



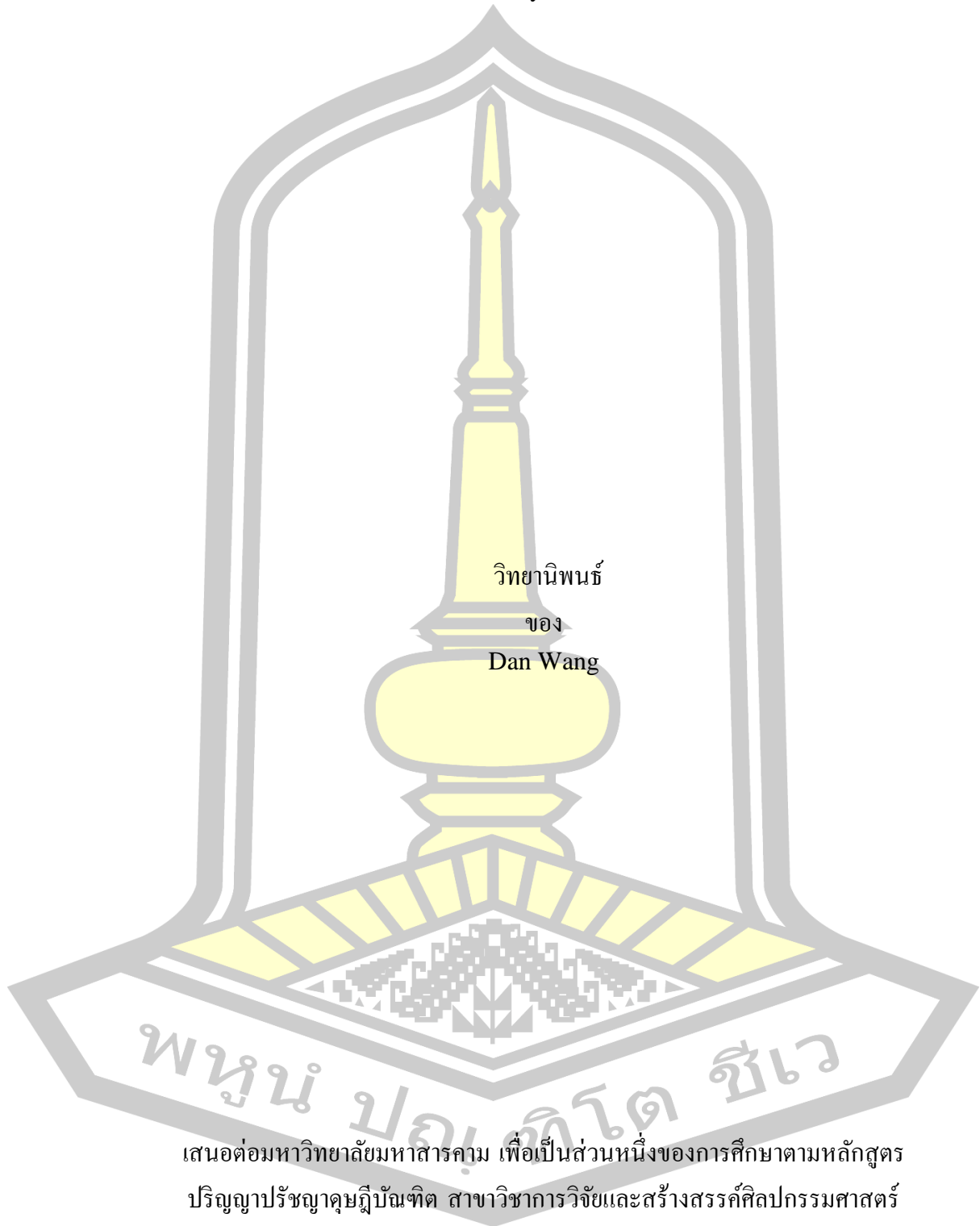
Wedding Dress of Tuyao at Hezhou: Bodily Practice and Rite of Passage of a
Minority in China

Dan Wang

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for
degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Fine and Applied Arts Research and Creation
January 2024

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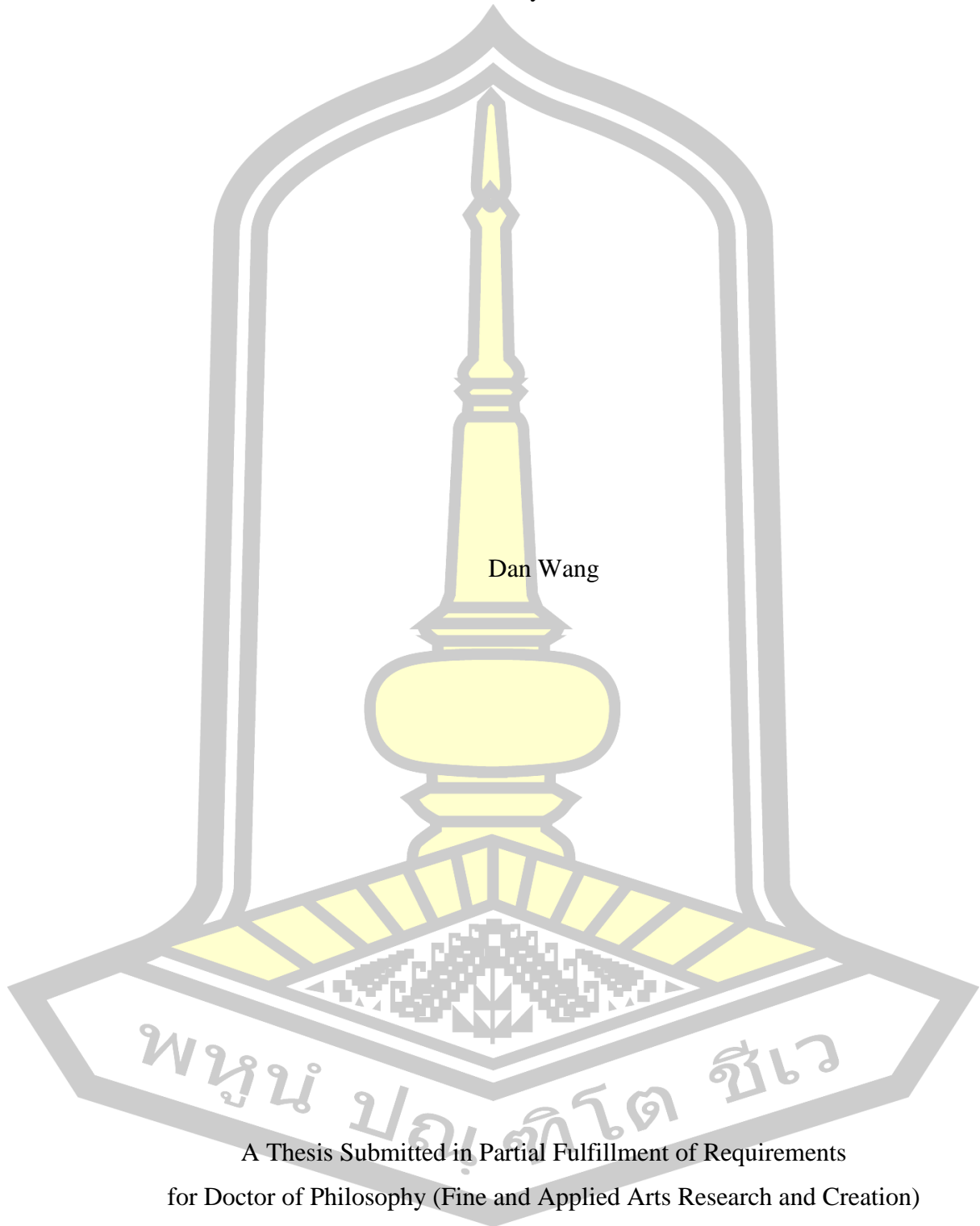
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เสนอต่อมหาวิทยาลัยมหาสารคาม เพื่อเป็นส่วนหนึ่งของการศึกษาตามหลักสูตร
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January 2024

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ABSTRACT

This study is a qualitative study. This study uses the following main concepts: Rite of Passage, Bodily Practice, Symbolic Interactionism. There are four research objectives, which are as follows: first, study the history of Tuyao nationality in Hezhou, the emergence of wedding ceremony and the development of wedding dresses; Secondly, study the ceremony process of Tuyao wedding from the dimension of Rite of Passage; Thirdly, study the Bodily Practice of Tuyao people in wedding ceremony; Fourthly, it analyzes the wedding dress of Tuyao from the dimension of Symbolic Interactionism.

Tuyao is a branch of Yao family in China. At present, there are only about 8500 Tuyao people in the world. Tuyao nationality in Pinggui District of Hezhou lives in the depths of Dagui Mountains all the year round, and is a relatively closed minority living in remote mountainous areas. Tuyao nationality created and developed its own costume culture under special living space and conditions. Moreover, wedding dress is passed down from generation to generation with the memory and change of wedding customs culture. Because Tuyao costumes not only participated in an important ceremony for the bride and groom, but also participated in the expression of Tuyao people's reproduction mode, ethnic beliefs and identities and values.

This study uses three concepts: Rite of Passage, Bodily Practice, Symbolic Interactionism to study and analyze the wedding dress of Tuyao. The bride and groom dress up to complete the whole process of the wedding ceremony, which is the traditional culture and social memory inherited by the Tuyao nationality in Hezhou through bodily practice for hundreds of years. "Wedding" is the most important "rite of passage" in Tuyao people's life. The bride and groom wear wedding dresses to attend the ceremony all the way, so wedding dresses become the main bodily practice. Through weddings, Tuyao people realize the transformation of identity and status, so ritual has become an important research context.

Tuyao couples wear wedding dresses and practice bodily according to the "wedding style" of unique social memory handed down. During the whole wedding

ceremony, all the ceremonial behaviors of the bride and groom are completed under the condition of wearing wedding dresses. For example, many people assisted in wearing wedding dresses, hundreds of people sent for marriage, the ceremony of telling ancestors led by Shigong, the ceremony of "blocking eight roads", the ceremony of "entering blessings", and the ceremony of toasting and offering tea at a long table banquet, all of which were completed under the condition of wearing wedding costumes. When all the performances are completed, the "rite of passage" of Tuyao people is also completed, and the bride and groom also complete the identity transformation and construct a new identity. Therefore, Tuyao wedding ceremony is one of the most important "Rite of Passage" in Tuyao people's lives. Therefore, to study the bodily practice of wedding ceremony is to study the practice of wedding dress.

This study also analyzes the wedding dress of Tuyao from the dimension of Symbolic Interactionism. As a passing ceremony, all the items appearing in Tuyao's wedding ceremony are no longer daily attributes, but become special symbols. Especially wedding dress, when it appears in the wedding ceremony field, it completes every link of the ceremony with every action of the bride and groom, and then helps the bride and groom to complete the identity change. Therefore, every component of it, from hat, chest ornaments, skirt to clothing color, etc., has become a unique and meaningful symbol. These symbols interact with different characters in the wedding theater in the ceremony field. Therefore, this study also analyzes the significance of each part of Tuyao wedding dress in the process of interaction with people from the dimension of Symbolic Interactionism.

The title of this study is - Wedding Dress of Tuyao at Hezhou: Bodily Practice and Rite of Passage of a Minority in China. To sum up, in my research, I studied the social and historical background of Tuyao, the emergence of wedding ceremony and wedding dress, studied the wedding ceremony process of Tuyao from the dimension of ceremony, studied the bodily practice of Tuyao people in wedding ceremony, and analyzed the wedding dress of Tuyao from the dimension of symbolic interactionism. Through the above research, this paper discusses the symbolic connotation of Tuyao wedding dress and the role and significance of the inheritance of Tuyao wedding dress to the development of Tu Yao culture, and puts forward how to protect Tuyao dress culture, keep the diversity of minority culture and explore the significance of minority dress culture in modern society under the background of national integration.

Keyword : Tuyao's wedding dress, Bodily Practice, Rite of Passage, Symbolic Interactionism

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Dan Wang

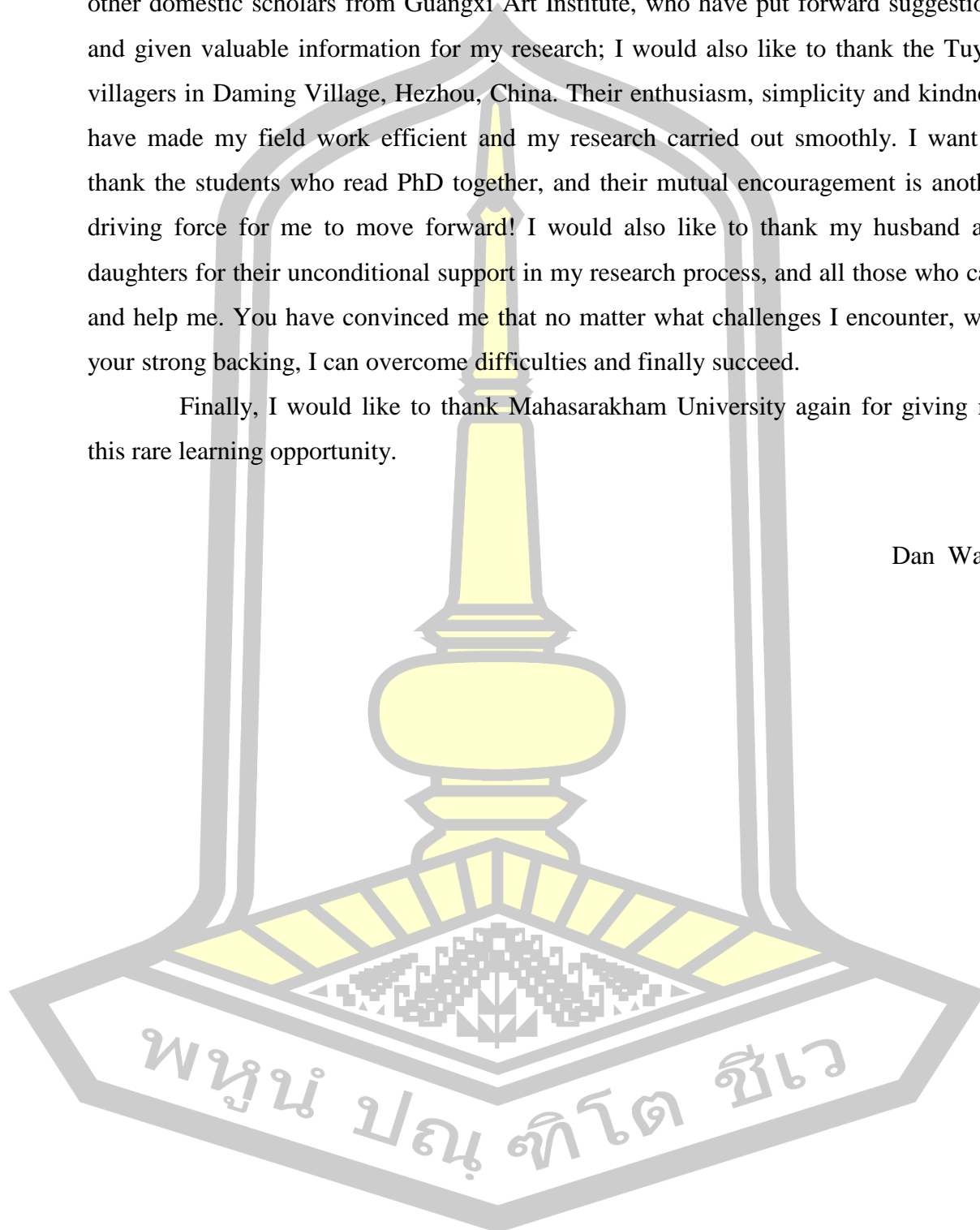
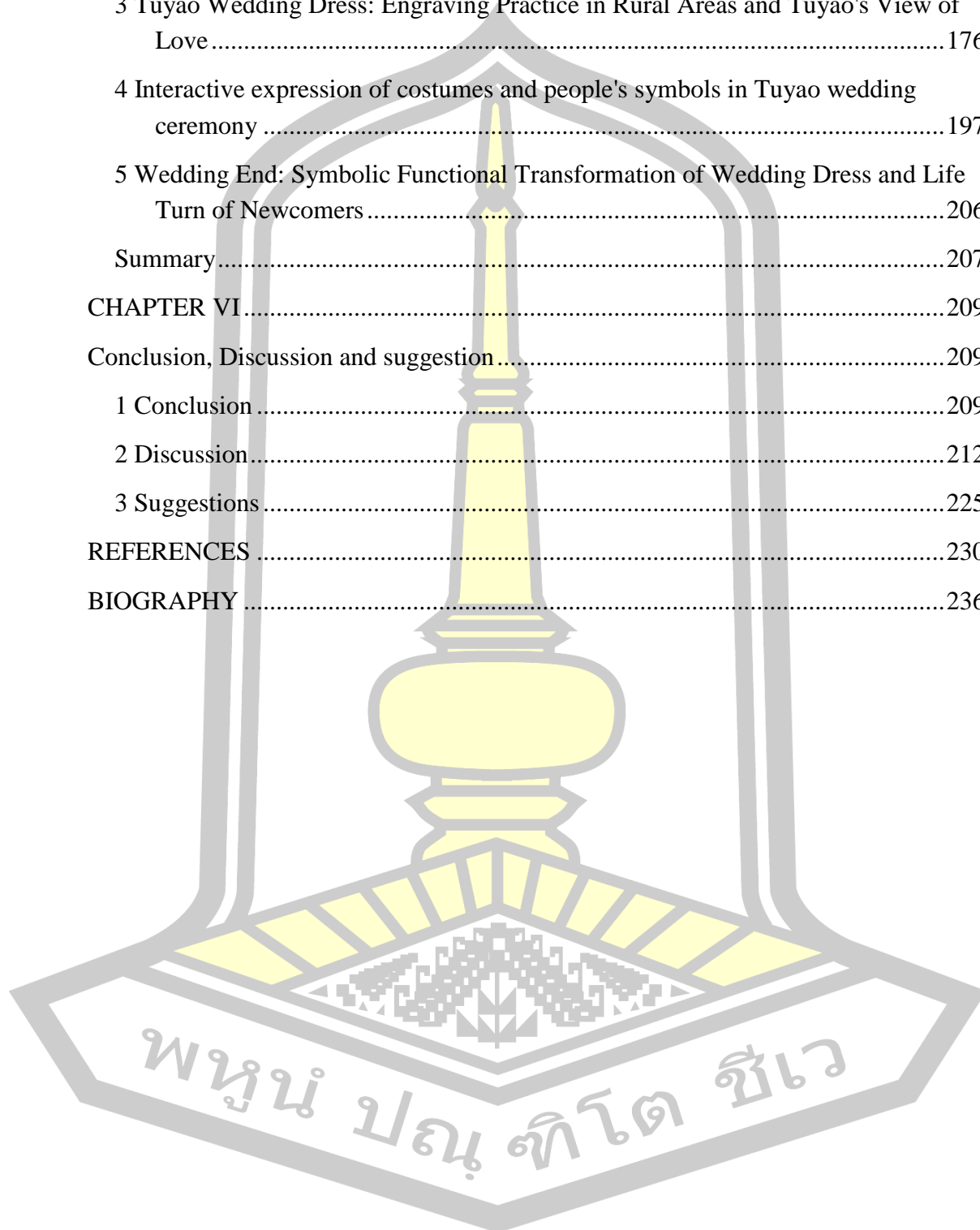


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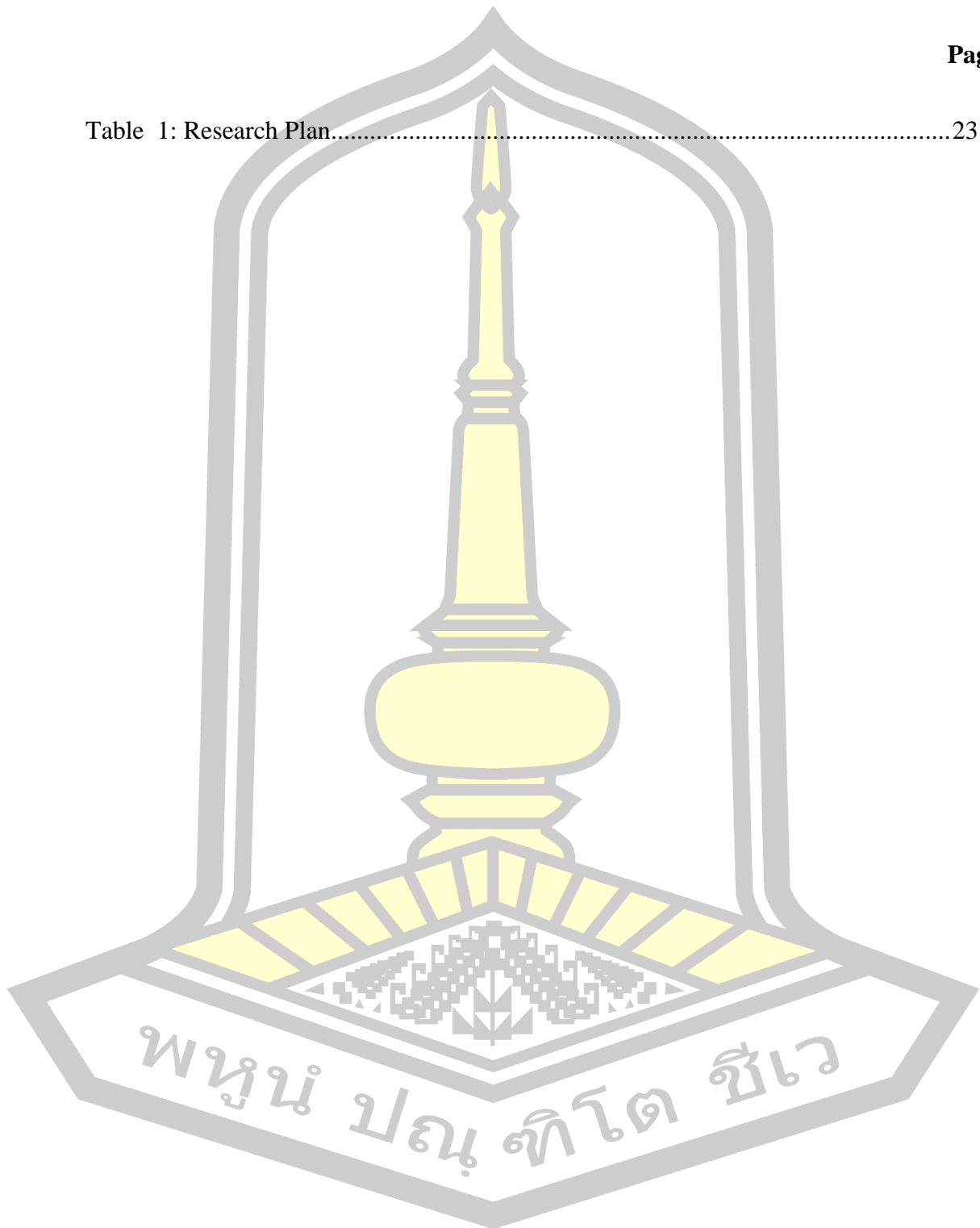
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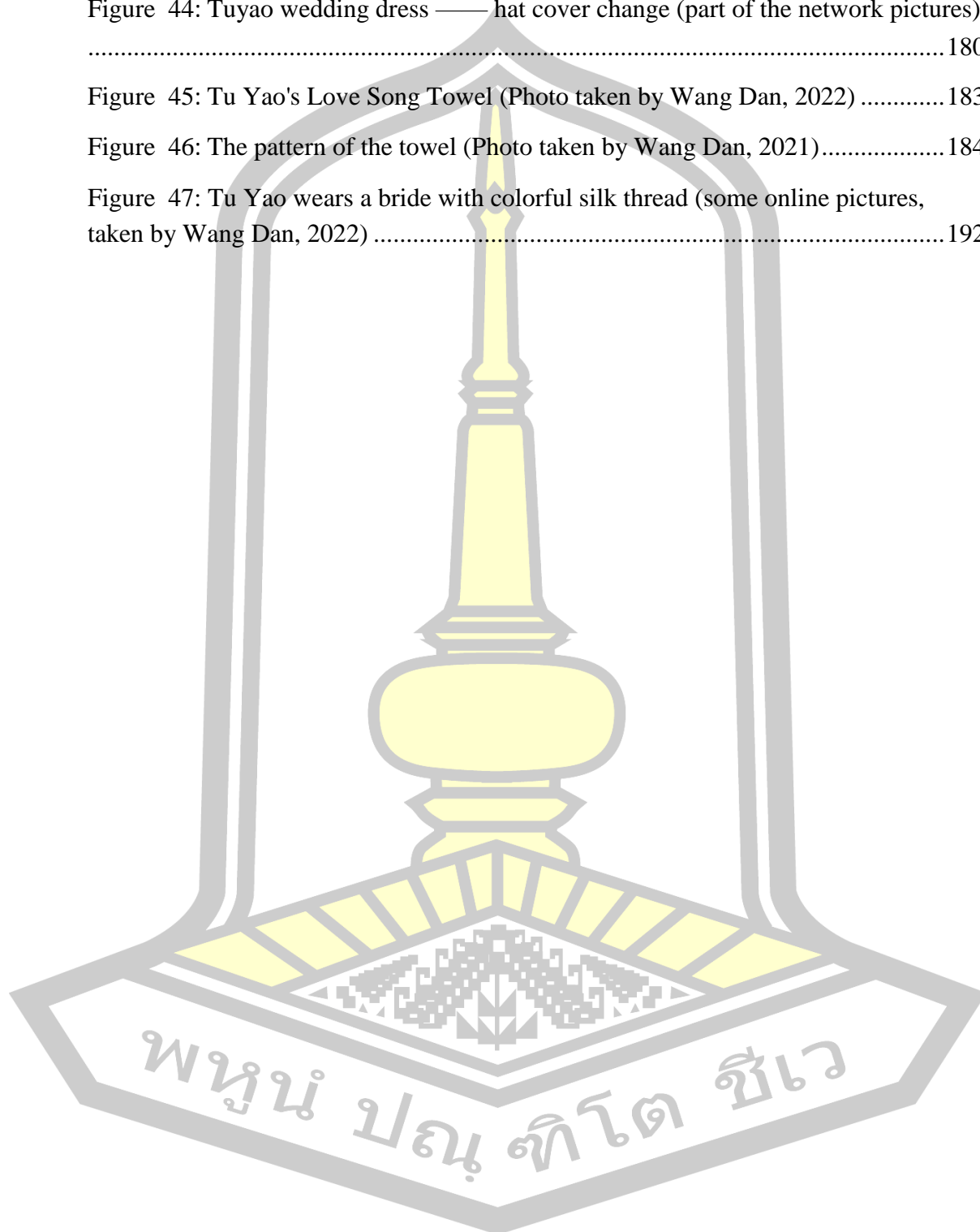


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CHAPTER I

Introduction

1 Research Background

Tuyao, is a very special branch of the Yao nationality.

