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## Hairstyle and Headgear Transgressions, and the Concept of *Fuyao* (Ornamentation Anomaly) in Early China

### ABSTRACT:

*Fuyao* 服妖, or “ornamentation anomaly,” is a historical category of disaster (anomaly) that emerged during the Han period. It is a rich example of the perceived connection between sumptuary transgression and political disorder in the Chinese cosmological and historical traditions. Due to the importance of hairstyle and headgear in the performance of state ritual ideology and hierarchical stratification, discussions of hairstyle and hair ornamentation represent an especially intriguing incarnation of apprehension about improper personal appearance. The present paper approaches an understanding of the emergence and uses (historical and narrative) of *fuyao* mainly in the Han through Tang period through an examination of *fuyao* examples involving hairstyle and headgear. An analysis of hair-related *fuyao* within the rubrics provided by appearance or demeanor (*mao* 貌) as a moral and political marker and the ritual significance of headgear in the Chinese tradition indicates the use of *fuyao* as a medium of historical evaluation that becomes interwoven, in theory if not in practice, with the creation, promulgation, and subversion of culturally defined identities.

### KEYWORDS:

*hairstyle, headgear, fuyao, guan, sumptuary regulations, Treatise on the Five Phases*

By the third decade of the first century AD, Wang Mang's 王莽 (ca. 45 BC–23 AD) Xin 新 (9–23 AD) dynasty was swiftly unraveling, and new contenders for power emerged.<sup>1</sup> One of the most prominent early figures who seemed poised to fill the power vacuum left by the demise of the Xin was Liu Xuan 劉玄 (d. 25 AD), better known as the Gengshi emperor 更始帝. Liu Xuan, a local rebel leader, claimed distant ancestry to the Han ruling line and took the title general Gengshi. In 22 AD, he joined forces with rebel leaders Liu Yan 劉演 (d. 23 AD) and Liu Xiu 劉秀 (the future Guangwu emperor 光武帝; r. 25–57 AD), and in 23 AD he was proclaimed emperor. That same year, Gengshi

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<sup>1</sup> Wang Mang was the nephew of empress Wang 王 (Wang Zhengjun 正君), who was the wife of Han emperor Yuan 元帝 (r. 48–33 BC) and mother of emperor Cheng 成帝 (r. 33–7 BC). Wang Mang held important civil and military positions under emperor Cheng. During the reign of Cheng's successor, emperor Ai 哀帝 (r. 7–1 BC), Wang Mang and the Wang clan temporarily fell from power, but, after Ai's sudden death in 1 BC, then grand empress-dowager Wang called Wang Mang back to power as regent for the newly enthroned emperor Ping 平

defeated Wang Mang's forces in several key military exchanges, and Wang Mang himself was killed in battle as Gengshi's troops stormed Weiyang Palace in Chang'an.

Viewed without the perfect hindsight of history, Gengshi's fortunes seemed to be on the ascendant. However, as we know, Gengshi did not succeed in establishing a stable post-Xin regime, and he did not become the first emperor of the renewed Han. After the death of Wang Mang, he moved his capital to Luoyang and proceeded there with his top associates. Historical chronicles inform us that, at this point, signs of his disastrous end were already apparent. While noting his failures as a political leader, traditional histories also locate his unfitness to rule in a source that is perhaps less expected and will point us to the focus of this article – the headdress and clothing worn by his followers. Ominous portents of Gengshi's defeat are described in the *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (*History of the Later Han*) annals covering the achievements of Liu Xiu, who in 25 AD would ascend the throne as emperor Guangwu, the first emperor of the restored Han regime. It is stated that before arriving in Luoyang himself, Gengshi appointed the future Guangwu to act as metropolitan commandant (*sili xiaowei* 司隸校尉) and go to the new capital ahead of Gengshi to prepare the palace and government precincts. We are informed that the members of Guangwu's official entourage all comported and presented themselves appropriately in accordance with previously established standards. The same cannot be said, however, of Gengshi's followers, who arrived later and made quite a scene:

At that time, the officials under the jurisdiction of the Three Guardians went east to welcome Gengshi.<sup>2</sup> When they saw his generals pass by, they were all wearing kerchiefs (*ze* 幘) and dressed in women's clothing – *zhuyu* 諸于 gowns and embroidered coats with short sleeves (*xiuqu* 繡襦).<sup>3</sup> Everyone laughed at them, and some fled in fear. When they saw the commandant's [Guangwu's] entourage, they were all overcome by joy. One of the elder clerks shed tears and said, "I never thought that today I would once again witness

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帝 (r. 1 BC–6 AD). Wang Mang used this position to amass power and support before formally usurping the throne in 9 AD and establishing the Xin dynasty, ending over two hundred years of Han rule. Wang Mang has traditionally been condemned as a usurper.

<sup>2</sup> The term *san fu* (the Three Guardians) refers to the metropolitan governor (*jingzhao yin* 京兆尹, *yu neishi* 御史), guardian of the left (*zuo ping yi* 左憑翊, *zuo neishi* 左內史), and guardian of the right (*you ping yi* 右憑翊, *you neishi* 右內史). They collectively administered the Metropolitan Area from 104 BC on. *San fu* can also designate, as it does here, the metropolitan jurisdictional area itself.

<sup>3</sup> *Zhuyu* is glossed as a type of ornate gown or robe worn by women.

the majesty of the Han officialdom.” From that point forward the wise all gave their allegiance to him [Guangwu].

時三輔吏士東迎更始，見諸將過，皆冠幘，而服婦人衣，諸于繡襦，莫不笑之，或有畏而走者。及見司隸僚屬，皆歡喜不自勝。老吏或垂涕曰：不圖今日復見漢官威儀！由是識者皆屬心焉。<sup>4</sup>

Within two years, Gengshi had been defeated and killed by rebel forces called the Chimei 赤眉 (Red Eyebrows). The message of the passage was clear: improper personal ornamentation, by its subversion of powerful, ritual norms, could predict and even cause disaster.

In examining the reasons why the forms of adornment donned by Gengshi's followers are so strongly condemned, we might note that they violated several important taboos. First, the generals wore mere kerchiefs (*zhe*), the headgear classically designated for lower-class, commoner men. The latter were not of the *shi* 士 class, thus they did not wear *guan* 冠 (caps), a form of headgear restricted to *shi* and closely related to the communication of ritual and socio-political hierarchical position. Second, they wore clothes appropriate for women, or evoking clothes regularly worn by women. Although the historical record seems curiously silent as to why Gengshi's followers were dressed in this way, their self-presentation was clearly transgressive of both class and gender lines. This episode suggests the perceived importance of hair- and clothing style as markers of identity; Gengshi's followers wore headgear and clothes that were not appropriate for the status to which they aspired, and, indeed, their sumptuary transgressions foreshadowed Gengshi's failure to attain his desired status. In contrast, the majestic appearance of the future Guangwu's entourage (presumably including their headgear and clothing) denoted to the observers his imminent greatness.

The passage provides a rich example of the varied ways in which forms of sartorial presentation or sumptuary norms – rules governing the ways in which people are required or expected to dress in accordance with custom or law – function as critical sources of cultural construction and identity. Such dress codes, which differ for individuals depending upon class, profession, gender, and other categories, comprise an important subset of psycho-social frameworks through which order and disorder are understood in many societies. Because of its illustration of the perceived connection between sumptuary transgression and socio-political disaster, the Gengshi episode was chosen by the

<sup>4</sup> Fan Ye 范曄 et al., *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965; hereafter cited as *HHS*) 1A, pp. 9–10.

compilers of *Hou Hanshu* as an example of *fuyao* 服妖, or “ornamentation anomaly,” a conceptual category in the Chinese historical-cosmological tradition premised upon the connection between personal ornamentation and political stability. The word *fuyao* per se is a chapter subcategory of portents of disaster (or, anomaly), as found in the “Wuxing zhi” 五行志 (“Treatise on the Five Phases”) of numerous standard dynastic histories. The first of these was in the relevant treatise of *Hanshu* 漢書 (*History of the Han*), completed around the turn of the second century AD. It drew upon earlier interpretations of the Five Phases, a predictive cycle well-established in early China’s discourses concerning natural philosophy and other areas. The Five Phases could be correlated to virtually all things in nature, and to human affairs as well, including dress codes in relation to political authority. The *fuyao* sections of these treatises are comprised of examples of historical events or personages that are deemed to typify or illustrate the connection between sumptuary transgression and socio-political decline or disorder. The passages included in the *fuyao* sections are drawn from a variety of source texts, and in some cases the source is unknown. Clearly, a form of circular logic informs the identification of certain types of personal ornamentation as *fuyao*; examples of *fuyao* are retroactively identified by historians as emerging directly prior to political crises (such as rebellion, dynastic collapse, inept leadership, foreign incursion), and the occurrence of such crises “proves” that the sumptuary examples under discussion are indeed *fuyao*.

As a category of transgression, *fuyao* is informed by conceptions of the correspondence, or lack thereof, between inner identity – defined in terms of gender, age, status, ethnicity, and so on – and its outer expression. An “anomaly” is perceived when forms of ornamentation breach particular taboos: when gender, class, or ethnic lines are crossed, so that people are wearing clothes that are somehow inappropriate for their station (for example, the inappropriate attire of Gengshi’s followers was included in the *Hou Hanshu fuyao* section because it is a clear-cut example of personal adornment that transgresses class and gender boundaries); when ornamentation is rendered inherently inauspicious by virtue of its name, shape, or other aspects of its appearance (for example, eye makeup that mimics tears or ornaments in the shape of weapons foreshadowing war and destruction); or when ornamentation that perhaps would normally be deemed permissible is displayed at inappropriate times (for example, the failure to observe mourning taboos regarding dress and personal adornment). Concerns

about the “excessive” nature of certain forms of personal adornment are also often linked with these taboos.

As suggested by the way that their kerchiefs could indicate the failure of Gengshi and his followers to embody their desired socio-political role, apprehensions about headgear, hairstyle, and hair ornamentation could relate importantly to social status and gender as sites of cultural protection or disintegration, cultural capital, and historical judgment. This is closely related to the importance as well of headgear in the performance of state ritual ideology and communication of hierarchical stratification, which is discussed more fully, below. The present paper considers these issues through examination of the subset of *fuyao* examples, mainly covering the Han through Tang period, in which hairstyle and hair adornment, as well as headgear, including various types of caps, hats, hair-wrapping cloths, and hairpins, functioned as an embodiment and harbinger of social disorder.

Scholars have explored in depth the phenomenon of ornamentation anomaly (*fuyao*), including hair-related examples, as they relate to later periods, in particular the late Ming. Lin Liyue 林麗月 and Wu Renshu 巫仁恕 have both analyzed in detail the socio-economic factors that contributed to renewed interest in and accusations of *fuyao* during this period, including changes in commodity production and the economic structure that facilitated the growth of a wealthy merchant class able to purchase and flaunt novel styles or styles usually reserved for their social superiors; and attendant anxiety among upper classes surrounding the perceived blurring of social boundaries and threat to their continued privilege.<sup>5</sup> China’s earlier periods, however, have not received similar examinations. A far-reaching analysis of the corpus of hair-related *fuyao* in historical and other sources mostly from the pre-Tang and Tang periods is thus an important addition to scholarship on *fuyao*. In fact, the earlier period was crucial to the very development of *fuyao* as a conceptual category; its emergence as a historical-cosmological field of inquiry in the Han was closely related to new understandings of anomaly and new forms of classical and historical exegesis, in

<sup>5</sup> See Lin Liyue 林麗月, “Yishang yu fengjiao: Wan Ming de fushi fengshang yu ‘fuyao’ yilun” 衣裳與風教, 晚明的服飾風尚與服妖議論, *Xinshixue* 新史學 10.3 (1999), pp. 111–57; and Wu Renshu 巫仁恕, “Mingdai pingmin fushi de liuxing fengsheng yu shidafu de fanying” 明代平民服飾的流行風尚與士大夫的反應, *Xinshixue* 10.3 (1999), pp. 55–109. Donald Shively has made similar arguments in regards to the impetus for the promulgation of sumptuary law in Tokugawa Japan. He notes that proponents of sumptuary law justified it in both ethical and economic terms and contends that the sometimes frenetic promulgation of sumptuary law by the ruling regime during this period was a reaction to socio-economic change that threatened the privileged position of the ruling class. See Donald H. Shively, “Sumptuary Regulation and Status in Early Tokugawa Japan,” *HJAS* 25 (1964–1965), pp. 134–37.

particular the three commentarial traditions of *Chunqiu* 春秋 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*), *Yijing* 易經 (*Classic of Changes*), and the “Hongfan” 洪範 (“Great Plan”) chapter of *Shangshu* 尚書 (*Classic of History*). Leading up to and over the course of the Han, scholars explored the origins and nature of predictive anomalies, whether related to the Five Phases or to other systems of insight. The burgeoning interest in *fuyao* must be understood within this intellectual climate.

In subsequent centuries, historians continued to draw upon *fuyao* as a means of encapsulating their evaluation of historical events, regimes, and personages. Some histories, including *Hou Hanshu*, *Jinshu* 晉書 (*History of the Jin*), *Songshu* 宋書 (*History of the Liu-Song*), *Nan Qishu* 南齊書 (*History of the Southern Qi*), and *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (*New History of the Tang*), demonstrate a greater interest in *fuyao* than do others. As Lin and Wu discovered for the Ming period, China’s writers and historians generally invoked the same categories of transgression as found in the earliest discussions, and they continued to use *fuyao* for making didactic evaluations of history. Headgear and hairstyle were prominent in *fuyao* sections because of their time-honored role in communicating ritual status and social differentiation.

Ornamentation anomaly (*fuyao*) was, from its early emergence as a cosmological category or phenomenon, closely related to the category of “disrespectful appearance/demeanor” (*mao bu gong* 貌不恭) in political and historical writings.<sup>6</sup> During the early-Han period, the appearance or demeanor of the ruler, as a fundamental area of kingly comportment, was intimately connected to political, cosmic, and natural stability; discussions of the category present improper appearance or deportment as capable of triggering natural or cosmic “responses” in the form of weather-related and other disasters and anomalies. Appearance thus represented a significant site for the communication of historical judgment, which can also, in historiographical discourse, be

<sup>6</sup> The phrase “*mao bu gong*” developed from the commentarial traditions attached to the “Hongfan” 洪範 (“Great Plan”) chapter of *Shangshu* 尚書 (*Classic of History*), which scholars including Michael Nylan and others have tentatively dated to the fourth century BC. In “Hongfan,” *mao* 貌, usually translated as “demeanor” but encompassing the meanings of “demeanor” (outward deportment) and “appearance” (outward physical aspect), is identified as one of the “five areas of comportment” for a ruler (*wushi* 五事) and is associated with reverence (*gong* 恭) and respect (*su* 肅): “*Mao* is characterized by reverence ... Reverence makes for respect 貌曰恭 ... 恭作肅.” See discussion in Michael Nylan, *The Shifting Center: The Original “Great Plan” and Later Readings* (Sankt Augustin: Institut Monumenta Serica, 1992), pp. 45–61. As discussed below, the concepts or categories of “disrespectful appearance” or “shameful appearance” (*mao xiu* 貌羞) emerged in the Western Han as a result of the correlation between the ruler’s failure in any one of the five areas of comportment and the advent of particular types of anomaly.

linked to contemporary political criticism. The category *mao bu gong* and the significance of headgear in the Chinese tradition both provide rubrics through which to understand the role of hair-related *fuyao* as a medium of historical evaluation that becomes interwoven, in theory if not in practice, with the creation, promulgation, and subversion of culturally defined identities.

#### HEADGEAR, HAIRSTYLE, AND SOCIO-CULTURAL AND RITUAL IDENTITY

As in any society, hairstyle and hair-ornamentation practices in China changed over generations and were influenced by various factors. However, certain hairstyles for both men and women early on were traditionally seen as indicators of essential aspects of identity, such as age, status, gender, and ethnicity. For both men and women, hairstyle was an important marker of passage into adulthood. As constructed in the classical textual tradition, for a young man of around fifteen to twenty years old, the “capping ceremony” (*guan li* 冠禮) of binding up the hair and changing the boy’s headdress for the man’s marked an important rite of passage to maturity.<sup>7</sup> Throughout the pre-Qing period, Chinese men typically wore their long hair gathered into buns or top-knots, which were secured and covered with a kerchief (*jin* 巾) and/or cap (*guan* 冠) for upper-class men. In contrast, foreign men, at least according to sumptuary stereotypes, wore their hair down and/or plaited and often partially shaved.<sup>8</sup> In *Lunyu* 論語 (*Analects*), Confucius is quoted in a description of hairstyle as one of the distinctive mark-

<sup>7</sup> Grant Hardy has discussed *guan li* as the reconstruction of Han scholars who were faced with a lack of clear, detailed information as to the performance of the ritual in ancient times. The ritual as described in *Yili* 儀禮 (*Etiquette and Ritual*) and other Han ritual texts thus represents the concerns and worldview of these Han scholars as projected onto their reconstruction or imagination of idealized Zhou ritual. The actual practice and popularity of *guan li* varied greatly over time, and the rite seems to have already fallen out of practice by the Song 宋 (960–1127). See Hardy, “The Reconstruction of Ritual: Capping in Ancient China,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 7.2 (1993), pp. 69–90. See also discussion in Weikun Cheng, “Politics of the Queue: Agitation and Resistance in the Beginning and End of Qing China,” in Alf Hiltebeitel and Barbara D. Miller, eds., *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures* (Albany: SUNY P., 1998), p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> For a historical discussion of braiding, plaiting, and partially shaved hairstyles among Chinese and non-Chinese, see Gao Chunming 高春明 and Zhou Xun 周汛, *Zhongguo gu dai fu shi da guan* 中國古代服飾大觀 (Chongqing: Chongqing chubanshe, 1995; hereafter, Gao and Zhou), pp. 59–68; and Gao Chunming 高春明, *Zhongguo fushi ming wu kao* 中國服飾名物考 (Shanghai: Shanghai wenhua chubanshe, 2001; hereafter cited as Gao), pp. 70–79. For a discussion of partially shaved styles among men under the Liao, Jin, and Yuan, see also Dai Zheng 戴爭, *Zhongguo gudai fushi jianshi* 中國古代服飾簡史 (Taipei: Nantian shuju, 1992; hereafter cited as Dai), pp. 183–84.

ers differentiating civilization (in effect, China) from the “barbarian” (non-Chinese): “Had it not been for Kuan Chung [Guan Zhong], we might well be wearing our hair down and folding our robes to the left 微管仲，吾其被髮左衽矣.”<sup>9</sup> Wearing the hair down and folding the robes to the left are both stereotypical forms of self-presentation favored by non-Chinese men – marking the effects of political conquest and the loss of civilized culture.

