to pull your opponent off their horse without falling off yours (World Nomad Games, n.d.-b).

The participants dress in clothes made of strong materials and are naked from the waist up. Belts called kushak are tied around the waist and scarves are wrapped around the practitioner's

head. In the hand riders hold a kamcha, which is used as a whip to give the horse direction; however, it is forbidden to hit the opponent with it (World Nomad Games 2016).

The game has a warrior background and in the past, according to the World Nomad Games (n.d.-b), aggressive actions and brutal techniques towards opponents were allowed, with the only goal being to achieve victory. Nowadays, the sport is officially regulated, and weight classes, strict rules and a time limit have been introduced. Competitions take place in a round, flat area with a diameter of 30 metres. Teams consist of six people, comprising five athletes and one coach. Competitors must be at least 19 years of age, and there are five weight categories: under 60 kilograms, under 70 kilograms, under 80 kilograms, under 90 kilograms and over

90 kilograms. A match under the World Nomad Games regulations takes six minutes. The wrestler with the most points within their weight category is declared the winner (World Nomad Games 2016).

Er enish's recognition by the World Nomad Games gives it recognition and credibility and serves as a platform.

Fhan dap

Fhan dap is a martial art combining some basic movements of muay lao and swordsmanship techniques. It was created to worship and pay respect to the people of Lao's folk religion and Buddhism. It is a ritual performance art based on the belief that practitioners' faith makes them safe from the sword.

Practitioners perform the art in tribes and villages, being paid about 300–400 USD per performance. The performance consists of six practitioners



and can take place either indoors or outside. During the performance, the practitioners move in a circle softly and flexibly, performing movements as if they were cutting their own necks, tongues, arms and legs. They also slash palm trees placed on each other's bodies. This is to demonstrate there is no danger posed by the sword, and to show their faith in the folk religion and Buddhism's abilities to protect them. Different teams formed from the schools of the creator and his inheritors perform across the country, although the precise number of teams is not known.

Fhan dap was created by Ang, born in 1892, who passed the martial art to Mai, Boung Tiane and Seng Malay. The second and third inheritors were

Seng Malay and his son Pey Vilay. Fhan dap is practised and transmitted by word of mouth from masters to apprentices without established education systems, institutions or support from the government.

Fitimaen

Fitimaen is a stick-fighting martial art from Buru, one of the Maluku Islands, Indonesia. In the Buru language, *maen* refers to a stick, and in this case it is typically made of rattan or hardwood, among numerous variations (Draeger 1992). The length of the stick may vary depending on personal preferences.

Gatka

Gatka is a traditional Indian martial art,



historically associated with the Sikh population. It is mainly a style of stick-fighting among two or more practitioners. Swords are usually replaced by wooden sticks called *soti* (Md Imtiaz 2020). Also commonly used in this martial tradition are the *tega*, a long and wide sword, and the *chakkar*, a round weapon with weights (Kaur 2020). Other weapons used include the *barcha*, *chakram*, *dahl*, *gurj*, *katar*, *khanda*, *kirpan*, *lathi*, *marhati*, *soti*, *tapar*, *talwar* and *tir kaman* (Singh Grewal, n.d.).

Music and dance are part of *gatka* demonstrations. Percussion instruments like the *dhol* and *nagara* accompany the moves of the practitioners (Kaur 2020). Indeed, fighting is often preceded by a dance (Crudelli 2008: 20).

Gatka originated in the state of Punjab as a battle style created by the Sikh warriors. It is probably derived from *shastar vidya* and could be considered a safer version of the latter art (Crudelli 2008: 20).

Gatka experienced a decline under the British rule of India. The British banned sword-fighting to prevent rebellion in the mid-nineteenth century. The introduction of firearms also had a significant impact (WGF, n.d.). *Gatka* might have played a part in the creation of the *defendu* combat system

(Wikipedia, n.d.-c).

Gatka is practised as a sport and a martial dance, and often forms part of Sikh festivals (Wikipedia, n.d.-c) and religious processions (WGF, n.d.). The Punjab *Gatka* Association, the *Gatka* Federation of India and the National *Gatka* Association of India (NGAI) have made efforts to implement this martial art as a sport both nationally and internationally (WGF, n.d.; NGAI, n.d.). The World *Gatka* Federation (WGF), Asian *Gatka* Federation and the International Sikh Martial Arts Academy published a 'Gatka Rules & Regulations Book' (NGAI, n.d.). WGF provides training through workshops, seminars and camps (Singh Grewal, n.d.).

Gatka today is a sport that is known nationally, and in 2015 the state government of Punjab included it in the list of recognised sports. It is also taught to young girls and boys in schools. Various colleges and universities have included it in their curricula as well (Singh Grewal, n.d.). Being a prominent woman within the sport, athlete Gurwinder Kaur is an inspiration for other women in the region (Md Imtiaz 2020).

Gatka competitions take place in different countries including the US,

Canada, the UK, New Zealand and Australia. The gatka community hopes the sport will one day be contested at the Olympic Games (Md Imtiaz 2020).

Gongkwon yusul

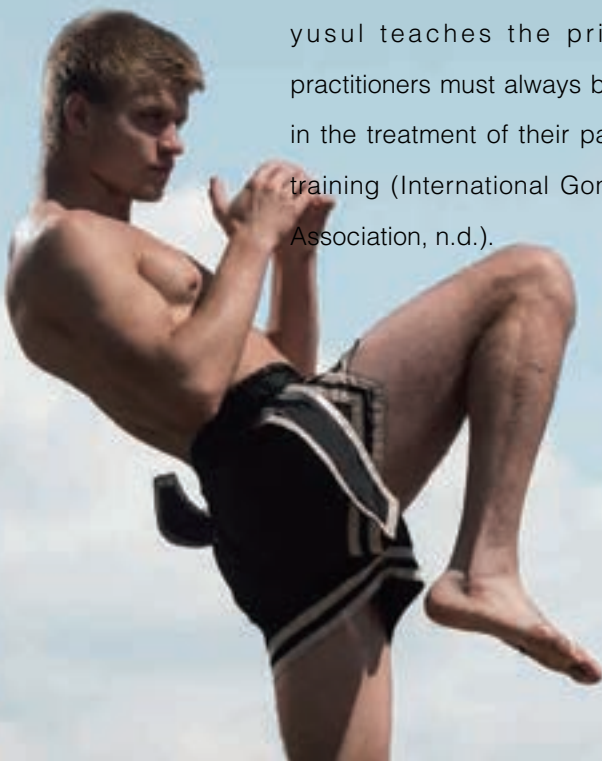
Gongkwon yusul is a style of mixed martial arts originating from Korea. The art makes use of many striking, punching, kicking, throwing and other grappling techniques (International Gongkwon Yusul Association, n.d.). The aim is to defeat enemies quickly using all parts of the body while unarmed. The art does not necessarily adhere to fixed forms and movements, but emphasises the most reasonable and effective use of various fighting techniques (International Gongkwon Yusul Association, n.d.). Since the techniques can be fatal, gongkwon yusul teaches the principle that practitioners must always be considerate in the treatment of their partners during training (International Gongkwon Yusul Association, n.d.).

Goresh

Goresh is a traditional belt-wrestling style of Turkmenistan. Wrestlers wear a uniform: white trousers, green and red shirts and blue belts. To win points, wrestlers must force their opponent to touch the ground. Competitions have gender and weight categories and each bout lasts for three minutes (United World Wrestling, n.d.).

Traditionally, goresh wrestling and equestrian events took place during the holiday season. The two sports were practised by men to maintain their shape and combat readiness in response to potential conflicts with other nomadic groups (Vorontsov & Korobeynikov 2020). Regarded as a means of achieving fame and fortune, goresh was especially popular among boys (Vorontsov & Korobeynikov 2020).

Goresh events were arranged between different tribes. Before matches, the organisers provided a table of food, including roasted lamb and melted fat, a symbol of peace and non-aggressive behaviour (Vorontsov & Korobeynikov 2020). This tradition encouraged friendly relationships and fair competition between the tribes (Vorontsov & Korobeynikov 2020).



Gulat benjang

Gulat benjang is a traditional wrestling style from West Java, Indonesia. The origins are largely unknown, yet some point to the eighteenth century. The city of Bandung aims to promote benjang as an important cultural asset of the region and the wider country.

People of both genders and all ages practise benjang. There are no weight categories or time limits in a bout. The match begins with traditional music and the wrestlers dance as they enter the pit. Following this, they remove their tops and wear only shorts to fight. The match starts and the wrestlers try to bring each other down to win.

Gungsul, gukgung, hwalssoji

Gungsul is a traditional form of archery from Korea. Archery is a cultural element that exists throughout the world, but traditional Korean archery has its own uniqueness and originality in terms of authentic bow-making methods, shooting skills and the mind-set and attitude involved (Cultural Heritage Administration 2020).

Gungsul is different from today's sport form of archery. It does not use aiming devices like bow sights. Gungsul archers also shoot over distances of up

to 145 metres, longer than the standard distances of up to 90 metres in modern competitions. In gungsul, hits on any place on the target are counted equally, while modern archery has systems where a different number of points are scored depending on where the target is hit.

Typically, bows of two different lengths are used in gungsul, about 120 centimetres and over 200 centimetres. The bow can be made of various materials, including bamboo, wood, iron and horn.

Archery is known to be a key part of military training and tactics in Korean history since ancient times. It is portrayed in several historical references, including the mural paintings of Koguryo, the fourteenth-century novel *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* and many other literary works and paintings in the past (Cultural Heritage Administration 2020).

“Hwalssoji”, a pure Korean phrase that means archery or gungsul, was designated as a National Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2020.

It is notable that South Korean archers have had unparalleled success in modern archery competitions. For example, South Korea has won twenty-three gold medals in the Olympics since

1972, outperforming any other country in the world by some considerable distance.

Gushtingiri

Gushtingiri is a well-known traditional wrestling style with its origins in Tajikistan. Similar to Turkmen goresh, gushtingiri has numerous derivatives, which are also conditioned by ethnographic and geographical aspects. As an example, Gushtini Buchoroi or “Buhar wrestling” is also recognised as one of the traditional wrestling styles among Tajiks, including those who lived in Buhara (current

Uzbekistan). The main difference between original gushtingiri and Gushtini Buchoroi was the ability to apply lower-body attacks during bouts of the latter form.

Different ethnic groups developed different rules and conditions to win a match. The most common way to gain a victory in gushtingiri is to execute a throw and put your opponent onto their back. Some regions practised different rules, such as requiring wrestlers to throw their opponent onto their shoulder blades, sit on their back or even to push their competitor to the ground with a knee on their chest. It



is obvious that such rules were determined by the needs of each tribe to develop the most effective mechanisms of defence against potential foes. In the past, special gushtingiri schools were founded by skilful teachers, who were selected based on their previous performance and passing special tests.

Normally, traditional gushtingiri competitions were organised between villages in order to identify the strongest wrestlers (*pahlavon*). Such system also allowed villages to create a team consisting of their strongest wrestlers. The winners of each bout would gain points towards the total ranking among villages. There was a rite that required winners to jump on one foot in a full circle in front of the audience (Toropov 1992). In addition, sometimes winners were tossed up in the middle of circle. Afterwards, each winner would offer to fight any other opponent from another village.

This is an excerpt from “Intangible Cultural Heritage of Traditional Wrestling Styles in Central Asia” contributed by Vorontsov and Korobeynikov in the joint ICM/ICHCAP publication *Living Heritage Series: Traditional Martial Arts* (2020).

Haidong gumdo

Haidong gumdo or haedong kumdo is a Korean sword-based martial art that was founded by Na Han-il and Kim Jeong-ho in 1982. The practice is composed of basic training, forms, sparring, breath and energy training, and cutting (Mottern 2010). The training places emphasis on cultivating self-discipline and learning etiquette. It is stressed by practitioners that haidong gumdo techniques are associated with traditional methods of using swords depicted in *Muye Dobo Tongji*, a comprehensive illustrated manual of Korean traditional martial arts (Mottern 2010).

In 1982, the first haidong gumdo training centre was founded, since which time the number of centres has risen to more than eight hundred, educating over a million practitioners as of 2020. Since 2000, there have been regional competitions where the practitioners demonstrate their skills with each other. Marking the twentieth anniversary of the art's foundation, an international haidong gumdo competition was held in 2002, in which five thousand national and international practitioners participated. As of 2020, haidong gumdo has two million overseas practitioners at 3,100 training centres in 182 countries.

Hankido

Hankido is a traditional Korean martial art created in 1980 by Myung Jaenam who studied hapkido. The art focuses on health and self-protection. Hankido is a traditional martial art built on Korean spirituality. “Han” refers to Korean and “ki” means energy. The art has simplified various self-defence systems into its twelve techniques. Each technique can be used in multiple ways depending on the situation.

Hankumdo

Hankumdo is a swordsmanship-based Korean martial art founded by Myung Jaenam. It differs from other types of swordsmanship by focusing on techniques that are based on the Korean alphabet, the Hangul. Hankumdo has twenty-

four techniques inspired by the forms of ten vowels and fourteen consonants (International Hapkido Federation, n.d.). Since Myung pioneered hankumdo in the 1980s, it has become increasingly popular and is now practised not only in Korea but many other countries as well (BUTOUKEN 2018).

Hapkido

Hapkido is a hybrid form of martial art that uses striking and grappling techniques, including kicks, punches, joint locks and throws. It was founded by Choi Yong-sul (1899–1986) who transmitted the art to his disciples. Choi was taken to Japan during the Japanese colonial era and returned to Korea in 1946 with a style of jujutsu called daito-ryu aiki-jujutsu. Despite recent debates over the origins of daito-



ryu aiki-jujutsu, it is generally agreed that hapkido is “heavily influenced” by the art, considering their similarities (Sims 2010: 183).

From 1948, Choi started instructing his martial art to famous judo practitioners in the local area. His martial art, then called hapki yusul, gained traction and it led to the founding of the first training centre in 1951. Choi’s disciple Ji Han-jae changed the name of martial art to hapkido and opened more training centres in the 1950s.

Choi’s students distributed hapkido to key national agencies, including the Presidential Security Service, military and police. They modernised and re-established Choi’s techniques to further disseminate the art. These efforts made it possible for the art to spread around the world in the 1960s. Hapkido has become an international martial art with a footprint in more than a hundred countries.

Among many of its kind, the Korea Hapkido General Association gained recognition from the Korean Sport and Olympic Committee and the Korean government. It has about 1,100 registered training centres and 140,000 practitioners across the country (Korea Hapkido General Association, n.d.).

Health qigong

Health qigong is a Chinese low-impact/meditative art that emerged from ancient practices but was formally re-established in 2003 by the Chinese Health Qigong Association (CHQA). Promoting four new forms of health qigong, CHQA has thus far introduced five more styles. Qi refers to “energy” and gong means “exercise”. The essence of health qigong practice is to incorporate “meditation, breathing, and physical movement” (Liu *et al.* 2016). Developed from ancient Chinese medical practices and dance, health qigong is believed to be conducive to good physical and mental health: relieving the body and mind, facilitating the metabolism, improving heart function and others (Liu *et al.* 2016).

Hojojutsu

Torinawajutsu, nawajutsu

Hojojutsu, also named torinawajutsu or nawajutsu, refers to the Japanese art of tying up the enemy. Hojojutsu is part of the curriculum in some ninjutsu, bujutsu and jujutsu schools. The art uses a long rope to trap and constrain the enemy using complicated knots (Black Belt Wiki, n.d.-d). Initially, a *hayanawa* or “fast” rope was used, but this was later replaced by the *honnawa* or “main” rope to make sure the

enemy or suspect could be transported safely (Cleaver 1998; Crocker 2015). As well as rope, a chain is used in some cases. Some hojojutsu techniques can also be carried out with certain weapons such as the surujin, kusarigama, kyoketsu-shoge and kusari fundo (Black Belt Wiki, n.d.-d).

During the Edo period (1600–1868), it was considered extremely shameful to be bound by a rope, hence the technique of restraining a suspect was of great significance. The restraining rope should not have any knots. There were four important rules in hojojutsu: do not allow the prisoner to escape, do not cause any physical or mental injury, do not show the technique to others and, finally, make it visually beautiful (Cleaver 1998).

Samurai left the job of tying up suspects to their servants. Within the police, higher ranks (which to a large extent

consisted of samurai) would also leave the task to the lower ranks. Traditionally, four colours of rope were used, depending on the time of the year. By the end of the Edo period, just two colours were used, white and indigo. The use of colours then depended on the branch of the constabulary and not on the seasons.

There are different lengths of rope used for different purposes. Commonly, the ropes were made of hemp, while for practice silk ropes were used on dummies made of straw or paper. These tying-up techniques were also commonly used for torture in Japanese history (Cleaver 1998). Similar techniques are also used in kinbaku, Japanese rope bondage, which was a popular depiction in Japanese prints and still finds a place in contemporary pornography, erotica and art (Toshidama 2012).

Hung gar

Hongjiaquan, hung uuen, hung ga kuen

Hung gar is a wushu style from Fujian Province, China. It is a Southern Shaolin kung fu style. It is physically demanding and practitioners need a high pain tolerance (Crudelli 2008). It requires a lot of time and dedication to master the art (Cardiff Kung Fu Academy, n.d.).



Hung gar is an external style and draws elements from the tiger style. Strong hand techniques and tiger claw movements are the most important characteristics (Crudelli 2008). Joint-locking, footwork, vital point striking, the use of weapons and the practice of chi gong are all part of the training.

Hung gar consists of five empty-hand systems and six weapon systems (Cardiff Kung Fu Academy, n.d.). The art uses a technique where blocks can double as an attack. The force and accuracy of the blocking technique against an attacker's punch will hurt or injure them. This in itself will make the opponent hesitant to attack. The fact the style came into existence in a time of war explains its realistic and vicious nature (McGeough 2019).

Hung gar originated in the seventeenth century (Crudelli 2008; McGeough 2019). During the Qing dynasty, many people who opposed the ruling class of the Manchus found refuge in Shaolin temples. It is believed monk Gee Seen Sim See taught Shaolin kung fu to both monks and laymen in the temple during this period, among whom was Hung Hei-Gun. He became Gee Seen Sim See's best student and is often considered

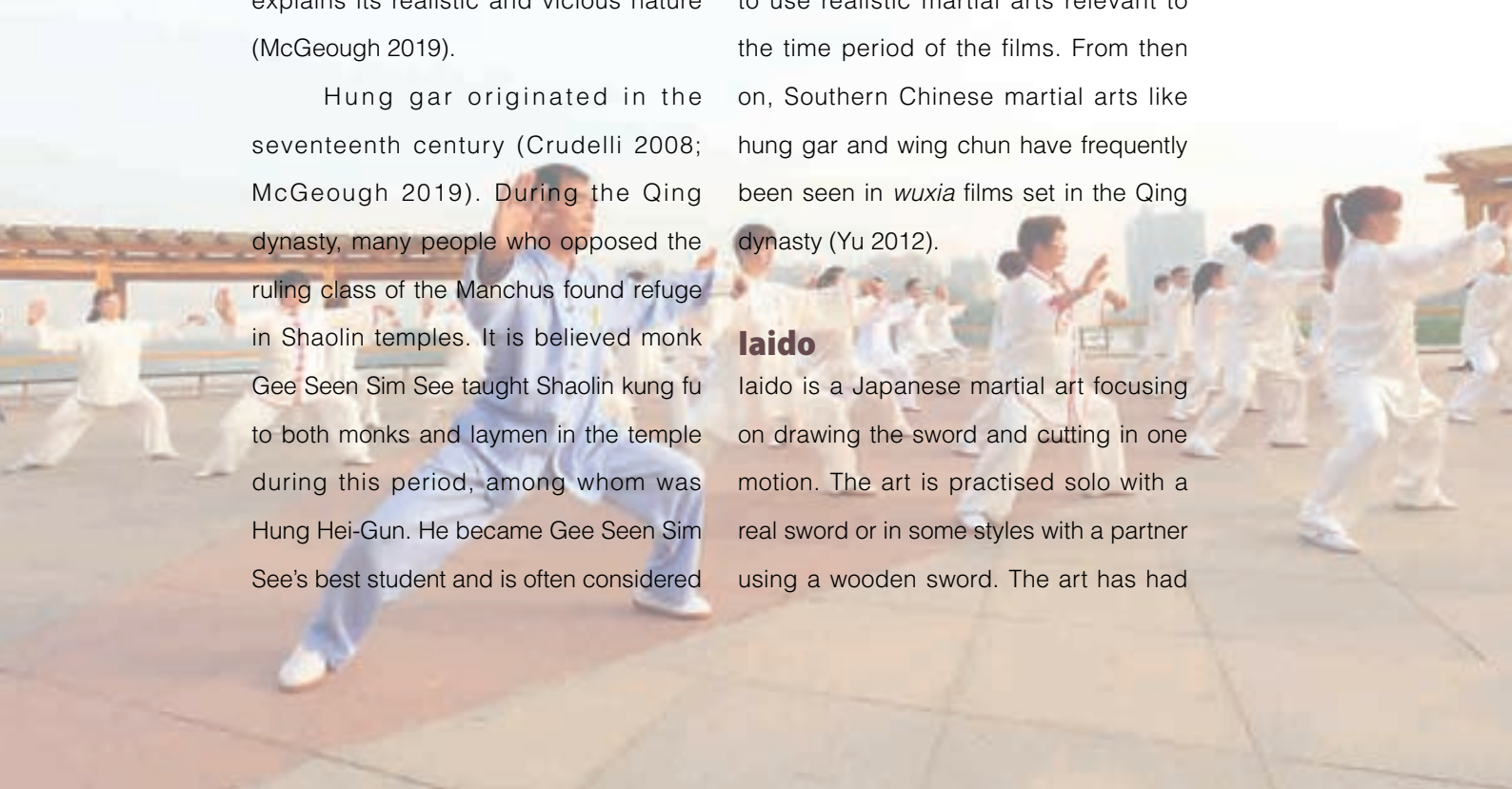
the founder of the hung gar kung fu system; indeed, the system takes its name from Hung Hei-Gun (McGeough 2019).

During the nineteenth century the Chinese used arts like hung gar to improve their health, to make money gambling and in the case of prize fighters to gain reputation. The art was also used to attract new members to esoteric religious cults (Svinth 2001).

In the twentieth century the style remained widely practised and became a part of popular culture, being seen in cartoons and films. In the 1970s, following Bruce Lee's new trend in *wuxia* films in which he used the authentic martial arts abilities of the kung fu stars, directors like Lau Kar-leung and Zhang Che started to use realistic martial arts relevant to the time period of the films. From then on, Southern Chinese martial arts like hung gar and wing chun have frequently been seen in *wuxia* films set in the Qing dynasty (Yu 2012).

laido

laido is a Japanese martial art focusing on drawing the sword and cutting in one motion. The art is practised solo with a real sword or in some styles with a partner using a wooden sword. The art has had



many names over the years, but “iaido” was accepted around 1930. The art is a Japanese budo and as such is intended mainly as a method of self-development, but it is also practised as a sport. The concentration and focus necessary to perfect the movements are beneficial for the mind. The art also demands excellent posture and the ability to generate power from many positions (Taylor 2001).

The metaphysical aspects in iaido have been influenced by several philosophical and religious directions. Iaido is a blend of the ethics of Confucianism, methods of Zen, the philosophical Taoism, the purificatory rites of Shintoism and aspects from bushido (Warner & Draeger 1982: 101). Essentially,

iaido is a non-competitive martial art, but competitions where practitioners perform set movements in front of judges do take place (Crudelli 2008: 218).

Iaido started in the mid-1500s when warriors started to wear their swords through their belt with the sharp edge upwards. Hayashizaki Jinsuke Shigenobu (1542–1621) is generally acknowledged as the organiser of iaido (Taylor 2001).

Inbuan wrestling

Inbuan wrestling is a grappling style from Mizoram, India. The rules are very strict: kicking and bending the knees is not allowed. Practitioners must stay inside a circle with a diameter of about 4.5–4.9 metres. The goal is to lift the opponent



(Kumar & Jha 2018). A bout consists of three rounds, each lasting between thirty seconds and a minute. The practitioners wear tight belts that provide the means to lift the opponent (Crudelli 2008).

The game is said to have originated in a village called Dungle around the mid-eighteenth century (Crudelli 2008). It is likely that the tradition was brought to Mizoram from Myanmar, where this wrestling style is still practised today (Khera 2019).

Female participation in the sport has increased (Crudelli 2008). However, there are no training centres or schools where inbuan wrestling is taught, neither is there an official, regulated competitive system (Khera 2019).

Jang sanati

Jang sanati is an ancient martial art that originated thousands of years ago in Uzbekistan. According to the International Jang San'ati Association (IJSA), it contains the essence of traditions and philosophy of the Uzbek people, as well as humanism, courage and respect for the opponent. The values of jang sanati are modesty, decency, patience, self-possession and strength of mind.

The art consists of a combination of kicking, punching and wrestling techniques. Practitioners learn how to handle swords, daggers and sticks. There are twenty-five sets of choreographed exercises and their main function is to pass down the style's techniques in



an organised manner that serves as a method of physical conditioning. They are also useful for public demonstrations. The sets can be practised alone, or with one or more partners. The techniques and tactics of jang sanati aim for a big impact with little effort. The exercises are harmonious. Attack and defence often take place simultaneously in jang sanati, in contrast with the martial arts in which a block is followed by a strike (IJSA, n.d.).

Archaeological findings and scientific studies provide evidence for the existence of single combat arts in Uzbekistan about 3,500–4,000 years ago. For example, on the territory of modern Surxondaryo, pottery was found dating from the Bactrian period that depicted two wrestling men, one executing a sweep throw. Greek historian Elian Claudius mentions jang sanati's popularity among the Saka tribes that inhabited the territory of modern Uzbekistan. In December 2009, jang sanati was recognised as a national sport in Uzbekistan (IJSA, n.d.).

Jeet kune do

JKD

Jeet kune do was founded by legendary martial artist and movie star Bruce Lee (1940–1973). Jeet kune do is defined by

the fact it does not have a fighting style with a set of rules. It is rather a philosophy based on Bruce Lee's knowledge and experience. The philosophy encourages individuality and free development of techniques (Gong 2001: 202–210). His fighting style is generally direct and minimalistic, leaving no space for wasting energy.

Lee started to practise martial arts in Hong Kong. He studied yongchun under Master Yip Man and experimented with styles like Western boxing and other Chinese martial arts (Gong 2001: 203). A legendary fight with Wong Jack Man in 1964 forced Lee to revise everything and turn the art he knew into a hybrid martial art (Jennings 2019: 63). The fight was said to be a challenge, with the proposal being that should Lee lose, he would refrain from teaching martial arts to non-Chinese students, a practice which was found problematic in the 1960s. Although some reports state that he defeated his opponent, he was not pleased with the execution of the fight (Gong 2001: 203).

The term jeet kune do was first used by Lee in 1967 as a name for his martial expression. Naming his art was problematic for him since he did not want to crystalise, define and thereby limit its

essence (Bruce Lee Foundation, n.d.). Jeet kune do is a direct reflection of Bruce Lee's environment, circumstances and individuality. His influence on the martial arts world was enormous, and not only that, having become a cult figure he also left his mark on pop culture and inspired a new movie genre, the martial arts action movie.

The Bruce Lee Foundation, founded in 2002 by Linda Lee Cadwell and Shannon Lee, aims to pass on Bruce Lee's art and philosophy through educational and social initiatives (Bruce Lee Foundation, n.d.). There is also a World Jeet Kune Do Federation. Since the term "jeet kune do" essentially refers to one's personal martial expression, without any boundaries, styles or methods, it is technically impossible to pass it on as a fixed martial art with specific rules and techniques.

Jodo

Jojutsu

Jojutsu or jodo is a Japanese stick-fighting art using a short stick. Jo refers to "stick" in Japanese, and the stick in question is made of oak in a skewed, round shape. Generally, the stick is 128 centimetres long with a diameter of 2.5 centimetres, and weighs about 550 grams (Shindo Muso Ryu Jo Jutsu, n.d.). Jodo consists of twelve essential techniques and sixty-four pattern exercises (kata) practised in pairs. Jodo is unique and differs from other martial arts like kendo in that the practitioners do not wear protective gear (Shindo Muso Ryu Jo Jutsu, n.d.).



In jodo, competitors are ranked under kyu/dan systems that have been in place since the 1970s (Shindo Muso Ryu Jo Jutsu, n.d.). The level of first dan can be achieved after passing from the eighth to first kyu. There are five dan levels, the completion of which qualifies practitioners to be licensed as instructors, culminating with the award of the *menkyo* certificate – the full teaching licence.

The early history of jodo can be best described by the duel between Muso Gonnosuke Katsuyoshi, a legendary samurai, and Miyamoto Musashi in the seventeenth century. A renowned master-level swordsman, Gonnosuke was defeated by the young

fighter Musashi, who used both short and long swords to immobilise Gonnosuke's staff. Following the loss, Gonnosuke had time to train and meditate, which led to his inspiration of "using a round stick, know the solar plexus" (Shindo Muso Ryu Jo Jutsu, n.d.). Gonnosuke shortened his staff, enabling him to be more versatile and flexible. Adapting his skills and expertise with a sword to the new weapon, he defeated Musashi when they fought again, according to legend.

There are well-known organisations that preside over the art, like the International Jodo Association, Nihon Jodo Kai and International Jodo Federation.



Judo

Judo is a Japanese martial art developed from jujutsu. It is characterised by holding, choking, hitting and kicking skills. In judo, there are sixty-eight *nage-waza* (throwing) and thirty-two *katame-waza* (grappling) techniques (Kodokan Judo Institute, n.d.). The art has gained tremendous international popularity, perhaps more than any other Japanese martial art (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.-a).

In a bout, combatants win or score points through *ippon* and *waza-ari*. An *ippon* is given when an opponent's back touches the ground or they are immobilised for at least twenty-five seconds. This results in an immediate victory. A *waza-ari* is the second-highest score, awarded for lesser throws or for a shorter period of immobilisation than would score an *ippon*. Two *waza-ari* equate to one *ippon*.

In 1882, a young jujutsu practitioner, Jigoro Kano, founded judo, his own style of the art, and opened a training centre named Kodokan, which means “a school for studying the way or path” (Kodokan Judo Institute, n.d.). Kano established judo under the principle of “maximum efficient use of mental and

physical energy” (Kano, n.d.). He thought this principle could practically apply to “mutual prosperity for self and others”, which he considered the goal of practising judo. Kano drew up a set of rules and the Kodokan held its first competition in 1884.

Kano went on to become the first Asian member of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1909. With his students he travelled around the world promoting judo and performed a demonstration at the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles. Judo was due to be a demonstration sport at the 1940 Tokyo Olympics, but the Games were cancelled due to the outbreak of the Second World War (Kodokan Judo Institute, n.d.).

The International Judo Federation (IJF) was founded in 1952 and the first World Judo Championships were held in 1956 in Tokyo. Judo was then introduced to the Olympics for the first time at the 1964 Games in Japan, and has been an official sport in each Olympics ever since 1972 (IJF, n.d.). Today, there are approximately five million judo practitioners throughout the world (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.-a). The IJF has representatives from more than two hundred countries

and regions as of 2020 (Kodokan Judo Institute, n.d.).

Jujutsu

Jiu-jitsu, jujitsu

Jujutsu is a grappling martial art of Japanese origin and is an umbrella term for many Japanese grappling martial arts variations (Channon 2012). It is believed that jujutsu was developed for the samurai of feudal Japan, usually armoured on horseback, to fight effectively when they were disarmed on the ground.

Jujutsu was disseminated to the West in the late nineteenth century by martial arts pioneers such as Edward William Barton-Wright, who invented a British martial system called bartitsu, a hybrid form of jujutsu, kick-boxing and stick-fighting (Channon 2012).

The Ju-Jitsu International Federation, initially founded as the European Ju-jitsu Federation in 1977, played a leading role in organising the art as a modern, standardised competitive sport (Channon 2012). Jujutsu made its debut at the World Games in 1997 and was adopted as an official sport at the 2018 Asian Games.

Kabaddi

Kabaddi is an Indian combat sport played by two teams typically consisting of seven players each. It combines elements of wrestling and tag games. Players score points by entering the opponent's zone and touching as many defending players as possible; it is "the match of one against seven, known as the game of struggle" (Amateur Kabaddi Federation of India, n.d.). A single raider (attacker) enters the opponent's half of the court and tries to touch the anti-raiders (defenders), while it is the defenders' objective to catch the raider. Each raid has a time limit of thirty seconds and the raider must conduct their raid without drawing breath; to demonstrate that they are using one single breath, they must continually chant the word "kabbadi" throughout their raid. If a raider touches an anti-raider and returns to the home court, the raider's side scores a point. Members of the defending team touched by the raider are declared "out" if the team fail to catch the raider. A match lasts for forty minutes with a five-minute half-time break.

Kabaddi is said by its communities to have ancient origins, yet there is no clear historical reference available. The modern form of kabaddi has been

played since 1930, mainly in India and other South Asia, following the rules and framework that were developed and applied during the 1920s.

The All India Kabaddi Federation was founded in 1950 to promote the sport and it held the first National Kabaddi Championship in 1952. The Amateur Kabaddi Federation of India was formed in 1972 to promote kabaddi both inside and out of the country. Kabaddi was first featured in the Asian Games in 1982 as a demonstration sport, and has been an official game since the 1990 Asian Games in Beijing.

The World Kabaddi Federation was founded in 2004 to act as an overall governing body of kabaddi organisations. With more than forty-eight national member countries, it aims to promote kabaddi as a means of pursuing peace, harmony and mutual understanding among the world community (World Kabaddi Federation, n.d.).

Following recent gains in popularity, Kabaddi has become India's second-most watched sport after cricket (Tilak 2020).



Kabasaran

Kabasaran is a traditional Minahasan war dance from North Sulawesi in Indonesia. The dancers are called *kawasalan*, referring to the dance's imitation of game cocks (Indonesia Kaya, n.d.; My Indonesian, n.d.). The performers are dressed in traditional red Minahasa warrior costumes. Weapons like swords, shields and spear guns are used in dancing (My Indonesian, n.d.). The dance is accompanied by musical instruments (*pa' wasalen*) like the gong, tambur and kolintang (Indonesia Kaya, n.d.).

Traditionally, most dancers were farmers in their daily lives, but if war were to break out they would become soldiers (*warane*), turning the dance into a practical fighting technique (Indonesia Kaya, n.d.). The kabasaran dance is still performed by the Minahasa people of North Sulawesi Province at ceremonies, artistic performances and cultural festivals (My Indonesian, n.d.).

Becoming a dancer is hereditary – new dancers must be descendants of kabasaran dancers. The actual weapons they use are usually passed on from generation to generation as well (Indonesia Kaya, n.d.).



Kalaripayattu

Kalaripayatta, Kalari-payat

Kalaripayattu is a traditional Indian martial art with strong links to yoga and Ayurveda. “Payattu” refers to exercise, while “kalari” refers to the traditional military training arena in which the art is practised. Kalaripayattu, which originated in Kerala, India is believed to be one of the world’s oldest known martial arts systems. The compound term was first used in the twentieth century to identify the traditional martial art that dates from at least the twelfth century in the forms that are still practised today, but have roots in both the Tamil and Dhanur Vedic martial traditions (Zarrilli 2001a: 225).

Usually, the kalari arenas are located partially below ground level and laid out in an east–west direction. The atmosphere inside is stable and suitable for physical training. Rituals connected with daily religious life also take place in the arena. The relation between spiritual life and daily training is embodied in the physical exercises (Denaud 2009: 24–25). Kalaripayattu focuses strongly on health as well; indeed, knowledge about medicine is traditionally incorporated in the curriculum.

Kalaripayattu can appear elegant and acrobatic, as traditional dance is

often reflected in the art (Kalarippayat Academy, n.d.). In a reciprocal relation, techniques and movements from kalaripayattu can also be seen in velakali, a martial folk dance (Zarrilli 1986: 26).

There are three stages in kalaripayattu training: *meithari*, *kolthari* and *ankathari*. First, students learn stretching and flexibility exercises, jumps and exercises to control the body. The use of weapons like swords, daggers, spears, maces and bows is introduced in the latter two stages; only when a student is physically, spiritually and ethically ready can they start weapons training. If the body and mind are fully prepared, the weapon becomes a natural extension of body and mind (Kalarippayat Academy, n.d.; Denaud 2009: 29). Kalaripayattu instruction starts at the age of eight. Students are not assigned a grade or belt, and there are no competitions, only demonstrations (Denaud 2009: 24, 28).

Kapap

Kapap is an Israeli combat art. The term “kapap” is an abbreviation of the Hebrew phrase “krav panim-el-panim”, meaning “face-to-face combat”. It is based on concepts or principles, rather than fixed techniques (Crudelli 2008: 305).

Kapap is a fighting style meant for close combat. According to the International Kapap Union, “the Kapap warrior is a fast, precise and lethal fighting machine”, and “a Kapap person is not a fighter (competitive fighter); he is a warrior (man of war) literally”. Kapap is known for being the martial art used by the Israeli Special Forces.

Jewish settlers in Palestine experienced a lot of violence. Defence forces were created in response to this and they developed a range of methods.

Kapap was one of the best-known ones developed during the 1930s (Gross 2010: 583). The art is based on necessity, so kapap has continuously adapted in response to today’s dangers (Nardia & Timen 2012: 10). For a long time, it was the martial art taught to the police, army and special forces, but in 2003 Avi Nardia developed, with the encouragement of Jim Wagner, a civilian version of kapap aimed at the general population in Europe and the US (Nardia & Timen 2012: 7–8).



Karate

Karate, which originated in Okinawa, Japan, is one of the most widely practised and popular martial arts. “Karate” translates as “the way of the empty hand” (Funakoshi 1973, Umezawa 1998). As its name indicates, karate mainly consists of striking techniques with hands, elbows, feet and knees. No weapons are used in general.

Karate competitions can be divided into two types: kata (forms) and kumite (sparring). In kata, practitioners demonstrate “a series of offensive and defensive movements targeting a virtual opponent, which are evaluated based on such criteria as strength, speed rhythm,

balance, and power of [techniques]” (IOC 2020). Kumite, meanwhile, is a type of sparring where two practitioners compete, with victory being achieved by gaining eight points more than the opponent within the three-minute duration of a contest (IOC 2020). These competitions have weight, age and gender categories. The World Karate Federation (n.d.) has also developed a Para-Karate modality to facilitate competitions among athletes with disabilities since the early 2000s.

There are debates over the origin of karate. Krug (2001) views karate as a combination of fighting techniques and practices mainly from China, but also



World Championships 2012 Karate © Claus Michelfelder

many other Asian countries like Japan, Korea and Thailand. In contrast, Mottern (2001) believes China has the strongest link to the development of karate, noting that karate was previously called *toudi* or *touti*. Here, “*tou*” stands for the Tang dynasty of China and “*di*” or “*ti*” means “hand” in the old Okinawan language. Put together, the original name of karate can be translated “Chinese hand”, suggesting it is derived from Chinese martial arts. While recognising such Chinese influences, others still regard it as an indigenous Okinawan art that has evolved over a long period on the island. Although contested, it seems reasonable to

accept that karate was developed upon the “interaction and cross-pollination of combat practices in [East Asian] region” (Johnson 2012: 64).

Karate spread across Japan in the 1920s and then worldwide in following the Second World War (IOC 2020). The World Karate Federation, founded in 1990, is the governing body of the art affiliated with the IOC. Joined by more than 190 members around the world, it oversees world championships and many other competitions (IOC 2020).

Karate is to make its Olympic debut at the delayed Tokyo Games due to take place in July 2021.



Kasagake

Kasakake

Kasagake is a horse-mounted archery style from Japan. While the yabusame style is linked closely to festivals, kasagake has developed with a bigger focus on the technical elements of horseback archery. In kasagake the archer shoots while riding and turning, in contrast to yabusame. The archers wear the same clothes as are worn in yabusame, but with a different type of headgear since the *kasa* hat was traditionally used as the target (Japan Equestrian Archery Association, n.d.).

Kasagake was practised in the Heian and Kamakura periods by the samurai. It was a way to become skilled at hitting the most vulnerable place on a heavily armoured adversary – the face (Japan Equestrian Archery Association, n.d.).

Kbach kun dambong vèng

Kbach kun dambong vèng is an ancient Cambodian martial art form in which participants use a long staff (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation 2016). It used to be practised as a means to prepare for enemy attacks, but now it is popular among the Cambodian youth, who

practise it in sports clubs (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation 2016).

Kbach kun khmer boran

Kbach kun khmer boran is a term referring to a group of ancient Cambodian martial arts (Khmer martial arts). The arts include bokator, pradal serey, bok cham bab and kbach kun dambong vèng (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation 2016).

Carvings and bas-reliefs dating back more than a thousand years in the temple of Angkor Wat show that fighting arts have been around for an incredibly long time in the region (Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation 2016).

Kempo

Kenpo, quanfa

Kenpo or kempo is a striking martial art of Okinawa, Japan that predominantly makes use of hand strikes. It is literally translated as “law of the fist” or “fist law” (Barber 2001: 255). Strikes with knees, forearms, wrists, and elbows can also be found, and even grappling techniques like throws, submissions, and takedowns are taught together in some kenpo styles (Barber 2001).

The origin of kenpo is not clearly known, but it is speculated that kenpo was heavily influenced by Chinese boxing introduced through “the [prolonged] ministerial, cultural, religious, and commercial exchanges between China and Okinawa” (Barber 2001: 255). The Okinawan people founded kenpo upon the basis of Chinese *quanfa*, which was initially introduced by Chinese monks to Ryukyu Islands during the 6th and 7th centuries (Barber 2001). In 1392, many Chinese families brought and taught a few *quanfa* systems and knowledge in Okinawa after moving from Fujian province (Barber 2001).

In modern times, Okinawan kenpo has been diversified in different systems

and derivatives. Nippon kenpo and Goshido kenpo are modern Japanese systems known to be the combinations of kenpo with jujutsu and kendo (Barber 2001).

There are also variations founded in Hawaii, America in the 1930s by the key figures like Dr. James M. Mitose and William Kwai Sun Chow (Barber 2001). Chow opened a training hall and coined the term kenpo karate in 1949, adding circular movements of Chinese wushu or *quanfa* to his kenpo (Barber 2001). He was “a major influence on the development” of [many kenpo arts] such as *kajukenbo*, *kara-ho kenpo*, American kenpo karate, and American shaolin kenpo (Barber 2001: 258).



Kendo

Kendo is a Japanese martial art descended from swordsmanship (kenjutsu). Practitioners use *shinai* (bamboo swords) and *kendogu* (protective armour) to strike each other. Kendo incorporates martial arts practices and values to promote the development of character through continued *keiko* (practice) (Tokeshi 2003).

According to the All Japan Kendo Federation, the roots of kendo can be traced back to the eleventh century and the Heian Era (794–1185), when the Japanese nihonto sword first emerged. The Japanese sword has a slightly arched blade with raised ridges. Swords of this style are said to have been used by a

tribe in northern Japan during the ninth century. Thenceforth, the samurai began to use them too. As forging technology rapidly developed during the Kamakura period (1185–1333), the curved sword became more popular and the term *Shinogi-wo-kezuru*, meaning “grinding the *shinogi* together (fierce competition)”, was coined (Tokeshi 2003; Bennett 2015).

Following the Onin War (1467–1477), many schools of swordsmanship were established. The Japanese sword was made by the Tatarafuki casting method, which used high-quality iron sand. However, as this method was applied to firearms as well, the previous heavy-armoured style of battle transformed to a lighter hand-to-hand



Kendo training in dojo © Av Wang Ming

style. This resulted in the advancement and specialisation of sword-forging techniques (Sasamori & Warner 1995).

During the peaceful Edo period (1603–1867), the focus of swordsmanship changed from killing techniques to an aim of nurturing humanity with concepts including *katsunin-ken* (the life-giving sword). These concepts were recorded in books such as *Heiho Kadensho* by Yagyu Munenori, *Fudochi Shinmyoroku* by Takuan Soho, *Gorin-no-sho* by Miyamoto Musashi. These books offered meaningful lessons on life, death and appliance of swordsmanship in daily life (Bennett 2015).

During the Shotoku era (1711–1715) renowned fencing instructor

Naganuma Shirōzaemon Kunisato introduced the *Shinai* (bamboo practice sword) and *Kendo-gu* (armour), along with a training method incorporating their use. This is claimed to be the origin of the kendo discipline. Accordingly, kenjutsu competitions became popular. This type of training in swordsmanship was retitled as “kendo” in the twentieth century (Sasamori & Warner 1995; Bennett 2015). Today in Japan, kendo is part of the regular curriculum in the education system from the secondary-school level to university (Sasamori & Warner 1995).

