

A costume study on the basis of descriptions in the novel *Im Kkeok Jeong*

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ABSTRACT

Writer Hong Myung-hee, author of the novel *Im Kkeok Jeong*, provided an excellent description of the costume customs of the Chosun era, based on an understanding of various historical texts and literature by practical science proponents, and experience gained from the Hong household of Pungsan, a noble family of high standing during the Chosun dynasty. However, there is a tendency towards descriptions of late Chosun era customs, rather than 16th century customs, with the intent of heightening the image of what most people felt to represent Chosun and its prestige, thereby generating greater reader sympathy. Therefore, information on the costume customs of the novel *Im Kkeok Jeong* is analyzed and re-formed to fit with the temporal setting of the 16th century. By providing data to aid visual understanding and re-creation, the intent is to accept it as material for the rumination of our ancestors and their lifestyles in the 16th century.

The novel provides a good description of Chosun economic customs, in which cotton and hemp were used not only as fabric for clothes, but also as currency. The trade value of cotton drapery or hemp drapery with dimensions of 5 strand density at a length of 35 ja per roll was designated as 5 mal (about 90 liters) of rice by national law, but the actual value varied depending on the production of rice. Also, it is possible to confirm the existence of sangpo with dimensions of 3 strand density at a length of 30 ja per roll, or 2 strand density seochongdae cotton, which was used only as currency due to the rough quality. Characteristics of the Chosun dynasty, a class-based society, are described through distinctions of attire. The writer's intent regarding the symbolic nature of attire reflecting social position, a characteristic of the entire Chosun period, is analyzed with the presentation of visual material.

Key Words : *Im Kkeok Jeong*, 16th century, costume, Fabric as the money,, symbol of a social position

I. Introduction

The main character of the novel *Im Kkeok Jeong*¹⁾ is a historical figure recorded as Im Keokjiljung (林巨叱正) in the 『Myungjong Chronicles(明宗實錄』 and a butcher from Yangju. In the 14th year of

Myungjong(1559), he formed a band of men and acted as a thief, becoming a target of the royal troops until finally being caught and killed 3 years later in the 17th year of Myungjong(1562). The novel begins before Im Kkeok Jeong was born, with the *Gapjasahwa*(10th year of Yeonsangun, 1504) during the reign of Yeonsangun, and lasting throughout the reign of 4 separate kings: Yeonsangun

(1476~1506, reigned 1494~1506), Jungjong(1488~1544, reigned 1506~1544), Injong(1515~1545, reigned 1544~1545), and Myungjong(1534~1567, reigned 1545~1567).

Writer Byeok-Cho(碧初) Hong Myung-hee (洪命憲 1888~1968), author of *Im Kkeok Jeong*, created the novel as a significant entry not only in literary history, but also in the history of cultural manne-
rism, with the intent to create a work in agreement with the virtue of Chosun. A number of characters and events in the novel are based on historical fact, while other factors are creations of the author, but the virtue of Chosun emphasized by Byeok-Cho, the style and atmosphere of the period which have been forgotten among us in the modern age, can be rediscovered in the novel, which is may be taken as research material for various fields, such as language, food, class divisions and society. Unfortunately, however, as what we generally perceive to be traditional dates from the late Chosun period, the images depicted in the novel are similarly from the late Chosun period. Therefore, the intent of this study is to increase visual understanding in re-creation of 16th century costumes by analyzing images of costumes in the novel and re-structuring them in a manner fitting for the 16th century.

The method to the research was to extract all of the costume images as described in the novel *Im Kkeok Jeong* and examine and analyze whether they are in agreement with the 16th century, which serves as the setting. References were supplemented with materials and earlier studies which have described costume and life styles of the 16th century, such as 『Chosun Dynasty Chronicles』, 『Miam Diaries』, 『Bangyesu Records』, and 『Yeollyeoh Practical Techniques』, and by comparing supplementary visual materials and excavated artifacts, thereby analyzing the costume images of the novel *Im Kkeok Jeong* and providing visual material appropriate for the temporal setting.

Recently, when re-creating historical artifacts in visual media such as movies, television dramas and books, historical research has become a focal point of attention to increase the level of completion. Moreover, game programs also require realistic depictions in order to add realism to the experience. It is becoming increasingly important to gain ideas from myths, folklore, legends and novels, as well as to obtain materials in order to depict characters accordingly. This study is then expected to have realistic applied value in addition to academic value, considering this situation in which materials to aid the understanding of costumes are in such high demand.

First, in order to examine the basis for the costume customs within the novel, writer Hong Myung-hee's structural knowledge of costumes was reviewed. Next, cotton and hemp, with their function as currency, were considered in comparison with their depictions in the novel, and the realities and errors regarding costumes in the novel were organized by re-structuring garments and head adornments to match with the 16th century setting. This paper is a structural reorganization of a lecture given in the annual Hong Myung-hee literature festival of Goesan, presented in order to aid in understanding the costumes depicted in *Im Kkeok Jeong*.

II. Writer Hong Myung-hee's knowledge of costume customs

Byeok-Cho is from the highly regarded noble family of Hong, based in Pungsan, with a great grandfather who served as the head Yijo minister, a grandfather who served as war minister, and a father who served as the governor of Geumsan.²⁾ In addition to the *Chosun Chronicles*, his studies included various literary texts of 18th century practical arts scholars,

and his experience living with an extended family of dozens in a noble household³⁾ appears to have been the basis for his excellent descriptions of Chosun period customs.

