Changes in the Ceremonial Dresses for Children's First Birthday Since 1945

광복이후 첫돌 복식의 변천

Dept. of Clothing & Textiles, Ewha Womans University
Yoon-Young Ji · Na-Young Hong

이화여자대학교 의류직물학과

지 윤 영 · 홍 나 영

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Abstract

본 연구는 광복 이후 현재까지 첫돌 복식 변화를 시대적으로 고찰, 그 변화 양상과 영향 요인을 규명하는 것을 목적으로 하고 있다. 연구 방법은 문헌 고찰과 사진 자료를 통한 내용 분석을 주로 하였다. 더불어 자료의 보충을 위해 첫돌 의례와 관련된 주변 인물들-가족, 기성 아동 한복 유통 상인, 상업적 사진사 등-의 면접 조사도 병행하 였다.

이상의 연구를 통해 다음과 같은 결과를 얻었다.

1940년대 중반~50년대 초에는 해방 이후 혼란과 전란으로 인한 물자의 부족으로 첫돌 의례의 명분은 남아있으나 복식 문화는 공백기를 맞는다. 1950년대 중반이후 60년대 전반기는 미국의 경제 원조와 섬유 공업 활성화로 의료의 공급이 원활하여 전기에 비해 의례적 의미를 지닌 첫돌 복식의 착용이 가능해 졌다. 전통 한복을 기본으로 한 위에 서양식 복식 품목들이 섞여서 나타나고 있다. 60년대 후반에서 1970년대의 두드러진 양상은 기성복산업의 발달로 전문적인 기성복 시장이 형성되었고 이는 기성복화 된 첫돌 복식의 일습 개념을 등장시키게 하였다. 또한 한복이 예복화 되는 경향이 두드러지게 나타났던 시기로 70년대 후반의 칼라 필름의 보급은 금박과 자수와 같은 다양한 재료와 재단 방법을 사용한 장식화 된 첫돌 복식의 사용을 가속화 시켰다. 특히 70년대 중반에 소수의 일반에게 입혀졌던 궁중 복식의 하나인 당의가 소매없는 당의로 바뀌어 여아의 돌옷으로 입혀지기 시작하였다. 1980년대 전반기는 칼라 TV의 보급, 비디오 촬영의 보편화로 한복이던 양복이던 일습화 된 첫돌 복식이 대중적으로 정착하게 되었다. 후반기에는 국내의 국제적인 행사의 유치와 전통 복식 소개를 위한 전시들을 계기로 왕실 복식에 대한 관심이 고조되었다. 이로 인해 여아에게 소매없는 당의를 입히고 남아에게 용포를 입히는 유행이 가속화 되었다. 또한 서양식 예복을 입히는 유행이 시작되었다. 90년대에 들어와 아기 전문 사진점의 등장은 1 회적인 첫돌 의례에 한복과 서양식 예복, 일상복 등을 다양하게 착용시키는 계기를 가져오게 하였다.

이상과 같은 다양한 변화 양상에도 불구하고 첫돌을 기념하기 위해 특별한 옷을 마련하고자 했으며, 그 복식의 구성이 전통적인 일습 개념을 꾸준히 지향해 온 경향을 보여주고 있다. 반면 최근 과열된 아동 산업은 보다 다양한 복식을 입혀서 촬영한 사진으로 특별하게 꾸민 상업적인 기념물들을 남겨주게 하고 있다. 비록 특별한 옷을 준비하여 아동에게 입히는 행위는 유사한 표현 양태이나 지나치게 많은 옷을 갈아 입히는 표현 방식은 지양되어야 할 것이다.

Key words: first birthday(Ch tdol), Dangeui(formal jacket in the palace), Yongpo(formal robe in the palace), full-set outfits, Sleeveless Dangeui(simple Dangeui for a girl); 첫돌, 당의, 용포, 일습, 소매없는 당의

I. Introduction

In Korean, the first birthday of children is called *Chŏtdol. Chŏt* means first and Dol means cycle or frequency and it is usually used when a one-year cycle is repeated as a unit. From now, the word *Chŏtdol* will be used instead of first birthday. The purpose of this study is to examine aspects of changes in *Chŏtdol* dress, and various factors that have had an effect on these changes since 1945. Futhermore, this study suggests the desirable directions of the *Chŏtdol*.

