1 Apparel and Accessories

Liu Fusheng

Ancient Chinese culture attached great importance to apparel and accessories, which not only were worn to keep warm and manifest the wearer's good taste, but also were traditionally regarded as part of the ceremonial etiquette in the feudal society. To quote an ancient text, "there is grand ceremonial etiquette so it is called *xia* (夏), and there is the beauty of apparel which is called *hua* (华)."[1] (And that's how China is also called *huaxia* [华夏].) Thus we can see the significance of apparel and accessories in Chinese culture. As in the previous dynasties, all regimes during the Song, Liao, Western Xia and Jin dynasties had their own 'apparel systems', but they were not so consistent, nor were they strictly obeyed in reality. As an index that might reflect the overall social development of the times, apparel and accessories experienced profound changes and witnessed the rise of new trends during this period.

Section 1 The 'Apparel System' of the Song Dynasty

The apparel system of the Song Dynasty was established at the very beginning of the Northern Song period. For more than 300 years, the design and texture of fabrics were accorded equal emphasis, while the style of apparel and accessories "might change by the taste of the ruling Emperor". In the early Northern Song Dynasty, "no jewellery was used as decoration of *gunmian* for humbleness and frugality characterized the style of the royal court", but when it came to Emperor Huizong's reign, "it was extremely extravagant". At the beginning of the Southern Song period, again, "it was considered proper to be prudent and practical. The brocaded embroidery of clothing should be replaced by figured fabrics and gauze", which were said to be "fine texture that suited the time".[2] The specific fabrics used or dressmaking techniques might vary from time to time, but the purpose of the apparel system, which was to maintain the hierarchical order of the whole society, remained unchanged.

[1] 'The Tenth Year of Duke Ding of Lu' ('定公十年'), *Zuo Qiuming's Commentary on Spring and Autumn Annals* (左传), explained by Yan Shigu (颜师古, 581–645).
[2] 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 4' (舆服志四), Volume 152, *The History of Song* (宋史); 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 1', Volume 149, *The History of Song*.

The apparel of *tianzi*,[1] or the 'Emperor's apparel', in the Song Dynasty, consisted of *daqiumian*,[2] *gunmian* and *tongtian guan,*[3] as well as the purple-red muslin robe, *lüpao*,[4] *shanpao*,[5] the narrow robe and *yuyue fu*. Except for *yuyue fu*, a kind of formal military uniform worn by Emperors not coming into existence until the Southern Song period, all others of the above were worn on such official occasions as attending sacrifices and oblations, holding court meetings, assuming office or simply during spare time. The Heir Apparent's apparel consisted of the most formal *gunmian*, worn when accompanying the Emperor to the sacrifice, and *yuanyouguan*[6] and *zhumingfu,*[7] worn at less formal but equally important occasions such as nobility conferring and appointment, paying visits to the founding ancestor's temple to report the accession and attending court meetings held by the Emperor. The Heir Apparent's everyday dress comprised the folding-up black muslin scarf, the purple official dress and the gold and jade waistband decorated with white rhinoceros horn pieces. The apparel system also specified how women in the imperial court should dress themselves at various occasions, so that there was apparel specified for the Empress and imperial concubines, as well as for titled gentlewomen.[3]

The clothing of officials included the sacrificial dress, court dress, official dress and seasonal dress. The sacrificial dress was worn when worshipping heaven and earth, offering sacrifice to the ancestral temple or attending grand ceremonies. The court dress was also called the full dress and was worn when attending court meetings held by the Emperor; sometimes it was also worn during sacrifice rituals. Generally speaking, when attending such sacrifice rituals, "the attendants and retinues should wear the sacrificial dress, while the guides and sacrificial ceremony associates should wear the court dress".[4] The upper and lower garments of the sacrificial dress were all in vermilion colour, and the wearer should also wear ornaments with different colours and textures to match his dress, together with the proper hat – including *jinxianguan*, *diaochanguan*,[8] or *xiezhiguan*[9] – in accordance with the grandness of the ritual concerned. The official dress was the everyday gown for officials with ranks, commonly worn by people from high-rank nobles down to officials of the lowest rank, but there were different colours for different ranks. In this aspect the early Song Dynasty followed the system of the Tang Dynasty, where officials of the third rank and above should wear the purple dress; those of the fifth rank and above, vermilion; those of the seventh rank and above, green; and those of the ninth rank and above, black. After the Yuanfeng[10] period, some changes were imposed on this system: officials of the fourth rank and above should wear purple dress; those of the sixth rank and above, crimson; and those of the ninth rank and above, green. The colour black was abandoned as a colour