Byeok-Cho's extended knowledge is also demonstrated in the Ewha Women's School graduation theses written by his twin daughters.⁴⁾ His elder daughter Hong Su-kung's thesis was called 『우리의복제도 변천에 대한 연구』(A study on the transformation of our customs of attire), and his younger daughter Hong Mu-kung's thesis was entitled 『조선 혼인 제도의 역사적 고찰』(A historical analysis of the Chosun era's marriage institution), both written based on extensive materials. In the introduction to her thesis, younger daughter Hong Mu-kung wrote "As my father not only provided materials but taught hands-on the structure of my sister's thesis on clothing customs, he likewise taught me, and gave me the book 『Chosun Women's Customs』... there is no need to reiterate all the other materials he also provided me with, and if any content in this thesis is worth reviewing in academia, it is surely due to my father, and not myself." Through the theses of his daughters, it is possible to confirm the depth of Byeok-Cho's knowledge regarding clothing customs. The materials cited in the theses of Hong Su-kung and Hong Mu-kung include not only Korean texts such as 『Three Kingdoms Historical Annals』, 『Korea Geography』, 『Chosun Dynasty Chronicles』, and literature of the gentry, but also the 25 historical texts (二十五史) of China, such as 『Huhanso (後漢書)』, 『Namjeseo (南齊書)』 and 『Sindangseo (新唐書)』, and even customs of the west, a truly vast amount. Literature by practical arts scholars regarding customs of dress are not entirely non-existent, but a pan-historic treatment of costumes in Korea was first published only in 1941, in the thesis by Byeok-Cho's elder

daughter, Hong Su-kung. Afterwards, Yeo-sung Lee's 『Chosun Costume Customs』, written in 1946, closely followed the format of this thesis, again demonstrating that Byeok-Cho had as extensive a knowledge of costume at the time as anyone. Hong Mu-kung's thesis 『조선 혼인 제도의 역사적 고찰』 (A historical analysis of the Chosun era's marriage institution) is also an important and oft-cited material dealing with the institution of marriage, illustrating that Byeok-Cho's contributions to the establishment of studies regarding Korean customs are considerable.

Byeok-Cho's son Hong Ki-mun published a column called 『Somungo (小文庫)』 in the *Chosun Ilbo* daily newspaper in 1938, and a significant amount of those works were given the subtitle of 『Chujeongrok (趨庭錄)』, meaning a record of the works of his father. These works are primarily records of content heard from his father Hong Myung-hee, with a particular emphasis on Chosun's native costumes and marriage customs.⁵⁾ Judging by the fact that similar topics were suggested to his daughters, it can be construed that Byeok-Cho had a major interest and knowledge in customs of the times. The novel *Im Kkeok Jeong* was published as a serial in the specialized context of the Japanese annexation of Korea, and it may be considered to have placed an emphasis on preserving the values of the nation, re-establishing Chosun's virtues, including its atmosphere, style and inherent characteristics.

The fact that the costumes described in the novel being from the latter Chosun period, despite its setting in the 16th century, may be considered to be intentional. The attire of the noble class is described as including *gat* hats and *dopo* robes, absent in the earlier Chosun period, yet Byeok-Cho had very accurately organized the development of *po* robes in the Chosun period through his daughter

Hong Su-kyung's thesis. "The representational clothes of those without a government position consisted of *jikryeong* before the Imjin wars, and elements such as *dopo*, *hangui* (行衣), *jungchimak*, *gyupot*, and *sotchangot* following the Imjin Wars, with *juwui* (周衣) lasting from contemporary late Chosun to the present day. *Juwui* was earlier a garment worn beneath *danryeong*, *jikryeong*, *cheollik*, and *dopo*, but not an official garment in itself." Despite this, Byeok-Cho's description of the nobility wearing *dopo* robes in the novel can be attributed to an intent to strengthen Chosun's virtues through the images considered by most to represent Chosun, thereby creating greater reader sympathy.

There is no need to place too great an emphasis on the virtues of Chosun within the novel, but to those of us ignorant even of the events of a mere 100 years ago, there is no need either to devalue its importance as an important text demonstrating the customs of the latter Chosun era. However, there is a need to re-structure the descriptions within the novel to better fit the setting, specifying the information regarding costume history which may be gained from the work.

III. Textiles as currency-cotton and hemp

The novel contains excellent descriptions of drapery, both as currency and fabric for attire. Cotton and hemp were major national resources of the Chosun era, and among the most important goods to be found in the domestic economy, being used additionally as forms of currency. In the early Chosun period, there were numerous debates regarding the use of currency such as *jeohwa*(楮貨)⁶⁾, coins⁷⁾, and *junpye* bills(箭幣)⁸⁾ and these were temporarily implemented, but the generally accepted forms of

currency were rice and hemp. The textile currency, or *pohwa* (布貨) circulated during Taejong's reign was hemp, or *mapo*(麻布), with a standard of *jungpo* (正布). Book 1 of the 『Taejong Chronicles』 contains mention of *Jeongoseungpo*(正五升布), which indicates that *jungpo* was used to refer to five thread density cloth. This is because in court, when charging ransom or calculating exchange ratios, *datsaebae* was designated as the standard.⁹⁾ *Jungpo* [*mapo*] has dimensions of 5 density with 35 *ja* in length for 1 roll. 1 *sae* refers to cloth with a width of 36 cm and 80 strands therein, so five *sae* refers to cloth with 5x 80 strands in a width of 36cm, and larger *sae* values resulted in denser, softer and more luxurious cloth.