For women, hairstyle likewise traditionally denoted significant rites of passage or changes in status and became wrapped up in cultural and identity politics. Hair is such a fundamental form of identification for women and girls that, in literary and historical texts from various periods, they are referred to using their hair as synecdoche for their age and sometimes their social standing. As girls grew older, they combed their hair into two buns, which were called *yatou* 丫頭 or *yaji* 丫髻, in reference to their shape.<sup>10</sup> Upon reaching the age of fifteen, a young woman would undergo a coming-of-age ceremony known as “hair pinning ceremony” (*ji li* 笄禮), somewhat comparable with the *guan li* undergone by young men. The *ji li* indicated the young woman’s new identity as a mature woman and was often understood in relation to prevailing marriage customs.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to their importance for both individual identity and rites of passage, hairstyle and especially headgear, including crowns, hairpins, and other forms of hair ornamentation, played a significant role in the sumptuary expression of court ritual and hierarchy from an early period. Although there is ample evidence of the enforcement of sumptuary regulation in earlier periods, the place of sumptuary law in the ritual and hierarchical life of the court reached a more formal codification in the “Yufu zhi” 輿服志 (“Treatise on Conveyances and Dress”) of dynastic histories, along with treatises dealing with ritual. The first “Conveyance and Dress” treatise was included in *Hou Han-shu*.<sup>12</sup> Ritual regulations governing headgear, robes, shoes, and other

<sup>9</sup> *Lunyu* XIV.17; trans. D.C. Lau, *The Analects* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), pp. 126–27.

<sup>10</sup> For further discussion of *yatou* and *yaji* in connection or contrast with the related but distinct style *yahuan* 丫鬟, see Gao and Zhou, pp. 81–87; and Gao, pp. 57–62.

<sup>11</sup> See discussion in Ma Dayong 馬大勇, *Yun ji feng chai: Zhongguo gudai nüzi faxing fashi* 雲髻鳳釵，中國古代女子髮型髮飾 (Jinan: Qi Lu shushe, 2009; hereafter cited as Ma), pp. 1–2. Ma further notes that women frequently donned high buns 高髻 only after marriage; Ma, p. 62.

<sup>12</sup> *Hou Hanshu*, as originally compiled by a committee headed by Liu Song 劉宋 (420–479) historian and literary figure Fan Ye 范曄 (398–445 AD), did not have any *zhi* 志 (treatises). The treatises, including “Yufu zhi,” were later added by Liang 梁-era (502–587) Liu Zhao 劉昭 (fl. ca. 510) in the process of writing a commentary on *Hou Hanshu*. Liu Zhao incorporated eight treatises composed earlier by Sima Biao 司馬彪 (d. 306), in his own history of the Later Han

forms of dress and ornamentation not only differentiated hierarchical position but were also seen as critical to the establishment of dynastic legitimacy. As a result, from the Han period onward new regimes often set themselves the task of creating and promulgating new, authoritative sumptuary codes.<sup>13</sup> Regulations governing dress restricted the color, material, pattern, and style of clothing, headgear, and personal adornment according to the social position and gender of the wearer, as well as the occasion for which the articles were to be worn.

Headgear, both formal and informal, was an especially significant sartorial marker of status and was, at least in theory, closely regulated according to the status of the wearer and nature of the occasion. The *mianguan* 冕冠, or formal crown worn during ritual and state events, was the sole provenance of the emperor, royal family members, and high-ranking ministers. Within the elite group allowed to wear *mianguan*, status was differentiated according to the number of *liu* 旒, or strings of jade, that decorated the crown. The emperor alone wore a *mianguan* with twelve *liu*, paired with a *gun* 袞 robe, which had a dragon pattern and was also worn exclusively by the emperor. The *mianguan* worn by other nobles and high-ranking ministers likewise demonstrated their rank, as communicated by the number of *liu* and patterns of their ceremonial robes.<sup>14</sup> A complex hierarchical system of caps was also applied to the civil and military bureaucracies, and, at particular time periods, certain hats were even meant to designate that an official had retired from office to live in seclusion.<sup>15</sup>

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dynasty titled *Xu Hanshu* 續漢書 (*Continued History of the Han*). For further discussion, see B.J. Mansvelt Beck, *The Treatises of Later Han: Their Author, Sources, Contents, and Place in Chinese Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1990); and Na Chunying 納春英, “Shuo ‘tumo huayi’: Cong ‘Hou Hanshu Yufu zhi’ yi ze duan ju cuowu kan xian Qin de fushi zhuangshi” 說“塗抹畫衣”, 從“後漢書輿服志”一則斷句錯誤看先秦的服飾裝飾, *Shaanxi shifan daxue jixu jiaoyu xuebao* 陝西師範大學繼續教育學報 23.2 (2006), p. 35.

The *HHS* “Yufu zhi” draws upon earlier textual traditions in attributing the emergence of clothing and ornamentation to the creativity of ancient sage rulers and their observations of the natural world (for example, the plumage of birds and the pattern and colors of various creatures). Various early texts, including *Yijing* and *Shangshu*, detail the clothing of the sage rulers and implicitly or explicitly connect what they wore to how they ruled; see the discussion in Ceng Shaobo 曾少波 and Shen Jianmin 沈建民, “Wenxian zhong de fushi zhidu ji wenhua” 文獻中的服飾制度及文化, *Xiandai zhiye jiaoyu* 現代職業教育 18 (2016), pp. 54–55.

<sup>13</sup> For further discussion, see Lin Yonglian 林永蓮, “Handai fushi zhidu zhong lizhi sixiang dui hou shi de yingxiang” 漢代服飾制度中禮制思想對後世的影響, *Dazhong wenyi* 大眾文藝 2 (2012), pp. 178–79.

<sup>14</sup> See discussion in Ge Chengyong 葛承雍, *Zhongguo gudai dengji shehui* 中國古代等級社會 (Xi'an: Shaanxi renmin chubanshe, 1992), pp. 62–63.

<sup>15</sup> See discussion in Ge, *Zhongguo gudai dengji shehui*, pp. 63–64.

The particular regulations and styles changed over time; moreover, during certain historical periods formal regulations seem to have been more closely or more widely adhered to than during others. Loosening restrictions – either officially or by people’s simply flaunting existing restrictions – must of course also be understood as a reaction to or even demonstration of the importance of headgear and hairstyle as communicators of socially constructed identity. Given their importance at all social levels and the changes that occurred over time, hairstyle and hair ornamentation are excellent categories for exploring *fuyao* – that is, a type of anomaly defined by the violation of sumptuary expectations.

“DISRESPECTFUL APPEARANCE” AND *FUYAO*  
IN THE SYSTEM OF MORAL-COSMIC THOUGHT

Concern with proper appearance as a precondition for hierarchical stability appears well before the establishment of the Han 漢 dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). The Han period, however, saw the emergence of fascinating discourses surrounding appearance or demeanor (*mao* 貌), political authority, and anomaly. *Mao* as a fundamental area of comportment for a ruler – one of the “five areas” (*wushi* 五事) considered crucial for successful rule –<sup>16</sup> was correlated with the cyclic succession of the Five Phases as the latter were applied in the context of political authority and rhetoric. An important development in this regard is the emergence and explication of anomaly categories placed within the rubric of “shameful appearance” (*mao xiu* 貌羞) or “disrespectful appearance,” mentioned above. These anomalies were interpreted as cosmic warnings concerning the failures of the ruler in areas of comportment.

Such developments must be viewed in relation to the increasing importance of what is commonly known as “correlative cosmology” and the related approaches to political authority, in particular, new interpretations of cycles (such as Five Phases) and dyads (like *yinyang* 陰陽), as well as cosmic resonances as applied socio-politically to natural disasters.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The other areas of comportment, to be discussed further, below, are *yan* 言 (speech), *shi* 視 (vision), *ting* 聽 (listening), and *si* 思 (consideration). They are first listed in “Hongfan.”

<sup>17</sup> “Correlative cosmology” refers to a highly ordered system of correspondences and categorized relations among various domains in the universe, which correlates areas of the human realm, such as the human body and behavior, the political arena, and moral values, with aspects of the cosmos, such as natural phenomena, seasons, and celestial bodies. See Aihe Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture in Early China* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 2000), p. 2. The basic definitions of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 and the Five Phases (*wuxing*) are well known.

Theories of the Five Phases developed over the course of the Western Han period and were abstractly aligned with cycles that became closely tied to conceptualizations of kingship and political power. The Five Phases – *mu* 木 (wood), *huo* 火 (fire), *tu* 土 (earth), *jin* 金 (metal), and *shui* 水 (water) – were thought either to have been moving in a cycle wherein the succeeding phase is *generated* (*xiangsheng* 相生), or in one whereby the next phase is *vanquished*, or overcome (*xiangsheng* 相勝 or *xiangke* 相剋). According to the cycle of generation, one phase gives rise to the next: wood gives rise to fire, fire to earth, earth to metal, and metal to water. In the cycle of overcoming, or conquest, each phase overcomes or annihilates the previous phase: wood overcomes earth, earth overcomes water, water overcomes fire, fire overcomes metal, and metal overcomes wood. The destruction of one phase is followed by the emergence of the next.

The cycles of the Five Phases operated within a broader, systematic vision of the functioning of the universe in which cosmic resonance (*ganying* 感應, literally, “stimulus-response”) plays a key role. It was discussed in detail as early as the third century BC and stipulated that events and things separated in space and seemingly unrelated nevertheless exert a powerful pull or influence upon each other. The relationship between the political realm and the cosmos/natural realm became especially important in the writings of Dong Zhongshu 董仲舒 (179–104 BC) and later scholars, including Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–6 BC), Jing Fang 京房 (77–37 BC), and Liu Xin 劉歆 (46 BC–23 AD), who often drew upon the exegeses connected to the three traditions of *Chunqiu*, *Yijing* (and its commentaries), and “Hongfan,” as already mentioned, to inform their systematic development of anomaly portents. Moreover, stimulus-response theory, as articulated during the Han, held that the actions of the ruler, or those at the apex of the political system, elicit “responses” from the cosmos, which take the form of portents. In an explicitly didactic mode of interpretation that clearly lent itself to political manipulation, moral failures on the part of the ruler were believed to bring forth the response of anomalies and disasters, including meteorological calamities, unusual animal behaviors or physiognomy, and other strange phenomena such as poetry anomaly (*shiyao* 詩妖) and ornamentation anomaly (*fuyao*).<sup>18</sup>

For further discussion of these concepts, see, among others, A.C. Graham, *Disputers of the Tao: Philosophical Arguments in Ancient China* (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court, 1989), pp. 315–70; and Wang, *Cosmology and Political Culture*, pp. 1–15.

<sup>18</sup> For further discussion, see Li Jianguo 李建國 and Meng Lin 孟琳, “Jian lun Tang qian ‘fuyao’ xianxiang” 簡論唐前服妖現象, *Wuhan daxue xuebao* 武漢大學學報 59. 4 (2006), pp.

According to several important texts that can be tentatively dated from mid- to late-Western Han through early-Eastern Han, anomalies did not emerge randomly but rather were specifically tailored to the type of misconduct to which they respond. Especially important materials in this regard are several chapters in *Chunqiu fanlu* 春秋繁露 (*Luxuriant Dew of the Spring and Autumn Annals*), which was traditionally attributed to Dong Zhongshu but is most likely a composite text,<sup>19</sup> and “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” 洪範五行傳 (“The Five Phases Tradition on the Great Plan”), an important treatise on Five Phases theoretics within the political realm that can be tentatively dated to the mid-Western Han period.<sup>20</sup> In each text, each phase (wood, fire, and so forth) is correlated with one of the “five areas of comportment for a ruler” as given in “Hongfan” – namely, *mao* 貌 (appearance), *yan* 言 (speech), *shi* 視 (vision), *ting* 聽 (listening), and *si* 思 (consideration). When the ruler failed to comport himself correctly in any particular area, Heaven sent warning-responses in the form of correlated anomalies.

427–28. See also Zhao Mu 趙牧, “Handai ‘fuyao’ toushi” 漢代服妖透視, *Liaoning jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* 遼寧教育學院學報 3 (1995), pp. 75–76.

<sup>19</sup> See discussion in Steve Davidson and Michael Loewe, “Ch’un ch’iu fan lu 春秋繁露,” in Michael Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide* (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993), pp. 80–82; Sarah A. Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon: The Hermeneutics of the Spring and Autumn, According to Tung Chung-shu* (Cambridge: Cambridge U.P., 1996), pp. 101–4; and Dai Junren 戴君仁, “Dong Zhongshu bu shuo wuxing kao” 董仲舒不說五行考, *Guoli zhongyang tushuguan kan* 國立中央圖書館刊 2.2 (1968), pp. 9–19. The “five phases” chapters, in particular, probably date to no earlier than the first century AD. See Queen, *From Chronicle to Canon*, pp. 101–2; and Dai, “Dong Zhongshu,” pp. 9–19.

<sup>20</sup> “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” presents itself as a “Hongfan” commentary, but its discussions of Five Phases and the correlations that it establishes between the phases and a ruler’s comportment move far beyond the purview of the “Hongfan” text. “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” was traditionally included in *Shangshu dazhuan* 尚書大傳 (*Great Tradition on Shangshu*), attributed to Fu Sheng 伏生 (fl. 2d century BC), but believed by most scholars today to have been put together possibly by Fu’s disciples sometime after Fu’s death – that is, sometime in the early Western Han period. On Fu Sheng and *Shangshu dazhuan*, see Huang Kaiguo 黃開國, “Jian lun Fu Sheng yu ‘Da zhuan’” 簡論伏生與大傳, *Chengdu daxue xuebao* 成都大學學報 2 (2000), p. 22; and Gu Ying 谷穎, “Qin boshi Fu Sheng shi lue kao” 秦博士伏生事略考, *Dongbei shida xuebao* 東北師大學報 6 (278) (2015), pp. 135–36. Other scholars, however, doubt the connection between “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” and the teachings of Fu Sheng, arguing that it was compiled generations later by a scholar or scholars possibly in Fu Sheng’s “lineage” but incorporating later teachings that were not expounded by Fu Sheng. Xiahou Shichang 夏侯始昌 (fl. 104–87 BC?), a scholar active at the court of emperor Wu of Han 武帝 (r. 141–87 BC) after Dong Zhongshu’s death, has been proposed as a possible compiler based on the *Hanshu* biography of a later *Shangshu* scholar named Xiahou Sheng 夏侯勝 (dates unknown), a younger generation member of Xiahou Shichang’s clan. See Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962; hereafter cited as *HS*) 27B, part 1, p. 1353. According to this argument, the main ideas expressed in “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” trace back to Dong Zhongshu, not Fu Sheng or his disciples. For further discussion, see Xu Fuguan 徐復觀, *Zhongguo sixiang shi lunji xupian* 中國思想史論集續篇 (Beijing: Jiuzhou chu ban she, 2014), pp. 64–71; and Wang Jiangwu and Gao Ruijie, “Dong Zhongshu ‘zai yi’ shuo zhi queli” 董仲舒“災異”說之確立, *Yunnan daxue xuebao* 雲南大學學報 15.2 (2016), pp. 39–40.

In “Hongfan wuxing zhuan,” the consequences of misrule are presented in a highly structured manner.<sup>21</sup> Each of the five areas of comportment is correlated with particular faults or errors (the “five faults” – *wu jiu* 五咎; in the form of imbalance in the social hierarchy and various manifestations of lack of deference shown by social inferiors for their social superiors); punishments (“five punishments” – *wu fa* 五罰; in meteorological form); ultimate plagues (“five ultimates” – *wu ji* 五極; in the form of widespread social or medical issues such as ugliness, grief, sickness, poverty, and premature death); and, if earlier warnings were not heeded, subtypes of anomaly categorized as *yao* 妖 (anomaly), *nie* 孽 (specter), *huo* 禍 (disaster), *ke* 疴 (disease or affliction), *sheng* 眚 (inner signs), and *xiang* 祥 (outer signs). These disasters would emerge in the event of failure in the area of comportment (phase/element) with which they were correlated.<sup>22</sup>

In the rubric of Five Phases/Five Comportments, appearance (*mao*) per se is correlated with wood (*mu*), and the natural and anomalous “responses” categorized under *mu/mao* in “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” can all be related back to *mu/mao* conceptually or through Five Phases correspondences.

When appearance (demeanor) is not reverential, this is what is known as a lack of respect. Its fault is wanton dissipation, its punishment is constant rain, and its ultimate is evil and ugliness.<sup>23</sup> At

<sup>21</sup> Ding Sixin has suggested that the order of the phases as presented in our current version of “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” might have been edited by Liu Xiang to fit the order of the *xiangsheng* cycle. He notes that, although “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” is ostensibly a commentary on “Hongfan,” it does not follow the order of the phases as presented in the earlier text. However, the *xiangsheng* order, which later came to be considered orthodox, was already in existence by the late Warring States and early Western Han and so could well have been used for the original structure of the treatise. See Ding Sixin 丁四新, “Liu Xiang, Liu Xin fu zi de wuxing zaiyi shuo he xin deyun guan” 劉向劉歆的五行災異說和新德運觀, *Hunan shifan daxue shehui kexue xuebao* 湖南師範大學社會科學學報 6 (2013), p. 108. Although *Chunqiu fanlu* also interprets anomalies as Heaven’s warning-response to the ruler’s misconduct in one or more areas of comportment, the warnings/anomalies described are different. See Su Yu 蘇輿, *Chunqiu fanlu yi zheng* 春秋繁露義證 (Beijing: Zhonghua shujia, 2010) 14, pp. 387–89 (“Wuxing wushi” 五行五事 chapter).

<sup>22</sup> For a useful table and further discussion of *wuxing*, *wushi*, and attendant correlations, see Zhang Bing 張兵, “Fu Sheng ‘Hongfan wuxing zhuan’ dui ‘wuxing xueshuo’ de xishou yu yingyong” 伏生“洪範五行傳”對“五行學說”的吸收與應用, *Kongzi yanjiu* 孔子研究 5 (2004), pp. 40–42.