The Tuyao ethnic groups live in the east of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of China. In a city called "Hezhou", it governs two of the towns, Etang and Shatin, in the bordering mountains between the two towns, with high mountains and deep ravines. This sparsely populated branch of the Yao nationality has been living here for more than 500 years. This mountain range belongs to the eastern part of the Nanling Mountain system, and Tuyao lives in this core part. In this mountain range, Tuyao is not concentrated, but formed 27 natural villages, scattered in the mountains with an area of more than 4 million square kilometers. Under the jurisdiction of the government, six administrative villages have been formed, namely: Cao Village, Daming Village, Bright Village, Shidong Village, Xinmin Village and Jinzhu Village. Therefore, in the folk, there are "Tuyao six townships 24 chong". Each of the six administrative villages contains several natural villages. However, due to the particularity of the geographical environment of mountainous areas, these natural villages are usually far away from the natural villages, with a few mountains and several mountains rushing away, and it takes one or two hours or even longer to reach another village. Villages from the goose pond town and Shatin town across several 15 kilometers to 50 kilometers of mountain road. Before 2018, there was only a winding and steep mountain road entering Tuyao Village, with the road often bending over 270 degrees and steepness being close to 60 to 70 degrees. Therefore, any "mountain outsiders" who want to enter the Tuyao village, walk on this extremely steep curve, terrified.

Because it is located in the mountains, Tuyao people do not pay much attention to the house, more consideration to the convenience of life. Such as being in the valley or halfway up the mountain. These places are characterized by streams, or leaning on mountains. It can be seen that conforming to the nature and choosing the convenience of survival is the experience summarized in the survival process of

Tuyao people. The formation of this natural village reflects several points: first, close to the reclaimed mountains, convenient farming activities; second, abundant water, water, water and drainage, and wet and rainy season conditions; third, avoid the damage to people and animals; and the convenience of building houses. Traditional Tuyao buildings are built by hand with natural materials such as wood, bamboo, mud and stone, and so on. Therefore, in the Tuyao society under the productivity level, the location of houses is mainly based on the convenience of obtaining natural resources as an important condition.

It is precisely because of this choice of living environment that the distribution of the aforementioned Tuyao community is scattered, far away from each other, even the same relatives, the housing is not too close to each other. This phenomenon continued until the establishment of Hezhou Pinggui Management Zone in the early 21st century, especially since China's "targeted poverty alleviation"¹ work, in 2017, Hezhou rural road construction became a priority in 2017. With the support of the government, the construction of a new road ended the history of only one mountain road out of the village, and solved the problem of difficult travel and transportation. In addition, with the completion of six Tuyao villages, Tuyao people move to towns and employment, entrepreneurship and become rich. In 2019, Tuyao's per capita income increased to 9,474 yuan. By 2020, the Tuyao people in Hezhou will have basically achieved the goal of getting out of poverty. Therefore, Tuyao people began to move to the ground, settlement, the site of the house is more consideration of the factors of convenient transportation.

Let's talk about Tuyao's marriage. Because the Tuyao people lived in seclusion in the mountains for a long time, there is a rule within the group: banning women within the group from contact with the outside world, No intermarriage with foreign nations. These include not marrying with other branches of the Yao nationality (according to my own field interview. There are several reasons for this: first, the living environment is very remote, lack of access to transportation, little contact with

¹ It is a kind of method that aims at the different poverty region environment, the different poverty peasant household condition, and uses the scientific effective procedure to carry on the accurate identification, the accurate help, the accurate management to the poor object. <https://baike.so.com/doc/7851572-8125667.html>

the outside world. Therefore, girls marry outside will lead to more Tuyao men cannot marry a wife; Second, because of poverty, few women from the developed areas outside the mountains are willing to marry into the mountains; Third, intermarriage with foreign nations is considered to lead to the impure national descent of their descendants (which coincides with the theory of shared reality that mixed-race marriage leads to a lower level of racial identity)². So, a few years ago, Tuyao is basically in the same line, coupled with the harsh living environment. The result of the isolated living space is that its cultural ecology is relatively perfect. From weddings and funerals to production and childcare, farming, have kept a complete set of rituals. At the same time, this is also one of the reasons for the small population of this Yao branch.

"Half-race marriage leads to low racial identity" and protect the blood of the national heritage and reproductive factors, directly led to the natural environment of the 26 mountain six administrative villages state of social relations network: for a family, many kinships between the village and village, and the huge family network intertwined, intertwined process related points. Therefore, during the interview process, some villagers said that "there are many relatives, and in each Tuyao village has its own relatives," this phenomenon occurs from time to time. Therefore, when Tuyao held a wedding, whether it is the groom's home or the bride's home, invited to the wedding site to eat "long table banquet" relatives are many, the total number of people attending the wedding more than 500 or 600 people is common. The wedding team is also very large, usually more than one or two hundred people. It can be seen that the social relations and human network structure are complex and interwoven, which are intertwined with each other.

This is the basic status of the internal relationship of Tu Yao group in Pinggui District, Hezhou. So, how long is the history of Tuyao moving to Hezhou Pinggui? And where did it migrate from it? It starts with the origin of the Yao nationality. According to expert research, the Yao nationality is divided into four branches. These

² Shared reality theory: Using shared reality theory (Hardin & Conley, 2000; Hardin & Higgins, 1996) shared reality refers to an individual's perception of a common experience through interpersonal communication. Shared reality is initiated by relational motivation and cognitive motivation, and the maintenance of social relationship and individual experience depends on the formation of shared reality.

four clades also contain 16 branches (the 16 branches contain 39 small clades). Tuyao belongs to the branch of Mianyao branch.³ More detail, Tuyao belongs to the branch of Panyao branch. It is generally believed that the ancestors of the Yao nationality were part of Changsha and Wulingman in the Qin and Han dynasties, or expressed as “originated from Wuximan”. From the 3rd century BC to the 2nd century AD, the Tuyao ancestors mainly lived in northern Hunan, China; from the 5th to the 6th century, the Yao ancestors migrated northward; from the 13th to 17th centuries, they fled war and other factors, and Guangdong and Guangxi became their main settlements. However, in the 17th century, some Yao people moved from Guangdong and Guangxi to the southern mountains of Guizhou and Yunnan. So far, the basic distribution situation of Yao nationality in the whole country has been formed.

The ethnic name of the Yao nationality is the earliest book recorded in the Northern and Southern Dynasties. “Liang Shu. Zhang Zan Zhuan” is recorded that: "In Lingling, Hengyang and other counties in the state boundary, there are people who live in the mountains and risk, but they are not satisfied with the government", which is called “Mo Yao”⁴.

According to the records, the Yao ethnic group has a long history of birth. Migration is one of the most prominent cultural features in Yao history. There are many reasons for migration. According to recorded analysis, it comes from his living mode of swimming and farming. They often joked that "eating mountains, crossing water and drinking mountains; eating one mountain after another", and "ethnic exclusion" said that the migration of Yao people mostly stems from the exclusion, oppression and discrimination of other ethnic groups.

Therefore, before 1949, the living style and living environment of the Yao nationality can be described as "Lest the mountain is not high, lest the forest is not dense".

So, when did the Tuyao branch migrate? According to the historical records of Hezhou, the earliest Tuyao did not appear in Hezhou, but lived in a group with

³ Mian Yao, also known as Pan Yao or Pangu Yao, is the general name of the branch group of the middle-holding Yao language family in Yao people, which belongs to the Yao language branch of the Miao Yao language family of the Han-tibetan language family. http://www.360doc.com/content/18/0304/00/37001590_734064487.shtml

⁴ Yao Cha, Yao Silian, Book of Liang: Vol. 34: Biography No. 28: Zan Chang [m] . Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1973.

"Jingman and Wulingman". Due to all the above reasons, one of the branches gradually migrated from Hunan and other places to Guangxi after a long journey. Of course, Tuyao is not the only Yao branch that has migrated independently. According to the historical document of "Crossing the Mountain List"⁵, the migration process of Tuyao has an important relationship with the Yao nationality in Hunan and Northeast Guangxi. Tuyao in Pinggui District of Hezhou and the Yao nationality in Jianghua, Hunan province, not only have the same origin, migration legends, migration routes and similar social culture and living customs. Therefore, they basically believe that they have the origin of "moving out of thousands of caves".

Although the Tuyao ethnic group drifted around, traveled long distances, and was finally forced to avoid the deep mountains and valleys, Tuyao itself did not leave a deep record of migration. However, according to the field investigation of Wei Haoming, a Yao scholar, a precious historical material during the reign of Jingding (1260-1264) in the Southern Song Dynasty "Ping Huang Quan Die"⁶ recorded that her ancestors had already settled in the present Cangwu County, Wuzhou City, Guangxi Province, with a history of more than 750 years.

In addition, Pinggui district Etang Mingmei village Anchongping Pen Muzhuan's home also treasured a "Ping Huang Quan Die", it is the Qing Dynasty Xianfeng eight years (March 14, 1858) by the plate road rise according to the ancient reputation copy by Pan Daosheng. Shidong Village, Shatin Town, collected the "Guo Shan Zhao", copied in the third year of the republic of China (1914), which recorded the origin of Tuyao, and listed 80 imperial years, which is the largest list of all known

⁵ The list of passing mountains is a kind of Chinese document that has been handed down and treasured in Yao people for a long time. Although these instruments have different names, styles and lengths, but they all included the legend of Panhu, the Dragon Dog, about the origin of the nation, the migration of Yao people, the origin of the family name, and the rights of the people of Yao people to develop the mountains, it is of great significance to the study of the history of Yao people, the migration of Yao people and the contribution of the people of Yao people to the development of the mountains of the southern part of the country. <https://www.xiaohuasheng.cn/book/f8bc00d967884e58>

⁶ "Comments on Emperor coupons" commonly known as "Mountain pass list", also known as "Pan Wang Coupons" "Yao people list of Wen". It is a precious Chinese document that records the ancient society, history, economy, culture, production and life of Yao People Yao People, which is handed down and treasured by the Chinese people who believe that Panhu is the ancestor of the "GuoshanYao".

http://css.hunan.gov.cn/css/tslm/hxws/wssy/201401_52843/sxrj_52840_4/201609/t20160905_3253415.html

"Guo Shan Bang" in the world. In the same village, "Long Feng Pi" and "Guo Shan Zhao" were recorded in the collection of Tongzhi in the 13th year of the Qing Dynasty (1874), which recorded in detail the process of the migration of the ancestors of Pinggui Tuyao to Dagui Mountain, the division of the mountains and land and the time of the feudal emperors of all dynasties. To sum up, some historical materials discovered by scholars are of important reference value for discussing the history of Tuyao.

Tuyao in Pinggui District, Hezhou, lives in the depths of Dagui Mountains all the year round. They manage the prosperity of ethnic groups and personal destiny with the most primitive way of slash-and-burn life and production. They are industrious and busy in the four seasons, whether the strong young people, or the old people with mobility difficulties, are writing a unique life in the mountains in the labor. Due to the difficult conditions, the Tuyao people spent their whole life working in the forest land, paid little attention to cultural education, and did not have their own words. Therefore, the whole Tuyao lacked the soil for cultural breeding. Unlike other nationalities, it has many folk stories and folk literature, and even leaves a relatively complete historical record of the generation and development of its ancestors.

Because of this, this paper to study the main object of "the change of the Tuyao wedding" and "the development of the Tuyao dress" also lack of reliable records, only through a lot of fieldwork, character interviews, and access to modern historical materials, to analyze the argument between Tuyao wedding and Tuyao dress implied national belief and cultural connotation. So, why does the author choose to study Tuyao wedding and Tuyao's wedding dress?

As we all know, marriage is a contract. It is an important way for an ethnic minority to reproduce. The transfer of individual rights through marriage, realizing the need for the development of ethnic groups and reproduction. It can be argued that marriage is one of the beginning of all human civilization.

For Tuyao, marriage is the most important life event. Tuyao's wedding is one of the most important ceremonies in the Tuyao people's life, and the wedding dress

carries the Tuyao people's survival view, world view, national belief and traditional cultural concept.

Every Tuyao person must hold a wedding in his life, and Tuyao's wedding is very grand. It is precisely because of the grand ceremony that it needs to cost a huge amount of money to the family. Marriage is the most important event in Tuyao's life, and they use their parents or their life savings to hold a wedding. In the wedding ceremony, they wear what their parents prepared for their weddings, and the dress style, is their generations handed down, showing the Tuyao people to ethnic traditional culture, love and persistent pursuit of beauty. Wedding dress in the wedding ceremony scene presents a different symbol of metaphor. In addition to the practical function, the author believes that the wedding dress is also the expression of the collective memory of the reproduction process of their own ethnic group, which not only reflects the collective aesthetic, collective cultural concepts and beliefs of the nation, but also symbolizes the sense of belonging and values of Tuyao.

Scholars Wang Jianmin in the “new theory of artistic anthropology”⁷ of national costume speech said: "Dress as an important symbol, ethnic identity under different conditions, may be on this basis, and then through the national costume of space and landscape, in the process of interaction with others present a rich and colorful symbolic significance. The human body and its attachments, such as clothing, headdress, body decoration, etc., have become the important symbols of ethnic identity, which are constantly emphasized and re-emphasized. Within a group, people despise those who violate the cultural norms of body decoration and are inappropriate."

All the ceremonies in the wedding process, the bride and groom are dressed in the wedding dress. Therefore, the wedding ceremony is closely related to the wedding dress. From another important point of view of life, the bride dressed in the wedding ceremony scene symbolizes the transition of life —— the change of identity. No

⁷ A new look at the anthropology of art is a 2008 Publishing House of Minority Nationalities Book by Wang Chien-ming. This book discusses the definition of the discipline, the definition of the main tasks of Anthropology of art research, the understanding of the Anthropology of art discipline and the strategies for dealing with it. It is hoped that this Anthropology of art will add a dimension of thinking on the subject orientation and academic identity when the researchers are engaged in relevant field work and theoretical analysis.

matter in any country or region, marriage is the most important turning point in one's life.

What is a turn of life and an identity change? Victor Turner said in the *Forest of Symbols*⁸—It is an important moment in the process of physical development or social development, such as birth, youth, or death. Many ceremonies or rituals in the world mark the individual's transition from one stage of life or social status to another.

Tuyao wedding is also an important turning ceremony in the life of Tuyao people. In this ceremony, people complete the turning form through the wearing of clothes and the process of the ceremony. A bride dressed in red dress, Her identity has since changed. First she was "identified" by a clan. Husband's future genealogy and tablet can be written with her surname. If a woman who has not had a wedding ceremony, no matter how many children are born, she would never be recognized by the family. And her husband cannot inherit the land (of course, for the last few years, the legal awareness of the Tuyao people has been improved. This current situation of the land inheritance relationship determined by traditional customs has changed, but, as shown by the fieldwork, as long as there is no wedding ceremony, the power of land inheritance will still be questioned or ordered by the relatives of uncles and nephews).

Thus, the reason why Tuyao regardless of economic constraints, and still want to for the bride to buy an expensive dress (this may be Tuyao income for many years, even lifetime income), also confirmed the importance of the Tuyao from the side, it is not only because of the pursuit of the beauty of the wedding, and the most important thing is carrying the great significance. It is a symbol of a person's social status change.

Therefore, no matter from the individual bride and groom, or the individual and family, and society, the wedding is an important turning point in the role of life, and the wedding dress —— is an important symbol and witness of the identity change!

⁸ The forest of symbols: an essay on the rituals of the endembe is a 2006 Commercial Press book by Victor Turner. *Symbolic Forest: an introduction to the rituals of the NDENBU people* consists of ten papers on various aspects of the symbolic meaning and rituals of the NDENBU people in Zambia, Central and South Africa. The first part of the five articles with the theory as the center to organize various ethnographic data, the second part of the five articles with narrative-based.

2 Purpose of Research

- 2.1 To study the history of Hezhou Tuyao nationality and the birth and development of wedding ceremony.
- 2.2 To study the ceremonial process of Tuyao wedding from the dimension of rite of passage.
- 2.3 To study the physical practice of the Tuyao people in the wedding ceremony.
- 2.4 Analyze the dress of Tuyao wedding from the perspective of semiotics interaction.

3 Research question

- 3.1 How is the development history of Daming Village in different periods? What is the generation and development of the wedding ceremony?
- 3.2 What specific links and contents in the process of Tuyao wedding ceremony under the ceremony dimension?
- 3.3 How to analyze the formation and development of Tuyao's wedding dress from the dimension of bodily practice, and how to form social memory in bodily practice?
- 3.4 How to analyze how wedding dress as a symbol interacts with the crowd in the ceremony field and what meaning it has from the perspective of symbolic interactionism?

4 Definition of Terms

4.1 "Wedding dress" in this study refers to the wedding dress of Tuyao nationality in Pinggui District, Hezhou City, Guangxi, which is a kind of dress containing the special ceremony of traditional Chinese ethnic minorities. Tuyao wedding dress is the dress based on the wedding ceremony, which is an important item in the wedding ceremony. These include the dress of the bride and groom, but this study takes the bride dress as the main research object.

4.2 "Rite of Passage" in this study refers to the ceremony that changes the identity and status of the youth as the Tuyao family ——the wedding ceremony of Tuyao.

4.3 "Bodily practice" in this study refers to the dress practice of the whole process of participating in the wedding ceremony, which refers to the practice of wedding dress, and the focus is on the ritual practice of Tuyao brides dressed in costumes. At the same time, the master Shigong who presided over the wedding and the wedding people also wear different participation ceremonies, and their bodily practice will be simply involved in this study, not as key research.

4.4 "Inscribing practice" in this study refers to that Tuyao people embroider Tuyao's oral love songs on the white towel they need to wear in their wedding clothes, Tuyao people don't have their own characters, but using poor Chinese characters to decorate white towels, one of the components of wedding dresses, is also a

manifestation of their engraving practice. Through the love songs embroidered on towels, we can analyze the Tuyao people's ideas on love and marriage.

4.5 "Symbolic interactionism" in this study refers to the wedding dress and its components are symbols with symbolic significance, by studying the interaction between these symbols and the crowd in the ceremony field, to reveal the significance of wedding dress to the identity transformation of Tuyao people.

4.6 "Ethnic Identity" in this study refers to Tuyao people wearing wedding dress to complete the wedding ceremony, an important passing ceremony. The wedding dress culture enhances the cohesion and identity of Tuyao people.

4.7 "Cultural posture exercise" in this study refers to the production skills, wearing order and methods, and wearing the various ceremonies in the wedding.

5 Scope of Research

5.1 Research area

Tuyao community: three Yao administrative villages of Xinmei, Caodui and Daming in Yetang Town, Hezhou City; Jinzhu Village, Xinmin Village and Shidong Administrative Village in Shatian Town. Among them, the Tuyao group in Daming Village is the main research object.

5.2 Time

In different periods, Tuyao's wedding dress or "wedding dress" has different faces and different development. Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the sample of neither literature nor field investigation, so it is difficult to trace the real situation. After the field investigation and literature collection, the timeline of this study is set as follows:

After the founding of new China to the 1970s, the 1980s to the end of the 20th century, the early 21st century to the present.

After the founding of new China to the 1970s —— early economic construction Tuyao society is poor and backward, in the closed environment Tuyao maintained the primitive wedding customs and relatively simple wedding clothing;

From the 1980s to the end of the 20th century —— After the rapid development of the reform and opening up of the social wedding customs changes (wedding dress), this part is divided into 1970s to 1980s, 1980s to 1990s two different social background analysis;

From the beginning of the 21st century to the present —— this stage is divided into two parts: the economic development and the change of marriage customs (the change of wedding costumes).

5.3 Another

Participated in the wedding scene of Tuyao people in Daming Village, through the field interview, combined with material analysis, to obtain the cultural code between Tuyao wedding dress and Tuyao's life ceremony.

6 Research Methods

This study used a qualitative research method.

6.1 Population and Sample

The main study population is people inside the Daming Village community, as well as Tuyao people in other areas and Tuyao outsiders who attended the wedding.

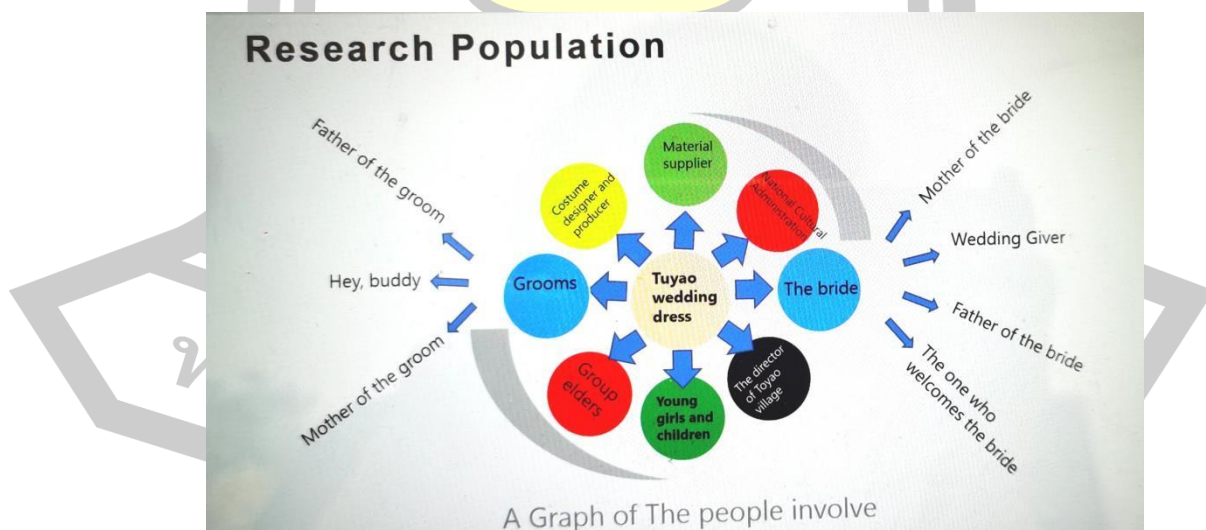


Figure 1: Study the population diagram

Source: Photographed by the author, 2022.

Details are as follows:

1) Daming Village is a specific small site for this study. Daming village has a history of about 500 years, living in more than 2,000 people of more than 300 households. For hundreds of years, Tuyao people living here have followed the custom of wearing Tuyao wedding clothes to hold wedding ceremonies. This is the people wearing Tuyao wedding clothes for bodily practice. Through the field classification interview of the community people, they explore the national spirit and cultural connotation behind the wedding dress.

2) Married men and women who have held the wedding ceremony: through the memory and memory of the people in the wedding ceremony, looking for the history and changes of the costumes.

3) Tuyao people who are preparing for the wedding and those who have just held the wedding ceremony: through the interview to understand the concept; through the interview of the couple, demonstrate the significance of the wedding dress to the Tuyao people and explore the ideas hidden in the wedding dress.

Tuyao crowd attending the Tuyao wedding: the parents of the couple, the elderly, the marriage and relatives, underage Tuyao teenagers (boys and girls), wedding helpers, Shigong (wedding ceremony host), guests outside the mountain.

The crowd of the people who attended the wedding ceremony were interviewed, and the symbol interaction process of the Yao and the crowd was analyzed to dig out the significance of the dress to the nation.

4) Relevant departments of ethnic culture protection and the staff of Daming Village Committee: They are the protection of Tu Yao culture, inherit the costume culture of Tuyao from another perspective, and record relevant information.

5) The inheritors of Tuyao costume technology: through the interview with craftsmen, discuss the technical change and material change of Tuyao wedding dress, and discuss the attitude and aesthetic concept change of Tuyao people towards dress.

6) Seller of dressed materials market: through the investigation of Tuyao dressed materials market, demonstrate the change of dressed materials.

6.2 Instrumentation

Data collection tools: This research will use an in-depth interview method to interview the main characters, such as the inheritors of the Dixi in Anshun, the inheritors of Dixi mask-making, etc. Interview notes, questionnaires, etc. will be prepared in advance.

