RESEARCH MATERIAL

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Symbolism of Hairstyles in Korea and Japan

Abstract

The paper attempts to examine the origins and changes in the hairstyles of Korea and Japan from ancient to early modern times and to compare their features in order to determine what they have in common. The results can be summarized in four points: First, hairstyles were thought to fend off evil influences; second, they were a means to express an ideal of beauty; third, they were an expression of a woman’s marital status; and fourth, they were an expression of social status and wealth.

Keywords: hairstyles—symbolism—magical meaning—standard of beauty

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This paper seeks to examine and describe women’s hairstyle changes in Korea and Japan, which belong to the same cultural zone of East Asia, from ancient to early modern times. These countries are in a monsoon zone, they were originally agricultural societies, and they actively engaged in cultural exchange from earliest times, a factor that is of importance to the following discussion. Hairdressing, which varied according to clothing styles, was primarily used to express one’s position, nature, and sensibility rather than to put one’s hair in order. Hairstyles also differed according to the ethnic background, natural features of a person, and beauty standards of a particular period: they revealed one’s nationality, sex, age, occupation, and religion.

While previous research on hairstyles in Korea focused on the changes in Korean hairstyles based on historical periods, the hairstyles of Korea and Japan have not been compared to examine their common symbolism, such as the implication of magical meanings, expression of beauty, symbol of marital status, and indication of social position and wealth. Research on common symbolism found in the hairstyles is very important in understanding anthropological and sociocultural features shared by the two nations. In social and cultural aspects, the ideas of a specific era influence hairstyles, and a country’s factors combine with those from other countries due to cultural exchange.

CHANGES IN HAIRSTYLES FROM ANCIENT TO MEDIEVAL TIMES

Korea

Although the origins of hairstyling are unknown in Japan and Korea, it is assumed that both men and women tied or bound their hair with soft tree bark or tough grass. Korea’s first record on the hair is found in Munhŏnpiko [Complete encyclopedia of traditional Korean culture; written in the eighteenth century]: “Hairdressing started in the first year of Tangun [the mythological first
king of the Korean nation] when the people were taught how to wear a pigtail” (Cho 1988, 401). A pinyŏ (long hairpin) made of bone, found at the Ancient Tomb of Xiao Yingzi 小營子, shows that three thousand years ago Koreans had already started wearing chu’kye 椎髻 (large topknot), a style developed in agricultural societies. In contrast, clay figurines from Japan’s mid-Jomon period (ca. 2000 BC) reveal that hairdressing had begun to occur, while those from later periods (ca. 2000 to 1000 BC) show more elaborate, raised hairstyles (Chŏn Haejong 1982, 7–10).

According to Haedong yŏksa 海東繹史 [The history of Korea], “married women of Samhan [三韓] wore part of their hair up with the rest let down, while unmarried women wore their hair rolled at the back of the head” (Chŏn Haejong 1982, 402). The wall paintings of Muyongch’ong 舞踊塚 or the Tomb of the Dancers, located in Jilin Province, China, show various styles of Koguryŏ (37 BC to 668 AD), including ŏnch’un mŏri (the end of the hair rolled and worn at the center of the forehead) (Sugimoto 1995, 350), tchochin mŏri (a roll of braided hair worn at the nape of the neck), punkimyŏng mŏri (part of the hair let down the back), ssang sang’tu (twin topknots worn at the top of the head) (Lee Suncha 1970, 6–9), chungbal mŏri (short hair tied at the lower back of the head), and ch’ae mŏri (a long pigtail). Ko kye 高髻 (a high hairstyle) and chu’kye, shown in the murals of Kamsincho’ng 嵐神塚 (Koguryŏ tomb in Yonggang County, Pyŏngnam Province, North Korea), seem to have been influenced by Chinese styles. The paintings of the Anak Third Tomb show the milling woman wearing Han-style ko kye (figure 1), and Tongsu’s wife (figure 2) wearing ko kye decorated with kach’e and pearls (Lee Ŭncha’ng 1978, 293–98). The girl in a pleated skirt offering food to Buddha, and the woman wear chu’kye in the Kamsincho’ng paintings. Chu’kye style existed earlier in China, and was related to chu’kye of Koguryŏ (Lee Ŭncha’ng 1978, 298).