<sup>23</sup> The original “Hongfan” chapter identifies “seasonal rain” (*shi yu* 時雨) as the favorable verification of “respect” (*su*), while the unfavorable verification, literally, the “faulting verification” (*jiu zheng* 咎徵), is “wanton dissipation” (*kuang* 狂), characterized by “constant rain” (*heng yu* 恆雨). Zheng Xuan’s 鄭玄 (127–200) commentary to “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” emphasizes the correlative associations of *mu*, in particular, spring (*chun* 春) as the season of wood and green (*qing* 青) as its color. He explains the advent of constant rain in terms of these correlations: “Appearance/demeanor (*mao*) is called wood (*mu*). Wood governs the spring, and the *qi* (vital essence) of spring is birth (*sheng* 生). When the birth *qi* is lost, it transgresses its

this time, there will appear *fuyao*; at this time, there will appear *guinie* [the tortoise specter]; at this time, there will appear *jihuo* [the fowl disaster].<sup>24</sup> At this time, there will manifest the affliction of the lower body [parts] growing upward on the body;<sup>25</sup> at this time, there will be inner and outer green harbingers of disaster.<sup>26</sup> Only metal destroys wood.<sup>27</sup> 貌之不恭，是謂不肅，厥咎狂，厥罰恆雨，厥極惡。時則有服妖，時則有龜孽，時則有雞禍，時則有下體生上之病，時則有青眚青祥。唯金沴木。<sup>28</sup>

Improper *mao* indicates the looming threat of socio-political disaster and elicits warnings from Heaven/the cosmos. Outer appearance or demeanor, mediated through anomalous, abnormal, and troubling events, creatures, and behaviors, emerges as a manifestation of inner disorder. Appearance, if correctly understood, is thus presented as a reliable barometer of inner nature.

Historical works produced during the Han and later periods bear witness to the burgeoning influence of these systems of moral-cosmic thought among a segment of elite historians, writers, and thinkers. The “Wuxing zhi” (“Treatise on the Five Phases”) of *Hanshu*, completed

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proper period, leading to constant rain 貌曰木，木主春，春氣生。生氣失，則踰其節，故常雨也。” Likewise, “when the birth *qi* is lost, it becomes evil and ugliness in people 生氣失，故於人則爲惡。” *Shang shu dazhuan* 尚書大傳, ed. Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937; hereafter cited as *SSDZ*) j. 2, p. 64.

<sup>24</sup> *Guinie* and *jihuo* are strange occurrences involving, respectively, tortoises and fowl, which indicate imbalance or disorder. *Guinie* examples include objects transforming into tortoises, anatomically unusual tortoises, and the tortoise as a haunting spirit. See, for example, Shen Yue 沈約, *Songshu* 宋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974; hereafter *SgS*) 30, p. 891; Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 et al., *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; hereafter cited as *XTS*) 34, p. 880; Tuo Tuo 脫脫, *Songshi* 宋史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977) 65, pp. 1430–31; and Wei Zheng 魏徵, *Suishu* 隋書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973) 22, p. 631. Due to the connection between the tortoise’s shell and armor (*jia* 甲), *guinie* sometimes appears as a harbinger of war; e.g., *SgS* 30, p. 891, and *XTS* 34, p. 880. *Jihuo* sections describe anatomically unusual fowl and often appear as portents or expressions of perceived gender disorder; a classic and often seen example involves fowl spontaneously changing their gender because women have too much political power in the human realm; e.g., *HHS, zhi* 13, pp. 3273–74; Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., *Jinshu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974; hereafter cited as *JS*) 27, pp. 827–28; *XTS* 34, pp. 880–81; Tuo Tuo, *Songshi* 65, p. 1431; and Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, *Mingshi* 明史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 29, p. 477.

<sup>25</sup> According to Wei Zhao’s 韋昭 (204–273 AD) commentary to *Hanshu* (which incorporates the “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” passage), “when a bull’s hooves start to grow from its back, it is a harbinger of the disaster of subordinates attacking their superiors 若牛之足反出背上，下欲伐上之禍也”; *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1352.

<sup>26</sup> Zheng Xuan’s commentary to *Shangshu dazhuan* explains *qingsheng* 青眚 and *qingxiang* 青祥 (inner and outer omens that are green in color) by way of green’s being the color of wood; *SSDZ* 2, p. 64.

<sup>27</sup> According to the succession cycle of the Five Phases, metal destroys wood, as a blade might hack through a branch.

<sup>28</sup> *SSDZ* 2, pp. 63–64; also *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1352.

shortly after the turn of the second century AD, incorporates in full the above passage from “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” – the start of a convention that is repeated in many later histories.<sup>29</sup> In *Hanshu*, the passage appears in the treatise’s section titled “Mao xiu” (“Shameful Appearance”), the first of its kind in a dynastic history. The segment on *fuyao*, an anomaly defined and triggered by shameful or disrespectful appearance, is a subdivision of “Mao xiu.”

In “Mao xiu,” the quotation from “Hongfan wuxing zhuan” is followed by an extended explication of the passage that draws upon various sources to emphasize the congruity between inner state of being and outer appearance, or, in other words, the reliability of appearance (if properly interpreted) as a gauge of moral quality and cosmic (im)balance.

“When appearance is not reverential (*gong* 恭), this is what is known as a lack of respect (*su* 肅).” *Su* means respect (*jing* 敬). On the inside, it is called *gong*; on the outside, it is called *jing*. When, in the ruler’s behavior, his form and appearance lack reverence (*gong*), and he is dissolute and arrogant, then he is incapable of respecting (*jing*) the myriad affairs of government, becoming lost in wanton insolence; thus the “fault of wanton dissipation” (quoted from the “Hongfan wuxing zhuan”; as are the quotations indicated below). When superiors are scorned and inferiors are violent, then *yin* aura is ascendant [over *yang*], resulting in the “punishment of constant rain.” When water harms the hundred grains and clothing and food are insufficient, then depraved ways will be perpetrated; hence the “ultimate in evil and ugliness.” According to one interpretation, many of the people will be subjected to legal punishments and some will, as a result, have an ugly and repulsive form and appearance. This interpretation is also correct.<sup>30</sup>

貌之不恭，是謂不肅。肅，敬也。內曰恭，外曰敬。人君行己，體貌不恭，怠慢驕蹇，則不能敬萬事，失在狂易，故其咎狂也。上慢下暴，則陰氣勝，故其罰常雨也。水傷百穀，衣食不足，則姦軌並作，故其極惡也。一曰，民多被刑，或形貌醜惡，亦是也。<sup>31</sup>

The sense of social, political, and meteorological chaos associated with disrespectful appearance or demeanor is clear; the social hierarchy is torn apart as “superiors are scorned and inferiors are violent,”

<sup>29</sup> *Hanshu* was compiled by Ban Gu 班固 (32–92 AD), who took over the project from his father after his death, and was then finalized by his younger sister Ban Zhao 班昭 (ca. 49–120 AD) and others by around 111 AD.

<sup>30</sup> Punishment is cosmologically correlated with metal (*jin* 金) and the autumn season.

<sup>31</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1353.

and *yin* unnaturally ascends over *yang*.<sup>32</sup> In this context, *fuyao* emerges as an expression of the dissipation of customs and moral degradation: “When customs are dissipated and lax, people betray their virtue, and moral standards are corrupted, there will appear frivolous and strange clothing, and as a result there will be the ornamentation anomaly (*fuyao*): 風俗狂慢, 變節易度, 則爲剽輕奇怪之服, 故有服妖.”<sup>33</sup>

The nature of ornamentation anomaly, as a form of anomaly that emerges and acquires its meaning within new orientations to *mao* as a politically and cosmologically significant category, suggests the question of the relationship between *fu* and political-ritual structures more broadly, and between *fu* and *mao* specifically. The “Fu zhi xiang” 服制象 (“Ornamentation/Clothing Regulations and Symbolism”) chapter of *Chunqiu fan lu* articulates a place for *fu* (ornamentation or clothing) within the overall schema of cosmic balance and ritual comportment: “As for Heaven and Earth’s giving birth to the myriad things, it was done in order to nurture people. Therefore, those things that can be eaten are to nourish the body, while those that can inspire awe are adornment and clothing. This is the means by which rituals flourish 天地之生萬物也以養人, 故其可食者以養身體, 其可威者以爲容服, 禮之所爲興也.”<sup>34</sup> As noted by Li Jianguo 李建國 and Meng Lin 孟琳, the passage suggests that *fu* regulations, as an important component of ritual regulations in general, function as the outer manifestation of the power of Heaven and Earth. That is, sumptuary regulation comprises the visible, material form through which that power is encapsulated and expressed.<sup>35</sup> In glossing *fuyao*, Zheng Xuan further defined the relationship between *fu* and *mao*: “*Fu* is the ornamentation of *mao* [appearance] 服, 貌之飾也.”<sup>36</sup> *Fu*, as an extension of *mao*, serves as an important outer manifestation of inner morality or nature.

<sup>32</sup> As suggested by the “Wuxing zhi” passage, *yin* ascending over *yang* was seen as a dangerous sign of cosmological imbalance and impending disaster. For changes in the understanding of *yin* and *yang* in relation to gender and “appropriate” gendered behavior, see Lisa Raphals, *Sharing the Light: Representations of Women and Virtue in Early China* (Albany: SUNY P., 1998), pp. 130–93; Robert Joe Cutter and William Gordon Crowell, *Empresses and Consorts: Selections from Chen Shou’s Records of the Three States with Pei Songzhi’s Commentary* (Honolulu: U. Hawai’i P., 1999), pp. 26–34; Min Jiayin, ed., *The Chalice and the Blade in Chinese Culture: Gender Relations and Social Models* (Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1995), pp. 19–33; and Yenna Wu, *The Chinese Virago: A Literary Theme* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard U.P., 1995), pp. 20–29.

<sup>33</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1353.

<sup>34</sup> Su, *Chunqiu fanlu yi zheng*, j. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Li and Meng, “Jian lun Tang qian ‘fuyao’ xianxiang,” p. 429.

<sup>36</sup> *SSDZ* 2, p. 64.

Understandings of improper ornamentation – ornamentation or sumptuary self-presentation that is considered abnormal or “disrespectful,” or that does not match the expected socio-cultural identity of an individual or group of individuals – take shape as part of a sophisticated, comprehensive cosmic schema of political power, moral authority, and the consequences resulting from their failure. Turning from theoretical discussions to examples of *fuyao*, what exactly constitutes “anomalous ornamentation,” and anomalous hair or hair adornment in particular? How are narratives about headgear and hairstyle defined as or fitted within the rubric of *fuyao*? What and whose purposes are served by classifying certain behaviors and styles as *fuyao*?

Like other anomaly categories, although ornamentation anomaly (*fuyao*) was understood conceptually to be a warning from Heaven, *fuyao* discourse, as it is recorded in historical works, metes out judgment by retroactively identifying transgressive behaviors, which are considered the harbinger of political disasters. As noted by Li, Meng, and others, the advent of *fuyao* and other cosmological categories is linked to political manipulation, characterized by the use (or invention) of portents or anomalies to denigrate or support particular political figures or factions.<sup>37</sup> In the case of *fuyao*, unlike disaster categories involving bizarre weather or animal events, the anomaly inscribes failed socio-political control on the human body. The identification of specific hair-related behaviors as *fuyao* makes a powerful case for hair as a site of identity expression and policing.<sup>38</sup>

In some records, the hairstyle or hair ornamentation is considered inauspicious and dangerous due to some aspect of its inherent nature (i.e., shape, material, name, etc.). In other records, however, the actual hairstyle or ornament is less the issue than who is wearing it, who is writing about it, the period in which the critique is offered, and contemporary issues at play (for example, in the case of hairstyles that would seem to be common, to have a long history of usage, and/or to be mentioned without criticism elsewhere). In these cases, the identification of headgear or hairstyles as *fuyao* becomes a vehicle for the

<sup>37</sup> Li and Meng, “Jian lun Tang qian ‘fuyao’ xianxiang,” p. 427.

<sup>38</sup> Medical anthropologists Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock coined the idea of the “three bodies” – individual body-self, social body, and body politic – to describe levels of experience and definitions of the body. Body politic derives from Foucault’s analysis of sexuality and social control and refers to “the regulation, surveillance, and control of bodies (individual and collective)”; “The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology,” *Medical Anthropological Quarterly* 1.1 (Mar., 1987), pp. 7–8. Various scholars have applied their insights and the theoretical structure they pioneered to the study of hair; see Barbara D. Miller, “Afterword: Hair Power,” in Hildebeitel and Miller, eds., *Hair*, pp. 281–86.

communication of historiographical judgment, which is often related to the creation of contrasts between propriety and impropriety, contrasts informed by particular attitudes to history, social structure, and the political situation under discussion. Issues relating to gender, class, and ethnicity emerge consistently, as do certain emphases (such as the interest in caps and women's updos), but these hair-related objects and styles are clearly flexible and fluid cultural media that can be used to define certain sub-categories and offer cultural critiques.

IF THE CAP FITS: *GUAN*, HATS,  
AND OTHER HEADGEAR AS *FUYAO*

In 636 BC, Zizang 子臧, the younger son of duke Wen of Zheng 鄭文公 (r. 672–628 BC) and his principal consort née Chen, was intercepted and killed by assassins sent by his father in between the states of Song and Chen. Zizang had long been on his father's bad side; the fortunes of Zizang and his elder brother, the former crown-prince Zihua 子華, steadily waned as their mother lost favor and, in 644 BC, duke Wen executed Zihua 子華 for plotting against him. Fearing for his life, Zizang fled to Song, but was ultimately unable to avoid his father's wrath.

Told in bare-bones form, the story of Zizang's assassination seems to be a tragic though fairly run-of-the-mill tale of the vagaries of favor, rivalry, and antagonism within a royal family. However, *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 (*The Zuo Tradition* [on *Chunqiu*]) and, later, the *fuyao* section of *Hanshu*, include an interesting additional backstory on the enmity between the duke and Zizang. According to *Zuo zhuan* (24th year of Duke Xi 僖公),

Zizang, the younger brother of Zihua of Zheng, left his domain and fled to Song. He was fond of collecting kingfisher-feather caps. The liege of Zheng heard about it and despised him. He sent bandits to lure him into a trap. In the eighth month, the bandits killed him in the region between Song and Chen. The noble man said, "When clothing is not appropriate, it brings disaster to the body. As it says in the *Odes*, 'That man over there,/He does not wear the proper clothes.'<sup>39</sup> Zizang was not wearing the proper clothes! As it says in the *Odes*, 'I have brought this grief upon myself.'<sup>40</sup> Surely this

<sup>39</sup> The couplet is from the poem "Hou ren" 候人 ("Watching Officers") in the "Airs of Cao" 曹風 section of *Shijing* 詩經. The poem has traditionally been interpreted as voicing criticism against those in positions of power, whose clothes (the outer marker of their status) are not commensurate with their inner identities; they are unworthy of the positions which they occupy.

<sup>40</sup> The line is from "Xiao ming" 小明 ("The Lesser Brightness"), in the "Lesser Odes" 小雅 section of *Shijing*.

is speaking of Zizang. As it says in the *Xia Documents*, ‘Earth is at peace and heaven is complete.’<sup>41</sup> This is to be proper!”

鄭子華之弟子臧出奔宋，好聚鷩冠，鄭伯聞而惡之，使盜誘之，八月，盜殺之于陳宋之間。君子曰，服之不衷，身之災也。詩曰，彼己之子，不稱其服。子臧之服，不稱也夫。詩曰，自詒伊戚。其子臧之謂矣。夏書曰，地平天成，稱也。<sup>42</sup>

In discussing duke Wen’s alienation from Zizang within the narrative, in particular, the role played by Zizang’s caps, scholars have generally been somewhat puzzled.<sup>43</sup> Du Yu’s 杜預 (222–285 AD) commentary to *Zuozhuan* notes that caps made from kingfisher feathers (*yuguan* 鷩冠) were against the law (*fei fa* 非法), but does not explain further. The modern scholar Yang Pingnan has suggested that since Zizang had fled his domain and was living in exile, he should have been duly repentant and distressed, but instead was indulging in collecting unusual items.<sup>44</sup> The passage might make the reader wonder: why were *yuguan* not only illegal, but so apparently offensive that the text points to Zizang’s caps (as opposed to the other major familial and political tensions occurring at the time) as the driving force behind his father’s assassination of him?

In further investigating this issue, we may be aided by the adoption of another angle of approach: interpretations of *yuguan* as a sartorial item. In this vein, the version of the episode included in *Hanshu*’s *fuyao* section provides some further information. Yan Shigu’s 顏師古 (581–645) commentary to the passage states that kingfishers (*yu* 鷩) were able to know when it was about to rain.<sup>45</sup> Yan refers to a passage that he attributes to *Yi Zhou shu* 逸周書 (now more commonly known as *Zhou shu*),<sup>46</sup> which states that “those who are skilled in the patterns of heaven wear kingfisher-feather caps 知天文者冠鷩冠,” probably, ac-

<sup>41</sup> From “Da Yu mou” 大禹謨 (“Counsels of Great Yu”) chapter of *Shangshu*.

<sup>42</sup> Trans. Stephen Durrant, Wai-ye Li, and David Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition / Zuo zhuan: Commentary on the “Spring and Autumn Annals”* (Seattle: U. Washington P., 2016) 1, p. 385.

<sup>43</sup> As noted by the trans., *ibid.*, n. 341, it is not immediately apparent why collecting or wearing kingfisher caps was considered so detestable.

<sup>44</sup> See Yang Pingnan 陽平南, *Zuozhuan xuzhan de zijian jingshen* 左傳敘戰的資鑑精神 (Taipei: Wenjin, 2001), p. 426. Yang is cited in Durrant, Li, and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition* 1, p. 385, n. 341.

<sup>45</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1366. According to Yan Shigu, kingfisher birds (commonly called “*cui* 翠”) also were called *yu*, but the *yu* whose feathers were used to make caps is not the *cui* bird. Zhang Yan’s 張晏 (fl. ca. 1297–1320) commentary identifies the *yu* as a bird with red feet and a yellow pattern.

