A Study on the Characteristics of the Children’s Hanbok for the Formal Ceremonies of Korea
이동용 한복의 특성에 관한 연구

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Abstract

세계화, 국제화, 개방화 시대에 살고 있는 우리가 동과西夜라 전통 양념과 같은 특별한 행사에 의해서는 한복을 이용하는 것은 한복이 한국의 문화적 이미지를 강하게 간직하고 있는 한국적 조형물 중의 하나이기 때문이 다. 더욱이 의례복은 특별한 행사 자체를 위해 착용되었던 만큼 당시대의 내적 가치를 가장 현저하게 표출하고 있는 복식으로 인정 할 수 있기 때문이다.

본 연구의 목적은 사례적으로 현대 전통 한복의 기본 형식을 제공한 조선시대와 그 이후의 복식 중에서 특히 분명한 작용 특기와 목적, 복식을 통해 나타내고자 하는 상태를 등을 함축하고 있는 어동용 의례복을 대상으로 복식의 형태, 색상, 문양, 소재 등의 조형 요소를 고찰하는 것이다. 또한 양식적 특성을 살펴보고, 그러한 조형적 특성을 형성시킨 당시대의 사상적 가치를 추출해 보는 것이다.

구체적인 연구 방법은 먼저 관련된 문헌 고찰을 통해 이론적 배경을 토대로 하여 어동용 의례복의 법주를 설정하고 현재 보존중인 성물과 또는 사진, 석화화에 나타난 복식 자료들을 수집하였다. 그리고 당시대의 사상적 배경에 대한 고찰을 명료하게 이들에 내재된 문화적 가치를 추출해 보았다.

연구 결과 양식적 특성으로는 남아의 두부를 바탕으로 전복 그리고 쓰개류 등에서 기능성을 고려한 변형될 양식이 나타나고 있었다. 세개 역시 음영 보석이나, 오색을 바탕으로 한 기본색의 구성이에도 소매와 상에 음영문 석의 배합이 많고 전복의 것에 나타난 석의 조화는 다양한 석의 조명을 표현하고 있었다. 특히 쓰개 등에 나타난 오색석의 배합, 기양과 결합, 상의와 하의, 외의와 내의에 사용된 석의 조화는 미식학에 관한 문화적 가치를 추출해 볼 수 있다. 더욱이 장식 표현에 주로 쓰인 자연물 문양이나 굴자 문양은 당시의 지배 사회가 지향하는 덕목이사에도 전통적으로 내재된 수명과 복록, 부귀와 명예에 대한 내적 가치를 반영하는 조형적 상장을 나타내고 있다. 소재는 비교적 견고한 고려하여 사용되고 있었지만 의례적 성격이 지닌 의례나 쓰개류의 경우 제작적 구분은 고려하지 않은 경우도 많이 나타났다. 장신구의 경우는 많이 사용되는 것은 아니나 역시 상징적인 가치를 표현하는 학문들을 미적으로 재구성한 사례들이 나타나고 있었다.

이상의 연구를 통해 어동용 전통 의례복은 형태, 색상, 문양, 소재, 장신구 등에서 양식의 다양성과 변형들을 알 수 있었다. 또한 적극적인 내적 가치의 상장들을 복식을 통해 표현하고 있었음을 알 수 있었다. 현재 복식의 태극인에 있어 어동용 의례복에 나타난 중추적인 양식의 변형과 다양성 그리고 복식을 통한 내적 가치의 반영 등이 현재 사회와 조화를 이룬 실질적인 복식 디자인 제시 및 장식에 따른 영감으로 작용할 바된다.

Key words: Children’s Hanbok, Types of Hats, Upper Clothes, Lower Clothes, Outer Garment, Artistic Features, Ideological Values.
I. Introduction