According to the old Chinese histories, Bershi 北史 [History of the Northern Dynasties] and Zhoushu 周書 [History of the Zhou Dynasty], girls in Paekche (18
wore *ch'ae mŏri* (a long pigtail) while married women wore *tchok mŏri* (chignon worn at the back) and *ŏnchŭn mŏri* (a variant of *ch'ae mŏri*). Kim Tonguk argues, “the clay figure from Chŏngnimsaji temple site in Puyŏ city, Ch'ungnam Province, has a very similar style to terra cotta figurines from Northern Wei, China [FIGURE 3]. Note that the hair is parted and tied at the top. The Paekche lady’s style [FIGURE 4] is characterized by a center parting and bound hair on both sides. This style may have been influenced by those of the northern Chinese dynasties” (Kim Tonguk 1985, 70–72).

*Tonggyŏng chapki* [Miscellaneous records of Tonggyŏng] records: “the women of Silla (57 BC–668 AD) wore a chignon [*puk kye* 北髻] at the back of the head, and the hairstyle remains the same today.” *Puk kye* was similar to *tchok mŏri*. *Sui shu* [History of the Sui Dynasty] and *Jiu Tang shu* [Old history of the Tang Dynasty] state, “Silla women braided their long beautiful hair, put it up, and decorated it with silk and beads.” And *Xin Tang shu* [New history of the Tang Dynasty] says that “they wound their beautiful hair around the head and decorated it with pearls.” The female figurine in FIGURE 6 was excavated from the Hwangsŏng-dong Stone Tomb of the Unified Silla
Hairstyles in Korea and Japan

Dynasty (668–935, figure 5) located in Kyŏngju, Kyŏngbuk Province, Korea. Her style is puk kye with a center parting and chignon at the back. It is very similar to that of the figurine found at Zhang chengji 張盛基 (595) of the Chinese Sui Dynasty (581–617) (Pang 1989, 69). Ėnchŭn mŏri, tulle mŏri (thick braided hair wrapped around the head like a turban), and chokchin mŏri prevailed among Silla women. These traditional styles were transmitted to Chosŏn. As for the styles of Unified Silla, typical chokchin mŏri with a center parting (puk kye) is seen on the figurine (figure 6) from the Hwangsŏng-dong Tomb; those from the Yonggang-dong Stone Tomb, located in Kyŏngju, Kyŏngbuk Province, feature pan kye 盤髻 (round chignon worn at the top of the head) and ko kye (figure 7).

It is likely that Ėnchŭn mŏri or tulle mŏri of Unified Silla were prevalent during the early years of Koryŏ (918–1392), since the kingdom inherited the costume from its predecessor. Koryŏ togyŏng [Illustrated book of Koryŏ] explains, “Women, regardless of their rank, lay sangt’u (topknots) on their right shoulders, and tied the remaining hair with red silk to let it down. Noble ladies wore a small pinyŏ [hairpin].” This style, similar to tama kye 堕馬髻, may indicate the influences of the Chinese Tang (618–907) and Song (960–1279) dynasties. The mural paintings of the Koryŏ Ancient Tombs at Tunmari (Kŏch’ang county, Kyŏngnam province) show the Heavenly Maid wearing part of her hair on her head with the rest let down (section shown in figure 8). Unmarried common girls wore a pigtail using a red ribbon (tanggi), and it was one of the styles that continued unchanged from the pre-Silla era throughout the Chosŏn period.

Figure 6: Clay figure from Hwangsŏng-dong Stone Tomb, Silla-ŭi tou [Tomb figures of Silla].
Figure 7: Female figure from Yonggang-dong Stone Tomb, Silla ŭi tou [Tomb figures of Silla].
Figure 8: Heavenly Maid from Tunmari Ancient Tombs, Hankuk-ŭi mi [Beauty of Korea].
Japan

Most haniwa (figure 9) from the Kofun period (fourth to sixth centuries AD) have shimada mage, a large mage (bun-type hairstyle), on the head. Styles such as taregami (long unbound hair), long bound hair, and mae-gami (figure 12) were occasionally seen as well. All female haniwa wear small mage at the back of the head. Female shamans wore shimada mage decorated at the front with a comb. During the Kofun period, men wore mizura whereas women wore mage. There were two types of mizura (figure 10): a long shoulder-length type, and a short ear-length type. Dancers and the nobility wore long mizura while peasants preferred the shorter style in order for them to perform physical labor easily. It is clear that mizura was worn differently according to the wearer’s rank (Tanabe 1976, 40-41).