During the reign of Sejong, when the cotton industry became implemented as state policy, cotton replaced *mapo* as the major form of circulation. In 1445(Sejong year 27), cotton became such an important form of currency that all prices for sales were designated with cotton.¹⁰⁾ According to 『Gyeonguk Daejeon』, Hojeon(戶典), 1 roll of *jungpo* was equivalent to 2 rolls of *sangpo* (常布), or 40 sheets of *jeohwa*, and one sheet of *jeohwa* was equivalent to 1 *doe*, or measure of rice.¹¹⁾ According to the 『Daejeong Surok(大典續錄)』, published in 1492(Sejong year 23), 1 roll of cotton was designated to be 35 *ja* long with a width of at least 7 *chon*¹²⁾ and 1 *dong* was 50 rolls. In comparison, *sangpo* was 3 thread density, with 30 *ja* equalling 1 roll. The price of cotton was designated depending on the amount of rice produced, as this was its major object of trade. When an abundant harvest increased the amount of rice, the price of cotton increased, whereas a scarce harvest and lower production of rice would result in a lower price of cotton, since there would be less rice to give in exchange for cotton. Conversely, if the production of

cotton increased compared to the production of rice, the price of cotton would decrease. Following the reign of Sejong, rice production could not keep up with increased production of cotton, so that the price of cotton fell continuously. According to a national policy promoting the production of cotton, the fabric, once produced only in the regions of Chungchung, Jeolla, and Kyungsang, also became produced across the country, making it more readily available nation-wide. Also, with the wide spread of cotton harvesting, cotton edged out *mapo* in civilian trade and tax paying, taking the place of *jungpo* or *sangpo*.¹³⁾ Therefore, the trade ratio of 1 roll of cotton per 2 rolls of *jungpo* changed in the latter Chosun period to 1 roll of cotton=1 roll of *jungpo*, and in terms of trade against rice, 1 roll of cotton was equivalent to 5*mal* of rice, with an equal price given to hemp.¹⁴⁾

Various types of cloth were circulated in the market, with *jungpo* acting as high-value currency, and drapery below 5 thread density acting as low-value currency. There is a debate which states that "By prohibiting the use of *sangmok* and allowing only the use of 5~6 thread density called *hoebong*(回奉), the price became too high, making it unuseable for small amounts. Therefore, smaller items such as firewood, fodder, fish, salt, vegetables and fruit must be traded against grains, and when a soldier has committed a crime on *beon*(番), the fine must also be collected in rice. Moreover, each region's public property prices and farmland and *sokpo*(贖布) were also made to use *hoebong* instead of *sangmok*, so that the rice of resident people is caused to be gathered entirely in the city reserves. Convenience in lifestyle must therefore be considered."¹⁵⁾ This offers a glimpse at the value of existence for *sangmok*. Especially 2 fabric density fabrics called *seochongdae myunpo* were drapery

that could not act as materials for clothing at all. In 1505(Yeonsangun year 11), with the erection of *Seochongdae*, when servants who could not participate in the task were made to offer cotton instead of labor, this came about as they made and offered 2 thread density cotton by taking the cotton from their pants. Afterwards, 2 thread density cotton became known as *seochongdae myunpo*¹⁶⁾ and was used only as currency.

In the novel, descriptions of drapery are found in various passages. *Sangmok* is mentioned in a passage wherein Yuboki meets his wife and sets off.

"Is there no use for cotton?"

"Why would there be no use. Where did you get cotton?"

"It was from my mother."

"How many rolls are there? Is it long enough?"

"What do you mean, long enough?"

"I mean, does it fill thirty-five *ja*. If it's from home, then it must not be 2 *ja sangmok*."

"It's not 2 *ja sangmok*. My mother gave it to me to make clothing."

(*Sworn Brothers Episode 1*, page 142)

Sangmok is three thread density, making it rough and low-quality, unfit for making suitable clothing. Therefore, fabrics of at least of over 5 thread density was woven to create clothing. In the 『*Yukjeondeungrok*(六典瞻錄)』, cloth below 11 thread density was used from 1st level officials through children of nobility without government posts, while artisans, merchants and commoners used a quality below 8 thread density¹⁷⁾, indicating that cotton woven for clothing was finer than *jungpo*. As the demand for cotton increased, low-quality drapery with widths and lengths shorter than the designated dimensions arose, and *danpo* not reaching 35 *ja* formed a roll as 2*dan*(端) 3*dan* or 4*dan*, thereby acting as currency.¹⁸⁾

The following is a scene in which Seorimi

negotiates a price to cross the Imjin ferry, following a plan to attack the arrival procession of the governor of Bongsan.

Seochongdae cotton was a low grade cotton below even *baekmok*, but with its price at the time, it was possible to trade a roll for three or four *mal* of rice. Since a ferryman could not expect to earn so much after a full day of work, having received as much in one windfall should have made his jaw drop, but as this particular fellow was a greedy man, he debased the value of five thread density cotton used for trading, saying "is this not *seoksae*?" (……) "I offer a roll of cotton for a ride on the boat, since I have no desire to live and eat well alone." "A roll of *seochongdae* is not much at all. 30 or 40 years ago, it may have been considerable, since it would have been worth 8 or 9 *mal* of rice." "And 3 *mal* of rice is nothing?" "Before, a roll of *datsae* could be traded with a roll of silk, but it would take four or 5 rolls just to trade with a roll of *Anjip* silk these days. The costs are different now."

(*Hwajeok Episode 2*, page 152)

In this way, cotton fabric was used not only as material, but as currency. But the price of cotton changed continuously, making it difficult to determine its value as currency. From the 『*Gyeonguk Daejeon*』 of early Chosun to the 『*Mankiyoram*』 of late Chosun, the trade price of a roll of cotton was considered to be 5*mal* of rice, while a roll of *sangpo* was designated as having the value of 5/2*mal* of rice, but regardless of designations, the price of cotton was apt to fluctuate with harvest yields. However, low-quality *seochongdae* cotton with no value whatsoever as fabric for clothing remained well below the level of *sangmok*. Still, the description within the novel indicates that Byeok-Cho understood *seochongdae* cotton to be unbleached 5 thread density fabric.

The fluctuation of cotton prices depending on the bounty of the harvest is well described in a scene

depicting an argument in a tavern.