<sup>46</sup> The authorship and exact transmission history of *Zhou shu* are unknown, but scholars generally date the earlier core chapters of the text to the late-4th or early-3d century BC. Other chapters, however, are at least Western Han works, perhaps later; see Edward Shaughnessy, “I Chou shu 逸周書 (Chou shu),” in Loewe, ed., *Early Chinese Texts*, pp. 229–33.

cording to Yan, because of the *yu*'s reputation for being able to predict meteorological patterns.<sup>47</sup> Because of the association between the observation of celestial phenomena by court astronomers and cosmological calculation and insight, Zizang's penchant for wearing the *yuguan* thus might carry a deeper symbolic meaning relating to prediction or foreknowledge.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps his father interpreted the kingfisher caps as some sort of statement by Zizang against the duke, possibly even representative of Zizang's actual consultation of "those skilled in reading celestial patterns" in preparation to avenge his brother's death, or perhaps the *yuguan* was simply deemed overly extravagant or inappropriate for a person of his station.<sup>49</sup>

In terms of the construction of the *Hanshu fuyao* section, the inclusion of examples from *Zuozhuan* indicates the important relationship between Han *Chunqiu* scholarship and anomaly discourses in natural philosophy and divination concerning *yinyang* and Five Phases. Indeed, the *Hanshu* passage notes that "[classical scholar and bibliographer] Liu Xiang considered [this episode] to have been approaching *fuyao* 劉向以爲近服妖者也."<sup>50</sup> As noted above, during the Han, scholarship on all three commentarial traditions of *Chunqiu* was influenced by developments in cosmological and anomaly thought; *Chunqiu* scholars interested in these intellectual currents interpreted events recounted in the text in terms of the responsive relationship between Heaven and the human political arena. In *Hanshu*, the *yuguan* tragedy is given a second interpretation, which appears after Liu Xiang's judgment and which establishes the cap as just such a warning that emerges in the midst of broader developments in inter-state politics:

According to one interpretation, it [the cap episode] not only led to the loss of Zizang's life, but was also a warning to Duke Wen. Earlier, Duke Wen had failed to show respect to Duke Wen of Jin and furthermore had violated the emperor's orders and attacked

<sup>47</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1366. The passage about *yuguan* and weather prediction is also found in Xu Shen's 許慎 (d. 120 AD?) dictionary *Shuo wen jie zi* 說文解字; see Wang Guiyuan 王貴元, *Shuo wen jie zi jiao jian* 說文解字校箋 (Shanghai: Xuelin chubanshe, 2002) j. 4a, p. 157. *Shuo wen jie zi* attributes the passage to *Li ji*, but the term *yuguan* does not appear in the existing *Li ji*.

<sup>48</sup> E.g., eclipse prediction was important in projections of political legitimacy.

<sup>49</sup> *Hou Hanshu* and *Jinshu* both identify *yuguan* as a cap worn by dancers and musicians during sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, the Five Suburbs, and the Mingtang (Hall of Light); *HHS* 30, p. 3668, and *JS* 25, p. 769. The relevant passages are included in the *Yufu zhi* of each history, and *Jinshu* specifies that the wearing of the *yuguan* by dancers and musicians during sacrifices was a Han practice.

<sup>50</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1365. For further discussion, see Ding, "Liu Xiang, Liu Xin," pp. 109–10.

Hua, showing a lack of reverence for imperial authority. Afterwards Duke Wen of Jin attacked Zheng, and Zheng was almost destroyed. 一曰，非獨爲子臧之身，亦文公之戒也。初，文公不禮晉文，又犯天子命而伐滑，不尊尊敬上。其後晉文伐鄭，幾亡國。<sup>51</sup>

Zizang's inappropriate sartorial behavior is a microcosmic harbinger of political disaster, a warning that his father fails to heed, with tragic consequences.

#### GUAN, OTHER HEADGEAR, AND THE COMMUNICATION OF SOCIO-POLITICAL HIERARCHY

That, within the narrative, Zizang's law-breaking cap has the power to bring about his demise indicates the close connection between caps, other headgear, and societal-ritual hierarchies deemed key to social and political stability. The importance of the capping ceremony, or *guan li*, as a rite of passage marking a young man's reaching adulthood has already been noted above. Various early texts describe the critical role played by *guan* in the ritual, social, and political life of the upper classes.<sup>52</sup> The "Guan yi" 冠義 ("The Meaning of the Capping Ceremony") chapter of *Li ji* presents a Han-era reconstruction or reinvention of the idealized Zhou ritual and describes the capping ceremony as a time-honored cornerstone of ritually correct and meaningful social relations, the "first indications of the ceremonial usages 禮儀之始" that demarcate our humanity.<sup>53</sup> Caps (*guan*) are thus seen as the foundation of ritually grounded sartorial expression. Various types of *guan* were worn by both men and women, and, from at least the Han period, caps were necessary adornment for upper-class men engaging in important activities such as funeral and marriage rites, court business, and fasts. In addition, *guan* became, over the course of the Han, an important signification of class identity and position within the socio-political hierarchy. The wearing

<sup>51</sup> HS 27B, part 1, p. 1366. Duke Wen of Zheng had failed to provide asylum to the future Duke Wen of Jin when the latter was fleeing a succession crisis in his home state of Jin (under the influence of his consort Li, duke Xian of Jin attempted to assassinate his own sons). The ill-advised attack on Hua is dated to the 24th year of Wen of Zheng's reign (648 BC). The *fuyao* passage is incorporated into several later works. See, e.g., Qutanxida 瞿曇悉達, *Kaiyuan zhan jing* 開元占經 (Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou guji chubanshe, 1994) 114, p. 779; Chen Yaowen 陳耀文, *Tianzhong ji* 天中記 (Yangzhou: Guangling shushe, 2007) 47, p. 2b; Li Kai 李鍇, *Shang-shi* 尚史 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1983) 95, p. 8b; and Ma Su 馬肅, *Yishi* 繹史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002) 50, p. 1193.

<sup>52</sup> See Sun Ji 孫機, "Jin xian guan yu wu bian da guan" 進賢冠與武弁大冠, chap. 12 in *Zhong-guo gu yu fu lun cong* 中國古輿服論叢 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2001), p. 161.

<sup>53</sup> See "Guan yi," in *Li ji*, trans. James Legge, *The Li chi: Book of Rites* (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2003) vol. 2, pp. 425–26. For the reconstruction or reinvention of *guan li* by Han scholars, see Hardy, "Reconstruction of Ritual," generally.

of *guan* was restricted to the *shi* 士 class, and complex systems of *guan* ensured that, from the emperor on down, men's official position in the bureaucracy and social status were differentiated and communicated by the *guan* that they wore.<sup>54</sup>

Given the prevailing function of *guan* as a marker of class and status, it is not surprising that, in the corpus of writings about *fuyao*, *guan* most frequently appear in connection with the violation of status-related taboos, either by individuals or by groups of people. *Guan* were meant to impart the wearer's position in the socio-political hierarchy, to stand as an outer manifestation of status or class (conceived as part of the wearer's "inner" identity). Cap-wearing practices that subvert expectations – that is, when someone wears a cap that does not reflect their socially constructed identity – are considered in *fuyao* entries on *guan* to be a transgression of societal and cosmological significance. Discussions of *guan* as *fuyao* are prominent in *Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu* and suggest a view of *guan* as a mechanism by which personal ornamentation as an agent of political order is constituted.<sup>55</sup> The cap is intended to delineate the wearer's enforced hierarchical identity, and "incorrect" cap-wearing practices demarcate the chaos resulting from failed socio-political control.

<sup>54</sup> *Mianguan*, formal crowns worn during important ritual and state occasions, were discussed and given references in the notes, above. In general, a complex system of caps was attached to the civil and military hierarchies, but certain particulars changed over time, e.g., color scheme, style, pattern, and/or shape and the hierarchical position indicated by different designs. The restriction of *guan* to the *shi* class is famously described in the late-Han dictionary *Shi ming* 釋名 (*Elucidation of Names and Terms*), usually attributed to Liu Xi 劉熙 (fl. 200 AD): "*Shi* wear *guan*, and commoners wear *jin* (kerchiefs) 士冠, 庶人巾"; Wang Guozhen 王國珍, *Shi ming yu yuanshu zheng* 釋名語源疏證 (Shanghai: Shanghai cishu chubanshe, 2009), j. 15, p. 162 (15.18). During the Warring States period, men did not wear *jin* together with *guan*, regardless of other significant inter-state variations in *guan* style and wearing practice. See Gao, pp. 194–95. For most of the imperial period, beginning in the Han, *shi* wore *guan* on top of *jin*. See Dai, pp. 61–64; Gao and Zhou, pp. 26–28; and Zhao Gang 趙剛, ed., *Zhongguo fuzhuang shi* 中國服裝史 (Beijing: Qinghua daxue chubanshe, 2013; hereafter cited as Zhao), pp. 35–36.

For *jinxian guan* 進賢冠 (caps for the presentation of worthies), which were hierarchically distinguished caps worn by members of the civil bureaucracy dating back to Han times, see Sun, *Zhongguo gu yu fu luncong*, pp. 161–68; Li Tingzhi 李廷芝 et al., *Zhongguo fushi da cidian* 中國服飾大辭典 (Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin chu ban she, 1992; hereafter cited as Li), pp. 288–89; and Gao, pp. 206–10. For further discussion of this and other types of *guan*, see, e.g., *ibid.*, pp. 190–229; Dai, pp. 61–64, 87–90, 107–10, 137–43, 165–69, 186–88, 205–09, and 240–44; Gao and Zhou, pp. 1–2, 5–6, 26–28; Zhao, pp. 35–38, 54–56, 74–78, 97–99, 132–38; Huang Nengfu 黃能馥 and Chen Juanjuan 陳娟娟, *Zhongguo fu zhuang shi* 中國服裝史 (Beijing: Zhongguo luyou chubanshe, 1995), pp. 88–90, 132–35, 148–60; and Zhou Xibao 周錫保, *Zhongguo gudai fushi shi* 中國古代服飾史 (Beijing: Zhongguo xiju chubanshe, 2001; hereafter Zhou), pp. 77–79. For caps worn by women during various time periods, see, among others, Dai, pp. 142–43, 167–69, 186, 207–9, 243–44; and Ma, pp. 50–51, 72–74, 131–33.

<sup>55</sup> See Lock and Schepher-Hughes, "Mindful Body," pp. 7–8.

In *fuyao* examples involving *guan*, the taboo represented by the transgressive cap foreshadows larger forms of political chaos, such as civil unrest, rebellion, or foreign incursion – the same disasters associated with *fuyao* and anomaly in general. Both *Hanshu* and *Hou Hanshu* draw upon the intellectual and exegetical frameworks of anomaly as a response to political misconduct so as to explicate the nature of the *guan* as *fuyao*. The episode that follows Zizang's *yuguan* in the *Hanshu fuyao* section concerns Han prince of Changyi, Liu He 昌邑王劉賀 (d. 59 BC). Liu He very briefly succeeded his uncle, emperor Zhao 昭帝 (r. 87–74 BC), but only ruled for twenty-seven days before his reckless behavior led to his deposal by empress-dowager Shangguan 上官 and Huo Guang 霍光 (d. 68 BC), a powerful official and former regent for emperor Zhao. As emperor, Liu He was accused of flaunting mourning taboos and disproportionately rewarding the subordinates whom he brought with him from Changyi.<sup>56</sup> The way in which he relates to *guan* reveals how some perceived his unfitness for the position of emperor.

While still prince of Changyi, Liu He sent his attendants to Chang'an and for that purpose had caps made that were called *zezhu guan* 仄注冠 ("slanting cap"). Early commentators proposed various definitions for the cap. Ying Shao 應劭 (ca. 153–196 AD) glossed *zezhu guan* as the cap worn by judicial officials (*faguan* 法冠). *Faguan*, also known as *xiezhi guan* 解豸冠, were shaped like the mythical animal *xiezhi*, a goat-like creature with one horn that it used to impale criminals and/or the guilty parties in disputes.<sup>57</sup> Li Qi 李奇 (fl. late 2nd century AD?) thought that the cap referred to the *gaoshan guan* 高山冠 (literally, "tall mountain cap") given to clients and close attendants (*yezhe* 謁者).<sup>58</sup> Yan Shigu thought that the cap slanted to the side and had a downward-sloping brim.<sup>59</sup> This shape, contrasting with the usual *guan* that sat evenly atop the head, contributed to its identification as "unusual" headgear.<sup>60</sup> The improper behavior of Liu He in relation to the caps is, however, the main point of the passage: "He [Liu He] gave them [the *zezhu guan*] to the high officials, but also gave caps to slaves. Liu Xiang considered

<sup>56</sup> See *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1367, and 63, pp. 2764–71.

<sup>57</sup> See Zhou, p. 78; Li, pp. 297–98; Zhao, pp. 37–38; Huang Chen, *Zhongguo fu zhuang shi*, p. 89; and Zhao Chao 趙超 and Xiong Zairui 熊在瑞, *Yiguan canlan: Zhongguo gudai fushi xunli* 衣冠燦爛, 中國古代服飾巡禮 (Chengdu: Sichuan jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), p. 33.

<sup>58</sup> See *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1367, and 63, pp. 2764–71. Zhou, p. 78; and Li, pp. 297, 314, also seem to identify *zezhu guan* (written with the alternative character 仄) with *gaoshan guan*; *ibid.* has respective entries for *zezhu guan* (also written with the alternative character 仄) and *gaoshan guan*.

<sup>59</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1366.

<sup>60</sup> See Li and Meng, "Jian lun Tang qian 'fu yao' xian xiang," p. 430.

this behavior to be approaching *fuyao* 以賜大臣, 又以冠奴. 劉向以爲近服妖也.”<sup>61</sup> The entry goes on to describe Liu He’s reckless flaunting of mourning taboos – hunting, feasting, and partying even after he found out that emperor Zhao was ill. Liu He’s failure to grasp the importance of hierarchical distinctions augurs destruction:

Caps [*guan*] are honored clothing, and slaves are lowly people. That [Liu] He without cause enjoyed making unusual caps was a sign that violence would be done to the honored. That he gave caps to slaves signified that he would fall from the most honored position [the imperial seat] to the most lowly 冠者尊服, 奴者賤人, 賀無故好作非常之冠, 暴尊象也. 以冠奴者, 當自至尊墜至賤也.<sup>62</sup>

The prediction of Liu He’s ignominious fall from grace was, of course, borne out by historical events.

The *zezhu guan* was not the only cap to presage Liu He’s failure as emperor. According to the same passage,

When [Liu] He was a prince, there furthermore was seen a large white dog wearing a *fangshan guan* and without a tail. This was an example of *fuyao* and was also an example of the “canine disaster.”<sup>63</sup> [Liu] He asked chamberlain for attendants Gong Sui about it, and Sui said, “This is a warning from Heaven. It’s saying that those to the side [of the prince] (that is, his attendants) are all like dogs wearing caps (in that they fail to demonstrate the proper deportment and character required of their position). If you get rid of them, you will survive. If not, you will meet with destruction.” [Liu] He got rid of them for a few years, and emperor Xuan (r. 79–49 BC) enfeoffed him as one of the ducal princes. [But] later he committed grave crimes and, in death, was not able to occupy his proper position [because he had been deposed]. This was a further realization of the warning of the tail-less canine disaster.

Jing Fang’s Tradition on the *Yi* [*Yijing*] states, “When behavior is not appropriate, then a fault (or, warning sign) is that slaves wear

<sup>61</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1366.

<sup>62</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1367.

<sup>63</sup> *Quanhao* 犬禍, which I have translated as “canine anomaly,” is an anomaly category associated with the appearance of strange dogs. Canine anomalies are generally interpreted as ominous warnings related to political developments. According *Hanshu* by way of the classification scheme of “Hongfan wuxing zhuan,” *quanhao* occurrences are correlated with inappropriate or rebellious words (the *yan* or “speech” aspect of a ruler’s comportment): “When words are inappropriate/rebellious, then there will be canine anomalies and poetry anomalies 言之不從, 則有犬禍詩妖”; *HS* 26, p. 1311, and *SSDZ* 2, pp. 64–65. *Quanhao* also seems to have the power to cause physical harm, as in the case of the notorious empress-dowager Lü 呂后 (d. 180 BC), who became ill and died after being grabbed in the armpit by a mysterious and menacing dog: *HS* 27 B, part 1, p. 1397, and 97a, p. 3939.

caps [*guan*]. The world will be plunged into chaos. The lord of the household will be without descendants (sons of the first wife), and the sons of concubines will be honored.”<sup>64</sup> It also says, “When the ruler’s behavior is not correct, subjects will want to usurp his position. Then an anomalous dog wearing a cap will emerge from the court gates.”

賀爲王時，又見大白狗冠方山冠而無尾，此服妖，亦犬旤也。賀以問郎中令龔遂，遂曰：此天戒，言在仄者盡冠狗也。去之則存，不去則亡矣。賀既廢數年，宣帝封之爲列侯，復有皐，死不得置後，又犬旤無尾之效也。京房易傳曰：行不順，厥咎人奴冠，天下亂，辟無適，妾子拜。又曰：君不正，臣欲篡，厥妖狗冠出朝門。<sup>65</sup>

According to Deng Zhan’s 鄧展 (fl. third century AD) commentary to *Hanshu*, *fangshan guan*, literally, “square-mountain cap” (referencing their shape), were made of five-colored crepe (*wucai hu* 五采縠) and worn by musicians and dancers.<sup>66</sup> As suggested by Gong Sui’s interpretation, as in the account of how Liu He gave *zezhu guan* to slaves, the main issue is not merely or not mainly the inappropriateness of the sartorial item as such, but rather the mismatch between the cap and its wearer. In the episode, Gong Sui functions as the voice of wisdom, which is equivalent in the narrative to the mouthpiece of historical judgment of Liu He. The improperly attired dog serves as an ultimately unheeded warning to the prince about how the behavior and character of his subordinates need to be commensurate with their positions. As indicated by the quotation from Jing Fang, the passage expresses anxiety regarding the breakdown of the hierarchical structure, wherein each individual occupies a position commensurate to his or her status and talents, which is considered fundamental to societal order. The hierarchy is encapsulated, so to speak, in the *guan* – suggesting once again *guan* as a nexus of sartorial policing, cosmological interpretation, historical evaluation, and/or political criticism.

The strange spectacle of a cap-wearing dog reappears in the *fuyao* section of *Hou Hanshu*. During the Xiping 熹平 reign period (172–178

<sup>64</sup> Jing Fang was a prominent Han *Yijing* scholar and the author of *Jingshi Yi zhuan* 京氏易傳 (*Jing’s Tradition on the Yi*). He was also an expert in *Yijing*-based calendric theory, musicology, and computations; he is often quoted in *Hanshu*’s “Wuxing zhi.”

<sup>65</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1367. The episodes about Changyi’s inappropriate caps are incorporated into various later historical, cosmological, divinatory, and literary texts. See, e.g., Qutanxida, *Kaiyuan zhan jing* 114, p. 780 (for the *zezhu guan* episode); and Wu Shiyu 吳士玉 (1665–1733) et al., *Yuding zi shi jing hua* 御定子史精華 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshuguan, 1985) 127, p. 8b (for the “*guan gou*” episode).

<sup>66</sup> *HS* 27B, part 1, p. 1367. For *fangshan guan*, see Zhou, p. 78; Li, p. 272; and Huang and Chen, *Zhongguo fuzhuang shi*, p. 90. During the Tang, the cap was supposedly worn by recluses.