Kendo has steadily gained more international practitioners since its establishment. In 1970, the International Kendo Federation (FIK) was established and the first triennial World Kendo Championships were held in the Nippon Budokan. The seventeenth World Kendo Championships were held in 2018 in Incheon, South Korea, where kendo practitioners from fifty-six different countries participated. The eighteenth World Kendo Championships were scheduled to be held in Villebon-sur-Yvette, France, in May 2021, but sadly had to be cancelled for reasons connected with the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic.



Kenjutsu

Kenjutsu, “the art of swordsmanship”, refers to the swordsmanship techniques originating among the samurai in feudal Japan. Modern styles like kendo and iaido developed from it and kept elements of it in their practice.

Kenjutsu uses the *katana*, or Japanese longsword. In training a *bokken* – a wooden sword of the same length and weight – is often used. Kenjutsu is essentially a non-competitive art, used for demonstrative and performance purposes. Practitioners perform prearranged sets of movements with an opponent (Crudelli 2008: 219).

Kenjutsu was strongly tied to spiritual principles in the Middle Ages. The objective of training evolved into refining the practitioners’ character and non-lethality, with avoiding conflict being the ultimate goal. By the late seventeenth century, warriors who had fought on the battlefield were no longer living and duels were forbidden. Curricula became more and more philosophical and less practical and technical. The introduction of more protective gear and bamboo swords ultimately made kenjutsu ready for full-contact fights and thus sportification.

When the Japanese government

revolutionised the military based on Western technology, traditional martial arts experienced a decline. In 1880, however, the new Tokyo Police Academy included kenjutsu in the teaching programme for their students. The next step was to get it accepted into the school curriculum for its positive effect on moral and physical development, but debates over possible safety issues caused complications. Eventually, starting from 1913, kenjutsu classes became part of the education for healthy boys over the age of 16. Later, kendo gradually started to take kenjutsu’s place in the education system (Bennett 2010b: 599–601).

Kenjutsu is still practised in dojos all over the world but the modern Japanese sword-based martial art kendo is more prevalent.

Keshé

Keshé is a traditional wrestling style from Bhutan. The name literally means “holding the waist” (Clophel, n.d.). Two practitioners grab each other’s belts (*kerá*) and try to throw the opponent to the ground. The game requires strength, skill, agility and balance (Dorji 2015: 82; Clophel, n.d.).

Keshé is mainly practised by the men of villages in remote areas of

Bhutan. It is used to measure strength, to gain the respect of others and to impress potential marriage partners. People used to organise one-on-one fights to settle a dispute or just for fun. Nowadays the wrestling contests are usually held to celebrate national holidays (Dorji 2015: 82; Clophel, n.d.). This practice has revived old legends and traditions (Clophel, n.d.).

Kobudo

Kobudo is a weapon-based martial discipline from the Okinawa Islands of Japan. Meaning “old martial arts”, kobudo makes use of many different types of weaponry indigenous to Okinawa, including bows, swords, staffs, knives and spears.

The International Okinawa Kobudo Association (IOKA) was founded in 1990 by Saiko-Shihan Mikio Nishiuchi, who has taught the martial art since the 1970s in the United States. IOKA has thirty-five training halls and about 350 practitioners around the world (IOKA, n.d.).

Kok boru

Buzkashi

Kok boru is a traditional horse game from Kyrgyzstan that is inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The game is also popular in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkey, Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Mongolia under a variety of names: buzkashi, kokpar, kupkari, ulak tartysh, kökbörü, gökbörü and more. It comprises traditional practices, performances and the game itself.



Kok boru can be seen as a combination of horse racing and other equestrian sports. Two teams on horseback, each consisting of twelve players, must try to get hold of an “ulak”, traditionally a goat carcass but replaced with a mould in modern-day games, and score by putting it into the opponents’ goal or “tai kazan”. Four players from each team are on the field at a time (World Nomad Games 2018a). The most experienced players serve as referees. In addition, there are also the *kalystar* (elders), who ensure the fairness of the game.

As a cultural and historical tradition, kok boru serves to unite communities regardless of social status, fostering a culture of teamwork, responsibility and respect (UNESCO 2017b). It serves as a reminder of a nomadic past. The Kyrgyz people used to hunt wolves that threatened their livestock. Most likely, the game found its origin in informal competitions among shepherds guarding their flocks. Indeed, “kok boru” means “grey wolf” in Kyrgyz (World Nomad Games 2018a).

The community of bearers includes professional players, semi-professional and amateur teams, as well as the general public (UNESCO 2017b). Knowledge related to the

element is primarily transmitted naturally by means of demonstration, as well as during festive and social events. The community concerned is actively involved in ensuring its viability through the transmission of knowledge and skills, research and the organisation of training. The National Kok Boru Federation, established in 1998, plays a key role in promoting and safeguarding the game through development and organisation of activities (UNESCO 2017b).

Kookhak kigong

Kookhak kigong is a Korean low-impact, meditative breathing system or sport for mental, spiritual and physical health established in the 1980s. The “qigong” concept has its roots in Chinese medicine, philosophy and martial arts, and has been regarded as a practice system for invigorating *qi*, or life energy.

Kookhak kigong was introduced and spread initially by Seunghun Lee, who was motivated to improve the physical and mental health of the nation. Practitioners claim that the system’s historical foundations can be dated back to the spirituality of Gojoseon, an ancient Korean kingdom established in 2333 BC, or the Three Kingdoms era around AD 570.

However, it has not been clarified whether it actually has verifiable, substantive links with the old traditions and history. Criticisms have been raised against the founder Seunghun Lee and kookhak kigong's emergence. Some Christian organisations, for instance, have claimed that kookhak kigong is not a scientific and educational practice, but rather is affiliated with pseudo religions and is merely capitalising on the rising interest in health practices.

However, the Korea Kookhak Kigong Association gained full membership of Korean Sport and Olympic Committee in 2016. The association has distributed the practice to five thousand entities across Korea, including public organisations, schools and welfare centres. Kookhak Kigong has been transmitted to twenty countries, including the US, Japan and Canada (Yang 2019). Supported by central and local governments, international competitions such as the International Sportskigong Competition for All have been held annually, attracting several thousand practitioners from different countries.

Koryu bugei

Koryu bugei is an umbrella term that collectively refers to classical styles or

systems originated in old Japan, at least before the early 19th century, which the Japanese samurai practised for their military skills (Friday 2001c). The military training developed into codified martial systems in the late medieval period and later became formalised and commercialised with the proliferation of training halls and professional instructions in the Tokugawa period (Friday 2001c). The classical martial arts started to decline and died out in the face of rapid modernisation sparked by the Meiji Restoration. The bugei practice identified with militarism and feudalism was even prohibited under the influence of postwar Allied Occupation until 1952 (Friday 2001c). After that, the Japanese government reintroduced fencing to high schools as part of physical education, not as a martial art (Friday 2001c). Many of the military-oriented bugei training disappeared over the course of modernisation, but some are still practised.

Koshti

Pahlavani

Koshti is a traditional wrestling system originated in the ancient Persia and today Iran (World Nomad Games, n.d.-d). It was

an important training method for Iranian troops who often wrestled when unable to rely on their weapons like lances and swords (Ferdowsi 1995; Khorasani 2010). Many techniques including “throws, takedowns, trips, arm and leg locks and choke holds” were used for combat in battlefield, as well as for non-combat and sports (Tausk 2001b: 342).

Watching koshti matches was one of the pastime activities of Iranian aristocracy, and the championship became a popular entertainment during the Safavid era from the 16th and 18th century (Khorasani 2010). According to historical references, the wrestlers at the time would be hired to work as “night

watchmen” when they did not wrestle (Khorasani 2010: 73).

Since the mid-20th century, traditional Iranian martial arts including koshti have declined with the rise of modern wrestling styles (Tausk 2001b).

Koshti ba chukhe

Chukhe wrestling, bā čuxe wrestling

Koshti ba chukhe is one of traditional wrestling styles originated in the region of Khorasan, Iran. It is predominantly practised by the Kurdish tribes in different cities of Khorasan province during public holidays and special occasions like wedding ceremonies (Abbāsi 1995; Khorasani 2014). Each city holds its own competition



and there is a championship between the cities that decides the champions in the wrestling (Ziyārat & Hušmand 2004). The Bā čuxe wrestling organisation governs these competitions in Iran.

The wrestlers typically are barefoot and wear a jacket and black trousers to be folded up over the knees in a bout (Khorasani 2014). They start the match in a standing position testing each other's strength to use an appropriate technique (Khorasani 2014). Unlike the past that had no time limit, the match lasts for several minutes and a break of two minutes in between (Khorasani 2014). A wrestler gains victory if the other's shoulder(s) touch the ground.

Ba chukhe wrestling is known to be similar to judo in that it is a stand-up wrestling and does not involve ground fighting and chokes (Khorasani 2014). Bolur (1975), Jahāni (1998), Ziyārat and Hušmand (2004) suggest that there are a lot of technical similarities between the wrestling and judo. For example, ba chukhe wrestling employs *kandan* (rear hip throw), equivalent of *ushiro goshi* in judo. *Leng-e vasat* (inner thigh throw) also looks like the *uchi mata* in judo.

Kouksundo

Kuksundo

Kouksundo is a Korean traditional martial path that has long been used to train the



body, mind and spirit. The art embodies the spirit of indigenous Korean culture. It consists of many movements, breathing techniques and meditation practices that have been claimed to contribute to a happy life free of illness (Kouksundo, n.d.-b; Kouksundobonwon, n.d.). The path has been known by different names throughout history, before it was recovered and systematised as what is now known as kouksundo. The earlier names are still used today for certain training skills within the art (Kouksundo Federation, n.d.).

According to kouksundo communities, the art has been transmitted since ancient times. In order to avoid the attention of foreign invaders, kouksundo was transmitted secretly from teachers to disciples, with stories generally passed on orally, meaning there are not many existing historical documents (Kouksundo Federation, n.d.).

Kouksundo was an official way to train outstanding individuals in the Three Kingdoms era. During wartime, it was not just used to maintain a healthy body and mind but also to defend the country and its people from attacks (Kouksundo, n.d.-a).

The practice of kouksundo became known thanks to Be-Kyung

introducing the art to Korean society in 1967 (Kouksundo, n.d.-a). Since then, kouksundo has spread with a growing number of branches and training centres. It has also become a programmed event in several martial arts competitions and has been included in the curricula of some universities (Kouksundo, n.d.-a).

Krabi-krabong

Krabi-krabong is a Thai martial art, often seen as the predecessor of muay thai. “Krabi” refers to the curved sword used in the art and “krabong” to a staff. Krabi-krabong mainly consists of sword- and staff-fighting, and makes use of prearranged sets of moves (Harris 2001b: 350). Other weapons taught are *gnow* (bladed staff), *mai sau* (wooden club worn on the forearm) and the combination of stick and shield. These weapon systems are complemented by empty-hand techniques (Green 2001a: 547). It is said that the empty-hand techniques of muay thai were originally part of the armed system krabi-krabong (Green 2001a: 546). During training sessions, practitioners practise in pairs with blunt weapons (often made from bamboo or rubber), while during competitions and demonstrations sharpened weapons are used (Crudelli 2008: 150, 154).

Krabi-krabong has a Buddhist background and before every practice the *wai khru* ceremony is performed (Green 2001a: 547). During this ceremony, students thank their masters and pray for the ancient Thai warriors that died on the battlefield (Crudelli 2008: 150). Before a competition, the contestants perform a traditional dance accompanied by music. Practitioners wear a rope around their head. This headband is considered a talisman but provides physical protection as well (Crudelli 2008: 153).

In the early sixteenth century, the Thai were masters in military science, which they successfully used in warfare against neighbouring countries (Green 2001a: 546). It was in this context, on

the battlefield, that krabi-krabong was developed, probably emerging in the early 1600s. The art is still taught to the Thai army today (Crudelli 2008: 150).

Krav maga

Krav maga is an Israeli self-defence and fighting system. “Krav maga” is Hebrew for “contact combat”. Like most martial arts, krav maga encourages students to avoid physical confrontation. However, if this is impossible or unsafe, it promotes ways to finish a fight quickly and aggressively. Attacks are aimed at the most vulnerable parts of the body, and training is not limited to techniques that avoid severe injury; some permanently injure or cause death to the opponent.



Krav maga borrows techniques from Western boxing and several styles of grappling (Tausk 2001a). The result is a fighting art that is easy to learn and effective. There are no sport variants of krav maga.

Krav maga was developed in the 1940s for use by the Israeli military and intelligence services by Imi Lichtenfeld (Tausk 2001a). In the mid-1930s anti-Semitic riots began to threaten the Jews of Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. Lichtenfeld became the leader of a group of Jewish boxers and wrestlers who took to the streets to defend Jewish neighbourhoods against the growing numbers of anti-Semitic national socialists (Tausk 2001a). Lichtenfeld quickly discovered that actual fighting was different from competition fighting, and although boxing and wrestling were good sports, they were not always practical for the aggressive and brutal nature of street combat. It was then that he started to re-evaluate his ideas about fighting and started developing the skills and techniques that would eventually become krav maga.

Krav maga has gained popularity worldwide as an effective fighting method and is now the official martial art of the Israel Defence Forces and many police

departments and special operations units in the United States. It is also the martial art of choice for many special military units and anti-terrorist teams in European countries including France, Finland, Sweden and Germany (Tausk 2001a).

Kukmudo

Gukmoodo

Gukmoodo is a Korean martial art created in the 1970s, which became more popular after joining the Korea Council of Sport for All in 1999. It is a mixed art with both armed and unarmed techniques. Practitioners compete in two forms: performances and sparring.

Kukri fighting

Khukuri fighting, kukuri fighting

Kukri fighting is a fighting style using a traditional Nepalese curved knife or kukri. The Nepalese soldiers, Gurkhas, are famous for carrying the curved knife as a tool and weapon (Simon 2019).

Some former Gurkhas now live in Hong Kong where they are especially active in the private security sector (Full Contact Martial Arts, n.d.). Furthermore, the kukri knife is still used as a backup weapon for soldiers in war zones. In Nepal it is also carried by civilians for self-protection. Even

though much more advanced weaponry is available, the people of Nepal still feel comfortable and confident carrying their kukri knife (Black Belt Magazine 2012). For special occasions like ceremonial parades, cultural shows and especially during performances by the Band of the Brigade of Gurkhas, the kukri dance is performed by Gurkha soldiers. The dance is a combination of patterns demonstrating skills in handling the kukri (Bowertest 2010).

Kumyedo

Kumyedo is a Korean swordsmanship martial art or sword dance using real swords. “Kum ye” means “the best skills of swords”. This traditional swordsmanship style is an art that includes dance-like movements.

The founder of the kumyedo, Hyoseon Jang, was motivated to develop a Korean swordsmanship style and culture. Influenced by his father, a martial artist, Jang practised swordsmanship from an early age and later founded kumyedo, inspired by the belief that the swordsmanship culture and disciplines formed and dominated by Japanese influence were threatening indigenous Korean swordsmanship culture. As such, Jang created a system and principles

based on the sword dances of the Joseon dynasty, combining them with sword techniques from *Muye Dobo Tongji*, a historical reference manual of Korean military training. Jang developed the kumyedo system with a focus on self-discipline and growth, rather than fighting.

The Korea Kum Ye Do Association was established in 2002, and there are now around eighty training centres in Korea and ten in the US (Noh 2013).

Kungekdo

Kungekdo is a Korean striking martial art characterised by its kick-boxing techniques similar to those of muay thai, karate and mixed martial arts (MMA). There are several types of kungekdo competitions, including demonstrations of *poomsae* (forms), sparring, self-defence, and demonstration, which have age categories and weight categories ranging from 17 kilograms (for the youngest age groups) to 86 kilograms (International Kungek-do Federation, n.d.). In addition to its apparent focus on the use of fighting techniques, the International Kungek-do Federation highlights that kungekdo is a purposeful and intentional activity for promoting physical, mental and social

development (International Kungkek-do Federation, n.d.).

The International Kungkek-do Federation was founded in 1969 and has held about three hundred competitions since then. It has seventeen regional branches and about three hundred training halls throughout Korea.

Kurash

Kurash is a traditional style of jacket wrestling originating from Uzbekistan in ancient times. “Kurash” in Uzbek means “reaching the goal with the just or fair way” (International Kurash Association, n.d.). Kurash is a standing wrestling and only allows throws and leg sweeps, not other techniques such as striking and choking.

During a bout, wrestlers grip each other’s belts and try to throw their opponent to the ground on their back to win.

According to the International Kurash Association (IKA), kurash is one of the oldest martial arts in the world and can be dated back over three thousand years. Historical references, including the Greek philosopher Herodotus and the Bukharan Avicenna, suggest that kurash was not just a martial art but also an entertainment activity at festive events and parties, and common practice among the public. It is known that the fourteenth-century Turco-Mongolian conqueror Amir Timur, also known as Tamerlane, trained his troops in kurash.

For a long time, kurash was practised and popular only in the Central



Asia region. Many elements of the martial art were transmitted by word of mouth down the generations and not much effort was made to establish kurash formally. In the 1980s, however, Komil Yusupov, the founder of IKA, started to research and institutionalise kurash. He created and adopted rules, weight categories and uniforms, playing a key role in founding the modern sport form of kurash. He was supported by the first President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov with the aim of promoting kurash as an international sport in the 1990s in order to introduce the history, traditions and philosophies of Uzbekistan to the world.

Yusupov and a group of activists tried to promote kurash at the national and international levels, organising regional competitions and presenting at some international sports forums. These efforts bore fruit in the monumental year

of 1998, when Uzbekistan hosted the first international kurash tournament, which saw the participation of players from almost thirty countries. Around that time, representatives from twenty-eight countries founded IKA.

In 2003, kurash was officially recognised by the Olympic Council of Asia, marking a key milestone in its history. Kurash was invited to be part of the Fifteenth Asian Games in 2006 as a demonstration sport. Later, it became one of the official competitions in the First Asian Martial Arts Games and the Third Asian Indoor Games. Kurash also made its debut at the 2018 Asian Games in Jakarta, Indonesia.

Kurash has become an international sport practised in many different countries. There are over two million kurash players in around one hundred countries.

Kuresi

Kures

Kuresi, also known as Kazakh wrestling, has a place in traditional folklore in Kazakhstan. The wrestlers, known as baluans, are regarded as strong and courageous, and are depicted as such in



epics, poetry and literature. The practice of kuresi teaches younger generations in Kazakhstan about their history and culture. The objective in Kazakh wrestling is to get the opponent's shoulders on the ground (UNESCO 2016a). Wrestlers wear a jacket with a fabric belt (World Nomad Games, n.d.-c). Competitions are usually held at holidays and celebrations.

Traditionally, trainers coached young boys who would then take part in local contests. These days kuresi in Kazakhstan is a national sport practised by both men and women, up to professional level. International competitions, such as the annual tournament the Kazakhstan Barysy, are broadcast in many countries (UNESCO 2016a). UNESCO has noted the influence on the strengthening of relations between communities based on the principles of tolerance, goodwill and solidarity. Kazakh kuresi was inscribed on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2016.

Transmission of kuresi in Kazakhstan occurs in sports clubs, which may also be affiliated to schools, as well as via masterclasses run by experienced kuresi wrestlers. The minimum age of learners can be as young as 10. There are no restrictions concerning the

background of participants (UNESCO 2016a).

Kushti *Pehlwani*

Kushti is an Indian wrestling style with roots in mallyuddha. The training is hard with a strict training regime, diet and lifestyle, but kushti provides boys and their families a way to escape from poverty (Dhillon 2019).

Students are called *pehlwan* (Traditional Games Federation of India, n.d.). Hindu teachers are usually called gurus and the Muslim teachers are referred to as *ustad* (Crudelli 2008: 39). Weapons that are used include the *nal*, a stone cylinder, the *gada*, a stone attached to a long bamboo stick, and the *gar nal*, a circular stone worn around the neck for resistance training.

Kushti is a direct descendant of mallyuddha, which dates from the fifth century BC and is still the main wrestling style in southern India. In the sixteenth century, northern India was invaded and the local mallyuddha became influenced by Iranian and Mongolian wrestling, thus creating kushti, which incorporates new groundwork techniques (Traditional Games Federation of India, n.d.).



Kushti competition at Bharatpur © Lebd

Kushti is considered a national sport in India. Some wrestlers also participate in overseas wrestling contests and wrestlers from around the world have found their way to Indian wrestling schools (Crudelli 2008: 39).

Kuntau dayak

Kuntao dayak, Kuntaw

Kuntau dayak is a traditional martial art originating among the Dayak people in Sarawak, Malaysia. In Kuntau dayak, techniques and styles are known as *bunga* and *buah*. *Bunga* is the “formation of the movement/style” and *buah* refers to the “defending/attacking technique”. There are several styles of kuntau dayak

that share certain features. Kuntau dayak provides the practitioner with fighting skills, which are highly useful for self-protection. Fights can either be empty-handed or use weapons. Traditional weapons include the *terabai* (shield), the *parang ilang* machete, the *sangkuh* (spear), the *kerambit* (tiger claw), the blowpipe and a small dagger (WoMAU, n.d.-a).

Most kuntau practitioners (*tok guru*) do not know its origin or history. Kuntau dayak masters in Sarawak claim that this traditional martial art has been practised by the Dayak people since ancient times. Apart from tribal wars, the Dayak warriors also fought against foreign powers who came to Sarawak



(WoMAU, n.d.-a).

Recently, measures have been taken to safeguard kuntau. The Sarawak Dayak Martial Art Association promotes the region's traditional kuntau native martial arts among local youth (WoMAU, n.d.-a; Sarawak Dayak Martial Art Association, n.d.).

Kyin

Rakhine wrestling

Kyin is a grappling tradition originating among the Rakhine people in what is now Myanmar. It is still a popular sport in Rakhine State today, and is part of the identity of the Rakhine people (Global New Light of Myanmar 2018). Kyin wrestling is usually part of all major festivities in Rakhine State. Fights are

preceded by dancing to welcome the audience, and the event is accompanied by the sound of drums (Aung 2013).

The goal of kyin is to make the opponent fall to the ground (Global New Light of Myanmar 2018). One of the combatants will be appointed as the attacker, the other as the defender. After three rounds they switch places. Smooth, well-executed movements are rewarded. Rakhine wrestling is not all that aggressive or dangerous – punching and attacks below the belt and to the face are not allowed (Aung 2013).

Kyin is sometimes considered a form of naban wrestling (Aung 2020). The techniques, however, differ from what is generally considered naban wrestling.

Kyokushin karate

Kyokushin karate is a school of Japanese karate and a full-contact martial art founded in 1964 by Korean-Japanese master Choi Young-eui (1923–1994), commonly known in the West as Mas Oyama.

Master Choi was born in Korea. At his age of 15, he went to Japan and learnt karate from Gichin Funakoshi, the founder of Shotokan karate. Choi was a talented practitioner and master committed to teaching and promoting karate in Japan and overseas through various activities. In the 1940s, he won several karate championships and received invitations from overseas to introduce the art to other nations. In the 1950s he opened his first training hall, published a book on karate and founded a branch in Hawaii. In the 1960s, he established seventy-two branches in sixteen countries around America and Europe.

Choi founded the International Karate Organisation Kyokushinkaikan in 1964. This led to the proliferation of many regional federations of kyokushin karate in North America, South America and Europe. The art came to gain even more popularity after the first international karate competition was held in 1975, featuring 128 practitioners from 36 countries.

According to International Karate Organisation Kyokushinkaikan (2007), the art is practised by more than twelve million people at thousands of training halls in 167 countries.

Kyudo

Japanese archery

Kyudo is a traditional Japanese style of archery. The bow used, the *yumi*, is over 2 metres long and made of laminated bamboo. The grip on the bow is low, distinguishing it from Western and Chinese bows; this is in order for it to be used on horseback. The bow is drawn to the shoulder and not to the chin, which requires the arrows (*ya*) to be longer (Menard 2001a).

The history of Japanese archery can be traced back to ceremonial archery in Shinto and combative archery developed from warfare and hunting. It was used by the upper classes and warriors for recreational hunting, especially during the feudal period. The introduction of firearms eventually caused the bow's popularity to decline (Menard 2001a).

From 1967 kyudo became part of the regular high-school curriculum and thus part of Japan's physical education. It is also taught in universities as well



Second 2014 Kyudo World Cup, Paris, Team Competition © Pierre-Yves Beaudouin

as private archery halls (*kyûdôjo*) (The International Kyudo Federation, n.d.). It is taught as a mental, physical and spiritual discipline rather than a competitive sport.

Lathi khela

Lathi kela

Lathi khela is a traditional style of stick-fighting originating in Bangladesh. It can be practised as a fighting art or as a martial dance. *Lathi* refers to “stick” and *khela* to “game”, so the literal meaning of lathi khela is “stick game”. Sticks are usually made from bamboo or rattan and are slightly longer than the user’s height (Sangam Institute of Indian Martial Arts, n.d.). Lathi khela is usually practised by

men, but in the district of Narail, close to the Indian border, women have joined the practice. Lathi khela performances are accompanied by music, and every region has a different execution (Bhattacharyya 2018).

Stick-fighting techniques were a common and favoured method the world over to train warriors. In medieval Bengal feudal lords used *lathiyals* (practitioners, “person who wields sticks”) to protect their chiefdoms. As the socio-political and economic environment changed, there was a decline in the practice of lathi khela during the British rule (Bhattacharyya 2018). Another source mentions that revolutionary Pulin Behari

Das founded Bangiya Byayam Samiti, an institute where he trained young men in handling the lathi in order to fight the British invaders (GetBengal Information Desk 2019).

In 1932, Gurusaday Dutta initiated the Bratachari movement with the aim of safeguarding cultural diversity (Bhattacharyya 2018).

According to GetBengal Bharat Sevashram, Sangha is the only place teaching lathi khela now operating in Bangladesh (GetBengal Information Desk 2019). Bharat Sevashram is a religious movement that started in the early twentieth century, with lathi khela as part of the curriculum as a religious virtue and

ritual (Sangam Institute of Indian Martial Arts, n.d.).

The Shadhona Cultural Circle launched a project to promote lathi khela and has been the centre of reviving the art (The Daily Star 2009; Bhattacharyya 2018). Meanwhile, Sumedha Bhattacharyya shows that lathi khela is still alive as a popular martial dance in rural areas of Bangladesh. However, there is no systemised method for safeguarding and very little attention has been paid to the art by researchers. Bhattacharyya (2018) argues that the art is in need of a research-led initiative in order to fully revive it.



Lathi khela, a traditional Bangladeshi martial art in Bindu Basini Govt. Boys' High School, Tangail, Bangladesh © Shamim Tirmizi

Lerdrit

Muay Lert Rit

Lerdrit is a simple version of muay thai intended for the battle field. It is mostly taught to the soldiers of the Royal Thai army and the Thai Police, which has used lerdrit since the 1970s (Crudelli 2008).

The art consists solely of empty-hand techniques (Harris 2001b). It includes open-hand techniques, kicks, knees, locks, elbows and grappling methods. The focus is on palm and elbow strikes. The grappling aspect of lerdrit resembles muay boran, the parent style of muay thai (Crudelli 2008).

Lethwei

Lethawae, Burmese boxing

Lethwei is a Burmese kick-boxing similar to muay thai. It allows almost all unarmed techniques, including kicks, punches, headbutts, knee and elbow strikes. It is different to muay thai in that lethwei fighters do not wear gloves – they just wrap their hands to protect their fists.

Historical records of lethwei can be found in the murals of Bagan Pagoda in Bagan, suggesting that lethwei has existed for over a thousand years. In Myanmar's feudal times, there was an occupation called "lethwei fighter", a



person who was paid to practise lethwei professionally. It is known that Thar Han, a famous lethwei practitioner, danced and performed the art before his match in the Ming Mindon period.

In the period of British colonial rule in the late nineteenth century, lethwei was also known as a form of entertainment for high-ranking British officials. After liberation, lethwei recovered its status as a martial art and was introduced overseas. Some countries including the Soviet Union expressed a particular interest in lethwei. Sports experts from the Soviet Union learnt the art and introduced it to their country. As a result, Russia and the former Soviet countries had more than one hundred lethwei training centres. Eurasian lethwei challenge matches

are held annually. Lethwei practitioners participate in fights held in different countries like Germany, Australia, Japan, China and others.

Liuhebafa

Hua yue xin yi liu he ba fa, water boxing

Liuhebafa is a Chinese internal martial art characterised by its low-impact, meditative techniques. It is also known as water boxing for its fluid, natural movements.

Liuhebafa translates as “six harmonies and eight principles”. The six harmonies refer to the unity of body, heart, logical mind, energy, spirit, action and emptiness, based on the Daoist belief and principle that everything in the universe has an opposing yet inseparable counterpart (Liang 2019). The eight principles can be summarised as follows (Liang 2019):

1. Circulating energy to gather the spirit
2. Condensing the power to the bones
3. Transcend the forms through mimicking the shapes and movements of animals, plants or other natural phenomena
4. Coherence coupled with fluidity
5. Head suspended in emptiness
6. Coming and going in a continuous flow

7. Maintain the stillness of the mind and preserve the emptiness
8. Illusive in concealing strategies

The entire form of liuhebafa “requires the cultivation of form and spirit, a balance of soft and hard, fast and slow, and flow of rise and fall, bringing the beauty of gentleness coupled with strength, vivacity with sacredness, and expansiveness and compactness” (Liang 2019).

Luohan quan

Arhat boxing

Luochan quan, also known as Arhat boxing, is a striking martial system developed by monks in the Shaolin temple. It is said that they imitated the forms and expressions of Arhats (saints or sages) and developed eighteen combat skills and techniques (Crudelli 2008: 69). More movements were added through continued practice, and now “the system has 108 forms, including locks, kicks, punches, throws, and takedowns” (Crudelli 2008: 69).

Among others, Miao Xing, known as “Gold Arhat”, was one of the most prominent masters. While practising different styles of boxing including wushu,

he became a monk at the Shaolin temple where he learnt the Shaolin style of boxing and other combat techniques from the abbot (Shaolin International Federation, n.d.).

Miao always defeated his challengers, gaining respect from other monks. He became a master in order to teach them the martial art and instructed over five thousand monk disciples (Shaolin International Federation, n.d.).

Malakhra

Malakhro, malh

Malakhra is a grappling tradition associated with the Sindhi people of what is now Pakistan and India. Malakhra or malakhro is also called malh, which comes from the Sindhi *malha'n*, meaning "to celebrate".

Technical skills play a big role in becoming a malakhra wrestler; strength alone is not enough (Raheel 2015). A practitioner has to master different moves that include various types of trips, pulls and pushes to throw an opponent off balance, as well as countermoves. The goal is to make the opponent fall and pin them to the ground. A match consists of two rounds, and games are accompanied by rituals and the beat of drums (HIMAL 2008).

Malakhra is thought to go as far back as the Indus Valley Civilisation, which would mean it is about five thousand years old (HIMAL 2008; Raheel 2015). Before Pakistan became a separate country, malakhra was a popular practice in the province of Sindh. Under British colonial rule, cricket became more



prevalent in urban areas, overshadowing traditional wrestling. After the end of British rule, the Pakistani government continued to overlook traditional games, leading to further decline and the extinction of many. These problems tally with the suppression of Sindhi identity and culture. However, malakhra is still practised on a local level in the modern-day Sindh province in Pakistan (HIMAL 2008).

Malakhra techniques are passed on from father to son. Because of lack of recognition and sponsorship it is difficult for the wrestlers to earn a living (Raheel 2015). The Institute of Sindhology at the University of Sindh, which aims to

safeguard Sindh history and culture, set up a corner dedicated to malakhro in its museum (DAWN 2009).

In Sindh there are eighty-three locations where malakhro matches are held every year, all associated with religious shrines. There are also seventeen events at which matches are held, giving practitioners the chance to show their skills to the public and earn titles (HIMAL 2008).

Efforts to safeguard Sindhi culture and malakhra have mostly been initiated by non-democratic governments, perhaps in hope that this will distract the suppressed people from everyday frustration. This has resulted in a revival,



much to the delight of many supporters and wrestlers. However, not everybody is pleased, as some believe that culture cannot be preserved through commercialisation by the government and that social stability is key to creating an environment in which cultural activities can naturally flourish (HIMAL 2008).

Mallyuddha

Malla-yuddha

Mallyuddha is a traditional South Asian form of combat-wrestling created in what is now India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka. It is closely related to South East Asian wrestling styles such as naban and is the ancestor of kushti (International Federation of Mallyuddha, n.d.).

Mallyuddha incorporates grappling, joint-breaking, punching, biting, choking and pressure-point striking. Traditionally, there were four types of matches, varying from sporting contests of strength to actual full-contact fights known as *yuddha*. Due to the extreme violence, this latter form is generally no longer practised. The form wherein the wrestlers attempt to lift each other off the ground for three seconds still exists in South India. Additionally, mallyuddha is divided into four styles,

named after Hindu gods and legendary fighters (International Federation of Mallyuddha, n.d.).

Wrestling in South Asia has a history of at least five thousand years. Competitions held for entertainment were popular among all social classes, with kings and other royalty taking part as well. Wrestlers represented their monarchs in matches between rival kingdoms; death matches before the royal court served as a way to settle disputes and avoid large-scale wars. As such, professional wrestlers were held in high regard. In pastoral communities, people would also wrestle against steers (International Federation of Mallyuddha, n.d.).

Several initiatives have been taken to safeguard and promote mallyuddha. The International Federation of Mallyuddha promotes the art as intangible cultural heritage. The National Martial Arts Academy of India has been approved as their partner in research and training. Mallyuddha was part of the 2020 International Combat Games (biannual event organised by the International Association of Combative Sports, IACS) and the National Traditional Sports Games 2020 in India.

Mardani khel

Mardani khel is a martial art of the Marathi people in India. The main weapons used in mardani khel are the Indian sword and lance. Weapons like axes, spears and iron claws are used in more serious battle (Mehrishi 2017).

Mardani khel was developed in the state of Maharashtra. The region's unique landscape, with many valleys, hills and caves, required a more mobile martial art form for warfare (Martialask, n.d.-c). Like many traditional Indian martial arts, the proliferation of mardani khel waned during the British colonial period (Martialask, n.d.-c).

Mariwariwosu

Mariwariwosu is an indigenous wrestling style from Taiwan. It is practised by the Formosan indigenous people of Taiwan, among which are the Paiwan and Bunun tribes (United States Traditional Sports and Games, n.d.-b). Practitioners hold each other's belts as they wait for the start of the match. Skilful throws are crucial to mariwariwosu. The goal is to force any part of the opponent's body to touch the ground. Mariwariwosu is part of tournaments of national indigenous games (United States Traditional Sports and Games, n.d.-b).



Mok gar

Mo jia quan, mok gar kuen

Mok Gar (莫家), also called Mo Jia Quan or Mok Gar Kuen, is a Chinese martial art. It is a style of kung fu from the south of the country. Techniques mainly include clinch-fighting and kicking as well as weapons training. The art uses simple techniques with maximum leverage, making it suitable for a smaller person combating someone stronger (KaiMen, n.d.). Mok Gar was developed by the Chinese Shaolin monk Mok Ta Shi and became well known three generations later in the Qing dynasty (KaiMen, n.d.).

Muay boran

Muay boran is an umbrella term for Thai fighting arts that existed before the birth of its descendant combat sport, muay thai. Understandably, muay boran and muay thai have many similarities. For example, both martial arts use different techniques of punches, kicks, knee strikes and elbows – using “the eight deadly weapons”. They also have the same rituals, called *Wai Kru*, performed before the fight. One distinct difference is that muay boran allows and even encourages more brutal techniques such as headbutts, groin attacks and throat

strikes that are prohibited in modern muay thai (Luther, n.d.).

In the process of sportification, muay thai has certainly lost substantial number of traditional muay boran techniques and skills, and few people still practise them (Luther, n.d.). However, with the global popularity of muay thai, an increasing number of people are becoming interested in learning muay boran.

Muay boran has a number of regional variations – muay chaiya, muay korat, muay lompuri and muay thasao (Luther, n.d.).

Muay lao

Muay lao is a Lao-style kick-boxing using feet, fists, elbows and knees, similar to muay thai from Thailand, pradal serey from Cambodia and tomoi from Malaysia (Mansfield 2017). The martial art is highly ritualised, and practitioners disseminate the Buddhist principles that value adaptation to nature, relaxation and politeness. Before the match begins, boxers perform rituals called *Wai Ku*, where they warm up and pay respect to their masters.

Like other martial arts, muay lao was originally a means of protecting the country

and its people; therefore, the practising and transmitting of the art down through the generations can be understood as efforts to safeguard traditions and maintain the strength of the people and the nation. The origin of muay lao can be traced back to the fifteenth century when it was used as a means of military combat (Kislenko 2009: 156). The troops of Fa Ngum, the king who first unified the country, are said to have found the discipline useful in battle (Mansfield 2017). Given that the fourteenth-century Lan Xang empire was the largest kingdom in the Indochinese peninsula, muay lao would have affected the development of martial arts in many South East Asian countries.

Due to financial difficulties, competitions have not been held since 2016 and most of the practitioners quit muay lao or went to Thailand. In contrast with muay thai, which has been commercialised and developed into a major sporting industry (Kislenko 2009), Laotian martial artists strive to maintain the originality and legitimacy of muay lao as a traditional martial art. Muay lao was passed on to Chan Peng from his father, Sida. Chan Peng's pupil, Sisufhan Wura Gib, created textbooks in 1965 that were subsequently safeguarded by his apprentices. Most of

the textbooks are believed to have been sent to France and Thailand in the colonial era and remain unidentified.

Muay thai

Muay thai is a martial art and an international combat sport from Thailand. It is a kick-boxing style of art that mainly uses “the eight deadly weapons” of the body – punches, kicks, elbows and knee strikes, making it one of the most dangerous martial arts in the world.

Before and during the match, music is played by a *piphat* (ensemble) on traditional instruments like *pi nai* (oboe), *ching* (cymbals) and *glawng khaek* (drums) to encourage the fighters. They perform Wai Kru rituals (graceful, classical dance-like movements around the ring), show respect to their coaches by touching their foreheads to the ground and pray for a minute with their coaches at the corners of the ring (Algje 2013).

Muay thai is closely associated with other standing striking systems originating in neighbouring states such as Indian mustiyuddha, Laotian muay lao, Burmese lethwei, Cambodian padal serey and Malaysian tomoi.

There are many different sources with claims about the origins of muay

thai that can be dated back over a thousand years (Algie 2013). However, all references commonly suggest that muay thai developed with the history of war of Thailand, being used by Thai warriors as an effective fighting method. During the period marked by wars, a manual for warfare called *Chupasart* was drafted for instructing Thai warriors how to employ various weapons in battle. Applying the *Chupasart* techniques to close-combat fighting, Thai warriors made use of “the eight limbs” in a more lethal way. Legend has it that, during the eighteenth-century war between the ancient kingdoms of Thailand and Burma, Thai boxers were captured and were made to fight against Burmese fighters for entertainment and as part of festivals. Nai Khanom Tom, one of the Thai boxers, defeated ten Burmese boxers in a row and was awarded two wives and freedom by the Burmese king

who was impressed by his techniques and rituals. Thailand annually celebrates Nai Khanom Tom Day on 17 March to commemorate his achievements.

Muay thai started to gain popularity as a sport during the rule of King Prachao Sua in the late seventeenth century (International Federation of Muaythai Associations, n.d.). The King was such a great aficionado of the art that he often participated in local competitions secretly, defeating advanced practitioners (International Federation of Muaythai Associations, n.d.). He also ordered the military to train in muay thai for combat readiness – this was the early form of



muay thai competitions (International Federation of Muaythai Associations, n.d.).

From the early twentieth century, muay thai began to become an institutionalised sport as modern rules, regulations and equipment were introduced, replacing many conventional elements (International Federation of Muaythai Associations, n.d.). Since then, it has been spread to all Thai people as a popular sport, pastime and cultural element, being featured in many films, video games, anime and other media.

The International Federation of Muaythai Associations was founded in 1980, and has since become the only muay thai governing body affiliated with the IOC.

Mukna

Mukna is a wrestling style from Manipur, a state in north-east India. It is popular in the cities of Imphal, Thoubal and Bishnpur (Sports in India, n.d.). Like in most wrestling styles the ultimate goal is to prove one's strength. A skilled mukna wrestler can defeat somebody who is bigger and stronger than themselves (Dutta & Tripathy 2006: 254). Mukna wrestling is one of the oldest Manipuri sports (Prakash 2006: 1559). The tradition of mukna and other unarmed forms of combat in Manipur show the age-old knowledge of self-defence among the Meitei people (Dutta & Tripathy 2006: 254).

The three main moves used in mukna are hip throws (*ningong*),



throwing by twisting the opponent's calf (*longkhrou*) and high throws (*khudong*) (Master Fighting, n.d.). It is usually played on the last day of the Lai Haraoba festival (worship of the sylvan deity). The game takes place in front of the deity as a part of the ceremony (Prakash 2006: 1559). The techniques used are called *lou*, derived from the word *loushing*, meaning wisdom (Dutta & Tripathy 2006: 254).

Practitioners are usually divided into weight categories. They hold on to the opponent's waist belt (*ningri*) to get them to the ground with the head, back, shoulder, knee or hand. The winner is called a *yatra*. Striking and kicking is forbidden (Sport in India, n.d.).

Mustiyuddha

Musti-yuddha, muki boxing, मुष्टियुद्ध

Mustiyuddha is a traditional Indian boxing form. The term "mustiyuddha" combines the Sanskrit words for "fist" and "battle". It has always been an unarmed martial art or type of boxing and in more recent times the term is usually used to refer to muki boxing that has its centre in Varanasi (Mehrishi 2017).

Techniques mainly consist of punches and elbow strikes with limited use of kicks and knee strikes (Sarasu

John 2019). Practitioners are known for their demanding training in which they repeatedly hit hard surfaces with their fists. Mustiyuddha tests the physical strength and endurance of the practitioners. It is also said to promote mental, intellectual and spiritual development (Crudelli 2008; Sarasu John 2019).

References to mustiyuddha have been found in ancient Sanskrit texts such as the *Rigveda* and the *Ramayana* (Sarasu John 2019).

In the eleventh century mallayuddha (wrestling) and mustiyuddha were popular entertainment activities. They attracted large crowds and were patronised by rulers who personally witnessed the boxing and wrestling contests (Saleto 1985).

After the introduction of the Western style of boxing in the 1860s, there was a decline in the popularity of mustiyuddha. The British colonial government tried to ban the martial art, which it considered dangerous because of the deaths and injuries that occurred during bouts. By the 1960s it had almost disappeared with the exception of illegal underground tournaments (Sarasu John 2019).

Muuidangong

Muuidangong is a physical exercise and martial practice aimed at maintaining health. It places emphasis on controlling body movement, breathing and mind to relieve stress and pursue a healthier life. Many of its movements can simply be considered a form of gymnastics.

The Korea Muuidangong Association was founded in 1996, with about two hundred members and eleven instructors (Korean Sport & Olympic Committee 2018).

Muye 24-ban

24 martial arts, 24 military arts

Muye 24-ban collectively refers to twenty-four Korean military arts that have been revived based on the skills and tactics described in *Muye Dobo Tongji*, a UNESCO-

registered martial arts training manual for troops of old Korea, released in 1790.

Muye 24-ban consists of eighteen types of infantry martial arts and six cavalry martial arts. The types of attack are mainly stabbing and cutting, and hitting techniques using various weapons, including spears and swords. These arts were recovered and have been transmitted by Lim Dong-gyu since the 1980s. The Korea Isibsabanmuye Gyeongdang Association was founded to transmit the martial arts.

Naban

Burmese wrestling

Naban or Burmese wrestling is a type of wrestling from Myanmar. Rather than being practised as a separate art it is usually integrated into other martial arts (Green 2001a: 545). Wrestling in Myanmar is most likely related to Indian wrestling rather than Chinese (Green 2001a: 545; Crudelli 2008: 145). Naban incorporates palm and foot strikes with grappling techniques. The grappling techniques incorporate joint locks, attacks on pressure points and chokes. Attacks to any part of the body are permitted. Naban has been said to be practical in its tactics (Dunlap 2001: 634).