Nobleman Han, unable to bear listening any more to nobleman *Jungarguing* with the tavern owner, said "Look here *Chimyungi*, listen to me. Drinking in a place like this was our own fault, so let us pay what is asked of us, be it one *mal* or two *mal*, and be gone." After speaking thus to nobleman *Jung*, he looked at the tavern owner and said "how much is the price of 1 *mal* of rice in rolls of two *ja sangmok*?" "In a poor harvest as we've had this year, how can you not pay at least five rolls." The very idea of five rolls of two *ja sangmok* for one *mal* of rice was stupendous, but nobleman *Han* gave two rolls of his own without argument, and bade the others to fill the five rolls. As the gentlemen were paying for their beverages with *sangmok*, the leader and followers gathered like rain clouds.

(*Hwajeok Episode 3*, page 24)

Generally, *sangmok* was half the price of *jungpo*, and a roll of *jungpo* was exchangeable for 5 *mal* of rice, so that 1 *mal* of rice had the price of 2/5 a roll of *sangpo*. In poor harvest years, rice became more expensive and cotton prices declined, so that at times there was fluctuations as large as tenfold within the reign of a single king. The tavern owner in the novel, who should have asked a mere 2/5 a roll of *sangmok*, took an enormous 12.5 fold amount of 5 rolls, blaming the poor harvest. This demonstrates the pitfalls of physical goods as currency. Because cotton was used as currency, it was often abused for the amassment of wealth, an occurrence which is detailed in *Chungseokgol*.

Seorimi made an estimate, and (the price of *Pyeongyang bongmul*) is about three or four thousand *dong* of *sangmok*.

(*Hwajeok Episode 1*, page 88)

Among the confiscated wealth, items useless to the band were generally sent to *Seoul* or *Songdo*, to be traded for *sangmok*, such that the stored *angmok*

sometimes filled warehouses with thousands of dong.
 (『Hwajeok Episode 2』, page 107)

A thousand *dong* of *sangmok* was equal to 50 thousand rolls, or 12,500 *mal* of rice, a staggering 1,250 *seom*. Based on current costs of about 200 thousand Won for 1 *gamani*(80kg) of rice, this amounts to 250 million won, meaning that the Pyeongyang *bongmul* amounted to about 1 billion Won, and also indicating the scale of wealth amassment for *Chungseokgol*. The cotton stored by the royal court at the time was at most around about 1 thousand *dong*(1roll=35 *cheok*, 1*dong*=50rolls), and as Byeok-Cho was certain to have read records that senior ministers or merchants having stored a thousand *dong* were subject to trouble in 『*Daedongyaseung*』,¹⁹⁾ it may be assumed that this is the basis for his descriptions.

IV. Head Adornments

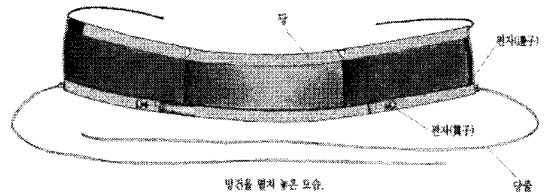
In a class division-based society, head adornments were not a matter of personal taste, but rather determined by social position. In the Chosun era, youngsters traditionally wore their hair in a single braid. Upon reaching adulthood, men wore their hair in a top knot, while women switched to raised hair. This demonstrates that a highly symbolic change of appearance through the important rite of marriage began with the head. When boys' hair was changed to a topknot, the braided hair was loosened and the hair near the part was shorn in a process called *baekho*. This was because raising all the hair would result in an unwieldy and large knot, so the hair was shorn to make sure the knot would be approximately the size of an egg. Topknots formed without the process of shearing were large and heavy, as seen in wall paintings dating back to the Goguryo period. It is uncertain when the process of

baekho began, but the novel describes the era of Jungjong to be unfamiliar with the practice.

At the time, they did not cut the baekho, so it was easy for him to change the shape of his hair (……)
 (『Pijang Episode』, page 88)

Although unverifiable, it is a description worth noting.

After tying a topknot, a *manggun*, or headband made of horse hair, was used to wrap the forehead and organize loose strands of hair. As illustrated in <Figure 1>,²⁰⁾ the band at the top was called 'dang', the lower band was called 'pyeonja,' and at the ends of each was a thin string called *dangjul*.



<Figure 1> Manggun(Our Clothes and Ornaments), 2003, p. 55.

“Upon finding the headband, there was mildew regardless of front or back, dang or pyeonja, and it was moth-eaten to a point where it could hardly be touched.”

(『Bongdan Episode』, page 117)

The passage above helps to understand the structure of the *manggun*. It was worn by threading a *dangjul* on the *gwanja*, and subsequently tying to the topknot, and the material used for the *gwanja* varied depending on rank. In an article regarding clothing in 『*Gyeonguk Daejeon*』, it is recorded that high ranking officials used gold and jade for the *gwanja*, but variations depending on rank are not listed. The 『*Ojuyeonmunjangjeonsango*』 states that

top level officials used *manokgwon*(漫玉圈) commonly known as *okhwan*(玉環), while 2nd level officials used *geumgwon*(金圈) in the shape of morning glory(牽牛花)·apricot blossoms and cucumber blossoms, 3rd level officials used *okgwon*(玉圈) in the shape of morning glory and apricot blossoms, and civilians below that used such elements as tortoise shell, *wooje*(牛蹄: cow hoof), and lamb's horn. The 『*Sunghosaseol*』 lists that 1st level officials wear jade *gwanja*, 2nd level wore wears gold *gwanja*, and 3rd level officials wore jade *gwanja*, and that this is unacceptable as the king also wears *gwanja* of jade or gold..

"Despite dreams of the color of the jade gwanja behind his ears changing two to three times and becoming a high level official, the dream did not come true, and the gwanja did not change. When washing and wearing the manggun in the morning, and looking upon the decorations on the gwanja..."

(『*Yangban Episode*』, 139 卷)

"Finally, thanks to aid from Wonhyung, the jade gwanja became one of hold, and some time later, he was posted as an inspector for Gyeonggi."