Even though we live in a time of open-door policies, globalization, and internationalism, we put on the Hanbok on traditional festive or particular event days, because the Hanbok is one of the most beautiful formative arts that have maintained the Korean traditional cultural images. The Korean traditional costumes (formal Hanbok) were worn for celebrating national congratulations during particular formal rituals or ceremonies. Therefore, it was accepted that the costumes expressed the ideological inner values of those days effectively. When we discuss the definition of this formal costume, we limit its boundary within the modes that was used for the adults' clothes, because the range of TongKwaEuiRyae (rites of passage), the necessary ceremonies' formal procedures such as birth celebration, marriage celebration, coming-of-age celebration and death ceremony, are confined to the 'Four Decorum' (the ceremonies of coming-of-age, marriage, funeral, and ancestral worship) of KwanHoonSongJael (疲倦喪祭), under the influence of Confucianism in Chosun Dynasty. A. Van Gennep, a French anthropologist and folklorist, who introduced the term of TongKwaEuiRyae (rites of passage), explained that rite of passage means a particular behavioral system that a person who belongs to one society or one cultural environment must go through in his life, experiencing some inevitable circumstantial changes such as age, social position, and other things in society. Jang Cheol-Su explained the term as a kind of formal rituals that have been developed for the purpose of getting over some critical changes of living conditions caused by unusual events or happenings. Particularly, the periodical formal ritual is called 'SeSipungSok' (歲時禮), and the temporary formal ritual is called 'PyeonSaengEuiRyae' (平生儀禮). From this point of view, the periodical formal ceremonies such as SamChil (三七日), Baek (百日), and Chuldol (the first birthday), that are related with child care, can be regarded as rites of passage, that is one part of PyeonSaengEuiRyae (平生儀禮). In addition, the periodical ceremonies like the 24 subdivisions of the year (節期), and the national holidays (名節; festive days) belong to TongKwaEuiRyae (通過儀禮) in a strict sense.

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the artistic features such as form, color, pattern, and material in children's costumes that were used during the traditional formal ceremonies, which behaviors implied some specific symbolic meanings, such as moral motives and particular purposes.

This study limited the time to Chosun Dynasty because these periods offered the fundamental forms of 'traditional Hanbok' for modern times. The other purpose of this thesis is to investigate its artistic characteristics and to infer the ideological values of those periods that allowed to form such artistic characteristics.

For data collection and methods of study, first, the boundary of children's costumes is set by the survey of documents, and other primary data were collected from the museum catalogues that exhibit the real forms of traditional costumes, through photographs and folk paintings, as well as in real forms. Second, good quality data that clearly show the artistic elements such as form, pattern, and material were selected. Next, the selected data were classified by their modes. Next, each artistic feature and each mode was closely examined within the two ranges; a category of universality, and a category of particularity. In addition, the ideological
side is also studied, together with the above subjects side by side, in order to infer the concrete ideological values reflected on the costumes from their artistic characteristics.

II. The Kinds of Children’s Hanbok for Formal Ceremonies.

The term of ‘formal ceremony’ often reminds us of TongKwaEuiRyae(湳過儀禮), and the representative rites of passage of Chosun Dynasty is ‘Four Decorum’ of KwamHonSangJae(冠婚喪祭). But according to A. Van Gennep, rites of passage which humankind should experience during one’s life, means all formal celebrations related with social consciousness, astronomical transition, and changes of season. From his point of view, children’s rites of passage include all formal ceremonies that give them significant meaning in the process of growth, and the examples of it are ‘SamChill(三七日; the twenty-first day after a child’s birth), ‘BaekIl(百日; the one-hundredth day after a child’s birth), ‘the day of Chotdol’, and all birthdays until they become ten years old, as well as the traditional national holidays celebrating season’s change. Also, if including the ordinary full dress(常装) for particular days, in spite of its discrimination from the common clothes for everyday life as well as the formal costumes for special ceremonies, the special costumes that children usually wear on any home celebrating days or special home events would belong into the category of the children’s formal traditional costume for formal ceremonies. As a matter of fact, the study of Park, Seong-Sil reveals that the royal family would make and confer the costumes for their children(Princes and Princesses) on ‘the one-hundredth day(百日; BaekIl)’, every birthday, and other national festive days. Also, infants wore the first clothes on the third day after he or she had been born, and it was called ‘BaeNet-Jeogori’, ‘Iran-Jeogori’, ‘SamAn-Jeogori’, and ‘Dong(同)-Jeogori’. In summary, the traditional formal costume for children(Infants) means the special costumes for ‘the one-hundredth day(百日; BaekIl)’, other yearly birthdays, national festive days, and ordinary home celebrating days, including ‘BaeNet-Jeogori’, the clothes that an infant wore for the first time, after the birth.