AD) of emperor Ling 靈帝 (r. 168–189), the emperor and/or those in the Inner Palace used to make a game of having dogs wear caps and ribbon-strings. Like *guan*, silk ribbon-strings (*shou* 綬) are forms of ornamentation associated with officials and stratified hierarchy; the silk ribbon-strings were fastened to an official's seal of office, with different colors used to designate different ranks. Against this context, "a dog suddenly emerged and ran into the gate of the offices of the Ministry of Education. All those who saw it were shocked 有一狗突出, 走入司徒府門, 或見之者, 莫不驚怪."<sup>67</sup> The passage is interpreted using the same Jing Fang passage (given above) that mentioned rulers' behaviors and cap-wearing dogs. Emperor Ling's later behavior was, as predicted, totally unbecoming his position of authority: he disproportionately favored the sons of his cronies, spent his days in revelry and dissipation, and, worst of all, began to sell official positions to anyone who could pay. The indiscriminate sale of offices created a dangerous disjunction between title in name and title in reality, as those who purchased offices were completely unqualified for the positions they bought. Of the office-purchasers, "the powerful ones were greedy like jackals and tigers, and the weak ones were basically all inferior, mediocre nobodies. They truly were dogs wearing caps 強者貪如豺虎, 弱者略不類物, 實狗而冠者也." The passage closes by quoting a "heavenly warning 天戒" about the dire risk posed to political and moral stability when many of the high ministers are not qualified for their positions (literally, "are not the people [they are supposed to be] 非其人." According to the warning, "Those in power today are all like dogs, so dogs run into their gates 今在位者皆如狗也, 故狗走入其門."

The mysterious dog wearing a cap emerges as a symbol of the disorder thought to result from the wrong people (animals) wearing the wrong adornment, or, in other words, discord between the wearer's socially constructed identity and their sartorial presentation. The *guan* (either specific types of *guan* or *guan* as a general referent) is an especially apt form of headgear to criticize breakdown in the social hierarchy, associated as it is with the formal ritual differentiation of socio-political status. *Guan*-wearing practices that violate gender taboos are also highlighted as dangerous in some passages. The *fuyao* section of *Jinshu* 晉書 (*History of the Jin*) describes a remonstrance submitted by prominent writer and official Fu Xuan 傅玄 (217–278) in which he decries sumptuary gender reversal (women wearing clothes intended for men and vice versa).

<sup>67</sup> *HHS, zhi* 13, p. 3272. The paragraph's following three quotations are from the same source and page.

One of the examples he gives is femme fatale of antiquity Moxi's 末喜 penchant for wearing men's *guan*, which he sees as a direct sign of the fall of her husband Jie 桀, last ruler of the Xia dynasty.<sup>68</sup> As a form of morally and politically charged sartorial expression, the *guan* communicates a particular perspective on socio-political stability, and *guan* as *fuyao* denotes the danger of failed sartorial control as socio-political control. *Fuyao* records about various types of caps, hats, or headscarves besides *guan* likewise emphasize the transgression of rules or customs pertaining to social status or sometimes ethnicity – people wearing headgear that is somehow inappropriate for who they are or who they should be. *Fuyao* entries from *Jinshu* and *Xin Tangshu* describe fashion crazes for, among other foreign-identified items, felt headscarves and “barbarian hats” (*humao* 胡帽).<sup>69</sup> In each case, the popularity of these articles presages an armed conflict or rebellion involving foreign individuals or kingdoms.<sup>70</sup> In terms of the transgression of hierarchical

<sup>68</sup> JS 27, pp. 822–23. The passage is also in Yang Shen 楊慎, *Danqian zong lu* 丹錢總錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu ban she, 1992), j. 7, p. 4a. *Jinshu* was a court-commissioned work, led by Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648) and submitted to the throne in 648. It drew on a variety of earlier privately written materials on the history of Jin, plus relatively more informal writing, such as *biji* 筆記 and *xiaoshuo* 小說; for a detailed analysis, see Nie Weimeng 聶微萌, “Jin Tang jian de Jin shi bianzuan: you Tang xiu ‘Jinshu’ de huisu” 晉唐間的晉史編纂, 由唐修晉書的回溯, *Zhonghua wenshi luncong* 中華文史論叢 2 (2016), pp. 47–70.

*Jinshu*'s *fuyao* section in particular, compiled by an expert in astronomy, mathematics, *yinyang*, and the Daoist tradition – Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–670) – draws upon or overlaps with passages found in *SgS*, *Shishuo xinyu* 世說新語 (*A New Account of Tales of the World*), compiled by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444), and *Soushen ji* 搜神記 (*In Search of the Supernatural*), compiled by Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 317–322). The considerable degree of overlap between the Tang *Jinshu* and *Songshu* “Wuxing zhi” suggests that the later *Jinshu* chapter was based on the *Songshu* chapter. However, the nature of the sources for both “Wuxing zhi” is less clear. The complex transmission history of *Soushen ji* prevents us from determining whether *Soushen ji* served as a source for some dynastic histories, or whether the text in its present form includes materials from other sources. For a discussion of the relationship among the “Wuxing zhi” of *Songshu* and *Jinshu*, *Soushen ji*, and other sources, see Yu Zuosheng 余作勝, “Tang xiu ‘Jinshu’ qu cai ‘Soushen ji’ yuanyin tanxi” 唐修晉書取材搜神記原因探析, *Ningxia daxue xuebao* 寧夏大學學報 30.3 (2008), pp. 82–83.

<sup>69</sup> See, respectively, JS 27, pp. 823–24, and XTS 34, p. 879. The *Jinshu* passage also appears in *SgS* 30, p. 887. *Xin Tangshu* was compiled by a committee of scholars led by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061) and was completed in 1060. Its “Wuxing zhi” was composed by Liu Xisou 劉義叟 (d. 1060), an expert in cosmology, calendrical studies, and *yinyang wuxing* thought. See Li Yifei 李一飛, “*Xin Tangshu* de bianzuan ren jikao” 新唐書的編撰及參撰人紀考, *Xiangtan shifan xueyuan xuebao* 湘潭師範學院學報 24.3 (2002), p. 78.

<sup>70</sup> The Jin craze for foreign items is dated to the Taikang 太康 reign period (280–289) of founding emperor Wu 晉武帝 (r. 266–290). This later reign period has generally been interpreted as setting the stage for later disasters: the emperor established as heir an intellectually weak son (future emperor Hui 惠帝; r. 290–307 AD), whose reign ushered in power struggles between regents and his empress Jia 賈 (257–300 AD), and then the “War of the Eight Princes 八王之亂,” a series of violent power struggles. This led to foreign incursion and the fall of the Western Jin capital Chang’an, with the flight of the court southward in 316 AD. The Tang’s fashion trend is situated in the early Tianbao 天寶 reign (742–756), which came to a violent

social divisions, *Xin Tangshu* also describes how, in the fifth year of the Qianfu 乾符 reign period (879), as the dynasty teetered on the verge of collapse, people in Luoyang made hats (*mao* 帽), which were “all the type of caps [*guan*] worn by military officers 皆冠軍士所冠者.”<sup>71</sup> As in the previous examples, the discrepancy between outer appearance and socially constructed identity or role is understood as a symptom or warning of socio-political turbulence – as recognized in the hindsight of the historiographical endeavor.

#### HEADGEAR THAT IS INAUSPICIOUS IN NAME OR APPEARANCE

In addition to hats worn “incorrectly” (that is, by an inappropriate socio-cultural actor or at the wrong time or place), the *fuyao* sections especially from post-Han periods are also deeply concerned with hats that, by nature of their shape, name, color, and/or relationship with other components of an outfit, presage political unrest or disaster. According to *Songshu*, at the end of the Jin a new fashion for wearing small *guan* (*guan xiaoguan* 冠小冠) paired with broad robes (*yishang boda* 衣裳博大) became popular. “The wise 識者” interpreted the style as a sign of usurpation, presumably because the disproportionately large size of the “lower” dress in comparison with the “upper” cap was thought to symbolize a subordinate usurping power from the ruler. After the restoration of order during the Yongchu 永初 reign (420–422), the inaugural reign period of the Liu–Song dynasty, cap and robe styles returned to normal – suggesting an interpretation of the Liu–Song as the bringer of stability.<sup>72</sup> Also in *Songshu*, the unusual way of wearing his black silk hat (*wusha mao* 烏紗帽) favored by prince of Jian’an Liu Xiuren 建安王劉休仁 (ca. 443–471), who was a son of Song emperor Wen 文帝 (r. 424–453), foretold the sad end to the prince’s life, when he was forced by the suspicious emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 465–472) to commit suicide.<sup>73</sup> Liu Xiuren pioneered a hat-wearing technique whereby he pulled out

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and sudden end in 755–756, when An Lushan 安祿山 (c. 703–757), a frontier general and former favorite of emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), launched an armed rebellion from his base near present-day Beijing. His forces took the Eastern Capital, Luoyang, relatively easily, and then marched on Chang’an. The rebellion led to staggering loss of life and permanently weakened the dynasty’s central authority. For An Lushan, see Liu Xu 劉昫 et al., *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962) 200A, pp. 5367–74; and *XTS* 225A, pp. 6411–24.

<sup>71</sup> *XTS* 34, p. 879.

<sup>72</sup> *SgS* 30, p. 890.

<sup>73</sup> Liu Xiuren came of age during the violent reigns of emperors Qianfei 前廢 (r. 464–465) and Ming 明 (r. 465–472). Before Qianfei’s murderous behavior led to his deposal, Liu, along with other imperial princes including the future Mingdi, suffered horrible abuses at court. During Ming’s late reign, the emperor became increasingly paranoid, supposedly leading him to order Liu, once a trusted aid, to commit suicide in 471. For Liu Xiuren’s biography,

the hat's skirt at the back 反抽帽裙 in a style known as the "Minister of Education's style" (*situ zhuang* 司徒狀), referring to the title held by the prince at that time.<sup>74</sup>

The *fuyao* sections of *Songshu* and *Jinshu*, introduced above,<sup>75</sup> find fault with the general, warlord, and Wei 魏 (220–265) founding figure Cao Cao's 曹操 (155–220 AD) creation of a new type of hat for court wear called *qia* 幘. It was made from sewing thin silk and designed to replace the styles formerly in use, presumably during the Han. Technically, the different colors of *qia* were meant to differentiate the rank of the wearers, but in practice the white *qia* (*bai qia*) designated for the emperor became the most popular among upper-class wearers of different ranks.<sup>76</sup> Cao Cao designed the *qia* with the intention of imitating *pibian* 皮弁, a style of cone-shaped leather hat worn in ancient times.<sup>77</sup> Moreover, the *qia*, promulgated in the wake of the economic devastation that accompanied the breakdown of the Han and subsequent warfare, were meant to be a cost-cutting measure and thus a visible communication of Cao Cao's performance of good government.<sup>78</sup> However, according to the *fuyao* passage, keeper of sartorial correctness Fu Xuan remonstrated that white was a military color and not appropriate for dynastic formal costume, while well-known Jin-era historian Gan Bao 干寶 (fl. 317–322) identified white as a sign of death and mourning.<sup>79</sup>

see Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Nanshi* 南史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975; hereafter cited as *NS*) 14, pp. 404–7.

<sup>74</sup> *SgS* 30, p. 891.

<sup>75</sup> See n. 68, above.

<sup>76</sup> See Gao, p. 233.

<sup>77</sup> For Cao Cao's imitation of *pibian*, see Dai, pp. 88–89 (on *pibian*), and 109–10; Gao, pp. 201–3; and Li, p. 279. Gao argues (p. 233) that, based on surviving archaeological evidence, the *qia* worn at the time were not appreciably different from regular *mao*; he suggests that the name *qia* derives from non-Han origins.

<sup>78</sup> Gao, p. 233, notes that Pei Songzhi's commentary quotes the "Biography of Cao Man" as praising Cao Cao's wearing of the *qia* to receive guests: it showed his unpretentiousness. For further discussion of the *qia* created and promulgated by Cao Cao, see Gao and Zhou, p. 18.

<sup>79</sup> *JS* 27, p. 822; also *SgS* 30, p. 886. Dai Zheng argues that *bai qia* were worn by military officers and the emperor (and by implication not by civil officials), but the identity of the intended wearers of the hat is not specified in the *Jinshu* passage. If this were the case, the remonstrance against *bai qia* would seem to have been directed mainly towards the emperor's use of it at court; see Dai, p. 110. Elsewhere in *Jinshu*, in the "Zhang Mao lie zhuan" 張茂列傳 ("Biography of Zhang Mao"), on his deathbed Zhang Mao (278–325) requests to be buried wearing his *bai qia*, instead of his formal court *guan*; *JS* 86, p. 2233. In the biography of famous poet and statesman Lu Ji 陸機 (261–303), Lu is depicted as taking off his military costume and donning a *bai qia* directly prior to meeting the armed forces who come to his residence to take him away for his execution on false charges; *JS* 54, p. 1480. Fu Xuan's remonstrance is incorporated into the discussion of *bai qia* found in Wang Shizhen 王世貞, *Tanzhou sibu gao* 兗州四部稿 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1983) 157, pp. 11a–b. For *Soushen ji* and the *fuyao* sections of *Songshu* and *Jinshu*, see n. 68, above. See Gan Bao 干寶, *Soushen ji* 搜神

The *bai qia* are thus considered inappropriate, inauspicious wear for an emperor holding court, a sign of the eventual forceful seizure of the throne from the Cao clan only a few decades after Cao Cao's death. In keeping with the theme of "*fuyao* by color," a passage from *Suishu* 隋書 (*History of the Sui*) likewise references the inauspicious nature of white ornamentation. The final emperor (*houzhu* 後主) of the Northern Qi 北齊 (550–577) liked to order the palace ladies to use white cloth to cover their foreheads, creating a style that looked like the mourning caps worn by women (*zhuaguo* 髮幘). This practice presaged the destruction of the Northern Qi by the Northern Zhou 北周 (557–581) in 577.<sup>80</sup>

*Nan Qishu* 南齊書 (*History of the Southern Qi*) describes several examples of headgear that were ominous because of meanings posthumously ascribed to their names.<sup>81</sup> During the reign of Xiao Zhaoye 蕭昭葉 (prince of Yulin 鬱林王; r. 493–494), the powerful general and minister Xiao Chen 蕭憺 (dates unknown) pioneered a new type of broad wind-hat (*fengmao* 風帽), which had a skirt at the sides and back of the neck for protection from the elements.<sup>82</sup> It was called *pohou mao* 破後帽 (destroying the rear hat) because it altered the traditional wind-hat by tying up the back skirt and letting it fall back.<sup>83</sup> The style and its name are interpreted as presaging Xiao Chen's complicity in Xiao Luan's 蕭鸞 (emperor Ming 明帝; r. 494–498) coup against Xiao Zhaoye – that is, Xiao Chen's betrayal and murder of his ruler, Xiao Zhaoye – as well as the violence done to the imperial family in the course of the coup and emperor Ming's assassination of Xiao Chen not long after.<sup>84</sup> Another type of hat, called *yiquan mao* 倚勸帽 (relying on exhortation hat)

記 (Shanghai: Shanghai gu ji chu banshe, 1998), pp. 76–90.

<sup>80</sup> Wei, *Suishu* 22, p. 630.

<sup>81</sup> *Nan Qishu* was compiled by Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (489–537) during the Liang 梁 (502–557) dynasty.

<sup>82</sup> Wind-hats, worn to guard against the rain and cold, covered the forehead, had side pockets or flaps that protected the cheeks, and could be tied under the chin. There were different styles according to class and gender.

<sup>83</sup> See Gao and Zhou, p. 20.

<sup>84</sup> Xiao Zixian, *Nan Qishu* 南齊書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974; hereafter cited as *NQS*) 19, p. 373. Xiao Chen killed Xiao Zhaoye in the course of the coup; see *NQS* 4, p. 74. For the biography of Xiao Chen, see *NQS* 24, pp. 745–47. According to *Nanshi*, the new type of wind-hat became popular among all segments of society and was worn by high-born and low-born alike; the violation of class-based sumptuary distinctions is identified as what makes the hat an example of *fuyao*; *NS* 5, p. 138. Li Yanshou, continuing the work of his father Li Dashi 李大師 (570–628), compiled *Nanshi* in the 640s and 650s. The history covers the period from 420 through 589 (Liu-Song through Chen dynasties). For later works that incorporate this episode, see Zheng Qiao 鄭樵, *Tongzhi* 通志 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1959) 12, p. 236; Chen, *Tianzhong ji* 47, p. 17a; Wang, *Yanzhou sibu gao* 157, p. 11b; and Chen Yuanlong 陳元龍, *Ge zhi jing yuan* 格致鏡原 (Yangzhou: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1989), vol. 1, j. 14, pp. 13a–b.

and dated to the late Yongming 永明 reign (482–493) of Xiao Zhaoye's predecessor emperor Wu 武帝 (r. 482–493), also predicted Xiao Luan's ascent to the throne; he was urged by his subordinates to formally proclaim himself emperor after he had already taken de facto power, so that taking the throne was only a matter of time 倚立可待也.<sup>85</sup>

Emperor Ming was succeeded by his son, Xiao Baojuan 蕭寶卷 (r. 499–501), the marquis of Donghun 東昏侯. Like Xiao Zhaoye, Xiao Baojuan was a young ruler who was accused of misconduct and assassinated by traitorous subordinates.<sup>86</sup> According to the *fuyao* section of *Nan Qishu*, the course of events surrounding Xiao Baojuan's deposal and execution, up through Xiao Yan's 蕭衍 (emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝; 464–549; r. 502–549) rise to power and establishment of the Liang dynasty (502–557), was predicted by a series of unusually named hats created by the young emperor's minions:

During the Yongyuan reign period (499–501), the Marquis of Donghun himself designed clothing for banqueting excursions. They were embellished with colorful embroidered brocades, such as were difficult to describe in full. Moreover, the Marquis's minions created four types of hats, each of which was given a name according to its style. The first was called, "Mountain magpies return to the forest." The poem [from the *Classic of Poetry*] says, "The magpie's nest, the virtue of women."<sup>87</sup> Donghun's favorites were licentious, so the magpies returned to their lush forest. The second was called "The rabbit crosses the pit," by which Heaven's intent was saying that there would come to pass a situation of a rabbit being driven out and chased. The third was called, "[Wings] tied behind its back, the yellow oriole cries out." [This is referring to] a small bird with a yellow beak. "Tied behind its back" is a response to one's hands being tied behind one's back. The fourth one is called "The phoenix crosses the Three Bridges." The phoenix is an auspicious sign, and Sanqiao (Three Bridges) was the residence of the Liang Prince.

永元中，東昏侯自造遊宴之服，綴以花采錦繡，難得詳也。羣小又造四種帽，帽因勢爲名。一曰“山鵲歸林”者，詩云“鵲巢，夫人之德，”東昏寵嬖淫亂，故鵲歸其林藪。二曰“兔子度坑，”天意言天下將有逐兔之事也。三

<sup>85</sup> *NQS* 19, p. 373.