[3] 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 3', Volume 151, *The History of Song*.
[4] 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 4', Volume 152, *The History of Song*.

of official dress. The official dress consisted of a round collar, broad sleeves, a big overlapping part with a broad banner holding it, a different hide belt tied at the waist, the *futou* headdress and black hide boots or shoes. Officials in crimson or purple dress must bear the fish-shaped tally bag, and the whole set was called the patterned official dress. The apparel system also specified that for officials assigned a special errand or assuming office for a certain period of time without getting promoted accordingly, the colour of dress should be changed temporarily or permanently, which was borrowing the colour purple or crimson respectively, meaning the wearer's apparel was not in line with his official rank, but was specially granted by the Emperor. The formal court dress should not be worn during the wearer's mourning period. Besides, when the Jiangnan[11] area was integrated into the newly unified country at the beginning of the Song Dynasty, the officials formerly holding positions of region administrator or district magistrate remained in their posts, and they "followed the old system to dress in green" without consideration of their ranks. Seasonal dress meant the various summer and winter clothing granted annually to civil and military ministers and officials on the Duanwu Festival[12] and the first day of the tenth lunar month.[5]

Those in subordinate positions would always follow the favourites of their superiors. The dressing style in the imperial palace and court often had great influence on the fashion of the society as a whole. During Emperor Zhenzong's[13] reign, "the society presented a false picture of peace and prosperity, and thus the apparel and articles in use were becoming increasingly extravagant; this atmosphere not only prevailed in the literati and officialdom class, but people of lower social classes would also compete in luxuriousness and gorgeousness". At first, the Emperor and eunuchs wore purple, and then the colour preference gradually turned to black. The gentry and common people scrambled to follow the trend. The imperial censors thought it was an 'unhealthy' trend, but the fashion remained after repeated prohibition. During the reign of Emperor Xiaozong, it was said that "people of the noble class copied the style of [the apparel and accessories of] the imperial palace, and then it became popular among ordinary people. The jewellery sellers couldn't talk without mentioning the latest fashion of the imperial palace".[6] Generally, the government did

[5] 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 5', Volume 153, *The History of Song*; Gu Yanwu (顾炎武, 1613–1682): 'Presenting before the Throne with Informal Dress and Cap' (衫帽入见), Volume15, *The Records of Daily Progressive Knowledge* (日知录); Wang Yong (王栐, ?–*c.*1210): Volume 4, *Records of Strategies for Future Use* (燕翼诒谋录). See Zhou Xibao (周锡保, 1910–1984): Chapter 9 'Apparel and Accessories of the Song Dynasty' (宋代服饰), *A History of Ancient Chinese Apparel and Accessories* (中国古代服饰史), China Theatre Press (中国戏剧出版社), 1984.

[6] Wang Yong: Volume 2, *Records of Strategies for Future Use*; 'Records of Emperor's Rites, Part 8' (王礼志八), Volume 113, *Comprehensive Research Based on Literary and Documentary Sources* (文献通考); 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 5', Volume 153, *The History of Song*.