(『*Yangban Episode*』, 141 卷)

This passage uses *gwanja* as a symbol of rank. The highest official of the Chosun period was the assistant minister to the king, but judging from the *gwanja*, it can be assumed that Ungak was of the 3rd level already, and the passage hints that he dreamed of reaching the 1st level. Although he was not able to do so, his transition to a gold *gwanja* indicates that he did advance to the second level.

Social rank also determined the head one wore. Official hats have long been considered important in Korea, bearing mention in the Wei book of the 『Three Kingdoms』, that "their kind enjoy formal attire, so that when a nobleman mingles with the

masses, he wears official attire, even if necessary to borrow it." The custom of refining attire was continued throughout the late 19th century, when American G.W. Gilmore remarked after visiting Chosun that "Chosun is a country of hats that cannot be found anywhere else in the world." Official hats in Chosun were thus extremely well-developed in garment customs. In the winter, in order to prevent against cold, both boys and adult men wore fur or woollen hats without brims. Hats to prevent against the cold were different in their use from hats intended to promote certain manners, and were therefore taken off in front of elders to prevent rudeness. *gat*, which we generally perceive as official hats for the nobility, actually referred to *huklip*. Civilians wore *paerangi*, while merchants wore cotton balls on their *paerangi* and servants wore *paerangi* colored black. Depending on social rank, the thickness of the bamboo branches used as materials were different,²¹⁾ with the nobility using materials as thin as hairs. *Jinsalip*(眞絲笠) referred to the highest-quality material, made of bamboo strings thinner than hair covered with Chinese *choksa*, one strand at a time.

"With attire of a government official with jinsalip and namcheollik"

(『*Hwajeok Episode*』, page 104)

"The nobleman wearing jinsalip and namcheollik and sitting high and arrogant on the saddle seems to be the magistrate, and the person with his gat on low and lagging behind seems to be the Shinyeon assistant."

(『*Hwajeok Episode*』, page 153)

In the descriptions of the novel, we may find cases of *jinsalip* use. *Gat* made from horse hairs were not allowed for anyone but highest level officials,²²⁾ but it eventually became a garment for

the nobility. There was also *polip*, with the hat composed of horsehair and the brim made of bamboo threads covered with silk, and red *julip* was worn by those in high levels on their official attire. The official use of felt *jeonlip* for military officers' uniforms was after the mid Chosun period,²³⁾ and the novel makes several references of a rough felt hat called *bungeoji*, worn by low-level soldiers.

After tying a topknot with his hair, a nobleman would wear a *gat*.

"I'd rather be a bachelor than an adult who cannot even wear a gat."

(『Pijang Episode』, page 286)

These words, spoken by Kkeok Jeong, show his resignation at being a butcher who must wear a *paerangi*, and being unable to wear a *gat*, an official garment of the nobility. <Figure 2>²⁴⁾ is a portrait of Jin Kim(1500~1580, Yeonsangun year 6~Seonjo year 13), drawn in 1572. Jin Kim was the father of Sung-il Kim, an ensign of a political

party, and he devoted his life to the education of his children and the enlightenment of society. He is depicted wearing *ipja* and *joa*(條兒), the highest level of garments available to those without a government post, and the *ipja* he is wearing shows the form of a contemporary *gat*. <Figure 3> is a portrait of Hyun-bo Lee (Sejo year 13~Myeonjong year 10, 1467~1555), and shows the *ipja* of the time. While different in materials from the *paerangi* worn by commoners, the shape is not very different. <Figure 4> is a *paerangi* from the late Chosun period, and <Figure 5> is a *cholip* from the same period. A *cholip* was a hat worn by the nobility and commoners alike, and 『Gyeonguk Daejeon』 designated the *cholip* of nobility at a fine 50 *juk*, and a less dense 30 *juk* for commoners, but as horsehair *huklip* became more common, the nobility abandoned *cholip* in favor of *huklip*.

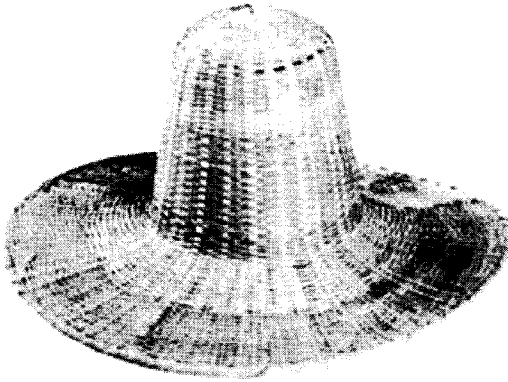
‘*Cholipdonggi*’(『Hwajeok Episode』, page 68) is a name given because at a young age, men wore *cholip* instead of *huklip*, even if they had tied their



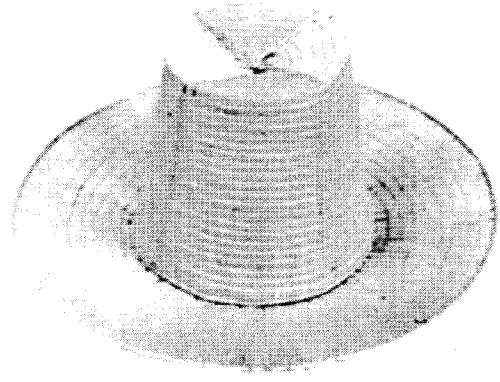
<Figure 2> Jin Kim(Encyclopedia of historical figure portraits, 2003, p. 80)



<Figure 3> Hyun-bo Lee(Encyclopedia of historical figure portraits, 2003, p. 75)



<Figure 4> Paerangi (Onyang folk museum)



<Figure 5> Cholip (Onyang folk museum)

hair in a top knot. Young grooms shed their *samo* after the important rite of marriage and were given a head band and *cholip* to cover it with.