The method of this study is based on contents analysis of about 200 photographs obtained from those who had memorial photographs for the ceremonial garments for *Chŏtdol*. Various aspects of ceremonial events and changes of ceremonial dresses are analysed using related literature and interviews with families, retailers of the garments and commercial photographers.

In case of interview, standard of choosing informants is limited on 20 year-career specialists: each of 2 retailers and photographers. The technical and commercial circumstances of those period when these photographs were taken were confirmed through their verbal evidences.

Specipically, in order to examine the various aspects of changes in ceremonial dresses since 1945, over 200 items obtained from those who had memorial photographs for the ceremonial garments for *Chŏtdol* are analysed. In total, 231 items were collected from educational facilities, which were selected in convenience. Collecting the photographs, especially memorial ones, are not easy to obtain from people. Therefore, these data were offered from the professor or teacher in charge of the classes of the each educational facilities. The result as follows: Ewha womans

university(120), Milim girls high school(21), Younglan girls middle school(16), Apgujeong elementary school(32), Hongick preschools(17) and others(25) in Seoul and 221 items are used for this study. These materials are arranged according to three categories; characteristics of data including gender of babies, kind of films and place of photos taken, style of the actual dresses and aspects of changes in the ceremonial dresses according to age.

II. The Meaning of Ch tdol and Dresses

According to Song Zhaolin¹⁾, a famous Chinese scholar, the records concerning Chotdol ceremony are found in the age of Northern & Southern Dynasty. And in this country, the first representative records are found in the document3 written by Chosun Dynasty's royal family, the diaries³ written by the aristocrats (the YangBan). and the realistic school's writings4 during the Chosun Period. Generally, people accept that the convention of the ceremony has been established since the latter period of the Chosun⁵). The ceremonial meaning of Chotdol can be examined through the three basic elements in the ceremony: food, process, and costume style. The meanings of them can be classified into three categories. First, the parents usually prepare some food and celebrate the baby's one year birthday. At this moment, the baby is accepted as a member of the family. Next, several types of things are spread directly in front of the baby, and they let him or her grab what most appeals to them. People believe that baby's future life or fortune is reflected from this action. Korean people call this process 'Doljabee' . And the final step is to wear new clothes the baby. Korean literature shows that the baby can wear new clothes or formal costume like adults' on Chotdol. This means that all other

family members consider the baby as becoming an individual by the costume style.

Traditionally girls wear a Chima(skirt) and Jeogori(jacket) usually with sleeves of multicolored stripes on their first birthday. And sometimes they wear Durumagi(outcoat), Baeja(vest), and Jobawee(head dress) on the head according to the ceremonial occasion. In the case of boys, they wear Baji(trousers), Jeogori(jacket), Jokki(vest), Magoja (jacket worn over the upper garments) with multicolored sleeves, Durumagi(outcoat), Jeonbock (sleeveless jacket). Bockgoen(head dress) or a Hogoen(head dress) were put on the boy's head. Both girls and boys sometimes wear a Goolae(head dress) on the head. In fact, this kind of custom was formed by the upper classes of the Chosun period, from the last years of the 19th century to the early years of the 20th century. From this we can guess that such kind of formal convention would be difficult to be practiced by common people and common family in reality.

The pictures above show the royal costumes. In Fig. 1, the girl who was the daughter of King *Kojong* and born in 1912 is wearing a *Hwakwan*(head dress), and *Dangeui*(formal jacket in the palace)



Fig. 1. Prince Yuk

Study for *Chosun* Dynasty's Royal Costume



Fig. 2. Princess Dukhye' First Birthday
"Study for *Chosun* Dynasty's Royal Costume』

decorated by a *Bo*(round badge), and a *Sran Chima*(formal skirt). The boy, in Fig. 2, who is *Kojong* s son is wearing *Jajeokyongpo*(formal dress for the royal grandson) and *Kongjeongchaeck* (head dress) These costumes are the formal and ceremonial dress within the palace.

Different from royalty's dresses above, the girl in Fig. 3 wears *Goolae* and an upper garment with multicolored sleeves. Also, a dinner table set with *Dduck*(rice cake) and all kinds of fruits is shown on the picture.