The mural of Takamatsu Zuka Kofun or Tall Pine Ancient Burial Mound (figure 11) from the Hakuhō period (seventh century AD) shows the women wearing round and full hair at the front. The lady on the east wall displays a style in which the long hair is folded and bound upward using a red string. Among women who did not have to wear a coronet, taregami appeared replacing kep-patsu (bound hair) in 686.

The typical hairstyles of the Nara period (710-784) were hōkei and gikei. Hōkei was worn in ceremonial dress: the hair was bound at the top of

Figure 9: Haniwa

Figure 10: Mizura.

Figure 11: Mural of Takamatsu Zuka Kofun, Inokuma and Watanabe, 2.

Figure 12: Kichijōten gazo, Kawabata 1974, 16.

Figure 13: Gikei in Court Dress, Kawabata 1974, 13
the head and decorated with gold or jade, according to the wearer’s rank. This style is shown in Kichijōten gazō 吉祥天尊像 (figure 13) kept at the Yakushi Temple. Gikei was worn by those ranked first to sixth place in the dress order of the court. Gikei, bound hair with added false hair, was introduced in order to standardize the form of court dress (SEKINE 1986, 205). The women in court dress in figure 14 wear high mage at the top of their heads. Such large hairdos were used to indicate the wearer’s rank or age. Mage are classified into kōkei, hōkei, tojō nikyoku 头上二髻 (two topknots), and taregami (MINAMI 1988, 159). There was also the Xiyu 西域 style (figure 15) that made the head appear especially high (KAWABATA 1974, 100–101). Keppatsu eventually began to spread with the promulgation of the Keppatsu Decree (keppatsu rei 結髮令) in the Nara period. It did not, however, spread quickly among common women although court ladies followed the system.

In the Heian period (794–1185), women's hairstyles deviated radically from the Chinese Tang style due to the appearance of aristocratic culture. That is to say, women preferred long unbound hair (taregami) to tied hair. This style (figure 16) prevailed for about six centuries until the Muromachi period (1345–1573). Common people, however, cut their hair at the back and tied it once or twice so that they could work easily.

On special occasions, women wore a small formal motodori 髪 (topknot), and decorated their hair with hitai 髪 (decorative tablet), kan’zashi 髪 (long hairpin, and kushi 髪 (comb). Floral decoration was also used. According to the Taketori monogatari 竹取物語, there was the coming-of-age ceremony for girls called genpuku 元服. In this ceremony girls performed the rituals of wearing adult dress (mogi 衣着) and tying their hair at the top of the head (kami age 髪上). Girls aged fourteen to seventeen wore kami age, the same age group as mogi participants, and a lucky day was picked to perform shokei gishiki 初笄儀式 for the girl to wear a hairpin on her topknot (motodori). In the hatsubi 髪枇 ritual (figure 17), the girl’s hair was cut to chest length by her father or another per-
son. Therefore, young girls did not wear motodori. When they reached twelve or thirteen years old, the hair was parted at the top to tie their long hair. In addition, both men and women wore mizura, whereby the hair was parted in the middle and tied separately. This style is similar to the yangdo pyŏnpal 南道扁髪 style of Paekche, one in which the hair is parted in the middle and bound.

Women of the Kamakura period (1185–1333) put their long hair in their katsura 袴 (upper garment), and wore an obi 帯 (belt) on it when going out. Women in the Muromachi period tied their hair with katsura obi 袴帯 (fillet), and covered the whole body including the head with kosode 小袖 (a colored silk-wadded coat), an outfit called hii 被衣. As women’s outings became more frequent, katsura obi was needed to tie their long hair when covering the head with white or black hemp cloth (nuno 布) in order to move easily (Izutsu 1986, 66–68). Working class people bound the hair into a round shape, and wore keihō 袴包 (head covering). Wheel-shaped tama-musubi 玉結 (figure 18) was the common hairstyle for the maids of buke 武家 (military houses) as well as commoners. Muromachi women wore shorter hair compared to Heian women. They had, however, fairly long unbound hair, and used narrow obi, six to seven centimeters in width, which was less decorative (Fukasaku and Aikawa 1983, 180).