Image acquisition tools and recording equipment: the equipment in this field mainly includes cameras, video shooting equipment, mobile phones, recording pens, etc.

Record and analysis tools: notebooks, pens, computers, etc.: notebooks and pens can not only record the field notes and the information of the relevant field population, site, environmental culture, relevant interviewers, and respondents, but also serve as the work records of researchers to record the research plan, time arrangement, and other relevant information. At the same time, during the field investigation, we must record the interview content in real time. After the investigation, we need to use the computer to analyze the survey content as a whole.

6.3 Data Collection

To collect data by literature reviews. The documentary data from research articles, magazines, and documents from local government, etc.

Fieldwork

Interview: Formal interview, Informal interview, focus group interview, In-depth interview, and general interview.

Observation: General observation, and participatory observation. Documentary data collection

To collect data by review literatures. The documentary data from research, magazine, documentary from local government etc.

Six Field Trips

Collection of recorded interviews: The interviews in this study used group interviews and individual interviews, and the observation method used general observation methods and participatory observation methods. The collective interview was classified for different groups: Shigong public group, Tuyao elderly group, Tuyao married women group, etc.

Collect official information: go to Hezhou Museum and Pinggui District Ethnic and Religious Committee to find information related to Tuyao costume culture.

Collection of physical data pictures: collected the recent years of Tuyao wedding costumes and old wedding clothes for shooting, collected the related topography and administrative areas of Tuyao village pictures.

Data analysis method: This study uses the qualitative research method. This study combines the principles and characteristics of qualitative research, and uses data collection methods to conduct data analysis of concepts, theories and assumptions, and qualitative studies. This paper uses the main concepts of ceremony, body practice and symbol interaction to analyze the relationship between Tuyao's wedding dress and Tuyao society and the great significance of the wedding dress to Tuyao society.

6.4 Data Analysis

This research has used through the ritual, the semiotics interaction, the body practice three concepts to carry on the research analysis to the TUYAO wedding dress. Through the wedding, the people of Yao realize the transformation of status and status. The Tuyao people gradually formed and established their own unique behavior and habits in the historical process of body practice, which was completed in full dress during the ritual process, and then through long-term repeated exercises, form a unique social memory. This study also analyzes the meaning of Tuyao wedding dress from the dimension of symbol interaction. Through this research, excavates the cultural connotation behind the Tuyao wedding dress.

7 Research presentation

Full text of the paper: it includes descriptive analysis and pictures

Research papers: papers published at the level of "scopus" international journals.

8 Literature Review

In the "big family" of Yao nationality, Tuyao is a branch with great local characteristics. They generally retain the cultural inheritance system of the Yao nationality. However, due to their relatively closed and independent living environment, some distinctive cultures and customs have been formed in the inheritance. Among them, the women's costumes are very different from other Yao branches in terms of structure, form, material and color, and their wedding costumes are closely related to their religious beliefs, life concepts and cosmic world outlook.

This text analyzes, summarizes and summarizes the relationship between Tuyao costumes and Tuyao wedding through ritual, social memory, bodily practice, cultural ecology, semiotics and other theories, trying to deeply study the beliefs and aesthetic concepts of Tuyao culture, and make efforts to inherit the spiritual culture of Tuyao.

This study tries to analyze the wedding ceremony of Tuyao people from the aspects of social memory, semiotics, bodily practice and ritual, and explain the history and development of Tuyao costumes, as well as the national beliefs, national culture and national aesthetic concepts it contains.

From the perspective of the wedding ceremony, Tuyao's wedding dress in the different stages of the whole process of Tuyao wedding respectively and different significance? What are the different attitudes and views of all the people attending the wedding ceremony on the wedding dress? What kind of national concepts and beliefs does Tuyao dress contain? How did the tradition of wedding ceremonies form and pass it down from generation to generation?

From the aspect of material and production of clothing, why are other handmade textiles of Yao nationality not popular here? Why are the embroidery patterns of Tuyao different from the embroidery patterns of Yao nationality? Why not use embroidery to decorate the clothes, but use beads and colored silk thread to decorate the clothes? Why does Tuyao's hat change so greatly from the form and production materials with the change of The Times?

The author consulted many classics and historical materials, found that the following writings: in Pinggui Tuyao (central south university press, in April 2016, Wei Haoming, Wang Wancheng) described in the book: "national costumes in quite long hair history period is an important symbol of national identity, blood identity, label, is also an important symbol of a group from another group, embodies the respect and inheritance of the ethnic culture, contains the ideal beliefs, life choices and preferences, is a comprehensive precipitation of ethnic identity, belonging, interests, psychological attachment in historical memory." This view has been shared by many scholars.

In addition, scholar Wang Jianmin said, " Clothing serves as an important symbol that can be understood and recognized by cultural practitioners. Ethnic identity is under different conditions. Through the possession of space and landscape by ethnic costumes, it interacts with others."This symbolic meaning is universal. In my opinion, this also just shows that the Tuyao costume can also be used as an important basis for her "identity symbol" and "cultural symbol".

However, from the perspective of cultural ecology, any national culture is closely linked to social development. Tuyao's clothing culture is no exception. In scholars Jiang Hao under the contemporary popular culture of yao clothing aesthetic change "(journal of Nanning, 19 volume 2014 6) article put forward:" actually art is never a closed space, it and social space of culture, religion, politics, economy, science and technology and natural ecology are linked."Under the infiltration of the current strong pop culture, Tuyao's aesthetic vision has also unconsciously changed. After a long confrontation between the two different cultures, the weak cultures will always change to make up for the gap brought about by the cultural differences.

The author also agree with this view. But what is the specific embodiment of this aesthetic change? What specific changes have happened in Tuyao women's clothing with the development of culture, economy, science and technology, politics and religion? What are the specific changes in the form and color composition of clothing? What is the invisible and profound relationship between wedding dress and Tuyao's identity change and identity? This is what we should dig deep into.

College of congratulation state in the study on the potential cultural significance of national traditional clothing (Hezhou college journal, volume 25,2009,2) article: "Tuyao women clothing is the carrier of the yao history and culture, it not only hides the ancestors of an original aesthetic breath, and contain their historical footprint and the worship of ancestors, also can see the ancient customs and yao social history and cultural changes. Tuyao women's clothing is an important part of the Tuyao culture,"

"Clothing in the process of jade wedding ceremony is a symbol of ethnic belonging and values", "clothing in yao wedding ceremony in the process of the

symbol of yao culture", "the bride dressed in the wedding ceremony scene symbolizes the turning point of life" (college journal, 2010,25 volume 3), above institute of congratulation state researchers Ms. Mobi Lin three views.

In another paper, "Symbol of national costumes in the wedding Ceremony in the Scene —— Taking Hezhou Tuyao costume in the wedding ceremony Scene as an example", the symbols of Tuyao wedding dress in the wedding ceremony are studied. The article describes the process of pure art form, trying to explore the scene of the dress in the whole wedding ceremony scene of different cultural symbolic metaphors. The three main points of view are:

First, the dress symbolizes the belonging and values of the ethnic group in the wedding ceremony of Tuyao. "Tuyao still sticks to wearing its own dress to hold the wedding. It can be seen that it is not only a decoration on the surface, but also points to the life belonging and values of Tuyao in a deeper level".

Second, clothing symbolizes Tuyao's cultural view in the wedding ceremony. This part quotes the scholar Wang Jianmin's view: "Clothes are the representation of culture, and clothes are the image of thought." He also believes that "human body decoration, in a certain way, is not only the cultivation of individuals but also a cultural cultivation. The human body is expressed as a place or space, and the cultural practice of different ethnic groups is engraved on it, and the body can show a cultural characteristic."

Third, the bride dressed up in the wedding ceremony scene to symbolize the transition of life. The article pointed out, "The Tuyao wedding is also an important turning ceremony in a person's life. In this ceremony, people complete the turning form through the wearing of clothes and the process of the ceremony."

The author agrees with these views. In the wedding, the Tuyao people must wear their own national costumes, which is the people's respect for traditional culture. They are particularly strict with the decoration part of the body, and the wedding dress must meet the rules of the ethnic group (no exception), which is the clan concept of the Tuyao people. However, this study only put forward this point of view without

conducting in-depth and detailed demonstration, let alone using the principle of symbolic interaction to analyze the generation and expression of symbolic meaning.

As Wang Jianmin in the new theory of artistic anthropology: the national costumes in the speech "dress as an important symbol, ethnic identity under different conditions, may be on this basis, and then through the national costume possession of space and landscape, in the process of interaction with others present a rich and colorful symbolic significance. The human body and its attachments, such as clothing, headdress, body decoration, etc., have become important symbols of ethnic identity, which are constantly emphasized and re-emphasized. Within a group, people despise those who violate the cultural norms of body decoration and are inappropriate. "In a specific scene, the collective wear of it, which itself has a certain symbolic significance. Therefore, in the specific scene of the Tuyao wedding ceremony, it shows not only the decorative beauty of the human body, but also the culture and history of the nation. The view that "wedding dress is the symbol of Tuyao's life transition" is based on the theory of "rite of passage" of Turner, a "symbolic anthropologist" in Britain. Turner said: "Ritual symbols have become a factor in society, a force in the field of action. Symbolism are related to people's interests, intentions, goals and means."

To sum up, various research views on Tuyao wedding dress are the display of the existing research.

In a word, due to the living, remote isolation and inconvenient transportation, it is relatively difficult to enter the living environment of Tuyao. Therefore, before this, scholars have not studied Tuyao clothing much, and not in-depth. At present, there are only a few papers related to Tuyao clothing culture that can be found on the Wanfang knowledge data service platform in China.

These chapters, summed up, only involve two aspects: one is the relationship between the costume and cultural changes; the other is the relationship between the color of Tuyao clothing and aesthetic changes.

However, in author's opinion, there are still many places to explore and dig into the women's clothes. For example, what is the cultural identity and social memory

contained in Tuyao's wedding dress? What is the relationship between its dress composition and its visual design composition? From the perspective of semiotics, what is the real meaning of the graphic symbols and color symbols represented by the women's costumes of Tuyao? What influence does the development of science and technology have on the change of Tuyao women's clothing? (For example, the change of the material used in the Tuyao dress hat) How to explain the profound national concepts and cultural beliefs contained in the wedding dress and the ceremony through the ceremony? And so on. The author found that there are few documents and articles studying Tuyao from these angles.

Hence this is a meaningful and worth an in-depth research topic.

8 Concept, Theory and Conceptual framework

Research Concept

This research mainly used the three principles of ritual, body practice and symbolic interaction.

Research Theory

From the point of view of the main body, the deep connotation of the social memory of Yao, it is that it is the Tuyao subject ability and essential force materialization result condensation, accumulation and decoding, resurrection, is the subject of the historical formation and development of the main ability and essential power confirmation, preservation and continuation of the internal mechanism, it embodies the Tuyao social development consciously initiative and objective regularity, creativity and dependence, historical stage and the unity of activity continuity.

In terms of bodily practice, it is an important way to form Tuyao's "habit memory", and also one of the main media to transmit Tuyao's memory. Bodily practice is an important way of social memory formation, and it is the main form of ethnic minority memory. Therefore, the two are closely related. Or it can be said that in the course of history, generations of Tuyao people practiced the activity of wearing the wedding ceremony, and gradually established the social memory of Tuyao people. From the form of dress, materials, dress mode and dress requirements, as well as the behavior and action of the bride and groom to cooperate with it, relatively fixed social

habits are formed in repeated practice and repeated practice, which is then called the social memory of Tuyao.

As an important wedding ceremony for the life transformation of Tuyao people, it is applicable to Victor. Turner proposed an explanation by ritual (Rite of Passage). "The ceremony that accompanies every change in place, state, social status, and age" is called "rite of passage". One of them was British anthropologist Victor Turner, who developed ritual theory based on Gannap's theory. In his book *Ceremonial Process: Structure and Anti-structure*, Turner developed the stages of separation, threshold and integration before the threshold, before the threshold and after the ritual process, which is a series of processes of structure, no structure and structure.

In the three different stages of "rite of passage", the expression of Tuyao's wedding dress and its meaning for the subject of dress and the onlookers are different. For example, In the separation phase of "rite of passage", For the future bride, It is a "symbol" that represents the way to the future and bid farewell to the past —— This "symbol" is full of the desire and imagination for the future life, but also contains the reluctance of the family of origin; For the parents of the bride, this wedding dress means the melancholy of losing her daughter and the hope for a happy future; For the true bystander, probably through this dress, by its level of luxury, such as the number of hanging ornaments on the chest and "love song towel" placed on the overhead hats, to imagine the future family of the bride, poor or rich?

And through the ceremony "threshold stage", the bride and groom from the dress ceremony, steps, and wearing it to participate in the threshold stage of all fixed program (that is, wearing it in the social memory body practice) such as across the brazier, toast tea, etc., this dress produced more important symbolic significance at this time. At this time, the bride and groom are no longer the daughter and son of the original family, and have not yet formed a new identity. They are trying to complete all the procedures in the threshold stage through bodily practice, and the goal is to "build a new family and build a new identity". Only in the wedding dress, complete the wedding "rite of passage". In the mind of the Tuyao ethnic group, this new talent has established a real new family and changed a new identity: called wife and husband, called daughter-in-law and son-in-law... the author will try to explore the

cultural code of Tuyao wedding dress through the analysis of the whole wedding ceremony process.

In addition, in this study, the "symbolic interaction principle" will be used to study how the symbolic significance of Tuyao's wedding dress comes from the site of the wedding ceremony. The theory of "symbolic interaction" holds that facts are based on symbols and accept the guidance of symbols. The basis of this theory is meaning. Symbol interaction studies the meaningful fusion of interactions between individuals of social environments and other individuals. It focuses on " which symbols and meanings are generated in the interactions between people. Symbol interactionism holds that "the principle of meaning is the center of human behavior". From this theory analysis, Tuyao marriage dress, is through all stages of the wedding ceremony — interact with related people, from dress production, dress, onlookers to the appreciation of dress, ceremony dress to participate in all the Tuyao social bearing down wedding activities, and so on, and then closely related to the related people and action. Because every step in the ceremony is meaningful, the wedding dress also gradually establishes a special meaning in the ceremony, and eventually becomes a meaningful symbol of "new family and new identity". When Tuyao is dressed up to become a meaningful symbol in the marriage ceremony of Tuyao society, it guides a steady stream of future Tuyao youth to pursue the dream of love and marriage with special significance, and it can even be considered that it carries the ideal of reproduction.

Conceptual framework

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Research Conceptual Framework

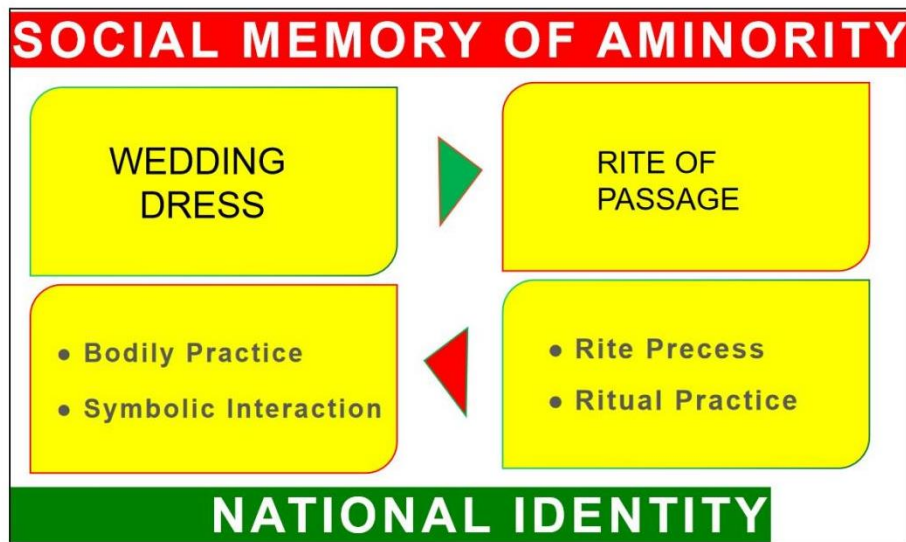


Figure 2: Research conceptual framework
Source: Photographed by the author, 2022.

9 Research plan

In order to better complete the research of the subject, the research time and work plan are tentatively arranged as follows:

Arrange the content	schedule												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
1. Determine the research object and the title of the paper	→												
2. Collect, sort out and review relevant literature; Draw up a research plan and write a research approach			→										
3. Make a complete field investigation plan			→										
4. Make interview plan, formal interview question list, and carry out relevant network research			→										
5. A field trip to Daming Tuyao village in Pinggui District, Hezhou. Including in-depth interviews with			→										

clothing makers, village cadres, villagers of different age groups, teachers groups and so on. And participated in two tuyao wedding.												
6. Completed TS1 and TS2 material preparation and production, completed the first chapter and the second chapter, the third chapter of the paper writing.												
Arrange the content	schedule											
	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
7. To the Tuyao village in Hezhou. By the nature of the use of the classification of group visits, participatory in-depth research, in-depth interviews, and to collect a large number of data and further analysis.												
8. Conducted data analysis Analyze the field survey data and start writing the chapter of the paper.												
9. Completed the conclusion writing, revised and improved the paper;												
10. Completed and published a small paper, graduation defense.												

Table 1: Research Plan

10 Chapter structure

Chapter 1: Overview

Chapter 2: The emergence of Tuyao history and marriage custom culture

Chapter 3: Tu Yao through the ceremony —— wedding ceremony (including the whole process: love confirmation relationship- -wedding preparation- -bride banquet- -wedding- -wedding ceremony- -the end of the wedding, with the ceremony concept through the description, each stage of the wedding dress.

Chapter 4: Tu Yao dress and bodily practice (with the body practice theory to demonstrate the connotation of wedding clothing, including three aspects of research: one is the simple wedding ceremony; the second is the study of wedding clothing; the third is the performance of different participants in the three stages of the ceremony.

Chapter 5: The Tu Yao costume under the theory of symbol interactionism

Chapter 6: Conclusion

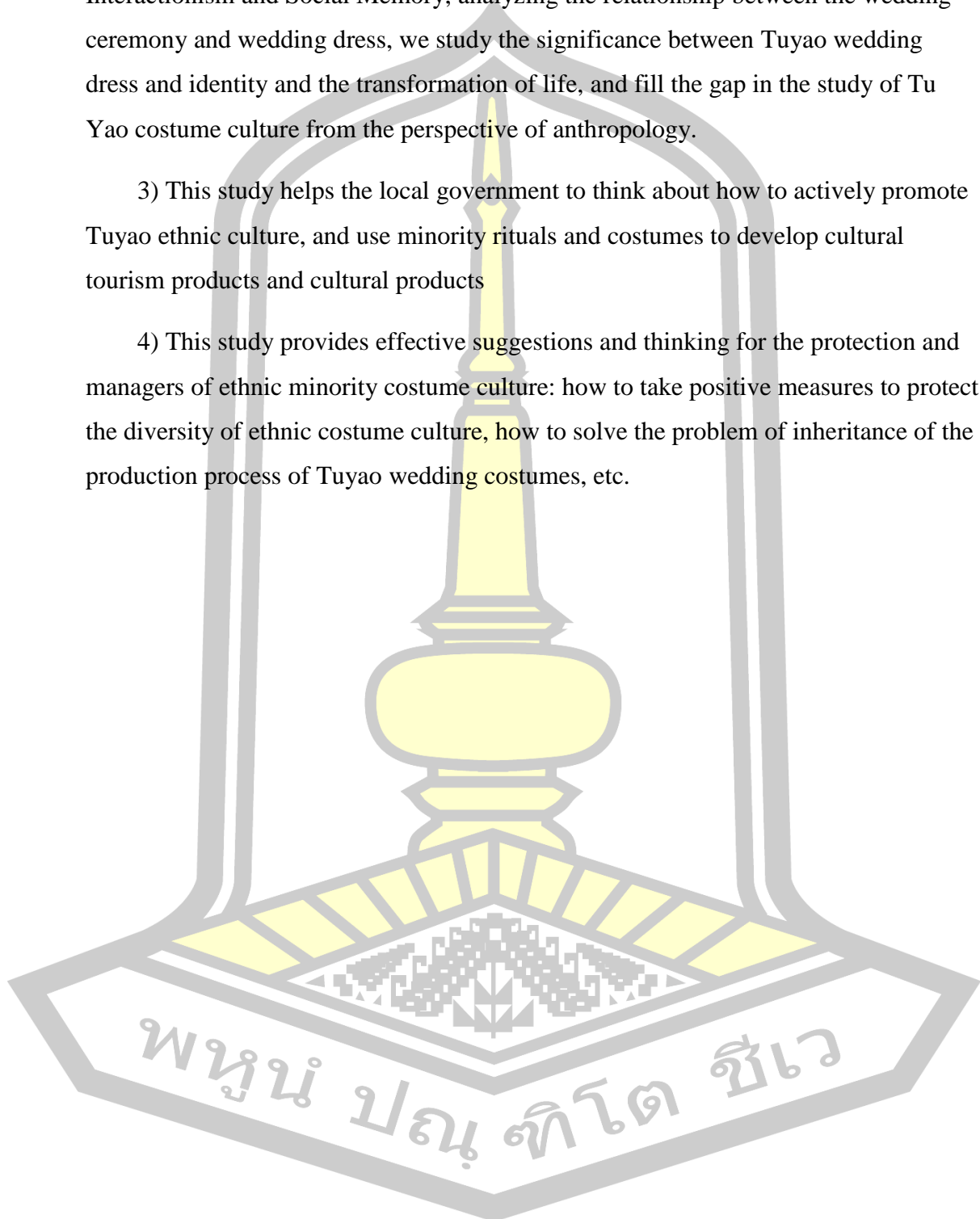
11 Benefit of Research

1) Tuyao's historical background, living environment, wedding ceremony and ethnic beliefs and ethnic identity contained in Tuyao's wedding costumes, etc., to make valuable contributions to Tuyao's "Inscribing practice".

2) Using the concepts of Rite of Passage, Bodily Practice, Symbolic Interactionism and Social Memory, analyzing the relationship between the wedding ceremony and wedding dress, we study the significance between Tuyao wedding dress and identity and the transformation of life, and fill the gap in the study of Tuyao costume culture from the perspective of anthropology.

3) This study helps the local government to think about how to actively promote Tuyao ethnic culture, and use minority rituals and costumes to develop cultural tourism products and cultural products

4) This study provides effective suggestions and thinking for the protection and managers of ethnic minority costume culture: how to take positive measures to protect the diversity of ethnic costume culture, how to solve the problem of inheritance of the production process of Tuyao wedding costumes, etc.



CHAPTER II

The History and Cultural Customs of Tuyao Society

1 Introduction

The main research content of the second chapter is the history of Tuyao wedding customs and wedding dresses. The first part of this chapter generally describes the origin and changing history of Yao costumes. Because Tuyao nationality is a branch of Yao family, the migration of Tuyao people, the geographical location, natural environment and cultural customs of Tuyao survival are closely related to the overall history and development of Yao family, and Tuyao costumes and wedding dresses are based on the history and culture of Yao nationality. The second part analyzes the emergence and development of Tuyao wedding dress in detail. This part will analyze the relationship between Tuyao costumes and Yao national costumes, including their commonness analysis and characteristics analysis of Tuyao costumes, as well as excavating the relationship between Tuyao wedding customs and wedding costumes customs. In the third part, this study will take time as the axis, and divide the development of Tuyao costume into three main stages, which are: after the founding of the People's Republic of China to before 1970s, from 1980s to the end of the 20th century, and from the beginning of the 21st century to the present. The situation of each stage is analyzed more carefully according to the influence of social politics, economy, science and technology development on costumes at that time.

The Tuyao ethnic groups live in the east of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region of China. In a city called "Hezhou", it governs two of the towns, Etang and Shatin, in the bordering mountains between the two towns, with high mountains and deep ravines. This sparsely populated branch of the Yao nationality has been living here for more than 500 years. This mountain range belongs to the eastern part of the Nanling Mountain system, and Tuyao lives in this core part. In this mountain range, Tuyao is not concentrated, but formed 27 natural villages, scattered in the mountains with an area of more than 4 million square kilometers. Under the jurisdiction of the government, six administrative villages have been formed, namely: Cao Village, Daming Village, Bright Village, Shidong Village, Xinmin Village and Jinzhu Village.

Therefore, in the folk, there are "Tuyao six townships 24 chong". Each of the six administrative villages contains several natural villages. However, due to the particularity of the geographical environment of mountainous areas, these natural villages are usually far away from the natural villages, with a few mountains and several mountains rushing away, and it takes one or two hours or even longer to reach another village. Villages from the goose pond town and Shatin town across several 15 kilometers to 50 kilometers of mountain road. Before 2018, there was only a winding and steep mountain road entering Tuyao Village, with the road often bending over 270 degrees and steepness being close to 60 to 70 degrees. Therefore, any "mountain outsiders" who want to enter the Tuyao village, walk on this extremely steep curve, terrified.

Because it is located in the mountains, Tuyao people do not pay much attention to the house, more consideration to the convenience of life. Such as being in the valley or halfway up the mountain. These places are characterized by streams, or leaning on mountains. It can be seen that conforming to the nature and choosing the convenience of survival is the experience summarized in the survival process of Tuyao people. The formation of this natural village reflects several points: first, close to the reclaimed mountains, convenient farming activities; second, abundant water, water, water and drainage, and wet and rainy season conditions; third, avoid the damage to people and animals; and the convenience of building houses. Traditional Tuyao buildings are built by hand with natural materials such as wood, bamboo, mud and stone, and so on. Therefore, in the Tuyao society under the productivity level, the location of houses is mainly based on the convenience of obtaining natural resources as an important condition.