<sup>86</sup> Xiao Baojuan was accused of frivolity, nepotism, and executions of those who displeased him; see *NQS* 7, pp. 101–8.

<sup>87</sup> The poem being referred to is "Magpie's Nest" ("Que chao" 鵲巢) in the "Airs of Shao" 召風 section of the "Airs of the States" 國風 in *Shijing* 詩經 (*Classic of Poetry*). The phrase "the virtue of women" is actually found in the Mao interpretation of the poem and not in the poem itself.

曰“反縛黃離嘍,”黃口小鳥也,反縛,面縛之應也。四曰“鳳皇度三橋,”鳳皇者嘉瑞,三橋,梁王宅處也。<sup>88</sup>

The roughly analogous *Nanshi* passage further emphasizes the opulence of the hats, which contained gold, precious stones, and hanging jade pendants. It also speaks of the marquis of Donghun's favoritism in bequeathing them to his minions and relatives.<sup>89</sup> Dai Zheng 戴爭 has identified the hats as examples of the white silk hats (*baisha mao* 白紗帽) mentioned as having been worn by Southern Dynasties emperors during private banquets. She notes that the hats' names may have referred to their shapes; for example, “The phoenix crosses the Three Bridges” had a raised brim and two wings, while “[Wings] tied behind its back, the yellow oriole cries out” was a round hat that tied at the back.<sup>90</sup> However, the *fuyao* sections emphasize the ominous significance of the hats' names, as opposed to their possible original logical genesis. The symbolism of the first and fourth hats' names is fairly straightforward. The second hat seems to create a metaphor for the marquis's having been driven from his position and chased to his death. Because of the subsequent explanation about birds, I have translated *huangli* 黃離 as its homophone *huangli* 黃鸝, that is, “yellow oriole,” but *huangli* 黃離 also means brightly colored clouds appearing near, perhaps assisting, the sun and, by extension, is a metaphor for the crown-prince.<sup>91</sup> The hat's name thus suggests the imprisonment and distress of the marquis.<sup>92</sup>

According to the *fuyao* section of *Nan Qishu*, Xiao Yan's deposal of Xiao Baojuan and ascent to the throne was also portended by changes in the styles of hat skirt (*mao qun* 帽褰) over the course of emperor Ming's Jianwu 建武 reign period (494–498) and into the rule of Donghun. Dur-

<sup>88</sup> *NQS* 19, pp. 373. Versions of this episode are included in various later sources. See, e.g., Xu Song 許嵩 (fl. 8th c.), *Jiankang shilu* 建康實錄 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2003) 15, p. 18a (following the *Nanshi* version); Zheng, *Tongzhi* 12, p. 241 (following the *Nanshi* version); Chen, *Tianzhong ji* 47, p. 17a; and Wang, *Yanzhou si bu gao* 157, pp. 11a–12b.

<sup>89</sup> *Nanshi* includes a variant version of Donghun's hats. Their number, the order in which they are introduced, their names, and their interpretations are slightly different from those in the *Nan Qishu* passage. The first and second hats mentioned are “Phoenix Crosses the Three Bridges” 鳳度三橋 and “Yellow Oriole with [Wings] Tied Behind its Back” 反縛黃離; *NS* 5, p. 160. The third hat is called *tiao mao* 調帽. It was inlaid with gold and jade and had images of peacocks and kingfishers. The meanings ascribed to the first two hats are basically the same as in *Nan Qishu*, while the *tiao* in *tiao mao* is taken as a sign of Liang emperor Wu's harmonizing of customs; *NS* 5, p. 161.

<sup>90</sup> Dai, p. 107. For a definition of *baisha mao*, see Li, p. 281. For more on *sha mao*, see Gao and Zhou, pp. 19–20. For the *wushao mao* 烏紗帽 (black silk hat) pioneered during the Eastern Jin and then worn by men and women, commoner and aristocrat alike during the Northern and Southern Dynasties, see Li, p. 274.

<sup>91</sup> See *Yijing*, hexagram Li 離.

<sup>92</sup> See interpretation in *NS* 5, p. 161.

ing the Jianwu reign, “*mao qun* covered the top part of the head/hat 帽褓覆頂” (that is, the skirt seems to have been flipped up over the top), but during the reign of Donghun, the style was considered inauspicious and was discontinued because the skirt, which properly belonged on the bottom, was at the top, auguring usurpation.<sup>93</sup> The discontinuation of the style did not negate its accuracy as a portent of events to come.

In contrast to certain *fuyao* records composed centuries after the period they discuss, the *Nan Qishu* entries indicate a fairly clear example of the use of *fuyao* accusations to denigrate a political enemy, that is, *fuyao* as propaganda. *Nan Qishu* was composed only decades after the period that it covered, during the Liang dynasty, which succeeded the Qi 齊 (479–502) after Xiao Yan defeated Xiao Baojuan in a civil war to take the throne as emperor Wu. Xiao Zixian, the compiler of the history, was a grandson of the founding emperor of the Qi and as such had a vested interest in demonstrating his alignment with the Liang version of the civil war.

It is significant that, in these entries, the anomalous nature of the *fuyao* examples is located in qualities intrinsic to the hats themselves – their color or name – or in style-related wearing practices, including how they are positioned vis-à-vis other articles in an outfit. Their identification as *fuyao* is less dependent upon their being worn by specific historical actors in specific circumstances. That is, no matter who wore the four hats pioneered by Donghun’s minions, the headgear would still be inauspicious. Our examination of caps and hats as *fuyao* thus suggests several categories of *fuyao*. Because *guan* serve as sartorial markers of social status, *fuyao* about *guan* frequently emphasize the transgression of class or status taboos, as social actors wear *guan* that do not match or convey their “true” identity. In other instances involving various types of hats, the ways in which people wear the hats likewise become *fuyao* because of who is wearing the hat or when the hat is worn – not necessarily because of the inherent nature of the hat itself. Finally, another category of hat-related *fuyao* deals with headgear that, as discussed above, is inauspicious due to the ominous nature of its inherent elements (color, name).

<sup>93</sup> *NQS* 19, p. 373.

TYING UP ONE'S HAIR: UPDOS, BUNS,  
AND THEIR ORNAMENTS AS *FUYAO*

The above categories reappear throughout the *fuyao* corpus and are instructive as we turn to other forms of hairstyling and hair ornamentation. As in the case of *guan* and other hats, the importance of tying up the hair in regards to traditional conceptions of hairstyle and identity enhanced the sense of transgression or danger associated with any perceived violations. Traditional hairstyles for both women and men involved tying up the hair in particular ways – including the use of certain techniques, materials, and types of ornamentation, all of which could be regulated based on the social position of the wearer. Archaeological evidence suggests that beginning as early as the Western Zhou (ca. 1045–771 BC) period different types of *ji* 髻 (solid buns) were standard for men and women, with greater variation by gender appearing during the Warring States 戰國 period (ca. 475–221 BC).<sup>94</sup> The significance of hair-tying as a marker of adult status and as employed in rites of passage is reflected in common phrases, such as “tying up the hair to become husband and wife 結髮夫妻” and “tying up the hair to follow the army 結髮從軍.”<sup>95</sup> Given prevailing attitudes to hair-tying, it is not surprising that a variety of *fuyao* records involve top-knots, buns, chignons, and other hair-arrangements applicable to both women and men. As in *fuyao* involving caps and hats, hair-tying and hairstyles condemned as *fuyao* are sometimes criticized for fostering or reflecting socio-political disorder in general, but are also frequently linked to the condemnation of specific historical figures.

In *fuyao* examples involving *guan* and other hats, the status of a hair-related behavior as *fuyao* is sometimes ascertained based on the disjunction between the “true” socio-culturally constructed identity of the hairstyle’s wearer (as understood by the historian) and the identity considered appropriate for the wearer of such a style. Records that treat hair-tying and hairstyling practice often identify styles as ominous or abnormal based on their inherent properties (such as shape, color, or name). According to *Jinshu*, for example, during Yuandi’s 元帝 (Sima Rui 司馬睿; r. 317–323) Taixing 太興 reign period (318–322), military officers used crimson pouches (*jiang nang* 絳囊) to tie up their top-knots or buns. Experts warned that some minister would usurp the ruler’s position because the top-knot, placed at the top of the head, was a sign of *qian* 乾 (heaven/ruler), while the pouch was a sign of *kun* 坤 (earth/

<sup>94</sup> See Gao, pp. 14–16.

<sup>95</sup> See discussion in Ma, pp. 1–2.

subject). Predictably, the powerful general Wang Dun 王敦 (266–324) rebelled and attempted to seize power.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, during the Taiyuan 太元 reign period (376–396) men stopped using *qiaotou* 峭頭, a kerchief or scarf for binding up their hair.<sup>97</sup> This was interpreted as a sign that the ruler lacked assistance and a prediction of the usurpation by Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) in 403.<sup>98</sup>

In these two cases, the improper ways in which men tied up their hair signaled transgression of a fundamental, male socio-cultural role (by Wang Dun and Huan Xuan) – that of the loyal minister or subject. The majority of *fuyao* examples involving hair-tying, hairstyling, and hair ornamentation, however, concern women's hair. In women's hair-dressing practice, typical basic formations include *ji*, *huan* 鬟 (hollow circular formations of hair), and *bin* 髻 (temple hair), plus numerous variations; these were often regulated by sumptuary codes. Within these broad categories of hair formation, there are also broad subcategories, such as *chui ji* 垂髻 (falling buns – worn low at the neck and/or down the back) and *gao ji* 高髻 (tall buns), and an inexhaustible variety of styles that fall into these categories. In discussions of *fuyao*, women's buns and updos are an especially dynamic site of transgressive hair, often appearing during historical periods that were retroactively identified as influenced by women's contravention of their “proper” place, for instance, when empresses or other women arrogated political power.

As suggested by the work of Jeanette Mageo, Julia Thompson, and others, women's hair functions as a gauge of changing values across various cultural contexts.<sup>99</sup> Anxiety regarding changing socio-cultural norms is often expressed in criticism or praise of particular hairstyles, which are seen to encode values such as tradition/rejection of tradition, stability/instability, chastity/promiscuity, morality/immortality, and so on. Criticisms of women's hairstyles as *fuyao* are especially prominent in the historical works *Songshu*, *Jinshu*, and *Xin Tangshu*, where accusations of *fuyao* are frequently used to communicate the compilers' evaluations

<sup>96</sup> *JTS* 27, p. 825. See also *SgS* 30, 889. Wang Dun only failed because he became ill and died before he could complete his armed rebellion. See also Gan, *Soushen ji* 7, p. 89.

<sup>97</sup> For *qiaotou*, see Li, pp. 312–13. This episode also appears in Qutanxida, *Kaiyuan zhan jing* 114, p. 779, where *qiaotou* is written as *qiaotou* 慘頭.

<sup>98</sup> *JTS* 27, p. 826. See also *SgS* 30, p. 883.

<sup>99</sup> Jeanette Mageo examines the individual, societal, and socio-cultural meanings attached to young women's changing hairstyles in late-19th and early-20th c. Samoa; Mageo, “Hairdos and Don'ts: Hair Symbolism and Sexual History in Samoa,” *Man* 29 (1994), pp. 407–32. Julia J. Thompson examines beauty salons and beauty culture in Kathmandu, focusing on women's participation in, transformation of, and sometimes resistance to prevailing ideas about beauty and feminine identity; Thompson, “Cuts and Culture in Kathmandu,” in Hildebeitel and Miller, eds., *Hair*, pp. 219–58.

of particular women historical figures, who are assessed to have been politically detrimental, and of political periods marked by the lack of a strong central authority. The hairstyles chosen by or attributed to individual women or groups of women can thus be understood within the overarching structure of hairstyle as a socio-political marker and *fuyao* as a mechanism of historical judgment.

In approaching these materials, we must keep in mind that various, possibly contradictory frameworks coexist simultaneously within a particular temporal or cultural context; the attitudes and assumptions that inform *fuyao* anomaly discourse are not representative or necessarily dominant for the period under discussion or the period of composition. Within the rubric of *fuyao* in particular, hairstyle and hair ornamentation function as signs with explicitly political meanings. The coding of various updos and buns as anomalous and inauspicious communicates assessments regarding political order and the evaluation of historical figures and events – judgments that often seem to exist beyond the nature of the style itself. Indeed, many of the women’s hairstyles identified as *fuyao* were in actuality quite common and seemingly not at all “anomalous.” This has been attested by both archaeological and textual evidence. In the *fuyao* sections, such styles are recoded and made strange so as to illustrate the moral-political judgments of the historian-compiler.

#### FUYAO, HAIRSTYLE, AND THE CONDEMNATION OF WOMEN HISTORICAL FIGURES

Several *fuyao* records are designed to condemn particular women historical figures through their preference for or creation of buns that are retroactively considered abnormal and ominous by virtue of their shape. In general, these anomalous updos are somehow uneven or imbalanced. The *fuyao* section of *Hou Hanshu* attacks Sun Shou 孫壽 (d. 159), the vilified wife of dictator Liang Ji 梁冀 (d. 159 AD). Liang Ji was the brother of two empresses who used his close familial relationship to the throne to control politics during the reigns of emperors Shun 順帝 (r. 125–144), Chong 沖帝 (r. 144–145), Zhi 質帝 (r. 145–146), and Huan 桓帝 (r. 146–168) – the latter until Liang Ji’s removal from power and execution in 159 AD.<sup>100</sup> An unusual bun is one of several forms of *fuyao* that are described as originating with Sun Shou and the

<sup>100</sup> Liang Ji’s sisters Liang Na 梁嬀 (116–150) and Liang Nüying 梁女瑩 (d. 159) were the empresses of emperor Shun and emperor Huan, respectively.

other women of Liang Ji's family and that were seen as embodying the clan's downfall.

During the Yuanjia period (151–153 AD) of Huandi's reign, women in the capital made "sad eyebrows," "weeping makeup," "falling-off-a-horse buns," "bending-waist steps," and "tooth-ache smiles." So-called "sad eyebrows" refers to eyebrows that are thin and arched. "Weeping makeup" refers to makeup that is smeared below the eyes, like the traces of tears. "Falling-off-a-horse buns" are buns that are off to one side [of the head]. "Bending-waist steps" are steps whereby the feet are not [directly?] below the body [that is, the woman is shuffling with her upper body bent over her lower body?]. "Tooth-ache smile" refers to [when a woman is smiling but] she looks as if she has pain in her teeth, and she is not completely happy. These fashions originated with the household of the General-in-Chief Liang Ji. [The fashions] took the capital by storm, and all of the people copied them. This was approaching *fuyao*.

Liang Ji was a second-generation general-in-chief (having succeeded his father) and was related by marriage to the imperial house. He had control over meting out punishment and reward and he almost endangered the dynastic altars of soil and grain. The heavenly warning says, "When the cavalry was descending to capture them, the women were filled with worry and sorrow, and they furrowed their brows and wept. The military clerks forcibly abducted them, and they bent their waists and spines and made their buns fall askew. Even when they forced themselves to talk and smile, they never again experienced actual joy. In the second year of the Yanxi reign period [159 AD], the entire clans [of Liang Ji and Sun Shou] were exterminated."

桓帝元嘉中，京都婦女作愁眉，啼粧，墮馬髻，折要步，齟齬笑。所謂愁眉者，細而曲折。啼粧者，薄拭目下，若啼處。墮馬髻者，作一邊。折要步者，足不在體下。齟齬笑者，若齒痛，樂不欣欣。始自大將軍梁冀家所爲，京都歛然，諸夏皆放效。此近服妖也。梁冀二世上將，婚媾王室，大作威福，將危社稷。天誠若曰：兵馬將往收捕，婦女憂愁，蹙眉啼泣，吏卒掣頓，折其要脊，令髻傾邪，雖強語笑，無復氣味也，到延熹二年，舉宗誅夷。<sup>101</sup>

Some scholars trace the origins of "falling-off-a-horse buns" (*duoma ji* 墮馬髻) further back to the Western Han reign of emperor Wu, but

<sup>101</sup> HHS, *zhi* 13, pp. 3270–71. The passage seems to have first appeared in Ying Shao's 應劭 (140–206 AD) *Feng su tong yi* 風俗通義, but the latter's "Fuyao" section was lost by the Northern Song period; scholars have reconstructed it using various sources, including *Hou Hanshu*. See Ying Shao, *Feng su tong yi jiao zhu* 風俗通義校注 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2010), vol. 2, "Yiwen 佚文," p. 567. For further discussion, see "Preface" in *ibid.*, vol. 1.

by far the most popular and appealing story involves the invention of the style by the women of Liang Ji's family in the 150s.<sup>102</sup> According to this narrative, the styles created by the women visually foreshadow or mimic the actual appearances and emotions that they experienced several years later, after the fall of Liang Ji and destruction of his clan: sad, weeping, and disgraced.<sup>103</sup>

In exploring the reasons why the styles associated with Liang Ji's household are identified as *fuyao*, Li Jianguo, Meng Lin, and other scholars point to their novelty, in particular, their difference from the typical styles worn by upper-class women at the time. Unlike the traditional bun worn high atop the center of the head, *duoma ji* were worn low, cascading on the back, with a section of hair falling off to one side – that is, as if the wearer had just fallen off a horse and caused her bun to fall back and down. The thin, arched “sad eyebrows” likewise departed from traditional broad eyebrows, so that, together, the innovative styles created a new model of womanly beauty, one that Li and Meng describe as more delicate and charming than previous looks.<sup>104</sup> As noted by scholars including Li, Meng, and Dai Zheng, the condemnation of *duoma ji* as *fuyao* reflects conservative judgment on new styles, but this judgment was, historically, very much in the minority; *duoma ji* would remain, with variations, a very popular style into the Qing dynasty.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>102</sup> See discussion in Gao, pp. 22–23, who, based on archaeological and textual evidence, argues that *duoma ji* were popular during the Western Han period, not the later period when Liang Ji and Sun Shou dominated the court. See also Gao and Zhou, p. 71; and Ma, p. 28. For a definition of *duoma ji*, see Li, p. 318. *Duoma ji* are also referred to in some sources as *Liang jia ji* 梁家髻 (Liang-family buns); *ibid.*, p. 310.

<sup>103</sup> The order of Sun Shou's downfall and her creation of *duoma ji* and the other fashions is not entirely clear. Some scholars, including Gao Chunming and Ma Dayong, suggest, based on the passage above, that legend credits Sun Shou and the women of the Liang clan with creating the new styles after the fall from power of Shou and her husband; Gao, p. 22; and Ma, p. 33. However, the account of the fashions' genesis given in Liang Ji's biography in *Hou Hanshu* indicates that Sun Shou enjoyed making unusual fashions, and there is no clear indication that the styles were created after her fall from power. I have therefore taken the passage from the *fuyao* section above as an example of the “warning–response” model so popular in portent and anomaly discourse, whereby an ominous sign appears (in this case, the unusual styles created by Sun Shou and the Liang women), and later its disastrous “response” is identified (the appearance of the Liang-family women after the downfall of their clan, as described by the “heavenly warning”).