The baby in Fig. 4 who is holding a hand-stamp and the stick shown in the right side, which looks like a writing brush is wearing a *Hogeon*(head dress) and *Kkachi Durumagi*(outcoat). Books,



Fig. 3. First Dinner Table of a Girl **Chosun** Period through The Photographs: Life & Custom 2.



Fig. 4. First Birthday **Chosun** Period through The Photographs: Life & Custom **J

Writing brushes, *Meock*(ink stick), and *Byeoru*(ink stone) symbolize a person who will be engaged in studying, and stamps, knife, and sword symbolize a person who will be bureaucrats. Money

symbolizes wealth, an abacus or a scale, commerce, and a ruler, handicraft. Finally, threads or noodle symbolize a long life. In the case of a baby girl, the needle-case or tools for sewing were prepared.

III. Changes in ceremonial dresses since the 1940 pfl

The characteristics of data; gender of babies, kind of films and place of photos taken

First of all, it is very difficult to get *Ch tdol* photos before late 1950's It is because there were insufficient resources of everything after the Korean war. It became better in the late 1970's and early 1980's.

As is revealed from the following table Table 1, in

Table 1. Gender of Babies

n=221

Age		40s'(2)	50s	'(14)	60s	'(19)	70s	'(61)	80s	'(68)	90s	'(58)	Total
soft		46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-01	Total
gender	boy	1	3	4	5	10	14	14	17	12	20	17	117
	girl	1	1	6	2	2	2	20	34	6	12	8	104

Table 2. Kind of Films

n=221

	Age		50s	'(14)	60s	'(19)	70s	3'(61)	80s	'(68)	90s	'(58)	Total
soft		46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-01	Total
film	black & white	2	4	10	7	12	12	3					50
	girl						4	41	51	18	32	25	171

Table 3. Place of Photos Taken

n=221

Age		40s'(2)	50s	'(14)	60s	'(19)	70s	'(61)	80s	'(68)	90s	'(58)	Total	
soft		46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-01	Total	
place	home	2	1	5	5	3	4	28.	31	12	21	1	113	
	photoshop	•	3	5	2	8	12	16	20	4	7	17	94	
	commercial palce				•	•	•	•		2	4	7	13	
	other					1							1	

the case of gender, the number of boy pictures is larger than that of girl's except for from the late 1970's and early 1980's. This result is derived from half of items collected from the students who were bone in the late 70's and the early 80's of Ewha womans university. However, the result of Table. 1 can be explained by the preference of a son to a daughter.

Secondly, for the picture color, color photographs became popular from the early days of 1970's so that the black-and-white photographs almost disappeared in at the end of the 1990's.

Thirdly, places of photos taken are analysed as shown in Table. 3. Until the early 1970's, photos were taken at home by visiting photographers or in a studio. In those years potable cameras were not very commonly used. Since the late 1970's, due to the wide spread of auto cameras and color films, it was easy to take pictures at home. In the late 1980's it became popular to have *Chŏtdol* party at the public places like buffet restaurants or even hotel banquet room. In the late 1990's, it is rare to find photos taken at home by family members.

2. The Style of the Actual Dresses

The photographs were classified into traditional style(Hanbok), western style and modernized style to examine the main stream of Chŏtdol dress styles according to age. Then, we closely examined how traditional ones shown in Chŏtdol ceremony changed through time. Firstly, the style that appeared most frequently was traditional style,

through all the 1990's only except for the present days. We can explain this according to a general tendency that Korea's traditional costumes have not disappeared, and, they are continually and generally worn at formal ceremonies such as funerals or weddings, even after some westernization has been progressed enough. However, during the recent few years, the babies in Chotdol memorial photographs collected from commercial photo studios are wearing not only Hanbok but also various kinds of clothes, namely, western-styled dresses, and finally, the clothes shown from the end of the 1990's photographs are almost western-style. This modernized style began to be accepted as the fashion from 1997, 'the year of wearing Hanbok'. Therefore, people began to wear modernized one as babies' Chotdol costume in this tendency.