It is precisely because of this choice of living environment that the distribution of the aforementioned Tuyao community is scattered, far away from each other, even the same relatives, the housing is not too close to each other. This phenomenon continued until the establishment of Hezhou Pinggui Management Zone in the early 21st century, especially since China's "targeted poverty alleviation" work, in 2017, Hezhou rural road construction became a priority in 2017. With the support of the government, the construction of a new road ended the history of only one mountain

road out of the village, and solved the problem of difficult travel and transportation. In addition, with the completion of six Tuyao villages, Tuyao people move to towns and employment, entrepreneurship and become rich. In 2019, Tuyao's per capita income increased to 9,474 yuan. By 2020, the Tuyao people in Hezhou will have basically achieved the goal of getting out of poverty. Therefore, Tuyao people began to move to the ground, settlement, the site of the house is more consideration of the factors of convenient transportation.



Figure 3: Distribution map of Tuyao administrative villages in Hezhou

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*Figure 4: Old Tuyao residential wooden structure additional Yao wooden architecture
Source: Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022*

2 The emergence and migration of Yao branch

First of all, let's take a look at the author's interviews with different groups in Tuyao Village about the historical situation of Tuyao.

On the day of Zhao Zenglan's wedding, the author Wang interviewed some people of different ages for the history of Tu Yao. The first interview was the uncle of the bride Zhao Zenglan:

I interviewed the bride's uncle and other elders. They believe that at least a dozen generations of their family have lived in Daming village. If defined as a generation of 20 years, the Tu Yao people of Daming village have lived here for at least 400 to 500 years. The 80-year-old village chief believes his grandfather told him that the Tuyao people have been living in Hezhou for nearly 800 years.

In author's first field work, when interviewed three Zhao Huoliu, 72 years old, Hua Gu, 80 years old, and another sister-in-law, about 76, in Daming Village, they answered like this:

In the 80-year-old village chief, known as Shigong, also be interviewed the history of Tuyao Village, and he said to the author positively:

"When did Daming village move here? That would be long ago. Our village is at least 800 years old. It should have been so many years now."

According to the historical records of Hezhou, the earliest Tuyao did not appear in Hezhou, but lived in a group with "Jingman and Wulingman". Due to all the above reasons, one of the branches gradually migrated from Hunan and other places to Guangxi after a long journey. Of course, Tuyao is not the only Yao branch that has migrated independently. According to the historical document of Crossing the Mountain List, the migration process of Tu Yao has an important relationship with the Yao nationality in Hunan and Northeast Guangxi. Tuyao in Pinggui District of Hezhou and the Yao nationality in Jianghua, Hunan province, not only have the common origin, migration legends, migration routes and similar social culture and living customs, so it can be basically considered that they have the origin of "moving out of thousands of caves".

Although the Tuyao ethnic group drifted around, traveled long distances, and was finally forced to avoid the deep mountains and valleys, Tuyao itself did not leave a deep record of migration. However, according to the field investigation of Wei Haoming, a Yao scholar, a precious historical material during the reign of Jingding (1260-1264) in the Southern Song Dynasty recorded that her ancestors had settled in the present Cangwu County, Wuzhou City, Guangxi Province, with a history of more than 750 years.

In addition, Pinggui district Etang bright village Anchongping Penmuzhuan's home also treasured a "Ping Huang Quan Die", it is the Qing Dublic of China (1914), which recorded the origin of Tuyao, and listed 80 imperial years, which is the largest list of all known "Guo Shan Bang" in the world. In the same village, "Long Feng Pi" and "Ru Shan Zhao" were recorded in the collection of Tongzhi in the 13th year of the Qing Dynasty (1874), which recorded in detail the process of the migration of the ancestors of Pinggui Tuyao to Dagui Mountain, the division of the mountains and land and the time of the feudal emperors of all dynasties.

In summary, historical materials have important reference value for discussing the history of Tuyao.

Tuyao in Pinggui District, Hezhou, lives in the depths of Dagui Mountains all the year round. They manage the prosperity of ethnic groups and personal destiny with the most primitive way of slash-and-burn life and production. They are industrious and busy in the four seasons, whether the strong young people, or the old people with mobility difficulties, are writing a unique life in the mountains in the labor. Due to the difficult conditions, the Tuyao people spent their whole life working in the forest land, paid little attention to cultural education, and did not have their own words. Therefore, the whole Tuyao lacked the soil for cultural breeding. Unlike other nationalities, it has many folk stories and folk

literature, and even leaves a relatively complete historical record of the generation and development of its ancestors.

Since the revival of anthropology in the 1980s, Yao nationality has made many great achievements in its research. Then, it ignores the differences and case studies, and has a congenital disregard for Tuyao's research. Tuyao is one of many branches of the Yao nationality. It was called "Tuyao" because it first moved to Hezhou to settle down. According to Tuyao legend, in the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, the ancestors of the Tuyao people migrated to Guangxi from Zhuwei Street in Guangdong. The specific migration route was Guangdong —— Pingle, Guangxi —— Wuzhou, Guangxi —— Shatou, Hezhou, Guangxi. After that, they flowed upstream along the Shatou River and migrated to the depths of Dagui Mountain. Now mainly scattered in Hezhou Shatin town, goose tang town at the junction of hundreds of miles of mountain chong. Tuyao is a typical mountain ethnic group, containing rich in traditional cultural resources, but lacks systematic research. Tuyao is a branch of Yao nationality in China, with a total population of more than 8,000. Due to historical reasons, they are mainly distributed in the three Yao administrative villages of Guangmei, Gutang Town, Hezhou City, Guangxi, and Jinzhu, Xinmin and Shidong administrative villages in Shatian Town, among which Tuyao Town has the largest population. Tuyao is a small branch of the nation that is constantly moving south. Due to the war and the suppression of foreign power, they had to live in high mountains with dense forests, dangerous terrain, closed traffic, easy to defend and difficult to attack. Because of this reason, Tuyao has retained the more traditional lifestyle and social relations for a long time. Throughout the development process of Tuyao people's aesthetic appreciation, it roughly presents the trajectory of three stages.

3 The customs of life and production of tuyao

Tuyao's living customs and production customs and customs refer to the unique customs formed by the differences of natural environment, social conditions and economic development level. Its formation and development are constrained by the natural environment, mode of production, occupational composition, political system, social organization and the needs of ethnic groups. Therefore, because of the

particularity of the living ecological environment, the way of making a living of tuyao is also different. In the long-term historical development process, the living customs 2shelter and travel, God worship, birthday and funeral, reflects the specific living environment in line with the characteristics. Tuyao lived in the deep of Dagui Mountain for hundreds of years, and it is difficult to communicate with the outside world. However, in the long course of history, they could not sever the ties with the Han and Zhuang people ethnic groups around them, so their daily life also contained many foreign cultural elements. The birth and development of Tuyao marriage system and the inheritance of wedding dress custom are closely related to the life customs of tuyao. For example, weddings must be held in the fall and winter to ensure that food stays fresh for three days and three nights. For example, the wedding procession to spend the night in the groom's home, because of the harsh natural environment, road congestion, it is difficult to do between the two villages within a day.

The production custom refers to the stipulations that people are engaged in all kinds of material production, especially in agricultural production, and need to follow in order to ensure the smooth production. It is an important part of national culture, and its development and changes are constrained by many factors, such as ecological environment, mode of production, means of livelihood, physiological and psychological needs of ethnic groups, etc. Because of this, tuyao created the corresponding production habits according to the natural ecological environment, including farming methods, crop variety selection, industrial structure combination, production regulations, environmental protection regulations, etc. , it is not only a cultural label of the way of making a living of the Tuyao ethnic group, but also an important symbol that distinguishes it from another ethnic group. Tuyao is a branch separated from Guoshan Yao, and its production customs have many characteristics of Guoshan Yao. But there are also differences between tuyao and Guoshan Yao. All the barren hills and land in the community are collectively owned. The land is cultivated and occupied mainly on the basis of their respective capacities, with the right of possession during the cultivation period, which can be reclaimed by others after fallow cultivation, and there is no institutional basis for long-term private occupation. This system also affects the restriction of marriage within the ethnic rules of the Yao

nationality. Agricultural production is the most important means of livelihood for the farming nation.

Under normal circumstances, on the basis of ensuring full input of labor, but also to adapt to local conditions, in order to obtain the best crop output. Unlike many Yao groups in history who migrated to cultivate and “Ate mountains and mountains”, Tuyao basically adopted the mode of settlement. Their migration was not strong, and their agricultural production was somewhat different from other branches of Yao people, mainly “Rotational farming” rather than “Floating farming”. However, the harsh natural environment of mountain areas has determined that people can only make a living by extensive farming -- ploughing and slash-and-burn, hoping to be self-sufficient but unable to do so. This kind of natural economy form makes the tuyao to be in the poverty condition for a long time.

3.1 The labor force of tuyao

Tuyao labor force tuyao live in mountainous areas, the land can be cultivated and cultivated is extremely poor, coupled with the long-term use of extensive and single mode of production, the demand for labor force is very large. It can be said that the tuyao people all year round in the struggle for survival and toil, there is never done agricultural work. This is why it is so difficult to keep track of labour input here, and it is often the case that all men, women and children, as long as they can, have to participate in the corresponding agricultural production. Traditionally, Tuyao mainly take the family as the most basic unit of production and life. However, from the late 1950s to the early 1980s, according to the guidance and requirements of the state policy, collective production labor was organized with production teams as a unit, and the rest of the time production was arranged by families independently. Because of this, many children in the TUYAO community begin to do housework at the age of seven or eight. At the age of eleven or twelve, they have to go with their parents to open up mountains and cultivate land and grow crops. The number of hours worked per day is also not limited and is often determined by family and personal circumstances. But most of the time, it is getting up at dawn and going home at night, especially during the busy farming season. There is little leisure time throughout the year. Of course, in the family-based production units, almost all agricultural

production is the family of men and women to participate in, there is no clear division of labor, but each to the best of his ability. In the whole Tuyao Mountain area, there is hardly any problem of labor surplus.

The traditional agricultural production of tuyao is mainly labor-intensive, and the shortage of labor force is a frequent phenomenon. In order to overcome this difficulty, in the long-term production of labor, formed a form of exchange of workers. One is between families, relatives and friends, in the busy farming or in urgent need of labor, to take one-to-one exchange of workers to help each other, today I help you, you use the same way to help me in the future. Second, cooperative reclamation, cooperative farming farms, common labor, according to the average distribution of labor input harvest of agricultural products. Third, "Hit will", that is, hire people to help, it is in need of more labor, can not change jobs, invited relatives and friends or ethnic people to help, only to eat, not pay. If you want to build a house or encounter other important things, invited to help workers in principle can not not go, let alone gossip, it seems that every family should and must pay the obligation. The serious shortage of agricultural labor force in TUYAO community did not begin to change until the beginning of the 21st century.

3.2 Crop varieties of Tuyao

The soil quality, temperature and humidity produced by the natural ecological environment of Tuyao crop varieties have a direct impact on the survival and growth of animals and plants, and the unique natural conditions of tuyao community, the result is that traditional crops are not plentiful. The barren hillsides are largely unsuitable for the cultivation of ordinary crops, and forestry would have been the best option. However, it is inevitable that the people of the tuyao nationality need to obtain food and various kinds of food to maintain their survival. After long-term exploration and experience accumulation, they have finally been screened out to have a strong ability to withstand natural disasters, it is also suitable for local cultivation of a series of low-yielding, drought-tolerant crops, including millet, corn, taro, cassava, sweet potato, pumpkin, ground grass, Ginger, dogbean, yellow bean, etc. , and through ethnic cultural intervention to ensure the long-term continuation of crop varieties. However, due to low crop yields and often insufficient harvests, the TUYAO also

have a wealth of experience in growing and collecting Cash crop to supplement their diet. They grow Cash crop such as camellia oleifera, tea, fruits, tung oil tree and some Chinese herbs. They collect honey, bamboo shoots, mushrooms, fungus, star anise, brown bark and some roots, in addition to their own use, a considerable part of the export, in exchange for food and other necessities of life. In the above crops, and the dryland cultivation of corn, sweet potato, taro, cassava, ginger, grass-based, is the main daily life of the tuyao people of food resources.

3.3 The handicraft of tuyao

The handicrafts of the Tuyao people each ethnic group and each ethnic group has its own handicraft industry, and the development and progress of which are always related to the natural resources of the production, living and residence of the ethnic group. Tuyao is no exception. Due to the abundant bamboo and wood resources in the mountainous areas where they live, the handicraft industry is mainly made of bamboo and wood, there are no handicraft workshops. In the TUYAO community, almost every family is involved in making bamboo and wood products.

Bamboo weaving is the main technique of bamboo, the tool is only a knife, the main material is the local strong tenacity of Nanzhu. The procedure is to cut down the bamboo and carry it home, break it into pieces and pieces, first select a few larger pieces as the frame, then according to needs and their own technical level, use the bamboo pieces to weave into various shapes of production and living appliances, mainly is the back basket, basket, Dustpan, Dustpan, bamboo basket and so on.

3.4 Major items purchased by Tuyao on a daily basis

Tuyao's main daily purchase items are mainly natural economy, and its production is self-sufficient but not self-sufficient, so it has a certain degree of dependence on the market. First, the main production tools rely on off-mountain market supply. Tuyao have no blacksmith, nor can they make iron tools. Therefore, Plow, Harrow, Hook Knife, Hoe, sickle, axe, wood knife, etc. , all need to be obtained from the market. Second, the dependence of daily necessities on the market is also very high. Daily necessities, such as pots, spades, bowls, pots, etc. , are mostly purchased from the market. And the daily necessities of the market to provide more,

from sewing to cloth, clothing, and so on. Tuyao did not grow cotton, spinning, weaving habits, the clothing and accessories of raw materials, all need to buy from the market, affected by market fluctuations.

3.5 Folk beliefs of Tuyao

The folk belief of the Tuyao people is a spontaneous emotional sustenance of the common people on natural objects. It is an unofficial and non-organized act, rooted in the traditional culture of each nationality and ethnic group. Different nationalities and ethnic groups have different ways of thinking, production practice and social relations, and their beliefs are also different, showing strong natural and cultural characteristics. According to Durkheim, "Religion is a unique and inviolable system of beliefs and rituals associated with the sacred, which unite all those who believe in it within a moral community called the Church." In the face of natural forces appear weak, and therefore the traditional culture is full of the idea that all things are spiritual, believing that the The Hours of the gods are in control of People's fate, many aspects of productive life require the blessings of nature. The folk belief of Tuyao was deeply influenced by Taoism, which included nature worship, ghost worship, ancestor worship and totem worship, such as the Wu Xing of "Metal, wood, water, fire and earth". However, they were strongly dependent on nature, deeply rooted in the concept of "Everything has a spirit" and had a strong sense of worship. And these beliefs, in the wedding ceremony and wedding dress among the tuyao have a strong reflection.

The nature worship of Tuyao

The nature worship of Tuyao refers to the worship of all things in the natural world, including the Sun, the Moon, the stars, mountains, rivers, flowers, plants, trees, birds, animals, fish, insects, wind, rain, thunder and lightning, etc. , is the most basic form of human religious worship. As a part of primitive religion, nature worship is an illusory reflection of the combination of the natural world and the real society, as well as a concrete manifestation of the low level of development of human social productivity, it plays the role of meeting people's psychological needs. Originally, man and nature are in the same Circle of Life Organic System, and human beings depend on the acquisition of natural substances to survive and continue, so there is a close affinity with all things of nature. The first is the nature worship of

land, mountains and forests. The most common Chinese characters used in the male naming of the tuyao people are “Jin, mu, shui, Huo and Tu”, although this is the core content of the Han people’s “Wu Xing, mutual development and mutual restraint”, but there is an almost one-to-one correspondence with nature: gold represents rocks and stone mountains, wood represents trees, forest water represents rivers and rivers, fire is a symbol of thunder and lightning, and Earth represents land, it is the core of people’s cultivation of land and their food and clothing. These objects of worship have been protected for a long time and regarded as the symbol of “Eternity” by the tuyao people. Among them, the worship of land should be ranked first. The land is the foundation of human existence, and the belief and worship of the people who depend on agriculture are always related to crop production and local safety. Earth worship God, because they can benefit the villagers, bless human and animal peace, good weather, good grain, people can live a good life.

The worship of ghosts and gods in tuyao

The worship of wind, rain and lightning, also originated from ancient society, is the product of people’s unexplainable natural phenomena into divine power at that time. The worship of “Wind” is related to the humble houses and crops of the Tuyao people. For “Rain”, the people think it is stingy, can not offend, so when the Dragon Festival to pay special attention to stop all production activities, to avoid offending and cause drought.

The worship of ghosts and gods in tuyao

The origin of the worship of ghosts and gods in Tuyao is related to the idea that everything has a soul and the soul is immortal. The tuyao people believe that worshipping the king God can protect the village people Ding Ping’s six livestock prosperity, good weather, Grain Fengdeng. To this day, this custom is still popular among the people. Worship the mountain gods. Since ancient times, Yao people living in the mountains, Leshan, worship of mountain gods, almost all of the Yao ethnic groups an important part of daily life. The worship of mountain gods should be closely related to Yao People’s way of making a living by farming and hunting. The Tuyao people believe that every mountain has a mountain

god. Unlike the evil spirits, they often come out in the evening and at night. Although they do not capture People's souls and do not harm them, there are many folk legends about people being frightened, it also seriously interferes with people's normal life. In order to avoid interference and ensure the development of normal production, the custom of worshiping mountain gods gradually came into being.

Soul worship

In the TUYAO community, the concept of immortal soul exists universally. People believe that everyone has a soul, a body, after death, although the body no longer exists, but the soul does not disappear, or attached to others, or wandering in the world. It has superhuman ability, fickle, can control the fate of people in the dark. In life, many do good, good end, often become good ghost, can bless the family peace. On the contrary, they will become evil spirits, endangering people's safety and even life. In order to avoid evil spirits harm, people try to avoid, retreat, or practice drive, hope they do not interfere with normal human life. The worship of ghosts and gods in Tuyao occupies an important position. They worship the gods everywhere, Heaven, earth, human, animals, plants and other types of gods, ghosts have everything.

Ask the divination of tuyao

In the TUYAO community, whether it is a long-term illness or a variety of strange phenomena, natural and man-made disasters, will be considered as ghosts and gods, in the absence of a specific culprit, often through the division of the public ask fortune-telling methods to be determined. When asking for the hexagrams, the parties need to report the situation they encounter in detail to the master, who then calculates the specific ghosts they encounter according to the "Hexagrams".

Ancestor worship

Ancestor worship ancestor worship has a long history, is based on the concept of eternal soul and belief in the dead ancestors of a family expression. The ancestor worship of tuyao has a strong national characteristics, with more primitive religious consciousness, usually put the totem of the ancestors into sacrifice.

4 The origin history of Yao costumes

Since ancient times, China has been a unified multi-ethnic country, with a colorful clothing culture, which can be called the "kingdom of clothes". Here, the formation of "the gentleman's clothes and appearance, then the eye said" dress aesthetic standards.

In addition, due to the influence of natural environment, religious belief, historical and cultural tradition, aesthetic concept and many other factors, in the long-term production and life practice, the costume culture of the ethnic minorities in China presents the characteristics of diversity, inheritance and complexity, and has extremely high historical and cultural value and artistic value.

There is no doubt that Yao, as the most populous minority, its costume culture has a very significant historical position in China and even in the treasure house of human costume culture and art.

As a special branch of the big family of Yao nationality, the costume culture foundation of Tuyao is based on the overall costume culture of Yao nationality. Therefore, to understand the wedding dress culture of Tuyao nationality, it is still necessary to discuss the origin of the costume culture and related cultural and artistic characteristics of Yao nationality first.

We often say that the origin and development of ethnic minority costume culture is accompanied by the whole growth process of this nation. During the Qin and Han dynasties, the ancestors of the Yao nationality were forced to migrate south, oppressed by the feudal ruling class. They crossed the plain, crossed the hills, entered the valleys, and then fell into the barren hills and mountains. Over the past two thousand years, the ancestors of Yao nationality have created rich and colorful cultures in this long and permanent migration years, among which costume culture is one of the most dazzling. According to historical documents, as early as the Qin and Han dynasties, the ancestors of the Yao people learned to use bark to make costumes. The Book of the Later Han (The Book of the Later Han is a historical literary work. It mainly describes the history of the first year of the reign of the Han Dynasty (25 AD)

to Emperor Xian (220 AD). The author of the ten volumes and eighty volumes of the Book of the Later Han is Fan Ye and Li Xian, prince of Zhang Huai. This book combines the seven historical materials of the later Han Dynasty circulated at that time, and refers to the Later Han Dynasty by Yuan Hong's the Later Han Dynasty, which is concise and vivid narrative (www.baike.so.com), Volume 76, "Remember the Yao ancestors Pan Hu ": after the death of Panhu, his children "become husband and wife. Wave wood skin, dyed with grass, good five color clothes, sanctions have tail shape..... Colorful clothes ".

From the story of the origin of the Yao nationality, we can determine that the Yao ancestors liked colorful costumes. The five colors are not only derived from the hair color of the ancestral bottle dog, but also symbolizes the bravery and perseverance of the bottle dog, which is also the character symbol of the Yao man.

In the Sui and Tang dynasties, China's feudal society was fully developed. Especially in the Tang Dynasty, the unity of all ethnic groups was strengthened, political stability, economic prosperity, cultural undertakings developed in an all-round way, and the whole society appeared a thriving prosperity scene. At this time, influenced by the Han culture, the Yao nationality had new changes in the Yao costumes. According to the Book of Sui Dynasty, volume 31 years, its ancestors Moyao, "men but white cloth trousers, more ans; women's blue cloth shirts, spotted cloth skirt, no shoes".

In the Song Dynasty, the economic center of gravity shifted southward, and the Central Plains culture penetrated into the Yao area, and the ideas of the Yao ancestors changed. On the basis of pursuing practicality, the Yao costumes began to pursue more beauty, and liked to use the decoration method of batik, stitch and embroidery. At this time, men and women's clothes have more gender differentiation. For example, men like to use chicken feathers for a bun, while women use silver, tin and conch for decoration.

According to what Zhou Laifei, a Song Dynasty, saw as an official in Guangxi, the Yao nationality in Jingjiang Prefecture was " With a bun hairdressing on the head, barefoot with arms, or bare, or quail knot, or patchwork robe prayer, or white cloth

towel, and its head is blue cloth purple robe. Women's upper garment and lower skirt; but the tops are very fine and popular." When describing the Rongshui Yao nationality in Guangxi, it was written that "the hair is curled up, the clothes are dyed in green and red, and the clothes are woven into calico". The Yao people in Bashu and Huguang have "curl-upped hair, barefoot, colorful clothes and brown cloth"..... In particular, the "Yao Ban cloth" made of indigo by the Yao nationality in Guangxi is colorful and has very fine patterns. To sew clothes, to the Central Plains literati left a very deep impression.

During the Ming and Qing Dynasties, with the development of agriculture and cottage industry, Yao costumes gradually became more colorful, full of characteristics of The Times and regional styles.

At the end of the Yuan Dynasty, military disasters continued and the people were in poverty. Many areas of the country were sparsely populated and the land was deserted. After the establishment of the Ming Dynasty, a series of measures were taken to restore production, such as rewarding reclamation, building water conservancy and reducing taxes and corvee, and promoting the planting of mulberry cotton, which effectively promoted the development of social economy. With the improvement of productivity and the expansion of the market, the increasing industrial and commercial population, the continuous emergence of new industries, and the continuous progress of production technology. At the same time, the development of cotton planting industry has produced a large number of cotton textile industry centers and specialized production areas, such as Suzhou, Songjiang, Hangzhou, Nanjing, Beijing, Jiaxing and others, etc. The silk and cotton fabrics produced in these areas have been greatly improved, both in quality and output, and enjoy a high reputation at home and abroad. Under the influence of the economy and culture of these advanced areas, the Yao nationality has absorbed the advanced technology experience of the surrounding Han nationality, enriched and developed the Yao folk crafts and folk crafts, and made the Yao costumes more gorgeous and colorful. Within the Yao society, there are a series of novel, exquisite costumes and ethnic characteristics.

Ming Dynasty Wang Shi said in the “Gui Hai Zhi Xu” that the southwest yi, "The vulgar Yao is the ugliest. Yao said he was born of Panhu. The man wore a long bun with comb and pierced his ears. The rich are connected with gold and silver rings, and the poor are connected with chicken and goose feather cotton cord. The clothes are waist length only, and the sleeves are very short. A man who is over eighteen years old is called a naked man. Burn the ashes with pig dung, wash the hair tail to make it red and hang on the bun end. Insert pheasant tail to show courage. For women, the front of the two sleeves is decorated with multicolored silk fabric to the waist, and the back is hanging to the knee. It is called a dog tail shirt to show that don't forget ancestors. It is also made of gold and silver jewellery, which is like a fire band, and is transverse to the bun, which is called a fire pod hairpin. There are skirts and pants. The skirt is the shortest and shows the knee.” The Yao people in Guangdong "have barefoot and a tiny bun shaped like a mallet (in hairdressing), and colorful cloth."