Naga wrestling

Naga is a type of wrestling originating from Nagaland, a state in northeast India. The wrestling style is of great social and cultural importance to the area.

Duelling has traditionally been a way of conflict resolution in the villages in Nagaland. Wrestling served as a way to release social tensions between clans and individuals within the village community. Wrestling positively served the social and political situation. In more recent history wrestling in Naga took place on a bigger scale (Wouters 2020). In the 1930s informal wrestling meets became common thanks to construction works under British rule – the villagers working

on the construction sites used their lunch breaks to hold matches between the different villages (Yhokha 2017). In the period between 1940 and 1970 several big wrestling events between different villages took place. Wrestlers had to promise to show their opponents good hospitality when they come to visit their village. This way wrestling as conflict resolution was expanded from intra-village affairs to inter-village contests (Wouters 2020).

In 1970 the Nagaland Wrestling Association was founded. Wrestling matches are held on a regular basis on village, district and state levels. Due to this professionalisation and



commercialisation, however, wrestling lost its conflict-resolving aspect, resulting in the emergence of a more problematic social and political landscape with greater division (Wouters 2020).

Naginatajutsu

Naginatajutsu is a traditional Japanese weapon-based martial art using a *naginata*, a pole weapon with a curved blade at one end, similar to a spear or a European glaive. Traditionally, it was used by warriors to fight against cavalry troops (Bennett 2010a).

Naginatajutsu appeared in historical references as early as the eighth century during the mid-Heian period when it was commonly used by warriors in combat (Bennett 2010a). Despite its robustness in medieval combat, the use of naginatajutsu declined by the end of the sixteenth century due to the adoption of advanced strategies and weapons in battle such as spears and firearms (Bennett 2010a).

In literature from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it is speculated that naginatajutsu in the Tokugawa period was only a “subsidiary component” of other martial systems such as kenjutsu and sojutsu (Bennett 2010a: 159). Later,

in the Meiji period of the nineteenth century, it declined further as it was considered a symbol of the old feudal system, but it managed to survive through demonstration activities (Bennett 2010a).

Amid Japan’s growing recognition from the 1890s onwards of the value of traditional martial arts, naginatajutsu began to re-emerge with institutional efforts. It was then formally discussed as a physical education discipline for girls and was legally allowed to be a regular subject in middle- and high-school curricula in the 1910s (Bennett 2010a).

Due to its identity as a militaristic form of education, naginatajutsu and other Japanese martial arts were prohibited in the post-Second World War era (Bennett 2010a). Practising martial arts was gradually rejuvenated, and the All Japan Naginata Federation (AJNF) was founded in 1955 in order to nurture youth (AJNF, n.d.). Chairperson Yamanouch Teiko took the first leading role at ANJF.

A sporting form of naginatajutsu – distanced from the conventional militaristic style – was developed and reintroduced as part of public-school education in 1959 (Bennett 2010a). This new system is called Atarashii Naginata.

The International Naginata Federation was founded in 1990 with ten member countries and it has held world championships since 1995. Most recently, the German Federation hosted the seventh championship in 2019.

The number of naginata practitioners in Japan was approximately forty thousand during the 2000s, with mostly women practising Atarashii Naginata (Bennett 2010a).

Nhat nam

Nhat nam is a traditional Vietnamese martial art that was revived in 1983 by Ngo Xuan Binh. Born into a traditional martial arts family, Binh learnt, practised and taught martial arts from a young age and unified some indigenous martial systems into nhat nam in 1983. He developed effective fighting and defensive techniques that complemented the physical characteristics of the Vietnamese people.

Thanks to the efforts of Binh and his disciples to promote the art, nhat nam



Naginata Helsingki © Jukka Paasonen

spread across the country and further afield, particularly to formerly Soviet countries in the late twentieth century. Nhat nam clubs and workshops were organised in Russia, Lithuania, Lithuania and Belarus, attracting many local practitioners (Viet Nam News 2012).

According to Viet Nam News (2012), the art had about thirty-two thousand followers in 2012, but no updated information is currently available.

Ninjutsu, ninpo

Ninjutsu is a martial system of guerrilla warfare and espionage originating from the practice of the ninja who undertook intelligence activities and covert operations in feudal Japan. Characterised by its clandestine operations, the art is often called in English “techniques of stealth” or the “arts of invisibility” (Hurst 2001: 355).

As ninja were essentially spies, techniques to disguise themselves, penetrate enemy areas, survive and report back were the key elements of ninjutsu (Hurst 2001: 355). Ninja would usually carry various tools and weapons, including swords, lances, ropes and also medicine and even food for survival when embarking on these missions. To

be trained physically and emotionally well enough to survive many contingent situations, ninjutsu practitioners trained in “meditative and mind control techniques” (Cox 2010a: 164).

Ninjutsu was first developed and organised from the seventh to the eighth century, influenced by China’s classic military treatise, Sun Tzu’s *Art of War* (Cox 2010a). The work’s explanations of different types of spies affected the creation of ninjutsu system (Cox 2010a).

Ninjutsu developed significantly during the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when warfare occurred frequently (Hurst 2001: 355). The art and its techniques began to be established and systemised into over seventy different schools at the time (Hurst 2001). It later came to decline in times of peace between



Full waist throw © Koshi Nage

1600 and 1867 when Japan was ruled by the Tokugawa shogunate, under which ninja were employed for surveillance and security purposes (Hurst 2001: 355).

Ninjutsu has been portrayed in films and literature. In particular, the *Shinobi no Mono* series of novels in the 1960s played a key role in giving ninja and ninjutsu international recognition (Hurst 2001).

Nippon kempo

Nippon kempo is a modern martial art from Japan. The name can be translated as “Japanese way of the fist”. Kempo refers to Japanese martial arts with a Chinese origin (UK Association of Nippon Kempo, n.d.).

Nippon kempo mixes techniques from the older Japanese arts to form a new and efficient means of self-defence (Barber 2001). The art has taken inspiration from karate, judo, jujutsu and aikido, as well as a range of wrestling techniques. The techniques include strikes, immobilisation techniques, takedowns, blocking, diverting, joint-locking and grappling (Crudelli 2008).

Nippon kempo was created by Muneumui Sawayama (1906–1977) in 1932 (Crudelli 2008). Sawayama came

from a samurai family of the Nakaoka clan, and practised both judo and karate from a young age. Practising different martial art styles gave him insight into the effectiveness of combining them (UK Association of Nippon Kempo, n.d.).

In Japan, nippon kempo is taught in high schools and universities, and recently the Japanese police and defence forces also have incorporated it (UK Association of Nippon Kempo, n.d.). They use it to gain practical martial art skills and to build confidence (Crudelli 2008). Nippon kempo is recognised by the Japanese Ministry of Education as an official sport to be practised in schools (UK Association of Nippon Kempo, n.d.).

Pahlevani and zoorkhaneh rituals

Pahlevani and Zoorkhaneh rituals were inscribed in 2010 on UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This Iranian martial culture is explained as follows:

Pahlevani is an Iranian martial art that combines elements of Islam, Gnosticism and ancient Persian beliefs. It describes a ritual collection of gymnastic and callisthenic movements performed by ten to twenty men, each wielding instruments symbolizing ancient weapons. The

ritual takes place in a *Zoorkhane*, a sacred domed structure with an octagonal sunken arena and audience seats. The *Morshed* (master) who leads the Pahlevani ritual performs epic and Gnostic poems and beats out time on a *zarb* goblet drum. The poems he recites transmit ethical and social teachings and constitute part of Zoorkhanei literature. Participants in the Pahlevani ritual may be drawn from any social strata or religious background, and each group has strong ties to its local community, working to assist those in need. During training, students are instructed in ethical and chivalrous values under the supervision of a *Pishkesvat* (champion). Those who master the individual skills and arts, observe religious principles and pass ethical and moral stages of Gnosticism

may acquire the prominent rank of *Pahlevani* (hero), denoting rank and authority within the community. At present, there are 500 Zoorkhanes across Iran, each comprising practitioners, founders and a number of *Pishkesvats* (UNESCO, <https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/pahlevani-and-zoorkhanei-rituals-00378>)

Pasola

Pasola is an annual war festival on the island of Sumba, Indonesia. The name is derived from *hola*, which refers to a long wooden stick. During the festival two groups fight each other in a ritual spear-fighting game on horseback, similar to jousting. The intent is to hit the approaching



opponent with *pasol* spears while avoiding getting hit. The festival is organised in different places on the island during the months of February and March (Gillies 2013). The timing of the festival coincides with the arrival of the *nyale*, multi-coloured sea worms (Cristofolletti 2016).

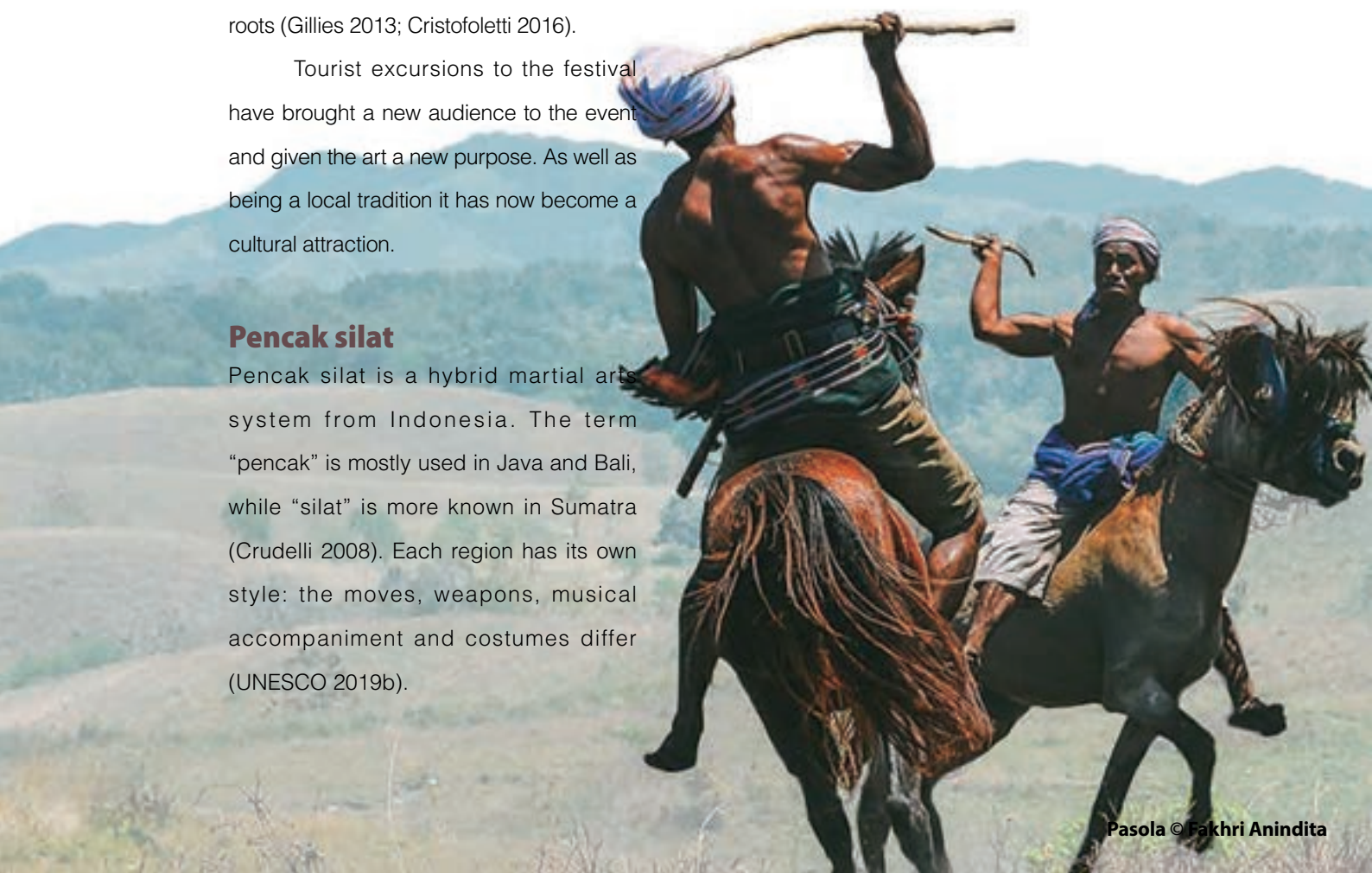
The villages, tribes and small kingdoms in the area remained very isolated for a long time, and this caused the persistence of internal wars up until the twentieth century. The festival commemorates the wars and serves as a way to keep the peace and preserve the bond between families and their ancestral roots (Gillies 2013; Cristofolletti 2016).

Tourist excursions to the festival have brought a new audience to the event and given the art a new purpose. As well as being a local tradition it has now become a cultural attraction.

Pencak silat

Pencak silat is a hybrid martial arts system from Indonesia. The term “pencak” is mostly used in Java and Bali, while “silat” is more known in Sumatra (Crudelli 2008). Each region has its own style: the moves, weapons, musical accompaniment and costumes differ (UNESCO 2019b).

The terms pencak and silat have the same meanings among the people of the Malay ethnic group, who are now found not only in Indonesia but also Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei Darussalam (European Pencak Silat Federation, n.d.). The combination of the words pencak and silat was first made in 1948 when the Indonesian Pencak Silat Association (IPSI) united all the different organisations in the country. Since the International Pencak Silat Federation (PERSILAT) was founded in 1980 the combined term has been globally used when referring to pencak and silat



from Indonesia (European Pencak Silat Federation, n.d.).

Pencak silat is not just a means of self-defence but includes spiritual and artistic aspects as well. Traditional pencak silat practice strengthens communities and provides entertainment at ceremonies (UNESCO 2019b).

Pencak silat includes striking techniques with hands and feet as well as throws and locks (Green 2001: 524). Training starts with empty-hand techniques, followed by weapons training. Practitioners use a range of traditional Indonesian weapons, including sticks, knives and swords (Crudelli 2008).

Some recent systems have adopted a coloured belt system to distinguish ranks. The art is practised all over the world and a sportified version, including its own world championships, has been developed (Crudelli 2008). Traditional dances and rituals, usually

part of ceremonies and festivals, often contain pencak silat elements.

There are barely any written records on pencak silat; the practice has been passed on from master to student for centuries. It is well known that soldiers used silat in Sumatra from the seventh century and in Java from the thirteenth century, but archaeological evidence suggests silat forms may have been around as early as the sixth century.

During the period of Dutch colonisation from the seventeenth until the twentieth century pencak silat went underground (Crudelli 2008). The coloniser prohibited the art; they considered it dangerous as they felt it had the possibility of stirring up nationalistic spirit (European Pencak Silat Federation, n.d.). It regained its place in society after independence was achieved in 1949 (Crudelli 2008). It is in this period that the Indonesian Pencak Silat Association was



established and further supported the growing popularity of the art (European Pencak Silat Federation, n.d.).

Pencak silat has shown that martial arts can serve as a source of empowerment for the underclasses. In Indonesia the pencak silat schools played a part in the run up to the fall of President Suharto in 1998. Following this momentous event, some local pencak silat masters and assistants tried to contain the increasing violence in the streets (Wilson *et al.* 2010).

A variety of pencak silat is part of physical education classes in Indonesian schools (Liponski *et al.* 2003). Knowledge and skills related to the tradition of pencak silat are often part of non-formal schooling. This includes traditional philosophy, poems and songs as well as playing instruments (UNESCO 2019b).

Perang pandan

Mageret pandan, makare-kare, pandan battle

Perang pandan is a ritual combat tradition from the village of Tenganan in Bali, Indonesia. In this ritual, practitioners hit each other with clubs made of pandan (*Pandanus amaryllifolius*), a plant often used for cooking, medicine and fragrance

in South and South East Asia. The club is about 15 centimetres in length and is made by tying together ten to fifteen pandan leaves, which have sharp thorns on the edges. The practitioners also carry shields made of woven ata leaves (Muhajir 2009).

Tenganan village has many unique traditions, but is famous for pandan fighting. The fights, perhaps unsurprisingly given the weapons used, often result in cuts and bleeding (Astuti 2000: 9). For the men of the village, perang pandan is compulsory, and boys as young as 7 participate in the ritual. The battle is accompanied by music from a gamelan ensemble, and a referee watches the matches closely (Muhajir 2009). The offerings, implements and accessories used for the ceremony are collected from the plants around the village (Astuti 2000: 9).

The tradition of perang pandan is rooted in Hindu mythology and is a way to pay respect to the ancestors, who are known as the Wong Paneges, a small group of brave warriors (Muhajir 2009). The ritualistic battle used to be performed and attended only by the villagers themselves, but that changed as the tourism sector started to develop

in the 1930s (Muhajir 2009). The ceremony became a public display and part of a tourist activity, thereby losing some of its sanctity. On the other hand, the participation of outsiders can be considered in line with the value of togetherness that is associated with the ceremony (Silver *et al.* 2017: 209).

Pradal serey

Kun Khmer

Pradal serey, also called kun khmer, is a kick-boxing form of martial art native to Cambodia. “Pradal” refers to boxing or fighting, while “serey” means “free”.

Bouts take place in a square boxing ring and are composed of five rounds with one or two-minute breaks

between each round. At the beginning of a bout, fighters perform a praying ritual called the Kun Krou.

During the bout, music is played on traditional instruments such as *skor yaul* (drum), *sralai* (flute) and the stringed *ching* (cymbals) (Cambodian Ministry of Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation 2016). A boxer wins the match if the opponent is knocked out and unable to continue to fight for a count of ten seconds (Cambodian Ministry of Foreign Affairs & International Cooperation 2016). Fights are scored, meaning victory can also be secured on points. The matches are governed by the Cambodian Boxing Federation.



Qielixi

Qielixi is a traditional wrestling game of the Uyghurs, a Turkic ethnic group from East and Central Asia who primarily live in the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China (United States Traditional Sports and Games Confederation, n.d.-c). In the modern Uyghur language “qielixi” means “fight” or “contest”. It is mainly practised in areas where many Uyghurs live.

Typically, Uyghur festivals take place in spring; it is then that traditional wrestling is practised most. Practitioners are not required to wear a uniform or particular style of wrestling clothes. They compete barefoot and wear belts around their waist. There are no age or weight classes, and wrestlers can freely choose their opponent. Before the start of the match both competitors grab each other’s belts. The goal is to make the opponent fall on his shoulder blade, side or hip (Chinawiki 2021).

Traditional Uyghur culture, including qielixi, must be studied in more depth in order to safeguard it and give it the recognition it deserves. Qielixi is most often practised among the older generation and there is a lack of successors (Chinawiki 2021).

Sanda

San da, sanshou, san shou, Chinese kickboxing

Sanda (loose hit), or sanhou (loose hand), is a Chinese martial art similar to kick-boxing. It is a modern wushu style. The sport has borrowed aspects from kung fu but removed the dangerous techniques to protect the fighters (Casarella & Ghetti 2018).

The art includes throws, locks and sweeping techniques (Mooney 2001: 43) and distinguishes itself with the leg-fighting techniques originating from shuai jiao (Casarella & Ghetti 2018). Chokes, arm locks and finishing holds are not allowed (Crudelli 2008: 120).

Sanda is characterised by fluid and fast moves. Flexibility, strength, skill and agility are important qualities. Competitions are held on a square platform, like in traditional leitai. Competitors wear protective headgear, a mouthguard, vest, box (cup), gloves and shin pads (Casarella & Ghetti 2018). It is the main national combat sport for competitions in China (International Wudang Internal Martial Arts Academy, n.d.).

In the 1920s it was first used by the Kuomintang (Chinese Nationalist Party) for the training of its soldiers in hand-to-hand combat. After the communist takeover of

China, sanda was adapted for the modern soldier (International Wudang Internal Martial Arts Academy, n.d.). The system was further developed and sportified in the 1960s in order to standardise full-contact fighting in China. This way martial artists from different styles could compete with each other (Crudelli 2008).

China has made great efforts to spread the sport around the world. It might eventually be included in a future edition of the Olympic Games (Casarella & Ghetti 2018) – this form of competitive wushu and the International Wushu Federation is already recognised by the IOC.

Sarit sarat

Sarit sarat is an unarmed martial art from Indonesia that mainly consists of striking techniques. “Sarit” means evading or

defending and “sarat” refers to counter-offensive moves directed at the attacker (Dutta & Tripathy 2006).

Sarit sarat is generally considered a part of thang-ta. Every thang-ta martial artist has to master sarit sarat. It is not possible to become adept in the art of sarit sarat before one is trained in thang-ta or mukna. The art derives all of its basic movements from thang-ta and its throwing techniques from mukna (Dutta & Tripathy 2006).

Sarit sarat training starts with different types of somersaults and rolling methods. Unarmed offensive and defensive strategies are taught later on. Punches and kicks are used in a strategic way to deal with any kind of sudden attack. Techniques for fighting against an armed opponent are also included (Ray 2001).



Sarit sarat was sometimes seen in theatrical performances where a woman defends herself against a male attacker using sarit sarat techniques (Ray 2001; Jennings 2021).

Shastar vidya

Shastar vidiya, ayudh vidiya

Shatar vidya is an ancient North Indian martial art associated with the Kshatriyas, Hindus of the Vedic warrior class (Singh Sagoo 2017: 8). The literal meaning is “weapons knowledge” or “science of weapons”. The art can be practised empty-handed or armed. Common weapons are bows, maces, swords, axes and tridents (Singh Sagoo, 2017: 17). The main focus is on striking techniques, but wrestling techniques are also used (Singh Sagoo 2017: 60).

During battle, musical instruments were played (Singh Sagoo 2017: 34), and trained elephants and horses were used. There is also a strong spiritual and religious component to shastar vidya. Prayers and charms for good luck as well as worshipping of weapons and goddesses for victory are part of it (Singh Sagoo 2017: 22–23, 44).

Shastar vidya is a little-known fighting technique. It mostly vanished in

the mid-nineteenth century after the final defeat of the Sikh empire by the British who under their rule banned the art (Taylor 2009). The art almost disappeared but efforts to preserve and rediscover the art have been made.

According to Gurdev Nidar Singh Nihang, referred to as the last living master of shastar vidya by the BBC, the art is now extinct in India. Nidar Singh is the founder of the only school currently teaching shastar vidya (Sanatan Shastar Vidiya, n.d.).

Harjit Singh Sagoo carefully researched the techniques as well as the spiritual and historical context in his book *Shasra Vidya: The Ancient Indian Martial Art of the Hindu Kshatriyas* (2017).

Shaolin wushu

Shaolin wushu collectively refers to martial systems that originated over a thousand years ago in the Shaolin temple of China. It is one of the largest and most famous wushu schools and has given rise to a number of its derivatives over time.

The martial art consists of various forms of bare-handed and weapon techniques using swords, staffs, spears, and others. It also involves qigong and meditation for mind-body control and spiritual growth.

Shaolin wushu can be largely divided into five major schools: Song Mountain, Fu Jian, Guangdong, Sichuan, and Hu Bei (Kunyu Mountain Shaolin Martial Arts Academy, n.d.).

Shaolin wushu was developed as monks' means of practising meditation and cultivating their physical abilities. The Bhodhidharma intending to propagate Zen Buddhism in China resided at the Shaolin Temple (Mahatthanadull 2018). Observing the monks were weak and not health, he created kung fu and boxing arts for them to practise (Mahatthanadull 2018).

Shootfighting

Shootfighting originated in Japan after kick-boxing gained popularity. The style includes boxing and wrestling techniques (Crudelli 2008: 225). Biting, headbutting and targeting the groin or back of the head are not allowed, and attacking an opponent while they are falling or on the ground is forbidden as well. The winner is decided based upon points awarded, when a fighter is unfit to continue or when regulations are violated (Crudelli 2008: 225).

Shootfighting includes many grappling techniques unlike other styles. Takedowns include judo and other

wrestling throws. Joint locks and the use of the opponent's momentum are also important parts of shootfighting. Professional matches last for thirty minutes, while amateur matches are ten minutes long (ISFA, n.d.).

Shootfighting was created in the 1970s when German wrestler Karl Gotch taught wrestling, or "shooting", to a group of Japanese martial artists. They combined their knowledge of different styles and created a new style (ISFA, n.d.).

The Shooto organisation, which serves as a governing body, was formed in 1985. International competitions are monitored by the International Shootfighting Association (ISFA) (Crudelli 2008: 225).

Shorinji kempo

Nippon Shôrinji Kenpô (NSK), 少林寺拳法

Shorinji is a Japanese budo art designed to exercise mind, body and spirit. It is based on the belief that everybody has potential to develop (Crudelli 2008).

Shorinji kempo consists of a combination of hard techniques, soft techniques, the manipulation of nerve points and attacks (Cox 2010b). Joint locks and throws (Barber 2001) as well as grappling, striking and kicking are an

important part of it (Crudelli 2008). The art uses non-lethal self-defence techniques to control the opponent (Crudelli 2008). It is never the intention to inflict serious injuries or death (Barber 2001).

Shorinji kempo is built on the legacy of Chinese Shaolin martial arts. Nakano Michiomi (1911–1980, also referred to as So Doshin) founded the art after the Second World War. Nakano was skilled in aiki-jujutsu, which he was taught by his grandfather, and quanfa, a Chinese Shaolin martial art (Cox 2010b). Both systems are reflected in shorinji kempo, which is now one of the eight budo arts officially recognised by the Japanese Ministry of Education (Cox 2010).

Shorinji kempo started spreading to the rest of the world in the 1960s

(World Shorinji Kempo Organization, n.d.). According to the World Shorinji Kempo Organization, which promotes international exchange, it was taught in thirty-six countries as of May 2014.

Shuai jiao *Shuai chiao*

Shuai jiao is a grappling martial art originating in ancient China. The wrestlers, wearing short-sleeved jackets and canvas belts, try to throw each other to the ground (Weng 2010). Multiple sources, including the International Shuai Chiao Association (n.d.), suggest that the roots of this form of wrestling can be dated back more than a few thousand years. It is said that shuai jiao was part of “the combat system of the



Imperial Chinese Army”, and used to be more violent, involving punching and kicking techniques (German Shuai Jiao Union, n.d.). In modern competitions, except Baoding Shuai Jiao, such striking techniques are not used (German Shuai Jiao Union, n.d.).

The International Shuai Chiao Association (ISCA) was founded in 1982 by Grandmaster Chang Tung Sheng (1908–1986), a legendary Chinese martial artist. Chang and his disciples played a key role in spreading the wrestling to the wider world (Weng 2010). Gene Chicoine, one of Chang’s disciples, succeeded

Chang as the president of ISCA until he passed away in 2020.

Shuai jiao is now widely practised around the world. It is particularly notable that the European Shuai Jiao Union, founded in 2005, has expanded and now governs about twenty national federations in Europe (European Shuai Jiao Union, n.d.).

Sib pal gi

Sib pal gi (“eighteen different movements”) is a Korean martial art that originated during the Japanese invasions of Korea between 1592 and 1598, and the later Manchu invasion (1636), prompted



Chinese type wrestling, Shuaijiao, Taizhou Zhejiang © Wuyouyuan

by a need for national defence. Sib pal gi consists of eighteen skills, which include weapon techniques using swords and sticks as well as empty-hand techniques. Since the martial art was required to play a crucial role in the outcome of wars, a lot of effective and deadly cutting movements were developed. The art was named sib pal gi by King Jeong Jo later on, and has now been transmitted for over two hundred years (Society for the Preservation of Sippalki, n.d.; YK 2011).

After sib pal gi disappeared during the Japanese colonial period in the twentieth century, it was reintroduced by Kim Gwang-seok. He used the military manual *Muyejebo* (1598) as the basis for his teachings. *Muyejebo* is the longest book about martial arts in Korea; it explains how to make weapons and train soldiers. Sib pal gi became an officially organised martial art, enabling it to be developed well compared to other martial arts. Kim Gwang-seok opened the first public performance school in 1970. His first book on the subject of preserving sib pal gi garnered national attention. Since then, the art has been disseminated by his disciples (Society for the Preservation of Sippalki, n.d.; Swords of the East, n.d.).

Sikaran

Sikaran is an indigenous Filipino martial art. It is a kick-fighting art that resembles karate. Sikaran means “to kick” in Tagalog. Participants mainly use their feet and are not allowed to use their hands to strike the opponent, only to block kicks. The battle ends when one of the participants is too hurt or exhausted to continue (Crudelli 2008: 183). There are two types of lethal kicks in sikaran: *panghilo* (paralysing) and *pamatary* (killing) (Querubin 1966: 27). The *biakid* kick, meanwhile, is characteristic of the art – it is a spectacular spinning hook kick targeting the head (Crudelli 2008: 183).

The development of sikaran predates the arrival of the Spanish in the Philippines. When American rule came in place of the Spanish, the art was still widely practised. The exact history of sikaran is lost but the art probably originated among farmers, hence its presence at many harvest festivals (Crudelli 2008: 183). There are some notable similarities to Indonesian and Korean martial arts (del Espiritu Santo Querubin 1966: 26).

Immigration has spread the art to the USA, Canada, the UK, Saudi Arabia and New Zealand (Crudelli 2008: 183).

Silambam

Silambam is an ancient traditional Indian martial art named after and characterised by the long bamboo stick used by its practitioners. The length of the staff depends on the height of the practitioner; a stick of the preferred length usually just touches one's forehead (World Silambam Federation, n.d.). The techniques can also be transferred to other weapons like the *maduvu* (deer horn), *kathi* (knife), *vaal* (sword), metallic whip and club (World Silambam Federation, n.d.; Crudelli 2008: 23). The goal is for the practitioner to master self-defence against multiple opponents and different weapons (Crudelli 2008: 23).

The art originated in Tamil Nadu, India, but is also practised by communities in Malaysia, Singapore, Sri Lanka and Indonesia. In ancient days, carrying a stick in order to protect oneself from animals and enemies was natural. Subsequently, fighting styles depending on this stick developed (World Silambam Federation, n.d.). Many martial arts in India include staff-fighting. Several sources of Sangam literature, including the *Silappadikkaram*, show that silambam was practised as far back as the fourth century BC (International Silambam Committee, n.d.).

In 2019 the International Non-Olympic Committee declared silambam as a non-Olympic sport and formed the



Nillaikalakki group training © Nillaikalakki

International Silambam Committee (ISC). Organisations like the World Silambam Association, ISC and World Silambam Federation provide further governance.

Silat

Bersilat

Silat is a combative art of self-defence and survival. It originated in the Malay Archipelago. Malay silat has a close affinity with the Indonesian pencak silat dating back to at least the fifteenth century (Green 2001a). Since the days of the Langkasuka Kingdom, silat has evolved into a fine practice of physical and spiritual training, also encompassing traditional Malay attire, silat musical instruments and customs. There are many styles of silat, inspired by the movements of human anatomy, nature and animals. For example, silat harimau involves an aesthetic rhythmic motion imitating the art of self-defence and attack of the tiger. In Malaysia alone, there are more than 150 known silat styles whose names derive from natural elements such as animals and plants (UNESCO 2019).

Originally, Malay silat was practised by warriors – as noble enforcers of justice – but nowadays practitioners consist of masters,

gurus, teachers and students who are responsible for maintaining the practice. Training sessions usually take place in the evening or at night in an open space such as a courtyard, led by the master and “Jurukaka” (senior students or assistants). A large number of practitioners have been trained and nurtured, and an increasing number of training centres have been established. With this accelerated dissemination, the practice has transcended its status as a martial art to become a performing art; consequently, it is now a popular activity for health and leisure (UNESCO 2019).

Silek gelombang

Silek gelombang is a martial dance from Indonesia. It is a welcoming dance accompanied by music and one of the performing arts based on the West Sumatran martial art silek minang of the Minangkabau people (Mason 2012). Silek minang is a regional version of pencak silat (de Grave & Farrer 2010).

Silek gelombang is often part of festivals and ceremonies. At the Tabuik festival in Pariaman, West Sumatra, it is performed once the official guests arrive. This greeting dance is based on silek minang (Mason 2016). With its strong

poses, the dance demonstrates strength and readiness while signifying welcoming, invitation and hospitality (Mason 2009; 2016). Two groups of silek gelombang dancers, one dressed in traditional red Minang attire, the other in black, perform a symbolic fight in which the dancers make a series of sideways approaches towards each other and towards an offering in the middle in front of the guests (Mason 2009, 2016). If the guests are Minangkabau people they might react to the dancers with responding movements (Mason 2012).

One or two small groups of musicians usually accompany the movements of the dancers. If there are two dance groups accompanied by two groups of musicians, they start off in a dissonant rhythm that will synchronise later on and continue to get stronger as the euphoria grows (Mason 2012).

Silek gelombang is traditionally passed down from a maternal uncle to his nephews. It is usually improvised under the leadership of an older teacher, whose moves are copied by the younger practitioners standing behind him (Mason 2012). Improvised silek gelombang performances have become less common and the younger generation usually does not possess the skills to perform it (Mason

2009). There is a choreographed version of the dance called tari gelombang, which can be danced by girls and boys and is often seen at wedding ceremonies and other official occasions (Mason 2012).

Choreographies serve as a way of preserving the heritage of the past in a fast-moving globalised world (Mason 2009).

Siljun dobup

Siljun dobup meaning “real sword training” is a sword-based martial art of Japanese and Korean swords forms (Sword Class NYC, n.d.). It is considered a form of Japanese iaido using curved single-edged sword known as *katana*. Unlike iaido forms practising from a kneeling position, siljun dobup begins from a standing position (Sword Class NYC, n.d.). The practitioners predominantly train the forms and cutting techniques individually, and no sparring is involved in the art.

Simgumdo

Simgumdo is a Korean swordsmanship martial art created by Changsik Kim. The core of simgumdo is to practise swords within the spirit that “sound mind makes sound behaviour, and sound behaviour makes sound swords”. This



swordsmanship practice is intended for self-development. Simgumdo is characterised by the fact that the practitioners use only one hand to make fast and strong strikes, as opposed to the well-known style of kendo that uses both hands. It has 60 basic movements and 330 swordsmanship methods.

Sisemba

Sisemba is a type of kick-fighting of the Torajan people in Indonesia. It is a martial tradition that usually takes place on paddy fields to celebrate a successful harvest or express hope for better yields the following year (Randa 2019).

This fighting style is typically practised by groups of male youth and adults from different villages (Randa 2019). In the fights, they pair up holding each other's hands and use their feet only to attack and defend (Randa 2019).

Sports chanbara

Spochan

Sports chanbara, also called "spochan" for short, is a Japanese martial arts-based sport. The weapons used are soft sticks named airsoft swords, which guarantee the players' safety. Sports chanbara can be played either one on one (*taisen*) or in groups. The groups can consist of a



French Chanbara Championship © Pierre-Yves Beaudouin

different number of players (*ransen*) or two teams with the same number of players (*kassen*, team match) (International Sports Chanbara Association, n.d.). Spochan is mostly practised by children. There is no uniform and players can wear whatever they want to.

Spochan was invented in the 1970s by Tetsundo Tanabe, current president of the Sports Chanbara Association. Having been a kendo teacher, he came up with the idea to create a sport out of chanbara sword-fighting, commonly seen in samurai TV series. He promotes the sport's safety and inclusiveness. Spochan does not discriminate by age, weight or gender

(Otake 2010). In many places, events are held for people with disabilities as well as rehabilitation training (International Sports Chanbara Association, n.d.). From its origins in Japan, it has spread all over the world, with schools now open in many countries.

Sqay

Sqay is a sword-fighting art from Kashmir, India. A synthetic fibre stick (*tura*) is used as the main weapon. The stick, which is designed to simulate a sword, is covered with a soft leather skin. Practitioners also use a shield made from soft leather (*bargula*) (Kumar & Jha 2018; Observer News Service 2015).

The sword measures 60–80 centimetres depending on the age of the user, while the shields have a diameter ranging from 23 to 48 centimetres. The official uniform is blue (Observer News Service 2015). In competitions, practitioners wear chest and head guards made of leather as well. All equipment must be approved by the sports authorities, the International Council of Sqay or the School Games Federation of India (International Council of Sqay, n.d.).

From the fourteenth century up to 1819 Kashmir was ruled by a series of Muslim dynasties. During this period the martial art was part of the training of Kashmiri soldiers. The first written sources about sabre-fighting (or *shamsherizen* as it was called then) date from that time and are written in Persian (Sqay Federation of India, n.d.). In much more recent history, Grandmaster Nazir Ahmad Mir became a known and skilled practitioner and is considered one of the founders of the current sqay style (Kumar & Jha 2018; Sqay Federation of India, n.d.).

The School Games Federation of India has recognised sqay and now organises competitions at school, district, inter-district, state and national levels. The Sqay Federation of India, meanwhile,

holds international events (Observer News Service 2015).

Sqay is practised all over India and in a number of other countries. Championships have taken place in Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal and Sri Lanka. The game is also becoming better known in Iraq, Syria, Iran, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Palestine, Jordan, Egypt, Malaysia, Thailand, Australia and the Philippines (Observer News Service 2015).

Ssireum

Traditional Korean wrestling

Ssireum, or traditional Korean wrestling, is a type of wrestling in which practitioners grab their opponent's long fabric belt (*satba*) and use a range of techniques to force them to the ground (Cultural Heritage Administration, n.d.-a). They typically wrestle on sand in a circular ring for three rounds that last several minutes depending on weight and age categories.

The earliest records of ssireum are unclear, but it is believed it started naturally in ancient times as a way for people to fight and survive. The oldest known evidence is found in mural paintings in the tombs of the ancient Korean kingdom of Goguryeo dating from the fourth century (Academy of

Korean Studies 1995a). Despite the lack of concrete evidence, it is speculated that the wrestling style may have been practised in neighbouring kingdoms as well.

Ssireum first appears in several historical references written in the fourteenth century. They portray that government officials or warriors participated in the wrestling, spectated by kings who would give prizes for the

winners at festive events (Academy of Korean Studies 1995a). Many books and paintings suggest that ssireum became more popularised as a folk game and sport among the general public later in the Joseon dynasty (Academy of Korean Studies 1995a).

In the twentieth century, ssireum started to go through a process of institutionalisation and modernisation with associations and competitions being organised regularly (Academy of Korean Studies 1995a). The Joseon Ssireum Association (currently Korea Ssireum Association) was founded in 1927 and held its first national competition in 1936. Although its popularity declined during the Japanese colonial period, ssireum was reinvigorated in the late 1940s, being designated as an official event of a national sports festival and affiliated with the Korean Sport and Olympic Committee (Academy of Korean Studies 1995a).

Koreans are broadly exposed to ssireum traditions within their families and local communities: children learn the wrestling skills from family members; local communities hold open wrestling tournaments; and instruction is also provided in schools (UNESCO 2018b; Cultural Heritage Administration, n.d.-a).





The competitions are often broadcast by major television channels.

Ssireum is practised in both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, as well as in areas of the People's Republic of China (Sparks 2010: 190). In 2017, ssireum was designated as intangible cultural heritage in South Korea, followed by its inscription on UNESCO's Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity the next year as a common element of the two Koreas (Park, n.d.). This joint inscription is regarded as an example of the peace-building capacity of intangible cultural heritage.

Subak

Soobak, soobahk

Subak, meaning “clap” in Korean, is a traditional Korean martial art that mainly uses empty-hand techniques. It is a form of expression that has been transmitted as an indigenous art and body culture. Unlike other combat martial arts, subak is characterised by its “primitive” elements such as the competitors fighting bare-chested, striking themselves with hands and walking crabwise. The moves are simple but require continued practice to learn. Subak predominantly uses the upper body to fight.

The earliest roots of subak are

complicated to track, but it is often speculated that it might have been transmitted from ancient times considering depictions in the murals of Koguryo era in the fourth century. Historical records suggest that subak was considered a very important martial art that warriors had to learn and practise during the late Koryo dynasty (Academy of Korean Studies 1995b). Several sources note that the kings enjoyed spectating at subak matches among warriors, and the winners were awarded government positions (Academy of Korean Studies 1995b). Subak sparring also took place during military occasions and important events in the Joseon dynasty, and was also practised by the general public as a folk game (Academy of Korean Studies 1995b).

Records about the techniques of subak appear in *Mu Ye Dobo Tong Ji*, a comprehensive martial arts book that explains, with respective illustrations, the Korean traditional martial arts created in the eighteenth century (Academy of Korean Studies 1995b). The manual was inscribed on UNESCO's World Regional Register for Asia-Pacific in 2017.

The Korea Subak Association was founded in 2001 by Song, Chang-ryeol. Subak has been recognised as a

“transmitted/recovered” or “unarmed” martial art by different publications by the Korean Sport and Olympic Committee and the Korea Sports Promotion Organisation. As of 2019, there are twelve training centres in Korea.

Subakdo

Subakdo is a Korean martial art organised by Hwang Ki (1914-2002) in the mid-20th century. While working for the Chosun Railway in Manchuria, he practised karate and Chinese martial arts. After returning to Korea, he came across the martial arts manual of old Korea called *muye dobo tongji* and *kwonbeop* (fist methods or the law of fist) therein. Eager to develop a Korean martial art as opposed to Japanese karate dominating the country, he studied deeply about the traditional fist fighting and revived it into subakdo (Kim 2018). It was within the broader context of trying to resist Japanese repression on Korean culture and traditions in the colonial period (Kim 2018).

After the Korean War from the 1950s, Korea became more nationalistic and there was increasing pressure to develop a Korean martial art (Friday 2001b). Several *kongsudo/tangsudo*, a form of karate, associations were merged and disbanded

due to the disagreements over the shape and identity of a new Korean martial art. Opposing the idea of consolidating Korean martial arts associations into Korea Taekwondo Association, Hwang Ki founded the Korea Subakdo Association (Friday 2001b; Kim 2018).

Harassed by KTA and the national authorities, Hwang Ki moved to America in the early 1960s and distributed subakdo. Hwang Ki put a lot of effort into disseminating the martial art and teaching his students in about 20 countries including America, France, and Italy before he passed away in 2002 (Kim 2018). Subakdo often known as the original form of taekwondo has declined over time, and some urge that the martial art be thoroughly researched to appreciate its historical identity and value (Kim 2018).

Suijutsu

Suijutsu (water skills) and nihon eiho (Japanese swimming method) refer to traditional combative swimming arts from Japan. Swimming in Japan has developed as a military art and was practised by the samurai.

There are different styles, some of which involve swimming with armour

and weapons as well as using them while in the water (Munatones 2012). There is also a type of stealth swimming where the limbs are kept below the water's surface in order to move silently (Durbin, n.d.). Other skills involve eating while swimming and swimming while tied with a rope (Munatones 2012).

The movements use the properties of the water in order to achieve harmony between water and body. Over time nihon eiho developed a remarkable grace and elegance (Fujiyama Dojo, n.d.).

Japan's geography means that water is an intrinsic part of life for many inhabitants. To this day, swimming is considered a necessary skill and in the past it made its mark on the development of the warrior's craft, becoming an indispensable part of military skills (Durbin, n.d.). Since the Heian period (794–1185) swimming has been part of the formal training of Japanese warriors. Combative swimming reached a peak during the Edo period; the existence of over ninety different swimming schools during that time was recorded (Fujiyama Dojo 2008).

Traditional Japanese swimming includes many different types that developed depending on the natural environment of where the swimming

was to take place (sea, river, pond). Next to the more usual swimming styles there are also ways to protect oneself while swimming and underwater combat methods. Showing off your artistic swimming abilities was also considered a martial art for the samurai (Japan Swimming Federation, n.d.).

Samurai swimming is still kept alive and practised in Japanese swimming pools (Santorelli 2012). Currently, there are thirteen schools sponsored by the Japanese Swimming Federation that teach traditional Japanese swimming.

J a p a n e s e S w i m m i n g Championships are held every summer, including tournaments for *nihon eiho* (Japan Swimming Federation, n.d.).

Sumo

Sumo is a Japanese national wrestling said to be one of the most popular spectator sports in Japan and abroad. Sumo wrestlers wear colourful *mawashi* (belly bands) and sport unique hair styles, presenting the sport's traditional nature (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.-b). In the bout, the wrestlers try to force each other out of the *dohyo* (arena) or to touch the ground with any part of the body except their feet. Before

the match begins, the wrestlers spend a few minutes performing ritual gestures like tossing salt to cleanse the arena from evil spirits (Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.-b). Bouts can last for just a few seconds or several minutes. Both men and women are allowed to participate in sumo competitions, but sumo is still predominantly a male sport.