The following Table. 5 is framed for analyzing the actual examples of traditional dresses shown on *Chŏtdol* photographs and finding out how the formal costume's styles are reflected in actual practices of the ceremony. They are classified 9 groups, and the classifying standards are set on the basis of whether or not both boy and girl wear the head dress and in what ways the upper garments are put together. Moreover, various types are categorized into four groups; traditional formal mode, royal mode, traditional common mode and modernized mode. The standards used for this categorization are set on the same frame as shown through Table. 5.

Table 4. Style of Dresses

n=221

Age		40s'(2)	50s	'(14)	60s	'(19)	70s	'(61)	80s	'(68)	90s	'(58)	Total
soft		46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-01	Total
	traditional	1	2	8	7	9	10	43	49	18	30	7	184
style	western	1	2	2	•	2	6	1	2	1	1	14	32
	mordernized										1	4	5

Sex Type	Girl	Sex Type	Boy
I	Head dress, Durumagi,	i	Head dress, Jeonbok, Durumagi,
П	Head dress, Baeja, Jeogori	ii	Head dress, Jeonbok, Jeogori
	Head dress, Jeogori	iii	Head dress, Jeogori
IV	Head dress, SleevelessDangeu, Jeogori	iv	Jeonbok,Jeogori
V	Headdress, Dangeu, Jeogori	v	Head dress, Yonpo
VI	Sleeveless Dangeu, Jeogori	vi	Head dress,Sakyusam
VI	Baeja, Jeogori	vii	Jokki, Jeogori
VII	Jeogori	viii	Jeogori
IX	Mordenized Hanbok	ix	Mordenized Hanbok

Table 5. Frame for Analyzing the Actual Examples of Hanbok

In case of girls, I, II and III types are bound into F group (Traditional Formal mode) wearing head dress, a *Durumagi*(outcoat), and *Jeogori*(jacket). Next, IV, V and VI including a *Dangeui*(formal jacket in palace), and a Sleeveless *Dangeui* are categorized into R group (Royal mode). And the C group (Trational Common mode) includes a style matching *Baeja*(vest) and *Jeogori* without a head dress, WI-type and the style wearing only a *Jeogori*, WII-type. Finally, the M group (Modernized mode) is for the modernized ones, IX.

The F group includes *Chima*, *Jeogori* and *Jobawee*(woman's winter hat), and this match is continually shown. And from the end of the 1970's more various dress styles began to be worn. Particularly, a suit of IV, V, VI-typed royal mode, which has been distinguishingly shown since the late 70s', and it has been shown until now.

Next, in the case of boys' costume, the F group follows a comparatively conservative match, that is, basically including $Bokgeon(head\ dress)$ and $Jeonbok(sleeveless\ jacket)$. And the costumes in the ii type look like assorted suits just for matching in appearance. The v and v itypes mean the dress style worn by the royal family in the palace instead of the existing traditional Chotdol costumes. Then the C' group (Common mode) includes the style

wearing only *Jeogori*, vii type and a style matching *Jokki*(waistcoat) and *Jeogori* without headgear, viii type. Last, the type ix means the modernized *Hanbok* as well.

Bokgeon and Jeonbok bound by the F group have been worn steadily since the late 1940's. One particular thing is that the photographs of Chosun Dynasty's prince or royal descendant's Yonpo(long jacket for a king or prince) appeared in the late 1980's pictures and it has continued until quite recent days. The M' group representing the Modemized Hanbok, was worn in the late 1990's like the case of girls.

3. The aspects of changes in ceremonial dresses according to age

The results obtained by this photo analysis works was arranged, together with the collected representative photographs, according to age.

During the late 1940's and the early 1950's, even though people understood the significance of *Chŏtdol*'s formal ceremony, it was difficult to hold the *Dol* festival as well as dress the formal *Chŏtdol* costumes on babies in reality, because of social disorder and insufficient living necessities caused by 1945's Independence and 6.25(Korean War). Fig. 5 is taken in 1946. A baby girl is sitting in front of

Table 6. Girls' Dresses

n=221

	Age	40s'(2)	50s	'(14)	60s	'(19)	70s	'(61)	80s	'(68)	90s	'(58)	Total
Group		46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	91-95	96-01	Total
F	I											1	1
	II			1	2			2	_				5
				1				4	10	4	3	1	23
	IV					1	2	19	15	1	4		42
R	V							1			2		3
	VI								2	1	1		4
С	VII							1					1
C	VIII			2				2	5		<u> </u>		9
M	IX										1	3	4
t	otal		-	4	2	1.	2	29	32	6	11	4	92