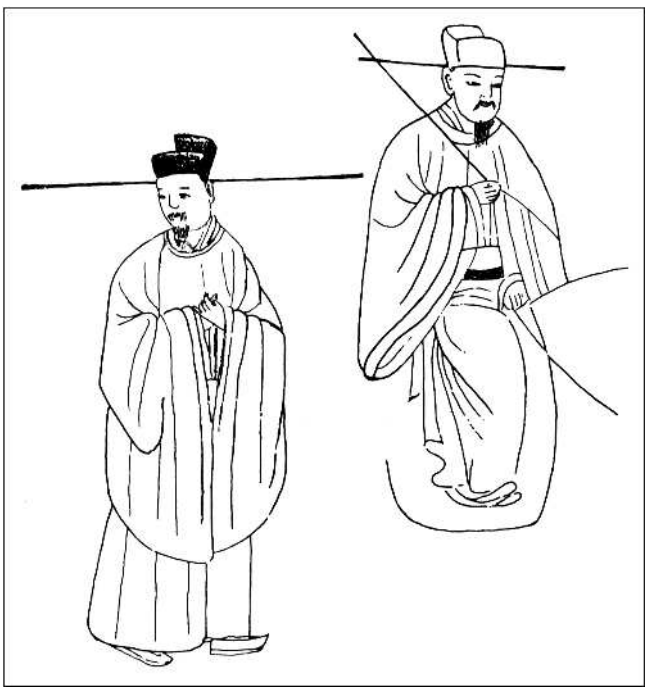

Figure 1.1 Officials wearing *futou* and official dress: *Scene of Resurgence and Auspiciousness* (中兴祯应图), Song painting (replica) and *Scroll Painting of Portraits* (人物图卷), Song painting (replica). From Zhou Xibao: *A History of Ancient Chinese Apparel and Accessories*.

not have specific regulations on folk clothing and ornaments, but it would often issue strict restrictions on 'the dressing style of the literati and common people'. One was the restriction on the colour of clothing. During the second year (989) of the Duangong[14] era, the government prohibited ordinary people from dressing in purple; and in the tenth lunar month of the seventh year (1062) of the Jiayou[15] era, the government prohibited people from dressing in 'violet black'. The second example was that sometimes the government would prohibit ordinary people from decorating their utensils and clothes with things made of luxury materials such as bullion or jewellery. In the third year (1036) of the Jingyou[16] era, the government prohibited ordinary people, except the families of titled gentlewomen, from decorating their clothing and accessories with pearls and wearing bead necklaces, tassels and eardrops; in the fifth year (1135) of the Shaoxing era, the government prohibited "women from wearing gold and jade ornaments". Then the government sometimes imposed

restrictions on certain patterns or textures of clothing. In the third year (1025) of the Tiansheng[17] era, the imperial court issued an order that "the gentry and common people in the capital area should not wear clothes with white flowers printed on black or dark cloth, as well as clothes with patterns tie-dyed on a blue, yellow and purple background". In the first year (1034) of the Jingyou era, the government "prohibited people from wearing clothes of coloured satin such as brocade fabric, embroidered fabric and double-sided embroidered fabric with flowery patterns all over". The promulgation of such prohibitions could actually evidence that the so-called 'apparel system' was not fully and strictly obeyed, so that officials in court often criticized the 'arrogation' and 'indecorum' of clothing in society, meaning people often violated the dress codes and dressed themselves regardless of their social status.[7]

Scholar-officials in general followed the Confucian teaching that "a gentleman should adjust his clothes and hat, which throw a dignity into his looks", and paid great attention to the various accessories, which was why people in the Song Dynasty even criticized that "Wang Anshi's disregard of dress code constituted one of his unforgivable moral failings".[8] In his book *Family Etiquette of Sushui* (涑水家仪), Sima Guang (司马光, 1019–1086) admonished that the younger generation should have washed in the morning, then "combed the hair into a knot and worn hat and belt"; on family feasts, "the youngsters had to be dressed in splendid attire and stand in order" and serve drinks for the elders. In his book *Rules of Moral Teaching Study* (训学斋规), Zhu Xi even noted that the observation of dress code was the first step in "being a decent person": that "early education should start with rules of apparel wearing"; "generally speaking, to be a decent person, one must first keep his body upright. Up from the hat and scarf and down to the apparel and footwear, one should keep them all clean and tidy and take good care of them. Our wise ancestors always instructed their juniors that men should have 'three things fastened', involving the head, the waist and the feet. One should fasten a scarf on his head, and children under the age of 20, who did not wear scarf on the head [which was why they were called *weiguan*, literally 'not old enough to wear hats or scarves'] should comb their hair into a knot. Then one should fasten a silk ribbon or belt around his waist and, finally, one should tidy his footwear."[9] Putting so much stress on this issue, the literati gradually developed their own dressing style as an accepted practice, consisting of the one-piece gown (a straight-style long gown), the purple gown, the thin gown (a plain-coloured informal dress), the Taoist priest robe (a leisure dress), the capped gown and the bannered gown. And the gentry and common people also had their own dress code: they would