At the end of the Ming Dynasty, political corruption, serious land annexation, surging peasant uprising, and the Manchurian nobles took advantage of the situation to establish the Qing Dynasty. After the establishment of the Qing Dynasty, the people of all ethnic groups were forced to follow the Manchu culture and customs and shave their hair and clothes easily, which was strongly opposed by the people of all ethnic groups. Although later, it was allowed to enforce it, but women, Confucianism, Confucianism, li, funeral, marriage and funeral, so there is a saying that "ten follow ten do not follow". Most of the Yao people were scattered in the border areas, far from the ruling center of the Qing Dynasty and the political, economic and cultural centers, and most of them were under the rule of local officials, so the Yao costumes mostly followed from the old customs. However, compared with the Ming Dynasty, the Yao costumes in the Qing Dynasty have more colorful styles and colors. At the same time, with the formation of the distribution characteristics of "large dispersion and small settlement", the differences in ecological environment, the different contact with different ethnic groups, and the level of social, economic and cultural development are different, making the regional and ethnic characteristics of Yao costume culture more and more obvious.

The Han nationality also named the Jian Yao, Ban Yao, Jiantou Yao, Pingding Yao, Huayao, Red Yao, Changbai Yao, Baiku Yao, Hei Yao, Changtou Yao, and Landian Yao. In the Qing Dynasty, Guangxi became the settlement center of Yao nationality, so there are many detailed records of Yao costume in its local documents. Most of the Yao people in Guangdong live in the mountainous areas of northern Guangdong. "Men weave white pheasants with heads, silver rings with ears, silver bands with rounded forehead, silver rings with necklaces, and silver bracelets with wristbands, up to two or three pairs. Women's hair hairpins are made of bamboo, and their shoes are made of flowered cloth, like the wings of a bird. The belly and back of the clothes are all decorated with Tang and Song copper coins. The skirts are embroidered with five-color velvet colors, which are as short as the knee, tied with money on the side, and the lines are colored." In the Qing Dynasty, the regional style of Guizhou Yao clothing is also very rich. Zeding Yao, "Men and women are still green, and they are no longer than the knee." Libo Hei Yao, "Men's hair is in a bun, and the green cloth is long. Women's hair is in a bun, and the green cloth is short, and the skirt length is less than the knee..... DongJie Hua Yao, men's hair is in a bun, and the bun is hanging down, and covered with calico, and the green cloth is short, and the red and white lines are around the edge. Women's hair is in a bun, and the ears are decorated with large silver rings." Baiku Yao, "Not only are women's clothes not connected, but their front chest, back and left and right sleeves are different. When they wear them, they are connected with buttons. It's really different clothes." In the Qing Dynasty, the distribution of Yao nationality in Yunnan was about the same as today, but there were too few records of Yao costume culture. According to Qianlong "Kai Hua Fu Zhi" volume nine years, Yao " clothes near the Han Dynasty, women long shirt drag skirt."

In the Qing Dynasty, as the Qing Dynasty to the strengthening of the feudal rule of yao region and yao, han and other ethnic economic and cultural exchanges, Hunan, Guangxi, Guangdong border part of the flat yao and some live near the town and yao, due to the han culture and the influence of the feudal culture, great changes have taken place in the clothing culture, Chinese degree of yao clothing culture gradually deepened.

In the late Qing Dynasty and the early Republic of China, the Yao costume culture changed little compared with the Qing Dynasty. The victory of the Revolution of 1911 overthrew the Qing Dynasty, which had ruled China for nearly 300 years, and the rules and regulations of the feudal ruling class in the clothing culture were also thrown into the dustbin of history. After the establishment of the republic of China, the "Jian Bian Tong Ling", the national people's reputation, will keep nearly 300 braid hair habits eradication, clothes clothing also follow major changes, the hierarchy of the traditional clothing culture with the feudal dynasty collapse, people can according to their own will to choose satisfactory clothing, can according to their own economic conditions and aesthetic concept to dress up.

In the 1920s, the government of the Republic of China promulgated the Regulations on Clothing, which was mainly for men and women and the uniforms of civil servants, with no specific provisions for casual clothes and traditional clothes of ethnic minorities. Therefore, in the countryside, the vast number of Yao farmers still wear traditional ethnic clothing.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese government implemented the correct line of national equality and national unity, respect minority customs and traditional culture, for the development of ethnic costume culture ushered in a blossoming spring, people of all ethnic groups can according to their own national habits and hobbies to wear their own clothes. During this period, people who did not dare to admit that they were Yao put on the traditional Yao costumes and changed their name to Yao. Although affected by the nationalities of economic and cultural exchanges, Yao nationality youth costume culture Chinese increasingly heavier, but from the survey of the 1950s, Yao traditional clothing is still most of the "big scattered, small settlement" distribution characteristics, Yao because of the differences in geographical environment, and the degree of alien exchanges, the affected is different, on the clothing formed the many style and regional style, to dress style alone, there are more than sixty or seventy kinds, each place, each branch of Yao clothing has its own distinctive characteristics.

Generally speaking, Yao men wear double front or right front copper button or collar, wide trousers and waist and calf binding cloth bands. Women wear round

collar lace, long skirt or pleated skirt, embroidered belt, apron, and tied feet.

However, the artistic styles and styles of Yao costumes are different.

During the "cultural revolution", due to the influence of the "left" trend, with metaphysical view, the minority traditional clothing as "Strange clothes", as to be "swept", parts even forced Yao people to cut hair, skirt trousers, some Yao to wear yellow uniform and Han clothing. After the "Cultural Revolution", with the implementation of the Party's ethnic policies, the customs and traditional culture of the Yao nationality were respected again, and many Yao people wore traditional ethnic costumes again.

After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, With the deepening of the economic reform, The long-of closure in the Yao region is gradually broken, Increasing equal exchanges between the Yao and Han Chinese and other ethnic groups, Ethnic equality and ethnic unity have become the mainstream of ethnic relations, As the national estrangement and national prejudice formed in history have gradually disappeared, The improvement of the development level of social productivity in the Yao ethnic area, The gradual collapse of the natural economic barriers of self-sufficiency, Many living facts in real life make the Yao people deeply realize that the machine-woven cloth is far more beautiful and durable than the white-woven earth cloth, Buy ready-to-wear and rubber shoes, leather shoes, etc., It is more convenient, convenient and durable than sewing clothes, pants and shoes and socks. As a result, mechanized goods such as ready-to-wear and leather shoes flooded the urban market and then flowed to the rural areas where the Yao people live.

At the end of the 20th century, with the development of social and economy in the Yao area and the enhancement of the purchasing power of the Yao people, some novel and generous styles, exquisite workmanship and high-grade fashion began to become popular among the Yao people, especially among the Yao young people, so as to make people's clothes more abundant.

5 The emergence and development of Tuyao wedding dress

5.1 Influence of clothing culture and natural factors in migration

Many scholars believe that human is not only in order to adapt to the actual needs of the change and cover and decoration body, clothing often is used as a means of differentiation, is used to "statement" marked self, evolved from the pursuit of fashionable clothing fashion did not change this principle, just more expand and reveal the principle.

Wedding dress has an important status and significance for human beings. In different societies, different periods, different regions, different nationalities will have different wedding clothing cultural customs. For example, the woman of the Zhuang nationality, wears a black wedding dress, accompanied by bridesmaids in black clothes and goes to the husband's house with a black umbrella. The wedding clothes of the Yao nationality are colorful and decorated with peacocks, fish playing in the water and plum blossoms. As a very special branch of the Yao nationality, their wedding clothes are very different from those of other Yao nationality, which is refreshing and unforgettable.



Figure 5: Comparison diagram of Yao wedding dress and Tu Yao wedding dress added here



Figure 6: Comparison of wedding clothing of different Yao branches

Cultural anthropologists believe that the reasons for cultural change are internal, caused by the changes within the society; the second is external, caused by the changes in the natural environment, migration and cultural environment, etc. When the environment changes, the members of the society respond to this in a new way, they begin to change, and it is accepted by the people of this nation and become its characteristics. From the perspective of the general law of the development and change of things, "a thing changes, due to the influence and decision of external conditions, always starts with local change, or from external change and then to internal change, and this change is gradually strengthened. The cultural changes of many ethnic groups reflect this law." From the perspective of the change process of Yao costume culture, the change of material production mode has the most profound influence on the change of Yao costume culture. In the Ming Dynasty, the Yao people living in river valleys, hills and Pingba areas gradually opened up more paddy fields and planted rice. At the same time, in order to strengthen the rule of the border minorities, the Ming Dynasty also recruited Yao people in the Yao area to camp in the fields and set up the fields for Yao soldiers to cultivate for generations.

After the Qing dynasty, this part of the part of the yao, especially the border flat yao, because of living in the flat land, the long-term contact with the Han nationality,

influenced by the Han economy and culture, began to give up the migration of swimming farming agricultural life, settled down, engaged in farmland rice and mountain agricultural economy, economic development level and the local han has little difference. This change in production mode and the progress of production technology have a great impact on cultural changes. As the anthropologist Clyde Woods said, " The changes of one part of the system generally lead to the corresponding changes of another part. Even a single technological innovation may cause a response, resulting in a series of continuous changes (Linked changes).

In addition, White's cultural evolution schema holds that the change of ideology comes with the social change, which is caused by the progress of technology."Due to the change of production mode and the progress of production technology, this part of the Yao" speech clothing, gradually with the mainland; with the people, weaving grain." "Its dress and similar to all people..... clothes skirt trousers, also like the folk". Because of its "clothing, food and all people close, called Pingyao". Especially after the 1980s, with the implementation of China's rural production responsibility system, the social productivity of yao region has been greatly improved, social and economic structure is quietly changing, has long dominated in the yao social economy of self-sufficient natural economy in the modernization process is drastic changes, yao people's living standards have improved accordingly. The transformation of the social and economic structure has continuously enhanced the social and economic development level of Yao people and the purchasing power of yao people. Therefore, machine-woven cloth has gradually entered the Yao families, replaced self-grown, self-woven and self-woven local cloth and became the main fabric of clothing.

From the late 1980s to the early 1990s, the man-made fiber, characterized by wear-resisting, smooth, light, transparent, easy to wash and fast drying, flooded the urban market in the Yao area and flowed to the rural areas where the Yao lived and became the main fabric of youth clothing. At the end of the 20th century, stimulated by the market economy, a large number of young and middle-aged people from the Yao area flocked to the economically developed coastal areas as migrant workers. While accepting the work and technical learning opportunities provided by the

economically developed areas, they not only increased their personal income, but also gradually accepted the values of the economically developed areas.

As a result, the simple, convenient and cheap ready-to-wear clothing has gradually become the daily clothing of the Yao people. Cultural communication also has a great influence on the changes of Yao costumes. "Among modern scholars who study change, no one disagrees that the most common way of innovation is spreading or borrowing. From this, we can see that the main overwhelming factor in cultural innovation is borrowing, especially in the more modern society, the borrowing factor is more prominent." The Yao nationality is an ethnic group with more contact with the Han nationality and is more influenced by the Han nationality culture. In history, the Han nationality was a nation with relatively developed politics, economy and culture, and most of the central dynasties in China were established by the ruling class dominated by the Han nationality. In the process of unifying Lingnan, the feudal central dynasties constantly sent troops to conquer and rule Lingnan, stationed troops and immigrated to Lingnan. Combined with the economic and cultural exchanges among the people, the contact between Yao and Han deepened. Both sides selectively borrowed and adopted each other's "cultural characteristics and cultural clusters" in the contact.

But to be fair, in this two-way communication, the Yao borrowed and adopted from the Han more than the Han borrowed from the Yao. Especially in recent decades, due to the development of modern science and technology and widely used, film, television, newspapers and other media into all levels of people's life, close the Yao nationality and Han nationality and the central plains and frontier culture and the Han culture of Yao nationality, the Han clothing culture and foreign clothing culture, the change of Yao clothing culture is natural. In history, the Yao society used "handy" as one of the perfect symbols of women. But under the influence of contemporary social values, people have accepted the values of market economy. People find that as long as they can make money, they can buy any necessary goods from the market, including the clothes people need. Therefore, as long as the industrious, cultural, ability, good housekeeping, can make money, get rich, is the embodiment of personal value.

At the same time, with the improvement of the living environment and the acceleration of the pace of life, the traditional Yao costumes are not only inconsistent with the modern living environment because of their thickness, and the changes are not synchronized with the pace of life, and they are natural. Yao costumes, from the "good five color clothes" and "colorful clothes" of its ancestors in the Qing and Han dynasties to the formation of the ethnic characteristics and regional styles of the Ming and Qing Dynasties. During this period, although the Sinicization of costumes has appeared, the colorful has always been the main ethnic characteristics and style of its costume culture. After the 1950s, the costume of Yao culture gradually increased, especially after the 80s, with the development of commodity economy and Yao, such as the strengthening of economic and cultural exchanges between nationalities, Yao clothing culture in the process of contact with alien culture, constantly borrowing, innovation, make the Yao clothing increasingly Chinese and fashion. The change process has the following characteristics:

1) Men's clothes change faster than women's clothes. Under the small-scale peasant economy, the Yao family is a family relationship between "men and women". Generally speaking, men tend to be political and economic representatives of the family. They tend to participate more in social, economic and cultural activities than women, and have more contact with the outside world and other nationalities than women, so they are more likely to accept new things than women. In the process of cultural communication or cultural borrowing, "innovation will be accepted more quickly than others". According to the survey data in the 1950s, when the Yao women in rural areas basically still wear traditional ethnic costumes, some men have begun to change to wearing Zhongshan, Tang and national defense suits. After the 1980s, when the Yao women, impacted by the commodity economy and the influence of different ethnic culture, gradually came to Wei Jiji to buy wear clothes, some Yao men had become fashionable. From the perspective of the whole change process of Yao costume culture, the change of Yao men's clothing far exceeds the change of women's clothing,

2) The clothing of the young people changes faster than that of the elderly. Generally speaking, compared with their grandparents, Yao youth, especially those of

contemporary Yao nationality, are better educated and are more knowledgeable and easier to communicate with other nationalities. Therefore, they are more likely to adopt new things in their interactions with other nations. White pants yao is a national ethnic group with a relatively complete preserved traditional culture. Until now, except for the working white members and some young people, the rest of the people still wear traditional ethnic costumes. Most of these modified young people and those who go out to work have received high school cultural education, often go out to travel, work, visit relatives, meetings, active thinking, open, and easy to accept foreign things. Therefore, in the process of clothing culture change, their pace will be larger, and the pace is relatively fast. From the perspective of the changes of the whole Yao costume, in the 1980s, when most of the Yao people in the countryside began to go to China to gather jackets and sportswear, the Yao youth in the towns began to pursue fashion, wearing suits and shoes, and became the vanguard of the change of Yao costume culture.

3) The costumes of the Yao people living in towns or near the Han communities change faster than those of the Yao people living in remote mountainous areas. Cultural anthropologists believe that in the process of cultural change, "the scope of cultural transmission or the degree of borrowing is determined by the duration and close degree of contact between the two peoples". Living in town or near the Han communities near yao, due to long-term contact with Han or other ethnic groups, and influenced by the urban culture, social economic and cultural development is faster, easy to accept the outside, so they will adopt more, borrow the Han costume culture or the connotation of urban fashion culture, clothing culture change faster. In terms of geographical distribution, the clothing of Min Yao in Hunan and the border of Hunan, Guangxi and Guangdong is higher than the degree of Yao nationality in western Guangxi, Guangdong, Yunnan and Guizhou, because the spread of Han culture in Hunan, Hunan and Guangdong was earlier than that of western Guangxi, western Guangdong, Yunnan and Guizhou. From the perspective of the same area, the costumes of Yao nationality living near Wei Town change faster than those in the marginal areas. The ethnic survey data in the 1950s proved that when the Yao people living in the countryside still wore the traditional Yao costumes, the Yao costumes

living in or near the town of Wei Town were basically the same or similar to the ethnic costumes of the local Han and Zhuang people.

4) The gradual decline of traditional handicrafts, and the modernization and non-localization of clothing fabrics. Under the traditional lifestyle of "men ploughing and women weaving", handloom is one of the important symbols of the perfection of Yao women. In history, the Yao costumes were made by women from the Yao family, and most of the skilled craftsmen who woven cloth and made clothes were native Yao women without special training. In the past, in the Yao community, girls with ingenuity and excellent skills were not only the glory of the whole family, but also even the whole village, but also the object of the boys. People came to them in an endless stream. So, the girl in the countryside tend to learn folk craft as a big thing in life to seriously, many girls grew up with home old man learning spinning, weaving, embroidery, cross-stitch, brocade crafts, so as to make in the future for family costumes and dowry for themselves, the clothing technology inheritance mainly mother female, elder sister with younger sister, neighborhood, neighborhood together, grandparents from generation to generation. Many women learn handicraft skills from their elders because they are very young, receive the training of their own traditional crafts, and are influenced by words and deeds, so that they have a certain basic skill of folk technology since childhood.

At the same time, the traditional artistic activities passed down from generation to generation, such as singing hall, singing fine songs, dancing king, crossbow, bronze drum fighting, and bird fighting, have also made them influenced by the unique traditional culture and art, which makes their costume artistic attainments have more profound cultural connotation. With the growth of age, the accumulation of knowledge, and the improvement of personal understanding ability and aesthetic concept, these Yao girls, who have been engaged in costume production for a long time, have developed their exquisite handicraft skills and achieved achievements in craftsmanship, and become folk artists of Yao costumes.

However, for decades, with the improvement of the development level of productivity, a large number of wool and acrylic threads have replaced the original

cotton or silk color thread in the decoration materials of clothing, becoming the raw materials for stitch, embroidery and brocade, thus forming the modernization and non-localization of Yao clothing fabrics. Yao clothing fabrics the emergence of the localization, the traditional cotton planting, spinning, weaving and other production activities have gradually reduced, quite a few families have spinning wheel, loom, dyeing VAT, handmade tools in dry bar downstairs or split firewood, many young people simply buy from the market to wear, with exquisite craft generation of folk artists gradually old, a new generation of folk craft, yao clothing making traditional technology gradually decline.

5) The dress of traditional dress. With the acceleration of modernization, the Yao people no longer wear the traditional national costumes that used to be beautiful and proud in their daily life, but replace the ready-made clothes bought from the market. But this does not mean that Yao clothing has completely disappeared from Yao life. Yao clothing is the crystallization of Yao traditional culture, the external expression and image display of Yao culture, and is one of the symbols that are different from other ethnic groups. Due to the self-need of preserving tradition, Yao people often wear traditional costumes in traditional ethnic festivals and traditional ethnic activities, which is consistent with the atmosphere of ethnic cultural activities, so that the traditional Yao costumes gradually become the dress for Yao people to participate in festival activities. Yao traditional dress dress phenomenon is common in the process of cultural change, is many people in the process of cultural integration generally has a kind of cultural psychology, even in some higher degree of modern civilization of countries and regions, this phenomenon still exists, because the human generally has this kind of cultural resistance, makes many ethnic traditions of excellent culture, make human culture richer and more colorful.

5.2 Analysis of the relationship between Tuyao costumes and Yao costumes

Generally speaking, headdress refers to hats and helmets, which were originally used to protect the head during hunting, and then used to resist the wind and cold. However, with the hierarchical differentiation of ethnic groups, there is a symbol of identity. For women, the headdress becomes a beautiful decoration. The headdress of Yao women is colorful.

The Yao nationality has always maintained the traditional characteristics of its own national customs and habits, especially in the clothes of men and women. In the past, due to their different characteristics of living and clothing, there were "Guoshan Yao", "Hongtou Yao", "Daban Yao", "Pingtou Yao", "Landian Yao", "Sha Dayao", "and" Baitou Yao " called by oneself and others. Yao people are good at weaving, dyeing, embroidery and various costumes. Fangcheng flower head Yao women wear a long collar, skirt roll, cuff inlaid cloth. Under shorts, leggings, with red ears wrapped head, top one side pick embroidery geometric grain head pa. Dayao Mountain Hualanyao woman wears a long dress with a collar, the side of the slit, the collar, hem and sleeves are decorated with exquisite red embroidery, with green cloth shorts, brocade leggings, wooden clogs, green cloth, white head, neck tip with silver rings and other ornaments. Jin Ping red head yao women's wear green cloth opposite the long dress, the front has red embroidery and a row of silver medal. The waist is a blue cloth belt, with the end of the embroidery geometric grain, under the exquisite embroidery of the wide flower pants, its pants can be called a precious art boutique. Guizhou Gouyao woman dressed in a dog's tail shirt, its front long to the clothes, both ends carefully sewn if the dog's tail, wear the two fronts in the chest cross, tied to the waist, "dog's tail" naturally hanging down. This kind of clothing is related to the Yao nationality's worship of "Panhu"(dog).

According to history, Panhu had "colorful hair" and "dog's head". Nanman and his descendants made clothes imitating the color and shape of Panhu. The Yao people still wear five colors and dog tail shirts to show that they did not forget their ancestors. Common Yao men's clothing has opposite skirt, left big skirt short garment or long gown, belt, trousers and shorts, mainly blue color. More special is the Nandan white pants Yao men's white bloomers, its wide buttocks and tight legs, strange shape. Yao headdress is extremely rich, white pants Yao men long hair comb on the top of the head; big Yao man hair holding bun, head bag red cloth, inserted wild tail; indigo Yao men like to wear a beautiful ponytail cap. The Chashan Yao woman wears three pairs of large silver board; the Huayao woman wears the dog crest, the pan Yao woman's beautiful hat gorgeous; the top plate Yao woman head "E" crown; a variety of strange woman headdress with brocade handkerchief.

Yao people are good at indigo printing and dyeing, dyeing flowers on indigo cloth. There are two ways: batik dyeing and stitching dyeing. Yao people with their skilled indigo printing and printing techniques have produced well-known "Yao spot cloth" at home and abroad.

Women wore large tops and tied trousers, short round collars and pleated skirts, and long tops and trousers. The composition of Yao costume is unique in style, and the whole pattern is geometric. Yao headdress is more prominent, including "dragon plate" shape, "A" shape and "flying swallow" shape. Yao dyeing and weaving industry developed, clothing is made of self-dyed cloth, a complete set of indigo printing and dyeing technology. Color is often used red, green, yellow, white, black five kinds, clothing production color stitch, embroidery, brocade, batik and other techniques. There are great differences in the costumes of Yao groups. Men's clothes take blue as the basic color, mainly opposite, diagonal and pipa skirt. Some also wear long shirts with different length and trousers, headscarves and leggings, which is simple and unadorned. Tu Yao's wedding dress.

5.3 The relationship between wedding customs and dress customs

When I interviewed the 38-year-old fire aunt, found that she has received a marriage license for 20 years, but still did not hold a wedding. The main reason is poverty. She thinks it is important for the Tuyao people to dress up for their wedding, and she will have a wedding ceremony in the future when she is better off. Another 80-year-old, Zhao Tianbao's grandfather, was 78 when he got married, and his grandchildren were already married. He thinks the children's wedding is important to him. Therefore, in the family economic conditions are limited, let the children do the wedding banquet and ceremony, but he is to do the ceremony. Because, this is the custom of the Tuyao people. No wedding ceremony in the past can not get the right to inherit the land, but in this day and age, no wedding also sorry to relatives and friends. The 36-year-old has two children, but has no wedding ceremony because of financial problems. She believes that every Tuyao people will want a wedding, and, to wear their own national wedding dress. If you do not hold a wedding, the heart will feel sorry for relatives and friends. And her mother had prepared the wedding dress that she had already made. And her in-laws have one for her. Compared with the poor

past, the tuyao people now have more money to buy a wedding dress. When I asked these people: do you think it is necessary to take the wedding so important in this era? Does this set of wedding dress of Tuyao have the necessity to continue to inherit first? Ninety percent of people think that the wedding is a person's most important thing. Besides, you should still wear your own set of native clothes of Yao when you get married.

In addition, in August 2022, with the help of the village committee, the author called together the embroidery women of Daming Village for a collective interview. The author also focused on the importance of the wedding in the hearts of Tuyao people. Here are the basics of the interview:

Through the small talk of this topic, we can basically confirm that compared with the world outside the mountain or the attitude of Han nationality and other nationalities towards wedding ceremony, Tuyao nationality obviously has a very urgent and persistent attitude towards wedding ceremony and banquet. Through several field investigations, the author thinks that this attitude may come from their long-standing beliefs and ancestor worship. They hope to confirm their family identity or national identity through wedding ceremony. They must also prove their Tuyao identity through wedding ceremony. This kind of persistence, this concept, is not good or bad and right or wrong, but it strengthens the concept between marriage and family, deepen the position of marriage in the family. On the contrary, the family also makes a woman of a family a member of the man's family through marriage rituals. Therefore, it can be said that this is a ritual of family identity, and also a way for the bride to obtain a new identity authentication.