1. Types of Hats; Bokgeon, Hogeon, Chobawee, Goollae.

Bokgeon, a formal headgear for boys, was made of the full width of hemp cloth’s, so that its name came from the above reason (Fig 1). It would be made of silk, during the winter and thin silk gauze, during the summer, and used to be worn together with Jeonbok and Durumagi. Sometimes it was imprinted with gold foil, or ornamented with pieces of shell-works such as jade, and minutely execute drawings on the top of the head.

Hogeon is also a kind of headgear made of cloth for boys from noble families. Its shape is similar to that of Bokgeon, and its general features were tiger’s face embroidered on it (Fig 1).

Chobawee has been worn by women since last days of the Chosun Dynasty. It used to be made of black silk or thin silk gauze, according to seasons, and it was attached to a few tassels in front of the forehead, or decorated with green jadeite, minutely executed drawings, or coral.

Chobawee for little girls basically has the same style as women’s, but sometimes a pink ribbon would be attached on the back side (Fig 3). Goollae is a headgear for babies of Chotdol, so that it would be called ‘headgear of the first birthday’ (Fig 4). It was worn by 2-3 year old babies and 4-5 year old.
Fig. 1. Bokgeon
『Korean Court Costumes of The Late Chosun Period, 1999』

Fig. 2. Hogeon
『Chosun Period through The Photographs: Life & Custom, 1986』

Fig. 3. Chobawee
『Hanbok, the Art of Korean Clothing, 1997』

Fig. 4. Goollae
『Chosun Period through The Photographs: Life & Custom 2, 1987』
boys and girls. It has several hat-legs wrapping the head completely for the purpose of keeping from winter coldness, and during the summer, the three hat-legs helped ventilation. The number of Goollae’s legs was usually 3 in Seoul, and the people in Kaeseong province of north Korea would make 9 legs. Goollae was decorated with various embroideries and colorful threads, and attached to miniaturized drawings and pieces of shellwork on the top of the head; but sometimes its shape was simple just with gold foil(leaf) decoration. Two strings were tied on the front side.  

2. The Upper Clothes; Jeogori, Baeja, Jokki(vest), Magoja

'BaeNet-Jeogori' is worn by newly born babies after bathing them, that is, babies wear this clothes for the first time after the birth. (Fig 5) For this reason, it was called ‘BaeNet-Jeogori’, meaning ‘conneted clothes’. Generally it is made of silk or fine cotton cloth, considering enough to wrap baby’s whole body. And sometimes the cloth would be quilted with cotton wool. It has another name, 'MuRyeonBui(無領衣)', because it has no collar. However, some BaeNet-Jeogoris had collars as well as gussets, and certain BaeNet-Jeogoris had breast-ties made of thread, which meant praying for long-life.

Fig. 5. BaeNet-Jeogoris
Korean Traditional Costume for Children, 2000

Both man and woman wore Jeogori, an upper clothes, as recorded in the Yu(Yu) in the ancient literatures. (Fig 6), (Fig 7) Both man’s Jeogori and woman’s Jeogori had the same style, but from some moment in the past, woman’s Jeogori became more decorative than man’s. The main reason might be that woman’s Jeogori was continually worn for everyday life as an outerwear, so that it belonged to ordinary clothes, on the other hand, man usually wore Jeogori inside Magoja or Dunumagi, as an underwear, except for thecase of lower-class people. This trend is also shown in children’s Jeogori, that is, girls’ Jeogori had more ornaments than boys’ Jeogori did.

Baeja was said to be worn by the son of Qin’s Emperor for the first time as recorded in GJuYeonMun.Jang.JeonSan.Ko(五州衍文卷養殿輔), so that it surely has a very long history. The shape of Baeja went through a number of
changes, consequently, the final shape was formed during the times of Chosun Dynasty; its length is short, the body has no sleeve. (Fig 8) The side of man’s Baeja was cut into two parts, and a long string is attached on the front part, under the side armpit, which was inserted into a hook attached on the back part of the clothes. The ends of the string were tied at the front side. Therefore, it was called a shape of ‘Hapim(합짐). In addition, the length of the front part is shorter than that of the back part, lest the front lower part should be wrinkled.