**HAIRSTYLE CHANGES IN EARLY MODERN TIMES**

**Korea**

Korean women of the Chosŏn period initially followed the Koryŏ hairstyle. Unlike women’s dress, which did not change a great deal throughout the five hundred years of the Chosŏn dynasty, hairstyles went through many changes. From the Three Kingdoms period, Korean styles were influenced greatly by nearby China. Chinese influence was transmitted to Chosŏn and it mixed with Korea’s unique culture, resulting in various styles.

In Chosŏn, elaborate ônch'un mŏri (figure 19), which were made of false hair, were considered beautiful. During the reign of King Sŏngjong ônch'un...
mŏri reached over thirty centimeters in height. This kind of kach'e 加髢 style existed in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), although it is said to have originated in the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) (Shin et al, 1499). Dongguan hanji 東觀漢記 [History of the Later Han dynasty] states, “Queen Myŏngdŏk’s beautiful hair was so long that it could encircle her head three times even after the four sides of her head had been fully covered.” Therefore, ko kye seems to have been influenced by Xiyu before the Chosŏn period. Despite the prevalence of ko kye being the cause of several controversies concerning kach'e under the reigns of Yŏngjo and Chŏngjo, it did not disappear. Ttŏguji (a decorative hair frame made of wood) appeared in 1779, and kach'e became very heavy and expensive. Although King Yŏngjo issued a decree prohibiting kach'e (加髢禁止令) in 1756, it was ultimately unsuccessful, and tchokchin mŏri (chignon) spread widely during the reign of Suncho after 1800. The position of the chignon, which was initially at the back of the head, gradually lowered to chŏgori (Korean jacket) in the late Chosŏn period, and went up again to the nape of the neck as in the present form after the Enlightenment period (Kaehwagi 開化期).

Hairstyles of court ladies wearing kach'e include taesu (figure 20), ttŏguji mŏri (figure 21), ŏyŏ mŏri (figure 22), and ŏnchŭn mŏri. They also wore tchok-chin mŏri, chojim mŏri (big chignon made of ten braids of false hair), and ch’ŏpchi mŏri (figure 23). Girls in the late Chosŏn era wore kwimit’ mŏri (figure 24), a long queue with its end tied with a purple chebiburi tanggi (swallow-beak-shaped ribbon) or t’omak tanggi (short ribbon).
Japanese women of the Momoyama period (1575–1603) wore karawa mage 唐輪髷 (figure 25) and hyōgo mage 兵庫髷 (figure 26). The former was characterized by simplicity and unpolished beauty; the latter was a sophisticated feminine version of the male hairstyle. Until the Edo period (1603–1867), noble or buke ladies wore the long unbound hair (taregami) that had prevailed since the middle ages. Common women, however, tied their hair at the back, and this keppatsu style spread among kabuki actresses11 and courtesans (MINAMI 1988, 160). The Edo period is known as “Japan’s golden age of hairstyles,” due to the large variety worn. Women in the earlier period simply tied their hair at the top in hyōgo mage style. In the mid-Edo period tabo 髻 was a style that built out at the back of the head, and this developed into shimada mage 島田髷 (figure 27). Shōzan kyoku 勝山髷 (figure 28) also appeared during the period. Although it was worn only by courtesans initially, it later spread among housewives. In the latter part of the period, maru mage 丸髷 (figure 29), a style in which a tool called binchō 鬢张 was inserted behind the ears to spread the hair outward on both sides, was fashionable (KAWABATA 1974, 140–41). There are four Japanese women’s mage: hyōgo
mage, shimada mage, shōzan kyoku 勝山髷, and maru mage. The karawa mage, hyōgo mage, and shimada mage styles developed between 1580 to 1673, whereas maegami 前髪 (braid worn on the forehead) and tabo appeared between 1624 to 1644. During 1764 to 1772, mage had fully developed (Minami 1988, 160–61).