Edmund Lich defines that for ecologists, ritual is the repeated behavior, while for anthropologists, ritual is the reciprocal behavior [1] of special members of the same culture. Victor. Turner proposes that ritual is a set of defined formal acts used for a particular occasion that, while not abandoning technical conventions, is a belief in the mysterious (or non-empirical) existence or forces that are seen as the first and ultimate cause of all outcomes. In *The Construction of Ethnic Groups in the Modern Context*, Narribirigo once believed that the "native theory" scholars represented by Edward Hills and Charles Kerse believed that "ethnic groups" are the natural unit that

constitutes human society and the extension of people's kinship. Ethnic identity has its biological basis, which is the manifestation of biological rationality or externalizing. Gerz thinks: " The firmness of ethnic consciousness arises from the preemptive social existence of man. These preemptive elements are first kinship association, which produces the association of religion, language, social customs and other aspects. In other words, everyone is born in a certain environment of blood, language, customs, and thus belong to their own relatives, neighbors, friends and dialect or customs groups; therefore, the sense of ethnic belonging is not out of personal function, practice and interests needs, but out of a sense of affinity " One of the basic principles of ritual for social structures and interpersonal relationships is communication. "" The close connection of ritual with mythology, religion and other beliefs plays an ideological function and directly strengthens the cultural identity from the spiritual aspect.

It can be considered that the whole Tuyao society is the inheritor of the whole ceremony, including a series of people inside Tuyao, such as Gong, the bride and groom and their families. When the whole nation observes and analyzes the necessity of the wedding ceremony and the wedding dress from the perspective of inheritance through the understanding of the inheritance process, and through the perception of the living space of the whole nation, so as to feel their role in the activity and the inheritance attitude of the wedding ceremony and the dress itself.

To sum up, the wedding dress as ethnic material culture carrier, its figurative cultural meaning and abstract cultural meaning all reflect the importance of ethnic identity, the wedding ceremony in help the ethnic identity construction at the same time, also brought a cultural experience, everyone in the wedding ceremony activities get different levels of feeling.

It can be seen that the Tu Yao nation attaches great importance to the wedding. Because Tu Yao "wearing the whole process of the wedding ceremony" is a custom of Tu Yao, this custom is based on the traditional wedding ceremony field. Of course, the wedding ceremony itself is the most important activity of the nation and closely related to the prosperity of the family. The generation of this wedding custom is based under the influence of the political, economic and cultural background of the nation

and the social environment. The establishment of national customs is a long-term process of changing across time latitude and spatial field, not at one stroke. As an important prop with symbolic significance and symbolic characteristics in the ceremony, its generation and change accompany the process of all times with the development of Tuyao wedding ceremony.

Then, what is the relationship between Tuyao's wedding customs and dressing up to participate in the wedding process? Do they have to wear this wedding suit when get married? Or is the wedding clothing not a necessity for a wedding? If they have to wear it, for what reason? If they cannot wear it, and because of what changes have happened? With these questions in mind, the author interviewed different married groups in Daming Village and conducted fieldwork according to different categories. Here are several more representative cases:

First, author Wang Dan interviewed Zhao Zenglan, the bride who held the wedding in 2022.

The author interviewed Zhao Zenglan, who just got married. She told me that her native family and her in-laws had made a wedding dress for her. Her mother bought the materials and made them herself. She thought the dress was meant for marriage. When she was young, she had seen the family elders prepare this dress for young people. When I asked if I would wear this outfit before I Got Married? She doesn't think so. This dress is for the wedding, of course, after the wedding banquet, this dress can be worn on other important days. According to Zhao Zenglan, although some people in the village occasionally get married in traditional Chinese dress, even so, the bride and groom will still wear Tu Yao's wedding dress during the most important ceremony.

From the above dialogue, it is clear that Zhao Zenglan had already made a spare wedding dress for her before the wedding was confirmed, and her husband's family also made a set for her.

6 Changes of Tuyao costumes

To emphasize, Tuyao dress contains the clothes and decorations worn on the body. Since ancient times, each ethnic group has developed its own costume culture under different conditions such as different politics, economy, culture, social practice and living environment. Tuyao also created and developed her own clothing culture, especially the wedding clothing culture, under the special living space and conditions of her own nation, and this wedding dress is accompanied by the memory of marriage custom culture and the changing inheritance from generation to generation. Among them, the origin and development of Tuyao wedding dress is the key problem discussed in this chapter.

Before describing the word "wedding dress", I want to explain a problem: the "daily ethnic dress" of Tu Yao people, in fact, is closely related to the wedding dress, or Tuyao's wedding dress is developed on the basis of Tu Yao's daily ethnic dress. Especially women's "national dress", confirmed by field investigation, before the woman not married, Yao girl in general is not the national dress, until the woman adult or determine the marriage object, for wedding, Yao family for girl wedding dress, after the wedding, the clothes are collected in the home, into an important festival or wedding banquet can wear "dress".

In the wedding, the symbol of the ethnic group in the wedding dress, which is the embodiment of the respect for the traditional culture and the confidence of the sense of belonging to the nation.

The clothes that the bride and groom wear in the wedding ceremony are different from the daily Tu Yao dress, especially in the grand headdress, body decoration and so on. In the wedding ceremony, they are particularly strict with the decoration part of the body, and the wedding dress must conform to the regulations of the ethnic group, which is the embodiment of the clan concept of the Tuyao people. As Wang Jianmin said in the new theory of art anthropology "dress as an important symbol, ethnic identity under different conditions, may be on this basis, and through the national costume possession of space and landscape, in the process of interaction with others present a rich and colorful symbolic significance. The human body and its attachments, such as clothing, headdress, body decoration, etc., have become

important symbols of ethnic identity, which are constantly emphasized and re-emphasized. Within a group, people despise those who violate the cultural norms of body decoration and are inappropriate."

In the field research, from the teenager to the 70-year-old Tuyao, all show love and respect for this set of ethnic costumes. Unmarried girls often love the dress and expect to have it. Generally, women store their clothes in wooden boxes, usually without important occasions.

The change of Tuyao wedding dress is closely related to its social, economic and cultural changes and the change of living and production conditions. We start from the following one by one and compare them with the corresponding pictures

Tuyao wedding dress is "great", mainly reflected in the bride's wedding dress. Therefore, the object of this topic is still the bride's dress, the groom and other guests and relatives on the wedding dress will also be involved, but will not be the focus of research. Tuyao bride dress mainly consists of black fir, blue, short top, color belt, hat (including hat body, brim decoration film, towel, color silk thread, color beads) as the main component, on this basis with red or pink for the main dress over the knee color apron, waist, sleeve, chest, etc. As shown below in the figure:



Figure 7: Zhao Zenglan of Daming village wears a wedding dress



Figure 8: Grand Tuyao wedding dress (from the Internet)

From the dress comparison of the above two brides, its structure and tone are basically the same, but the decoration itself has more detail changes. Clothing language helps us to feel the individual character and the state in the scene. Overall, no doubt, Tuyao dress presents its gorgeous, gorgeous, beautiful and grand features, we can feel from the wedding dress attentively design production Tuyao people to marriage is so seriously, because it does not only contain an important ceremony, also contains the reproduction, the pursuit of better material life, build a new family happiness vision.

In short, cultural change is the eternal phenomenon of all cultures. With the change of Yao social culture and the strengthening of economic and cultural exchanges between Yao and other ethnic groups, Yao costume culture has always been in continuous innovation and change. In the process of cultural dissemination, the Yao costume culture, through constantly borrowing and adopting foreign culture, not only forms its own ethnic characteristics and regional style, but also gradually becomes Chinese and fashion. The integration of ethnic culture will accompany the development of Yao social history from beginning to end.

6.1 Before 1970s

Before the 1970s, the overall change of Tu Yao clothing was not very great. From the field investigation, it is impossible to find the earlier dress style. Now, we only visit the old people and the old cadres who had worked in the Tuyao settlement

area. The main colors of Tuyao women's clothes are Tibetan blue and lake blue. They wear shorts all the year round, and the shorts are shorter, and the feet of the shorts are decorated in red and green colors with two circles of lace. Clothes long as cheongsam, waist with embroidered word cloth tied. At ordinary times, in order to facilitate walking and work, the skirt in front of their clothes will be tucked in the waist. In the fieldwork, we tried to ask them why they formed such a dress habit, they just said good, it was like this before, there is no more explanation. This dressing habit seems to have something to do with the totem "dragon dog" of the Yao nationality. In his book *The History and Culture of Yao Nationality*, Japanese anthropologist Takemura once mentioned the Volume 14 of *The Book of Search for Gods*: "Weaving wood skin, dyed with grass, good five-color clothes, and cut with the tail shape." From this detail, it is close to the characteristics of the dog tail shape.

The French sociologist Tulcan believes that totem is the symbol and symbol of the clan, but also the god of the clan. At the same time, he is the ancestors and relatives of the clan, as well as the patron saint. The dress contains the secrets of the ethnic group for thousands of years, always informing the descendants of the same faith and pride. Tuyao women's calves wrapped with thick cloth, and with homemade ribbon leggings, usually barefoot or wear homemade straw sandals. The women had their heads shaved. Unmarried women wear hats all the year round, the edge of the hat is decorated with wool, wool has the meaning of replacing hair. Married women wear a round wooden hat made of tung tree slices. The base of the hat is mainly yellow and dark green, with red, yellow, green and blue wool as the buckle belt, and the top of the round hat is covered with white embroidered with white cloth, which is particularly striking in the distance. Tuyao men also shave their heads and wrap their white cloth. The male top is extremely short and equal to the umbilicus. The clothes outside are lake blue, the lining is white, the opposite front vertical collar, turn out the lining is white, the clothes to cloth plate buckle buckle tightly. The collar is densely sewn with white thread about more than 20 lines of lines as decoration. There are four pockets outside the clothes, small, big. The trousers are wide, a single foot five to two feet wide, and the head and the two legs are quite wide. With the large head, it can be directly right to tighten. In *The Origin of Art*, Grosser said: " Any nation in the world,

no matter how difficult it is, will not devote all their time and energy to food and lodging." "They cannot eat or drink, or even wear beautiful clothes, but not without these decorative artworks. At the same time, the people with rich living conditions will not spend their time on production or idle all day, even the poorest tribes will produce their own handicrafts, to enjoy the beauty." Tuyao also likes to wear silver ornaments, because of poverty, to have ornaments is luxurious. However, when economic conditions permit, Tuyao also wears some silver ornaments, mainly with bracelets, rings and earrings.

In an interview with the 70-year-old Tuyao elderly, the author learned that in the 1960s or earlier, the Tuyao people of their parents' generation, due to their low level of material life and little contact with the outside world, did not wear too grand clothes when they got married. The basic structure of hats and headwear is consistent with modern styles, but the decorative objects are much simpler. The amount of silk thread is not too much when you use colored silk thread to encircle your chin from the top of the hat. At the same time, there must be colored belts. A small amount of colored wool will also fall from the left and right sides of the hat top. As for the colored skirt pieces with beads, they are basically very short, and the beads are small. In general, the wedding dress in the 1960s and 1970s was not so grand, but it also existed. The above characteristics can be obtained from the interview between the author and Tuyao woman Hua Gu in Mingdong in February 2023:

Hua Gu, 83, recalled that when she got married at the age of 26, she had the same wedding dress. But this outfit is different. The wedding dress at that time was not so grand as it is now, and there were not so many colored silk threads, and the threads were very short. There are some colorful beads for decoration, but not many. Grandma Hua Gu remembered that when she was young, many people could not afford this dress, nor could they afford colored silk thread and beads. Some people would borrow this wedding dress to hold a wedding.

6.2 1980s to the end of the twentieth century

At this stage, with the entry of the rural team, Tuyao could have more opportunities to contact foreign new ideas and new things, and their aesthetic slowly

began to change at this time. Among them, the most obvious is that men and women began to grow hair. With the gradual development of China's light industry, some costume cultures on Tu Yao's body that have been fixed for hundreds of thousands of years have been gradually replaced. The traditional fabric used to make the clothes is replaced by the cheap and durable "Shilin cloth". Women also gradually put on their pants and shoes to keep them warm. When clothes need to be made, people are more willing to make them in the market, where the expensive sewing machines are far more efficient than the stitches of the past. However, some Tuyao still retain the version of the previous cut clothes, which can be directly referred to the tailor when needed. Women used to find white cotton cloth, replaced by cheaper and more practical white towels. Now Tuyao's daily clothes are only decorated with embroidery in very few places, which is concentrated in their most common headscarf. We see in the field investigation, the embroidery color is mostly red and green two kinds, dotted with some blue patterns.

Even in the planned economy era in the first half of the 20th century, embroidered silk thread can be bought easily bought in the local supply and marketing cooperatives, the price is cheap, dyeing is firm, the color is gorgeous, more ideal for the overall effect of embroidery. Instead of Baotou cotton white towel embroidered with a lot of words, we asked the women in the field investigation, what is the words on it, the meaning, they say is love poetry, is an important gift to their sweetheart before marriage. But when we use the meaning and pronunciation of Chinese characters to interpret it, we cannot understand the meaning, and the grammar is not smooth.

There are so many typos. But the shadow of "love and love" is faintly seen in the poem. Only when the Tu Yao people sing folk songs in their own language, the sweetheart can understand their meaning (Figure 3). During a visit to the village, he asked a substitute Shigong surnamed her Yaofeng. He recalled that his father was the only one in the village who had studied at a private school for nine days. In the past, towel words were written in red and blue ink. After the 1980s, women began to embroider characters on the basis of writing. From these signs, the Han culture began to influence the Tuyao people long ago, and slowly eroded the inherent cultural

system in the years. Chinese characters, as a symbol, naturally became the carrier of the cultural inheritance of their own ethnic group. After years of hone, the words embroidered in the Baotou towel have crossed the current society, the popular visual aesthetic needs, record and convey their own feelings and sacred love.

6.3 Early twenty-first century to present

The wave of reform and opening up began to sweep across the country, bringing about a sudden change in life. The word "popular" began to imperceptibly seep into people's life. In Hezhou, as a major labor exporter, a large number of migrant workers went to the Pearl River Delta. In these workers there is no lack of Tuyao. In the huge wave of pop culture, the traditional aesthetic orientation of Tuyao has inevitably collided with "fashion" and "fashion". Especially in the mid-to-late 1990s, the migrant workers brought back more information about the outside world and brought back wealth that they could not reach after years of working in the mountains. The TV, audio that the migrant worker adds for the family, greatly influence, their younger generation, open a window for them to understand the outside world directly. Young people began to dress up like returning migrant workers, emulating the idols in TV and audio and video products. They sing the most popular songs, hold their mobile phones in their hands, and occasionally hear the most popular pop music and QQ voices. They have more and more fashionable elements, and traditional clothes cannot hide the atmosphere of pop culture. Jeans, sports shoes, high-heeled shoes, all reflect a beauty of fashion. The blind and unconscious state of popular culture makes Tuyao constantly lose the ability to criticize it, and gradually give up her thinking about the profound meaning and value of traditional culture.

Therefore, at this special stage, the traditional culture of the kiln has been greatly impacted. Clothing culture is particularly affected. The traditional wedding attire was abandoned by a small number of young people who went out to work. Some people wore a Tang dress for the wedding. Then, around 2007, with the support of the national intangible cultural heritage policy, Yao costumes became the first batch of intangible cultural heritage protection projects, and thus were protected. The clothing of Tuyao has gradually been concerned by relevant departments and some protective measures have been taken. For example, we call on the village to inherit the

production skills of clothing, and call on the villagers to keep the costumes they wear when they get married, and don't throw them away. Students of Tuyao class in Wenhua School, Pinggui District, Hezhou City have customized one piece of dress for each student (it should be noted that the dress customized by these students has lost the function of wedding dress, and the form is also different. There is no solemn hat, chest and arm decorations, and the overall trend is simple). The function of this suit has become the function of "display" and "performance". Therefore, it cannot be equated with wedding dress.

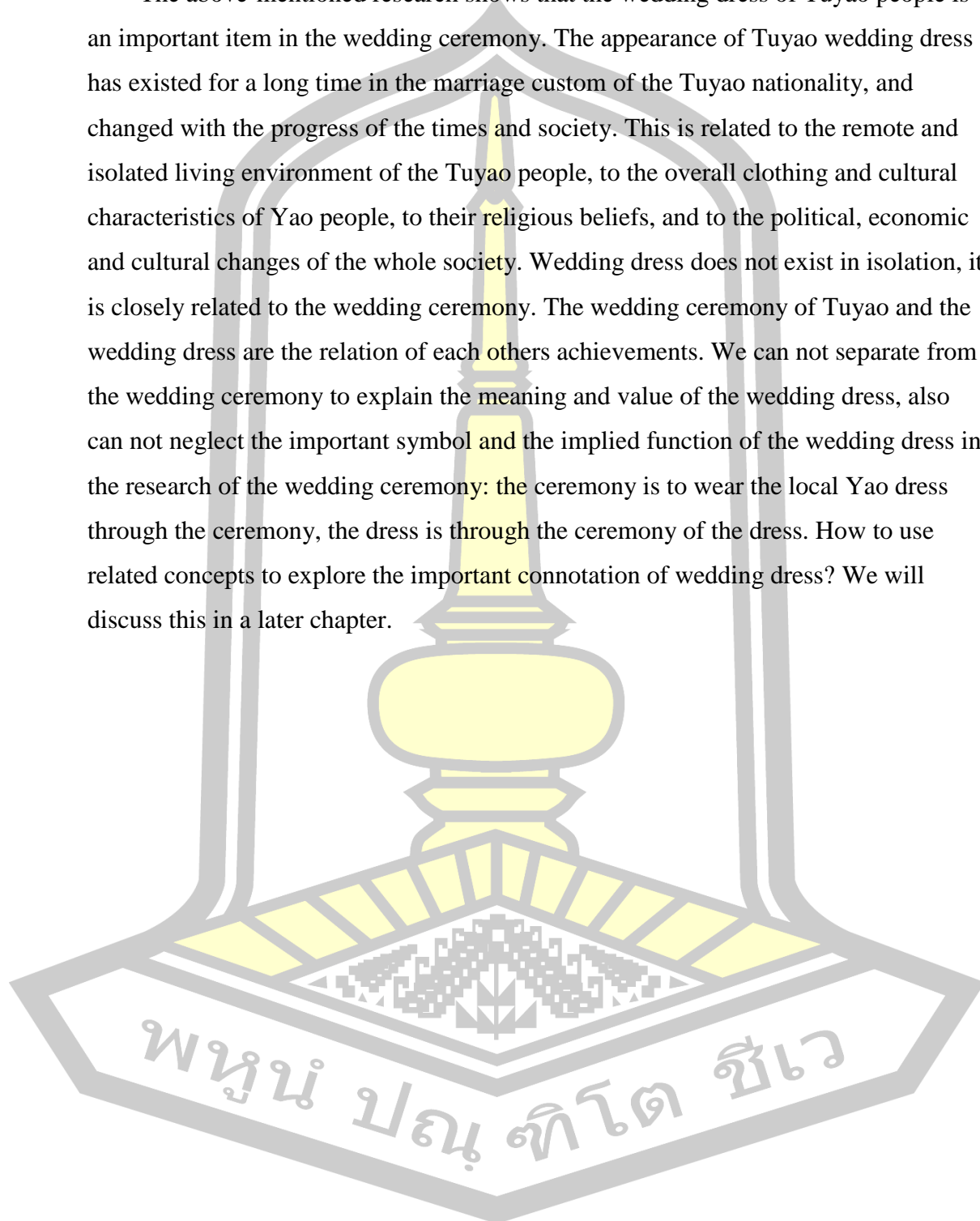
However, with the support of cultural protection policy, Tuyao wedding dress has developed rapidly. The colored silk thread is getting longer and longer, and the number is increasing; The use of colored beads is more and more abundant, and the weaving method is more and more complex; The number of love song towels is also increasing, and some couples even use nearly 20 love song towels to show the grandeur of dress and the dignity of identity.



Figure 9: A field trip to Daming village in 2022, photo by Wang Dan

Summary

The above-mentioned research shows that the wedding dress of Tuyao people is an important item in the wedding ceremony. The appearance of Tuyao wedding dress has existed for a long time in the marriage custom of the Tuyao nationality, and changed with the progress of the times and society. This is related to the remote and isolated living environment of the Tuyao people, to the overall clothing and cultural characteristics of Yao people, to their religious beliefs, and to the political, economic and cultural changes of the whole society. Wedding dress does not exist in isolation, it is closely related to the wedding ceremony. The wedding ceremony of Tuyao and the wedding dress are the relation of each others achievements. We can not separate from the wedding ceremony to explain the meaning and value of the wedding dress, also can not neglect the important symbol and the implied function of the wedding dress in the research of the wedding ceremony: the ceremony is to wear the local Yao dress through the ceremony, the dress is through the ceremony of the dress. How to use related concepts to explore the important connotation of wedding dress? We will discuss this in a later chapter.



CHAPTER III

The ceremony process of Tuyao wedding ceremony from the perspective of ceremony

1 Introduction

First of all, the author explains why a chapter should be used to introduce and discuss the Tuyao wedding ceremony itself as a passing ceremony. In her opinion, the emergence and appearance of Tuyao wedding dress serves the wedding ceremony, and ceremony is the foundation and environment of its existence and development. If there is no ceremony, this dress will lose its significance and make it no different from Tuyao's daily national costumes. In other words, ceremony is an important stage for wedding dress. As one of the most important props in this "repertoire", wedding dress makes all activities in the whole wedding ceremony field more meaningful. Therefore, the relationship between ceremony and wedding dress is the achievement of each other. We can't explain the significance and value of wedding dress without wedding ceremony, and we can't ignore the important symbol and implicit function of wedding dress in the study of Rite of Passage: Rite is the passing ceremony of wearing Tuyao dress, and dress is the costume in the passing ceremony. They achieve each other in connotation. As Victor Turner said in "The Forest of Symbols": "It is an important moment in the process of physical development or social development, such as birth, youth or death. Many ceremonies or ceremonies in the world mark the transition of individuals from one stage of life or social status to another." Wedding is undoubtedly the most important turning point in people's life.

It should be pointed out that the writing of this part of Tuyao wedding ceremony in this chapter will focus on the description of the truthful process, and will not add too many personal opinions or evaluations in the description process, so as to restore the state of Tuyao wedding ceremony itself as much as possible.

Before substituting the wedding ceremony of Tuyao into the theory of "rite of passage" of Arnold Van Gennep and Turner, it is necessary to understand the love and

marriage views of Tuyao people. In the field interview, it is found that the love concept of Tuyao people is very free (freedom here refers to the tradition of prohibiting intermarriage among foreigners, prohibiting intermarriage within three generations and discouraging marriage with the same surname). Tuyao people seldom have matchmaking system in love, and lovers get to know each other in life and production, such as working in the mountains, attending national traditional gatherings, or looking for suitable lovers in various occasions such as weddings, funerals and weddings. Among them, there is an important proof of Yao people's freedom of love: Zhou Qufei of Song Dynasty recorded in "Ling Wai Dai Da. Man Su": "Yao people every October 1st, people on the mountain will worship the king. In front of the temple, unmarried men and women will meet. Men and women will dance separately, which is called Tayao. When men and women have the same intentions, the man will jump into the group of women who love each other and take away the beloved. So the two people will be ready to become a couple. Both sides decide their spouses, not depending on their parents. Those who have no spouse People have to wait until next year. " Of course, as a branch of the Yao people's system, Tuyao's love style and love concept come down in one continuous line.

During several field visits, the author found that there is a "Mianqie area" (Mianqie means "lover" in Tuyao dialect) on the outside of the overall structure of the old wooden house of Tuyao people, and outsiders can't enter this cabin at will, even their parents. It is a place for Tuyao youth to make friends and fall in love. After getting rid of poverty accurately, Tuyao people built two or three-story concrete buildings, and many of them created a "Mianqie area" outside the main building. When a teenager has "Mianqie", he can take it to his own "Mianqie area" to chat with his lover all night long. When he is tired and sleepy, he can also stay overnight.

To sum up, it can be seen that the love process of Tuyao people retains the original tradition. However, as Tuyao youth go out to work and earn more and more money, their communication with the outside world becomes frequent, which provides more ways and possibilities for Tuyao youth to fall in love.

2 Rite of Passage and Tuyao people under the wedding ceremony

The term "Rite" appeared as a formal object of analysis in the 19th century, and its original meaning is mainly closely related to culture and religion. In the development of the social era, the meaning of the word is gradually enriched and regarded as a research object in many academic fields. It not only has rich significance, but also can be used as a methodology to study many cultural phenomena. Representative anthropologists have a profound study of rituals. For example, Arnold Van Gennep studied human rituals, and the theory of "Rite of Passage", first proposed in his 1907 book, *The Rites of Passage*, is very representative. He defined "Rite of Passage" as "a ceremony held with every change in place, condition, social status and age, the individual life in any society is a sequence of transition from one stage to another with age." He summarized the triple structure of "Rite of Passage", mainly for "separation——margin——reaggregation".

After Arnold Van Gennep, famous anthropologist Victor Turner inherited and developed his view, Turner paid more attention to the use of the concept of "threshold" in the ceremony, he thinks more mature threshold stage of "transition" is the essence of the process, generation, transformation, not the representation of the state, and think that through the ceremony can be divided into "before threshold —— threshold —— back threshold" three stages. This theory can be used to study the marriage ceremony of some ethnic groups, so that the connotation of the marriage ceremony is highlighted. For example, the marriage customs of Tu Yao can be analyzed in detail by the theory of "Rite of Passage", so as to highlight the unique connotation of the marriage customs, reveal the social and cultural psychology of Tu Yao, and make people have a deeper understanding of the significance of Tu Yao wedding ceremony for the life of Tuyao people and for the whole Tuyao people.

Of course, after careful analysis, Tuyao people have not examined their own wedding customs from an academic perspective, and even have not recorded the various changes of their own wedding customs in the past seven or eight hundred years. In the only remaining engraving practice, we can find a small number of records about the marriage customs of Tuyao. It is also the early 21st century. After

the road leading to Tuyao cottage was slightly smooth, individual anthropologists made an investigation. Moreover, it is rare to investigate and think about the wedding ceremony, which is an important object in the passing ceremony-wedding dress from the perspective of anthropology.