Jokki means vest, and was worn over Jeogori. Strictly speaking, its origin was the western style.

During the early 20th century, it was found that the shape was not only similar to Baeja’s, but also convenient to wear owing to the pockets attached to the front side, so that people used to wear Jokki in everyday life. Particularly, children’s Jokki was embroidered with patterns or letters with gold, meaning for luck and happiness. (Fig 9)

Magoja is worn over Jeogori, also called ‘Magued(마그에)’. Its origin was from Manchurian
people's clothes, and in Chosun Dynasty, Heung-Seon, who was the father of the King Gojong, wore it for the first time, when he came back after finishing his hermitage life in the Correction Division located at Manchuria. 10 It has no collar, no breast-tie, instead, the front parts of the clothes were joined in the front side. The texture used was different by season. The magoja with sleeves of multicolored stripes was included into one suit of boy's Chotdol costume, but even after the Chotdol passed, these clothes would be worn until babies became 5 ~ 6 years old. 13 (Fig. 10)

3. The Lower Clothes; PungCha-Baji

After babies passed the twenty-first day(三七日), he or she took off the formate clothes like BaeNet-Jeogori, and began to wear PungCha-Baji. (Fig. 11) The pants were made conveniently for when babies undress, with a large whole on the back part of the pants. Girls would wear it also until passing the Chotdol. After the Chotdol, it was usually worn by boys until becoming 3 ~ 4 years old. (Fig. 11)

4. The Outer Garment; Jeonbok, Durumagi

Jeonbok has been worn over GgaChi-Durumagi by boys, since the political Reform in 1894. It had been called Kojio(袂子), or Dapho(搭掛) during the period of the Koryo Dynasty. But it began to be worn by soldiers as a military clothes, owing to its advantage of convenience in wearing, since it has no sleeves, and both sides are cut.

The design of children's Durumagi has the same as that of adults' Durumagi, but the difference between children's Durumagi and adults' Durumagi was that the children's Durumagi had symbolic colors. Taking a look of OBangJang Durumagi, its sleeves and the bodice were light green, Mu(the patched sections under both armpits of the upper garment) was of purple color, the gusset(a long cloth attached under Jeogori or Durumagi's collar) was yellow, and its collar and coat-strings(breast-tie) were dark blue in case of boy's clothes, red for girls' garments. (Fig. 12) Conclusively, OBangJang Durumagi gave a cute and splendid look, suitable for the ceremonial formal use. In addition, some children's Durumagi was called 'GgaChi-Durumagi', though it is unknown when its specific concept was defined;
generally, the *Durumagi* that gave a very cute and pretty feeling and look was called *'GgaChi-Durumagi'*, stitches on the gusset, sleeves with multicolored stripes, or the different patched parts of the clothes' body and the sleeves. (Fig 13)

5. Others; *Su(素)-Dolddi, TaRae-Beosun*(Korean socks), *Tosi*(muff).

*Su(素)-Dolddi* is a breast-ribbon attached *Jeogori* or *Durumagi*, and tied on the top outer side. It is not only long, but also wide. The color of boy’s *Dolddi* was deep blue, while girls wore the purple *Dolddi*, the different color distinguished children’s gender. But sometimes boys were allowed to use red colored *Dolddi*. Several small pouches would be attached to *Dolddi*, and five cereals (soiliang, rice, hulled millet, bean, red bean) would be put into the pouches. *Dolddi* would be independently decorated with pattern of Sip.Jang.Saeng(十長生: ten objects that live eternally, such as sun, mountain, water, rock, cloud, pine tree, herb of eternal youth, tortoise, red-creasted white crane), pattern of peony blossom that symbolizes wealth and glory, and other natural objects or the Chinese characters that mean good fortune(luck). Other *Dolddi* of simpler design and pattern would be attached to clothes. (Fig 14)

*Tarae-Beosun* means quilted Korean socks. It was made for infants who could not walk yet, so Tarae-Beosun was embroidered and decorated with tassels, and garters were attached for the purpose of tying the socks to the ankle. *Tarae-Beosun* was usually worn together with the *Chótdol* costume; its cloth added by cotton wool was quilted in a straight line, the top sides of feet and both cheek parts of feet were embroidered and the toe parts of the socks were attached with colorful threads. The color of girl’s garter was red, while boy used blue garter. As usual, the quilting is for keeping warmth, but they had a belief about quilting clothes, saying that ‘If quilting hundred lines on baby’s Chótdol clothes, the baby would live hundred years.’ Due to this reason, *Jeogon, Baji*, and *Tarae-Beosun* used to be quilted. (Fig 15)