COMPARISON BETWEEN KOREAN AND JAPANESE HAIRSTYLES

The hairstyles of both Korea and Japan were influenced by nearby China. It is understandable, however, that various styles were created by adapting foreign influences to their unique costumes. The Koreans mainly put their hair up (kye髻) possibly because it harmonized with the costume of Northeast Asian nomads. It may also be possible that Japanese long unbound hair (that is, taregami) prevailed because it suited the long drooping dress of Southern Asia.

The Koguryo women's ko kye (figure 30) shown in the mural of the Anak Third Tomb of Koguryo, also known as Tongsu’s Tomb, located in Anak county, Hwanghae province, North Korea, is very similar to that of the Japanese Nara women in figure 13 and figure 31. The Maid (figure 32) in the Koguryo Muyongch’ong mural has a very similar style to that of the woman (figure 33) from the Takamatsu Tomb of the Japanese Hakuhō period.

Figure 30: Ko kye from Koguryo Anak Third Tomb.

Figure 32: Maid in the “Picture of a Kitchen,” Muyongch’ong.

Figure 33: Woman from Takamatsu Zuka Kofun Mural, Yamana 1987, 48.
Yangdo pyŏnmal of Paekche, and mizura of the Kofun, Asuka, and Heian periods belong to the same group of hairstyle. The figurine (figure 3) from Puyŏ Chŏngnimsaji shows a very similar style to that of the Nara haniga (figure 35): the hair is parted in two and tied on the top.

The female figurine (figure 8) excavated from the Yonggang-dong Tomb of Silla wears a high, round ko kye. The similar style is seen on the wood carved female figurines (figure 36) from Nara Hōryū Temple. Ōyŏmi of Chosŏn is assumed to be the same style as shimada mage of the Edo period.

While ko kye and chu’kye of Koguryŏ, and yangdo pyŏnmal of Paekche seem to have been shaped by Chinese influences, pan kye of the Unified Silla dynasty was perhaps influenced by styles of West Asia, and t'ama kye of Koryŏ by those of the Chinese Tang and Song dynasties. During the Chosŏn period, ko kye was influenced by the styles of Xiyu, and ônch'un mōri and kye by those of the Ming dynasty. Nara’s hōkei and gikei were influenced by styles of Tang and Xiyu, and karawa of the Momoyama period seems to have also been influenced by China.

SYMBOLISM

There are four main areas in which the symbolism associated with hairstyles in Korea and Japan converged. Firstly, it was believed that hairstyles contained magical meanings. Maeda Motoyoshi argues: “The ancient Japanese perceived the hair as a kind of religious object; they thought hair was a gift from a god. This later developed into the idea that hair itself was something divine because it was connected to the notion that it contained magical powers. This resulted in a religious concept that a god resided in human hair due to magical power. For example, people burned their hair for a good harvest believing it would expel crop damaging birds and animals. Such actions were performed based upon the religious perception of hair” (Maeda 1966–1967, 70). Korean women washed
their hair on Sangjinil 上辰日 (the first dragon day of the first lunar month) and Samchitnal (the third day of the third lunar month), believing hair grew on these particular days. They also cut the ends of their hair on Samchitnal thinking it would accelerate its growth. They washed their hair with water from the east on Yudunal (the fifteenth day of the sixth lunar month) to expel bad things and to protect themselves from summer heat. In addition, they collected all their fallen hairs throughout the year and burnt them on the lunar New Year’s Eve, believing it would prevent infectious diseases (Lee Pinghŏgak 1980, 84). Commoners as well as the upper class in Chosŏn believed that one's body, including the hair and skin, came from one's parents, and therefore should not be hurt or damaged. Hurting one's body meant hurting one's parents’ bones and flesh; therefore, it was regarded as disrespect towards parents. Buddhist monks, however, wore tonsure as they believed cutting their hair would cut secular desires. This hairstyle was introduced into Korea and Japan along with Buddhism.