Table 7. Boys' Dresses

n=221

	Age	40s'(2)	50s	'(14)	60s	'(19)	70s	'(61)	80s	'(68)	90s	'(58)	Total
Group		46-50	51-55	56-60	61-65	66-70	71-75	76-80	81-85	86-90	90-95	96-01	TOTAL
	i			2							_		2
F'	íí	1		2	5	6	8	11	15	5	12	4	69
	ìii							1	2	4	2		9
	iv					1	-				1		2
R'	v									3	4		7
	vi		,,,			-					1		1
	vii		2					2					4
C	viii		ì		~	1				-			1
M	ix											2	2
to	otal	1	2	4	5	8	8	14	17	12	20	6	97

the *Dol* dinner table, wearing an ordinary dress, and the baby's sitting posture looks very hard because she was actually sick on the previous day. It is interesting that her parents put a bundle of

thread over the Siru(rice steamer) and fix some old paper money into it, wishing the baby's long life and wealth.

Each two photos in Fig. 6 and Fig. 7 were taken



Fig. 5. 1946



Fig. 6. 195



Fig. 7. 1952

at photo studios in 1951 and 1952 respectively. One of them is for a boy and the other is for a girl, and actually they are a married couple now. The boy's photo looks more formal than the girl's because the boy is wearing the formal costumes with sleeves of multicolored stripes. And this couple's two memorable photos show us the notion of the preference of a son to a daughter.

Next, during from the late 1950's and to the late 1960's, the social order was being stabilized owing to USA's financial aid and recovery from the Korean war. and the photos show us that the dress style commemorating *Chŏtdol* ceremony was being restoring according to the recovery from the social disorder

The photo in Fig. 8. was taken in 1956, and the girl baby on the photo is wearing a large ribbon instead of headgear on the head. This picture was taken inside the house, and her father took it for his last daughter without setting *Chŏtdol* dinner table, and the carnera was her father's who had frequent travels abroad.

Next, the photo in Fig. 9 was taken in 1958, and the baby is wearing a knitted socks and this scene reveals that western item is mixed with Korean ones in those days Fig. 10, Fig. 11 were taken during the middle and the late 1960's. The girl is



Fig. 8. 1956



Fig. 9. 1958

wearing a *Chima*(skirt) that is splendidly embroidered by machine and a kind of coronet decorated with flowers on the head. This style reflects those days mode that adults' traditional style and design were becoming more and more grandiose. The boy is not wearing a traditional style, *Hanbok*, but a formal *Yangbok*(western clothes).

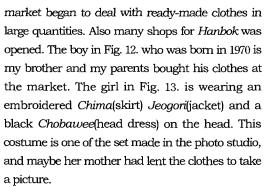
The distinguishing characteristic of the 1970's is that color photographs appeared in the around the early 70s. Moreover, automatic cameras were popularized among ordinary people and the



Fig. 10. 1967



Fig. 11. 1967



One of the distinguishing features in the late 1970's is the appearance of the sleeveless *Dangeui*-



Fig. 12. 1971



Fig. 13. 1975

sleeveless jacket for a girl. In 1962, princess *DukHae* returned to the home land from Japan. Peoplebegan to give attention to royal family's costume style and as a result, *Dangeui*(formal jacket in the palace) was dressed by a few upper class's people as a ceremonial dress since the late 1960's. The other distinct aspects is the appearance of the full set outfits-this includes head dress, outer coat-concept of *Chŏtdol* dresses. This is derived from development of ready-made clothing industry, wide spread of potable camera and color film.