*Tosi* is a muff that wraps the arms for keeping warmth or avoiding heat. In the winter, cotton wool or fur was attached inside. *Tosi* was used by both boy and girl. In the summer, *Tosi* was made of
rattan, bamboo, or horsehair to give a good ventilation. The children’s Tosi was made of multicolored stripe-cloth or black silk satin, with respect to its pattern, it really looks wholehearted. The simplified flower pattern, like Japanese apricot blossom, was embroidered on the parts of wrists, or the edges would be decorated with a saw-tooth shape.

Fig. 16. Tosi
[THe Inaugural Exhibition Catalogue of The Chang Pudeok Memorial Gallery, 1999]

III. On the Artistic Features of the Formal Costumes for Particular Ceremonies

1. Form

The forms of formal costumes worn in particular formal ceremonies can be possible to be discussed from various viewpoints. First, the major outlines that mainly form costume’s basic shape include silhouette, seam line, and edge. (K.S. Koom, ibid., p.23) Children’s formal costumes, such as Jeogori, Durumagi, Jeonbok, and Beosun, maintain the basic outlines(silhouette) of adult’s costumes. However, children’s costumes have many different structural lines and edge lines from adult’s. The examples of it are making the Jeogori gusset with several patches of cloth, making the edge line of Jeonbok using different colored cloth, making a new structural outline of Jeonbok by adding collar-structure to its original collarless structure. These kinds of transitions show the applied forms of Gooliae, one of head-covers(hat), and Sul(li)-Doldol. It is said that the makers’ creativity and their particular intention are shown in the changed new forms, of course, based on the original forms.

2. Color

Colors are closely involved with not only the sources of human’s visual cognition but also human emotional reactions. Color helps the form of costume to be concretized together with the costume’s basic form that gives shape to it. Furthermore, color gives a meaningful impression to the costume, and directly expresses the user’s intention. The distinguishing features shown in the costumes of the Chosun Dynasty are people’s preference of white color, and the gay and strong harmony among the primary colors. A remarkable example of the strong colors’ harmony is the pattern of multicolored stripes, and it has been evaluated to be one of the important elements that has formed our race’s color-related emotional feature.20 Color harmony shown in children’s formal costumes that were used for formal ceremonies are the sleeves of multicolored stripes and Gooliae in Jeogori and Durumagi, the vis-a-vis collar of Jeonbok, and the gusset-decoration shown in all upper garments. These color harmonies and the usage of various colors shown in children’s costumes for formal ceremonies imply an aspiration toward gay colors, good luck, and driving away wicked evils.

3. Pattern

The user’s emotion and thought are expressed in the pattern, therefore, it is said that the pattern has established the race’s inherent artistic features in each period of time. The patterns that have been
used in clothes are classified into 3; pattern of characters (ideography), pattern of gold leaf or gold foil, and pattern of embroidery. In particular, children's costume often employ pattern of embroidery, since this embroidery pattern is easier for mothers to use and express their affection for their children than the ideography pattern and gold foil pattern. Examining the patterns used in children's formal costumes more closely, most of them expressed mothers' pray for children's long life and fortune, regardless of the kind of patterns such as a plant pattern, animal pattern, and character pattern. In some families, children's father or grandfather offered special poems in Chinese characters, or symbolic letters that contain lucky or special meanings for their children. Then they would be made into a pattern and put on children's clothes like Hageon in gold foil or leaf, by their mother or other female family.

4. Material

Examining the materials used for children's formal costumes, they consist of two items; mainly-thin silk (silk gauze: 흰) and damask silk (taffeta: 탱생). Particularly, the transparent characteristic of thin silk enabled users to use more various forms of patterns as well as to add more beauty effectively. In most cases, the gold foil (gold leaf) was used more frequently than the embroideries were, because the former looked more splendid than the latter. And in the case of cloth with no patterns on it, the embroidery decoration used to be used. This reveals that they preferred the patterns, in order to use the advantages of texture's material and express the beauty of patterns.