Secondly, hair was regarded as a means of expressing beauty. Deeply influenced by the Confucian idea that “one’s body comes from one’s parents,” the Koreans not only cherished the hair, but considered long rich hair a standard of beauty (Son and Kim 1984, 180–82). Hair was used as a means to express beauty as in the case of Chosŏn’s kach’e, which was very expensive, and Edo’s mage. Chŏngjanggwan chŏnsŏ 靑莊館全書 [The complete collection of poetry and prose] (Lee Tŏkmu 1978) reports that a daughter-in-law of a rich family broke her neck when she stood up suddenly due to the weight of the kach’e. This death caused by her enormous hairdo shows how strong the desire for beauty can be. Authorities attempted to curb people’s obsession with physical beauty with King Yŏngjo’s 1756 Kach’e Prohibition Decree (1756) during the Chosŏn period, and the Keppatsu Decree in the Nara period, which were measures designed to prohibit hairdos that became increasingly extravagant.

Thirdly, hairstyles symbolized marital status. Unmarried women in Paekche wore a long pigtail, while married ones bound braided hair on either side of the head (Kim Tonguk 1985, 70). A Chosŏn woman could wear tchok (braided chignon) only after her kyerye 笄禮 and a person was not considered an adult until he or she wore sangt’u (men’s topknot) or tchok (Paek 1936, 137–38). Therefore, tchok mŏri was the symbol of married women, and pigtailed the symbol of unmarried women (Yu Hŭigyŏng 1977, 410). In the Japanese Heian period, girls had the coming-of-age ceremony, genpuku 元服, which featured the rituals of dress wearing (mogi 袴着) and hair tying (kami age 髪上げ). Her fiancé or parents made her motodori, and tied its base with motoyui 元結 (a type of paper cord). There was another ritual called hatsubi 髮枇 for girls aged fourteen to seventeen, the same age group as mogi participants, in which the hair was cut to chest length by her father or another person (Kim Yongmun 1993, 95). Maru mage was the typical style for married women of the Edo period, and ômaru mage 大丸髷 became the
symbol of young wives because it was thought they could look young and fresh by covering their heads with variegated cloth (Ōnuma 1979, 23).

Fourthly, hairstyles represented social status and wealth. Taesu, ttŏguji mŏri, and ūyŏ mŏri were worn only by court ladies in Chosŏn. High luxurious chŏpchi mŏri symbolized high ranks, as women wore different chŏpchi (ornamental hairpin) according to their positions. Kach’e used on ônch’un mŏri was so expensive, enough to buy several houses, that poor women could not wear ônch’un mŏri although they were married. Highly built-up ônch’un mŏri symbolized wealth.

In Japan, peasants in the Kofun period wore mizura tied high on their heads, which allowed them to work easily. Mizura was worn differently according to social status. People of the Nara period wore two high mage at the top, with one on each side. Such large hairdos revealed the wearer’s rank or age (Minami 1988, 159). In the Heian period, common people cut their hair at the back and tied it once or twice to perform physical labor easily. In the Edo period long unbound hair was worn by noblewomen, wives of the buke, and court ladies. Long hair was the symbol of the upper class who did not engage in labor. In everyday life they wore tsuijohō 椎茸包 where long hair was rolled up from the bottom and held tight using kan’zashi (hairpin). This style revealed the wearer’s social position. Royalty and nobility wore high, luxurious hairstyles investing much money and effort because it was the easiest way to display their wealth.

To sum up, the hairstyles of Korea and Japan have common cultural features in that they symbolize magical meanings, beauty, marital status, and social position and wealth in their respective cultures. This paper has only touched the surface of the research possibilities in this area due to the limited sources available to the author. Future enquiries into the historical connections between the hairstyles of Korea and Japan that include empirical research should prove to be fruitful in furthering our understanding of cultural symbolism.

NOTES

1. The Ancient Tomb of Xiao Yingzi, which dates back to 3000 BC, is located in Yanbian (that is, Yŏnbyŏn, the Korean Autonomous Prefecture), Jilin province, China.

2. Sima Qian 司馬遷 states in his Shi Ji 史記 (Historical Records): “A Wei man arrived in KoChosŏn wearing chu’kye in manyifu 蠻夷服 (KoChosŏn clothing consisting of trousers and jacket) and appeared to look like a KoChosŏn person.”