Sumo is deeply associated with the Japanese Shinto religion and can be dated back 1,500 years. Early forms of sumo in the late sixth and seventh centuries used to be extremely lethal, “containing elements of boxing, judo, and wrestling” (Geren II, n.d.: 3). Under the military regime in the Kamadura period (1185–1334), there were numerous wars and sumo techniques like tripping and flooring were used for military training.

During the more peaceful times after the end of the civil wars in the seventeenth century, samurai warriors practised their martial skills. In this context, sumo gained popularity among the warriors, but since it was not always easy to determine a winner, the matches often ended in violence. This was why “street sumo”, which gained popularity in this era, was restricted to formal benefit matches only. The profits from



Sumo wrestlers in Tokyo © Gusjer

these competitions were intended to be utilised for religious purposes such as building shrines or temples, and the tournament organisers had to obtain permission from a temple in advance. It was in this period that sumo gained more popularity, and thus gradually became a modern, institutionalised sport. Transition into a formal sport led to the further development of sumo as it spread across Japan.

The International Sumo Federation (ISF) was established in 1992 and has played a leading role in making sumo an international sport, now with eighty-four

national federations. With its success in promoting and institutionalising sumo, ISF gained full recognition by the IOC in 2018. ISF is also a member of Global Association of International Sports Federations.

Sunmudo

Sunmudo is a Korean Buddhist spiritual martial art for meditation practised by monks. Sun is the Korean equivalent of the Chinese word “chan” and Japanese “zen”, meaning meditation or meditative state. “Mu” refers to fighting or martial arts and “do” means discipline, the way

or path. Thus, sunmudo combines both meditation and martial aspects. It turns dynamic characteristics of “martial arts into peaceful practices of meditation, yoga, and chi qong exercises” (Golgulsa Guide 2012). After a year of training, the practitioners are qualified to be ranked first dan, followed a year later by second dan status. Becoming a sunmudo master requires more than seven years of training.

Sunmudo is said to be a kind of vipasannā, an ancient Buddhist method of meditation from India. It can be traced back to the Shilla dynasty of Korea over a

thousand ago. Historically, monks played an important role in fighting against foreign invaders and leading people spiritually on many occasions through the Josen dynasty in the nineteenth century (Golgulsa Guide 2012). During the late twentieth century, Grandmaster Jeog Un Sunim, the disciple of the founder Yang Ik Sunim, contributed to the distribution of sunmudo and established Golgulsa as the World Sunmudo Association Headquarters (Golgulsa Guide 2012).

More than twenty-eight thousand guests have visited Golgulsa Temple and



had the chance to practise sunmudo during their stay. Sunmudo has spread nationwide throughout Korea and internationally to the US, France, Norway, the UK and others, with training centres open in various locations.

Suntukan

Panantukan, mano-mano, pakamot

Suntukan is a Filipino martial art mainly consisting of striking techniques. In its literal sense, suntukan means punching or boxing in the Filipino language while it refers to an entire martial system in the West. The martial art is also called *mano-mano* (“hand”) or *pakamot* by the locals depending on the region.

Meaning “the art of fist fighting”, *panantukan* is another name given to this art, which was popularised in the US by Dan Inosanto (1936–) and his followers (The Academy of Jeet Kune Do Sciences, n.d.). One of the most famous practitioners, Inosanto incorporated the techniques of suntukan into his teachings of Bruce Lee’s jeet kune do (Crudelli 2008).

Suntukan came from street fighting, making the techniques and methods suitable for incorporation into a self-defence system. Competitions or rules have not impacted the deadliness

of the art (The Academy of Jeet Kune Do Sciences, n.d.).

Suntukan is strongly influenced by other Filipino martial arts styles. In turn, many Filipino martial arts have also integrated *mano-mano* techniques. Such mutual influences make it difficult to strictly differentiate them from one another. In particular, *panantukan* is one of the least clearly defined styles since it does not have a codified structure (The Academy of Jeet Kune Do Sciences, n.d.).

In the suntukan schools outside of the Philippines, the focus is on community-based training where members share experiences and knowledge with each other. New members to the group are generally invited by older members (Crudelli 2008).

Taekkyeon

Taekkyeon was inscribed in the UNESCO’s Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2011. UNESCO describes Taekkyeon as follows:

Taekkyeon is a traditional Korean martial art that makes use of fluid, rhythmic dance-like movements to strike or trip up an opponent. The graceful movements of a well-trained taekkyeon performer are gentle and

circular rather than straight and rigid, but can explode with enormous flexibility and strength. The feet play as an important role as the hands. It also teaches consideration: a skilled taekkyeon practitioner can rapidly dominate an opponent, but a true master knows how to make an opponent withdraw without incurring damage. The bout takes place with the sound of traditional Korean drums or a bamboo flute. (UNESCO, www.ich.unesco.org/en/RL/taekkyeon-a-traditional-korean-martial-art-00452)

Taekkyeon was first mentioned in written records in the early eighteenth century, which explained the key techniques and moves (Academy of Korean Studies 2020). A source in 1927

suggested that taekkyeon had been popular among the general public until the late Joseon dynasty but then declined, which prompts the speculation that taekkyeon may have been suppressed under the Japanese colonial rule in order to repress Korean traditions and culture (Academy of Korean Studies 2020). Without established transmission systems, taekkyeon was replaced by education on Japanese martial arts such as kendo and judo, which were officially adopted in school curricula (Academy of Korean Studies 2020).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Master Song Deok-gi and Shin Han-seung



started establishing the identity of taekkyeon and transmitted the martial art through different generations of disciples (Academy of Korean Studies 2020). The efforts to safeguard taekkyeon have been continued by key figures and academia, which culminated with the art's designation as National Intangible Cultural Heritage 76 in 1983 (Cultural Heritage Administration, n.d.-b). In 2011, taekkyeon marked another significant milestone in its history with its listing on UNESCO's Representative List (UNESCO 2011).

As of 2008, there were approximately fifty recognised practitioners and eighty-five training centres across the country. Living human treasure Jeong Gyeong-hwa and several other instructors are leading the safeguarding and transmission of taekkyeon in cooperation with the local government of Chungju, home of taekkyeon. The Chungju Municipal Taekkyeon Group promotes taekkyeon by performing at home and abroad and offering training courses to the public on a regular basis.

Taekwondo

Taekwondo is a Korean martial art renowned for its use of various kicking techniques, including spinning kicks.

There are two forms of taekwondo competitions in the Olympics: *kyorugi* (sparring) and *poomsae* (pattern of defence-and-attack motions). In sparring, practitioners wear protective gear on the head and torso and strike each other's trunk and head with their feet and hands. They are not allowed to use any part above the ankle bone for kicks. Punching techniques must come out below the shoulder line and above the waist. Contestants are divided into different groups depending on their weight and gender.

There are many historical accounts about taekwondo. The official, popular narrative established by taekwondo communities like World Taekwondo and the Korea Taekwondo Association claim that the art originated in ancient times and developed through the Three Kingdoms era of Korea between AD 209 and 407. Historical records have been found in the old tombs and murals dating from the era. Burdick (2001: 292) argues that most of the historical claims based on murals and tombs are exaggerated, noting that the depictions in the murals "seem to be wrestling rather than striking".

Many modern academic findings (Capener 1995; Madis 2003; Moenig &



Kim 2016) suggest that taekwondo has its roots in Japanese karate, influenced by the Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945. During the occupation, many elements of Japanese culture and martial arts such as judo, kendo and karate were introduced in Japanese-controlled schools, and often by Korean students who studied in Japan and Koreans who worked with the Japanese army and police (Burdick 2001).

In the aftermath of the Korean War (1950–1953), the country “became more nationalistic and there was increasing pressure to develop a Korean form of karate, rather than continue to practise in the Japanese way” (Burdick 2001:

298). General Choi Hong-hi named a Korean form of karate “taekwondo” and led the Korea Taekwondo Association (KTA), established in 1959. He founded the International Taekwondo Federation (ITF) in 1966 to spread taekwondo all over the world. Due to political conflicts with President Park Chung-hee, General Choi moved to Canada with the ITF. KTA members, against his feelings, stayed in Korea and founded the World Taekwondo Federation (WTF) in 1973. WTF changed its name to World Taekwondo in 2017.

Since its foundation in 1955, taekwondo has gained much support and popularity as a national martial art. It

became an official part of primary- and middle-school curricula in the 1970s. The first World Taekwondo Championships were held in 1973, and WTF was recognised by the IOC in 1980. Taekwondo was designated as a demonstration sport for the first time at the 1988 Seoul Olympics and the 1992 Barcelona Olympics, before becoming an official Olympic sport at the 2000 Sydney Games.

It is speculated that there are now more than eighty million taekwondo practitioners around the world (KISS 2018).

Tantojutsu

Tantojutsu is a Japanese martial art that uses a small knife called a *tanto*. Like other lesser-known styles, tantojutsu is

part of kenjutsu, which is the umbrella term for all Japanese swordsmanship styles. The tanto is a traditional Japanese weapon invented in the Heian period (Butouken, n.d.). Samurai warriors carried a tanto as a backup weapon for the katana, their primary weapon. As the tanto is a type of short-bladed knife, it was effective in close-quarter combat for quick defence (Butouken, n.d.).

Tantojutsu was popular in feudal times in Japan when carrying long swords was prohibited (Butouken, n.d.). People often used a different form of blade called a *kaiken* that was shorter than tanto (Butouken, n.d.). Tantojutsu practice has declined over time and now there are not many practitioners.



Tarung derajat

Tarung derajat is a martial art from West Java, Indonesia. It was created by G. H. Achmad Dradjat (International Federation of Tarung Derajat, n.d.). According to the creator, the name tarung derajat comes from the Indonesian word “tarung”, which means “to fight”, and “derajat”, which means “honour” (Winarti 2011).

The core of tarung derajat is in the reflex movements that come naturally to everybody when defending themselves (Winarti 2011). The art is built on the philosophy that individuals are born with the ability to punch, kick, throw and evade, and that everybody has the freedom and ability to further develop those skills (International Federation of Tarung Derajat, n.d.).

Having lived in a harsh environment and experienced bullying, Achmad Drajat wanted to create a martial art to help people defend themselves, so in 1968 he started developing tarung derajat (Winarti 2011), and established a tarung derajat academy in 1972.

In 1997 the sport was recognised by the Indonesian Sports Council (Winarti 2011). This recognition has transformed tarung derajat from a martial art for self-defence into a disciplined sport with an

emphasis on sportsmanship (International Federation of Tarung Derajat, n.d.). The art has featured as an event in the National Sports Week (PON) in Indonesia (International Federation of Tarung Derajat, n.d.; Winarti 2011).

Tegumi

Muto

Tegumi, also called *muto*, is a wrestling style originating from Okinawa, Japan. It is often described as Okinawan sumo. The goal of tegumi is to pin the opponent to the ground on their back (Apsokardu 2009).

Tegumi combined with striking and kicking techniques originating in China formed the basis of the original karate curriculum, although this cannot be taken as definitively meaning tegumi was a direct predecessor of karate (Hetzler 2018). Sports tegumi was mostly about trying to unbalance the opponent, but combative tegumi included pinching, joint locks, gouging and so on. *Tuite* (joint manipulation) and *kyusho* (vital point striking) are also part of this wrestling style.

While tegumi techniques were part of the original karate, due to the former art's unsafe nature it was not passed on to school children when karate became part of the general curriculum in

Japan, resulting in the disappearance of tegumi forms from some karate systems (Apsokardu 2009).

Tessenjutsu

Tessenjutsu is a Japanese weapon-based martial art that uses an iron fan (tessen) designed for combat in warfare (Mol 2003). Tessenjutsu was part of sword schools like kenjutsu styles and was hardly ever taught as a separate art. Many samurai carried a tessen as a protective weapon for self-defence, especially when they were not armed with other weapons like swords. For a samurai, using lethal swords against a lower-ranking rival was not considered appropriate, so they preferred to use a tessen, which was thought to be sophisticated, in a defensive manner (Cunningham 2008). Most tessenjutsu techniques are not devised to inflict harm on an opponent, but rather to neutralise and restrain them.

Exponents posit that tessenjutsu was founded in the early Edo period by Kurume Heinai Nagamori, a samurai and disciple of Yagyū Munenori, who was known as a sword instructor. Training sword styles, Kurume Nagamori was inspired to defeat an opponent without actually cutting him down. Based on

other systems such as jujutsu, juttejutsu and hojojutsu, he founded Yagyū Ryu Tessenjutsu; however, this is contested, as Yagyū were sword instructors that were not permitted to add the name Yagyū to their own school's name (Mol 2003).

Thaing

Thine, Burmese martial arts

Thaing means “self-defence” in the Myanmar language. Thaing is a collective, umbrella term traditionally referring to all martial arts of Myanmar including bando (unarmed), banshay (weapon-based), lethwei, naban and other fighting systems. As lethwei has developed into a more distinct, bare-handed martial art similar to muay thai, thaing is practised with a focus on bando and banshay. Naban, a wrestling style, is also making its own path, establishing an association. Thaing is known to have originated under the Pagan Empire in the eighth century. It started as cane and stick-fighting, later developing into different forms using longer sticks and spears.

Following the wars with the British in the nineteenth century, Myanmar ended up under the colonial rule of the UK. Burmese soldiers, thaing practitioners, tried to recover their country, but it

was not possible in the face of modern weapons. With this failure, thaing teachers disappeared and the martial art declined along with support for promoting it. During the colonial period, thaing was prohibited by the government, although some leading practitioners secretly taught and transmitted the art to disciples despite pressure from the authorities.

Thaing has been distributed to different regions. For example, in Europe, Saya Richard Morris, recognised as European Grandmaster by the Myanmar Thaing Federation, played a key role in nurturing French thaing practitioners.

Thang-ta

Thang-ta is an Indian martial art that was developed by the Meitei people from Manipur, a small state in north-east India. Next to kalarippayattu it is the best-known martial art in India.

The art consists of armed and unarmed fighting techniques, and the formal name for the system is *huyen lalong* (the art of warfare) (Ray 2001). Thang-ta makes use of the spear and the sword. *Thang* refers to the sword while *ta* means spear. The art is closely tied to dance and ritual practice.



The history of the Meitei people is characterised by warfare with neighbouring kingdoms with intermittent periods of peace. Thang-ta, with its long and energetic practice sessions, allowed Meitei warriors to hone their combat skills in times of peace as well as war. After the Anglo-Manipuri War and the annexation by the British Empire in 1891, the martial art was banned; however, it was kept alive underground. After India gained independence in 1947 it re-emerged (Ray 2001).

Today, thang-ta is popular in Manipur both as a martial art form and as a technique used in theatre and dance. It receives support from the state and has gained popularity. All over Manipur

a number of martial arts academies train men and women in thang-ta, and many dance and theatre schools have thang-ta available in their course offerings (Ray 2001).

Tharu stick dance

Laathi nach

The Tharu stick dance, also called laathi nach, is a mock battle with sticks originating among the Tharu people in Nepal. The dance is accompanied by a drum.

The origin of the tradition is unclear, although stick dances in South Asia and other regions are often connected to agriculture (Widdess 2006:



184). It is also said the original purpose of the dance was to keep wild animals away with noise (Reed & McConnachie 2013).

There are two cultural houses in Sauraha that include the stick dance in their programme: the Tharu Cultural Program and New Sauraha Cultural House. Both companies are privately owned and present Tharu culture through performances to the tourists (Koirala 2016). In 1995 the UNESCO Office in Bangkok reported that the Tharu stick dance programme was especially popular with tourists. The dance is performed in the evenings by performers

at different lodges in Chitwan National Park (Pandey *et al.* 1995: 23). The Tharu Cultural Museum and Research Center also organises a tharu stick dance activity (Tharu Cultural Museum and Research Center, n.d.).

The stick dance has become part of the cultural tourism business in Nepal. The New Sauraha Cultural House and the Tharu Cultural Program both employ many dancers who perform every night (Koirala 2016). It is unclear whether the practice still exists in its traditional form.



Tomoi

Malay tomoi, silat tomoi

Tomoi is broadly the same as muay thai in Thailand, pradal serey in Cambodia and lethwei in Myanmar (Ahmad & Mohamad 2010). It is often called “the Science of Eight Limbs” as it uses eight points of the body in delivering punches, kicks, knees and elbows, with knee and elbow strikes believed to be the most impressive and strongest attacks (Ahmad & Mohamad 2010: 10).

Tomoi literally refers to *siku lutut*, which is Malay for “elbows and knees” (Ahmad & Mohamad 2010: 10). Tomoi allows attacks to all parts of the body, except the groin. Traditionally, tomoi featured straight-arm punches like the jab, but other techniques such as uppercuts and hooks were developed later with the influence of British colonial rule (McQuaid 2013).

Tomoi is known to date back two thousand years, but there is limited



evidence and description about its early history. A popular narrative is that it originated in the northern region of Malaysia and was practised mainly in Kedah, Trengganu and especially in Kelantan, which shares a border with Thailand (Ahmad & Mohamad 2010; McQuaid 2013). Practitioners believe the art is the outcome of cultural interactions and exchanges, including wars between northern Malaysia, southern Thailand and other adjacent states. The cultural differences reflected in the art have caused variations in the various schools, yet tomoi is essentially not closely associated with a specific ethnicity or religion.

Tomoi was influenced by Indonesian pencak silat, which is known to have been disseminated across South East Asia in the sixteenth century. Tomoi was popular until the 1990s, when it and other Malay traditions and culture were banned by the Kelantan government who supported an Islamic revival. In 2006, tomoi was again allowed to be practised under a new name coined by its promoters, muay kelate, meaning Kelantan kick-boxing.

Tong-il moodo

Tong-il moodo is a Korean martial art created in 1979 within the context of hopes for the unification of the two Koreas and the integration of martial arts (World Tong-II Moodo Federation, n.d.). It also serves as a physical practice that supports the teachings of the Unification Church and propagates the religion. The principle of education is loving God, people and the nation (World Tong-II Moodo Federation, n.d.).

Tong-il moodo is a hybrid martial art that uses striking, grappling and weapon-based techniques. It has a rank system of ten coloured belts from white to black, and it takes a practitioner about ten years of training to reach the highest rank (World Tong-II Moodo Federation, n.d.).

Tong-il moodo international competitions have been held in different countries since 2004. Most recently, it was an official event at the 2019 World Martial Arts Masterships, an international martial arts competition hosted in Chungju, Korea.

Vajra-musti

Vajra-musti is an Indian wrestling form that uses a weapon of the same name.

The art combines grappling and striking techniques (Crudelli 2008). The vajra-musti is a type of knuckleduster equipped with spikes. The power of the strikes is enhanced by this weapon (Draeger & Smith 1969).

The oldest known record of varja-musti can be found in the religious text *Buddharta Sutra*, which dates from the fifth century (Crudelli 2008). Vajra-musti wrestling was part of the culture of the Jethis, a caste of Brahmin professional wrestlers who spread from Modhera in North Gujarat to Mysore, Hyderabad, Konkan and Rajasthan in the tenth century (Draeger & Smith 1969). Draeger and Smith (1969) report that this type of wrestling barely survives and that matches are held only twice a year.

Varma ati

Varma adi, varma kalai

Varma ati is a martial art originating from Tamil Nadu, a southern region of India. Implied by its name, meaning “hitting the vital spots” in Tamil, varma ati places emphasis on unarmed techniques targeting the body’s vital spots with the hands, fingers and elbows (Zarrilli 2001b). Vital spots are the points on the body that are vulnerable to attack, and

it is generally agreed there are 108 of these, including 12 deadly spots that can cause immediate death when penetrated (Zarrilli 2001b).

Practitioners typically begin their varma ati journey with empty-handed training, followed by employing different weapons such as sticks and staffs. Traditionally, varma ati masters called *asans* would conduct physical therapies associated with indigenous beliefs that it was possible to heal injuries by treating the vital spots (Zarrilli 2001b).

Due to regional proximity, varma ati techniques and spirituality have developed in close association with those of kalarippayattu, originating from Kerala province. Varma ati became known as a southern style of kalarippayattu and was recognised by Kerala Kalarippayat Association, founded in 1958 (Zarrilli 2001b).

Vo co truyen

Vo co truyen is a traditional Vietnamese martial art that may date back to thousands of years. It is explained by the Grand Master Le Kim Hoa that Vo co truyen, as other traditional martial arts, originated from the Vietnamese struggle to defend themselves and protect the

nation against external powers.

Vietnam Traditional Martial Arts Federation was founded in 1991. Since 2016, vo co truyen has been adopted as a curriculum for elementary, middle, and high schools, and taught at a few universities. As of 2018, there were more than a million practitioners nationally and five big competitions. Vo co truyen masters sent to Europe and Americas are distributing the martial art abroad.

Vovinam

Võ Việt Nam

Vovinam is a Vietnamese martial art founded by Nguyen Loc (1912–1960) in the late 1930s. The intention was that the system would provide an efficient means of self-defence as well as serve as an ideological basis for national identity and patriotism (Tran 2001: 652). Nowadays the system still includes training of the mind, next to training of the body. The





Vovinam demonstration © ICM

spiritual aspect is important and harmony, courage, fairness, tolerance and modesty are highly valued (Traditional Sports, n.d.-h; Dung *et al.* 2016: 70). The system combines skills from Vietnamese martial arts, Vietnamese wrestling and Chinese kung fu (Dung *et al.* 2016: 70).

Vovinam literally means “martial arts of Vietnam”, with “vo” meaning “martial arts”. In 1964 Viet Vo Dao was added to the name, literally “the philosophy of Vietnamese martial arts” (Tran 2001: 655), meaning the full name is “vovinam viet vo dao”, although the system is still mostly known as just vovinam.

Vovinam practitioners use strikes with bare hands, elbows, legs and knees, as well as strikes with weapons like the sword, broadsword, machete, knife, staff, fan and so on. Practitioners are also taught how to fight an armed opponent, counterattack, unlock and wrestle (Dung *et al.* 2016: 70).

The system was founded in the north of Vietnam by Grandmaster Nguyen Loc in 1936. It was practised in secret until he made his theory public in 1938 (Dung *et al.* 2016: 70). After 1975 vovinam became known throughout the world. Many instructors fled the new communist regime in Vietnam and passed on their knowledge

elsewhere (Tran 2001: 656). The art became popular in France, even though it was originally developed to combat French colonialism, and it is also practised in Cambodia, Thailand, Singapore, Belgium, Poland, Denmark, Switzerland, Sweden, Italy, Australia, India, Iran, the US, Canada and more (Traditional Sports, n.d.-h; Dung *et al.* 2016: 70).

After the establishment of the World Vovinam Federation, many national and continental federations followed. In 2011 vovinam first entered the competitive field by taking part in the twenty-sixth South East Asian Games (Dung *et al.* 2016: 70).

There are more governing bodies like the European Vovinam Viet Vo Dao Federation, South East Asian Vovinam Federation and African Vovinam Federation that safeguard and promote the art.

Wonhwado

Vo co truyen is a traditional Vietnamese martial art that can be dated back thousands of years. Grandmaster Le Kim Hoa explained that vo co truyen, like other traditional martial arts, originated from the Vietnamese struggle to defend themselves and protect the nation against external powers.

The Vietnam Traditional Martial Arts Federation was founded in 1991. Since 2016, vo co truyen has been adopted on the curricula of elementary, middle and high schools, and also taught at a few universities. As of 2018, there were more than a million practitioners nationally and five big competitions. Vo co truyen masters sent to Europe and the Americas are distributing the martial art further afield.

Xingyiquan

Hsing-I Chuan

Xingyiquan is one of the three internal martial arts of China alongside baguazhang and taijiquan. According to Kevin Menard, it is the most visibly martial and best understood in the West among the three. The fighting style is complex and explosive, with linear and angular forms. Training consists of series of standing meditations, stretching and conditioning exercises, a series of forms and one- and two-person drills. There are twelve animals on which forms are based. The art makes use of different types of weapons among which are the spear, the staff, the sword, needles and the halberd (Menard 2001d).

Xingyiquan originated in the Song Dynasty. General Yue Fei is considered an important figure in the creation of the

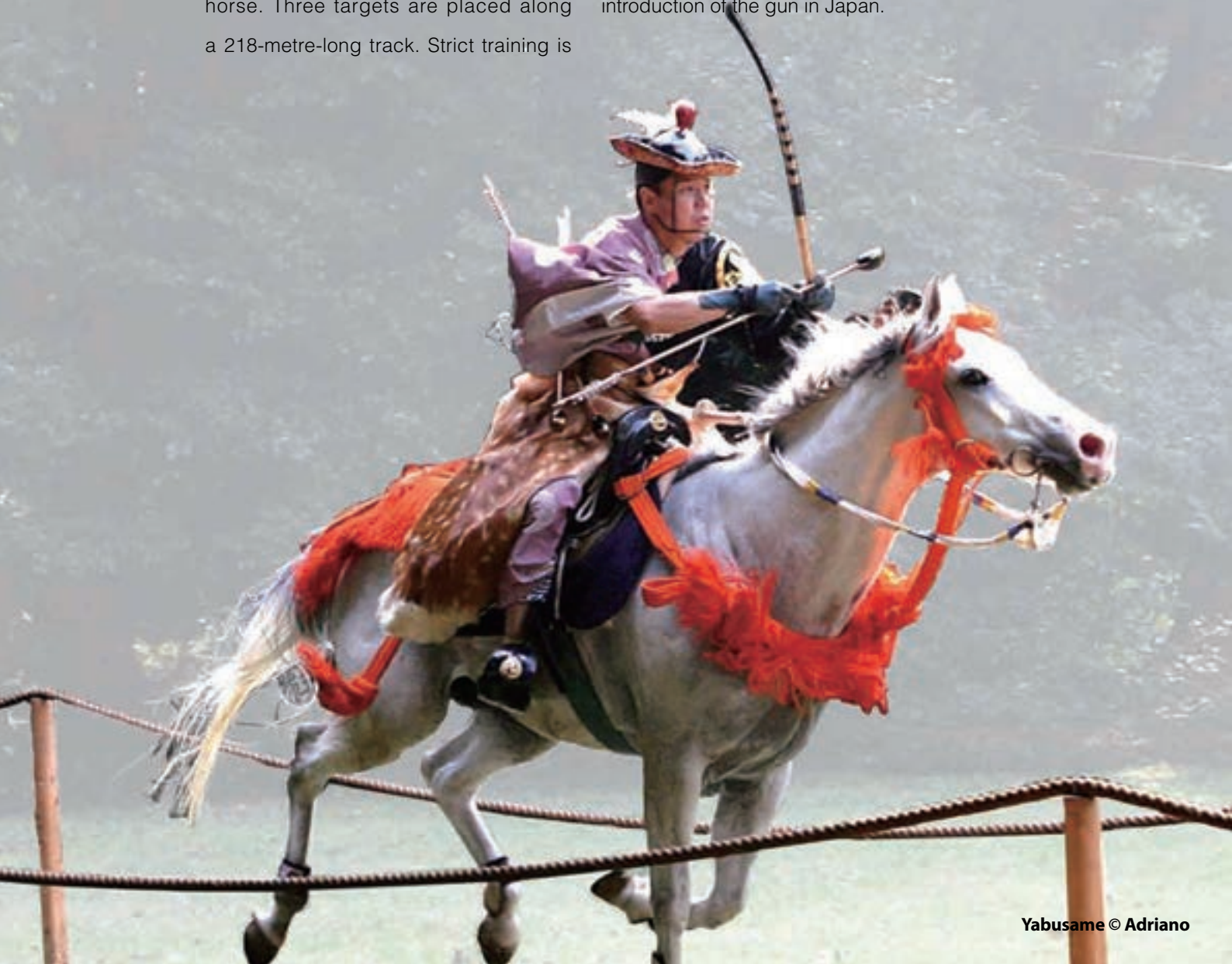
martial art (Menard 2001d). Different styles are practised and taught both inside and outside of China. The art has also been seen in popular culture media like video games, movies and cartoons.

Yabusame

Yabusame refers to a horse-mounted archery style originating in Japan. The rider shoots targets from a galloping horse. Three targets are placed along a 218-metre-long track. Strict training is

necessary to become a yabusame archer or *ite* (Takayama, n.d.). The colourful costumes worn by the archers are inspired by traditional medieval hunting attire (Crudelli 2008: 224).

Yabusame was a common subject for painters called *kamo no keiba* (JAANUS, n.d.). Yabusame was a way to train samurai in preparation for war, the popularity declined due to the introduction of the gun in Japan.



Yabusame can still be seen at ceremonial festivals. It originated in the sixth century, but the style practised today dates back only to the eighteenth century (Japan Equestrian Archery Association, n.d.).

Yaw-yan

Yaw-yan is a Filipino kick-boxing system created by Napoleon “Nap” A. Fernandez. The word yaw-yan comes from the two last syllables of “sayaw ng kamatayan” meaning “dance of death” (Maglinte 2018). Yaw-yan incorporates many of the principles of muay thai, but the downward cutting kicks and hip-torquing motions are different. Yaw-yan fighters do well on the MMA circuit in the Philippines. However, outside of the country the style is not well known (Crudelli 2008).

Yaw-yan is especially suitable for a smaller person faced by a bigger opponent (Maglinte 2018). It mostly focuses on full-contact sparring and kicking techniques, there are forty basic kicks. Because of the growing interest in MMA, yaw-yan also now includes grappling and throwing techniques as well as the handling of traditional Filipino bladed weapons (bolo, machete,

balisong) and in some cases stick-fighting using a fire-hardened rattan cane (Crudelli 2008).

Nap Fernandez created yaw-yan after having studied different martial arts, especially muay thai. He wanted to create a new martial art that was essentially Filipino (Crudelli 2008), and he introduced the art for the first time in front of a small group of students in 1972 (Maglinte 2018).

Yongchun

Wing chun

Yongchun, or wing chun in Cantonese, is a Chinese martial art, often seen as a boxing system because of the striking techniques with hands and feet. Typically, hands are used more than feet. According to the common classification of Chinese martial arts, internal vs external, yongchun belongs to the internal category (Green 2001b: 781).

A notable feature of yongchun is the absence of rituals, unlike in many other Asian martial arts. Movements are lacking in visual spectacle but are compact and efficient, making yongchun a practical defensive art. In contrast with many other martial arts, yongchun has not shown signs of sportification (Green 2001b: 785).

Yongchun originated in southern China, where it is still the most popular today. Due to the mainly oral transmission of yongchun, the art is accompanied by many legends (Green 2001b: 781). Bruce Lee's teacher Yip Man is responsible for making the art internationally known and accessible to the public since the 1970s. Lee's acknowledgement of his debt to his master, while a world-famous film star, was an important factor as well (Green

2001b: 784–785). These days, countless organisations and federations all over the world ensure yongchun is passed on to the next generations.

Yongmudo

Yongmudo is a hybrid Korean martial art that combines judo, wrestling, taekwondo, boxing, aikido and others. It was meant to be an integrated Korean martial art system with a variety of



Yongmudo performers © ICM

fighting techniques, including grappling, throwing, joint locks, twisting and striking. In competition, yongmudo practitioners need to score 7 points to win the match.

Yongmudo was founded in 2001 by Jung Haeng Kim, a former judo athlete and then-president of Yong In University in Korea, with other martial arts professors. The university, renowned for nurturing martial artists, was established in 1953 and used to be known as a judo college. Kim was inspired to create and distribute a new Korean martial art, other than taekwondo, which had already been popularised by many local practitioners overseas (Kang 2018).

The Korea Yongmudo Association held its first international competition in 2007, and was approved by Korean Sport and Olympic Committee in 2009. Yongmudo has gained increasing popularity nationwide with a cohort of half a million practitioners in about a thousand training centres. In 2008, yongmudo was adopted as an official martial art for the Indonesian army.

Zui quan

Drunken boxing

Zui quan is a Chinese boxing style meaning “drunken fist” in its literal

sense. Zui quan is a unique style that is characterised by its drunken-like, unsteady movements and actions to confuse and disrupt an opponent (Crudelli 2008). The boxers seem to be “drunk and hilarious stumbling, swaying, and barely even standing still” (South China Morning Post 2020). They crouch down, pause, then spring up, twisting and twirling in the air (Rappler 2020). These motions looking haphazard are actually perfectly controlled with a strong sense of attack (Rappler 2020).

The origins of zui quan are unclear. Some speculate that it might have been developed by Shaolin monks or warriors inspired by “the emboldening qualities of alcohol” (Crudelli 2008: 125). Zui quan became well known as featured in the film *Drunken Master*, a wushu comedy film of Hong Kong starring Jackie Chan in the 1978, and more recently in *Last Hero* in China (Crudelli 2008).

The martial art has declined over the several decades since 1980s, and now it is estimated by experts that it only has about 1,000 practitioners in China (South China Morning Post 2020). In response, the government is putting efforts to promote zui quan and the practitioners are also making it more

accessible to the public by simplifying techniques and showcasing the art at demonstrations (South China Morning Post 2020).

Zui quan is no longer used in real fighting. Modern zui quan tends to be more acrobatic than traditional forms (Crudelli 2008).



EUROPE

Aquathlon*Underwater wrestling*

Aquathlon is a wrestling sport practised in and under the water. The name is a combination of *aqua* (Latin for water) and *athlon* (Greek for wrestling) (CMAS 2014). The discipline is not to be confused with the multisport of the same name that combines running and swimming. The sport is well regulated and has age and weight classes for both male and female aquathlonists. Competitions take place in a square ring measuring 5 by 5 metres, and the water depth should be between 2 and 6 metres. A match consists of three rounds, each lasting thirty seconds. Competitors wear a swimsuit, mask, water polo cap and Velcro ankle bands with coloured ribbons attached. Two wrestlers fight each other under the water, trying to tear off the coloured ribbon attached to their opponent's ankle and show it above the surface as a sign of their victory. Striking, choking, submission holds and attacks to the groin area are forbidden (CMAS 2014).

Aquathlon was developed between 1980 and 1982 by Igor Ostrovsky.

Ostrovsky was a coach for underwater sports at the Moscow Technological Institute (CMAS, n.d.). The first competition was held in Moscow in 1982. Aquathlon was recognised by the World Underwater Federation in 2008 and the following year the Aquathlon Commission was established by the CMAS Sport Committee (CMAS, n.d.). The sport is practised internationally with regularly organised international competitions.

Asgarda

Asgarda is a martial art and community of nationalist and maternalist women in Ukraine (Kutschinsky 2013). Founder Katerina Tarnovska claims it is the only martial art exclusively practised by women and specifically tailored to the female form (Larsson 2013). Asgarda's philosophy places great value in Ukrainian culture and traditions and women's role in society. As a martial art it resembles street fighting using multiple (historical) weapons. Part of the art is also based on the traditional Cossack hopak dance (Kutschinsky 2013). The goal of the community is to train a new generation of Ukrainian warrior women

who take pride in their heritage and know how to find a good husband and bring up children (Larsson 2013). The goals of the community are in line with Ukrainian nationalism, promoting patriarchal goals like child birth.

Tarnovska is a kick-boxing world champion and started the asgarda community in 2000, with the claim that the art descended from the old Amazon culture. The ancient warrior women were physically strong, courageous and skilful in martial arts. According to Tarnovska, Ukrainian women can reconnect with their warrior past through this art (The World 2013). In 2001 the Asgarda Original School was founded and an experimental women's school of martial arts followed a year later. In 2003 the first demonstration of the martial arts style was performed at the International Festival of National and Traditional Martial Arts in Zaporizhzhya, Ukraine (Asgarda, n.d.).

There are asgarda schools, workshops and training camps organised where the asgarda values and fighting skills are taught.

Baranta

Baranta is a Hungarian martial art created from traditional Hungarian fighting

techniques and folklore. According to Stephen Faris (2016), a writer for *The Atlantic*, baranta is “a fighting style based on a hybrid of Hungarian folk dancing, Mongolian wrestling, and the imagined combat skills of its practitioners’ warrior ancestors”. Baranta consists of two parts, cavalry and infantry (Csula-Albert 2016). It is a form of fighting without the intention to hurt or kill the other party.

Hungary today is experiencing a rise in nationalist sentiment, hand in hand with xenophobia and authoritarianism. One positive aspect of this current trend is the increased interest in traditional history, this is where baranta finds its origin (Faris 2016), based as it is on Hungary’s historical fighting arts, traditions and culture, which experienced a golden era between the seventh and seventeenth centuries. Many of the arts disappeared due to regulations and prohibitions, but often survived in dances, books and visual depictions (Lajtai-Szabó 2017). But the current baranta practice dates back to the early 1990s, when a group of curious Hungarians started to delve into their past and created a new art. Since historical facts are scarce, much of it is based on the imagination of the participants.



In 2002 the Hungarian Baranta Association was established. According to the Association, the baranta community consists of about 2,500 people (Országos Baranta Szövetség, n.d.). Outside of Hungary there are also teams in Romania, Slovakia, Serbia and Ukraine. Hungarians in Germany, Switzerland and the US are also forming communities. Members are of all ages, but mostly comprise university and high-school students (Csula-Albert 2016).

Bartitsu

Bartitsu is a hybrid martial art created in Victorian England. It is known as

the “gentleman’s” martial art, and was intended to be used to defend oneself on the street. The art includes cane-fighting techniques (Black Belt Wiki, n.d.-a).

Bartitsu was created in 1898 by E. W. Barton-Wright, and the name of the art is a combination of the founder’s surname “Barton-Wright” and “jiu-jitsu” (Green & Svinth 2010: 451). Barton-Wright had practised jujutsu in Japan and after his return in England he started to teach bartitsu (Green & Svinth 2010: 451). An anonymous writer, most likely by Barton-Wright himself, described bartitsu in an article in the *Black and White Budget* on 29 December 1900 as follows:

Bartitsu has been devised with a view to impart to peacefully disposed men the science of defending themselves against ruffians or bullies, and comprises not only boxing but also the use of the stick, feet, and a very tricky and clever style of Japanese wrestling, in which weight and strength play only a very minor part. (Wolf 2005)

The art found success thanks to the new interest in physical exercise and fears over the supposedly increased street violence in England (Crudelli 2008: 252). Bartitsu appears in Sir Arthur Conan-Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories as "baritsu", the fighting art Sherlock uses to survive. This has kept the art from completely disappearing and indeed a revival has been triggered in the twenty-first century partly thanks to the new-found popularity of Sherlock Holmes following the broadcast of a globally successful TV series.

Bataireacht

Bataireacht or *boiscín* is a traditional form of stick-fighting in Ireland. *Bata* means "stick" and *boiscín* can be translated as "fencing" (Chouinard 2015). Antrim bata, which originated in County Antrim in Northern Ireland, is a style that is currently still taught (Antrim Bata, n.d.). As the style is fully based

on the use of a bata or shillelagh, the quality of the weapon is important. The weight, the craftsmanship that goes into making the stick, the body type and level of the practitioner are all to be taken into account when searching for the right weapon. For beginners, a shillelagh weighing about 300 grams is recommended, and heavier sticks can be used as the practitioner improves (Chouinard 2019).

The origin of Irish stick-fighting is unclear. Like many stick-fighting styles all over the world it was a vernacular martial art. Since vernacular martial arts are generally practised by the working class there tends to be a lack of written sources (Chouinard 2015).

One of the possible causes for the appearance of the art can be found in the penal laws introduced by the British in the seventeenth century. The laws controlled the rebellious Irish Catholics: owning weapons, land or big horses was forbidden. As a result, seemingly harmless "walking sticks" doubled as weapons. However, this theory does not explain why Irish Protestants also used the shillelagh and other European countries used similar weapons as well (Chouinard 2015).

A similar history, where use of sticks gained popularity because of

a weapons ban, can be found in the Sicilian art of *paranza lunga*. Fighting with clubs is depicted in ancient Roman mosaics and was very popular all over Europe, but by the nineteenth century only the British still used them. Chouinard (2015) suggests the shillelagh might be, like the bagpipes, an example of how old traditions survive longer on an island.

After having disappeared almost completely in the 1900s Irish stick-fighting was recently revived in the circles of HEMA practitioners (Chouinard 2015). The Canadian Maxime Chouinard was a big part of this revival. Chouinard has a background in karate and kenjutsu as well as a passion for old swords. In 2007 he learnt *bataireacht* from one of the few remaining practitioners in Ireland and got permission to pass on the martial art. Now he researches, practises and teaches this old form of Irish stick-fighting (Windsor 2020).

Antrim Bata organises seminars and workshops on Irish fencing. There are also different schools and study groups located in Canada, France, the US, Mexico and Switzerland (Antrim Bata, n.d.). Maxime Chouinard also hopes to reintroduce the art in Ireland (Norling 2018).

Breton gouren

Breton gouren is a standing folk-wrestling style from Brittany, France. The wrestlers must throw their opponent to the ground to achieve victory. If one makes the other's shoulder blades touch the ground at the same time before any other body part, *lamm* is declared, meaning immediate victory – *lamm* is a gouren equivalent of *ippon* in judo (Nardini 2016).

Breton gouren competitions take place in two seasons: summer and winter. In summer, matches with flexible rules and regulations take place on dusty areas, while winter matches are organised more formally in indoor arenas with weight, gender and ranking classes (Nardini 2020). The Federation of Gouren organises these competitions and there were 1,527 members as of 2012 (Nardini 2020).

Buhe barildaan

Buhe-barildaan, meaning “wrestling of the strongmen”, is a traditional wrestling style among the Buryat people living in southern Siberia, Russia (Türkmen & Okudan 2020: 92). According to research, Mongolian wrestling commonly known as *bukh* and *buhe-barildaan* were all very popular sports among the Mongols and Buryats in the region (Türkmen &



Players of gouren, Breton wrestling © Monique Pinguilly

Okudan 2020). Buhe-barildaan has two types, forest and steppe, which are predominantly practised by different regions (Türkmen & Okudan 2020).

There are five weight categories ranging from 60 to over 90 kilograms. The wrestlers wearing a robe and a hat enter the carpet pit with their sashes tied and are “accompanied by a coach and team representatives, also dressed in the outfit” (Türkmen & Okudan 2020: 99). A bout generally lasts for five minutes, but can be continued if winner has not yet been identified.

It is notable that the wrestlers wear

a sash around their waist similar to those of Korean ssireum practitioners (Türkmen & Okudan 2020). Wearing boots and a hat are traditions that have been heavily influenced by Mongolian wrestling (Türkmen & Okudan 2020). Safeguarding these traditional Buryat elements and the identity, buhe-barildaan is considered one of the most notable cultural practices of the community (Türkmen & Okudan 2020).

Competitions like Bukhe-barildaan on Red Square and Cup of the Datsan have been held on a yearly basis since 2010 (Türkmen & Okudan 2020).

Bulgarian kempo

Bulkempo, Bulgarian kenpo

Bulgarian kempo was founded by Velin Hadjолоv (1970–) in Bulgaria. It is a modern budo style, characterised by a rational and effective structure, rhythm and a combination of striking and throwing techniques. The martial art is based on both soft and hard techniques. The defensive techniques are based on the soft principles of judo, sambo and aikido, while the attacking movements are developed according to the hard principle specific to ashihara karate, Kyokushinkai karate, taekwondo and so on (National Federation Bulgarian Kempo, n.d.).

Buza

Tverian Buza

Buza is an ancient Russian fighting system, also known as tverian buza. It consists of unarmed fighting techniques, moves for disarming an opponent, dance and training with ancient Russian edged weapons.

In many ways buza can be compared to the Brazilian capoeira. It is accompanied by traditional music and practitioners wear traditional clothes. The audience stands in a circle with the fight taking place in the middle. The art evolved among the villages of the Novgorod area in north-west Russia. It achieved its greatest widespread popularity in the latter



half of the twentieth century. Buza is still part of village festivals.

Canarian wrestling

Lucha canaria

Lucha canaria or Canarian wrestling is a traditional wrestling style practised on the Canary Islands. Punching, hitting and strangling are not permitted. Canarian wrestling finds its origin in the history of the Guanches, the natives of the islands. It was probably brought over from North Africa. Each island used to have its own rules due to the limited contact among islanders.

When the colonisers came it became a shared activity understood by

both cultures. Many references to wrestling in the context of festivals and games can be found from the fifteenth century onwards. In the late 1940s lucha canaria became sportified, with established rules. From then on there has been continuous growth (Gutiérrez-García & Carlos Martín 2010: 4).

According to the Canary Islands' official tourism website, lucha canaria is as alive nowadays as it was centuries ago (Gran Canaria Tourist Board, n.d.). The sport is still practised on public holidays and national festivals across the islands (Crudelli 2008: 255).