IV. The Ideological Values

First, one of the distinguishing feature of 'long breast-ribbon', that is found in children's clothes, seems to give an emphasis on the functional advantage, however, the long length of the breast-ribbon made of thread was an expression of wish for children's long life. The small pouches attached to Si(細)-Dokli was a kind of formative arts that expressed a wish for children's wealth. The tassels named 'Sakmo(梢毛)' attached to splendidly decorated Tane-Beosun's front top point was said to symbolize 'prosperity(榮華)' 29, and this tassel decoration is similar to the nice-looking thread decoration on Gooliae, one of the headgears.

Secondly, with respect to the ideological values that are found from colors of children's formal costumes, there are three categories that should be discussed; the harmonized colors of 'multicolored stripes' cloth, the color that drives wicked evils, and the red color that was regarded as the color of wealth, all of which seems to express the 'five colors'. Exactly speaking, the 'multicolored stripes' that would be employed for children's clothes is different from the 'five colors'; blue, red, white, black, and yellow. However, the use of 'multicolored stripes' in children's clothes was basically for the purpose of having all 'five elements' (metal, wood, water, fire, and earth) according to the theory of YinYang (陰陽五行), preventing some wicked evils or energies, and praying for children's health and long life. 29

Thirdly, with regard to the symbolic values reflected on patterns, most of them meant prayers for children's long life and good fortune. One of the most basic items was the Chinese character 'Shu(壽)', and it would be imprinted with gold foil, on the hems and the sleeves' armpit width of Jeonbok and Bokgeon. And the other examples are Bok(福; fortune), Ou(貴; noble), InBuYoJi(仁慈義; mercy, justice, manner, intelligence), HyoJiaChongSin(孝悌忠信; sincerity or affection.
toward parents, brothers, nation, and king), all of which mean Confucian values. Also sometimes, the shapes of sun, moon, cloud, pine tree, red-crested white crane, flower would be embroidered. Furthermore, SilJangSaeng[十长生; ten objects that live eternally, such as sun, mountain, water, rock, cloud, pine tree, herb of eternal youth, tortoise, red-crested white crane], peony blossom, chrysanthemum, and bat, which were embroidered on the front and back parts of Dolbi, Dol-pouch, in order to symbolize wealth and glory are good examples of the symbolic values reflected on patterns. Also, all character patterns put on children’s clothes meant praying for their long life and good luck.

Finally, the value of ‘wealth’ was symbolized with other kinds of decoration, such as tassels made of a bundle of colorful thread, on the front tip top of Tarae-Beosun, or on the head top of Gooliae. The value of ‘fortune’ would be prayed for through the following decorations, Jeogori’s collar, side-cuts of Jeonbok and Magyoja, the bat-decoration found on the waist pleats of PungCho-Buk.

In conclusion, various ideological values and symbols shown in our traditional costumes are found to be full of praying for children’s glorious future, long life, fortune, luck, peaceful life, and richness. Those praying and celebrating elements, in the first place, take charge of decoration, and the praying and celebrating meanings are expressed through various techniques and methods.

V. Conclusion

In summary, the above study found that children’s traditional costumes for formal ceremonies had more formative or artistic transformations than the adults’ costumes did, in its form, color, and pattern. Also, children’s clothes seem to express the ideological values actively or directly, through various symbols and techniques. The trial of adopting the traditional formative arts in modern clothing design means a constructive progression in the direction of modernization, on the basis of a cultural subjectivity or independence, accompanying the traditional foundation. And this study on the formative transformation and the expression of the inner ideological values shown in children’s traditional costumes, will hopefully devote to a creative suggestion for the area of costume design as well as designers’ creative mind in the practical side.

References

2) Jiang, Cheol-Su, KwansanJongJae(冠婚資料) in Korea, JipMoonDang, 1995, p. 68.
4) The reason is that they would make SoSoKyeongDan(millet dumpling) for children, in order to celebrate the birthday up to their age of ten, in order to turn down wicked evils.
5) Park, Seong-Sil, Ibid., pp. 135–176.
9) The National Folk Museum, 1997, p. 44.
10) OnYang Folk Museum, The Formal Hats for Governmental Officials in ChoSeon Dynasty,