In a discussion concerning a bronzeware artifact found in Taejeon, central Korea, that shows a plowing peasant wearing a topknot and bird, Kim Yangok argues: “The bird shown on the artifact relates to agriculture, which reveals that bird-worshiping people mainly engaged in farming. It may be interpreted that Paleo-Asiatics of the New Stone Age in the Korean Peninsula worshiped the bear, while the Altai people had the bird-worshiping beliefs. The deer and bird worshiping beliefs of the Peninsula in the Bronze Age are closely related to northern tribes in Siberia, especially those who lived in North Mongolia around Lake Baikal” (Ch’oe et al 1992, 207).
3. Samhan indicates the three states of ancient Korea—Koguryŏ, Paekche, and Silla.

4. *Tchokchin mŏri* is shown in “The Picture of a Woman” in the main room of Kak-chŏcho’ng 角抵塚, a tomb located in Jilin Province, China; “The Picture of Three Women” in Ssangyŏngcho’ng 雙盈塚 (Tomb of the Twin Poles) in Yonggang Province, Namp’o City, North Korea; “Bystanders” in the main room of Muyongch’ong 舞踊塚 (Tomb of the Dancers) in Jilin Province, China.

5. Kyŏngju, the capital of Silla was called Tonggyŏng in the Koryŏ dynasty. *Tonggyŏng chakpi* was originally published in the Chosŏn period.

6. *Samkuk sagi* 三國史記 [History of the three kingdoms] reports: “King T’aejo built Koryŏ following Heaven’s will, and established all systems just as they were in Silla. The Court costume for men and women was the same as those Kim Ch’unch’u (Silla’s twenty-ninth king) brought from Tang China.”

7. The original text from *Chapsok* [Miscellaneous customs] in *Koryŏ togyŏng* 高麗圖經 (vol. 20) reads 當是未嫁之人 亦不被髮.

8. *T’ama kye*, described as a “lopsided style” in the fengsu tong 風俗通 (universal custom) section og the Chinese *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 [History of the Later Han], literally means the drooping topknot of a woman after she has fallen from a horse. This kind of hairstyle apparently made women look lovelier. According to one historical record, during the reign of Han Shundi (126–144), the Queen’s brother, Liang Ji, had a very beautiful wife called Sun Shou. She combed her hair in *t’ama kye* style that made her look lovely, mysterious, and elegant. As the ladies in the capital envied her and copied her style, it became fashionable throughout the country for a long time (Fu 1989).

Unlike *tchokchin mŏri*, where the hair is plaited and worn at the back, *t’ama kye* is worn by just putting the hair up without plaits. The style is similar to *saacang mŏri* found among the people of Chosŏn (Yu 1977, 209).

9. The woman in the *Kichijōten gazō* is said to be the famed Queen of Emperor Shōmu (Sekine 1986, 204).

10. Queen Myŏngdŏk was the wife of Koryŏ King Ch’ungsuk. The original text from *Dongguan hanji* 東觀漢記 [History of the Later Han dynasty] reads: 明德皇后 美髮 為四起大髻 尚有餘髮 繞髻三匝.

11. Kabuki is traditional Japanese popular drama with singing and dancing performed in a highly stylized manner. A rich blend of music, dance, mime, and spectacular staging and costuming, it has been the chief theatrical form in Japan for almost four centuries. The term kabuki originally suggested the unorthodox and shocking character of this art form.

12. “The Picture of Prince Shōtoku” (FIGURE 37) is an embroidered work by the wife of Prince Shōtoku, who died in 622. She portrayed the Prince in Heaven wishing his peaceful eternal life after death. The Prince wears *shitsushakan* 漆紗冠 (black silk coronet) and holds *shaku* 笏 (baton). The two boys wear *mizura* (Izutsu 1986, 24).

13. *Kyerye* 祭禮 was the coming-of-age ceremony for girls in which they wore *tchok* and *pinyŏ* (long hairpin). According to *Sarye p’yŏnrarn* 四禮便覽 [Handbook of the four rituals], brides or girls who reached the age of fifteen participated in *kyerye* (Lee Chŏngok 1990, 220).

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