Canne de combat

Cane fencing

Canne de combat, also referred to as “la canne”, is an armed combat sport originating in France. It is the most organised and widely practised stick-fighting form in Europe. As a sport, canne de combat uses a set of just six techniques (Menard 2001c). Fencing masks and padded jackets are worn during practice and tournaments (CNCCB).

Canne de combat arose from the French martial art *savate* which includes stick-fighting. Next to canne de combat *boxe française* also finds its origin in *savate*. In the 19th century canne d’armes developed because of the Napoleonic law banning swords. Many fencers started to practise with the stick and a crossover of practitioner between la canne d’armes and fencing led to the introduction of new sword-fighting techniques (Menard 2001c).

Starting from the 1970s a new interest in HEMA began to develop. Following this the first French Championship for canne de combat was held in 1980 in Paris. In 2004 the first World Championships took place and in 2006 European Championships were organised. (Loudcher & Cerruti 2010).

There are many associations promoting and teaching canne de combat all over France, overseen by the Comité National de Canne de Combat et Bâton, which organises tournaments and competitions.

Canne Italiana

Scherma col bastone, scherma con la canna da passeggio

Canne Italiana refers to Italian style cane fencing. Two different styles are practised currently: the academic style and the street style. The former is practised with semi- and light-contact attacks, while the latter uses full-contact attacks. There is a grading system consisting of three *nastri* (belts): white, red and black (Accademia d’Armi Manusardi, n.d.).

Fencing with a cane originated in France, but in the 1990s Maestro Italo Manusardi and his student Lorenzo Ravazzani Manusardi codified what used to be taught based only on oral and practical transmission. They reanalysed the techniques and called the new system “canne Italiana” (Accademia d’Armi Manusardi, n.d.). Accademia d’Armi Manusardi is one of the institutions that continues to teach and research the art.

Catch wrestling

Catch-as-catch-can

Catch wrestling is a type of wrestling originating in the UK. In order to win, the wrestlers typically have to pin down their opponent or get them to submit. A match usually consists of three rounds of which at least two have to be won to secure victory (Crudelli 2008: 251). John Simmons wrote an article for *Martial Arts World Report* shedding light on the history and different styles of catch wrestling in both Europe and America. Catch wrestling dates back to the early nineteenth century. Originally, it did not have an organised system with a set of rules. Wrestlers of different backgrounds usually met at fairs. For a long time, different rounds had different rules, honouring all the different traditions and keeping everybody happy. The rule set “catch-as-catch-can” allowed the widest range of techniques.

Catch wrestling became also very popular and widespread in the US. In the 1950s professional wrestling became a popular item on television (Simmons 2019). Catch wrestling has had a big influence on modern MMA styles (Crudelli 2008: 251; Team BJJ Hashashin 2015). Many styles also morphed into the

freestyle wrestling that is now part of the Olympic Games (Simmons 2019).

Chess boxing

Chess boxing is a martial sport, combining boxing with chess. The hybrid activity finds its origin in a French comic book. The contest consists of alternating rounds of chess and boxing. Participants must be skilled in both disciplines. Either a knockout in the ring or checkmate on the chess board will decide the winner. If one of the participants runs out of time on the chess clock, this will also end the match (Williams 2015: 61).

The sport is mainly played in the UK, the US, Japan, India, Iceland, Finland, France, Russia, Iran, Germany, Italy, Spain and South Africa (Williams 2015: 60; World Chess Boxing Organisation, n.d.).





Photo of the chess portion of a Chess-Boxing match in Berlin © Sascha Pohflepp

Chess boxing originates from the comic *Froid Équateur* by French comic book artist Enki Bilal (Bilal 1992), inspiring Dutch performance artist Iepe Rubingh to turn it into reality in 2003 (Hale 2019). Following this he established the World Chess Boxing Organisation (Williams 2015: 60) and thus chess boxing became a real competitive sport that has been growing ever since. There are different federations and clubs all over the world, but it is also possible to take online masterclasses through the World Chess Boxing Organisation's website.

Chidaoba

Chidaoba or traditional Georgian jacket wrestling is an ancient form of wrestling practised by a large part of the male population of Georgia. It is a complex phenomenon combining elements of wrestling, music and dance. Jacket wrestling requires the competitors to wear a jacket (*chokha*), which can be grasped by the opponent (UNESCO 2018a). The jacket is supposed to represent clothing and thus help develop a person's ability to defend oneself in a street situation (Tausk 2001d: 508). Tournaments take place in an outdoor arena in the

presence of a large audience. The action is accompanied by a wind instrument (zurna) and Georgian drum (doli) music, which marks the beginning.

Wrestlers attempt to defeat each other using special holds while vibrant music enhances the dynamics of the contest. The code of conduct is chivalric, and occasionally the wrestlers leave the arena with a Georgian folk dance. In chidaoba it is estimated there are two hundred holds and counter-holds, the combination of which speaks to the wrestlers' creativity. The practice encourages a healthy lifestyle and plays an important role in intercultural dialogue (UNESCO 2018a).

Having had a combat function until the late Middle Ages, chidaoba gradually became an entertainment sport. Chidaoba has been a cult sport among the populace throughout Georgia for centuries, particularly in the central parts of the country. It is one of the regional martial arts that contributed elements to sambo, a modern wrestling style developed in the early 1920s by the Soviet Red Army to improve their hand-to-hand combat abilities (LinkGeorgia, n.d.).

Bearers of the tradition include youth, city residents, sports clubs,

educational institutions and amateur organisations. From early spring to autumn, the youth practise wrestling outdoors, mastering skills previously acquired by watching matches. There are wrestling centres in almost every village and city of Georgia.

Collar-and-elbow

Collar-and-elbow or *coraíocht* is an Irish wrestling style with a long history. Collar-and-elbow is, like Cornish wrestling from the south-west of England and the French gouden, a Celtic wrestling style. Competitors wear a jacket and are barefooted. They grab the opponent's jacket at the shoulder and elbow. The goal of collar-and-elbow is typically to score three falls by holding the opponent down at three or four points (shoulders and hips) for up to five seconds, depending on the variation. During the sport's formalisation in seventeenth-century Ireland, the standard was a four-point pin for five seconds (Health Ahoy, n.d.). Recent matches executed according to the set of rules recovered and revised by Ruadhán MacFadden are over once the opponent is successfully pinned down for three seconds (MacFadden 2019b). Most strikes were not allowed with the exception

of kicks to the lower body which were used for takedowns.

From the seventeenth until the nineteenth century, collar-and-elbow was the most popular sport in Ireland (MacFadden 2019b). *Coraíocht* competitions likely took place in the Irish Tailteann Games, which have a history dating back as far as the seventh century BC. Though its history for the following two millennia is scarcely recorded, the sport began to surge in popularity in Ireland again in the seventeenth century AD. During this period, *coraíocht* became an eminent spectator sport, to the extent that most successful wrestlers could earn their living from it (Health Ahoy, n.d.).

Due to the sport's popularity in Ireland it spread to the US with the Irish migrants in the eighteenth century where it became a very successful form of grappling at the time. It became especially popular in the northern states during the Civil War period. Later it became one of the roots of the Amateur Athletic Union's American freestyle wrestling and formed the basis of American professional wrestling in the 1870s and 1880s (Archer & Svinth 2001).

The martial art almost disappeared in the early twentieth century. But recently there has been an increased interest. Ruadhán MacFadden tried to reconstruct the rules and style. In 2019 he published a rulebook that is the result of ongoing research (MacFadden 2019a). A seminar on the topic and matches using those rules were held in August 2019 in Heidelberg, Germany. Participants from Estonia, Belgium, Germany, the US, the UK and Poland joined the Irish wrestlers (MacFadden 2019b).



Combat hopak

Boyovi hopak, boyovyy hopak

Combat hopak is a Ukrainian martial art based on traditional dance. Combat hopak goes back to the “real” hopak.

Hopak as a fighting art has been disguised as a dance for a long time in order to protect it from extinction (Pivtorak 2016).

From the 1950s until recently, hopak was almost exclusively performed as a dance, often linked to state celebrations (Pivtorak 2016). In the 1980s Volodymur Pylat took the elements of Ukrainian martial arts that were hidden in traditional hopak dancing and created combat hopak.

Schools can be found in Ukraine but also in the US, Canada and other countries with a large Ukrainian immigrant

population. Combat hopak was present at the Chungju World Martial Arts Festival in 2001 (Chungju World Martial Arts Festival, n.d.).

Combat 56

Combat 56 is a style of close-quarter combat created in Poland. The founder of this self-defence art is Major Arkadiusz Kups, who in the 1990s wanted to equip his troops with effective close-quarter combat techniques that were easy to learn. Little is known about the style but it most certainly contains knife-fighting techniques, breaks, chokes, throws and strikes targeting



vulnerable spots. The name combat 56 comes from the elite Polish army unit 56th Company (Crudelli 2008: 277).

Techniques are included in the tactics of military, police and security units. The style is said not to be suitable for adaptation into a civilian version since it was created especially for organised armed formations (Wikipedia, n.d.-a).

Cornish wrestling

Cornish wrestling is a national sport of the English county of Cornwall; it is claimed that it has been passed down through the generations for over three thousand years (Cornish Wrestling Association, n.d.). Cornish wrestling is a standing style wrestling without grappling and holding on the ground. To win, the wrestlers must throw their opponent and make their shoulders and hips touch the ground; three of those four body parts have to touch the ground simultaneously (Tripp 2009: 3).

There used to be different rules in the towns and villages of Cornwall. The Cornish Wrestling Association, the sport's governing body, founded in 1923, formulated a set of common rules for all regions.

Cornish wrestling is most unique

in that the wrestlers wear a short, loose jacket, which all grips have to be placed on. The match takes places on grass and there are several weight and age groups.

Defendu

Close-quarter combat

Defendu is a combat system intended to end instances of physical confrontation quickly and efficiently. Colonel W. E. Fairbairn, who created the art in the 1920s, incorporated many techniques from judo and Chinese martial arts (Crudelli 2008: 253). His experience in the military with the British Royal Marines, the Shanghai Municipal Police Force (at a time when Shanghai was one of the most dangerous places) and the New York City Police Department formed the basis for his research (Cestari & Sporman, n.d.). During his time in Asia, he became familiar with Japanese and Chinese martial arts. He published a book but kept modifying the system until he arrived at a new system he called "close-quarters combat", which was used in the Second World War. The techniques are even more lethal than the original defendu and focused on ending conflicts swiftly and in the most efficient way (Crudelli 2008: 253). Fairbairn's new fighting methods were initially taught to

the Shanghai Police Forces and the 4th Marine Regiment, known as the “China” Marines (Cestari & Sporman, n.d.).

Devon wrestling

Devonshire wrestling

Devonshire wrestling is a wrestling style from Devon, England. The wrestlers wear straw shin guards and clogs, and kicking each other in the shins is part of the game (Archer & Svinth 2001). It bears similarities with Cornish wrestling.

The sport died out because it was considered unsafe; however, the Devonshire Wrestling Society is aiming to revive the practice and states that they want to make Devonshire wrestling safe and to see it “flourish in modern times”. They gather sources and research to ensure authenticity and make the materials public on their website (Devonshire Wrestling Society, n.d.).

Gladiatoria moderna

Gladiatoria

Ancient Roman gladiator arts have been recovered and are practised in Italy and other countries. The volumes of written sources describing how to use the *gladius* (swords used by gladiators) serve as a reliable basis for gladiatoria

moderna (Alessandro 2015). Schools like Ars Dimicandi and Scuola Gladiatoria Sacrofano teach gladiatorial combat.

Glima

Glima is a form of Icelandic folk wrestling. It is an upright, standing style of wrestling. Like other wrestling, the contestants must trip each other up causing their body to touch the ground. Since the early 1900s, glima has transitioned into a form of belt-wrestling using a leather belt around the waist, which is connected to other belts on each thigh. This allows wrestlers to gain a better grip on each other than they would by grabbing the trousers.

Glima was brought to Iceland by Norwegian and Celtic settlers. Einarsson (1988) notes that Icelanders played glima during the festival in 1874 held to celebrate the one thousandth anniversary of settlement in the country. The first glima tournament was held in 1906 (Eichberg 2012: 466). Glima then featured as a demonstration sport in the 1912 Stockholm Olympics, but it did not gain much traction (Bergvall 1913; Yttergren 2018).

The International Glima Association was founded in 2007 and the first world championship was held two years later.

Glima is part of International Federation of Celtic Wrestling.

Gyulesh, gulesh

Gyulesh is a traditional Azerbaijani wrestling that originated in ancient times. To win a victory, wrestlers try to make their opponent's shoulders touch the ground, employing techniques like grips, holds and throws. Combined with music, the wrestling event has become an important part of Azerbaijani culture (World Nomad Games 2018b).

Male wrestlers over the age of 18 can participate in the competitions, which are currently held under the rules set out by the National Gulesh Federation of the Azerbaijan Republic (World Nomad Games 2018b). There are six weight categories, ranging from 50 kilograms to over 90 kilograms. Gyulesh is part of the World Nomad Games, a biannual international nomadic sports competition (World Nomad Games 2018b).

Hapkikwan

Hapkikwan is a comprehensive martial art based upon Korean hapkido that was created in 1994 by Professor Boris Krivokapic, who was taught by several hapkido grandmasters (Hapkikwan

International, n.d.). More than just a derivative of hapkido, hapkikwan has developed its own techniques and methods incorporating local traditions and knowledge (Hapkikwan International, n.d.). The focus of practice is on effective self-defence and personal development, rather than fighting itself. The art is practised by both genders and is open to all ages.

HEMA, RMA

*Historical European Martial Arts,
Renaissance Martial Arts*

HEMA is an international movement of martial arts practitioners interpreting documentation of the past related to European martial arts. The core element of HEMA's identity is its relationship to a written corpus concerning a variety of martial arts traditions that are supposedly extinct. The written accounts of European martial arts used as main primary sources for HEMA communities are the fight books, a subgenre of technical literature appearing from the late Middle Ages onwards.

As a label, HEMA is used to separate the movement from modern sports emerging from traditional practices (such as fencing, wrestling, boxing) or

from sports or cultural organisations promoting traditional combat sports as distinctive of their other major counterparts (such as Alpine wrestling, Portuguese jogo de pau, French savate and others).

The HEMA movement spread at the beginning of the twenty-first century, with roots in the last decades of the twentieth century. However, other periods of revival of past martial arts can be traced earlier. In the mid-sixteenth century Paulus Hector Mair (martial arts revival pioneer, author of a fight book, as well as a collector of arms, armour and

fight books) explicitly stated in his two-volume work that he was attempting to document and revive past martial arts.

Different elements lie at the root of this revival:

- The changes caused by the industrial revolution increased interest in popular culture in the second half of the eighteenth century.
- From the late nineteenth century onwards, the Olympic movement's ideas developed a new conception of sports; the history of sports appeared as a field of research.



Image from Örebro Open 2015 HEMA tournament in Kristinehamn, Sweden © Ttias Sewikimedia

- Around the same time, Asian martial arts were imported to Europe; diverse mechanisms of acculturation or rejection led scholars and martial arts practitioners to revive past traditions of European martial arts.

The revival of European martial arts experienced an interruption in the twentieth century due to the rise of mechanical warfare used in the two world wars and the spread of modern combat sports (mainly fencing and wrestling).

Most of the pioneering HEMA groups have evolved and increased in size since the early twenty-first century, and many new groups have appeared since 2010 as well. Several HEMA communities are aiming to promote their activities from a cultural perspective. The usual output of such endeavours is the organisation of public displays of HEMA activities with cultural festivals or museums.

HEMA communities and federations in different countries research and pass on their knowledge and skills regarding these historical martial arts from Europe.

Hokutoryu jujutsu

Hokutoryu jujutsu is a modern, Finnish style of jujutsu founded in 1977 by

Auvo Niiniketo. It is a full-contact martial art allowing all standing and ground techniques, except punching the head (Hokutoryu Ju-jutsu, n.d.). Competitors use strikes to weaken or knock down their opponent, followed by strangling and joint-lock techniques (Hokutoryu Ju-jutsu, n.d.). Victory is declared if one participant is either unable or unwilling to continue the fight. The combination of traditional jujutsu techniques with striking methods makes it a more practical and powerful system.

The art has ranking systems for students and masters, respectively. Students are graded with white, orange, green, blue and brown belts, and masters progress from first to tenth dan black belts (Hokutoryu Ju-jutsu, n.d.). It is practised by the police, military and general public. Hokutoryu has about fifty clubs domestically and has been introduced overseas. There are now training centres in sixteen countries around the world.

Jieishudan

Jieishudan, pronounced “gee-shoo-dan”, is a martial art created in the UK. It is a hybrid martial art focused on self-defence. The art includes boxing, ground-fighting and grappling aspects,

and is constantly evolving and expanding its range of techniques. The goal is to be able to effectively neutralise armed and unarmed attacks (Awakening Fighters, n.d.).

Jieishudan was co-founded by Ian Zeff and has been taught in the United Kingdom since the 1980s (AnyMartialArts 2009a). According to Crudelli (2010), jieishudan instruction operated as “an unstructured non-profit organisation that teaches self-defence at youth clubs and is aimed at teenagers who want to learn how to defend themselves and improve their physical health”.

Jieishudan is a member of the Amateur Martial Association in the UK. There are many courses teaching jieishudan (Awakening Fighters, n.d.).

Jogo do Pau

Jogo do pau is a traditional stick-fighting art originating in Portugal. The literal meaning is “game of the stick”. In jogo do pau there are three types of training exercises: *sarilhos*, *formas* and *séries*. They are comparable to the kata in many Eastern martial arts (Traditional Sports, n.d.-c).

Jogo do pau most likely originated in the northern states of Portugal where it was common practice among farmers

and shepherds. It was used in daily life and to settle disputes between villagers and so on (Russo, n.d.). Portuguese guerrilla fighters also used the techniques of jogo do pau against the troops of Napoleon (Crudelli 2008: 254). In Lisbon the art had been practised on the streets since the fourteenth century. There are many famous jogo do pau masters in Portugal, but one of the most famous and more recent ones who was of great importance for the revival and survival of the art is Pedro Ferreira (1915–1996). In the twentieth century jogo do pau was still present at festivals and events throughout Portugal (Traditional Sports, n.d.-c).

Jogo do pau is not as popular now as in the past but there has been a revival, with several practising schools and associations in Portugal. Outside of Portugal, the Azores and Madeira, there are also some study groups in Australia, the US, Sweden and Belgium (Traditional Sports, n.d.-c).

Jousting

Jousting is a martial art where two participants on horseback ride towards each other with lances. The goal was to unhorse the opponent by striking his shield with the lance (Crudelli 2008).

Jousting is recognised as part of HEMA.

The main weapon, the lance, measures around 2.4–3 metres and is usually made of ash or cypress. In a friendly match (most common) or joust à *plaisance*, hollow and blunted lances that easily shatter on the opponent's armour are used. In the combats à *outrance* of the past, lethal weapons were used and serious injury or death would decide the winner. The risk of injury was high even in the non-competitive encounters (Cartwright 2018; Boulton 2001: 165).

Jousts were popular between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries in

Europe. From the 1400s the riders were separated by a fence called a "tilt", which is the origin of jousting's other name, "tilting" (Cartwright 2018).

In the thirteenth century padded linen and leather armour was used. This changed as plate armour became more widely used on the battlefield – it was then also worn in jousting. Horses were often protected as well by metal or padded plates (Cartwright 2018).

With time jousting changed from being an activity where the ultimate goal was to knock the opponent off their horse to a sport where points could be scored



by hitting certain spots on the body. Participants could also be penalised if the horse was struck, the opponent was hit in the back or the tilt was barged into multiple times (Cartwright 2018).

In the sixteenth century horsemanship itself became more popular and fighting on foot gained popularity. Jousting experienced a decline due to its unsafe nature and lost its glamour completely after King Henry II of France died as a result of injuries sustained in a joust (Cartwright 2018). In the nineteenth century there was a short revival, but after that it was not until the last quarter of the twentieth century that there was a new interest in the re-enactment of jousts.

Since the 1970s groups have performed jousting re-enactments, sometimes also called theatrical jousting. Performances are choreographed shows performed by stuntmen. Since the late 1990s there has been an increase in jousting competitions, after the first tournament took place in 1997 (Wikipedia, n.d.-e).

Around the world there are many jousting associations, groups and tournaments. The International Jousting Association regulates the activity and presides over the rules, and holds

responsibility for safety in modern competitions.

Jousting was traditionally only practised by men, although women formed a big part of the crowd and often distributed the prizes (Rühl 1999). In some cases, women sponsored tournaments and gave handkerchiefs or veils to their favourite knights to tie around their lance (Cartwright 2018).

In 2016 the BBC reported that women were to take part in jousting competitions at English castles for the first time. Inspired by *Game of Thrones* character Brienne of Tarth, English Heritage invited accomplished female jousts to participate (Tan 2016).

Juego del palo

Palo Canario

Juego del palo is a type of stick-fighting originating in the Canary Islands. It bears many similarities to other styles of stick-fighting around the world. The purpose is to hit the uncovered parts of the opponent's body with the stick; opponents, in turn, defend themselves and look for opportunities to counterattack (Universidad de la Laguna, n.d.).

Juego del palo originated among the Guanches, the indigenous inhabitants

of the Canary Islands (Acosta, n.d.). The staff was basically a tool used in daily life (e.g. for walking or herding animals). Immigration introduced new techniques, for example the handling of sticks of the camel-drivers. Between the sixteenth and the nineteenth century, sources show that the Canary Islanders were very proficient in staff-fighting, with skills honed during fights with pirates, fights to solve disputes about flocks and grazing rights or for honour or entertainment.

Despite the fact the Spanish colonisers banned stick-fighting it survived in remote rural areas. Around 1900, juego del palo made the transition into a sport. Schools were created, which allowed for transmission outside of the family circle. After the struggles of the 1950s and 1960s, new efforts to revitalise the art were made in the 1970s. In the 1990s the Federación del Juego del Palo Canario (FJPC) and Federación Lucha Del Garrote Canario (FLGC) were founded. The stick was modified by adding a cover to minimise injuries (Gutiérrez-García & Carlos Martin 2010: 2–3).

According to Gutiérrez García and Carlos Martin, juego del palo has an assured future in the Canary Islands. Attempts are being made to promote it elsewhere as well

(Gutiérrez-García & Carlos Martin 2010: 3).

The conservation of juego del palo is thanks to the effort of teachers and organisations who keep promoting and passing on the tradition. Organisations such as FJPC, FLGC and Colectivo Universitario de Palo Canario play their part in this.

Kampfringen

Kampfringen, meaning “combat grappling” in German, is a type of grappling originating in medieval Germany. The system dates back to Roman times and was still widely practised during the Middle Ages (Crudelli 2008). The grappling style consists of joint locks, leverage throws, pain compliance grips and striking techniques (Crudelli 2008). It was useful in self-defence situations, in formal duels and even on the battlefield should a weapon be lost or broken.

The system is unarmed, but there are related styles using swords (*Ringen am Schwert*) as well as mounted styles (Green & Svinth 2010: 112, 577, 715). Kampfringen is part of HEMA.

Karakucak

Karakucak Guresi

Karakucak is a form of Turkish folk wrestling and one of the five popular styles practised in Turkey (Bakhrevskiy

2019). Karakucak is practised on grass fields and the wrestlers wear cropped trousers made of sturdy fabric. The rules of karakucak are similar to those of Turkish oil wrestling, other than the key fact that oil is not used in karakucak.

Keysi fighting method

Keysi by Justo Dieguez

The keysi fighting method is a Spanish self-defence system created by Justo Diéguez Serrano (1957–) and Andy Norman. According to the official keysi fighting method website the name is derived from how Justo Diéguez pronounced *que sí*, meaning “yes, I will”, as a child (Keysi World, n.d.). Techniques are instinctive and based on real-life experiences, without a limiting system or style but based on universal laws. The art studies how people react and attack.

Keysi, an “urban martial art”, is suitable for combat in close quarters. It can be applied against multiple attackers and makes use of different weapons and nine contact points (head, knees, feet, hands, elbows). Keysi World provides four types of programmes: the Keysi Fighting Method is the general programme; the Keysi Kids programme targets children and values the cultivation

of self-esteem and respect; the Keysi Tactical Enforcement programme targets police units, special forces and security units; and the Keysi Movie Action programme focuses on the staging of fight choreographies in front of the camera (Keysi World, n.d.).

Serrano and Norman developed the art based on their experiences on the street, building and adapting the system according to its effectiveness. The system was first shown in public in 1980. Norman left the keysi fighting method in 2012 and went on to create the “Defence Lab: The Science of Self Defence” (Holland 2012). The same year, “Keysi World by Justo Diéguez” was founded (Keysi World, n.d.).

The keysi fighting method became known thanks to its appearance in the movies *Batman Begins* (2005) and its sequel *The Dark Knight* (2008), as well as the Jack Reacher movies starring Tom Cruise. Founders Diéguez and Norman also acted as fight consultants for those movies (IMDb, n.d.).

Khridoli

ხრიდოლი, xridoli

Khridoli is a martial arts style from Georgia. The style was created, and

partially revived, in order to honour and bring back to life the traditional martial arts of the region. Khridoli includes weapons training. Wisdom, truth and strength are highly valued qualities (Crudelli 2008: 277).

After the Russian occupation in 1921, traditional martial arts experienced a decline (Crudelli 2008). The new martial art sambo, created to unify the cultures within the Soviet Union, gained popularity instead. From the 1970s to the 1990s a new interest arose in traditional local martial arts and efforts were made to restore Georgian traditions (Zakharova 2019). After the dissolution of the Soviet Union the Khridoli Federation was created in 1993, followed by the martial art khridoli (Zakharova 2019).

Khridoli was historically a one-handed boxing style popular in Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. Now it is a multi-faceted martial art consisting of five

elements: *khardiorda* (wrestling), *krivi* (boxing), *p'arikaoba* (fencing), *rkena* (throws and grabs also seen in sambo and judo) and archery (Wikipedia, n.d.-f).

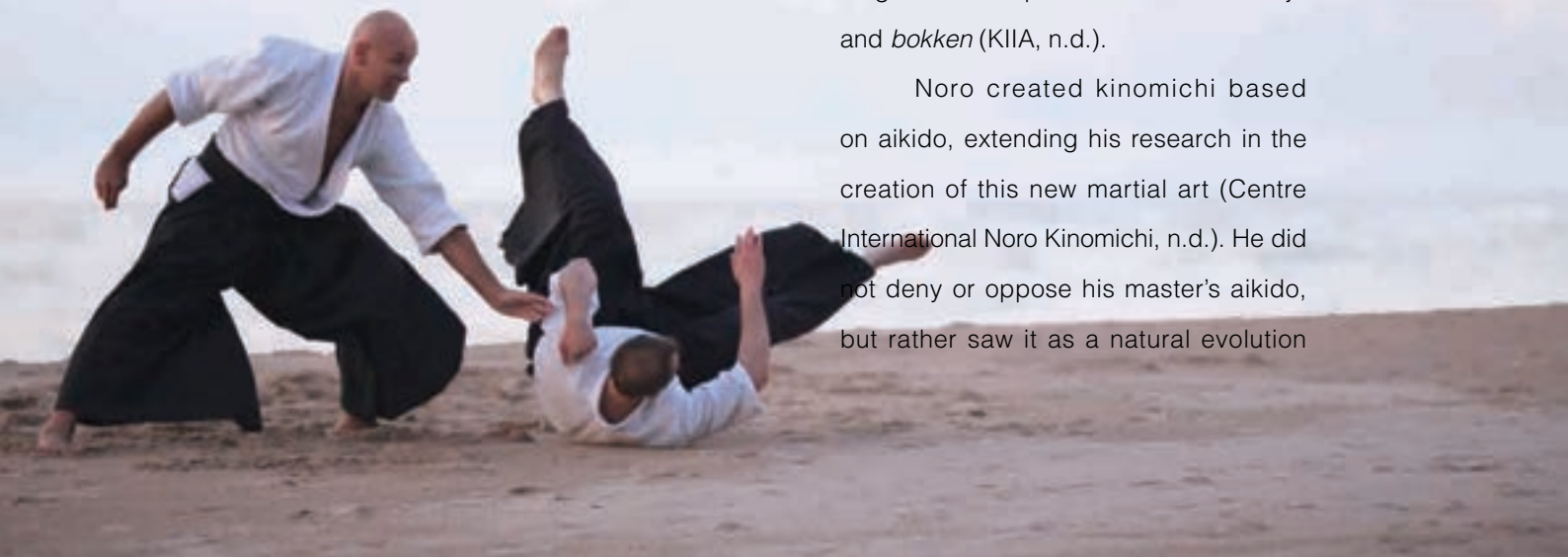
In 2014 khridoli was declared intangible cultural heritage by the Georgian government. The government hopes UNESCO will follow this by formally recognising the art as well (Kalatozishvili 2014).

Khridoli lives on in the mountainous regions of the country. Annual contests are part of the tradition and champions are respected (Kalatozishvili 2014).

Kinomichi

Kinomichi is martial art originating in France. It was created by Masamichi Noro (1935–2013) in 1979. Noro was a student of Morihei Ueshiba, the founder of aikido. Kinomichi is similar to aikido, but even softer and more graceful. Both armed and unarmed techniques are taught. and weapons used include the *jo* and *bokken* (KIIA, n.d.).

Noro created kinomichi based on aikido, extending his research in the creation of this new martial art (Centre International Noro Kinomichi, n.d.). He did not deny or oppose his master's aikido, but rather saw it as a natural evolution



of the art, as is typical for the tradition of Japanese martial arts.

The martial art is mainly practised in France but has grown and become known in other parts of Europe as well (KIIA, n.d.).

Kokh

Khokh

Kokh is a traditional Armenian wrestling style, possibly one of the oldest types of wrestling. The goal is to throw the opponent onto the wrestling mat without lifting or turning him. The duration of a fight is usually around 5–10 minutes. Often the matches are accompanied by folk music and practitioners perform folk dances; sometimes wrestlers even dance during a fight.

There are two main types of kokh (Peopleofar, n.d.). Shirak kokh wrestlers are bare-chested, wearing just traditional pants, and grabbing the legs of the opponent is allowed. In lori kokh, on the other hand, wrestlers wear traditional robes that they can use to push and pull their opponent.

Kokh is often seen at weddings and other festivities. It is also a way for men to show off their strength and possibly attract the attention of their

future wife. Kokh is probably one of the influencers of sambo, a martial art created in the Soviet Union (Tausk 2001d: 508). Efforts have been made to create a fixed and systemised kokh while maintaining the important traditional features (music, dance, etc.) that give Armenian kokh its unique character (Babayan & Nalbandyan 2017). The COVID-19 pandemic, however, has caused a setback – classes have been drastically downsized, both due to public fears and the measures taken to combat the spread of the virus (Orona 2020). As it is difficult to pass the tradition on to the younger generation, the safeguarding efforts have partially come to halt.

Hamlet from Kamo is a video that was made in 1983 during the Soviet era by Studio Ekran (Творческое объединение) showing the daily life of Hamlet Alekayan and traditional cultural elements of the village of Kamo, including kokh wrestling, sheep herding, lavash baking, folk music and dancing. Some boys in the video are seen taking part in an entrance exam for a kokh school. The video targets children and was shown on television in the Soviet Union in order to promote the different cultures and traditions within the state.

Kolo

Ki Kolo

Kolo or ki kolo is a newly created Latvian martial art using striking and throwing techniques as well as joint locks. The art uses the attacker's power and motion to defeat them; indeed, motion and the dynamics of movement play a big role. Techniques are mainly derived from kulachniy boy and korudo. Kolo also focuses on health and spirituality (International Kolo Organisation, n.d.).

Kolo was created by Alexey Onopchenko, also referred to as “Kolo Swami” (Great Teacher). In 1995 the International Kolo Organisation was founded. As well as martial arts the

Kolo organisation is also involved in the safeguarding and popularisation of Russian and Baltic cultural traditions, the safeguarding of historical monuments and the creation of related museums in the area (Oleg Cherne Official Website, n.d.). Some students who trained under Onopchenko opened their own schools to spread their knowledge of ki kolo.

Korosu

According to WoMAU (2011), korosu was founded by Colonel Nilopor Korotki (1908–1971), a military officer of the Soviet intelligence agencies, between the 1930s and 1940s. Predominantly practised by the military, korosu has



attack and defence techniques for close combat in real-life situations.

Kragkast

Kragkast is a Swedish style of folk wrestling. *Krage* is Swedish for “collar”, while *kast* means “throw”.

Lancashire wrestling

Lancashire wrestling is a wrestling style from Lancashire, north-west England. In traditional Lancashire wrestling bouts, opponents, usually dressed in their underclothing, started matches with a distance between them, the knees bent and the arms outstretched. Kicking, hair-pulling, pinching and twisting of the arms and fingers were forbidden, but everything else was deemed acceptable (Lee-Barron 2001: 735). According to some sources everything except breaking of bones was allowed. There were no rounds and no breaks, the match ending when one of the wrestlers submitted (Crudelli 2008: 251).

The style is believed to have evolved out of the wrestling matches that took place during the Roman occupation. Lancashire wrestling in its original form no longer exists, but many forms inspired by it are still practised worldwide

(Traditional Sports, n.d.-d). It is known as the ancestor of international freestyle wrestling (Olympic wrestling) (Archer 2001: 735).

Leonese wrestling

Lucha leonesa, aluches

Leonese wrestling is a traditional wrestling style from the province of León in Spain. It is played in a circular area called a *corro* and participants hold each other's belts, trying to throw their opponent down. A match usually lasts for no more than three minutes and the objective is to obtain four points for victory, with full falls (two points) and half falls (one point) being rewarded. Currently, matches are divided into two gender, seven age and four weight groups.

Competitions between towns are regularly held. There are approximately four hundred licensed wrestlers, fifteen wrestling schools and eight clubs. Women's participation has been possible since 2007; however, not many female wrestlers have as yet secured official qualification (Fernández 2013; Cagide *et al.* 2019). In 2017, Leonese wrestling was officially granted heritage status with the recognition as an Intangible Asset of Cultural Interest by the Castile and León regional government.

Traditionally, Leonese wrestling was referred to as *aluches* – a generic term meaning “wrestling”. It was seen as a pastime or recreational activity held in local communities of León. Only men participated, and there were no specific rules or time, age and weight limits. A match was initiated by a local leader stating his desire to wrestle with other local representatives. The winner of the match stayed in the *corro*, waiting for challengers. The wrestler who was undefeated at the end of the contest was awarded a prize in kind or cash. In the twentieth century, *aluches* underwent a period of significant change, including its sportification and institutionalisation with more standardised rules, players, equipment and so on.

The information gathered here is mainly from the chapter contributed by Robles-Tascón and Gutiérrez-García in the joint ICM/ICHCAP publication *Living Heritage Series: Traditional Martial Arts* (2020).

Makila stick-fighting

The *makila*, also written as *makhila*, is a Basque walking stick. The stick is made of wood and metal. The sharp metal point, concealed by the handle, makes the stick particularly suitable for self-defence. These days the sticks are still used in folk dances by the Basque diaspora in Texas in the US (Menard 2001c: 562–563).

In Europe, the sticks are considered a precious collectable and



are still produced by French and Spanish craftsmen in the Basque Country (France 24 English 2016).

Narodno rvanje

Serbian traditional wrestling

Narodno rvanje, literally “folk wrestling” in Serbian, is a wrestling style from Serbia. Usually, the participants take on the back hold, belt hold or chest hold after stepping into the ring. But depending on the rules of the contest, other holds are possible as well. Any type of throw is legal. At some festivals it is common for the practitioners to dress in the traditional attire of their region.

Oil wrestling

Kirkpinar oil wrestling is the most popular traditional wrestling style in Turkey. As the sport’s name suggests, the wrestlers douse themselves with olive oil. They wear knee-length leather trousers, called kispet, which are an important factor in success in the sport, and thus each pair is tailored for the individual wrestler. Traditionally, there was no rule about the match duration, but now a bout lasts for about thirty minutes. Before the match the wrestlers engage in a ritual called the peshrev, a warm-up to strengthen their morality and excite the spectators, and a traditional announcer called a cazgir recites poems and prayers (Aral 2020).



The Kirkpınar oil wrestling festival originated in the fourteenth century in south-western region of Turkey, making it one of the world's most historical sporting festivals. Some sources suggest that the first oil wrestling tournaments were held in 1361 (Aral 2020). These were to mark the time when, on their way to conquer Rumelia, Ottoman forces stopped at a village near Edirne to rest and forty Ottoman soldiers began a

wrestling competition. It was arranged to encourage the troops and celebrate the success of their expedition. Legend has it that the last two soldiers standing were unable to defeat each other, and not wanting to stop their match they continued until they eventually died (Aral 2020). They were buried exactly where they were wrestling, and years later their friends visited the place and “found a *pınar* (spring) flowing from the graves”



(Aral 2020: 111). Commemorating these two and other wrestlers, the place was named Kirkpinar – “kirk” meaning forty, the total number of wrestlers who started the fabled competition (Aral 2020).

In 2010, the Kirkpinar oil wrestling festival was inscribed on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. This was made possible by the cooperation of many stakeholders such as the Turkish government, the Edirne municipality, Trakya University and other NGOs (Aral 2020).

Efforts to promote and safeguard the oil wrestling tradition have been consistently made. The matches during the festival are broadcast on various radio and television channels locally and nationally. The government and media have also collaborated and produced documentary films about the wrestling and the wrestlers' lives.

There are twenty-seven training centres nationwide accepting four hundred students every year.

Pakištynės

Pakištynės is a type of Lithuanian folk wrestling, traditionally mainly practised in the east and south of Lithuania

(Respublika Sportas 2012). The fighting style is closely related to ristynės. Wrestlers put their hands behind each other's backs and try to take their opponent down. The first to drop the opponent three times wins. The opponent should either be lifted, dropped or made to fall directly on his back.

Palé

pali, πάλη

Palé or πάλη is an ancient Greek wrestling form. It was a contest of strength, balance and technical knowledge. Violence was rarely seen in these fights (Young 2004: 39). The goal was to throw the opponent, starting from a standing position, so that his back, hip or shoulder would touch the ground. The first to throw their opponent three times would be declared the winner (Young 2004: 38–39; Miller 2004: 3).

Throwing the opponent to the ground was the highlight of the contest and a highly dramatic act. From illustrations it is known that it was acceptable for the offensive wrestler's knee to touch the ground in the act of throwing their opponent. The attacker was probably given a point as long as he did not fall to the ground with his opponent (Miller 2006: 48–49). The notion of “pinning”

the opponent to the ground and “ground wrestling” did not exist (Miller 2006: 46). Unlike pankration, which is closer to MMA, palé is limited to pure grappling moves and does not include striking.

Sports, including wrestling, played an important role in ancient Greek society. Freeborn Greek men would often go to their local wrestling club to work out and socialise (Young 2004: 38). Many of these clubs or *palaestra* focused on the physical training of boys. Some of the palaestra were public property, others privately owned institutions (Young 2004: 28).

Palé was the only style of wrestling practised at the Olympic Games in ancient Greece; the Greco-Roman wrestling we know today is a modern creation (Young 2004: 38). Palé was added to the events of the Olympic Games in 706 BC and was the first Olympic event that was not a footrace (Miller 2006: 46).

Pankration

Pangration, Pancration

Pankration is an ancient Greek martial art created almost 3,000 years ago, one of the oldest martial arts in the world (Tausk 2001c). It was practised as a sport, but also for combat and self-defence on the battlefield.

Pankration was an archetype of all-out fighting allowing almost all techniques except for biting and eye-gouging (Tausk 2001c). They used a lot of different kicks, punches, knee and elbow and strikes, throws, and grappling to force the opponent to signal defeat or get him knocked out (Tausk 2001c).

Pankration was a deadly martial art as the practitioners fought naked without any protective gears. There were no weight categories and time limit in the competition, so the match could possibly end in death (Tausk 2001c).

The two basic forms of fighting were *kato* (down) and *ano* (up). In *kato* the fighters would start in a standing position but ended up falling to the ground and resorting to grappling and other lethal techniques, while they kept standing and engaging in a form of kickboxing in *ano* (Tausk 2001c). For this reason, *ano* was considered safer than the *kato*.

The early history of pankration is unclear. It is speculated that the Egyptians known to have developed fighting techniques in several thousand years ago brought them to Greeks (Tausk 2001c). Although the Greeks would insist the art was created and used by the hero Theseus, who defeated Minotaur, the historical reference starts from

1000 B.C., not supporting the mythological ideas; the record suggests that pankration was included in local athletic festivals (Tausk 2001c). The martial art became an official event at the 33rd Olympic Games and gained tremendous popularity. Although it is contested, some scholars suggest that Alexander the Great was an expert in pankration, and that he trained his troops with the art - which enables the speculation that it might have been introduced to southern Asia during his invasion to India (Tausk 2001c).

Pankration came to be gradually neglected after the Romans' invasion in 146 B.C., which made the art seen as inferior to Roman gladiatorial games (Tausk 2001c). The ban on the Olympic Games in the 4th century and Christian repressions on pankration often regarded pagan significantly undermined its transmission (Tausk 2001c). With the increasing popularity of martial arts in the mid-20th century, especially mixed martial arts, pankration was reinvigorated attracting a lot of attention again (Tausk 2001c).

Today, the World Pankration Athlima Federation (WPAF), Greek Pankration Athlima Federation (GPAF), and many other organisations encourage the practice of this ancient sport and provide lessons.

Paranza corta

Sicilian knife fighting, Coltello Siciliano

Paranza corta is traditional Sicilian knife fighting, which is a type of HEMA. Practitioners like to use the stiletto, a thin foldable blade that can pierce even thick leather or chainmail, and are taught techniques that can be useful in various situations using everyday clothing items like coats and hats.

Towards the second half of the seventeenth century, schools of knife fighting spread and adapted to more popular use. This spread occurred mainly in five Italian regions – Lazio, Campania, Puglia, Calabria and Sicily – to which can be added Corsica, a region not administratively Italian but whose knife school is, by characteristics, Italian; these schools of knife fighting developed in regions where the art is associated with honour. The specific schools identified are Corsican, Roman, Neapolitan, Salernitana, Foggiano-Barese, Brindisi-Lecce, Tarantino, Calabrese, Palermitana, Catanese. Various branches were added to these as pupils tended to form new schools. Sicily, for instance, was home many clandestine knife schools.

Through the combined efforts of masters Antonino Tomarchio, Giovanni

Tomarchio, Rosario Scalia, Gianni and Ivan Cremente and Francesco Proietti, paranza corta was successfully adapted into a sport and gained recognition as such.

In 2013 the idea of having paranza corta recognised as a sport was first mooted. In 2015, after a period of study, this led to the formation of the Scuola Tecnica della Paranza Corta Siciliana and the drafting of the competition regulations of Sicilian paranza corta. The National Board and the Assembly of Members was gathered in September 2015 in order to approve the proposals. Dr Angelo Rito

Sciacca was commissioned to study and report on the benefits of the sport.

Future teachers are trained through annual courses that take place at the national technical centre of the Associazione Nazionale Bastone Siciliano (ANBS, Sicilian National Stick-fighting Association), with the possibility of becoming affiliated with the Paranza Corta Siciliana section of Centro Sportivo Educativo Nazionale (CSEN, National Educational Sports Centre) (Associazione Nazionale Bastone Siciliano, n.d.).



Paranza lunga

Liu-bo, bastone siciliano, sicilian staff fighting

Paranza lunga is a type of stick-fighting originating in Sicily, Italy. The art of the Sicilian stick dates back to the Sicilian Vespers (a revolt of the people against the Angevin regime in 1282) when it was forbidden to keep weapons in the house and therefore the stick was the only means of self-defence. According to some stories, this technique actually dates back to the Arab–Byzantine period in Sicily, when it seems, in fact, that in some areas the use of swords by Sicilians was forbidden for fear of riots. Ancient tales tell heroic stories of masters of Rutata who defeated the Arab scimitars (Bastone Siciliano 2014).

Initially there was no well-defined technique to paranza lunga, which took shape in 1600 and was immediately used in duels of honour between shepherds or peasants, but often also involved rich landowners who were fascinated by this new art because it allowed self-defence against knife attacks (Associazione Culturale Neoborbonica, n.d.; Comune. Info, n.d.). With the advent of firearms, the defensive use of the stick ceased, but its presence in honour duels remained.

The art is also known by the name Liu-bo, from the Chinese meaning “Leo’s stick”, in honour of the master Letterio Tomarchio, who managed to make it a famous and recognised martial art. Tomarchio teaches Sicilian stick-fighting in his gym in Catania (Guerrieri di Sicilia, n.d.).