The official uniforms of officials were composed of *samo*, *dallyeong*, *dae*, and *hwa*, which may be seen in <Figure 6>, a portrait of high official Wud Lee (Yejong year 1~Jungjong year 12, 1469~1517).

“Anro wore a modae(帽帶) and sat with guests in gold and jade gwanja in one place. A black kite, holding the samo on the top of Anro’s head...”

(‘Pijang Episode’, page 246)

The *modae* mentioned above refers to the head adornments seen in <Figure 6>. Wu Lee, the subject of the portrait, was born 12 years ahead of Anro Kim, so that he may be considered a contemporary, and the portrait represents what we may expect Anro Kim to have worn. His having gathered guests in gold and jade *gwanja* indicates that he was powerful enough to gather high ranking officials, and the bird holding Anro’s head adornment, a symbol of his power, foreshadows the catastrophes to come.

Whereas men demonstrated their rank with head adornments, women relied more on the degree of decorations they used for their hair. Larger styles of

hair were considered beautiful, so voluminous raised styles were popular. In the palace, ornamental hairpins were placed on the hair with official hats such as *jokduri* or *hwagwan*. Depending on apparel, the hair style for raised hair was varied.



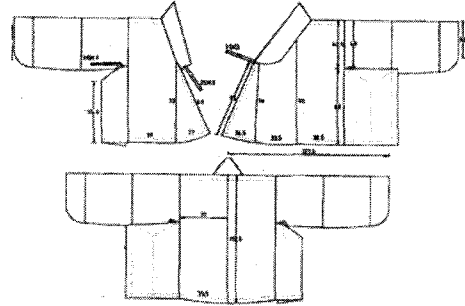
<Figure 6> Wu Lee(*Encyclopedia of historical figure portraits*, 2003, p. 76)

V. Clothing

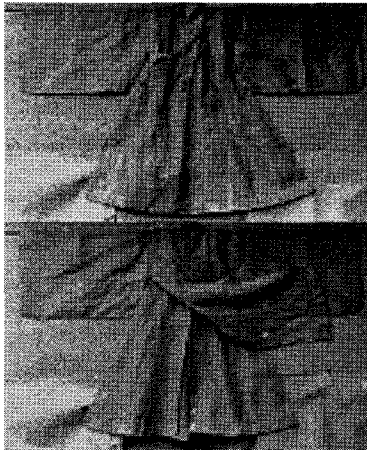
The daily attire of 16th century nobility consisted, as seen in a detail of ‘depicting a party for the crown prince’s teacher sponsored by king Jungjong,’



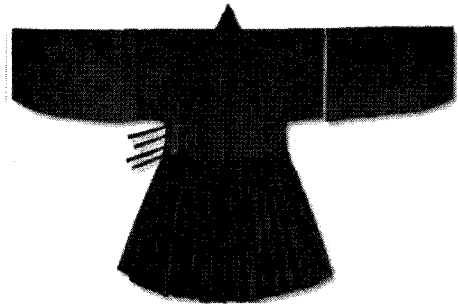
<Figure 7> depicting a party for the crown prince's teacher sponsored by king Jungjong, detail, around 1535 (*Chosun period pictorial annals*, 2001, p. 11)



<Figure 8> jikryeong from grave of Eung-tae Lee (1566~86년), jikryeong (*Functional analysis of evolution of the dopo*, 1998, p. 100)



<Figure 9> Dopo, 19th Century (*Korean Costume Culture Institute*, 1993, p. 238)



<Figure 10> Jinju region Ryu family artifact cheollik, 16th century (*Costumes of the excavation of the Jinju region grave*, 2006, p. 13)

in <Figure 7>²⁵⁾ essentially a *huklip* hat with a *jikryeong* robe. This type of attire can also be seen in the portrait of Jin Kim in <Figure 2>, without any government post. It is the highest level of attire available to those without government posts, and therefore also used as a marriage costume. <Figure 8>²⁶⁾ is a robe widened by adding *mu* to the *gil*, a trend which moved inwards to the *gil* so that in the late 17th century, the *mu* to each

side met at the center of the rear *gil*. The robe in <Figure 9>²⁷⁾ was similar in function to an official robe, in the same way that early military robes were eventually used for daily wear. As the *dopo* robe took place, *jikryeong* official robes existed only to support *dallyeong*, and was no longer used as a robe on its own.

Throughout the entire Chosun period, regardless of social rank, the most commonly worn robe was



<Figure 11> Portrait of Yeongjo(*Encyclopedia of historical figure portraits*, 2003, p. 17)



<Figure 12> Portrait of Daewongun(*National museum of Korea*)

the *cheollik*. 16th century women's blouses were long enough to cover the hips, so that the blouse to skirt ratio was 1:1 as in the figure, a trend found for the Chosun period *cheollik*. Men wore a belt or rope over a robe, providing mobility and style, and the placement of the belt coincided with the blouse to skirt ratio for women. The waistline of the *cheollik* best demonstrates the skirt to blouse ratio as in <Figure 10>.²⁸⁾ The *cheollik* was constructed such that the sleeves were removable, allowing one to take the sleeves off for greater mobility when needed.

When officials acted in matters of business, their official costumes consisted of *samo*, *dallyeong*, *dae* and *hwa* as mentioned earlier.

"When Yeonsanju was chased away from the palace, he could not raise his head, and tears moistened his hongpo sleeves"
(*'Bongdan Episode*., page 152)

The *hongpo* mentioned here refers to *gollyongpo*

among the overcoats for the king, including *iksungwan*, *gollyongpo*, *okdae*, and *Hwa*. Unlike the *samo* of subjects, the king wore *iksungwan* with the horn facing upwards, placed *ojoryongbo* on a red *gollyongpo*, with an *okdae*. From the portrait of Yeongjo in <Figure 11>, the attire of Yeonsanju may be assumed, but for Yeonsangun, as seen in the *samo* of <Figure 6>, the *iksungwan* basis is not high, and the *bo* on the *dallyeong* is large enough to cover the entire torso.