During the 1980's, various exhibitions of traditional costumes or lots of fashion shows for also traditional clothes were hold due to '86 Asian Games' and 'the Olympics of 1988'. And these international events incited people to pay great attention to Korean costumes. This tendency was also reflected to children's *Hanbok*, that is, the sleeveless *Dangeui*(sleeveless jacket for a girl) that has been dressed for girls was completely settled as a full-set garments. Therefore, it is not surprising that many photos of those days have the girl babies, wearing, a yellow, light green, or red sleeveless *Dangeui* and a *Jobawee*(head dress) on the head such as shown through Fig. 14. On the other hand, the boys' *Dol* clothes also used *Yongpo*



Fig. 14. 1985



Fig. 15. 1987

or Sakyusam, which was worn only by the royal family in the palace.(Fig. 15)

These kinds of looks, which were full set of outfits, were offered from the photo studios for commercial purpose. Also, this style was shown in the photos of the *Chŏtdol* ceremony which were held not only in homes, but also in buffet restaurants or hotel restaurants. Particularly, during the 1980's, the full set outfit concept of *Dol* costume was produced by the large market producing ready-made clothes, besides, the court costumes worn by the royal family began to be worn by ordinary people.

The most outstanding feature of the 1990's is that all kinds of *Dol* hes, the royal family style, and the mixed style of modernized *Hanbok* and western clothes. The direct reason of these various appearances of clothes for first birthday is derived from the professional photo studio's appearance. It was established in March, 1994, and particularly it specialized in children's photographs. So the trend to give a baby 'a cartoon-like photo' has spread to the ordinary people, though some partial rich class has given attention to that photo style at an early period.

And this trend left many various clothes style in



Fig. 16-1. 1997



Fig. 16-2, 1997

photos. Fig. 16-1, 2. were taken in 1997, and they are only two of 10 items in her first birthday album; her parents changed the baby over 10 times to shoot many photos, so that she understandably looks tired from changing clothes. The various clothes styles include, of course, the traditional costume. Her mother actually stated that they didn't have many new clothes for growing children, so that they had to buy several pieces of clothes, and even bring underwear to the photo studio.

IV. Conclusion

This study examines various aspects and changes in the meaning of the first birthday of children, Chŏtdol. The ceremonial occasion, Chŏtdol, has changed since the end of the Chosun Dynasty, and this study relates the changes to factors affecting the changes of garments for Chŏtdol. This study also suggests the ceremonial culture of Chŏtdol which is appropriate for Koreans. The Method of this study is based on contents analysis of about 200 photographs obtained from those who had memorial photographs for the ceremonial garments for Chŏtdol. Various aspects of ceremonial

events and changes of ceremonial garments are analyzed using related literature, photos in newspapers and magazines, and interviews with retailers of the garments and commercial photographers.

Factors affecting the various aspects and changes of ceremonial garments of the *Chŏtdol* are discussed.

From 1945 to 1953, under disorder and shortage of all kinds of goods which was due to the 1945 Independence and the Korean War, in spite of the existence of the meaning of Chotdol as a rite of passage, there was no ceremonial costume culture for the first birthday of children. From the middle of the 1950's to the late 1960's, celebrating the Chŏtdol with special garments became gradually possible, by virtue of economic aid from the U.S.A and development of the clothing industry. In the 1970's, distinct aspects which can be described as the appearance of a full-set outfit concept of ceremonial garments for Chotdol is derived from the development of the ready-made clothing industry and special markets. Moreover, these styles deviated from tradition and became more decorative. In the 1980's, the spread of color TV and video fixed the conception of a full-set ceremonial garments. The western style became gradually popular in the late 1980's. In the 1990's, special photo studios for babies accelerated various aspects of Chŏtdol culture.

The factors of those kinds of *Dol* clothes' changing style is analyzed by the following: the economic development in the society, the drastic change in the family's modernized structure, the development of photographic techniques and commercial spaces, that is, photo studios, and the change of people's consciousness concerning the children's future. Though the customs didn't change much from the 1945 Independent year to

the present, such as special clothes for the *Chŏtdol* ceremony, abundant *Dol* dinner table, and *Doljabee* a fortune telling custom regarding the baby's future, the expressive methods are more and more commercialized and typified. It is quite an undesirable trend, needless to say, to demand too many things from a one-year old baby.

In spite of all the changes of the various aspects, the meaning of the *Chŏtdol* has been celebrated up by the ceremonial garments and these aspects have been maintained until today. Meanwhile, the way of expression of their family's heart's desires was captured by taking many photographs and keeping a special album for their children.

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