[7] 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 5', Volume 153, *The History of Song*.
[8] '*The Analects of Confucius* – Yao Spoke' (论语·尧曰篇); Lü Xizhe (吕希哲, 1036–1114): Volume 2, *Miscellaneous Records of Lü Xizhe* (吕氏杂记).
[9] Quoted from Volume 71 of *Persuasion of the Suburbs* (说郛).

wear civilian ceremonial attire on special occasions such as sacrifice rituals as well as grown-up and wedding ceremonies. During the Chunxi[18] years, Zhu Xi devised a set of rules for dressing for such rituals and ceremonies that was approved by the imperial court: "families of the literati and officialdom should wear formal ceremonial attire when offering sacrifice or during the grown-up and wedding ceremonies. People with official titles should wear *futou*, belts and boots, holding *hu*;[19] the presented scholars, who were expected to become government officials, should wear *futou*, the bannered gown and belts; while the non-official literati should wear *futou*, the black gown [a black unlined garment with short sleeves] and belts. Generally speaking, people without official titles should wear headdresses, gowns and belts; if these were not available, they could be replaced with the one-piece gown or the thin gown. People with official titles might also wear the whole set of attire, but did not need to wear formal official dresses. Married women should wear chignons, women's formal dresses and long skirts. Unmarried women should wear *guanzi*[20] and *beizi*.[21] Concubines should wear chignons and *beizi*."[10]

The textile materials used in the Song Dynasty still featured silk and hemp. The so-called 'cloth' referred to by people in its broad sense was actually made of hemp, which was the major material used to make dresses for ordinary people. And the 'cloth gown' literally means clothes made of hemp. Silk clothing was more rare and precious, mainly worn by rich families. Leather and fur were not commonly used to make winter clothes; instead, silk wadding was very popular in making various padded clothes. In ancient China, cotton was called *mumian* or *jibei*, and it was already widely planted and used in areas corresponding to today's Fujian and Guangdong areas. Later, cotton cultivation spread northward and it gradually became the major textile material next only to silk and hemp.[11]

Section 2 Men's Apparel and Accessories

1 The Headdress

There were many kinds of hat in ancient China, which could be categorized into *guan* (formal hat), *mao* (hat), *jin* (scarf), *ze* (turban), *mian* (a kind of

[10] 'Records of Carriages and Apparel, Part 5', Volume 153, *The History of Song*; Zhu Xi: 'On the One-Piece Gown System' (深衣制度), Volume 68, *Collection of Zhu Hui'an* (晦庵集).

[11] Qi Xia (漆侠, 1923–2001): 'Research on Cotton Planting in the Song Dynasty' (宋代植棉考), *Collection of Searching for Facts* (求实集, People's Publishing House [人民出版社], 1980); 'Continued Research on Cotton Planting in the Song Dynasty' (宋代植棉续考), *Historiography Monthly* (史学月刊), Issue 5, 1992; Wang Zengyu (王曾瑜, 1939–): 'Silk, Hemp and Cotton in Ancient China' (中国古代的丝麻棉), *Historical Monthly*, Issue 39, 1991.

ceremonial hat) and *bian* (another kind of ceremonial hat). Among them, *mian* was the formal hat worn by the ruling class on the most solemn occasions. There was a tablet laid horizontally on the top of *mian* worn by Emperors, which gave it the name 'the Hat Parallel to the Sky'. In front of the tablet hung bunches of delicate tassels. The *mian* worn by the Emperor had 12 tassels, and the number of tassels decreased with the official ranks down through to the fifth rank; the *mian* worn by officials of the sixth rank and below had no tassel. Officials of the commandery and region levels also used the tassel when dressing up for sacrificial rituals.