However, to explore the connotation behind the wedding dress, we must first understand the significance of the wedding ceremony for Tuyao people, because the existence of wedding dress is based on this ceremony.

Therefore, in the field investigation, a very important question that needs to be confirmed is: Is the wedding ceremony really important for the Tuyao nationality? Why is it so important? What does it symbolize? In view of these problems, I conducted interviews and exchanges with Tuyao people of different ages in Daming Village of Hezhou City during six field visits. Here are some interview cases:

On January 14, 2022, Zhao Mulan, a 60-year-old woman in Kuzhutun, Daming Village, held a wedding. At this time, she was both a grandmother and a grandmother. She had two sons and a daughter. One of her sons had two children, but the daughter-in-law (the mother of the children) ran away and left the home. Another son is still unmarried in his thirties, and her daughter also has two children. Therefore, I am curious about her wedding in her 60s. With the help of the village committee, I was able to participate in the whole marriage process and take this opportunity to interview her relatives-her uncle. (Since her parents died young, her uncle took on the responsibility of taking care of her and giving her a banquet to get married.) Here is a conversation with her uncle Zhao Dongqing:

The author interviewed the bride's uncle Zhao Dongqing at the wedding. He thinks, the Earth Yao has such a regulation, must hold a wedding banquet before marriage, can enter genealogy, can then continue to plant mountain after. Even after the death of the Tuyao people, their descendants will hold weddings for their dead relatives. Because this is the old ancestor of the rules. However, he also believes that in recent years, the Tuyao Society has slowly learned from the practice of other ethnic groups outside the mountain, began to change ideas. However, most people in Yao continue to face the wedding ceremony in the manner of their ancestors. The

difference is that even if no wedding, the Tuyao people can also get land, because legal awareness gradually spread in the TUYAO community. But even so, Zhao believes that as long as you have money, you should still have a wedding ceremony, because you can't face your friends and relatives without a wedding. In other words, no face. I'm sorry to my friends and family. Because others hold a wedding to invite you to drink and eat, a good reception for you, then, you should invite each other to eat wedding wine, should do banquet.

In August 2022, under the call of the Daming Village Committee, the author Wang Dan conducted an in-depth interview with four women in the village who made clothes and young and middle-aged women. This interview exchanged views on issues related to the wedding ceremony, such as "Do we have to hold a wedding ceremony?" "Why do we have to hold a wedding ceremony?" "Are there any restrictions on the age of the wedding ceremony?". The purpose is to confirm the importance and specific functions of Tuyao's wedding ceremony in this ethnic group. The following is the specific interview content:

Through the above questions and answers, it is basically certain that these women agree that even if they have obtained the marriage certificate issued by the Civil Affairs Bureau, if there is no wedding banquet or wedding ceremony, the family is not really established and it is still unstable. Even in the eyes of the people, it is equivalent to having no real family. This confirms what author has learned in some historical books: the wedding ceremony is extremely important and sacred in the hearts of Tuyao people.

Through the small talk on this topic, it can be basically determined that compared with the world outside the mountain or the attitude of the Han nationality and other minorities towards the wedding ceremony, the Tuyao people obviously have a more urgent and persistent attitude towards the wedding ceremony or the reception. This attitude may come from their belief and ancestor worship. Why do you say that? In the follow-up study, we will find that in Tuyao's wedding ceremony, there are some ceremonies to solve the functions of "informing the ancestors that a new daughter-in-law has been added to the family" and "blocking ghosts and evil through ceremonies".

In other words, the "ancestor telling" ceremony before the wedding is to solve the problem of reporting the fact that there is one more family member in the family to the ancestors; The purpose of the ceremony of blocking ghosts and gods during the wedding ceremony is to block the adverse factors to the new family through the master's super power, and to bless the happiness of their new family. They confirmed the bride's new family identity through the wedding ceremony, and also proved their Tuyao identity through the wedding ceremony. This persistence and this concept cannot be simply judged as good or bad, right or wrong. Any ceremony that can continue in a nation must have its special function and significance. Tuyao people's wedding ceremony strengthens the relationship between marriage and family, and deepens the status of marriage in this race. On the contrary, families also make women in one family become members of another family through marriage ceremony. Therefore, it can be said that this is a ceremony of family identification and a way for the bride to obtain new identity authentication.

So, the age of the wedding involves a special concept of Tuyao people, called "wedding after marriage". Since ancient times, Tuyao people have the custom of getting married first and then saluting. They can have children, and wait until they have saved a certain number of financial resources before holding a wedding. This unique marriage custom culture is called "wedding after marriage" by the outside world. Why does it emphasize that it is called "wedding after marriage" by the "outside world", rather than by Tuyao people? Because according to the results of field interviews, as long as there is no wedding, it is not a real marriage. Even if men and women already live together and have children. Through the above two interview cases, we found that Zhao Mulan, who is over 60 years old, has become a grandmother and has three children. Her uncle thinks that no matter how old she is, she should hold a wedding. One is because of the tradition of Tuyao nationality, and the other is to repay the "debt of gratitude".

Zhao Zenglan, 30, from Mingdongwei, Daming Village, also held a wedding ceremony in 2022. By this time, she had two children. As to why she should hold a wedding when she has children, she replied, "I have got a marriage certificate in 2017, but I don't hold a wedding now, even if I am 60 or 70 years old, I still have to reissue

it. She is the representative of the younger generation. In this Tuyao village, which has been opened by civilized society, although they have complied with the national marriage system, they will get a marriage certificate according to the law. However, it is obvious that the marriage custom rules in Tuyao nationality since ancient times are still popular in contemporary Tuyao society. In other words, They still follow the marriage laws of their ancestors, Because of this law, In the past four or five hundred years or even more, As an important system for the survival and reproduction of Tuyao society, the marriage system plays an important role, and in the process of playing an important role, it embodies many aspects of Tuyao group: the use and inheritance of means of production, the social kinship of Tuyao, the culture of human relations between Tuyao and so on.

Therefore, through these interviews, we can clearly find that the wedding ceremony of Tuyao conforms to the Rite of Passage of Arnold Van Gennep and Victor Turner. Tuyao people must hold a wedding in their life, because wedding is an important passing ceremony in their life. Through this ceremony, Tuyao talents truly realized the identity change: the bride became a real member of the man's family, truly bid farewell to family of origin, and became a person with family responsibilities in another new family; The groom has a "name" given by the family in the wedding ceremony, which means that he has become the "head" of the new family and has the right to inherit his own share of the land.

It can be seen that the wedding ceremony is the ritual of passage of Tuyao people. As an important object in the ceremony, wedding dress also carries many special meanings: about love, about faith, about family reproduction, and so on.

3 Tuyao wedding-the description and analysis of three stages in the context of Rite of Passage

3.1 Pre-wedding-separation phase

Arnold van Gennep divided the ritual process into three marked steps: first, separation from various things in daily life, and then entering the limen stage or margin stage and the aggregation stage or fusion stage. The first stage (separation stage) consists of symbolic behavior, or a cultural state of the whole (becoming "old

form"), or both-"separation" behavior. In the threshold stage, all the people involved in the ceremony will escape from the network structure of normal (daily) social and cultural space and enter a position designated and arranged by customs, traditions or festivals. In this process, the structure of daily life is broken, and Turner interprets the structure presented at this time as "anti-structure". At this moment, people in the threshold have the characteristics of ambiguity and uncertainty, and have symbolic significance. The aggregation stage is to reentry the world of daily life after going through the anti-structure organization in the threshold stage. Of course, Turner believes that the most important of these three themes is the mimetic phase. If the whole ceremony is called a "play", the mimetic phase is the performance stage.

In the theory of "Rite of Passage", the pre-threshold stage (separation stage), which is commonly understood, is the preparation stage. Usually indicates a ritual process that is gradually separated from the past state. In social life, people will always experience the change of social role and status. Before the change, they will make an end with their previous status, that is, break away from their original status. After breaking away from the old social role and social status, it enters the transitional stage of new social status and role, that is, the separation stage, that is, the "pre-threshold" stage. It can also be understood as a threshold. When a person crosses this threshold, he enters a new field and begins to fulfill new obligations and assume new responsibilities. The separation stage of Tuyao marriage customs can be divided into different sections. Personally, I think it can be summarized from the link of proposing marriage and determining the wedding date to the preparatory work before marriage.

In the separation stage of the whole ceremony process of Tuyao, the related community people were separated and spontaneously entered a state different from the daily structure, in which a series of preparations needed to enter the threshold stage were completed: including people, articles, procedures, venues, pre-ceremony and other work. The following contents are introduced, that is, the contents of the separation stage in the process of Tuyao wedding ceremony.

Proposals and engagements

After a period of time, Tuyao youth get "Mianqie" (that is, fall in love). If both parties agree, they can talk about marriage. The first important link is to propose

marriage. Generally, the man entrusts the prestigious elders in the village or the elders in the family to "propose marriage" with her parents. When proposing a marriage, you need to bring two bottles of wine, two pounds of pork, two packs of yuba, two packs of biscuits or two packs of candy as gifts, which shows that it is a gift prepared according to the concept of "Good things come in pairs". At the banquet of proposing marriage, the woman will also invite uncles, uncles and respected elders in the village to discuss.

After the "collective consultation", if both parents are satisfied, the Shigong in the village will be invited to calculate the birthdates of both men and women. If the Birth Eight Characters (about fate) match, they can choose a good day. The man will send someone to inform the woman about one month in advance, report the wedding date to the woman, and let the woman's family start preparing. If the characters are incompatible and young men and women fall in love, they can get married, just add or change some links in the wedding ceremony.

Dowry and Wedding Dress

In the past, due to the low economic development and living standard of the whole Tuyao community, Ordinary families can't buy too many dowries, which are usually traditional quilts, cloth shoes and clothes. Of course, a wooden cabinet is generally indispensable, and the dowry for their daughters is filled in the cabinet: ten pairs of chopsticks, a pair of new shoes, a new set of clothes and a new quilt. The dowry is delivered to the groom's house along with the wedding party on the wedding day. Dowry bearers should walk in front of the wedding procession.

The preparation of wedding dress is one of the important links. Here, the author uses "wedding dress" because this costume has a long history of evolution, and it is not grand in its initial form, even almost the same as the daily national costumes of Tuyao, which has been demonstrated in the field collective interview. Whether it is a wedding hat, or a long skirt, chest ornaments and arm ornaments, they have been improved and developed under the background of social and economic development and rising living standards.

However, the author also wants to point out that the text of this study is the Tuyao wedding dress developed to the present, and its structure, form and color are

already solemn, gorgeous and grand. Therefore, whenever wedding costume is mentioned below, it is called "wedding dress".

According to a collective interview with women aged 16 to 74 in Daming Village, the time for buying wedding costumes is not certain, but in general, women will make them when they are adults, and they will be customized only when the wedding date is fixed. The specific customization time should be determined according to the conditions of family of origin and the family conditions of the man. According to conversations with several elderly married women, in the past, it was very difficult to buy wedding clothes at home, and the bride and groom could borrow other people's clothes to wear at the wedding ceremony.

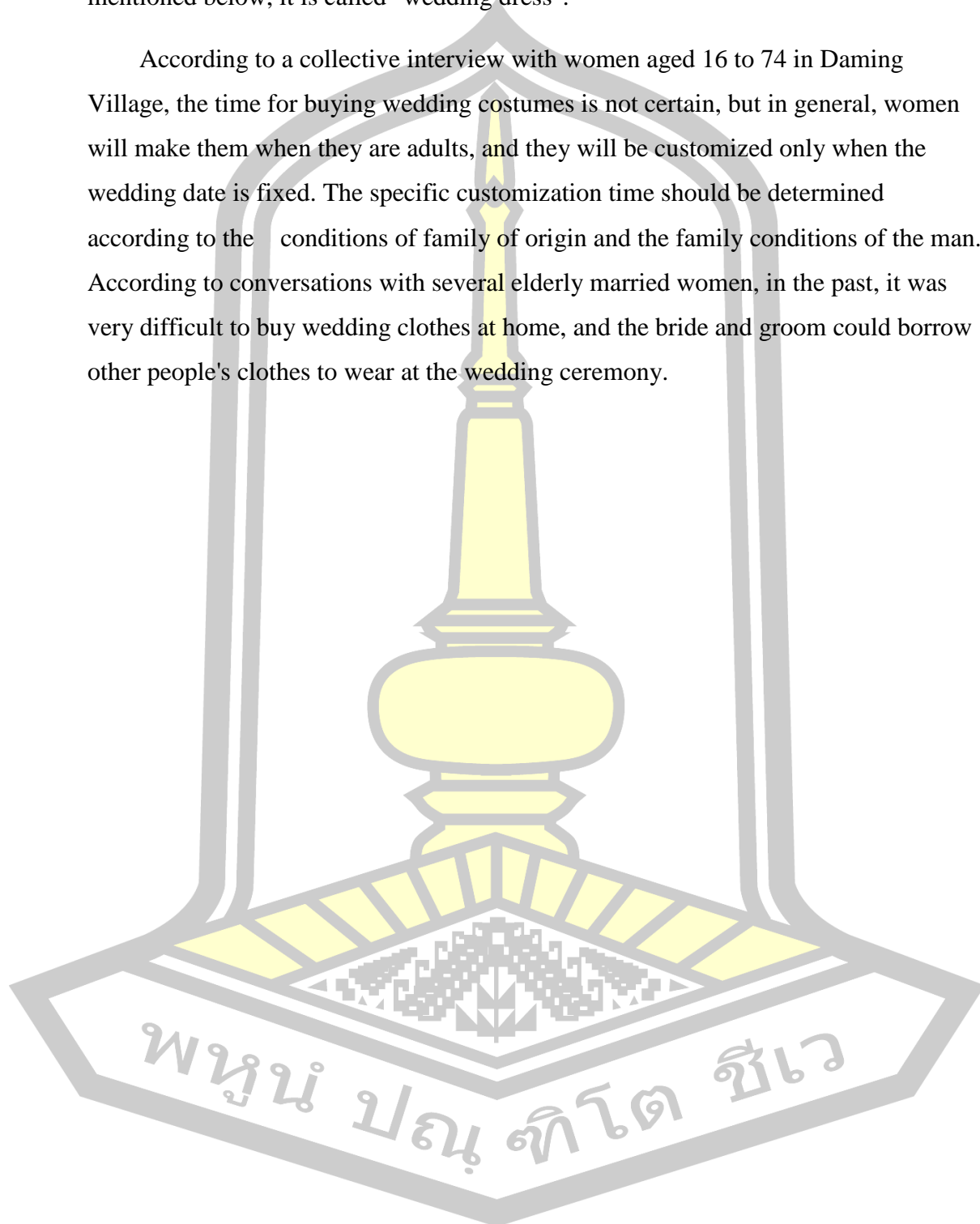




Figure 10: Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022





Figure 11: Colored silk threads of a tuyao wedding dress, photographed by Wang Dan, 2022

The day before the wedding: a small banquet at the groom's house and the bride's house

Here is going to explain the timing of Tuyao's wedding ceremony. In the field collective interview, the old Shigong and the old people in the village basically agree on a question about the time spent on marriage: the time and days spent on Tuyao

wedding have been constantly changed and adjusted in the process of 500 years, and have experienced several time changes: six days and six nights, four days and three nights, three days and three nights, three days and two nights, and two days and two nights. And, the time and days of the wedding, this rule can't be changed at will by a family or a wedding. It needs the old people in the six Tuyao administrative villages to discuss and decide with the highly respected people in the clan, and it needs the unanimous approval of these Tuyao authorities before it can be changed or adjusted. This is an example of Tuyao people better maintaining the internal order of Tuyao society and consciously coordinating their mutual relations. At present, Tuyao people basically follow the regulations of two days and two nights. According to field interviews, the main reason why Tuyao wedding took more time in the early days was that the traffic was blocked, there was no road in the mountains, and the villages only relied on the winding mountain trail between the mountains. To attend a wedding, it might take several mountains, countless thorns and forests, and it often took half a day or even a day to reach the groom or bride's home. Therefore, the host will try his best to let visitors stay at home for more time.

Back to the present Tuyao wedding. Two days before the wedding, the groom's family has invited helpers and told them about the work that needs assistance from the other party. The day before the wedding is an important day for the groom's family to entertain relatives. On this day, the groom's family invites relatives and friends of the most closely related family to dinner. The helpers were very busy from the beginning of this day, not only to finish the work of entertaining the groom's family, relatives and friends, but also to prepare all kinds of items and dishes needed for the formal wedding ceremony the next day. The day before the wedding, the relatives of the whole family came home, ranging from more than 100 to two or three hundred relatives. A long table banquet was set up in the groom's home, and the relatives and friends ate and drank happily all day until the early morning, and perhaps sang toast songs to express their congratulations and joy.

The bride's home is also an important day the day before the wedding, because most of the people who send the wedding come on this day. The bride's relatives, relatives and friends will come to the bride's house for a wedding banquet in advance

and be ready to participate in the wedding the next day. There is no need to wear a wedding dress at this time, but everyone expects and imagines what she will look like in her dress. What is the difference between her dress style and her own? Maybe you want to know how much her costumes cost? This beautiful and nervous bride-to-be, her identity is gradually stripping away from family of origin and drifting to the critical threshold of identity transformation.

Bridegroom's Ancestor Telling Ceremony

The ceremony of telling ancestors originated from the ancestor worship of Tuyao for hundreds of years. The worship of ancestors of Tu Yao nationality has strong national characteristics and has many primitive religious meanings. For example, in sacrifice, Shigong will incorporate totems or idols representing ancestors. On the day before the wedding, it is very important for the groom's family to tell their ancestors.

The author watched the ancestor worship ceremony the day before the wedding of bitter bamboo groom in Daming Village. The ceremony was held by two Shigong (Zhao Huofu and Zhao Shuibao, 78, from Daming Village), and another Shigong Zhao Mubao, who was responsible for knocking gongs. At the ceremony, the Shigong wore their unique uniforms and hats. They put the ancestral sacrifice platform on the right side of the hall entrance, lit incense paper candles, and hung the statue of ancestors on the wall in front of them. Zhao Huofu, a 78-year-old Shigong, is the main ceremony operator. He is holding a book with many damages, which has been turned over and lost its paper hardness. He read it for a while, another Shigong lit a handful of incense and took the groom to kowtow and bow down in different directions. After that, wine was sprinkled in different directions. Later, in the conversation with Shigong, I learned that this was the communication between ancestors and gods in different directions, telling them that the groom's family would hold a wedding to join new family members, and inviting the gods and ancestors to go home to drink the wedding banquet together and bless the bride and groom's family with all the best, peace and happiness.

The ceremony of telling ancestors is tedious and takes half a day.

In the ceremony, the Shigong should wear Taoist robes, but the groom still doesn't need to wear the clothes prepared for the wedding.



Figure 12: Master is reading scripture, photo by Wang Dan



Figure 13: Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022





Figure 14: A manuscript of the sutra of Tu Yao, photographed by Wang Dan



Figure 15: Portrait of the God of Earth Yao, photographed by Wang Dan, 2022

3.2 Transitional phase-threshold

According to Turner's ritual of passage theory, the preparation stage before Tuyao's wedding belongs to the "separation stage". After the "separation" stage (pre-threshold stage), it is the "transition" stage, that is, the "threshold" stage. This stage is the core of the ritual of passage theory. In Tuyao marriage customs, most of the ceremonies are completed in the transitional stage. What are the main characteristics of the "threshold" stage? Turner once explained that in the "threshold" period, the characteristics of ritual subjects were not clear. They passed through a field in their own culture, which did not (or almost did not) have the characteristics of the previous (or future) situation. Moreover, he further pointed out that the threshold entities were neither here nor there. They were shown in many societies by a variety of symbolic means with unclear and uncertain characteristics between the positions designated and arranged by laws, customs, traditions and ceremonies. Turner's explanation of "threshold" enables us to understand the "threshold" stage of Tuyao marriage customs more clearly. For example, in the two days of the wedding ceremony, both men and women no longer belong to their original family completely, nor have they completely determined their new family relationship. As if suspended, they belong to the transition stage from the original family to the new family, from the original role to the new role.

Victor Turner believes that in all parts of the world, the situation and role of thresholds are endowed with witchcraft or religious attributes. As a threshold place, the wedding of Tuyao also presents its unique belief characteristics of ancestor worship. For example, in the whole process of Tuyao wedding ceremony, the threshold stage includes a series of ceremonies and actions performed on the wedding day of the bride and the wedding day of the groom's family, For example, the ceremony of " blocking eight roads" in the process of putting up symbols for the bride, killing chickens and crossing pots in the marriage process, the ceremony of toasting songs for the bridegroom's family, and the ceremony of throwing red envelopes to the wine altar in the early morning, etc. By peeling off these small ceremonies contained in the big threshold, we can find hidden secret clues that guide the gradual change of the bride and groom's identity. And the whole process of this

clue marching is completed under the premise of participating in this wedding dress.

Below, the author narrates one by one.

Bride's Home: Wedding Day

As mentioned earlier, in the separation stage, the day before the wedding day is a very important banquet day. Basically, the bride's family has invited all the relatives and friends who need to be entertained. Most of these two or three hundred relatives and friends will stay at the bride's house (in fact, they basically eat and drink all night and sing toast songs).

The next day is the wedding day. The most important banquet is held before 12 o'clock in the morning. In the bride's home, relatives and good friends came, and a long table banquet was set up from the hall in the house to the open space in front of the house. While eating, drinking and chatting, relatives and friends sang a toast song with joy. The children were also very excited, laughing and slapstick, eating wedding candy and peeling red eggs. Only the bride's parents were mixed with a little reluctance in their joy. They entertained their relatives and friends, and experienced the important parting feeling that their beloved daughter was about to leave family of origin in the sound of congratulations.

After the long table banquet at noon, the relatives and friends of the wedding procession formed a mighty wedding procession. Most of the adult relatives and friends of men and women wore national costumes and marched with the bride along the winding and steep mountain road to the groom's house.

Changes in bride's dress timing and motivation

First of all, it should be noted that the dressing time of Tuyao people's wedding procession is closely related to the age and family status of Tuyao bride and groom, and is closely linked to family income.

The bride's dress timing is also divided into two situations:

In the first case, the bride and groom of Tuyao are younger, and they are married for the first time without children. Generally, they are at home, and two dressers help them dress up for the wedding.

The second situation: Because the family is poor, the family of origin does not have enough money to hold a wedding for their children, so the girl lives with the boy first. Their wedding will be held after accumulating enough money with the joint efforts in the future. At this time, they may have their own children or be pregnant. If this is the case, the bride's dressing time is no longer from her parents' home, but only needs to wait for her family to come near her husband's home. In the mountains or on the side of a mountain, she can go to her husband's home with the help of a dresser. It is worth mentioning that the bride is very particular when she dresses in Shan Ye woodland. In the field, the author once saw the scene of young and bred women dressing in the wild when they got married. The place was on a hill not far from her husband's house, and the clothing wearers were several women around forty years old. One person holds a red umbrella, one person holds clothes, The other two worked together to help the bride dress up, it lasts for about two hours. When the bride changes her costumes, all the hundreds of family members who send her relatives sit in Stone or grass and wait and watch. This moment is so sacred and important. Under the gaze of all the relatives and friends who send her marriage, the bride wears her costumes and goes out. Everyone waits for the bride to enter her husband's house. When the time comes, relatives and friends of the clansmen are surrounded by each other along the rugged mountain road to the groom's house.

As the British anthropologist Turner said: "No matter what kind of society we live in, we are all related to each other. Our own" important moment "is also the" important moment "of others. In view of the changes in the timing and place of these two kinds of clothes, the author interviewed married women of different ages, and their answers were very interesting, probably involving the concepts of "shame", "national habits" and "identity change", which will be analyzed in depth in the following chapters.



Figure 16 : The bride-to-be is trying on a dress. Photograph by Wang Dan
Specific wearing process of bride's dress

It is no exaggeration to say that the dress of Tuyao brides can be called a "huge project", which can be seen from the tedious and long time-consuming dress process (it takes a long time for brides to dress up, ranging from at least two hours to three hours). The tedious structure and components of Tuyao brides' costumes determine that it is not easy to wear them, which usually requires the help of more than three wearers. Moreover, the bride's dress dresser is not randomly selected, but must generally be an elderly woman, and is also selected by the clan. According to the field investigation, the ancestors of Tuyao also set a rule: the husband of the costumer must be a "matchmaker". In fact, this clan rule actually implies some concepts of marriage and ethnic group of Tuyao, which will be analyzed in the following chapters.

After the relatives had a long table dinner outside the house, three costumers began to make up and change the bride in the back room. According to the field, there

are usually at least two dressers who serve the bride, and her husband must be a matchmaker. Generally, she will make this dress, otherwise she will not be invited to help change the dress.