<sup>104</sup> Liand Meng, “Jian lun Tang qian ‘fu yao’ xian xiang,” p. 428. See also Gao and Zhou, p. 71.

<sup>105</sup> See Li and Meng, “Jian lun Tang qian ‘fu yao’ xian xiang,” p. 428; Zhou, p. 105; Dai, p. 85; and Yuan Jieying 袁傑英, *Zhongguo lidai fushi shi* 中國歷代服飾史 (Beijing: Gaodeng jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994), p. 246. For later variations on the style in the Tang and Ming periods, see Zhou, pp. 216 and 417; and Ma, pp. 64–65 and 117–18. According to Zhao Gang, *duoma ji* were popular for a period of time during the Han but not seen later; most scholars identify versions of it at various points after the Han, and it is also referenced in poetry and

Whereas the image of *duoma ji* as an example of *fuyao* connected to the fall from power of its creators does not seem to have affected the popularity of the style itself, the condemnation of the women who invented it did stick in the literary-historical memory. The *fuyao* passage criticizes the fashions favored by women in the capital and originating with the “household of general-in-chief Liang Ji,” but does not mention by name the woman against whom it is most specifically taking aim, that is, Liang Ji’s censured wife Sun Shou. The description of the unusual fashions included in the *Hou Hanshu* “Wuxing zhi” also appears in Liang Ji’s biography, in a passage recounting Ji’s rise to power and the subsequent increases in rank and wealth for his sons and especially Sun Shou. According to the biography, “Shou was seductive and beautiful and good at making bewitching and strange appearances. She made ‘sad eyebrows,’ ‘weeping makeup,’ ‘falling-off-a-horse buns,’ ‘bending-waist steps,’ and ‘tooth-ache smiles’ in order to beguile and enchant 壽色美而善爲妖態，作愁眉，嚬髭，墮馬髻，折胷步，齟齬笑，以爲媚惑。”<sup>106</sup> Liang Ji is accused of sumptuary transgressions that are equally offensive as his wife’s, in particular, changing the rules governing carriages and dress for officials.<sup>107</sup> But, in this passage, it is Sun Shou who emerges as the more daunting figure: “Shou was by nature fiercely jealous and able to control Ji. Ji greatly favored and feared her 壽性鉗忌，能制御冀，冀甚寵憚之。”<sup>108</sup> Interestingly, a subsequent episode that seems to have been included in the biography for the purpose of illustrating this point about Sun Shou’s nature describes her brutal assault on a woman with whom Liang Ji had an affair – an assault that began, incidentally, with Sun Shou and her associates seizing the unfortunate woman and forcibly cutting off her hair.<sup>109</sup>

The rise of empress Jia 賈 (257–300 AD) of the Western Jin 西晉 (265–316 AD) was, according to *Jinshu* and *Songshu*, likewise prefigured by the advent of particular buns and bun ornaments, including hairpins.

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other literature; Zhao, p. 39. Gao Chunming argues that the *duoma ji* as worn during the Han were not seen again, but the term continued to be used to denote forms of low buns that to a greater or (mostly) lesser extent shared stylistic features with the original *duoma ji*; Gao, pp. 22–23, 46. For post-Han poetic tributes to *duoma ji*, see Zhou, p. 105.

<sup>106</sup> *HHS* 34, p. 1180.

<sup>107</sup> “Ji also changed the rules for conveyances and dress, creating screened carriages that were level at the top, low skullcaps, narrow caps (*guan*), kerchiefs that twist at the top, large fans that cover the body, and foxtail unlined garments (meaning that the back hem dragged on the ground like a fox tail) 冀亦改易輿服之制，作平上駟車，埤幘，狹冠，折上巾，擁身扇，狐尾單衣”；*HHS* 34, p. 1180. The transgressive sumptuary behaviors of Sun Shou and Liang Ji are discussed briefly in Wang, *Tanzhou sibu gao* 157, pp. 12b–13a.

<sup>108</sup> *HHS* 34, p. 1180.

<sup>109</sup> *HHS* 34, p. 1180.

The hallmark of at least some of these styles – what ostensibly demarcates them as *fuyao* – again is their ominous shape. Empress Jia controlled the throne in the last years of the third century as the regent of her intellectually disabled husband emperor Hui 惠帝 (r. 290–307 AD) before she was removed from power and executed. In the early 290s, she rose to power by out-maneuvering and defeating the clan of her mother-in-law empress Yang 楊后 (238–74), whose father, Yang Jun 楊駿 (d. 291), initially served as emperor Hui’s regent. During the years in which she held an authoritative role in the government, empress Jia built up her own loyal political group comprised of her relatives and other allies among the officials and palace ladies.<sup>110</sup> She has been universally condemned by the literary-historical tradition as a usurper and destructive woman whose rule not only created political turmoil during her lifetime, but also ultimately contributed to the Western Jin’s loss of its northern and central territories, culminating in the fall of Chang’an and the forced retreat of the remaining court to reestablish the capital at Jiankang.

In the *fuyao* sections of *Jinshu* and *Songshu*, the violence associated with the empress’s assumption of political power is graphically manifested in the ornaments and hairpins favored by women during emperor Hui’s reign.

During emperor Hui’s Yuankang reign period (291–300), women’s ornaments included waist-pendants shaped like the five categories of weapons,<sup>111</sup> and they furthermore used materials like gold, silver, and tortoise-shell to fashion battle-axes and halberds and took them to serve as hairpins. Gan Bao explicated that, “The distinction between male and female is the great principle of the state. Therefore, their forms of ornamentation are of different types, and the gifts given to them as ritual respect upon meeting are not the same. Now women use weapons as ornaments – this is an extreme form of women’s anomaly (*furen yao*). As a result, soon after came empress Jia’s affair [her assumption of power]. In the end, the dynasty fell.” At that time, when women had finished

<sup>110</sup> Empress Jia’s main allies included the official Zhang Hua 張華 (232–300), her cousin Jia Mo 賈模 (d. 299), her nephew Jia Mi 賈謐 (d. 300), her sister Jia Wu 賈午 (260–300), and a consort of emperor Wu named Zhao Can 趙粲 (d. 300); *JS* 31, pp. 963–64. For further discussion of Jia’s political career and posthumous evaluations in literary-historical sources, see Rebecca Doran, *Transgressive Typologies: Constructions of Gender and Power in Early Tang China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), chap. 1. See also n. 70, above.

<sup>111</sup> *Wu bing* 五兵 (five categories of weapons) are usually given as *ge* 戈 (halberd), *shu* (spiked pole made of bamboo), *ji* (halberd with crescent blade), *qiu mao* (lance 2 *zhang* 丈 [about 4.6 meters] long, and 夷矛 *yi mao* (lance, 2 *zhang* and 4 *chi* 尺 long [about 5.5 meters]).

tying up their hair, they would use silk cords to tightly bind and pin up circlets of hair and called them *xiezi ji*. [This style] started in the palace, and the whole world followed suit. Afterwards empress Jia's removal from power and murder of the crown prince was the "response" to this.

惠帝元康中，婦人之飾有五兵佩，又以金銀瑇瑁之屬，爲斧鉞戈戟，以當笄。干寶以爲“男女之別，國之大節，故服物異等，輦幣不同。今婦人而以兵器爲飾，此婦人妖之甚者。於是遂有賈后之事。終亡天下。”是時婦人結髮者既成，以繒急束其環，名曰攏子紒。始自中宮，天下化之。其後賈后廢害太子之應也。<sup>112</sup>

The denunciation of weapon-shaped ornaments as harbingers of war is fairly predictable. The couching of the ornaments' condemnation in terms of the disorder of gender norms is, for the reader familiar with historical-cosmological discourses, also not surprising, given the nature of the political disaster under discussion, that is, the improper arrogation of power by a woman.<sup>113</sup> In addition to graphically prefiguring political violence and invasion, the weapon-shaped ornaments chosen by women denote the symbolic appropriation by women of a traditionally male sphere (the military or martial) and signal interference by a woman in the "men's domain" of political rule.

Scholars have identified *xiezi ji* as circular formations of hair tightly bound by silk and held in place at the sides of the head, at the base and sides of the central, mallet-shaped bun.<sup>114</sup> Dai Zheng has noted that the form is attested in the fourth century AD in the area that now encompasses northeastern China and the Korean peninsula.<sup>115</sup> Archaeological and textual evidence suggests that, like the *duoma ji* associated with Sun Shou, *xiezi ji* were popular further south at the turn of the fourth century AD and remained so beyond the period of empress Jia's dominance.<sup>116</sup> As in the legend of *duoma ji*'s creation by Sun Shou and the women of her family, the identification of *xiezi ji* as *fuyao* in this context also seems related to the style's association with empress Jia, a condemned figure considered transgressive because of the perceived

<sup>112</sup> *J* 27, p. 824; see also *SgS* 30, p. 888, where the passage about the buns is separate from the passage on martial ornaments. See also Gan, *Soushen ji* 7, p. 80, and 7, p. 79.

<sup>113</sup> The *Soushen ji* passage is slightly different: "The distinction between male and female is the great principle of the state. Therefore their forms of ornamentation and food are of different types. Now for them to be women and yet take weapons as ornaments is an extreme anomaly 男女之別，國之大節，故服食異等。今婦人而以兵器爲飾，蓋妖之甚者也"; Gan, *Soushen ji* 7, p. 79.

<sup>114</sup> See Dai, p. 107, and Ma, p. 43.

<sup>115</sup> Dai, p. 107.

<sup>116</sup> For visual depictions of *xiezi ji*, see, e.g., Ma, p. 43; and Gao, pp. 33–34.

disjunction between her behavior or social position and her gender identity. Gao Chunming suggests that the name *xiezi ji* specifically references the empress's presumed murder of the crown prince. *Xie* 攬 can be translated as "to pick up," "to gather," or "to hold in one's lap," so *xiezi ji* can be understood as "holding-the-son-in-one's-lap buns" or "gathering-up-the-son buns."<sup>117</sup> Understood in this way, the style is an obvious example of foreshadowing and anomaly by name.

#### WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLES WITH INAUSPICIOUS SHAPES AND NAMES

The identification of hair-related behaviors or articles of ornamentation as *fuyao* is not a monolithic practice; rather, *fuyao* is defined by socio-political context or hierarchy; by the "anomalous" (unusual or ominous in some way) shape and/or name of the style itself; or as the convergence of several of these factors. In the case of women's buns and updos, inauspicious physical shape and portentous names sometimes appear in tandem to signal *fuyao*. Mentions of women's hairstyles as *fuyao* are especially common in *Jinshu* and *Songshu*, the *fuyao* sections of which, as discussed above, overlap. The Five Phases treatises in both works cover the fourth through early fifth centuries, a period marked by the turbulence leading up to the Jin's loss of its northwestern territories; the forced flight of the Jin court south to reestablish its capital at Jiankang in 316–317; and, later, the political disorder of the late Eastern Jin, including weak imperial authority, the usurpation of Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404), and, finally, the overthrow of the dynasty by the regent Liu Yu 劉裕 (363–422), who founded the Liu-Song. It is understandable that women's hair practices were interpreted later on as harbingers of foreign incursion, rebellion, and the tragic losses from political disorder.<sup>118</sup>

According to *Jinshu* and *Songshu*, during the Yongjia 永嘉 reign (307–313) women started to tie up their hair in extremely full, overflowing buns, so that they were too large to hold shape, and the hair would fall forward onto the forehead, making only the eyes visible.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>118</sup> An exception to the *fuyao* focused on historical developments or figures is found in a *Jinshu* passage that criticizes Wu 吳 customs, specifically Wu women's tying their hair so that "strands of horn-shaped hair tufts 鬬角? fell below their ears 鬬角過于耳." This was taken as an example of the loss of proper decorum 廉隅失中 in Wu customs in general, an issue that was also borne out in other uncouth behavior like slander. A certain Zhuge 諸葛 (otherwise unknown) attempted valiantly but seemingly not very successfully to improve customs through his "Discourse on Correcting Relationships" ("Zhengjiao lun" 正交論); *JS* 27, p. 823.

<sup>119</sup> *JS* 27, p. 825; also *SgS* 30, p. 886.

*Fuyao* records in both histories state that the appearance of this hairstyle paralleled the emergence of a type of a *qia* hat known as “*qia* without a face” (*wuyan qia* 無顏髻), later identified as a variation on the *bai qia* pioneered by Cao Cao.<sup>120</sup> The hats promulgated by Cao Cao were also known as *yan qia* 顏髻 (face hats) because they covered the forehead, and the *wuyan qia* earned its name because the style eliminated the part covering the forehead.<sup>121</sup> The interpretation of these practices offered in the *fuyao* section states that *wuyan qia* denote “shameful words 愧之言,” and buns that fall forward to cover the forehead denote “shameful appearance 愧之貌” – a clear evocation of the *yan* and *mao* areas of comportment, in addition to the obvious meaning of *wuyan* as “shameless.” Moreover, “to tie [the hair] in an overflowing manner signifies that the world has lost ritual [*li*] and righteousness [*yi*]. People indulge their desires to the most extreme point, leading to great shame 其緩彌甚者, 言天下亡禮與義, 放縱情性, 及其終極, 至于大恥也.”<sup>122</sup> Taken together, the changing customs are interpreted as foreshadowing the “great shame” represented by the failure of Jin emperors Huai 懷 (r. 307–311) and Min 愍 (r. 313–316) to maintain or recapture the dynasty’s lost northwestern territories.<sup>123</sup>

An example of *fuyao* that is dated to the late-Eastern Jin period echoes the concern with overflowing, full buns that used what was considered an excessive amount of hair – real or fake (“borrowed”).

During the Taiyuan reign period (376–396), princesses and women insisted on full temple hair and overflowing buns, and considered [these styles] the finest ornamentation. They used a great deal of hair, too much to be worn stably, so they would use wigs that they would first adorn when they [the wigs] were placed on a wooden frame [and after the wigs were styled they would wear them]. They were called “false buns” (*jiaji*) or “false heads” (*jia tou*). As for poor households, they could not afford [the wigs] and called themselves “headless” (*wu tou*) and borrowed “heads” from others. The style spread throughout the world, and this was also *fuyao*.

<sup>120</sup> *Wuyan qia* are included in the discussion of *bai qia* found in Wang, *Yanzhou si bu gao* 157, p. 11b.

<sup>121</sup> See *JS* 27, p. 825, and *SgS* 30, p. 886. The name *wuyan qia* probably refers to king Kang of Song 宋康王 (d. 286 BC), who, as described in “Song Wei ce” 宋衛策 (anecdote in *Zhan guo ce* 戰國策), wore caps that did not cover his forehead 無顏之冠 to demonstrate bravery.

<sup>122</sup> *JS* 27, p. 825; also *SgS* 30, p. 886.

<sup>123</sup> *JS* 27, p. 825; also *SgS* 30, p. 886; and Gan, *Soushen ji* 7, p. 86.

太元中，公主婦女必緩髻傾髻，以爲盛飾。用髮既多，不可恒戴，乃先於木及籠上裝之，名曰假髻，或名假頭。至於貧家，不能自辦，自號無頭，就人借頭。遂布天下，亦服妖也。<sup>124</sup>

The hairstyle consisted of an extremely tall central bun, created with the aid of false hair, which hung over to the two sides of the head. The Taiyuan example is one of several *fuyao* episodes involving some form of false hair, indicating, in a roundabout manner, the ubiquity of false hair in women's hairstyling practice throughout various historical periods.<sup>125</sup> Indeed, wigs, extensions, and hair-pieces have a very long history in China; their use is discussed and attested in archaeological evidence dating back to the pre-Qin period.<sup>126</sup> *Jiaji* come in a seemingly endless variety of styles and are known by various names based on the period in question and the style of the hairpiece, including *jiajie* 假結, *yiji* 義髻, *biji* 蔽髻, *jinguo* 巾幘, *jiuji* 髻髻, and *teji* 特髻.<sup>127</sup> Various scholars have noted that *jiaji* can be divided into two basic categories: those that incorporate the additional hair into the wearer's own hair and those that are a separate, discrete hair-piece.<sup>128</sup> Dating back to at least the Han, strict rules governed the elaborateness of the wigs and wig-ornamentation allowed to women based on their rank.<sup>129</sup> The long-standing tradition of false hair and its incorporation into the sumptuary code would seem to argue against a blanket understanding of wigs and other hair-pieces as *fuyao*. As in other instances of hair as *fuyao*, examples involving false hair must be approached contextually – what is important is who is wearing the false hair and the way in which the

<sup>124</sup> JS 27, p. 826. In *Songshu*, this episode is included in “Wuxing zhi” under the subheading “Yan zhi bu cong” 言之不從 (“Disobedient Words”), not the *fuyao* section; SgS 31, p. 903. For a more general discussion of wigs and false hair that incorporates this passage, see Hui Shiqi 惠士奇, *Lishuo* 禮說 (Taipei: Taiwan shangwu yinshu guan, 1983), j. 2, p. 45a.

<sup>125</sup> False hair is also described in a *fuyao* entry in *Xin Tangshu* that criticizes one of the most infamous femme fatale figures in Chinese history, honored consort Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (719–756). The entry derives from a work titled “Yang Taizhen wai zhuan” (“Unofficial Biography of Yang Guifei”); XTS 34, p. 879. See discussions in Gao and Zhou, p. 92; Chen, *Tianzhong ji* 47, p. 33b; and Wang, *Yanzhou si bu gao* 157, p. 13a. Zhou Xibao further notes that the tall bun style *feitian ji* 飛天髻 (buns flying to heaven) described in the *fuyao* section of *Songshu* seems to have been created with the aid of wigs and false hair; see Zhou, p. 156. For more on *feitian ji*, see Li, p. 266; and Gao, p. 32.

<sup>126</sup> See discussions in Gao and Zhou, pp. 87–89; and Zhao, p. 56. For false hair and wigs during the Northern and Southern Dynasties and during Sui and Tang, see Zhou, pp. 156 and 293; and Huang and Chen, *Zhongguo fuzhuang shi*, pp. 132 and 180.

<sup>127</sup> Zhao Gang identifies the type of false hair described in the Taiyuan example (*yuan huan qing ji*) with *biji*. See Zhao, pp. 56–57. For further discussion of the varieties of false hair, see Gao and Zhou, pp. 88–93 and Ma, p. 123. For more on *biji*, see Zhao, pp. 56–57; and Li, p. 331. For more on *jinguo* and other forms of wigs/false hair, see Gao, pp. 180–87.