Guan was a kind of crown fixed on the chignon. In the Song Dynasty, the *guan* exclusively worn by Emperors was called *tongtian guan* (literally 'a hat accessing the sky') or *chengtianguan* (literally 'a hat bearing the sky'), which had 24 beams and measured one *chi*[22] in both height and width. Assorted with the purple-red muslin robe, this kind of crown was worn for some grand ceremonies, whose formalness was second only to *gunmian*. The *guan* worn exclusively by Heir Apparents was called *yuanyouguan*, which had 18 beams and was specially designed and made. Officials wore different kinds of *guan*, such as *jinxianguan*, *diaochanguan* and *xiezhiguan*. The *jinxianguan* was made of lacquered cambric. At the beginning of the Song Dynasty, there were three kinds of *jinxianguan* differentiated by the number of beams, namely five-beam, three-beam and two-beam *jinxianguan*. After the Yuanfeng period, the *guan* worn by officials was divided into seven ranks according to the number of beams. *Diaochanguan*, also called *longjin* (literally 'the cage kerchief'), was made by adding *longjin* and *diaochan* (sable tail and cicada decoration) on *jinxianguan*, and was worn by such senior officials as those in the ministry of the Secretariat-Chancellery. The *xiezhiguan* was a hat with a cloth-sculpted horn of *xiezhi* attached on *jinxianguan*, and was part of the uniform of law enforcement officials such as the censors, *xiezhi* being the legendary goat-like animal reputed to be able to distinguish between good and evil, so that *xiezhiguan* was also called the Legal Hat.

In ancient times, when a male member of a noble family came of age, a formal Capping Ceremony (a grown-up ceremony) would be held for him, which was considered the "first and foremost of all rites". This ceremony was held for Emperor Qinzong[23] when he was still an Heir Apparent, and for Emperor Gaozong[24] when he reached the age of 16. Traditionally the Capping Ceremony held for a Prince had three steps: the first step involved wearing the folding-up scarf, then the Prince was capped with the seven-beam *guan*, and lastly the nine-tassel *mian* would be added on top. The Capping Ceremony held for ordinary people was comparatively simple. According to Wang Gong (王巩, ?–1079) of the late Northern Song Dynasty, on such occasions, the host would prepare a grand banquet to "gather together the virtuous elders in the town, and let the adult-to-be serve them rice wine. The scarf wrapped was

something like the Hastily Fastened Scarf of the Tang Dynasty, with the corners of the scarf fastened together. After the rice wine was served, the father or elder brother of the adult-to-be stood up and declared that 'the youngster in the family is coming of age, and therefore we hereby invited you all and begged for your blessings and support'. The adult-to-be then bowed to the guests, and the guest sitting on the right seat [the most revered person attending the banquet] burnt incense and made good wishes, loosened the scarf corners for the adult-to-be and let him stand up. The adult-to-be bowed his thanks and left the banquet, and from that moment on, he was deemed an adult and should wear the same apparel as his elders, so that the whole process was called 'Scarf Fastening'." It was said that this custom had been abandoned for a century.[12] Indeed, the strictly observed Capping Ceremony was not popular in the Song Dynasty, just as Cai Xiang (蔡襄, 1012–1067) wrote in the first year (1064) of the Zhiping[25] era: "nowadays the Capping Ceremony is not considered proper anymore".[13] Well-known learned scholars, such as Sima Guang of the Northern Song and Zhu Xi of the Southern Song, advocated resuming the formal ritual of the Capping Ceremony without much success. However, the less formal Capping Ceremony held by ordinary people, also called Wearing [the Scarf] on the Head, was sometimes held in the royal court during the mid-Northern Song years.[14] This custom was still observed in some places during the Southern Song period by "families big and small, officials as well as ordinary people". Wearing [the Scarf] on the Head was also called Wrapping the Head. During the Song Dynasty, there were people who "dare not wrap the head" even over the age of 30 in order to avoid the poll tax.[15]