Today paranza is mainly present in eastern Sicily, in the mountains and in sparsely populated places where young people are not so distracted by the problems of industrial society; here the art is handed down and passed on from father to son and friend to friend (Associazione Culturale Neoborbonica, n.d.). CSEN played a big role in the recognition of paranza (Comune.Info, n.d.). ANBS, meanwhile, promotes and regulates both paranza lunga and paranza corta (Associazione Nazionale Bastone Siciliano, n.d.).

Pygmachia

Pygmahia, pygme, pix

Pygmachia is an ancient Greek boxing style that used to be part of the Olympic Games. Matches did not have a fixed duration or rounds; bouts ended when one fighter submitted. Weight categories were absent, although age classes did exist. Grabbing the opponent, targeting



the genitals and the use of extra reinforcement in gloves was forbidden. This did not prevent serious injuries from happening, leading to boxing being considered the most dangerous of the three Greek combat sports (wrestling, boxing and pankration). Delivering blows to the head was one of the main tactics used in pygmachia.

Boxing was practised in the gymnasium. In practice tactics played an important role. Athletes used punching bags of different sizes, sparring with

padded gloves and shadow boxing as safe ways to hone their techniques. Competitions took place in the stadium (Miller 2004). Like in the other sports, the athletes fought naked (KU Leuven, n.d.-b).

Pygmachia was introduced to the Olympic Games in 688 BC, twenty years after wrestling. In 616 BC a category for young boys was added (KU Leuven, n.d.-a). Ancient Greek boxers wore hand protection called *himantes*, 4-metre-long leather straps that were wrapped around the wrist and knuckles. The fingers were left free so the wrestlers could still use their hands to catch a punch. Using the hands in both offensive and defensive ways is often depicted on vases of the time (Miller 2004). By the middle of the fourth century BC a new type of glove was introduced, which covered most of the forearm as well as the knuckles. The hard, protruding knuckle guard increased protection as well as the damage inflicted upon the opponent. From then on, the open hand was no longer used, as the padded forearm could serve as a shield instead (Miller 2004).

Ranggeln

Ranggeln is a traditional wrestling style originating in the Austrian Alps. To win

a fight the opponent must be touching the ground with both shoulder blades. Ranggeln is an honourable fighting style, meaning certain pain holds and strangling are forbidden. Wrestlers are dressed in a collarless shirt, matching pants, and a belt (Danzer, n.d.). The clothing worn is strictly regulated and called *ranggerstoff*.

The roots of ranggeln go back to the fourteenth century and the art is still practised today, seeing a recent resurgence in popularity. Every year on the last Sunday of July, a wrestling contest takes place in a natural arena on Hundstein (Hunstoia) mountain (Barry 2019; Austrian Commission for UNESCO 2010). The winner of the contest can call himself “Hundstoia-Hogmoar” for a year.

The Salzburger Rangglervverband was founded in 1947 and created a uniform martial art. The practice has been recognised by the Austrian Commission for UNESCO as intangible cultural heritage in 2010 (Austrian Commission for UNESCO 2010).

Real aikido

Realnog aikidoa

Realnog aikidoa is a Serbian martial art created by Ljubomir Vračarević who created the art after studying aikido and becoming a master in 1971 (IRAF, n.d.). For the most part it follows the curriculum of aikido, as well as its grading system. Real aikido is not a competitive sport, but a coloured belt system is used to acknowledge progress (IRAF, n.d.).



Techniques from judo and jujutsu are also included, and – according to the International Aikido Federation – the art is close to the mentality and tradition of the Balkans. The close similarities with aikido, in both technique and name, have led to criticism from the aikido and wider martial arts communities (Crudelli 2008).

The International Real Aikido Federation, founded by Igor Petrović, aims to perfect and upgrade the techniques of real aikido (IRAF, n.d.). Since 2005, realnog aikidoa has been included in the curriculum of Serbian elementary schools (The Government of the Republic of Serbia 2005).

Ristynės

Ristynės is a folk-wrestling tradition from Lithuania. The wrestlers put one hand under their opponent's armpit and the other on their opponent's hand. In order to win, the participants have to lift and throw the opponent to the ground three times or throw the opponent onto their back three times (Karys 2016). Although the sport is male-dominated, like other duelling sports, historical sources show women have been known to participate as well (Respublika Sportas 2012).

The Lithuanian wrestling style born

in the rural areas was a leisure activity for locals. Former military recruits in the Russian forces may have impacted the popularity of wrestling (National Lithuanian wrestling federation at the SETS in 2015). Ristynės was most popular from mid-nineteenth until early twentieth century, but interest is returning thanks to demonstrations and wrestling competitions.

Recently, attention has been given to traditional wrestling styles in Lithuania with the efforts to revive them (Karys 2016; Respublika Sportas 2012). Ristynės is still performed at local fairs and holiday celebrations.

Russian boxing

Kulachniy Boy, Кулачный бой

Russian boxing or kulachniy boy is a traditional style of bare-knuckle boxing from Russia.

Russian Own System of Self-defence (ROSS)

Russian native system of self-defence, Retuinskih system

ROSS, standing for “Russian Own System of Self-defence”, is a Russian fighting style that combines elements of close-quarter combat and survival

techniques as well as sambo, bayonet fencing, acrobatics, dance, stunt-style combat, holistic health and street-fighting techniques known as “Russian fisticuffs” (Crudelli 2008).

The origins of ROSS are unclear – some say it dates back to the nomadic warriors of the steppe and was passed down through generations while continuing to emphasise tradition, folklore, the laws of nature and introspection and Cossack philosophy. The modern version, however, was developed by Commander Alexander Ivanovich Retuinskih and is said to be used for the training of special forces and protection services (Crudelli 2008).

The All-Russian Federation of Russian Martial Arts promotes ROSS under the direction of Alexander Retuinskih. The organisation is officially

recognised by the Russian government and the Olympic Federation of Russia. The Federation of Russian Martial Arts UK is affiliated with them and promotes Russian sporting and combat systems in the United Kingdom (FORMA UK, n.d.).

Sambo

Sambo is an acronym for *samooborona bez oruzhiya*, meaning “self-defence without weapons” in Russian (Tausk 2001d).

Due to the fact sambo had to unite the nation, serving as a national fighting art that did not favour any one part of the Soviet Union, it borrows techniques from many traditional martial arts. There are three types of sambo (Tausk 2001d): military sambo, self-defence sambo and sports sambo, each of which has its own characteristics. Military sambo is



designed for combat situations, while self-defence sambo is taught to city police and civilians. The latter consists mainly of techniques to handle certain types of physical attacks. The rules of sports sambo, meanwhile, were codified in the 1930s. Sports sambo is popular all over the world and its inclusion in the Olympic Games has been discussed. It is similar to judo in many aspects, having taken many techniques from the Japanese art.

The uniform used in sambo is similar to a judogi but the vest is tighter, has belt loops and reinforced shoulders, and the pants are short, similar to wrestling shorts. Outfits are either red or blue with matching shoes usually worn as

well. The uniform is called “kurtka”, after the native dress. Jacques and Anderson (2016: 56) note that the tighter fit of the kurtka complements the low-to-the-ground fighting style, but allows for the secure grips needed to perform the judo-like throws and chokes.

Sambo was developed by Anatolij A. Kharlampiev, Viktor A. Spiridonov and Vasilij S. Oshchepkov in the 1930s in the former Soviet Union (Tausk 2001d). There is some speculation about which of the three individuals should be seen as the actual founder. The creation of sambo was an attempt to create a “true” Soviet fighting art in line with the government’s intention to create a united culture for the USSR. Kharlampiev spent years travelling around the Soviet Union analysing and observing the native fighting systems (Tausk 2001d).

Sambo is still the self-defence system taught to select army units as well as to intelligence services and city police in Russia. Sports sambo is popular worldwide these days and is taught in many schools. Governing bodies like the International Sambo Federation and European Sambo Federation preside over the art.



Savate

Savate, often called French boxing or foot-fighting, is a form of kick-boxing that uses punches and kicks. However, unlike other similar combat styles such as muay thai, savate does not allow shin, elbow and knee strikes. Contestants wear boots; indeed, the name of this style means “old shoe/boot” in French.

There are different stories about the origins of savate. The earliest reference is documented in *Mémoires de Vidocq* (1828) where savate is depicted as an unarmed fight between men to solve their disputes of honour (Loudcher

2000). Some claim savate was originated from the fighting practice of seventeenth-century French sailors who learnt kick techniques while travelling in Asia (Ollhoff 2010). Others argue that savate developed from gangs and thugs’ street-fighting techniques.

Michel Casseux, known as a pioneer of the discipline, first set up a training centre in Paris in 1803, from which the art started gaining popularity with the growing number of instructors and practitioners. Savate has evolved into different forms over the last two centuries and is now seen in activities such as



International seminar of savate French boxing © Osvaldo George

gymnastic practice, military training, as a combat discipline and sport.

Savate was added as a demonstration sport in the 1924 Paris Olympics and the first French Championships were held in 1937. In 1965, instructors established the National Committee of French Boxing (CNBF), making the discipline more institutionalised. The 2024 Paris Olympics will feature savate as a demonstration sport again.

Savigyna

Savigyna means “self-defence” in the Lithuanian language. It is a hybrid martial art that includes striking, grappling and weapon-based techniques. weapon-based techniques.

Sayokan

Sayokan is martial arts style created in Turkey. The philosophy behind this system supports the natural way of moving and reacting to situations without worrying too much about detailed and specific techniques that have to be memorised; it emphasises strategy rather than technique.

There are two training programmes in sayokan. The Alagan programme is

intended to train for competitions whereas the Basagar programme is meant for self-defence (Sayokan World Federation, n.d.).

Sayokan was created by Nihat Yiğit (1961–) in the 1990s. Skilled in different martial arts, Yiğit sought a system that used techniques more freely. According to the official sayokan website, he further developed some of the techniques of ashihara karate and added techniques inspired by traditional Turkish martial culture (Sayokan World Federation, n.d.).

Schwingen

Schwingen is a popular Swiss traditional wrestling. Like many other styles, to win the bout a wrestler must make their opponent's shoulder blades or back touch the ground. Schwingen has no weight categories or divisions, but is usually practised by amateur wrestlers who tend to be tall, well-built men who are involved in physically demanding professions such as farming, carpentry, cheesemaking and forestry (Maliachovas *et al.* 2018). Wrestling festivals, the largest being the Federal Wrestling and Alpine Games Festival (Schwingfest), are held frequently across the country, and the champions – so called “schwingen kings” – are decided on a tri-annual basis.

Schwingen is distinguished from other wrestling styles in various aspects, including the arena and attire. It typically takes place on sawdust with bouts lasting for five minutes, and the wrestlers wear shirts or jerseys and long trousers (Maliachovas *et al.* 2018). Unlike its traditional form, modern schwingen has about a hundred throwing techniques, described in its manual (Maliachovas *et al.* 2018; Swiss Consulate New York, n.d.).

Although the earliest roots of schwingen are unknown, some historical references suggest that it started in the thirteenth century (Copley 2013; Swiss Consulate New York, n.d.). In 1805, a schwingen event was revived at the first Alpine shepherd's festival, aimed at

boosting the national pride of a nation suffering under French rule (Copley 2013; Swiss Consulate New York, n.d.).

In recent times, schwingen has received great public attention as a truly Swiss tradition and culture. It attracts thousands of spectators, making it one of Switzerland's biggest sports events. It also attracts support from several major commercial partners such as drinks producer Feldschlösschen, retail giant Migros and the famous car brand Toyota.

The Swiss Wrestling Association was founded in 1895. It has more than five thousand registered wrestlers and several local branches, but the sport is still most popular in the German-speaking areas of Switzerland (Swiss Consulate New York, n.d.).



Scottish backhold

Scottish backhold is an old wrestling style from Scotland. The goal is to throw the opponent to the ground, with any body part touching the ground other than the feet (Crudelli 2008: 250). Hands are clasped together behind the opponent's back, one arm going under the opponent's underarm and the chin resting on the opposite shoulder. Practitioners are encouraged to wear the traditional Scottish kilt when attending training and competitions.

In 1985 the International Federation of Celtic Wrestling was founded, promoting Scottish backhand, Breton gouren and Icelandic glima (Collins 2005: 13). During the many highland games events taking place in the summer all over the country, local athletes as well as athletes from countries like France, Iceland, the US and England compete with each other (Griffiths, n.d.). Clubs all over Scotland teach and practise backhold wrestling.

Shin-kicking

Shin-kicking is an English combat sport. Two participants grab each other's shoulders or collar and kick the opponent in the shins until one of them gives up or falls down. According to the current rules of the Cotswold Olimpik Games, the

winner is whoever successfully executes at least two out of the three throws. The contest is judged by an arbiter called the *stickler* (Cotswold Olimpik Games, n.d.).

Since 1612 shin-kicking has been part of the Cotswold Olimpik Games (Leighton 2005; Cotswold Olimpik Games, n.d.). In an article that appeared in the New York Times in 1883 a journalist describes the violence of a shin-kicking match (New York Times 1883). The sport is still played today, extra padding and the banning of reinforced toe caps have increased the safety (Cotswold Olimpik Games, n.d.). However, cases of cancelled contests due to their unsafe nature still occur (Jolly 2017). Shin-kicking is still the most popular event at the Cotswold Olimpik Games.

Singlestick

Singlestick is a Western style of stick-fighting originating in the UK. It is named after the weapon used, a stick made of wood with a length of about 80–90 centimetres. At the thicker end of the stick a protective hilt is attached, often in wickerwork or leather. Depending on the style and time period, masks and armour were used (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.; Association for Historical Fencing,

n.d.; Menard 2001c: 559).

Singlestick developed from the use of swords in combat, contrary to some other types of stick-fighting that were specifically developed for using a stick. It originated as a means to practise sword-fighting in the sixteenth century before becoming popular in the eighteenth century. It was considered both a sport and a method of self-defence (Menard 2001c: 556–557). By the end of the eighteenth century it had become more sportified and very restricted – for instance, fencers did not move and were only allowed to hit above the waist. The goal was to cut the opponents head, so blood would be spilled (Association for Historical Fencing, n.d.).

It was taught to the military and the police as a training method and also practised in private schools until the 1930s (Menard 2001c: 559). But the popularity soon declined and it was rarely practised after the early twentieth century (Encyclopaedia Britannica, n.d.). The art was revived in the 1980s by the British Royal Navy, and nowadays the renewed and continuously growing interest in traditional Western martial arts has generated some further efforts aimed at its revival.

Today, it is practised among HEMA communities with the use of fencing masks and padded jackets (Black Belt Wiki, n.d.-e; Menard 2001c: 559).

S'istrumpa

Sa strumpa, Sardinian wrestling

S'istrumpa, also referred to as *sa strumpa* or *lotta Sarda*, is a traditional wrestling style from the Italian island of Sardinia. A common starting position for s'istrumpa is where the contestants face each other, and clasp their hands behind the opponent's back, one arm below the armpit, the other around the shoulder. The goal is to land the opponent on their back, and the attacker should land on top of them (FIJLKAM, n.d.). Traditionally, matches were held to show one's own status within the community, without any sporting aspect. There were also more clandestine wrestling matches on which bets were placed.

In order to establish the rules for the first tournament in 1985 and to create a modernised, more sportified strumpa, the elders were interviewed. There were no written rules, weight classes or indications of duration. In 1994 the Federazione s'istrumpa was formed, which later became part of the

Italian Federation of Judo, Karate and Martial Arts (FIJLKAM), which officially recognised s'istrumpa as a sport (Traditional Sports, n.d.-f; FIJLKAM, n.d.).

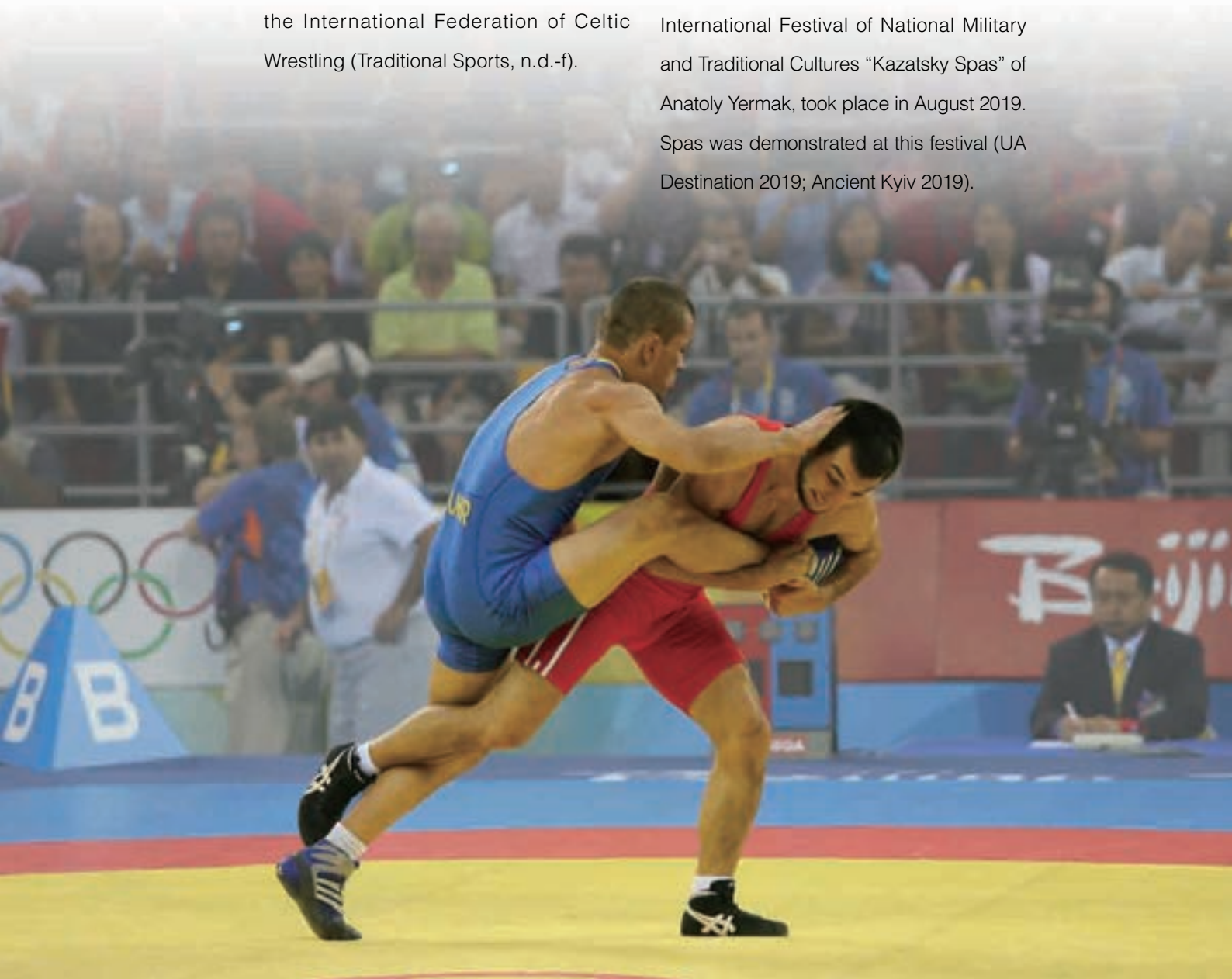
S'istrumpa has been passed on from generation to generation through practice and stories. Now official wrestling tournaments are organised. Wrestlers also participate in the international tournaments organised by the International Federation of Celtic Wrestling (Traditional Sports, n.d.-f).

Spas

Kazatsky spas, Cossack spas

Spas is a hand-to-hand Cossack fighting style and since 2010 a nationally recognised sport in Ukraine. Techniques are designed to efficiently neutralise the opponent. The Ukrainian Spas Federation and its president Oleksandr Prytula are responsible for spas's national popularity and spread.

A festival of national sports, the XXIII International Festival of National Military and Traditional Cultures "Kazatsky Spas" of Anatoly Yermak, took place in August 2019. Spas was demonstrated at this festival (UA Destination 2019; Ancient Kyiv 2019).



Stav

Stav is a Norwegian martial art invented by Ivar Hafskjold. The postures are based on the stav symbol seen within runic numbering systems, with the shape of the different runes corresponding to the different movements of the practitioners.

Sources on stav are limited mainly to blogs (among which can be found some quality writing). According to Angerboda, stav is more accurately described as an “esoteric educational system” than a martial art. The martial art aspect is only a tool to teach the philosophy of stav (Angerboda 2018). Others say it is closer to a religion or philosophy than a martial art (The True Fork, n.d.).

It is claimed that stav is based on an ancient philosophy and family tradition that has been kept secret for many years to avoid persecution from the church. The claimed old age and inherited tradition of the system has raised a lot of controversy (Angerboda 2018; Pedantic Swordsman, n.d.). The technicalities of the martial art also raise a lot of questions (Pedantic Swordsman, n.d.). Ivar Hafskjold learnt stav from his older relatives while growing up in Norway. He went to Japan and studied martial arts and started to teach stav upon his return.

Svebor

Svebor, is a Serbian martial art, its name meaning “all types of fighting”. There are contested views on the origins; some contend that it is an old, transmitted martial art while others claim it was invented by Pedrag Milošević in the 1990s. The former argument seems to be based on the belief that svebor was developed from the practice of Serbian knights in medieval times (Crudelli 2008). Svebor fighters use various armed and unarmed techniques such as using axes, headbutts and stone-throwing (Crudelli 2008).

Systema

Sistema

Systema was originally created for Russian special operations units and it gradually spread throughout the world after the fall of the Soviet Union (DeMarco 2016: iv). Systema is heavily influenced by Asian martial arts, both through migration and research by the Soviet government with the goal of seeking out the most effective techniques. The Cossack roots ensure a strong emphasis on flexibility and unorthodox tactics. Systema is still used by the Russian Special Forces and is widely practised by law enforcement and military personnel (Secours 2016: 1).

The core of the system is composed of the following four points: breathing (correct breathing is essential), movement (dodging a punch or kick is better than blocking), structure (stability and posture are important), relaxation (blows are less effective if the recipient is relaxed). There is no grading system or hierarchy when training systema.

The earliest roots go back to the tenth century, but systema started to develop more seriously with the advent of Soviet rule in 1917. The Russian government invested greatly in combat techniques (Secours 2016: 4).

Tranta

Trinta, trynta

Trânta or trynta is the national wrestling style of Moldova, and is practised in both Moldova and Romania. It is a hand-to-hand combat style between two or more unarmed people (Dexonline, n.d.). The style employs a variety of grappling techniques. The goal is to get the opponent on the ground after lifting them. A match has a duration of six minutes for adults and four for junior wrestlers, or it can end when the scoring reaches a difference of twelve points. Traditionally, winners were rewarded with a ram (Vasilică 2011).



Trânta developed from Greco-Roman wrestling styles and goes back to the period of the Dacian Kingdom (168 BC – AD 106). In the second half of the twentieth century, efforts were made to revive the sport.

The Romanian Ministry of Education decided in 1985 that trânta would be a part of the school curriculum in rural areas because of its positive health effects. Trânta is also part of the Moldovan school system and trânta matches are often organised by the local authorities or are held as part of bigger sports events.

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Combato

Combato is a Canadian combat system created by Bill Underwood in 1910. Underwood, an Englishman who migrated to Canada, developed the art based on his experience with jujutsu and other grappling skills (Crudelli 2008: 314). Combato was efficient and easy to learn, deadly and suited for people of all sizes (O'Connor 2018).

Underwood taught the combat system, which included close-quarter striking and jujutsu, to Canadian soldiers during the Second World War (Crudelli 2008: 314). Before Underwood was involved, soldiers in Canada were only taught boxing and wrestling. Underwood wanted to teach them a more efficient fighting technique, targeting the weak parts of the body to inflict maximum damage or death (O'Connor 2018).

After the war, a safer version called *defendo* was introduced to the public and the civil forces (Crudelli 2008: 314).

Chuck Norris System

Chun kuk do

The Chuck Norris System (CNS) is a

Korean-based American style of karate, founded by Chuck Norris, an American martial artist, actor and film producer. Norris started to learn tangsoodo, a Korean equivalent of Japanese karate, while serving in the US military stationed in Korea from the late 1950s. After his service, he became a professional karate practitioner participating in competitions. He has been a successful martial artist and has won many honours and competitions since his victory at S. Henry Cho's All-American Karate Championship held in 1967. Norris later founded his own martial discipline *chun kuk do*, which was renamed CNS in 2015.

While developed from its antecedent martial arts, CNS has its own primary "focus on the art, efficiency, and effectiveness of striking and kicking from a stand-up position" (United Fighting Arts Federation, n.d.). CNS is taught through schools and instructors certified by the United Fighting Arts Federation, mainly located in the US, but there are also some official schools in Norway, Mexico and Australia. CNS has a typical belt system where practitioners progress from

white to black belt. There are first to tenth degrees of black belts.

Danzan-ryū jujutsu

Danzan-ryū is a jujutsu style founded by Professor Henry Seishiro Okazaki in the 1920s. “It is an effective system of self-defence that incorporates physical and mental training within a philosophy of ethical and moral development” (American Judo and Jujitsu Federation, n.d.).

Danzan-ryū teaches many different techniques depending on the level of practitioners. They learn “to roll and fall, to move and balance, to escape from grabs and manipulate joints, to throw and project, to submit and opponent, to counter and transition, and to reverse damage” (American Judo and Jujitsu Federation, n.d.). It also incorporates

danzan-ryū restorative therapy, a healing art called seifukujitsu that was transmitted by Master Okazaki. Traditionally, danzan-ryū had a belt system where the practitioners progress through white, blue, brown and black belts (Arrington 2009).

Okazaki emigrated to Hawaii when he was young. He suffered from severe tuberculosis but managed to overcome it through his martial arts training, thereafter dedicating his life to teaching and practising danzan-ryū (American Judo and Jujitsu Federation, n.d.).

The original Okazaki organisation was first called the American Jujitsu Guild and was later renamed American Judo Institute in 1939 (Arrington 2009). Master Okazaki’s disciples came to mainland America and began teaching



danzan-ryū in the 1930s and founded the American Judo and Jujitsu Federation (AJJF) in 1958. AJJF now represents and promotes danzan-ryū jujitsu across the country and the world (American Judo and Jujitsu Federation, n.d.). It presides over the system to certify danzan-ryū practitioners, provides training courses, sponsors competitions and holds a national convention.

Defendo

Defendo is a Canadian self-defence system created in 1945 by Bill Underwood. The system is built around the defendo “triad”. This triad combines four leverages, twelve pressure points and five grips. Defendo’s teaching and training is very systematic (Crudelli 2008: 314).

Underwood had developed and taught to Canadian soldiers a deadly fighting system, *combato*, which was used in the Second World War. After the war, the focus of the system was shifted to restraint and self-defence and the lethal techniques were removed from the curriculum. This made the style suitable for the general public and police forces (Crudelli 2008: 314). In line with these alterations, the system’s name was changed to defendo.

Underwood documented his system in four different books. His final book, *Defendo: The Occidental System (Western) of Self-Protection*, was published in 1969. At an old age Bill Underwood appeared several times on Johnny Carson’s show demonstrating the effective techniques of defendo (O’Connor 2018).

Enshin karate

Enshin kaikan

Enshin karate is a variation of karate founded by Joko Ninomiya in 1988. It is a full-contact art that contains striking and grappling techniques. Two Japanese words *en* and *shin* suggest that practising the art is an open, unlimited journey (Enshin Karate 2020a).

Enshin places emphasis on *sabaki*, which in martial arts means “to use an opponent’s power and momentum against him regardless of size” (Enshin Karate 2020b). The World Sabaki Challenge has been organised for over forty years, providing a platform where the practitioners and martial artists in different disciplines can compete with each other using various techniques (Enshin Karate 2020b). It is unique that martial artists in different disciplines can

participate in the competition.

Enshin karate now has branches in more than twenty countries around the world (Enshin Karate 2020a).

Hokoko

Hokoko is a wrestling style indigenous to the native Hawaiians (United States Traditional Sports and Games Confederation, n.d.-a). The style was

first noted by the crew members of the HMS *Resolution* in 1779 when they visited the main island of Hawaii (United States Traditional Sports and Games Confederation, n.d.-a).

This traditional Hawaiian game or *pa'ani'kahiko* was practised during *Makahiki* season (Chiba 2006). Both hokoko and mokomoko boxing are part of the ancient Hawaiian martial art kapu



kuialua (United States Traditional Sports and Games Confederation, n.d.-a).

Jailhouse rock, 52 Blocks

Jailhouse rock is an umbrella term for African American martial arts variants associated with penal institutions in the United States (Green 2016: 24). They were developed among prisoners and gang members (Crudelli 2008: 331) and can be considered a direct method of self-defence (Green 2020: 231). The name jailhouse rock is probably derived from Elvis Presley's film and song of that name (Green 2010c).

There are different regional styles like "gorilla", "baryard", "stratio" and "fifty-two hand blocks" (Crudelli 2008). The "fifty-two hand blocks" or the "52s" is one of the more famous styles of jailhouse rock. Most practitioners agree that the style does not literally consist of fifty-two blocks. It is currently unclear where this name comes from (Green 2020).

Due to media attention, jailhouse rock has become known among the public. Jailhouse rock is part of the boxing world, popular rap songs, crime books and graphic novels (Crudelli 2008). Recently the art has also received more validation while being approached

as a heritage art and an African American expression for cultivating health, fitness and ethnic pride (Green 2016). Part of the roots of jailhouse rock are probably to be found in the fighting systems enslaved Africans brought with them during the colonial era (Green 2010c: 26).

Thomas Green points out that knowledge is usually passed from person to person in an informal context. This is not inheritance in the traditional sense, but rather experienced fighters passing on their techniques to favoured novices. This means there are no fixed canons, attainable ranks or standardisations in jailhouse rock (Green 2016).

Kajukenbo

Kajukembo

Kajukenbo is an American martial art that developed in Hawaii. The name is an acronym based on the martial arts it is based on. "Ka" refers to Korean karate (tangsudo), "ken" refers to Okinawan kenpo (or kempo), "ju" refers to Japanese Kodokan judo and jujutsu, and "bo" refers to Chinese and European boxing (Harris 2001a: 219; Hill 2008). Kajukenbo combines a mix of many styles and techniques into one practical, effective and cohesive system, designed to work

in real fighting (Harris 2001a: 222–223). By way of a uniform, practitioners wear black kimonos. There is a grading system with coloured belts (Harris 2001a: 220).

Between 1947 and 1949 Peter Y. Choo, Joseph Holck, Frank F. Ordonez, Adriano D. Emperado and George “Clarence” Chang created kajukenbo in Honolulu, Hawaii. The group of creators are known as the Original Black Belt Society. They combined their knowledge of Eastern and Western martial arts to create the ultimate self-defence system, and tested the system on the street of Honolulu (Harris 2001a: 219; Hill 2008).

Kara-ho kempo

Chinese kara-ho kempo karate

Kara-ho kempo is a style of karate founded in 1944 by Professor William Kwai Sun Chow. The martial art uses various armed and unarmed techniques, and about eighty of these are to be learnt by a practitioner in their progression towards black belt status (Kwai Sun e. V., n.d.).

Professor Chow first learnt Shaolin kung fu from his father and practised other martial arts, including karate and jujutsu, and finally studied kempo jiu-jitsu or kosho-ryu kempo under its founder James Mitose (Kwai Sun Company, n.d.). Chow

started instructing what he called “kempo karate” to many students in Honolulu, Hawaii. Some of his disciples like Edmund Parker and Sam Kuoha spread styles of American kempo to mainland America (Kwai Sun Company, n.d.).

After the death of Professor Chow in 1987, Sam Kuoha became the successor of kara-ho kempo. The Kwai Sun Company is the governing body of kara-ho kempo and is represented by Grandmaster Kuoha. According to its German branch, there are approximately five thousand practitioners around the world.

Lua

Kapu kuialua, kapu ku'ialua, ku'ialua

Lua or kapu kuialua is an indigenous martial art from Hawaii. The style includes joint locks, bone breaking and lethal strikes. Practitioners learn how to use every part of their body. The main weapons used in lua are the palua puili (double club), the pahoa (single-edged dagger) and a double-edged dagger. Other weapons include the ma'a (sling), the polo-u (long spear) and the pohaku (a stone) (Crudelli 2008).

Practitioners also learn traditional practices like massage and ritual dances

to prepare them psychologically. Lua follows the philosophy of dualism, as in Daoism. Central is the search for balance between powers of good and evil, light and dark, male (hard) and female (soft), destruction and healing. The upper body is considered soft and feminine, the lower body hard and masculine; both should work together in harmony. The mythology surrounding lua centres on Ku, the god of war, and his wife, Hina, the god of the moon (Crudelli 2008). Legend says it is the martial art of Hawaiian royalty, traditionally exclusively taught to the royal family (Crudelli 2008).

Western influence from the missionaries who arrived in 1820 was one of the factors leading to the extinction of the martial art. As education became more important, martial sports became less so. Eventually, the introduction of firearms also contributed to the downfall of many traditional martial arts in Hawaii (Fitzpatrick 2011).

Fitzpatrick (2011) notes that the original art is lost, except in the stories people continue to pass on. However, there is a modern lua that has been influenced by karate and jujutsu and still includes some brutal fighting techniques reminiscent of what is recounted in the

old stories (Crudelli 2008).

Lucha libre

Free-style wrestling

Lucha libre (meaning freestyle wrestling) is the Spanish name for a style of professional wrestling from Mexico. The contestants wear colourful, personalised masks to keep their identity secret while creating a character that captivates the public. Wrestlers (*luchadores*) take on a stage name that is reflected in their costume (Williams 2015: 179). Many become real icons with a big fan base.

Techniques are generally quick and acrobatic. In some cases, the loser is required to remove his mask permanently, thus revealing his real face and identity. In 2018 the Mexico City government recognised lucha libre as intangible cultural heritage of Mexico City (San Miguel Times 2018). With its extravagance and storytelling abilities, lucha libre has featured in many Mexican movies as well as some Hollywood pictures (Williams 2015: 180).

In 1863 Enrique Ugartechea developed the art of freestyle wrestling based on Greco-Roman wrestling. After that, wrestling gained popularity through promotion and a large-scale approach by



the Mexican Wrestling Enterprise, EMLL (now the World Wrestling Council). In the second half of the twentieth century, television helped to bring lucha libre its fame. A second factor was the rise of the wrestling star El Santo who stepped into the ring in 1942. He became the most famous luchador lucha libre would know and had a career lasting over forty years. A week before his death he removed his mask on national television; until then his face had never been seen in public (Gaskell 2015).

Lucha libre wrestlers usually come from wrestling families with their own wrestling tradition.

Model mugging

Model mugging is a self-defence programme founded in 1971 by Matt Thomas, who was inspired to help women overcome the fear of rape (Model Mugging, n.d.). The name of the programme was inspired by role plays in his training sessions, in which he took the role of the “mugger”, threatening his students (Model Mugging, n.d.). Matt named this self-defence system “role model mugging” and later shortened it to “model mugging” in 1973 (Model Mugging, n.d.).

The course and instruction of this programme are aimed at teaching practical methods for women to defend

themselves against various threat scenarios (Model Mugging, n.d.). The programme focuses on simulating realistic situations in which women are faced with assaults and defeat the attacks (Model Mugging, n.d.). The scenarios are developed and constantly updated based on actual data (Model Mugging, n.d.).

Model mugging is easy to take up, with no prior martial arts training required.

Mokomoko

Mokomoko is a traditional boxing style from Hawaii. Since Hawaii did not have any written sources before the colonisers arrived in the eighteenth century, all sources are from eyewitnesses. The sport was witnessed for the first time by Captain James Cook and his crew but is assumed to have existed centuries before then.

Boxing matches were commonly held during Makahiki season. People would gather and the supporters of a certain fighter would loudly encourage him. According to Malo (1903), the fighters on their turn would show off their muscles in a boastful fashion.

Matches were dangerous and boxers often sustained serious injuries. Boxers aimed to catch the opponent's strike with his own fist, which was

probably the cause of the many broken arms that occurred (Malo 1903; Chiba 2006). Malo (1903: 304) notes that: "The one who fell was often badly maimed, having an arm broken, an eye put out, or teeth knocked out. Great misery was caused by these boxing matches."

The United States Traditional Sports and Games Confederation notes that hokoko wrestling and mokomoko are part of the ancient Hawaiian martial art kapu kuialua (United States Traditional Sports and Games Confederation, n.d.-a). Many Hawaiian sports and games suffered after the missionaries came to the islands. Mokomoko is no longer practised today.

Okichitaw

Okichitaw is a Canadian combat art. The name is derived from the Plains Cree word "okichitawak", which refers to warriors who had proven themselves skilled in the art of survival, protection and warfare. All hand, foot and body mechanics are a reflection of specific Plains Cree weaponry and their respective movements. Indigenous weaponry such as the tomahawk, lance, gunstock warclub and knife are used in advanced training (Okichitaw Indigenous

Combat Arts Official Website, n.d.).

In okichitaw the students also become familiar with the underlying philosophy and indigenous Canadian culture. The “medicine wheel” and the “four directions” are applied to the techniques taught in this martial system. The four directions are linked to the four different stages, and different belt colours, the practitioners go through during their training (Lépine, n.d.).

Okichitaw was founded by George J. Lépine (1962–) and established in 1997. Lépine became familiar with different martial arts in his youth. He decided to combine the values of indigenous culture with the Canadian Cree combat principles and methods (Larke 2018). Lépine created okichitaw using what he had been taught, supplemented by his own extensive historical research. The scarcity of reference materials and surviving indigenous records – details have mainly been passed down orally – made it hard. Through codification and systematisation, it was successfully turned into a modern martial art (Boorman 2015).

In 2002 at the Chungju World Martial Arts Festival, okichitaw was presented and officially recognised as a

unique indigenous martial art of Canada by WoMAU. The popularity of okichitaw is increasing, with regular classes happening more frequently and the organisation of workshops and seminars (Okichitaw Indigenous Combat Arts Official Website, n.d.).

Rough and tumble

Gouging

Rough and tumble, also called gouging, was a common form of fighting in the southern part of the US during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is an extremely violent fighting style focusing on the disfigurement of the opponent. Biting, tearing off body parts and gouging out eyes were all part of it since there were no restrictions whatsoever (Gorn 1985; Jennings 2016).

Rough and tumble started in rural Carolina and Western Virginia. In the late eighteenth century, it expanded in popularity and into Kentucky and Tennessee. There were no rules in this form of duelling. Participants of gouging were usually the lower classes, the uneducated, rural population. Most sources regarding the history of these practices were written by visitors and travellers or passed on orally. In rural

areas literacy rates were very low and there was generally a lack of newspapers (Gorn 1985; Jennings 2016).

As time went on, higher-class gentlemen also started to take part in the brawling fights. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, some people wanted to distinguish themselves and started to take on more gentlemanly ways by imitating the English aristocracy; to that end, some took boxing lessons, distancing themselves from the unregulated fights (Gorn 1985).

Soldier canyon

Soldier canyon is a weapon-based martial discipline native to America and characterised by tomahawk and knife throwing. It is represented by American Intangible Cultural Heritage, a registered non-profit organisation founded in 2010. The organisation aims to promote American performing arts and martial arts (American Intangible Cultural Heritage, n.d.). Soldier canyon is affiliated with WoMAU and featured in its martial arts festival.

SUCEM

SUCEM, meaning “universal system for extreme combat”, is a form of MMA

from Mexico, founded in 1995 by Jesús Díaz (Jennings 2017). Founded within the context of “recovering the pre-Hispanic culture of Mexico in the sporting environment”, the martial art has its distinct elements such as the headgear, club and shield inspired by Aztec warriors and weaponry (Jennings 2017). Despite being started in a small town, SUCEM has become a nationwide combat sport in Mexico (Jennings 2017).

Tire machèt

Haitian machete fencing

Tire machèt is a Haitian martial art. Just like the Colombian grima, this fencing style uses a machete, although students usually practise with wooden sticks or wooden swords. European and African elements were merged into a unique fencing style used for combat. There are noticeable similarities with European sabre fencing as well as African stick-fighting and capoeira (Haitian Machete Fencing Project, n.d.).

In the years before the historic revolution of 1791–1804, stick-fighting was banned in Haiti as it was on other French Caribbean islands. But since the sticks are so easily replaced after confiscation, proponents could keep practising

(Desch-Obi 2008: 148; Tucker 2017). During the revolution, the slaves of Haiti defeated Napoleon's armies. One of their weapons was the machete (Desch-Obi 2008: 147–148). The most common use of the machete in Haiti, however, is as a farmer's tool that is also used for personal defence. Colombia and Cuba also saw a development of machete fighting. In particular, the Colombian art of grima shares a lot of techniques with Haitian *tire machèt* – there is undoubtedly a relation between the two (Desch-Obi 2009: 153).

The art is passed on from master to pupil. Most masters keep their practice hidden and surrounded by secrecy.

Professor Alfred Avril teaches the art openly to a few students, as seen in the beautiful short film *Papa Machete* (2014). The Haitian Machete Fencing Project organises and supports training programmes in Haitian fencing. The project is dedicated to promoting and teaching the system worldwide. In Munich, Germany, for instance, multiple fencing classes have been held.

Wen-do

Wen-do is a self-defence programme for women and girls developed by Ned and Ann Paige in 1964 in Canada (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-b). The



programme is composed of various self-defence techniques such as blocks, strikes and releases from holds, intended to be used against larger, physically stronger attackers (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-a). In addition to the physical training, the programme also includes emotional and verbal defence strategies against various threats in multiple settings, including sexual harassment and abusive relationships (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-a). All the courses are taught by qualified female instructors who go through rigorous training on a yearly basis (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-a).

The Paiges came to develop wen-do inspired by an incident in which a woman named Kitty Genovese was stabbed by a stranger on the street in New York City (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-b). The attack was witnessed by some neighbours around the scene, yet Ms Genovese was left helpless and the murderer was able to stab her multiple times (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-b). This tragic incident is the background of the social psychological theory known as "bystander effect" or "Genovese syndrome" (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-b).

Motivated by this context, using their martial arts expertise Anne and Ned Paige decided to develop techniques for women to defend themselves (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-b). They started the first course teaching a hundred women strikes, blocks and body hold releases at Don Mills Collegiate in Toronto (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-b).

Wen-do classes have spread across North America and many other regions, including Japan, South Africa, Europe and New Zealand. More than one hundred thousand women have participated in wen-do workshops and courses (Wen-Do Women's Self-Defence, n.d.-b).

Xilam

Xilam is a mixed-technique Mexican martial art created by Marisela Ugalde Velázquez de León. Xilam is mainly a self-defence martial art, and sporting spectacles and regulated combat are avoided. It lies somewhere in between a traditionalist martial art and a self-defence system.

Marisela Ugalde founded xilam in 1986 and registered it as a social association in 1992. The art takes inspiration from three ancestral Mesoamerican warrior cultures: the Aztecs,

the Maya and the Zapotecs. Ugalde practised different martial arts before creating xilam, and in combination with her passion for traditional Mexican culture and her own modern cosmopolitan lifestyle this led to the development of the new system.

Xilam is composed of seven step-by-step levels taken from seven animals indigenous to the region: the snake, the eagle, the ocelot, the deer, the monkey, the iguana and the armadillo. Movements combine qualities taken from these seven animals, which are also important in pre-Hispanic and native traditional philosophy. Xilam also incorporates weapons training using replicas of the weapons used by the Aztec warriors alongside pre-Hispanic dance rituals and elements of a Mesoamerican ball game through the use of the shoulder and hips to strike. It unifies the cosmological ideals of the

Aztecs in a modern martial art indented for education, cultural expression and human development rather than conquest, violence and warfare – thereby striving to cultivate modern warriors in a Mexico now troubled by the coloniality of power, violent organised crime and discrimination against its first peoples. George Jennings (2015, 2020) notes that even though Xilam was invented by a woman in a field dominated by men, it has no strong feminist stance, but rather promotes the development of neutral, modern warriors.

Jennings gives a detailed overview of the history of Xilam in the article “Mexican Female Warrior: The Case of Marisela Ugalde, the Founder of Xilam” published as a chapter in *Global Perspectives on Women in Combat Sports: Women Warriors around the World* (2015).