"After Yigyori suffered thus, there was more thought to hide wearing a farmer's garments, rather than wearing official garments"
(*'Bongdan Episode*., page 143)

The highest level of official costume available to a king's subjects was the *jobok*. The description above indicates that Yigyori did not wish for the glory of an official post. The custom of *jobok* was differentiated among 9 levels of official post, but actual use of *jobok* was limited to those above the



<Figure 13> 16th century women's style
(*The style and attire of Chosun women*,
2005, p. 5)



<Figure 14> 16th century artifact
re-creation(Chosun dynasty skirt and
blouse special exhibition, 1990, p. 18)

4th level.. <Figure 12> is a portrait of Daewongun in *jobok*, but since clothes were wider and longer in the early Chosun period, a visual re-creation of *jobok* should take this into account when referring to the portrait.

<Figure 13>²⁹⁾ is the garment style of women in the 16th century. As seen in the re-creation of items owned by lady Song Eunjin in <Figure 14>,³⁰⁾ the blouse length was 78cm, with an arm length of 91cm, and a width of 72cm. Blouses from the same era could vary by as much as 10cm, changing the overall style, while this example represents a blouse with an open side. <Figure 15>,³¹⁾ depicting a meeting of noblemen officials of the Finance Ministry at the time of Myeongjong, depicts blouses long enough to cover the entire back.

There are many wedding scenes in the novel. When the king's attache Jang-gon Lee meets a

virgin to marry, it is described in the following way:



<Figure 15> depicting a meeting of noblemen
officials of the Finance Ministry, 1550(*The beauty
of Korea 19, Folk painting*, 1985, p. 19)

"The attire of the groom and bride consisted of a headband and cholip hat with silk robe and red bands, while the large and small ends were knotted in one place, hair was knotted largely, and layered blouses with cover sleeves and long skirts"

(*ʻBongdan Episodeʼ*, page 66)

The following are wedding scenes for Wongdong Chun and Dolseok.

“The groom(Wongdong Chun) took into account the opinion of the local magistrate, with a cholip hat, a round-collared robe and silk shoes, while the bride was in the noble custom, with decorative head gear and wonsam robe, and a misun to cover the face.”

(*ʻSworn Brother Episode 2ʼ*, page 183)

“The groom(Dolseok) wore a samo hat and gwan^o robe for the body, with a belt for the waist and cotton shoes for the feet.”

(*ʻSworn Brother Episode 3ʼ*, page 196)

The custom of marriage in Korea was of a man entering a woman’s household, and after the establishment of Chosun, much effort was spent to switch to the Chinese marriage custom in which the bride entered the groom’s family. King Sejong found an artificial change of the long-standing custom to be difficult, making the royal family first follow the Chinese custom as a lead for the families of nobility.³²⁾ However, the new custom still had not taken hold by the 17th century.³³⁾

For marriage costume, those with official titles wore their official uniforms, while descendents of nobility or civil servants wore *samo*(紗帽) and *gakdae*(角帶), and common people wore *gat* and *doa*(條兒), albeit the acceptance of *gat* and *doa* for those unable to prepare more costly garments, and brides were adorned to look beautiful.³⁴⁾ This sort of adornment for the bride varied depending on social stature, with nobility tending towards large hair styles with *wonsam* or *hongjamsam*, and skirts and blouses for common stature. These customs existed, yet each household was able to choose garments depending on its situation. The various

depictions in the novel indicate likewise.

Otherwise, there are many elements of vocabulary in *Im Kkeok Jeong* which describe aspects of life.

“His straw shoes made it clear that he was from far away, not nearby”

(*ʻSworn Brother Episode 1ʼ*, page 12)

This indicates that the deterioration of straw shoes made it necessary to cover them with felt when traveling long distances.

“Yubok sent dyed silk to make a yellow silk blouse for the baby.”

(*ʻSworn Brother Episode 2ʼ*, page 114)

“Some color must be given, for plain fabric is not good to look upon.”

(*ʻSworn Brother Episode 2ʼ*, page 180)

These various uses of vocabulary to describe the lives of people in the Chosun period is a major draw of reading *Im Kkeok Jeong*.

VI. Costume customs in the novel

The Chosun dynasty was a class-based society, so that clothing was used to indicate class. Early Chosun clothes were generally large and wide, but relative differences existed depending on class, so the novel distinguishes between nobility and common classes through clothes with or without sleeves. Being unable to wear clothes with sleeves does not indicate that common clothes had no sleeves, but rather that they lacked large, wide sleeves. A common example of such ‘sleeveless,’ or narrow-shouldered clothing is the *dapho* worn by the nobility. This garment displayed shorter sleeves in the early Chosun period, and the sleeves grew even shorter in later times, the sleeve band dove. After

the *Gabogyeonjang*, as the division between nobility and commoner and subsequent clothing differences were abolished, a major discontent arose among the nobility, so that they were made to wear *dapho* vests above their robes. Therefore, the description of clothes without sleeves is an extreme illustration of the poor treatment afforded to common people.

Byeok-Cho, through the thesis of his daughter Hong Su-Kung, explained that "The representational clothing (表衣) of those without a government position consisted of *jikryeong* before the Imjin war, and elements such as *dopo*, *hangui* (行衣), *jungchimak*, *gyupot*, and *sotchangot* following the Imjin War, with *juwui* (周衣) lasting from contemporary late Chosun to the present day. *Juwui* was earlier a garment worn beneath *danryeong*, *jikryeong*, *cheollik*, and *dopo*, but not an official garment in itself," explaining the flow of robes in the Chosun period. Nonetheless, *dopo* robes are described as the major representation of nobility in the novel, which can be attributed to an intent to strengthen Chosun's virtues through the images considered by most to represent Chosun, thereby creating greater reader sympathy.