Wearing *guan* was considered more solemn. There was a section in Volume 292 of *The History of Song* (宋史) entitled 'Biography of Cheng Kan' (程戡传, 程戡 [997–1066], a prominent official during the reigns of Emperor Renzong and Emperor Yingzong), noting that a Khitan envoy once wished to meet Cheng Kan but got rejected, so that he had to change the *mao* he was wearing into a *guan*. In ancient times, common people wore the scarf while the literati wore *guan*. The tradition continued during the Song Dynasty, when *guan* was generally worn by gentlemen and was valued by those who faithfully

[12] Wang Gong: *Actual Records of Hearsay* (闻见近录), Volume 50, *Persuasion of the Suburbs*.
[13] Cai Xiang: 'Twelve Memorandum to the Emperor on the Important Clauses and Contents of the State Management: On Courtesy' (国论要目十二事疏·明礼), Volume 18, *Collection of Cai Xiang, the Venerable Gentleman of Loyalty and Kindness* (蔡忠惠集).
[14] Wu Zimu (吴自牧, ?–*c.*1270): 'On the Pure Brightness Day' (清明节), Volume 2, *Records of a Dream of Grandeur* (梦粱录).
[15] Cai Tao (蔡絛, ?–*c.*1124): Volume 2, *Dense Talks of Iron Ring Mountain* (铁围山丛谈); Lü Zuqian (吕祖谦, 1137–1181): 'The Memorial to the Throne Writing for Zhang Yanzhou for the Reason of Begging the Waiving of the Capitation Tax' (为张严州作乞免丁钱奏状), Volume 1, *Collected Works of Lü Donglai* (吕东莱文集).

adhered to handed-down courtesies and etiquette. Historical records had it that Fan Chunfu (范纯夫, 1041–1098, formal name 范祖禹, 纯夫 being his courtesy name) "sat properly with a stern countenance even on his spare time, always remembering to wear a *guan*"; and that Yin Gu (尹穀, ?–1275) "did not take off the scarf until the candlelight was snuffed out at night, and would not get out of the bed-curtain in the morning without *guan*". Some literati would not expose their topknot even on summer days, but wore a 'short *guan*' instead.[16] Generally, an adult's hair was tied on the top of the head, upon which he would wear *guan* or scarf. As for children, their hair was cleanly shaved, with only a piece of hair, about the size of an ancient Chinese coin, remaining on the top left of the head, which was called *pianding*, literally 'not on the straight top', or with some hair remaining on the top front of the head and bundled with coloured silk fabrics, "in the shape of a Song-styled chignon called *bojiao*, literally 'wood pigeon's horn'".[17]

Ye Mengde (叶梦得, 1077–1148) once wrote that people "wore small *guanzan*[26] under the hat and used a piece of silk called *ezi*, or the topless scarf, as a banner to hold the hair in place".[18] The small *guanzan* was different from *guan*. Some people also "bound up the head with a piece of raw silk called *mo'e*",[19] or the hood, which was actually the same thing with *ezi*. Some musicians and soldiers wore the hood with purple embroidery, brocaded embroidery, or yellow embroidery. During Emperor Huizong's reign, Buddhist monks were referred to as 'virtuous people' and were obliged to wear *guan* fixed on a fake chignon, which became a laughing stock at the time.

Traditionally, the scarf was "worn by people of lower status who were not permitted to wear *guan*", and "in general, the literati and officialdom did not expose their scarf, thus distinguishing themselves from the common people".[20] People of that time often wore a hat over the scarf. They usually fastened two of the four ribbons of the scarf behind the head and fastened the other two under the chin. The saving grace of this was that the scarf did not need to be taken off when the wearer was doing manual work, and it could be fastened inversely at the top of the head when the wearer was resting. Later the custom changed and people did not fasten the scarf under their chin anymore, so that the two ribbons originally used for this purpose became useless ornaments. In the Song Dynasty, it was popular to