<sup>128</sup> See Gao and Zhou, pp. 88–90.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., pp. 91–92.

style compares with a perceived “normative” standard (which is rarely defined with any degree of specificity).

The *jiaji* in the above example is one such style that is described as “overflowing” in implicit comparison with an unspecified standard of “regular” wigs and that appears as a harbinger of political disorder and bereavement. Soon after the emergence of the style, emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r. 372–396) passed away. According to rumor, he was murdered by his consort Zhang after he enraged her by joking that he should replace her, because she was getting old (she was approaching thirty).<sup>130</sup> Xiaowu was succeeded by emperor An 安帝 (r. 397–419), an intellectually disabled ruler whose reign was characterized by violence and disorder, as various rebellions ravaged the Jin regime.<sup>131</sup> According to *Jinshu*, “When it came time to dress the corpses [of the beheaded], they (the families of the deceased, or hired funeral directors) all carved wood and wax or tied grasses to make heads. This was the fake-heads’ response 至於大殮，皆刻木及蠟或縛菰草爲頭，是假頭之應云。”<sup>132</sup>

Like the political loss presaged by the inauspiciously named *wuyan qia*, the gruesome response of the beheaded corpses signals, in addition to the connection between transgressive style and political disaster, the power of words and naming in conveying or shaping impending doom. The importance of naming is also suggested by two examples dated to the late-Tang period. During the reign of Xizong 僖宗 (r. 873–888), palace women took to tying their hair up extremely tightly, and the style spread and was copied by the women of Chengdu and Shu. At the time, the style was supposedly given the ominous name of *qiu ji* 囚髻, or “imprisoned coils.”<sup>133</sup> Xizong’s reign was, of course, characterized by the outbreak of massive rebellions led by Wang Xianzhi 王仙芝 (d. 878) and Huang Chao 黃巢 (d. 884), and his rule marked the rapid disintegration of the Tang state as a viable polity. When Chang’an fell to Huang Chao, Xizong was forced to flee to Chengdu for several years. Likewise, at the end of the Tang, “women in the capital combed their hair so that the two sections of temple hair closely hugged the face. The shape was like *chuiji* (a popular form of bun shaped like a mallet, or *chui*).<sup>134</sup> At the time they were called ‘abandoning the home coils’

<sup>130</sup> Wei Shou 魏收, *Weishu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974) 96, p. 2104.

<sup>131</sup> Rebellions and insurrections were rife at the turn of the fourth century, and in 403 the warlord Huan Xuan 桓玄 (369–404) briefly usurped the throne.

<sup>132</sup> *JS* 27, p. 826. See also Ma, pp. 43–44.

<sup>133</sup> *XTS* 34, p. 879. According to Yuan Jieying, *qiu ji* were tied around the sides of the ears hanging down; Yuan, *Zhongguo li dai fu shi shi*, p. 248. See also Zhou, p. 217. According to Li (p. 277), the style involved tying the hair tightly at the base and then combing the bun at the top.

<sup>134</sup> *Chuiji* were shaped like the mallet used in clothes washing. They were worn low and

(*paojia ji*) 京都婦人梳髮以兩鬢抱面，狀如椎髻，時謂之拋家髻。” *Paojia ji* refers to a hairdo whereby women combed their hair up into a bun that was then secured to one side of the head, while the temple hair was styled into thin sections that closely hugged the cheeks.<sup>135</sup> Women at the time also favored colored glass 琉璃 for their hairpins and bracelets. These fashions all “approached *fuyao* 近服妖也”: “to *paojia* (abandon the home) and *liuli* (homophonous with *liuli* 琉璃 and meaning to be forced to leave home and wander) are both signs of having to leave the home and wander about 拋家，流離皆播遷之兆云。”<sup>136</sup>

#### THE AMBIGUOUS ANOMALY – THE CASE OF *CHUIJI*

The *chuiji* referenced in the previous example provide an interesting case that echoes issues discussed in connection with other styles, such as *duoma ji* and *xiezi ji*. *Chuiji* appear several times in *fuyao* records but, like *duoma ji* and *xiezi ji*, are well-attested, even common styles from at least the Han period on. There are many surviving visual representations of figures who have styled their hair into *chuiji*, and the style is also frequently described in texts without condemnation or with positive connotations, including humility and virtue.<sup>137</sup> The implications attached to *chuiji* are instructive as we approach an understanding of how hairstyles become *fuyao* – yet retain their popularity or other, more positive associations in different contexts.

*Chuiji* or an alternative term, *chuijie* 椎結, appear in various histories and other works, from Han through Ming, as a style worn by both men and women and sometimes linked with non-Han people or

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straight down the back. See Gao and Zhou, pp. 69–70; Li, p. 324; and Ma, pp. 33–34. For an explanation of the character *chui* 椎 in the context of this hairstyle, see Gao, p. 18.

<sup>135</sup> For more on *paojia ji*, see Zhou, pp. 217–18; Gao and Zhou, p. 77; Ma, pp. 69–70; and Li, p. 290. Zhou Xibao associates this style with *chaotian ji*, while Ma Dayong argues that *paojia ji* are a further development of an earlier style known as *yanji* 掩髻 or *boji* 博髻, in which temple hair was wrapped thickly to encase the ears (*yan* meaning “to cover” and *bo* meaning “rich” or “broad”).

<sup>136</sup> *XTS* 34, p. 879. This episode is incorporated into various other works; e.g., Bai Juyi 白居易 and Kong Chuan 孔傳, *Bai Kong liu tie* 白孔六帖 (Taipei: Xinxing shuju, 1969) 14, p. 4b (commentary); and Chen, *Ge zhi jing yuan*, vol. 1, j. 33, p. 15b, and 2, j. 55, p. 4a.

<sup>137</sup> According to the *Hou Hanshu* biography of virtuous recluse Liang Hong 梁鴻 (ca. 25–105 AD), when he and his wife, the beautiful and worthy Meng Guang 孟光, were first married, Liang Hong showed no interest because her style of hair and dress was considered ostentatious. Consequently, she changed to the plain *chuiji* hairstyle and wore *buyi* 布衣, which was a cloth dress associated with scholars not seeking office. Afterwards, husband and wife lived together in perfect accord. See Gao and Zhou, pp. 69–71; Gao, p. 18; and Ma, pp. 33–34. As Gao notes, this anecdote suggests that during this period *chuiji* was a popular, relatively simple hairstyle among Han women of various social stations.

influence.<sup>138</sup> *Chuijie* or *chuiji* thus often appear in chapters devoted to different foreign groups.<sup>139</sup> In some cases, the style is not linked consistently to any particular ethnic group or region, but seems rather to function as a general marker of the “foreign,” “western,” or “barbarian,” as in *Xin Tangshu*’s derogatory description of (soon to be deposed) crown prince Li Chengqian’s 李承乾 (618–645) zealous cultivation of a Tujue lifestyle: “Furthermore, he deputed several tens, perhaps up to a hundred slaves to study the [foreign] sounds and copied the barbarians’ *chuiji*. He cut silk into dancing clothes, and they performed long pole acrobatics and sword dance. The sound of drums beating was unceasing day and night 又使戶奴數十百人習音聲，學胡人椎髻，翦綵爲舞衣，尋橦跳劍，鼓鞀聲通晝夜不絕。”<sup>140</sup>

An interesting example of *chuiji* as sartorial marker of the barbarian other is furnished by the *Hanshu* biography of the general Li Ling 李陵 (d. 74 BC), who defected to the enemy Xiongnu 匈奴 in 99 BC following defeat in battle and went on to serve the Xiongnu khan. Several years after his defection, following the ascension of the child emperor Zhao, Li Ling’s former comrades, generals Huo Guang and Shangguan Jie 上官桀 (d. 80 BC), served as regents for Zhao and sent an envoy to visit Li Ling and try to convince him to return to Han. The envoy told Li Ling that his crimes would be forgiven, but Li Ling refused, stating that he had already become Xiongnu. His refusal is communicated in terms of his personal ornamentation and participation in Xiongnu customs. When the envoy sat down to talk with Li Ling and Wei Lü 衛律 (dates unknown; another former Han subject who had defected to the Xiongnu), “[Li] Ling and [Wei] Lü toasted the Han envoy with meat and

<sup>138</sup> Zhou Xun and Gao Chunming suggest that after the Warring States period the style was popular in the southern Chu 楚 cultural area, where there was a great deal of interchange between Han and Dian 滇 people. They note that early archaeological evidence recovered from Yunnan includes depictions of a female copper figurine with *chuiji* and also suggest that *chuiji* were popular among northern peoples. See Gao and Zhou, pp. 69–70; and Gao, pp. 18–20. For the possible connection between *chuiji* and the Yue and Dian peoples, see also Li, p. 324. In exploring later incarnations of *chuiji* during the Tang (discussed below), Ma Dayong also suggests that these styles originated in the kingdoms west of Tang and then became popular in the central Chinese cultural area; Ma, p. 56. Sarah Nelson suggests that the “mallet-shaped” hairdo is meant to refer to the top-knot style worn by Korean men. According to *Hou Hanshu*, Wiman, the founder of the first recorded Korean state, fled the northeastern Chinese state of Yan and, together with his followers, adopted the “mallet-shaped” hairstyle. See Sarah M. Nelson, “Bound Hair and Confucianism in Korea,” in Hildebeitel and Miller, *Hair*, p. 113.

<sup>139</sup> See, e.g., *HS* 95, pp. 3837 and 3863; *HHS* 86, p. 2844; Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2007) 53, p. 1251; *NQS* 58, p. 1009; Wei, *Suishu* 31, p. 888, and 83, p. 2766; Liu, *Jiu Tang shu* 76, p. 2648, 197, p. 5274, and 199a, p. 5340; *XTS* 34B, p. 1140, 80, p. 3564, 220, p. 6208, 221a, p. 6224, and 222b, p. 6230; and Tuo Tuo, *Songshi* 489, pp. 14091–92, 495, p. 14214, and 496, pp. 14238 and 14241.

<sup>140</sup> *XTS* 80, p. 3564. See the parallel passage in Liu, *Jiu Tang shu* 76, p. 2648.

wine, and they gambled and drank. The two of them [Li Ling and Wei Lü] were both wearing barbarian clothes and had their hair styled into *chuiji* 後陵, 律持牛酒勞漢使, 博飲, 兩人皆胡服椎結.”<sup>141</sup> Li Ling’s apparent comfort with Xiongnu ways foreshadows his response to the envoy: “I’m already dressed like a barbarian! 吾已胡服矣.”<sup>142</sup>

While perhaps of non-Han origin, *chuiji* seem to have been incorporated early on, from at least the Han period, into the repertoire of styles worn regularly by Han people (they also continued to be worn by various non-Han groups). When *chuiji* appear in passages taken as examples of *fuyao*, their usage therein suggests the ways in which *fuyao* examples can be constructed. In the passage on *paojia ji*, the involvement of the style in a *fuyao* example stems from the fashion for creating a *chuiji*-like bun combined with temple hair (*bin*) that hugs the face and is inauspiciously named (*paojia ji*, or “abandoning the home coils”) – that is, the plain or typical *chuiji* itself is not singled out as problematic. Another example from *Xin Tangshu* also suggests the contextual definition of particular hairstyles as *fuyao*. According to the passage, at the end of the Yuanhe 元和 reign period (806–820), women coiled their hair into mallet-shaped buns with hollow ring-shaped formations of hair on the sides 圓鬟椎髻.<sup>143</sup> They did not put ornaments on their temple hair, nor did they apply powder and rouge; they only used a dark lip balm, creating the appearance of mournful weeping. The buns are interpreted as an indication that the “upper [part] cannot stand on its own 上不自樹也,” perhaps suggesting overflowing buns or buns leaning off to one side due to their own weight. The political implication seems to be weakness on the part of the ruler, while the appearance of mournful weeping is, not surprisingly, a sign of sadness and concern.<sup>144</sup>

## CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The examination of headgear, hairstyles, and forms of hair ornamentation considered *fuyao* has suggested several subcategories of the ornamentation anomaly, as well as indicating how hair-related behaviors are fitted into the overall category of *fuyao*. In some cases, *fuyao* is

<sup>141</sup> *HS* 54, p. 2458.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> As noted above, Ma Dayong suggests that this style originated in the far west; Ma, p. 56. Zhou Xibao further notes that the popularity of this style during the period is attested in the poetic tradition, including works by some of the most famous masters of the Yuanhe period; Zhou, p. 217. For more on *chuiji* in the Tang and Ming, see Gao, pp. 20 and 46.

<sup>144</sup> *XTS* 34, p. 879.

defined not so much by the nature of the style or item itself, but rather by the way in which it is worn (who is wearing the style and when they are wearing it); the breaking of socially constructed taboos signals social disorder and political problems. In other examples, the nature of the style itself (its shape, name, or color) demarcates it as inauspicious and dangerous. The excessive or novel nature of particular hairstyles also elicits concern and consternation. Other examples combine these elements.

It is not surprising that headgear and hairstyle, as closely related as they are with the construction and communication of socio-political identity, would provide various examples of *fuyao*. In these passages, hair and headgear function as focal points embodying the subversion of sanctioned forms of self-presentation thought to presage or invite the response of socio-political disaster. In highlighting problematic examples of transgression, hair as *fuyao* provides further evidence of the important function of hairstyle and hair adornment as markers of class, ethnicity, gender, morality, and other fundamental aspects of individual and collective identity.

At the same time that hair-related examples of *fuyao* are illuminated within wider discourses of hair as a social and political sign, the highly contextualized nature of hair-related behaviors as *fuyao* raises the question of the purpose of their identification as such, which in turn touches upon the significance and guiding motivation of the broader category of *fuyao*. As a historical-cosmological category, *fuyao*, as it is applied to historical events and personages from the pre-Qin through Tang periods, represents an ultimately futile effort to define and police sartorial and sumptuary norms – an effort rendered even more futile by the fact that it is retroactive, an attempt to exert control over what has already happened. *Fuyao* examples are frequently structured or presented as warning-response narratives predicting particular historical developments, but, in their current form, they were actually recorded as *fuyao* after the fact – in some cases, possibly very much after the fact. Unlike examples from the Ming period discussed by Lin and Wu, which can be easily recognized as criticisms of contemporary practice, in dealing with the earlier period it is, in many cases, difficult to know whether: 1. the identification of particular items and sartorial practices as *fuyao* was originally used to criticize contemporary developments, and records of these criticisms were later included in histories on the period; 2. *fuyao* is invoked at the time of composition to describe past events; or 3. some combination of both, such as criticism of the past with a contemporary referent in mind.

Chinese historians' interest in identifying examples of *fuyao*, or in interpreting historical events in terms of *fuyao*, waxed and waned across different periods and historical compilations. Although the pre-Song period overall can be considered a high tide in the interest generated by *fuyao*, certain histories demonstrate special attention to *fuyao* as an anomaly that manifests as a warning of socio-political upheaval. In general, as Lin and Wu found in invocations of *fuyao* during the Ming, later historians utilized the same rubrics of transgression as established in the Han period, but applied these to different concerns and events. *Jinshu*, *Songshu*, and *Xin Tangshu* demonstrate a particular concern regarding women's hair practices, while the compilers of *Nan Qishu*, writing during the Liang, used accusations of *fuyao* to delegitimize the Qi, the immediate predecessor to the Liang.

The transformation of source material into *fuyao* – that is, the compilers' decisions regarding what should be included in the *fuyao* section of a given “Wuxing zhi” – is also worth considering where possible, in light of the subjective and contextual nature of assessing what is and is not *fuyao*. As we have seen, certain styles identified as *fuyao*, in particular various types of women's updos, remained popular and are described elsewhere without negative connotation. The discourse that identifies and defines *fuyao* thus operates according to its own particular dictates and goals. Scholarship on *fuyao* has suggested this from various perspectives. Ning Jiayu 寧稼雨, for example, has compared the *fuyao* section of *Jinshu* with *Shishuo xinyu* and discovered that the same sartorial items condemned in the *fuyao* section are praised in *Shishuo xinyu* as indicative of the wearer's positive qualities, such as high-mindedness, nobility, intelligence, and freedom from the follies of convention.<sup>145</sup>

*Fuyao* as a conceptual category merges prescriptive attitudes to sartorial regulation with a didactic orientation to history and history-writing. The present paper has approached these issues through the subset of *fuyao* examples involving hair and hairdressing practices. It remains to further studies to explore the full *fuyao* corpus in connection with broader frameworks surrounding self-presentation, the making of history, and personal and group identity.

<sup>145</sup> Ning Jiayu 寧稼雨, “*Shishuo xinyu yu Jinshu zhong ‘fuyao’ xianxiang jieshi*” 世說新語與晉書中服妖現象解析, *Shanxi daxue xuebao* 山西大學學報 31.5 (2008), pp. 12–18.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|              |                                                                                           |
|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Dai          | Dai Zheng 戴爭, <i>Zhongguo gudai fushi jianshi</i> 中國古代服飾簡史                                |
| Gao          | Gao Chunming 高春明, <i>Zhongguo fushi ming wukao</i> 中國服飾名物考                                |
| Gao and Zhou | Gao Chunming and Zhou Xun 周汛, <i>Zhongguo gudai fu shi da guan</i> 中國古代服飾大觀               |
| HHS          | Fan Ye 范曄 et al., <i>Hou Hanshu</i> 後漢書                                                   |
| HS           | Ban Gu 班固, <i>Hanshu</i> 漢書                                                               |
| JŠ           | Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al., <i>Jinshu</i> 晉書                                                |
| Li           | Li Tingzhi 李廷芝 et al., <i>Zhongguo fushi da cidian</i> 中國服飾大辭典                            |
| Ma           | Ma Dayong 馬大勇, <i>Yun ji feng chai: Zhongguo gudai nüzi faxing fashi</i> 雲髻鳳釵, 中國古代女子髮型髮飾 |
| NQS          | Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯, <i>Nan Qishu</i> 南齊書                                                     |
| NS           | Li Yanshou 李延壽, <i>Nanshi</i> 南史                                                          |
| SgS          | Shen Yue 沈約, <i>Songshu</i> 宋書                                                            |
| SSDZ         | <i>Shang shu dazhuan</i> 尚書大傳, ed. Wang Yunwu 王雲五                                         |
| XTS          | Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 et al., <i>Xin Tangshu</i> 新唐書                                             |
| Zhao         | Zhao Gang 趙剛, ed., <i>Zhongguo fuzhuang shi</i> 中國服裝史                                     |
| Zhou         | Zhou Xibao 周錫保, <i>Zhongguo gudai fushi shi</i> 中國古代服飾史                                   |