OCEANIA

Boumwane, boomwane

Boumwane is a traditional wrestling style from the Pacific island of Kiribati. Similar to other folk-wrestling styles around the world, the winner is the wrestler who is the first to force their opponent's hand or knee onto the ground (Amdur 2018: 426). The practice is typically part of National Day celebrations. The island of Nauru has a sport that is very much alike (Wikipedia, n.d.-b).

Chamorro dance

The Chamorro dance is native to the Mariana Islands and more specifically Guam. It is a traditional stick dance with a warrior background from the indigenous Chamorro people. The dancers wear loincloths and shell ornaments and carry a wooden staff (Flores 2002). The dances that are alive and practised today are the result of many efforts to reclaim the local heritage after a loss of indigenous memory due to Western influence.

Chamorro dancing was described by several early visitors to the Mariana Islands and Guam; the Jesuit annual report for 1669–1670 as well as the

French explorer Louis Claude de Freycinet's 1819 report discuss the native dance (Flores, n.d.). When de Freycinet visited the islands, the influence of the Spanish coloniser was already apparent. The strong influence of Spanish music and dances on the local culture continued until they started to dwindle during the American Naval period in 1899. Big band music, waltzes, ragtime and flapper dances became better known, before cha cha, tango, rock 'n' roll and jitterbug became popular after the Second World War. By then the dances from the Spanish period were considered "traditional" (Flores, n.d.).

From the 1970s human rights movements and decolonisation initiatives became active in the Pacific. The Chamorro people, like many others, started to question their relationship with the coloniser and started the search for their own history. During this period the re-creation of the Chamorro dance began. Festivals were organised and Chamorro culture gained recognition (Flores 2002).

Frank Rabon, together with Carlos Taitano, created the non-profit

organisation Pa'a Taotao Tano'. The organisation has taken the lead in promoting the development of Chamorro dance, apprenticeship in Chamorro dance, language learning and cultural programmes for the tourist industry (University of Guam 2015). After its foundation in 1999, the organisation formed a coalition between the existing dance groups (Flores, n.d.).

Coreeda

Coreeda is an Aboriginal wrestling tradition from Australia. Coreeda means

“kangaroo spirit” in the language of the Ngiyampaa people of the Cobar region in western New South Wales. Coreeda consists of two components, dance and wrestling. The dance component serves as a way to warm up and is mostly based on the movements of kangaroos (Korff 2020).

The fact coreeda is a team sport makes it stand out among other wrestling styles. Teams are made up of six wrestlers, each representing a weight category (Korff 2020). The scores of the competitors in one team are added up to



give a team total. Like in sumo wrestling, the wrestlers have to force the opponent out of a circle (Black Belt Wiki., n.d.-c).

Coreeda was a popular and well-known Aboriginal game until the Australian continent was invaded in the 1870s. Traditional wrestling used to have different purposes: it was a way to train warriors, a form of entertainment and a ritual, show and competition at tribal meetings (Traditional Sports, n.d.-a).

Coreeda today is promoted by Aboriginal wrestlers Shane Parker and Stephan Jaeggi (Korff 2020).

Epoo korio

Epoo korio is a wrestling game among the Kiwai people of Papua New Guinea and some people of the Torres Strait Island

region. The game involves two teams who each build a mound of sand. The players try to evade their opponents in order to destroy their mound (Sport Australia, n.d.).

Sport Australia, under the auspices of the Australian government, create resources to teach children traditional sports and games in schools around Australia. The resources can be found on their website, sportaus.gov.au.

Fagatua

Fagatua is a traditional form of beach wrestling from Tokelau. It was a way for the clans to test their skills and strength and also a reason for them to come together for an enjoyable time (Manu 2020). It was also used to settle disputes between villages (Wikipedia, n.d.-b).



Pokotau means “challenge”, and when called out it signals it is time to wrestle. *Manumanu* refers to looking for an opportunity to attack and block the opponent. *Fagatua* is also known as a “collar tie”; after taking on this hold, wrestlers try to control their opponent while preparing for a takedown (Manu 2020).

In 2014 Ilai Manu from Tokelau won a gold medal in wrestling at an Oceania sporting event. Tokelau’s sport development officer Susan Hei Perez was positive about the future: “I am certain that these medals will inspire more of our young people to take up the sport. We are anticipating great things for Tokelau Wrestling in the future.” She said it could also be a step towards restoring Tokelau’s traditional wrestling form, *fagatua* (Government of Tokelau 2014).

Goomboobooddo

Goomboobooddo is an indigenous grappling tradition from Australia (Colson 2016). In this grappling art, different family clans will wrestle each other, with everyone wrestling a member of the opposing family in their turn. The side that throws the most opponents wins. Wrestlers grease their bodies with oil

before the fight (Parker 1905).

According to some sources, *goomboobooddo* is from Papua New Guinea (Traditional Sports, n.d.-b). Since Australia and Papua New Guinea have various elements of shared history, it is possible they also share this martial game.

Limalama

Limalama is a self-defence art of Polynesian American origin. Limalama is not a Polynesian martial art by culture or tradition, but American Samoan because of the heritage of its founder and creator, Grandmaster Tu’umamao “Tino” Tuiolosega (1931–2011). Limalama has the symbolical meaning of “hands of wisdom”.

Tuiolosega was born in Samoa and moved to Hawaii later in life. He reached the level of Grandmaster in different styles of kung fu and kempo karate, and also practised aikido, judo, jujutsu and boxing. After becoming skilled in other martial arts, he created limalama in honour of both his American and Polynesian heritage. Thirteen principles derived from the founder’s life experience form the basis of the art. One of the principles, *amofoe*, for example, requires the practitioner to understand how to use their bodyweight

and swaying tactics for good balance (Crudelli 2008: 334). Other techniques used in limalama include grabs, tackles, pushes, punches, kicks, clinches, holds, locks and chokes, as well as an array of weapons-based techniques. Some techniques show elements of street fighting (Crudelli 2008: 334).

According to Crudelli (2008: 334), limalama is sometimes seen as a style of American kempo (or kenpo). Founder Tuiolosega has stated it makes him angry when people call his art a kempo style. “Just because I’m also a Grandmaster of the Kenpo system doesn’t mean I’m teaching it” (Al Garza 2015).

Tuiolosega formed his limalama organisation in the late 1960s with

five American martial artists, later complemented by Rigor Lopez, a martial artist of Mexican descent. Mexico now has the largest limalama community in the world, with over fifty thousand practitioners (Al Garza 2015).

Grandmaster Tino seems to have been very protective of his creation; afraid of others “stealing” his art, he only allowed Al Garza, his first and closest student, to film during his demonstrations (Al Garza 2015). In 2015 Al Garza published a book on the life of his master and the history of limalama.

Mau rakau

Mau rakau is a martial fighting tradition indigenous to the Maori people in New Zealand. “Mau rakau” means “bearing arms” in the Maori language. The martial art uses different Maori weapons like clubs, spears and staffs. One of the weapons used is the *taiaha*, a traditional Maori staff made from wood or whalebone. Other weapons include the *tao* (spear), the *patu* (club) and the *maripi* (a short, serrated wooden knife).

Mau rakau was a common fighting art in New Zealand before the introduction of firearms at the end of the eighteenth century. According to local legend, the



art was passed on from the gods Tu (god of war) and Tane (god of the forest). The art is no longer used to train for tribal warfare or to settle disputes, but as a means to cultivate self-discipline and social responsibility (Crudelli 2008).

The Matarua Federation of Traditional Maori Martial Arts promotes mau rakau by arranging tournaments and organising events (WoMAU, n.d.-b). Assessment guides have been developed for use in the Mau Rakau Domain of the National Qualifications Framework in New Zealand (NZQA 2020).

Pi'i tauva

Pi'i tauva or fangatua is a type of freestyle wrestling from Tonga. Practitioners usually hold each other by the waist and wrestle each other in a standing position. The goal is to throw the opponent onto their back (United World Wrestling Oceania, n.d.).

The techniques of wrestling and boxing were recorded during Captain Cook's and William Mariner's stays on the island between the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century (Scott & Buckley 2014). This evidence points at a wrestling tradition going far back into Tongan history.



Popoko

Popoko is a wrestling style indigenous to the Maori of the Cook Islands. It is native to the island of Pukapuka, where wrestling is part of the Summer Games. These Games are held annually from November to January and originate from the ancient Polynesian Makahiki festival season (Borofsky 2017). The whole island comes together, and the festivities serve as a way to strengthen the community (Borofsky 2012).

The participants walk in procession to the wrestling grounds where they meet the other villages. The wrestlers wear belts woven from coconut fibres around their waists (Wikipedia, n.d.-b).

Popoko is a popular activity among young local men. The winning village celebrates the victory by singing *tila*, a chant especially for the occasion (Borofsky 2017). Children in Pukapuka become skilled in the local sports through observational learning (Borofsky 2012).

Rongomamau

Mamau

Rongomamau is an unarmed martial arts style from New Zealand. The art teaches practitioners how to disarm an opponent wielding different weapons (Dillan 2020).

It is a wrestling style inspired by the Maori gods.

Legend says that the gods started a war with each other, threatening to destroy the world; to end the fighting, the God of Peace, Rongo, acquired skills from the other gods and with these created the art rongomamau (Dillan 2020). According to Timoti Pahi, practitioner and healer priest of rongomamau, the fighting art served as a way to connect to the gods. In this way it is strongly linked to spirituality.

Pahi believes that since indigenous warrior cultures survived due to their martial arts, it is important that the arts are not lost. He sees it as his responsibility to the art and to his teacher to pass on rongomamau (Dillan 2020).

The government in New Zealand made it illegal to practise martial arts like this in 1907 with the Tohunga Suppression Act. As a consequence, Rongomamau became an underground art solely taught within families (Dillan 2020). The Act was repealed in 1962.

Tal kin jeri

Tal kin jeri is a martial dance native to the Ngarrindjeri people of Australia. Tal-Kin-Jeri Dance Group was established in 1997

by Major Sumner and Loretta Sumner. The organisation promotes the traditional Ngarrindjeri dance and weaponry through the organisation of camps, workshops and events. Their goal is to foster a better understanding of Aboriginal culture and in particular Ngarrindjeri culture (WoMAU, n.d.-d; Deadly Story, n.d.).

The Ngarrindjeri Culture Hub is an initiative that aims to promote Ngarrindjeri arts and culture. They are supported by the Australian government (Ngarrindjeri Culture Hub, n.d.).

Taupiga

Taupiga is a traditional wrestling style from Samoa. The people of the Pacific Islands developed many martial arts. The

Polynesians were the first long-distance navigators of the world. The bravery necessary to make those long and dangerous journeys is reflected in their martial arts (Tausk 2001b).

Wrestlers in Samoa would cover their bodies with coconut oil before a fight. The fight itself involved getting a hold on the opponent's loincloth to throw them to the ground. Taupiga wrestlers fought on behalf of their village, and the bouts were an important part of inter-village gatherings (Interesting Sports, n.d.; Wikiwand, n.d.). The sport has died out with the introduction of rugby to the islands by missionaries in the 1920s (Interesting Sports, n.d.).



SOUTH AMERICA

Bajan sticklicking

Bajan sticklicking is a stick-fighting art from the Caribbean island of Barbados. The fire-hardened wooden sticks used in the art have a length of about 1 metre and are held in one hand. In the past, however, two hands also might have been used. Some practitioners also learnt how to fight empty-handed, combining the use of the stick with other techniques like kicks and shoulder throws.

The art of sticklicking has African roots and is suspected to have been introduced to Barbados in the sixteenth century due to the transatlantic slave trade (Hinds 2015). The oldest written sources on the art date from the 1940s (Ryan 2020). Many stick-fighting arts in the region share a similar history, among which are *calinda*, *grima* and *juego de mani*. Until recently, sticklicking was still popular and a valued skill in Barbados. Different styles used to be practised but currently only “Queensbury” and “Johnson” remain.

As a leisure activity, sticklicking was practised in the context of dancehalls, casinos and house parties.

The more formal matches used a system of three-minute rounds and one-minute rest for the fighters. Points were given for successful hits and the winner was offered prize money (Ryan 2020).

After Barbados gained independence in the 1960s, sports like cricket gained popularity. This resulted in local sports like sticklicking almost vanishing (Ryan 2020). Today there are only three active teachers on the island, according to Philip Forde. They give demonstrations at schools and state holidays to promote the heritage of Barbados (Ryan 2020).

Bakom*Bacom*

Bakom, also called *vacón*, is a martial art created in Peru. The art combines different martial arts, street combat techniques from the slums and *fuleria* (prison fighting techniques) from the prisons of Lima, together creating a deadly and effective fighting style (Academic, n.d.). The goal is to inflict injury and harm to the opponent in a short space of time. The use of hidden

weapons and techniques for distraction and surprise are allowed. Arm locks, chokeholds and extreme punches are also part of it. Fighting using bakom techniques often ends in the death of one of the participants (ca POW!era 2012).

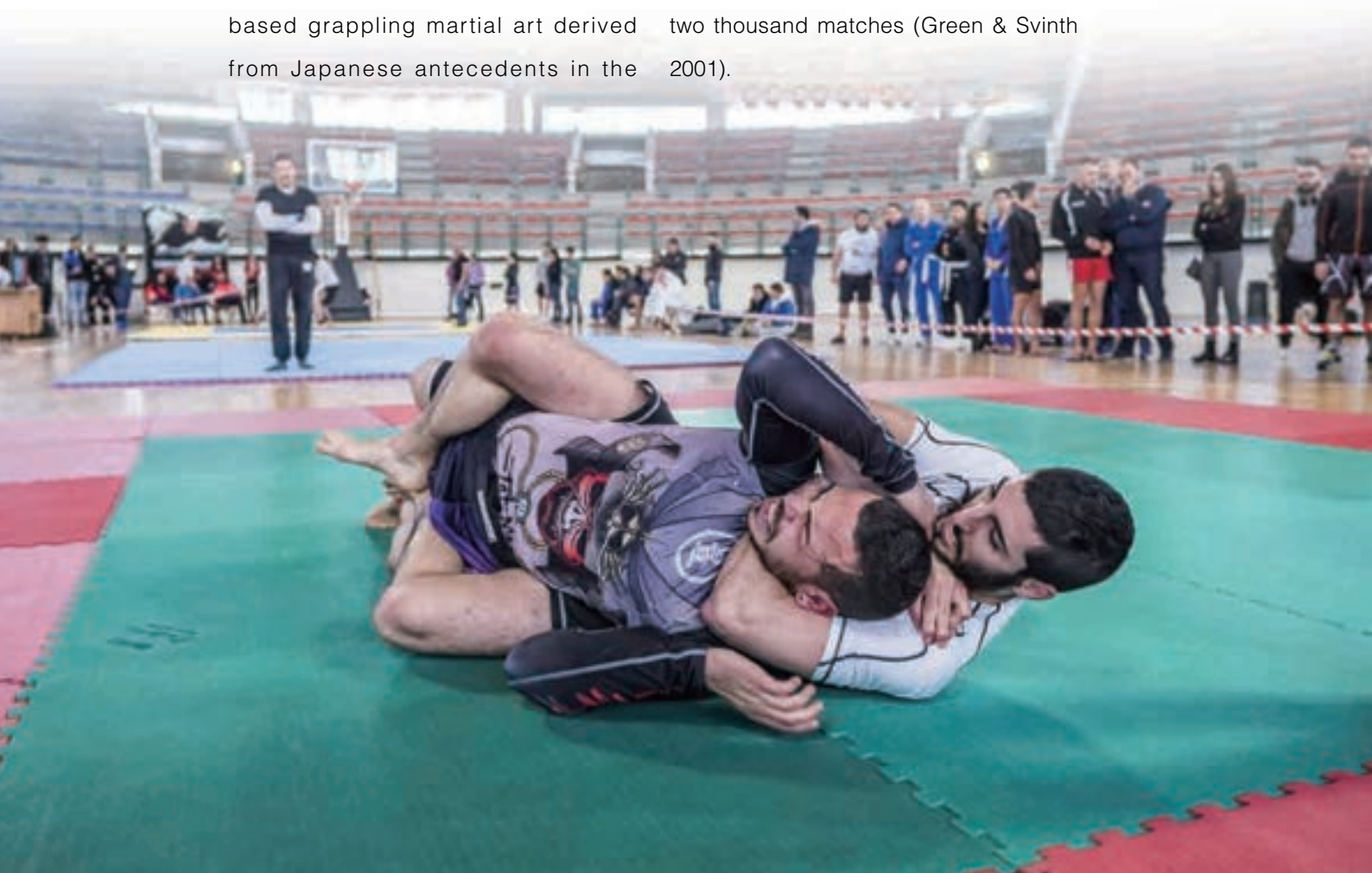
Bakom was founded on the streets and in the prisons of Lima in the 1980s by former marine, former convict, street fighter and jujutsu master Roberto Puch Bezada. Bakom is a constantly adapting martial art (Academic, n.d.).

Brazilian jiu-jitsu (ju-jitsu)

Brazilian jiu-jitsu (BJJ) is a ground-based grappling martial art derived from Japanese antecedents in the

twentieth century in Brazil. BJJ has many techniques, including various submissions and takedowns. It has a belt system similar to judo and practitioners progress from white to black belt.

BJJ was founded by Carlos Gracie, who was trained by Mitsuyo Maeda from Japan in the early twentieth century. As an outstanding young judo practitioner with a fourth-degree black belt, Maeda had the opportunity to showcase his art in America in 1904 with his instructor Tsunejiro Tomita. From 1906 to 1913, he wrestled in Europe and South America and was only defeated twice in two thousand matches (Green & Svinth 2001).



While there are contested explanations of the details, Maeda met the Gracie family in the mid-1910s in Brazil, where he taught judo to Carlos Gracie for several years. In 1925, Gracie set up his own jiu-jitsu school in Rio de Janeiro, which was the birth of what is known to be Gracie jiu-jitsu (Green & Svinth 2001). The Gracie brothers promoted BJJ by training students and participating in high-profile matches.

Gracie jiu-jitsu, still regarded as a Japanese martial art, declined during the Second World War as Brazil stood against Japan and practitioners chose to take up other indigenous grappling styles (Meehan 2020).

BJJ began to receive greater popularity with Royce Gracie's excellent performance using the art at the Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC), founded by Rorion Gracie and Art Davie in 1993.

The first international BJJ competition was held in 1996 by Confederaçao Brasileira de Jiu-Jitsu. In the twenty-first century, BJJ has grown tremendously with an increasing number of gyms, competitions and organisational bodies. The International Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu Federation was founded in 2002.

Calinda

Calenda, Kalinda

Calinda is a martial art, or rather martial dance, from the Caribbean. It is a type of stick-fighting. These days it is still practised at the Trinidad and Tobago Carnival. Calinda is usually accompanied by music (vocals and drums). The sticks (*bois*) are about 80 centimetres long, often oiled and fire-hardened (Traditional MAS Archive, n.d.; National Carnival Commission of Trinidad and Tobago, n.d.).

Calinda, based on traditional African combat dances, was brought from Africa to the Caribbean through slave trade during the early eighteenth century (Green & Tausk 2001; Traditional MAS Archive, n.d.). Green (2003: 130) explains that the loss of combative nature in these performances is due to the occasions in which African American martial arts usually take place or are shown to the public; they tend to be displayed at for example carnivals.

Capoeira

UNESCO explains capoeira (circle) as follows:

Capoeira is an Afro-Brazilian cultural practice – simultaneously a fight and a dance – that can be interpreted as a tradition, a sport and even an art form. Capoeira players form a circle at the centre of which two players engage with one another. The movements require great bodily dexterity. The other players around the circle sing, chant, clap and play percussive instruments. Capoeira circles are formed by a group of people of any gender, and comprise a master, counter-master and disciples. The master is the bearer and guardian of the knowledge of the circle, and is expected to teach the repertoire and to maintain the group's cohesion and its observance to a ritual code. The master usually

plays a single string percussion instrument, starts the chants, and leads the game's timing and rhythm. All participants are expected to know how to make and play the instrument, sing a shared repertoire of chants, improvise songs, know and respect the codes of ethics and conduct, and perform the movements, steps and strikes. The capoeira circle is a place where knowledge and skills are learned by observation and imitation. It also functions as an affirmation of mutual respect between communities, groups and individuals and promotes social integration and the memory of resistance to historical oppression. (UNESCO, www.ich.unesco.org/en/RL/capoeira-circle-00892)



It is widely believed that capoeira was imported to Brazil by African slaves in the seventeenth century. As the number of slaves grew, many escaped and established their concealed communities in the mountains or jungles, where they practised hand-to-hand fighting to defend themselves against the slave owners and external invasions. Hand-to-hand combat in guerrilla warfare combined with a folk culture including music and dance produced the rapid development of capoeira (Liponski *et al.* 2003).

In the aftermath of rebellion, slavery was abolished in 1868. Slaves were then integrated into slum areas, becoming slum gangs using capoeira for street fighting. As capoeira was viewed as violent and dangerous, it was prohibited in the late nineteenth century. Later, in the mid-1900s, legendary master Bimba revitalised capoeira by gaining official support from the Brazilian president and establishing a capoeira school, which facilitated the spread of capoeira to clubs and educational institutions. Capoeira has spread across and outside of Brazil since the 1970s and is now practised in more than 150 countries.

There are still debates over whether capoeira is the New World development

of an African martial art or if it originated in the New World with some African influences like musical instruments (Green & Tausk 2001). Some argue that there are a lot of similarities between capoeira's body mechanics and music, and those of African fighting arts.

Grima *Colombian fencing*

Grima is a Colombian martial art. This fencing style uses a machete but students usually practise with wooden sticks or wooden swords. Grima came about during Colombia's colonial period. It was developed among the Afro-Columbian community.

The origin of grima has been strongly debated and no consensus has yet been reached. Some believe it was brought to Colombia by enslaved Africans, others believe it was inspired by European sword-fighting or brought to South America by European soldiers. Further research has yet to shed light on this (Desch-Obi 2009: 153; Tucker 2017).

Next to Colombia, Cuba and Haiti also saw a development of machete fighting. The Haitian art of *tire machèt* in particular shares a lot of techniques with Colombian grima – there is undoubtedly

a relation between the two (Desch-Obi 2009: 153).

Huka-huka

Huka-huka is a traditional wrestling style developed by the Xingu indigenous people of Brazil. Both men and women take part in huka-huka wrestling.

Huka-huka is a big part of *kuarup* (also *quarup*), a mourning ritual of the Xingu tribes (Smith, n.d.). Opponents from different tribes wrestle each other in ceremonial matches that are part of *kuarup*. The fights end when one of the participants' knees touches the ground; this can mean matches usually only last a few seconds. The tradition strengthens the ties between the Xingu tribes, as the huka-huka contests play a part in selection of marriage partners for young tribe members who have recently come of age (Sinchi 2018). It is unknown how far back in time this tradition goes, but it has been suggested that it was only introduced after Columbus arrived in the seventeenth century as a replacement for inter-tribal warfare (Sinchi 2018).

Traditionally, huka-huka fighters have a rigorous schedule; they wake up at 2 a.m. and watch the fire to improve their vision, after which they bathe in

the cold river and start training at 7 a.m. (Himmelman 2017).

In the future we might be able to see huka-huka wrestlers compete in the Olympics. Himmelman (2017) reported the start of a project to make the indigenous huka-huka fighters into Olympic wrestlers. A specialist team offering training and support to the fighters should help prepare them for the 2024 Olympics (Himmelman 2017).

Juego de mani

Mani, bambosa

Juego de mani, also referred to as just mani or bambosa, is a martial art and dance from Cuba. It mostly consists of stick-fighting elements. Practitioners follow a choreography wielding a stick. Other techniques used in juego de mani are headbutting, punching, foot-sweeping and elbow strikes (Crudelli 2008: 338). Practitioners are called *maniseros* (Lopes 2004).

Juego de mani finds its origins in the nineteenth century among the enslaved Africans on the sugar plantations of Cuba (Crudelli 2008).

Juego del garrote

Garrote tocuyano

Juego del garrote is a Venezuelan martial art involving stick-fighting. In some styles, machetes or knives are used as well. The stick measures about 80 centimetres and has a diameter of 1.5–2.5 centimetres (Venezuela Marcial 2013). One end is often covered with colourful woven fabric for a more comfortable grip. It is used as both a defensive and offensive weapon. The aim of garrote is not to kill but to gain respect (Ryan 2011: 80).

The art has been practised in Venezuela from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, mainly in the states of Guarico and Lara (Enciclopedia, n.d.). Juego del garrote originates from Spanish fencing culture with influences from the Canary Islands, African culture and the indigenous cultures of Venezuela. Until recently, juego del garrote was exclusively practised by men, but this is now changing

Longkotun

Lonkotun

Longkotun, literally “fight of the hair”, is a Chilean fighting style involving participants taking each other by the hair (Cruz 2010). It is common in *palin* (ball game) matches, to settle issues regarding the game rules

(Mapuche dictionary, n.d.).

Longkotun used to be a popular martial art, a man-to-man fight between chivalric opponents that did not need arbitration. It entailed taking the hair (or the little bit of remaining hair of the warrior that was already prepared and shaved for battle) of the rival, forcing him down until his head touched the ground.

One particular rule of longkotun was silence: whoever talked or complained of pain lost the fight. Another strict rule was the absence of punching or slapping of the opponent (Mora Penrose 2016).

Luta livre

Brazilian catch wrestling

Luta livre is a highly effective Brazilian form of grappling. Luta livre means “free fighting” in Portuguese. Luta livre played a role in the development of vale tudo as well as the development of Olympic Wrestling in Brazil (Welko & Silva 2014).

Fighters in luta livre rely on a correct and superior technique to win a fight. They use very effective throws, locks and holds. The style is ever evolving and continues to absorb techniques from other wrestling and grappling arts (Crudelli 2008).

Roberto Leitão, internationally recognised lute livre mestre, used his knowledge of engineering and mechanics to develop luta livre techniques. He refined some of the techniques by introducing leverage rather than pure strength. Leitão published what is now known as the theory of luta livre: ten key principles on which luta livre depends (BJJSPOT, n.d.). The principles remind the fighter to keep moving, not to fall into repetition, to retain the upper hand in the fight, to use their whole body and so on (Beneville 2015). Fighters should use the element of surprise, and be in control of

the space and their opponent's actions (Crudelli 2008).

It seems the first luta livre matches took place around 1909 within the Greco-Roman wrestling framework. Luta livre quickly gained fame, and national and international luta livre championships were organised in Brazil. Luta livre rules allowed striking the opponent with the head, knees and elbows, as well as other violent techniques. The art provided a platform for challenges between different popular fighters of the time and different martial arts styles. Fighters often got seriously injured (Welko & Silva 2014).



One of the main figures in the development of *luta livre*, and sometimes credited as the founder of the art, is Euclides “Tatu” Hatem (1914–1984). He became a successful and well-known fighter in Brazil between the 1930s and 1950s. He taught *luta livre* in different cities all over Brazil. When he fell ill, his student Fausto Brunocilla continued the work of his master. Brunocilla also taught his own son Carlos, who would, after his father’s death, take on the responsibility of continuing Mestre Tatu’s teachings (Welko & Silva 2014).

There has been a long-standing rivalry between the practitioners of *luta livre* and those of Brazilian jiu-jitsu. Eventually, *luta livre* lost some of its popularity. One of the reasons is the fact that the sport failed to create a popular champion; another reason might be that when Brazilian jiu-jitsu also started to fight without uniform, *luta livre* lost some of its terrain (BJJSPOT, n.d.).

Maracatu rural

Maracatu refers to different performance genres in Pernambuco in north-eastern Brazil. Maracatu rural, also named as *maracatu de baque solto*, *maracatu de orquesta*, *maracatu de trombone*,

is an expression of Afro-Indigenous culture, now performed at the carnival of Pernambuco. The Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico Nacional of Brazil recognised maracatu rural as living cultural heritage in 2014 (IPHAN, n.d.).

Maracatu rural is not a martial art but incorporates elements of controlled fighting and the use of weapons, thus can be seen as an example of martial culture. It consists of music, dance and ritualistic elements. The practitioners are traditionally sugarcane workers. At the beginning of the twentieth century, sugarcane workers in Brazil fled to the capital due to the crisis in the sugar industry and took their traditions and culture with them (Carnival Recife, n.d.).

Maracatu rural is in danger of disappearing. Efforts like its recognition as living heritage in 2014 have been made and performances are still part of the carnival (Cultura.pe 2020).

Metratun

Mutratun

Metratun is an honourable man-to-man fighting style originating in Chile. There is no arbitrator and it is based on the warrior’s honour, and thus is very similar to *longkotun*. The fighters take each other

by the arms (Mapuche dictionary, n.d.; Cruz 2010) and have to bring down their opponent using the force of the arms only (Mora Penrose 2016). Whoever fell first, lost the contest, and also the bets that were an important element. Competitors used horses, lambs, valuable clothing, luxurious ponchos and blankets as stakes.

Rumi maki

Rumi maki is a Peruvian fighting system based on indigenous warrior culture. Rumi maki is Quechua for 'stone hand'. There are five levels in the system. Attacks using fist blows, headbutts, open hand attacks, kicks etc. as well as neutralisation and blocking techniques are taught. Weapons including slingshots, spears and bow

and arrow are also incorporated. The fifth level teaches philosophy, cosmology and spiritual aspect of rituals from the Andes (Rodríguez Flores & Bushman Vega 2007: 23-24).

After the arrival of the Spaniards only myths, religion and rituals preserved the martial culture of the Andes (Rodríguez Flores & Bushman Vega 2007: 13).

Tinku

Tinku is a form of ritual fighting and a festival in Bolivia. The festivals take place in May and usually last two or three days. Tinku can be seen as a ritual way to neutralise tension between different indigenous communities (Lonely Planet, n.d.).



People from different tribes fight in the streets without protection, using their fists, feet and sometimes simple weapons like whips, clubs, slingshots and rocks. Participants are mostly men, but women also take part (Crudelli 2008). The tinku festival in Macha is known as the most violent, but gradually it has become more inclusive. The organisers want a peaceful atmosphere suitable for a broader audience (Telesur 2018).

The fighting tradition has also been immortalised in the tinku dance (Lonely

Planet, n.d.). Dancers wear colourful costumes and are accompanied by a drum that complements their fighting-inspired movements.

Vale tudo

Vale tudo is a Brazilian martial art. In Portuguese, vale tudo literally means “anything goes”, reflecting the overall character of the style. The style was popular in Brazil during the first half of the twentieth century (Green & Svinth 2010: 32). The style has similarities with luta livre



and Brazilian jiu-jitsu, and laid the grounds for modern MMA. Traditionally, there was a lot of rivalry between vale tudo, Brazilian jiu-jitsu and luta livre (BJJ Heroes, n.d.).

As the name implies, the original version had no limits – everything was allowed. In the context of carnivals and circuses, trained fighters challenged each other. These travelling circuses and carnivals spread the fighting style (Jiu Jitsu Legacy, n.d.).

Nowadays the sport version has become safer and more restrictive. The rules are similar to MMA rules. Many techniques like eye-gouging and strikes to the groin are forbidden. Some fights still allow bare fists and headbutts (Black Belt Wiki, n.d.-f).



SECTION 5

Findings and discussion

Music, dance and rhythm in martial arts
Martial arts and change
Women in martial arts
Fighting for a better life
Colonial history, oppression and nationalism
Foundation of new martial arts





In this section, we present qualitative findings from this research that were not sufficiently addressed in the preceding statistical analyses. It is important to draw on thematic analyses in light of the fact that martial arts are a mixture of innumerable factors and influences.

MUSIC, DANCE AND RHYTHM IN MARTIAL ARTS

Music is an intrinsic part of many martial activities, especially of martial performances. It accompanies types of wrestling, stick-fighting and other styles. Researchers have started to address this topic, with most work putting Brazilian capoeira and Indonesian pencak silat at the heart of their research (McGuire 2017).

Based on the information collated in Section 4, we can conclude that the most common instruments used in martial traditions all over the world are different variations of drums and other percussion instruments, notwithstanding that different traditions usually have their own distinct musical instruments. Sometimes a martial activity and its music even share their name, as is the case for taskiwin (see p.53) and calinda (see p.260).

Traditional martial arts are often part of cultural festivals where they take on the form of a demonstrative performance to entertain spectators. In this context, music emotively enhances the experience of the spectators and serves as a bridge between them and the practitioners. Modern competitive martial arts like karate or taekwondo are also accompanied by music of different genres when they serve demonstrative purposes, delivering a more powerful and cinematic impact.

Ethnomusicologist and martial artist Colin McGuire (2017, 2019) proposes the term “martial sound” to cover all the sounds involved in martial practices. This not only includes music and drums, but also the rhythm of combat consisting of the sounds generated by weapons, defence and attack, breathing, clothing and flooring.

Dance is also closely intertwined with martial arts in multiple ways. Different cases show that dance-fighting styles arise in societies of suppression. It serves as a way to disguise the martial elements in order to keep the practice secret. One of the best-known cases is Afro-Brazilian capoeira, which evolved into a hybrid form of music, dance and folk game, as opposed to a typical fighting art.

In many cultures, it is common for wrestling matches to be preceded or followed by dances. These dances serve as a way to warm up the contestants, to get the audience excited, to rile up the opponent or as a ritual. Some examples from Section 4 are the Mongolian wrestling style *bukh* where the wrestlers perform dances imitating animals, *muay thai* that also starts off with a dance, *chidaoba* where the wrestlers often leave the ring with a Georgian folk dance, Armenian *kokh* where the wrestlers sometimes even dance during the fight and Australian *coreeda* where dance moves are used to warm up.

Some martial arts have multiple versions and can be practised either as a dance or a martial art, depending on the tradition or the purpose (e.g. *lathi khela*, *combat hopak*, *tinku*). Mutual influence between traditional martial arts and traditional dance is also very common. Traditional martial arts often incorporate elements from local folk dances and this type of influence also works in the inverse direction. Lewis (2020) recognises that traditional Korean dance and martial arts like *taekkyeon* and *taekwondo* share many movement characteristics. The practices incorporate similar postures, breathing techniques and hand and foot movements.

Dance-fighting or creating choreographed martial dances can also be a way to incorporate martial practices into festivals in times of peace, as a demonstrative form of the art. While martial dances are common all over the world, we were only able to discuss few of them. The topic of martial dances deserves more rigorous research in the future from the perspective of cultural studies. Some of the arts we have touched on are *cakalele*, *chhau* dance, *silek gelombang*, *tharu* stick dance, *Chamorro* dance and *tal kin jeri*.

Rhythm and timing form the basis for martial arts, music and dance. In all three disciplines it is important for practitioners to master those skills. Although often forgotten, some major research has been done on this topic already. We give some interesting examples in the following paragraphs.

In *Tao of Jeet Kune Do* (1975), Bruce Lee discussed timing as one of the main qualities of martial arts. He used music theory as a tool to talk about the rhythm of combat. His most famous concept that had a transnational impact on martial arts is that of broken rhythm. Lee emphasised the importance of good timing, which would

allow a practitioner to exert some degree of control over their opponent's movements in both attack and defence to allow the practitioner's interceptions to have maximum effect. Controlling the pace and the rhythm of the fight allows a combatant to sense intuitively what their opponent is going to do next (McGuire 2019).

Lewis (2020) points out that Korean traditional music usually has a characteristic three-beat rhythm that is naturally reflected in Korean dance. The movements of most Korean traditional martial arts are practised in the same rhythm. This is a great example of the importance of rhythm and the connection among music, dance, martial arts and rhythm.

McGuire (2015) argues that percussion music accompanying traditional Chinese martial arts is characterised by a combative approach to rhythm. This shows a certain rhythm and tempo can have a positive effect on fighting drills. In martial dance the rhythm also allows dancers to perform synchronised moves without looking at each other (McGuire 2015). Rhythm is also known to play a crucial role in fencing. A 2020 study shows that rhythm skills have a great impact on overall performance (Hijazi 2020).

MARTIAL ARTS AND CHANGE

All martial arts are subject to adaptation. The key to their continued existence and relevance is in their response to change. Some changes are necessary for survival and others are desirable for smooth adaptation in evolving societies.

Controversial and ethically questionable elements in traditional martial arts

In the text of the UNESCO convention on safeguarding ICH (2003), it is stated that: “intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history”.

In order to gain a wider audience and international recognition, it is often necessary for local martial traditions that incorporate controversial, ethically

questionable or dangerous practices to adapt. According to experts in the field, intangible cultural heritage is never completely innocent, as it gets its meaning from its contribution to identity and continuity (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed 2016). The members of a community usually regard their heritage as a matter of course and do not question it. For outsiders, however, there can be many grounds for critique. Changing ideas around issues such as health, environment, safety, gender and animal rights bring elements of intangible cultural heritage into question. As a result, critics cast doubts on whether an expression of culture in a certain form should be continued for future generations. Every form of intangible cultural heritage faces the possibility of becoming controversial at some point in history (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed 2020).

An example mentioned in Section 4 is the slaughtering of dogs for the evala wrestling festival in Togo (see p.43). The wrestlers believe they gain supernatural powers from the meat. This tradition touches on an especially sensitive topic, as it is not consistent with current standards of animal welfare and the increasing attention paid to animal rights.

In professional and more sportified contexts, superstitions are increasingly less welcome. Traditional medicine and magic were a big part of Nigerian gidigbo, but this has partially changed since these practices are not always allowed publicly these days (see p.45). The fact that it is still prevalent, however, shows that change is a slow process. Changes linked to safety concerns are also very common in martial traditions. Many martial arts have forbidden or limited the use of weapons and certain lethal techniques. In dambe (Nigeria), for example, it was common for the wrestlers to attach sharp objects to their fists. As this is extremely dangerous, it is now officially forbidden (see p.40).

Communities often perceive the label “controversial” as stigmatising. Because of this, the Dutch Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage prefers to speak of “heritage in motion”, highlighting that heritage is an ever-evolving element of society (Kenniscentrum Immaterieel Erfgoed, n.d.). Philosophy of culture, which studies developing society and different views, can provide a basis to understand and address this phenomenon.

Globalisation, hybridisation and diversity

Globalisation and internationalisation processes have immensely influenced the dynamics of culture and society, which in turn results in shifts in the practices, institutions and the meaning of martial arts.

Historically, the spread and development of martial arts was predominantly related to military, migration and colonialism, but in more recent times global media play an unmistakable role (Bowman 2013). One of the representative examples is the rise of modern MMA. It has gained tremendous popularity worldwide through the Ultimate Fighting Championship (UFC) promotion company, which produces television shows as well as video games for platforms such as PlayStation and Xbox.

Previously, Bruce Lee's jeet kune do attracted audiences across the globe in action and martial arts movies. It is also impossible to see the cinematic context of Bruce Lee disentangled from the technological and economic processes of globalisation (Bowman 2013). Chinese and Japanese martial arts (especially kung fu and karate) also found a place in Western popular culture through movies and television (Bowman 2010). The influence of martial arts in film is enormous. It is now extremely rare for an action movie not to include martial arts sequences.

Another interesting example is Nigerian dambe. Previously unknown, the sport now attracts a growing international audience on the YouTube channel Dambe Warriors. Dambe promotor Anthony Okelele told the BBC the channel has gone from being watched by two hundred thousand people in 2017 to over twenty-four million in 2019. Over 60% of views are from outside Nigeria. During the COVID-19 pandemic, the channel attracted even more viewers (Mafua 2020). As of now the channel has 165,000 subscribers, with the number continuing to grow (Lost Child Media 2021).

Globalisation can result in the loss of martial arts styles. Well-sportified and institutionalised martial arts like taekwondo and karate that receive a lot of official support tend to dominate the field worldwide. Local martial arts often face the risk of extinction and get squeezed out by newly imported or codified styles. As we saw in Section 4, colonisation, imperialism and nationalism are also factors that contributed to the spread of martial arts as well as the decline of others.

Bowman (2010) points out that globalisation does not necessarily cause a homogenising effect; instead it generates dominance of certain styles on the one hand and fragmentation and proliferation of diversity on the other. Many styles remain unique to certain places and there are visible regional, national and international differences. The very modern technologies that are at the root of many internationalisation processes have simultaneously facilitated the increasing visibility of differences between styles and traditions (Bowman 2010).

Globalisation is also closely linked to the postmodern phenomenon of hybridisation. In the process of hybridisation, cultures affect each other and evolve dynamically. The process of hybridisation facilitated the development and proliferation of many new martial art styles. Combinations, re-combinations and the borrowing of elements from different cultures and traditions became more prevalent. Hybrids do not just borrow elements within the martial arts field, but also show influences from fantasy, sports, self-defence, cinematography and choreography. Bowman (n.d.) says that “all martial arts styles are arguably hybrid ... Nonetheless, the intensification and acceleration of the development of martial arts in the contemporary world is overwhelmingly related to the saturation of media and communication networks, and to the marketing of franchises.”

It is also worth noting that the complicated cultural intersections and intercessions are at the root of the existing mixture of countless martial arts disciplines that are the subjects of unmanageable claims to authenticity and originality (Geczy 2019).

Martial arts and tourism

Many martial arts have adapted for the sake of survival in a changing environment. Tourism often acts as both the cause and enabler for these changes and, simultaneously, the key to their continued existence. However, there are multiple issues relating to tourism and intangible cultural heritage. The relationship between the two is especially vulnerable due to the heritage's non-material nature (Van der Zeijden 2005).

George (2010: 13) points out that tourism can be considered a subtle form of cultural appropriation:

In many isolated rural and remote rural communities, after centuries of evolution and building of unique and strong cultural traditions, expressions, customs and ways of life, a more subtle form of appropriation is taking place through tourism. Parts of the communities' spontaneous and evolutionary social constructs – their cultural heritage resources – are now being transformed into commodities for exchange and exploitation through modern tourism development.

It is common for martial dances and rituals to become public displays for tourists instead of private ceremonies and celebrations. An example is Indonesian perang pandan, which changed from the 1930s onwards under the influence of the tourism sector (see p.143). The stick dance of the Tharu people of Nepal is also an important attraction of cultural tourism and one of the elements that drove the traditional form to extinction (see p.173).

The consequences of cultural appropriation can damage and transform the cultural practice and harm the community by negatively impacting the integrity and identities of the group (George 2010). External parties like tour operators, entrepreneurs, film-makers and governments often exploit local intangible cultural heritage for their own profit, while the local communities are deprived of most of the benefits (George 2010). UNESCO recognises the need to reconcile market and heritage, but warns of “over-commercialisation”. Bortolotto (2020) points out how over-commercialisation goes hand in hand with “misappropriation” and “de-contextualisation”, and therefore does not answer to the logics of intellectual property.

This is a topic that deserves further attention. A lot has been written about intangible cultural heritage and tourism, including research on how the two can be combined in a sustainable and respectful way. However, there is a need for more research on the specific topic of martial arts and tourism, as well as the commercialisation of martial arts.

WOMEN IN MARTIAL ARTS

Martial arts were predominantly practised by men who would often engage in fighting and war aimed at ensuring their own survival and that of their communities. They would

also compete for personal reasons like gaining respect from their communities or attracting a partner. Such conventional inspirations have gradually declined over time and many fighting arts have embedded and highlighted their non-martial traits and values, transforming into leisure activities and training methods for cultivating mind-set, self-discipline and physical health, to name a few. Accordingly, martial arts now attract a broader range of participants, including girls and women.

There is in fact a proven track record of women's exclusion from martial arts practice, and their participation in martial arts is now associated with challenging male-dominated practices and socially ingrained gender perceptions in martial arts (Channon 2014; Maclean 2015; Alsarve & Tjønndal 2020; Mandakathingal 2021). For example, Egyptian tahteeb has been a male-dominated practice since ancient times, and only in 2017 was a young female instructor first certified to teach modern tahteeb, marking a milestone in the efforts to eliminate gender stereotypes in the art (Noureldin 2017). Similarly, women were allowed to compete against their male counterparts in European jousting tournaments for the first time in 2016 (Tan 2016). Female participation can be observed in a number of other arts and is particularly notable in martial activities at festive events and performances such as cchau, lathi khela and taskiwin. MMA and combat sports have gained increasing popularity in recent decades, and there has been a rising trend in women's participation in these (Channon & Matthews 2015; Channon 2018; Alsarve & Tjønndal 2020).

In addition, amid rising concerns around the safety of women in modern society, many self-defence programmes using martial techniques have been designed for women to tackle a diversity of crimes and sexual assaults themselves. Inspired by the stabbing of a young woman on the street in New York, a Canadian-based self-defence programme named wen-do was founded in the 1960s to teach women effective self-defence techniques against physical and verbal threats (see p.247). Model mugging, originating in America in the 1970s, is another example where women learn to defend themselves against a "mugger" in simulations of threatening situations like attempted rape (see p.243).