[16] Chao Yuezhi (晁说之, 1059–1129): *Quotations Collected by Chao Yuezhi* (晁氏客语); 'Biography of Yin Gu' (尹穀传), Volume 450, *The History of Song*; Tao Gu (陶穀, 903–970): Volume 3, *Records of Pure Marvels* (清异录).
[17] 'Records of Five Elements, Part 3' (五行志三), Volume 65, *The History of Song*.
[18] Ye Mengde: Volume 10, *Supper Discussions of the Stone Forest* (石林燕语).
[19] Yu Yan (俞琰, 1258–1314): *The Pedantic Remarks of the Confucians* (席上腐谈), Volume 75, *Persuasion of the Suburbs*.
[20] Ye Mengde: Volume 10, *Supper Discussions of the Stone Forest*; Lu You: *Old Stories of My Family* (家世旧闻).

wrap the head with a piece of cloth, so that wearing a scarf was no longer an indication of 'lower social status'. In his *Records on Scholars Getting Together at the West Garden* (西园雅集记), Mi Fu (米芾, 1051–1107) noted that there were many kinds of scarf worn by celebrated scholars, such as the Immortal's Peach Scarf, the Whole Piece Cloth Scarf, the Round Scarf, the Shawling Scarf, the Taoist Scarf and the Tang-Style Scarf, to name just a few. Earlier in the Xuanhe years, the Emperor promulgated an imperial decree ordering the literati that the ribbons of the scarf "should not hang behind", and some scholars wrote doggerels to mock this decree, such as: "Who cares a whit about scarf ribbons? … The law so harsh, and everybody frightened. Busying stitching broad ribbons and fastening them in the front" (头巾带，谁理会？… 法甚严，人尽畏，便缝阔大带向前面系).[21] The musicians in the capital, Dongjing,[27] "wrapped the long turban on the head, which was something like the cage kerchief". The turban was also a kind of scarf and was mainly used to wrap the chignon. There was another kind of scarf called the Whole Wrap; in both Kaifeng and Hangzhou, capitals of the Northern and Southern Song Dynasty respectively, "all players in various musical dramas wore the Whole Wrap", including even the leaders in the imperial music offices. The secretariat clerks might also wear the scarf.[22] During the Chunxi years, the custom of scarf-wearing observed by people in Lin'an[28] involved "braiding the hair into a low chignon and then wearing a short scarf, literally 'a scarf for a sunken chignon', on it, and even warriors and lower labourers would stick a fine-toothed comb beside the scarf".[23]

The *futou* commonly used by people of the Song Dynasty evolved from the scarf. Emperor Wu of the Northern Zhou Dynasty (周武帝, 543–578, reigning from 560 to 578) wrapped his head with a Whole Piece Cloth Scarf that had four ribbons, two fastened behind and hanging down, the other two fastened inversely at the top of the head, so it was also called the four-feet or folding-up scarf. This kind of scarf was made by "cutting a piece of muslin into the proper size and attaching a ribbon to each corner of the muslin, like four feet of the scarf; wearing the scarf, one should use it to cover all the hair, with two ribbons fastened behind the head. In the Tang style, all the four ribbons hung down after being fastened, while later hard ribbons began to be used [in the Song Dynasty]." In the Tang Dynasty, hard ribbons were only used

[21] Gong Mingzhi (龚明之, 1091–1182): 'To Tie the Ribbons'(结带巾), Volume 6, *Records of Hearsay from Zhongwu* (中吴纪闻).
[22] Meng Yuanlao (孟元老, *c.*1103–*c.*1147): Volumes 9 and 10, *The Eastern Capital: A Dream of Splendours Past* (东京梦华录); Wu Zimu: Volume 3, *Records of a Dream of Grandeur*; Zeng Minxing (曾敏行, 1118–1175): Volume 9, *Miscellaneous Records of a Man Awaking Alone* (独醒杂志).
[23] Yuan Yueyou (袁说友, 1140–1204): 'On Apparel System' (论衣冠服制), Volume 120, *Memorials of Famous Ministers of All Ages* (历代名臣奏议).