The 16th century was a more liberal society than late Chosun. There was a respect for women inherited from earlier times, so that no differentiation was placed between sons or daughters, or grandchildren by sons or daughters, and women were relatively free to move about outdoors. Regarding historical figure Hee-chun Yu, who wrote the 『Miam Diaries』, *Im Kkeok Jeong* says

"Do not even speak of the uncleanness of Hee-chun Yu, wearing a hat covered with dust and a heavily stained garment...."

(『Pijang Episode』 page 237)

Hee-chun Yu's diary describes a scene in which his wife dresses to see the procession of the king.

Here, *jangot* was not intended to cover a woman's face, as it was in later Chosun. Artifacts of *jangot* reveal those after the 18th century were made such that they could be worn over the head and held by both hands, but earlier examples were simply designed to be wrapped around the body. The *jangot* of princess Duk-eun(1822~1844) could be worn around the body or as a cover, showing the transition between the two phases. *jangot* only became a head cover in the late 18th century, and cover skirts were likewise made common in the later period.

"Neungtongi's wife intended to act as the elder daughter of official Park, wearing a cover skirt on her head and holding a baby in her breast. Neungtongi also had covers, yet it was deemed by Seorimi that a woman of a noble family in the country dressing in the mode of a Seoul woman would simply draw more attention, forgoing the cover in favor of a cover skirt."

(『Sworn Brother Episode 3』 page 274)

This passage demonstrates that the covers worn by women out of modesty became common only in the late Chosun period, so the novel's description is not appropriate for the 16th century setting.

Burial clothes were not made new, but chosen from the best garments by the deceased worn during life. The garments of early Chosun were so large and wide that it was no problem to dress the dead. After the Imjin Wars, clothing became closer fitting, and it became more difficult to dress the dead in their own clothes, which is why burial attire was made larger and wider. The novel *Im Kkeok Jeong* describes the creating of burial clothes after the death of Geumdong's mother.

"Burial clothes were made from robes with thick threads, and fivepence boards were used to make a coffin, painted with pine resin, to be buried the day after the body was placed therein in the

mountain beyond the gates.”
 (‘Pijang Episode,’ page 167)

Geumdong’s mother was of low birth, but since the funeral customs at the time were to choose the finest garments among the ones already owned, it would be correct to assume that burial clothes were almost never prepared separately. *Bukpo* from Hamkyung province, well known for hemp, and Yeongheung silk, from South Hamkyung province, well known for silk, are being forgotten in modern times, yet they are confirmed within the novel.

VII. Conclusions

The novel *Im Kkeok Jeong* provides not only entertainment value, but also a glimpse into the lifestyles of the Chosun period people. However, this is limited in that latter Chosun customs, rather than the appropriate 16th century customs, form the major bulk. This may be understood as an intentional move to create greater reader sympathy in the narrative, but the anachronisms may be detrimental to a proper understanding of the temporal setting. Through this paper, the intent was to create materials to reconsider the lives of our ancestors by examining the virtues of Chosun as proposed by Byeok-Cho in the context of the 16th century.

The novel provides an excellent description of the use of cotton and hemp not only for clothing, but as currency as well. Cotton or hemp roles with 5 thread density 35 *ja* length per 1 roll dimensions were given prices equivalent to 5 *mal* of rice by the court, but actual values varied depending on the production levels of rice, its main bartering equivalent, and this may be found in the novel. Also, *sangpo* with dimensions of 3 thread density 30 *ja* length per roll being of quality unfit for clothing and therefore used only as currency, or 2 thread

density *seochongdae* cotton could also be found within the text. 1 *dong* of cotton amounts to 50 rolls, and 1 roll was 35 *ja*, and after the reign of king Sejong, cotton replaced *mapo* as the most important means of circulation. 3 thread density *sangpo* had half the value of 5 thread density cotton, which was deemed to be worth 5 *mal* of rice.

Characteristics of the class division based Chosun dynasty society were also distinguished through clothing. Descriptions of factors depending on one’s social level, such as materials for headband ornaments and such emphasize the social standing of the characters within the novel. Early Chosun clothes were generally large and wide, but relative differences existed depending on class, so that the novel distinguishes between the nobility’s clothes with sleeves, and the common class’s sleeveless attire. An absence of wide sleeves was simplified to an absence of sleeves altogether. The paper analyzed the author’s intent regarding the symbols of class inherent in clothing throughout the Chosun period and presents visual data. The typical nobleman wore *huklip* headwear with cloaks, and the *cheollik* was a common feature of attire regardless of class. Women’s skirt to blouse ratios were 1:1.

It was additionally possible to reaffirm special products that have been largely forgotten in modern times, such as *Bukpo* hemp from Hamkyung province, well known for hemp, and Yeongheung silk, from South Hamkyung province, well known for silk.

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 - 7) In 1423 (Sejong year 5), 'Chosun *Tongbo* (朝鮮通寶)' was created in accordance with the Ming dynasty's 'Mallyeok *Tongbo*(萬曆通寶).'
 - 8) In 1446 (Sejo year 10), a type of coin shaped like arrowheads was released, but no artifacts remain, only information that at the end of the object with a length of 5.4cm, and a circumference of 5.1cm was an etching of the letters '*Palbang Tongbo*(八方通寶)' and it was used as arrowheads :
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 - 11) A unit of measuring rice. 1 *seom*[石] = 10*mal*[斗]= 100*doe*[升]= 1,000*hob*[合]=10,000*jak*(勺)이다.
 - 12) Unit measure of cotton rolls, 1 *pil* having a width of 36cm, and a length of 1800m. Currently, 1 *pil* of silk is 16“(40cm) wide, and 42*ja*(1*ja*=50cm) long, about 2100m.
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