There are many other NGOs, academies and campaigns for women's self-defence around the world. SheFighter is one such self-defence academy for women

founded in Jordan that has expanded to more than thirty-five countries and contributes to women's empowerment on a global level. Mostly led by certified female instructors and experienced martial artists, these programmes tend to be more gender-sensitive and foster a women-friendly environment. To create such an environment, scholars argue it is pivotal to de-emphasise masculinity in martial arts training that might mistakenly support gender stereotypes and cause "climates of exclusion" by: 1) avoiding discrimination between men's and women's ways of training; 2) avoiding "manly" jokes; 3) promoting images of female fighters; 4) providing appropriate changing facilities for women (UNESCO & ICM 2019: 50).

It is significant that these self-defence programmes for women are not confined to enhancing physical techniques against potential threats, but are also aimed at building their resilience and psychological skills through education. Guthrie (1997: 1) suggests an insight that women's ability to defend themselves physically is likely to translate into their increased self-esteem. Additionally, he observes from structured interviews that women's recovery from experiences such as psychosexual abuse, eating disorders and substance abuse can be attributed to their martial arts training. This phenomenon is associated with the acquisition of resilience known to consist of several key factors like competence, confidence, connection, character, contribution, coping and control (Fleming & Ledogar 2008; UNESCO & ICM 2019: 13–14). All the elements can be achieved through sports activities as well as martial arts training, and the positive impact can be maximised if appropriate pedagogy is applied (UNESCO & ICM 2019).

Despite the effects of empowering girls and women to with assaults and other crimes, it is also noticeable that some martial arts focus on educating male counterparts. For instance, South African musangwe practitioners are taught to respect women and not to become involved in crime (Wende 2011; Woodard 2019b).

FIGHTING FOR A BETTER LIFE

We encountered several cases where martial arts are used by people from poorer socioeconomic backgrounds to escape from poverty (Wacquant 1995; Pattanotai 2009; Wise & Cariotis 2012). In Thailand, for instance, muay thai is often seen as a way

out of poverty. Young children risk their safety and health in the ring hoping for a better life, although the International Federation of Muaythai Amateur prohibits practitioners under the age of 16 from competitive fighting (Petty 2020).

Similarly, young Indian boys from disadvantaged families participate in kushti competitions, seeking fame and fortune (see p.117). The boys and their families can reach a state of financial security as a result of the competitions (Dhillon 2019). Nigerian dambe, traditionally a sport for butchers, is another example in which young boys from different backgrounds try to overcome financial difficulties. Growing poverty and illiteracy have increased the appeal of becoming a dambe fighter. Dambe champions can elevate their position in society through status and relative wealth (Simpson 2009).

In certain countries, boxing is closely linked to poverty. Boxing is known as a fighting art in which its champions often emerge from financially disadvantaged backgrounds. Two famous examples are Manny “Pac-Man” Pacquiao from the Philippines and the American heavyweight Mike Tyson. Tyson, who grew up in the slums of New York, once stated “the poorer you are the better boxer you can become”. In the Philippines, most boxers come from deprived socioeconomic backgrounds and regard boxing as an investment in a better future (Ishioka 2013). In all of the above examples, the successful fighter becomes a champion, thereby working their way up the social and financial ladder.

In many traditional martial arts, one of the original purposes of competition was also to prove oneself on a smaller scale, including to attract potential marriage partners, to solidify status in the community or to gain the respect of elders. Some examples discussed in Section 4 are Sardinian wrestling s’istrumpa, engolo from Angola, keshé wrestling from Bhutan, Kenyan nakbabuka and jousting.

COLONIAL HISTORY, OPPRESSION AND NATIONALISM

It was common that oppressive colonial regimes regarded native martial arts as violent and rebellious activities that could potentially threaten their grip on power.

The banning of these arts was often perpetrated in a broader context of colonial attempts to eliminate indigenous cultural identities. As a result, some martial arts declined and disappeared with few practitioners transmitting their arts, although others managed to survive and be reinvigorated. This can be attributed to their practitioners adopting alternative methods to maintain the traditions. For example, Afro-Brazilian capoeira was disguised and evolved as a hybrid form of dance, music and folk game, rather than a typical fighting art. In other cases, practitioners took their martial arts underground, looking to escape the control of the coloniser. In these situations, martial arts were often practised in secret, at night or in remote areas. Some of the examples mentioned in Section 4 are Vietnamese bach ho, Canarian juego del palo, Indonesian pencak silat, Burmese thaing, mustiyuddha, gatka and many other Indian martial arts. Oppressed martial arts often ended up playing a part in resistant movements. For example, Vietnamese vovinam was specifically developed in the fight against French colonialism.

In weapon-based martial arts, it was common for sticks and staffs to replace knives and swords under influence of the oppressor. In the Philippines, the Spanish prohibited bladed weapons, which led to rattan sticks replacing daggers in arnis. In Haiti, the French banned stick-fighting itself, but as sticks are easily replaced after confiscation, people kept practising. In some other cases, however, the switch from combat weapons to sticks was a decision made purely for safety reasons, as is the case with Somalian istunka.

In line with the repression of local culture and traditions, the coloniser's own cultural elements, including sports and games, were introduced and often ended up replacing the local sports and martial arts, influencing the existing activities or resulting in the development of mixed styles. The impact could be enormous and in many cases had a lasting, permanent effect. For instance, during the period of British colonial rule cricket became very prevalent in the Indian subcontinent, overshadowing local sports and games. In another example, the disappearance of the wrestling style taupiga from Samoa is attributed to the introduction of rugby by missionaries on the islands. Venezuelan juego del garrote, meanwhile, is an example of a martial art that mixes different cultures; it combines Spanish fencing culture with African and indigenous elements.

Decolonisation processes in many countries have encouraged the revival of local martial arts. This is visible in the Pacific where people in search of their own history rediscovered local traditions (e.g. Chamorro dance). Through further efforts, more local cultural elements can be rediscovered, gaining more recognition and appreciation.

Martial arts are also used as a tool to strengthen nationalistic feelings and promote a country's identity nationally and internationally. In China, after the revolution of 1911, traditional martial arts became a symbol of nationalism and were introduced to the Chinese school system (Henning 2001: 30). Rising interest in traditional martial arts and local history also corresponds with nationalistic feelings. The creation and success of the Hungarian baranta can be understood in this context. The creation of asgarda in Ukraine is also grounded in nationalism and conservatism. Its underlying philosophy focuses on Ukrainian culture and traditional gender roles. The internationally known and practised Russian sambo was originally created to unite the Soviet Union and construct a new identity for the involved nations. These examples also show that the foundation of new martial arts is often rooted in nationalistic sentiments.

FOUNDATION OF NEW MARTIAL ARTS

There is a pattern to be observed in martial arts founded in modern times. We noted that the founders of contemporary martial arts are generally competent in more than one fighting style. In some cases, they were born to practise several martial arts with the direct influence of their family members and older generations. While committed to promoting and transmitting their own martial arts heritage, they also came to experience other arts through different occasions during the course of their life, including school education and military service. As a result of practising different arts over many years, they are inspired to create their own disciplines by combining different arts together to organise what they believe to be “the strongest” or “most effective” system. Hence, their arts tend to be a hybrid form, consisting of existing techniques and the spirit of another art, rather than completely authentic elements. For instance, George J. Lépine, the founder of okichitaw, practised several martial arts

including judo, taekwondo and traditional wrestling from a young age, and developed them into the indigenous Canadian combat art (see p.244). Kajukenbo is the outcome of several martial artists' concerted inspiration to create a unique, complete self-defence system by combining karate, judo, jujutsu and boxing (see p.240).

We also encountered cases where martial arts founders regarded martial arts as a means to overcome their personal hardships, including health issues. The founder of danzan-ryū jujutsu, for example, suffered with seemingly incurable tuberculosis but was able to recover from the disease by training in several martial arts including jujutsu. Benefitted from his training, he was strongly motivated to commit to practising and teaching different jujutsu styles, and later combined them into his own discipline. Similarly, jeet kune do founder Bruce Lee is known to have struggled with injury and illnesses that hampered his martial arts training. Such physical weaknesses allowed him to be immersed in laying the conceptual and philosophical foundations of jeet kune do (Jennings 2019).

These observations partly support a theory of martial arts creation that: 1) martial arts founders are usually charismatic, skilled practitioners in different disciplines; 2) they are motivated to develop new fighting systems to overcome a personal or social crisis (Jennings 2019: 65).

SECTION 6

Conclusion

Findings and limitations of research
Implications for ICM's future research





FINDINGS AND LIMITATIONS OF RESEARCH

This research explored three hundred martial activities that are recognised by either UNESCO, international martial arts competitions, martial arts communities or existing literature. The martial arts were classified and compiled into databases by their origin, main techniques and weapons for numerical analyses. We found that more than a half of the martial arts originated in Asia with the four top countries identified as China, Japan, Korea and India. In terms of main techniques, it was discovered that grappling arts, mostly folk wrestling styles, are the most common type and exist in every corner of the world. There is ample evidence that humans would have instinctively wrestled when fighting since ancient times. Regarding the weapons classification, we argued that the rise and decline of martial arts and their weaponry were intertwined with the development of modern firearms. In the West, being the “early adopter” of firearms triggered by recurrent wars, traditional martial arts and weapons have easily become obsolete since medieval times. By the same token, the knowledge and practice related to martial arts were less likely to be preserved and transmitted for future generations. We noted, however, that movements like HEMA in Europe over the past decades have attempted to revive martial arts based on historical references. It was discovered that North America, mainly the US, has imported and reinvented East Asian martial arts since the twentieth century, often combining multiple disciplines. The spread and reinterpretation of Eastern martial arts in the US were driven by intercultural encounters and human exchange amid US involvement in the Pacific War and the Korean War in the mid-twentieth century.

This research also draws on qualitative findings to supplement the quantitative analyses. We confirmed that martial arts are an epitome of ever-evolving heritage infused with the historical, political, cultural and socioeconomic dynamics of different societies. Martial arts would often be a manifestation of state-led or grassroots nationalism and resistance against foreign culture and influence. Martial artists labelled as violent and dangerous have been persecuted and forced to adjust their ways of practice to survive oppressive measures. For instance, it was often the case that swords and knives were replaced by staffs and sticks. Some combat-oriented systems

evolved as a hybrid form involving musical elements, folk games and rituals. There have also been gradual changes over time in traditional martial elements considered controversial, unethical or superstitious from the contemporary perspective. Such transformations are in fact also coupled with other factors, including increasing demands for safety, the rise of modern sports characterised by deepened focus on non-martial elements, and the institutionalisation and (over)commercialisation of martial arts. It was common at this stage of alteration that martial traditions would face an existential dilemma whether to pursue changes in keeping with modern trends for survival, or stick to their traditionality and authenticity. The disputes and conflicting values around such a debate in martial arts communities have precipitated the aggregation and segregation of different factions and offshoots. As a result, only a few martial arts have consolidated their status as international competitive sports. Global media and the entertainment industry facilitated the spread and establishment of such “global” martial arts, simultaneously expediting both hybridisation and homogenisation of fighting styles that may or may not contribute to the diversity of martial arts.

Despite the achievements in exploring hundreds of martial arts and mapping a global overview, this research has constraints in the quantitative analyses conducted with some unclear, inconsistent criteria. Many relevant martial arts including MMA and Greco-Roman wrestling were not included. Some specific styles derived from a generic martial art were listed, but not others. To avoid such selection bias, it is necessary to have exact selection criteria and create a more exhaustive list of martial arts to conduct statistical analysis with a more representative sample. In addition, the description of the different entries, ranging from a few lines to several paragraphs, needs a thorough revision that examines the quality and reliability of statements and sources. These will ultimately lead the study to be more comprehensive in its scope and logical in unfolding lines of arguments, thereby building a global and contemporary perspective of martial arts from around the world. Although it is significant that we have embarked on such unprecedented research, the attempts are subject to critique for some generalisations compromising peculiarities and logical inconsistencies. Since the research was mainly aimed at collecting martial arts information, it had limitations in providing in-depth discussions on the thematic issues

surrounding martial arts practices such as musical elements, gendered practice, globalisation and hybridisation, diversity, poverty, suppression and ethics. Delving into diverse contemporary issues situated at the intersection between martial arts and varied sociocultural aspects such as the body, health, fitness, ageing, embodiment, social organisation and criminality will remain the key to deepening and expanding the discourse around martial arts studies.

Moreover, there is an over-reliance on the writings of a small sample of authors while much other existing research remains to be appraised. The voices of martial arts practitioners are also neglected. Incorporating scholarly literature with emphasis on ethnographic, anthropological and archaeological approach, as well as the practitioners' perspectives will lead this research to be more balanced, diverse and comprehensive.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ICM'S FUTURE RESEARCH

The researchers have laid the foundations for ICM's future research projects by identifying hundreds of martial activities, collating their overall statistics and drawing on quantitative and qualitative analyses. Reaffirming the existence of a plethora of martial arts, we would underline that this introductory study ought to be sustained to shed light on many more underrepresented martial arts. ICM is officially mandated to fulfil such tasks – to collect and compile all relevant records and data about martial arts of the world. This will certainly require a great deal of time and effort, so ICM should have a long-term strategy and system in place to collect and compile the information, build and maintain the database and publish editions of compendia on a regular basis. With regards to issuing the compendia, it is highly desirable to collaborate with the authors of pioneering works who should be inspired to improve the books. ICM will be able to connect with and utilise a number of reliable authors and their knowledge rather than conducting research by itself when publishing updated editions. Releasing Korean versions is another option for ICM's domestic audience.

When it comes to the types of records and data, ICM should be proactive in acquiring and producing not just text records, but different forms of visual and audio

materials, including photographs, videos and transcripts through field research. Other projects like public contests and exhibitions will help gather such materials. The diversity of content will amplify ICM's ability to promote and transmit martial arts in a lively, vibrant manner. In this regard, developing an interactive map that allows the reader to check for martial arts from different regions would be another effective way. All the forms of data gathered will need to go through regular inspection and revision to present well-grounded and impartial information to a variety of stakeholders and audiences, including the general public. The methods to store, categorise and display the data require consistent improvements in consultation with database experts.

Along with continuing this baseline study, ICM is also expected to conduct regionally focused research taking a two-track approach. The research targeting specific regions should move further on from the basics, delving into certain arts in detail that may have been neglected in the baseline study. In doing so, it is imperative for ICM to cooperate directly with indigenous researchers and interested parties, rather than relying on its domestic partners. This is of great importance in light of the fact that we have struggled with accessing knowledge and literature expressed in local languages due to the language barrier. This has occurred frequently, and especially when we tried to look into those arts that are relatively unheard of; this significantly undermined ICM's ability to uncover as many martial arts as possible in a detail-oriented manner.

In addition, engagement with local partnerships would be more cost-effective for ICM, saving time and financial costs in terms of dispatching domestic research personnel and assistants, and the travel and living expenses involved. The costs can and should instead be translated into endeavours to seek and utilise the right local people for the right positions of research. This may require ICM to rely on suggestions and inputs from UNESCO regional offices, national commissions, Category 2 institutes and centres under the auspices of UNESCO, and chairs, as well as international martial arts and sports federations. ICM will be able to use these "reliable pivots", harnessing their expertise and taking advantage of their established individual and organisational partnerships. This will allow ICM to be more efficient in arranging international research projects with credible stakeholders. Through the experiences of

developing local partnerships and gaining insight into regional environments, ICM will strengthen its own capabilities to discover areas of cooperation and implement joint initiatives engaging with like-minded stakeholders. For ICM, which has limited financial and human resources to fulfil its broad-based missions, collaborations are key to carrying out target-focused projects in a sustainable manner, producing deliverables of high quality, and underlining its global footprint.

During the course of research, it is observed that African martial arts have received scant scholarly attention despite their rich history and traditions. Given UNESCO and ICM's strategic objectives centred on Africa, there should be concerted and persistent efforts to support the research and transmission of African martial arts traditions. In doing so, as stressed above, close collaborations with regional authorities, scholars and experts, and martial arts communities to deliver local insights are necessary. ICM's partnerships formed over recent years with African national commissions, governments and development agencies can play a pivotal role in embarking on such international initiatives. These attempts will not only assist in mainstreaming and enriching research on African martial arts, but enhance ICM's organisational capacity to work for and in tandem with various potential beneficiaries around the world.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Research form sample

| | |
|---|---|
| Name | Chess boxing |
| Alternative Names | |
| Origin | France, Netherlands |
| Main Techniques | Striking |
| Weapons (if weapon-based) | N/A |
| UNESCO Inscription | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes (Year:) <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> No |
| General Information | <p>Chess boxing is a martial sport, combining boxing with chess. The hybrid activity finds its origin in a French comic book.</p> <p>The contest consists of alternating rounds of chess and boxing. Participants must be skilled in both chess and boxing. Either a knock out in the ring, checkmate on the chess board will decide the winner. If one of the opponents runs out of time on the chess clock it will also end the match (Williams 2015: 61).</p> <p>The sport is mainly played in the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, India, Iceland, Finland, France, Russia, Iran, Germany, Italy, Spain and South Africa (Williams 2015: 60; World Chess Boxing Organisation, n.d.).</p> |
| History/Development | <p>Chess boxing originates from the comic <i>Froid Équateur</i> by French comic book artist Enki Bilal (Bilal 1992), inspiring Dutch performance artist Iepe Rubingh turn it into reality in 2003 (Hale 2019). Following this he established the World Chess Boxing Organisation (Williams 2015: 60) and thus chess boxing became a real competitive sport that has been growing ever since.</p> |
| Transmission (Policies/institutions) | <p>There are different federations and clubs all over the world, but it is also possible to take online masterclasses through the World Chess Boxing Organisation's website.</p> |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Relevant Organisations | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- World Chess Boxing Association (WCBA)- World Chess Boxing Organisation (WCBO) https://chessboxing.io |
| Additional Materials | <p>An informative video about chess boxing and interview with performance artist Iepe Rubingh about how he made chess boxing become reality. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ZGHRzE8bqc</p> |
| References | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Williams, V. (2015). <i>Weird Sports and Wacky Games around the World: from Buzkashi to Zorbing</i>, p. 60-62.- Hale, T. (2019). "Chessboxing: the new craze where brain meets brawn" <i>Huck</i>. https://www.huckmag.com/outdoor/sport-outdoor/chessboxing-the-new-craze-where-brain-meets-brawn/- Bilal, E. (1992). <i>Froid Équateur</i>, Genève : Les Humanoïdes Associés. |

Appendix B: Databases

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|----|--|-----------------------------|---------|-----------------------|--------|
| 1 | Boreh, Borey | Grappling | N/A | Gambia | Africa |
| 2 | Dambe | Striking | N/A | Nigeria | Africa |
| 3 | Donga stick-fighting | Weapon-based | Sticks | Ethiopia | Africa |
| 4 | Engolo, Ngolo | Others | Others | Angola | Africa |
| 5 | Ethiopian tigil wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Ethiopia | Africa |
| 6 | Evala | Grappling | N/A | Togo | Africa |
| 7 | Ghanaian wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Ghana | Africa |
| 8 | Gidigbo | Grappling | N/A | Nigeria | Africa |
| 9 | Grech | Grappling | N/A | Tunisia | Africa |
| 10 | Istunka | Others | Others | Somalia | Africa |
| 11 | Kabubu | Grappling | N/A | Congo | Africa |
| 12 | Kandoshin | Striking | N/A | Nigeria | Africa |
| 13 | Laamb, Senegalese wrestling | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Senegal | Africa |
| 14 | Moraingy | Striking | N/A | Madagascar | Africa |
| 15 | Musangwe | Striking | N/A | South Africa | Africa |
| 16 | Nakbabuka | Grappling | N/A | Kenya | Africa |
| 17 | Nguni Stick Fighting, zulu stick-fighting | Weapon-based | Sticks | South Africa | Africa |
| 18 | Nuba wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Sudan | Africa |
| 19 | Tahteeb | Weapon-based | Sticks | Egypt | Africa |
| 20 | Taskiwin | Others | Others | Morocco | Africa |
| 21 | Testa | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Eritrea | Africa |
| 22 | Adithada, adithadi | Striking | N/A | India (Tamil Nadu) | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|----|------------------------------|--|--|-------------|--------|
| 23 | Aikido | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, staffs, swords) | Japan | Asia |
| 24 | Aki kiti, Sumi kick fighting | Striking | N/A | India | Asia |
| 25 | Alysh | Grappling | N/A | Kyrgyzstan | Asia |
| 26 | Angampora | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, shields, sticks, swords) | Sri Lanka | Asia |
| 27 | Arnis, Eskrima, Kali | Weapon-based | Multiple (Knives, sticks, swords, etc) | Philippines | Asia |
| 28 | Bach ho | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks, swords) | Vietnam | Asia |
| 29 | Baguazhang, Pa Kua Chuan | Mixed (Low-impact/ Meditative, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks, swords, etc) | China | Asia |
| 30 | Bajutsu | Mixed (Horseback, weapon-based) | Multiple (Bows, spears, swords) | Japan | Asia |
| 31 | Bali khela, Boli khela | Grappling | N/A | Bangladesh | Asia |
| 32 | Bando | Striking | N/A | Myanmar | Asia |
| 33 | Banshay | Weapon-based | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Myanmar | Asia |
| 34 | Bebintih | Grappling | N/A | Indonesia | Asia |
| 35 | Beiga | Grappling | N/A | China | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|----|--------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------|
| 36 | Bok Cham Bab | Grappling | N/A | Cambodia | Asia |
| 37 | Bokator | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Cambodia | Asia |
| 38 | Bukh | Grappling | N/A | Mongolia | Asia |
| 39 | Bulmudo | Low-impact/Meditative | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 40 | Bultong | Grappling | N/A | Philippines | Asia |
| 41 | Butthan | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Bangladesh | Asia |
| 42 | Caci | Weapon-based | Multiple (Shields, sticks, whips) | Indonesia | Asia |
| 43 | Cakalele, cakalele dance | Weapon-based | Swords | Indonesia | Asia |
| 44 | Cheena di | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks, swords) | Sri Lanka | Asia |
| 45 | Chhau dance, Chau | Others | Others | India | Asia |
| 46 | Chogān, Chovgan | Horseback | N/A | Azerbaijan | Asia |
| 47 | Daitō-ryū Aiki-jūjutsu | Grappling | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 48 | Dau vat, Đẩu vật | Grappling | N/A | Vietnam | Asia |
| 49 | Dumog, buno | Grappling | N/A | Philippines | Asia |
| 50 | Er Enish, oodarysh | Horseback | N/A | Kyrgyzstan | Asia |
| 51 | Fhan Dap | Weapon-based | Swords | Laos | Asia |
| 52 | Fitimaen | Weapon-based | Sticks | Indonesia | Asia |
| 53 | Gatka | Weapon-based | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | India | Asia |
| 54 | Gongkwon Yusul | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 55 | Goresh | Grappling | N/A | Turkmenistan | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|----|---|---|------------------------------------|---------------|--------|
| 56 | Gulat Benjang | Grappling | N/A | Indonesia | Asia |
| 57 | Gungsul, gugkung, hwalssogi | Weapon-based | Bows and arrows | Korea | Asia |
| 58 | Gushtingiri | Grappling | N/A | Tajikistan | Asia |
| 59 | Haidong Gumdo, Haedong Kumdo | Weapon-based | Swords | Korea | Asia |
| 60 | Hankido | Grappling | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 61 | Hankumdo | Weapon-based | Swords | Korea | Asia |
| 62 | Hapkido | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, nunchaku) | Korea | Asia |
| 63 | Health Qi-gong | Low-impact/Meditative | N/A | China | Asia |
| 64 | Hojojutsu | Weapon-based | Others (Rope) | Japan | Asia |
| 65 | Hung Gar, Hung Ga, Hongjiaquan, Hung Kuen, Hung Ga Kuen | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sears, sticks, swords) | China | Asia |
| 66 | Iaido | Weapon-based | Swords | Japan | Asia |
| 67 | Inbuan Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | India | Asia |
| 68 | Jang Sanati | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Uzbekistan | Asia |
| 69 | Jeet Kune Do, JKD | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Sticks | Hong Kong/USA | Asia |
| 70 | Jodo, jojutsu | Weapon-based | Sticks | Japan | Asia |
| 71 | Judo | Grappling | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 72 | Jujutsu/Jiu-jitsu/jujitsu | Grappling | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 73 | Kabaddi | Grappling | N/A | India | Asia |
| 74 | Kabasaran | Weapon-based | Multiple (Shields, spears, swords) | Indonesia | Asia |
| 75 | Kalaripayattu | Weapon-based | Sticks | India | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|----|------------------------------------|---|-----------------------------------|------------|--------|
| 76 | Kapap | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Israel | Asia |
| 77 | Karate | Striking | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 78 | Kasagake, Kasakake | Mixed (Horseback, weapon-based) | Bows and arrows | Japan | Asia |
| 79 | Kbach Kun Dambong Vèng | Weapon-based | Sticks | Cambodia | Asia |
| 80 | Kbach Kun Khmer Boran | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Cambodia | Asia |
| 81 | Kempo | Striking | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 82 | Kendo | Weapon-based | Swords | Japan | Asia |
| 83 | Kenjutsu | Weapon-based | Swords | Japan | Asia |
| 84 | Keshe | Grappling | N/A | Bhutan | Asia |
| 85 | Kobudô | Weapon-based | Multiple (Knives, sticks, swords) | Japan | Asia |
| 86 | Kok boru, buzkashi | Horseback | N/A | Kyrgyzstan | Asia |
| 87 | Kookhak Kigong | Low-impact/Meditative | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 88 | Koryu Bugei | Weapon-based | Swords | Japan | Asia |
| 89 | Koshti | Grappling | N/A | Iran | Asia |
| 90 | Koshti Ba Chukhe, Chukhe wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Iran | Asia |
| 91 | Kouksundo | Low-impact/Meditative | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 92 | Krabi-krabong | Weapon-based | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Thailand | Asia |
| 93 | Krav Maga | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Israel | Asia |
| 94 | Kukmudo, Gukmoodo | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Swords | Korea | Asia |
| 95 | Kukri Fighting | Weapon-based | Knives | Nepal | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|--|-----------------|--------|
| 96 | Kumyedo | Weapon-based | Swords | Korea | Asia |
| 97 | Kungekdo | Striking | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 98 | Kuntao | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Staffs, spears, swords, etc) | Philippines | Asia |
| 99 | Kuntau Dayak | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Shields, machete, spears, tiger claw, blowpipe, dagger, ...) | Malaysia | Asia |
| 100 | Kurash | Grappling | N/A | Uzbekistan | Asia |
| 101 | Kuresi | Grappling | N/A | Kazakhstan | Asia |
| 102 | Kushti | Grappling | N/A | India | Asia |
| 103 | Kyin, Rakhine wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Myanmar | Asia |
| 104 | Kyokushin Karate | Striking | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 105 | Kyudo, Japanese Archery | Weapon-based | Bows and arrows | Japan | Asia |
| 106 | Lathi Khela, Lathikela | Weapon-based | Sticks | Bangladesh | Asia |
| 107 | Lerdrit, Muay Lert Rit | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Thailand | Asia |
| 108 | Lethwei | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Myanmar | Asia |
| 109 | Liuhebafa | Mixed (Low-impact/ Meditative, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | China | Asia |
| 110 | Luohan quan | Striking | N/A | China | Asia |
| 111 | Malakhra | Grappling | N/A | Pakistan, India | Asia |
| 112 | Mallyuddha, Malla-yuddha, mallyuddha | Grappling | N/A | India | Asia |
| 113 | Mardani khel | Weapon-based | Multiple (Axes, lances, spears, swords) | India | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--|---|---|-----------|--------|
| 114 | Mariwariwosu | Grappling | N/A | Taiwan | Asia |
| 115 | Mok Gar, Mok Gar Kuen | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | China | Asia |
| 116 | Muay Boran | Striking | N/A | Thailand | Asia |
| 117 | Muay Lao | Striking | N/A | Laos | Asia |
| 118 | Muay Thai | Striking | N/A | Thailand | Asia |
| 119 | Mukna | Grappling | N/A | India | Asia |
| 120 | Mushtiyuddha, Musti-Yuddha, muki boxing | Striking | N/A | India | Asia |
| 121 | Muui Dangong | Mixed (Low-impact/ Meditative, weapon-based) | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 122 | Muye 24-ban | Mixed (Horseback, weapon- based) | Multiple (Sticks, shields, spears, swords) | Korea | Asia |
| 123 | Naban, Burmese Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Myanmar | Asia |
| 124 | Naga wrestling | Grappling | N/A | India | Asia |
| 125 | Naginatajutsu | Weapon-based | Swords | Japan | Asia |
| 126 | Nhất Nam | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Vietnam | Asia |
| 127 | Ninjutsu, Ninpo | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Bows, knives, lances, spears, staffs, swords) | Japan | Asia |
| 128 | Nippon Kempo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 129 | Pahlevani and zoorkhaneh rituals, Zurkhaneh | Others | Others | Iran | Asia |
| 130 | Pasola | Mixed (Horseback, weapon-based) | Spears | Indonesia | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--------------------------|---|---|--|--------|
| 131 | Pencak Silat | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (knives, spears, sticks, swords) | Indonesia | Asia |
| 132 | Perang pandan | Others | Others | Indonesia | Asia |
| 133 | Pradal Serey, Kun Khmer | Striking | N/A | Cambodia | Asia |
| 134 | Qielixi | Grappling | N/A | China | Asia |
| 135 | Sanda, Sanshou | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | China | Asia |
| 136 | Sarit sarat, sarit-sarat | Striking | N/A | India | Asia |
| 137 | Shaolin Wushu | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords, etc) | China | Asia |
| 138 | Shastar Vidya | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Bows and arrows, maces, swords, tridents,...) | India | Asia |
| 139 | Shootfighting | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 140 | Shorinji Kempo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 141 | Shuai Jiao | Grappling | N/A | China | Asia |
| 142 | Sibpalki, Sib Pal Gi | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Spears, sticks, swords) | Korea | Asia |
| 143 | Sikaran | Striking | N/A | Philippines | Asia |
| 144 | Silambam | Weapon-based | Sticks | India | Asia |
| 145 | Silat | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Knives | Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, Singapore | Asia |
| 146 | Silek gelombang | Others | Knives | Indonesia | Asia |
| 147 | Siljun Dobup | Weapon-based | Swords | Japan/Korea | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--|---|--|-------------------------|--------|
| 148 | Simgumdo | Weapon-based | Swords | Korea | Asia |
| 149 | Sisemba | Striking | N/A | Indonesia | Asia |
| 150 | Spochan, Sports Chanbara | Weapon-based | Multiple (Sticks, shields, spears, swords) | Japan | Asia |
| 151 | Sqay | Weapon-based | Swords | India | Asia |
| 152 | Ssirum/Ssireum | Grappling | N/A | Korea (South and North) | Asia |
| 153 | Subak | Striking | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 154 | Subakdo | Striking | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 155 | Suijutsu, nihon eiho | Weapon-based | Multiple (Guns, swords) | Japan | Asia |
| 156 | Sumo | Grappling | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 157 | Sunmudo | Low-impact/Meditative | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 158 | Suntukan, Panantukan, mano-mano, pakamot | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Knives | Philippines | Asia |
| 159 | Taekkyeon | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 160 | Taekwondo | Striking | N/A | Korea (South and North) | Asia |
| 161 | Tantojutsu | Weapon-based | Knives | Japan | Asia |
| 162 | Tarung Derajat | Striking | N/A | Indonesia | Asia |
| 163 | Tegumi, muto | Grappling | N/A | Japan | Asia |
| 164 | Tessenjutsu | Weapon-based | Others (Tessen) | Japan | Asia |
| 165 | Thaing | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Myanmar | Asia |
| 166 | Thang-Ta, Huyen langlon | Weapon-based | Swords | India | Asia |
| 167 | Tharu Stick Dance, Laathi nach | Weapon-based | Sticks | Nepal | Asia |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--|---|---|-------------|--------|
| 168 | Tomoi | Striking | N/A | Malaysia | Asia |
| 169 | Tong-Il Moo-Do | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Korea | Asia |
| 170 | Vajra-musti, Vajra-mushti | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Others (Vajra-musti) | India | Asia |
| 171 | Varma Adi, Varma Ati, Varma Kalai, Ati Murai, Adimurai | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Sticks | India | Asia |
| 172 | Vo Co Truyen | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords, etc) | Vietnam | Asia |
| 173 | Vovinam, Viet Vo Dao | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Swords, sticks, etc) | Vietnam | Asia |
| 174 | Wonhwado | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Korea | Asia |
| 175 | Wushu, Kung Fu | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Swords, staff, spears, sabre) | China | Asia |
| 176 | Xingyiquan, Xing Yi Quán, Hsing-I Chuan | Mixed (Low-impact/ Meditative, striking, weapon-based, grappling) | Multiple (Spears, sticks, swords) | China | Asia |
| 177 | Yabusame | Mixed (Horseback, weapon-based) | Bows and arrows | Japan | Asia |
| 178 | Yaw-Yan | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Knives | Philippines | Asia |
| 179 | Yongchun, Wing Chun | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | China | Asia |
| 180 | Yongmoodo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Korea | Asia |
| 181 | Zui Quan, Drunken boxing | Striking | N/A | China | Asia |
| 182 | Aquathlon, underwater wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Russia | Europe |
| 183 | Asgarda | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Ukraine | Europe |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|--|-----------------------------|--------|
| 184 | Baranta | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Bows, knives, sticks, swords, etc) | Hungary | Europe |
| 185 | Bartitsu | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Staffs | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 186 | Bataireacht | Weapon-based | Sticks | Ireland | Europe |
| 187 | Breton Gouren | Grappling | N/A | France | Europe |
| 188 | Buhe barildaan | Grappling | N/A | Russia | Europe |
| 189 | Bulgarian Kempo | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks) | Buglaria | Europe |
| 190 | Buza | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks) | Russia | Europe |
| 191 | Canarian wrestling, Lucha Canaria | Grappling | N/A | Spain | Europe |
| 192 | Canne de combat | Weapon-based | Sticks | France | Europe |
| 193 | Canne Italiana | Weapon-based | Sticks | Italy | Europe |
| 194 | Catch Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 195 | Chess Boxing | Striking | N/A | France/ Netherlands | Europe |
| 196 | Chidaoba | Grappling | N/A | Georgia | Europe |
| 197 | Collar-and-elbow Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Ireland | Europe |
| 198 | Combat 56 | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Poland | Europe |
| 199 | Combat Hopak | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | Ukraine | Europe |
| 200 | Cornish Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Cornwall, United Kingdom | Europe |
| 201 | Defendu | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | United Kingdom | Europe |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--|---|------------------------------------|------------------------|--------|
| 202 | Devon Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 203 | Gladiatoria Moderna | Weapon-based | Swords | Italy | Europe |
| 204 | Glima | Grappling | N/A | Iceland | Europe |
| 205 | Gyulesh, Gulesh | Grappling | N/A | Azerbaijan | Europe |
| 206 | Hapkikwan | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Sticks | Serbia | Europe |
| 207 | Historical European Martial Arts, Renaissance Martial Arts, HEMA | Weapon-based | Swords | Europe | Europe |
| 208 | Hokutoryu Ju-Jutsu | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Finland | Europe |
| 209 | Jieishudan | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 210 | Jogo do Pau | Weapon-based | Sticks | Portugal | Europe |
| 211 | Jousting, tilting | Mixed (Horseback, weapon-based) | Spears | Europe | Europe |
| 212 | Juego Del Palo | Weapon-based | Sticks | Spain (Canary Islands) | Europe |
| 213 | Kampfringen, Ringen | Grappling | N/A | Germany | Europe |
| 214 | Karakucak | Grappling | N/A | Turkey | Europe |
| 215 | Keysi Fighting Method, KFM | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Spain | Europe |
| 216 | Khidoli | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Bows and arrows, swords) | Georgia | Europe |
| 217 | Kinomichi | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | France | Europe |
| 218 | Kokh | Grappling | N/A | Armenia | Europe |
| 219 | Kolo, Ki Kolo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Latvia | Europe |
| 220 | Korusu | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Belarus | Europe |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--|---|----------------------|----------------|--------|
| 221 | Kragkast | Grappling | N/A | Sweden | Europe |
| 222 | Lancashire wrestling | Grappling | N/A | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 223 | Leonese wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Spain | Europe |
| 224 | Makila stick-fighting | Weapon-based | Sticks | Spain, France | Europe |
| 225 | Narodno rvanje | Grappling | N/A | Serbia | Europe |
| 226 | Oil Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Turkey | Europe |
| 227 | Pakištynės | Grappling | N/A | Lithuania | Europe |
| 228 | Palé, pali | Grappling | N/A | Greece | Europe |
| 229 | Pankration, Pangration, Pancration | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Greece | Europe |
| 230 | Paranza Corta, Sicilian Knife Fighting | Weapon-based | Knives | Italy | Europe |
| 231 | Paranza Lunga, Sicilian Staff Fighting | Weapon-based | Sticks | Italy | Europe |
| 232 | Pygmachia, πυγμαχία, pygmahia, pygme, pix (ancient greek boxing) | Striking | N/A | Greece | Europe |
| 233 | Ranggeln, Ranggl'n | Grappling | N/A | Austria | Europe |
| 234 | Real Aikido | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Serbia | Europe |
| 235 | Ristynės | Grappling | N/A | Lithuania | Europe |
| 236 | Russian boxing | Striking | N/A | Russia | Europe |
| 237 | Russian Own System of Self-defence | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Russia | Europe |
| 238 | S'istrumpa, Istrumpa Sarda, lotta Sarda | Grappling | N/A | Italy | Europe |
| 239 | Sambo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Russia | Europe |
| 240 | Savate | Striking | N/A | France | Europe |
| 241 | Savigyna | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Sticks...) | Lithuania | Europe |
| 242 | Sayokan | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Turkey | Europe |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|---|---|--------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 243 | Schwingen | Grappling | N/A | Switzerland | Europe |
| 244 | Scottish Backhold Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 245 | Shin-kicking, shin kicking, shin digging, purring | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 246 | Singlestick | Weapon-based | Multiple (Sticks, swords) | United Kingdom | Europe |
| 247 | Spas | Striking | N/A | Ukraine | Europe |
| 248 | Stav | Weapon-based | Sticks | Norway | Europe |
| 249 | Svebor | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Axes, Knives, ...) | Serbia | Europe |
| 250 | Systema, Sistema, Система | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Russia | Europe |
| 251 | Trinta, Trynta, Trântă, Trenta, Трынта | Grappling | N/A | Moldova, Romania | Europe |
| 252 | Chuck Norris System | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | USA | North and Central America |
| 253 | Combato | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Canada | North and Central America |
| 254 | Danzan-ryū | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, staffs, etc) | USA | North and Central America |
| 255 | Defendo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Canada | North and Central America |
| 256 | Enshin Kaikan, Enshin Karate | Striking | N/A | USA | North and Central America |
| 257 | Hokoko | Grappling | N/A | USA | North and Central America |
| 258 | Jailhouse Rock, JHR | Striking | N/A | USA | North and Central America |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|---------------------------|---|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 259 | Kajukenbo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | USA | North and Central America |
| 260 | Kara-ho Kempo | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | USA | North and Central America |
| 261 | Lua, Kapu Kuialua | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, spears, sticks) | USA | North and Central America |
| 262 | Lucha libre | Grappling | N/A | Mexico | North and Central America |
| 263 | Model Mugging | Striking | N/A | USA | North and Central America |
| 264 | Mokomoko | Striking | N/A | USA | North and Central America |
| 265 | Okichitaw | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks) | Canada | North and Central America |
| 266 | Rough and Tumble, Gouging | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | USA | North and Central America |
| 267 | Soldier Canyon | Weapon-based | Multiple (Knives, sticks) | USA | North and Central America |
| 268 | SUCEM | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Shields, sticks, swords) | Mexico | North and Central America |
| 269 | Tire machet | Weapon-based | Swords | Haiti | North and Central America |
| 270 | Wen-do | Striking | N/A | Canada | North and Central America |
| 271 | Xilam | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Mexico | North and Central America |
| 272 | Boumwane | Grappling | N/A | Kiribati, Nauru | Oceania |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--|--|--|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| 273 | Chamorro dance, Chamoru dance | Others | Sticks | Guam | Oceania |
| 274 | Coreeda | Grappling | N/A | Australia | Oceania |
| 275 | Epoo korio | Grappling | N/A | Papua New Guinea | Oceania |
| 276 | Fagatua | Grappling | N/A | New Zealand | Oceania |
| 277 | Goomboobooddo | Grappling | N/A | Australia, Papua New Guinea | Oceania |
| 278 | Limalama | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks) | Samoa | Oceania |
| 279 | Mau Rakau | Weapon-based | Multiple (Knives, spears, sticks) | New Zealand | Oceania |
| 280 | P'i tauva | Grappling | N/A | Tonga | Oceania |
| 281 | Popoko | Grappling | N/A | Cook Islands | Oceania |
| 282 | Rongomamau | Grappling | N/A | New Zealand | Oceania |
| 283 | Tal Kin Jeri | Others | Others | Australia | Oceania |
| 284 | Taupiga | Grappling | N/A | Samoa | Oceania |
| 285 | Bajan sticklicking, Bajan stic-klicking | Weapon-based | Sticks | Barbados | South America |
| 286 | Bakom, Bacom, Vacon | Mixed (Grappling, striking, weapon-based) | Multiple | Peru | South America |
| 287 | Brazilian Jiu-Jitsu | Grappling | N/A | Brazil | South America |
| 288 | Calinda, calenda, kalinda, kalenda | Weapon-based | Sticks | Trinidad, Tobago | South America |
| 289 | Capoeira circle | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Multiple (Knives, sticks, etc) | Brazil | South America |
| 290 | Grima, Colombian fencing | Weapon-based | Swords | Colombia | South America |
| 291 | Huka-huka | Grappling | N/A | Brazil | South America |

| | Name | Main techniques | Weapons | Country | Region |
|-----|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------|------------------|
| 292 | Juego de mani, mani, bambosa | Mixed (Striking, weapon-based) | Sticks | Cuba | South America |
| 293 | Juego del Garrote, Garrote Larense | Weapon-based | Multiple (Knives, sticks) | Venezuela | South America |
| 294 | Lonkotun, longkotun | Grappling | N/A | Chile | South America |
| 295 | Luta Livre, Brazilian Catch Wrestling | Grappling | N/A | Brazil | South America |
| 296 | Maracatu Rural | Others | Others | Brazil | South America |
| 297 | Metratun | Grappling | N/A | Chile | South America |
| 298 | Rumi maki | Striking | N/A | Peru | South America |
| 299 | Tinku | Others | Others | Bolivia | South America |
| 300 | Vale Tudo, Valais-Tudo | Mixed (Grappling, striking) | N/A | Brazil | South America |

The International Centre of Martial Arts for Youth Development and Engagement under the auspices of UNESCO (ICM) was established in 2015 under a signed agreement between the Government of the Republic of Korea and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It aims to foster research and academic activities on martial arts and disseminate the positive value of martial arts, with the ultimate goal to promote youth development and engagement. ICM also envisions developing as a global powerhouse that provides in-depth knowledge and a range of information about martial arts around the world.

From ancient to modern times, martial arts have been enriched within the sociocultural, political and historical dynamics of communities. Grasping a martial system thus entails holistic considerations of a plethora of elements, including the art's origination, development and variations. However, numerous martial arts that claim to boast a long history have mostly been transmitted by word of mouth from master to disciple and from generation to generation, leaving meagre documented accounts. There is also a lack of systematic, persistent efforts to consolidate conflicting knowledge about and interests embedded in martial arts. The need for interdisciplinary studies entangled with the complexities in ascertaining the identity of martial arts has contributed to the incompleteness of extant research in this field. Undoubtedly, such challenges in building shared knowledge about each martial art has led to difficulties in mapping a broad overview of the world's martial arts as a whole.

The publication of *World Martial Arts: Towards a global overview* is an initial outcome of ICM's bold attempt to tackle the difficulties and draw an overview of martial arts around the world. It presents three hundred martial arts and suggests a general picture from different analytical standpoints. The report also engages with contemporary issues situated at the intersection between martial arts and varied sociocultural aspects. The publication will make a substantive contribution to raising awareness of diverse martial arts around the world, thereby supporting the transmission and safeguarding of martial arts.

