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* 文獻備考 [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,[1] shows that three thousand years ago Koreans had already started wearing *chu'kye* 椎髻 (large topknot),[2] 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][3] 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 *ŏnchŭn mŏri* (the end of the hair rolled and worn at the center of the forehead) (Sugimoto 1995, 350), *tchokchin mŏri* (a roll of braided hair worn at the nape of the neck),[4] *punkimyŏng mŏri* (part of the hair let down the back), *ssang sangt'u* (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 龕神塚 (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

Figure 1: Milling Woman, the Anak Third Tomb.

Figure 2: Tongsu's wife wearing *Ko kye*, the Anak Third Tomb.

BC to 663 AD) 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 定林寺址 temple site in Puyŏ city, Ch'ungnam Province, has a very similar style to terra cotta figurines from

FIGURE 4: *Yangdo pyŏnpal. Hankuk poksik togam* [Illustrated Book of Korean Costume].

FIGURE 3: Clay figure from Chŏngnimsaji, KIM Tonguk 1985, 71.

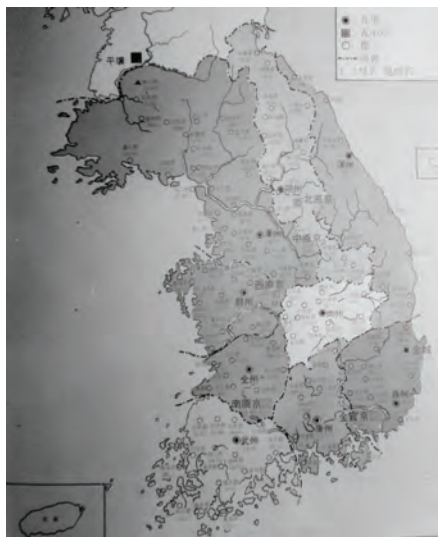

FIGURE 5: Unified Silla

Northern Wei 北魏, 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 東京雜記 [Miscellaneous records of Tonggyŏng][5] records: "the women of Silla (57BC–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* 隋書 [History of the Sui Dynasty] and *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [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* 新唐書 [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

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].

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). *Ŏnchŭn mŏri*, *tulle mŏri* (thick braided hair wrapped around the head like a turban), and *tchokchin mŏri* prevailed among Silla women. These traditional styles were transmitted to Chosŏn. As for the styles of Unified Silla, typical *tchokchin 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 *ŏnchŭn 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.[6] *Koryŏ togyŏng* 高麗圖經 [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]."[7] This style, similar to *t'ama kye* 墮馬髻,[8] 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.

Japan

Figure 9: Haniwa

Most *haniwa* 埴輪 (figure 9) from the Kofun period (fourth to sixth centuries AD) have *shimada mage* 島田髷, a large *mage* 髷 (bun-type hairstyle), on the head. Styles such as *taregami* 垂髪 (long unboundhair), long bound hair, and *mae-gami* 前髪 (braid worn on the forehead by girls before the coming-of-age ceremony) 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* 美頭良 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 *keppatsu* 結髪 (bound hair) in 686.

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

Figure 10: *Mizura*.

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

Figure 13: Kichijōten gazō, Kawabata 1974, 16.

Figure 14: Gikei in Court Dress, Kawabata 1974, 13

FIGURE 15: Hairstyle of the Nara period, SEKINE 1986, 88.

FIGURE 16: *Taregami* of the Heian period, IZUTSU 1982, 69.

FIGURE 17: *Hatsubi* of the Heian period, IZUTSU 1982, 69.

the head and decorated with gold or jade, according to the wearer's rank. This style is shown in Kichijōten gazō 吉祥天畵像[9] (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* 頭上二髻 (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* 髻 (topknot), and decorated their hair with *hitai* 額 (decorative tablet), *kan'zashi* 簪 (long hairpin, and *kushi* 櫛 (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* 裳着) and tying their hair at the top of the head (*kami age* 髪上げ). 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-

Figure 18: *Tamamusubi* of the Muromachi period, Tanida and Koike 1989, figure 114.

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* 兩道扁髮 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* 桂 (upper garment), and wore an *obi* 帶 (belt) on it when going out. Women in the Muromachi period tied their hair with *katsura obi* 鬘帶 (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* 桂包 (head covering). Wheel-shaped *tama-musubi* 玉結び (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 *ŏnchŭn mŏri* (figure 19), which were made of false hair, were considered beautiful. During the reign of King Sŏngjong *ŏnchŭn*

Figure 19: *Ŏnchŭn mŏri, Hankuk-ŭi mi.*

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."[10] 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 *tchokchin 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).

Figure 20: *Taesu*, Sŏk 1971.

Figure 21: *Ttŏguji mŏri*, Sŏk 1971.

Figure 24: *Kwimit' mŏri*, Sŏk 1971.

Figure 22: *Ŏyŏ mŏri*, Sŏk 1971.

Figure 23: *Ch'ŏpchi mŏri*, Sŏk 1971.

FIGURE 25: *Karawa mage*, IZUTSU 1982, 184.

FIGURE 26: *Hyōgo mage*, KAWABATA 1974, 140.

FIGURE 27: *Shimada mage*, KAWABATA 1974, 140.

FIGURE 28: *Shōzan kyoku*, KAWABATA 1974, 140.

FIGURE 29: *Maru mage*, KAWABATA 1974, 140.

Japan

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 actresses[11] 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* 髱 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* 鬢張 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 Koguryŏ women's *ko kye* (FIGURE 30) shown in the mural of the Anak Third Tomb of Koguryŏ, 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 Koguryŏ 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 Koguryŏ Anak Third Tomb.

FIGURE 31: *Kōkei* of the Nara period, Sekine 1986, 88.

FIGURE 32: Maid in the "Picture of a Kitchen," Muyongch'ong.

FIGURE 33: Woman from Takamatsu Zuka Kofun Mural, Yamana 1987, 48.

FIGURE 35: Hairstyle of the Nara period, SEKINE 1986, 88.

FIGURE 36: Wood carved female figurines from Hōryū Temple.

FIGURE 37. "The Picture of Prince Shōtoku." IZUTSU 1986, 24

Yangdo pyŏnpal 兩道扁髮 of Paekche, and *mizura*[12] 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 *haniwa* (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. Ŏyŏmi 於餘味 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 pyŏnpal* of Paekche seem to have been shaped by Chinese influences, *pan kye* 盤髻 of the Unified Silla dynasty was perhaps influenced by styles of West Asia, and *t'ama kye* 墮馬髻 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 *ŏnchŭn mŏri* and *kye* by those of the Ming dynasty. Nara's *hōkei* and *gikei* were influenced by styles of Tang and Xiyu, and *karawa* 唐輪 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*. *Ch'ŏngjanggwan chŏnsŏ* 青莊館全書 [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,[13] 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 pigtails 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* 裳着) 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* 髪枇 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 *ōmaru 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 *ŏyŏ 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 *ŏnchŭn mŏri* was so expensive, enough to buy several houses, that poor women could not wear *ŏnchŭn mŏri* although they were married. Highly built-up *ŏnchŭn 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 *tsuijōhō* 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 Kakchŏcho'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 chapki* 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 *saeang 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 爲四起大髻 尙有餘髮 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* 笄禮 was the coming-of-age ceremony for girls in which they wore *tchok* and *pinyŏ* (long hairpin). According to *Sarye p'yŏnram* 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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