Let's review the composition and wearing order of bride's dress:

The bride's dress consists of black gown, blue and white jacket, colored belt and headdress (composed of yellow, green and black striped hat, embroidered love song white towel, colored silk brim, colored fine beads and lace). On this basis, she wears red apron, waist decoration, sleeve decoration and chest decoration matched with red head cover and colored bead silk thread. The dress procedure is: from the inside out. Wear a black gown first, then a white turtleneck jacket and a blue collarless jacket. The large lapels of the white jacket turn out from the inside to the outside of the blue blouse, forming a generous and dignified color style. Tie a red Yao brocade embroidered with decorative figures at the waist, and then match it with a ribbon at the waist. The ribbon is very long, covering the outside of the legs and growing to the lower legs. The top part of the belt also needs to be covered with a love song towel embroidered with words. Wear the above steps, and then start wearing the most solemn component on your chest-ribbon breastplate. Colored breasts are also made of red, green and yellow silk threads, which grow to the lower abdomen. At the same time, they are matched with several strings of colored beads, ranging from several strings to dozens of strings, which set off the whole set of costumes. The author has investigated the number of beads and the number of colored silk threads on the chest, and has the following viewpoints: First, the more colored beads and silk threads the bride wears, the richer the days will be in the future; Another is that the bride is married to the family economic status or ethnic groups in the higher position, the third view that the number of all decorative materials only out of the bride's personal liking. Get dressed, and then help the bride wear a grand hat. The basic structure of the wedding hat is the same as that of the daily national costume hat. The difference is that the bride's hat should be covered with several newly embroidered love song towels. The hat is fixed by a colorful silk thread circling from the top to the lower jaw. When wearing, the knot of wool is placed at the chin position. The topmost cover is covered with the cover. The cover is generally composed of two embroidered belts

with colored silk threads and colored beads. The ribbon hangs down about 70 cm, while the silver-crowned colored beads hang down to about 5 cm. Under the cover of colored silk threads, the bride's head is covered tightly. However, the head cover only covers the bride's eyebrows, not her eyes.

However, it should be noted that sometimes, the bride needs to put on some spells (Fu) written by the Shigong when she is dressed. The reason is that before the ceremony, when the Shigong is looking at the eight characters and the days for the bride and groom, if he finds that the eight characters of the bride and groom are not in harmony or the wedding day is not very good, he will prepare a spell for the bride, so that he can stick it on the bride's clothing or carry it in his pocket to block ghosts and gods and unlucky things. The following interviews conducted by the author in Daming Village confirmed this point:

It can be seen that the dress of Tuyao brides is cumbersome, and it is stipulated in the clan that the wearer needs specific candidates, and a complete order cannot be disorderly, otherwise the dress will be unsuccessful. From here, we can also see that the Tuyao people have strengthened the memory of wearing wedding clothes with their bodily practice for hundreds of years, and formed a tradition in the continuous strengthening memory. The author will explain the following chapters one after another.



Figure 17 : A woman helps a bride put on an armband circa 2016 (from the Internet)
Ceremonies on the way to marriage

Out of the House

Brides are usually married after lunch, with at least dozens of people, sometimes hundreds of people. Before leaving, the helper who met the bride's family offered cigarettes and tea to the bride's family. Some of the farewell teams carry dowries, or carry dowries with net bags made by Tuyao, and the bride has already dressed up, just waiting for the time to go out. This time of leaving the house is also calculated by the Shigong. As soon as the hour came, the bride, dressed in red head cover, got up and went out with the help of two helper women in national costumes. There is a detail when going out. One of the helpers must support the bride with a red umbrella. The bride must raise her feet over the threshold under the prompt of the helper woman, and her feet are not allowed to touch the threshold, otherwise there will be ominous meanings. At this moment, the matchmaker and helper sent by the bridegroom's family also arrived, and the helper of the bride's family handed the bride over to the helper woman sent by the bridegroom's family. So, the bridegroom's helper helped the bride get on the bus. Then, the farewell procession seemed to form a long queue with the bride's car, and marched towards the groom's house in a lively and mighty way.

Before 2015, cement roads leading to villages have not been opened, so they can only be married on foot or by motorcycle. Between the mountains, it is often seen that the farewell procession stretching for several kilometers on the narrow path between the mountains is squirming, which is extremely spectacular and warm.



Figure 18: At a wedding in 2015, the uncle led the way (from the Internet)



Figure 19: On the way to the wedding (from the Internet)



Figure 20: Tuyao bride Zhao Zenglan's family members wear ethnic costumes to send her off (Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022)

Ceremony of "Blocking Eight Roads"

Many ceremonies of Tuyao wedding can only be completed under the guidance of the master Shigong. And most of the time, it is decided what ceremonies need to be done according to the master's reading of birthdates or the days. For example, there is

a ceremony translated as "blocking eight roads" in Tuyao dialect: When the bride is ready to go to the groom's door, about 100 meters away from the groom's house, the bride and the wedding procession must stop. At this time, Shigong and his assistant should guide the bride to participate in the ceremony of "blocking eight roads". The Shigong is holding a scripture, and the man beside him is carrying a chicken in one hand and a kitchen knife in the other, and there is a basin in front of the bride. The basin is filled with clear water, The mouth of the basin is outlined across two ropes in a "cross" shape, and roosters, scissors and various tributes for sacrifice are placed beside it. After lighting the incense candle, the Shigong first recited the sutras according to the scriptures, wiped a live cock held by his left hand from the neck of the chicken with a "divine ruler", took the chicken blood and asked God, then put a spell on the washbasin, dropped the chicken blood on the ground, and threw the killed chicken to the roadside. Then, two female helpers led the bride dressed in full clothes and crossed the washbasin. When the bride crossed the basin, the Shigong ordered the assistant to cut the rope on the basin immediately, and the ceremony ended. Then step into the hall through the gate. According to an interview with Shigongs and public officials in Daming Village, when they said the meaning of the ceremony of killing chickens across pots and cutting ropes by "blocking eight roads": Chickens represent ghosts and gods and unlucky things. Kill the chicken and drain the chicken blood, it means getting rid of monsters and bad things, Cutting the rope symbolizes cutting the way of ghosts and gods. When the bride crosses the basin in full dress, the Shigong's spell will protect the bride's life and make the bride live with peace of mind. Husband and wife work together to create a happy life together. At the same time, it also symbolizes saying goodbye to ghosts and gods from all directions and all the bad things before, and can't bring the bad things to a new family.

พหุมนุ ปณฺ ทิโต ชีเว



Figure 21: A woman helps a bride cross a brazier on her way to be married, around 2010

Circular exorcism ceremony

When I attended Zhao Zenglan's wedding ceremony, I found that when I arrived at the gate outside the bridegroom's house, the people who saw off the bride formed a circle. Then, someone held the red umbrella, and two helpers held the red umbrella. They walked around the periphery of the circle. The author interviewed the ceremony:

Author: Go around the wedding procession. What does this ceremony mean?

Tianxian: This is because the wedding day is not very good. The bridegroom's helpers walked around the bride's house. It means to drive away all the bad things, so that the wedding can be held smoothly and smoothly. “

Author: How many people are usually sent by the groom's family to walk around this circle?

Aunt Huo and Tianxian: Generally, three helpers walk around the circle of the team.

According to the calculation of the Shigong, if it is found that the wedding day is not very good (or not so lucky), then there is another ceremony that must be completed in the process of sending marriage, that is, the ceremony of "exorcising evil spirits in circles". When the marrying team is tens of meters away from the groom's house, all the marrying clansmen, relatives and friends form a circle on the flat ground. At this time, the groom's family will send three helper women dressed in national costumes to walk around the circle of the marriage team, and then they can enter the groom's house. The symbolic meaning of this circle ceremony is to remove the unlucky things brought by the bride's home, or after the ceremony, the wedding will go smoothly and everyone will be safe.

Groom's Home: Wedding Day

The main activity flow and related ceremonies of the groom's family on the wedding day are: the procession to receive the bride --serve tea, wine, tobacco and sugar in the lobby -- foot washing -- long table banquet and toast song -- worship hall -- marriage ceremony -- blessing ceremony -- long table banquet until dawn.

On the wedding day, the groom's house was full of guests. Not only the relatives and friends of the family came, plus the bride's family of one hundred or two hundred people to see off the team, the total number of guests in the groom's home reached three hundred or even five hundred or six hundred people, the scene was lively, full of happiness. Here are the details of the wedding process.

Bridegroom's wedding dress and others' dress

This is not the main focus of the study, but as important participants and witnesses in a wedding, their dress contains as much national feeling as the bride's dress.

The groom's clothes also need to be prepared in advance. However, because he is relatively simple, in the blue and white Tuyao trousers, the edge of the clothes is decorated with red silk, on the basis of this suit with red hand hydrangea on the chest, colorful silk pendant, wearing silver beads, as well as several pieces of embroidered

white towels with love song words. The structure of the groom's chest ornament and that of the bride's chest ornament are different. The groom's chest pendant is made up of two butterfly balls of silk. From the spheroid hangs a long set of silk threads, at least below the base of the thigh, symmetrical to the left and right.

The groom's whole set of clothes and the bride's dress, one is slightly simple, the other is very grand, but from the color and structure echo, appear warm, rational and full of visual tension and good feeling.

In addition, it is necessary to mention the dress of the helper group and the bride's family. They are the operators and witnesses and participants of the wedding ceremony. Their dress is also generated by the tradition of the wedding ceremony.

The family of the bride and groom will wear this national costume and then go about their duties. Some of them are responsible for serving tea and pouring water to greet guests, some of them are responsible for leading the bride and groom to sing a toast to their parents and guests, or lead the bride and groom to cooperate in the ceremony of master.

Wedding ceremony and offer tea, smoke and sugar in the main hall

The groom's family invited more than ten or dozens of men and women of the immediate family, dressed in Tuyao ethnic costumes, standing in the open space outside the groom's house, waiting for the arrival of the bride and the escort team. As soon as the procession arrives, the matchmaker and two women greet the bride into the bridal room. Some help carry the dowry into the bridal room, while others lead the procession into the hall and sit down.

After a while, the hall was full round and round. The women were dressed in colorful national costumes. They first whispered, laughed and chatted, and then became louder and louder. Some were holding hands with each other, and some were whispering.



Figure 22 : The groom's family sent a procession in national dress to greet the bride



Figure 23: The procession entered the hall and waited for tea (Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022)

After all the bridal guests were settled in the lobby, an important ceremony began: serving tea, sugar and cigarettes. Among them, offering tea is the most important activity. The groom's family invited seven or eight family members, male and female, to serve tea. They waited early in the kitchen for the wedding guests to arrive.

The author personally watched the whole process of the ceremony. Workers carefully carried a saucer about 50 centimeters long and 30 centimeters wide, on which 60 small cups of tea (either tea, Sprite or orange juice) had been arranged, into the hall. Male helpers carry the saucers, while female helpers begin to serve tea to the wedding party. Generally, the woman's elders -- parents and brother -- sit in the main seat in the hall, and the tea is served from the main seat. Women sing tea songs when they offer tea. When singing a tea song, one person starts to sing the tune, and then all

the helpers sing together, with different tones, just like a natural mountain quartet, five or even six singing together, the ears are very comfortable. The general meaning of the toast song: "The householder is intentional and wants to make a deal with his in-laws as soon as possible. In-laws come to my house for the first time to make relatives and friends. It's a long way to come to the master's house, and I sincerely respect it. Given a cup of sweet tea, and ask all my relatives and friends to have tea, oh my relatives and friends."

The tone of the tea song is similar to that of the wine song, but the content is different, which means injecting blessings into every cup of tea and sharing them with every relative and guest.

At the wedding banquet, the matchmaker sits in the middle of the main room and can sit with his uncle. In Tuyao's wedding, his uncle is the same as the local Han people. The tea-toasting team walks at the front, followed by the helpers who serve sugar and cigarettes. Candy is generally grabbed, but there are two cigarettes, which means in pairs.



Figure 24: Tea serving scene at Daming Bitter Bamboo Zhao's wedding in 2022 (Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022)

Wash feet with hot water

Washing the feet of the married guests with hot water is another important custom in Tuyao wedding customs. Washing feet is the most solemn and sincere

courtesy for distinguished guests, one is to wash away the fatigue of the guests (perhaps the marriage family with Tuyao generally spans several mountains. In the years when there is no access, Tuyao people measure the soil under their feet with their feet, and go through the mountains and mountains to get married, which is really extremely tiring on the road), and thank them for their travel-stained and tireless arrival as guests. Foot washing activities usually start with matchmakers and women's immediate family members, and then guests take turns according to the order of seats. The water in the basin is hot, and the room is warm with laughter.

Long table banquet at wedding ceremony

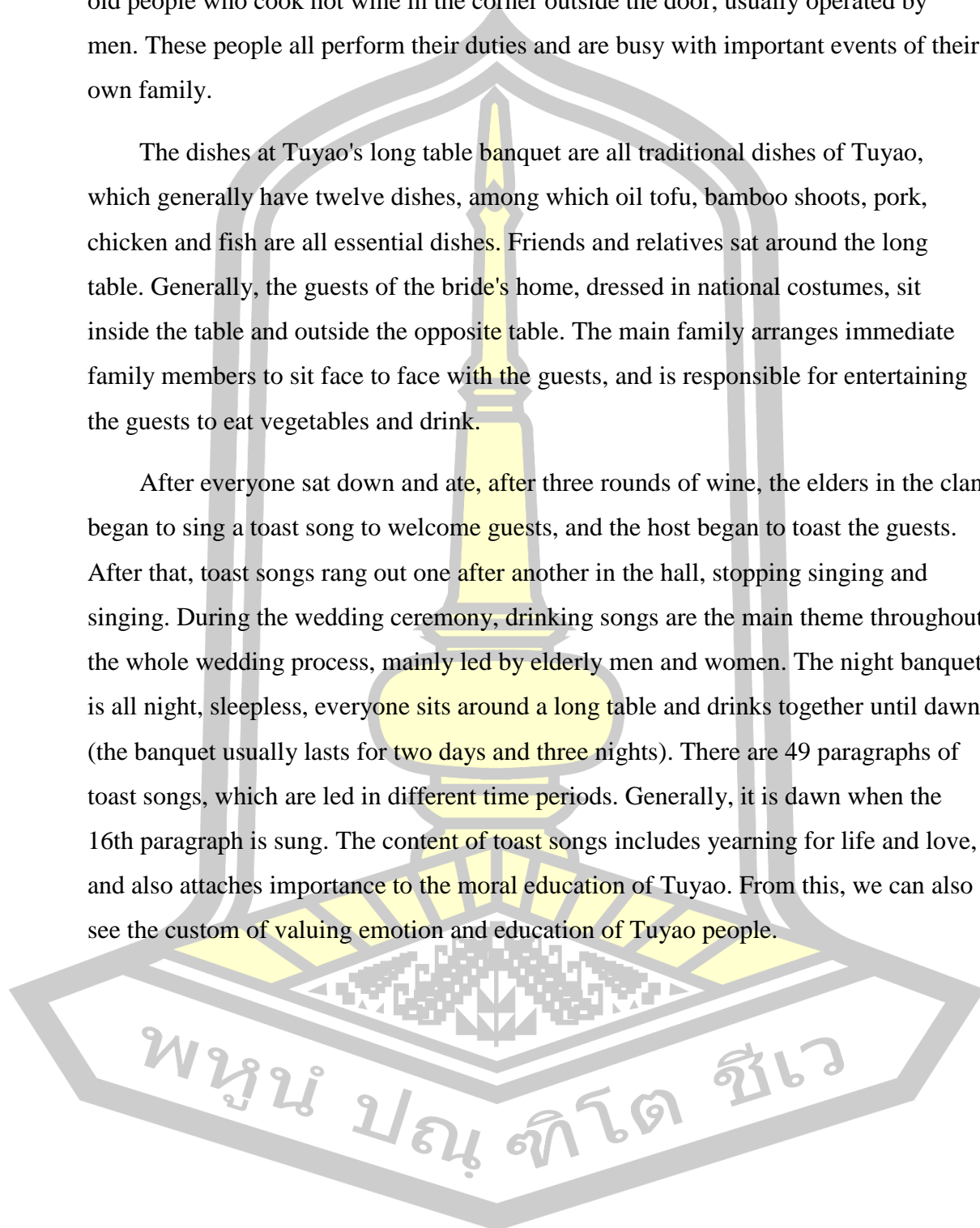
After the ceremony of toasting tea and washing feet, relatives and friends began to enter the long table banquet that had already been set up. Long table banquet is also called "wine song banquet". According to historical records, "Yao customs marry, and brides walk through the door. Before banquets use a long table, there are bowls of oil tofu, bamboo shoots and pork. Add after eating, but don't withdraw. Take wine as respect, and shout once every time you drink a cup. At the banquet, drum music was announced, firecrackers were burned, and the guests sang and answered for fun." [2] According to the old people in the ethnic group, in the early days, the long table banquet was held for six days and six nights. With the contact with the outside world and the influence of Han culture, the ceremony began to be simplified, and now it has been changed to two days and three nights, with hundreds of participants. On the day before the wedding, the bride and groom's relatives, friends and neighbors get together, and the long table banquet begins all night. On the wedding day, the number of guests attending the long table banquet at the groom's house even reached as many as five or six hundred.

The helpers invited by the groom's family spliced together wooden boards with a width of 60 cm and a length of more than two meters, supported by long wooden benches, and formed the largest long square banquet when they met corners in the hall. There are also people who set chopsticks at the long table banquet, and most of them are young women. The method of placing chopsticks is very unique. Each pair of chopsticks should be placed in a figure of eight, all pointing to the middle of the main room, forming a centripetal force. And the distance between chopsticks is equal,

which means that the new family is getting better and better. There are also full-time old people who cook hot wine in the corner outside the door, usually operated by men. These people all perform their duties and are busy with important events of their own family.

The dishes at Tuyao's long table banquet are all traditional dishes of Tuyao, which generally have twelve dishes, among which oil tofu, bamboo shoots, pork, chicken and fish are all essential dishes. Friends and relatives sat around the long table. Generally, the guests of the bride's home, dressed in national costumes, sit inside the table and outside the opposite table. The main family arranges immediate family members to sit face to face with the guests, and is responsible for entertaining the guests to eat vegetables and drink.

After everyone sat down and ate, after three rounds of wine, the elders in the clan began to sing a toast song to welcome guests, and the host began to toast the guests. After that, toast songs rang out one after another in the hall, stopping singing and singing. During the wedding ceremony, drinking songs are the main theme throughout the whole wedding process, mainly led by elderly men and women. The night banquet is all night, sleepless, everyone sits around a long table and drinks together until dawn (the banquet usually lasts for two days and three nights). There are 49 paragraphs of toast songs, which are led in different time periods. Generally, it is dawn when the 16th paragraph is sung. The content of toast songs includes yearning for life and love, and also attaches importance to the moral education of Tuyao. From this, we can also see the custom of valuing emotion and education of Tuyao people.





Ceremony of "recognizing relatives" and ceremony of "giving names"

The long table dinner begins with the first ceremony, "homing". This is also the most enthusiastic scene of the long table banquet, the bride and groom to their relatives and friends and elders to smoke and toast. About 11 o'clock at night, the bride and groom for good Tuyao wedding dress, surrounded by relatives down to the hall, the bride and groom sing a cordial toast song, one to sit in the hall is the center of the elder's toast, worship food.

In this link is equivalent to the "worship ceremony", the groom and bride take a bowl of wine to worship the matchmaker first, then the parents, then the husband and wife to worship, after the worship began to toast, the groom from the left to respect, first to the uncle, and then one by one, the bride from the right to respect the elders at first, and then the bride exchange.

In this process, family elders will give the new person a word to represent the family seniority. If the couple agrees, toast the elders. This means that the groom, through the wedding ceremony, is given a unique new name within the family.

Formal Marriage ceremony

Formal marriage ceremony is the most important part of Tuyao wedding ceremony. On the wedding night, after dinner, maybe three or four glasses of wine, do

this "six harmony" ritual. It is said that through the marriage ceremony, the bride and groom will not have any conflict due to the incompatibility or other reasons, and this ceremony can help the new family live a happy and harmonious life in the future.

The specific practice of the marriage ceremony is: under the auspices of the master Shigong, the bride and groom dress up in their best costumes and complete the marriage process with the guidance of the master under the watchful eyes of their relatives and friends. The servant held the tray, on which there were two rows of wine glasses, symbolizing "five men and one woman in the middle, five women and one man in the middle". The master poured the two rows of wine back and forth to each other. After mixing the two rows of wine, he offered a toast to the bride and groom. Men and women went to work in the fields, women and men, in pairs. After marriage, it is really a combination of families, no longer "three three eight eight", in other words, the purpose of marriage wine is to "unite the two (husband and wife)".

The marriage ceremony is usually decided by the master's duke.

However, it is worth noting that if the bride and groom are not compatible with "birth eight characters" (about a person's fate), the time of marriage will not be able to marry in the hall before the father of the table to marry. But to go into the room to be married.

Tuyao people believe in the concept of the mutual influence between the birth eight characters and marriage relationship in Taoism and the concept of mutual control and coexistence in the five elements. Just because they believe in some views and ideas of Taoism, no matter what disasters or things happen, they always believe that they can find solutions to solve some contradictory problems through some resolving rituals, so as to make their lives more harmonious.

"If their birth eight characters don't match, then they can't get married at the table in front of the ancestral sign in the hall. But to go into the room to be married." answered Tianxian. This is consistent with the process of marriage ceremony introduced to me in detail on the second day, and the birth figure of the bride and groom determines the place and location of marriage. And it's also more clearly explained the Tuyao in order to reproduce offspring, in order to be able to take a

daughter-in-law, they thought of many of these ways to solve. Some of the bad things that may go against their beliefs are solved through the ritual behaviors they create. All the purpose is only one, that is, even if the words do not agree to marry smoothly, even if the words do not agree. You can't break up a marriage. So, you can see. Marriage is a very important event in a kiln person's life. Unless there is an individual desire, there is something wrong with it that doesn't stop the ceremony from happening. At the same time, it also shows a very important problem from the side: the marriage of Tuyao people has certain difficulties. As mentioned above, one is due to the insularity of the geographical environment in which they live. It is not easy for Tuyao women to marry foreigners or Tuyao men to marry foreigners. The unmarried resources of Tuyao men and women are limited. Therefore, the protection of the love fruits of the two young people became a matter that the elders and Shigongs of Tu Yao must protect with their hearts.

The marriage ceremony must be performed in wedding dress, which I confirmed in my field research. According to the 80-year-old master duke who presided over the marriage, "If the birth eight characters do not match, the bride can only marry in the room. When the marriage is made, she will tell the ancestors that today a daughter has come to the master's family, and the daughter has been helping the master's family since then. If the characters match, it tells the ancestors that the master has married a daughter-in-law today." It's also consistent with what Tianxian said.

"Entering Blessing"(Jinfu) ceremony

About the "Entering Blessing" ceremony, the author would like to use the interview with the master, Shigong, who presided over the ceremony in the field work to present:

As can be seen from the field dialogue, the blessing ceremony is a ceremony with symbolic and metaphorical functions: it represents the blessing of the new family to add children and grandchildren, add food and wealth, and the new family everything is satisfactory. And the fact that this highly symbolic ceremony, like the marriage ceremony, is performed while dressed in full costume is a testament to its importance.

As described above, on the wedding day, the bride's dressing timing and motivation change, the specific dressing process of the bride's dressing, some ceremonies on the way to be married, such as leaving home, "blocking the eight roads" ceremony, circling exorcism ceremony, etc., as well as the groom's wedding etiquette and the main hall of tea, tobacco and sugar worship, long table banquet etiquette and toast song, marriage ceremony, blessing ceremony, etc., These are things that happen and have to happen on the day of the wedding ceremony, and they are components of the threshold stage of activity.

What are the main characteristics of the "threshold" stage? Turner has explained that in the liminal period, the characteristics of ritual subjects are not clear, and they pass through a domain of their own culture that has no (or very little) characteristics of previous conditions (or future conditions). Moreover, he further points out that the liminal entities are neither here nor there, and that they are expressed in many societies by various symbolic means with unclear and uncertain characteristics in the places between those designated and arranged by law, custom, tradition, and ceremony. Turner's explanation of the "threshold" makes us clearer about the "threshold" stage in the marriage custom of the local Yao. For example, during the two days of wedding preparation, both men and women no longer fully belong to their family of origin, nor do they fully determine their new family relationship. It is like being suspended, belonging to the transition stage from the family of origin to the new family, from the original role to the new role. As described by scholar Xia Jianzhong, "Recipients enter a sacred ritual time and space, which is in an intermediate state or symbolically placed 'outside society', different from the past and future time and space constructed according to the norms of secular life". These two days, the role and identity of two people began to change, two people from the original love relationship to the village rules people agreed, legal husband and wife relationship, two people need to assume the responsibility and obligation also began to change in this process. This stage has the most rituals and is the core of the whole Passage ritual. In Tuyao wedding ceremony, the various ceremonies and corresponding taboos displayed in the "transition" stage are unique, and the whole ceremony process reflects symbolic significance. As the subject of the ceremony, the

married parties are facing the process of overturning their original identities and establishing new ones. In this stage, both parties are in a "simulation" process with complex and changeable rules, chaotic, ambiguous and ambiguous roles. They are breaking away from their original lives and are about to have a new identity and role, but the new identity has not been established, so it is a stage of ambiguity and chaotic roles.

In this stage, wedding dress is a unique necessity. According to the traditional Tuyao concept, without wedding dress, wedding ceremony is impossible, which is one of the reasons why many Tuyao people can't hold wedding ceremony on time at a young age. Therefore, wedding dress plays an important role in the threshold stage of wedding ceremony.

3.3 Late Threshold-Communitas

Turner believes that the concept of "intersection" is a state that appears in the threshold stage, in which all social distinctions will disappear temporarily, and society will present a state of no structure or weak structure. But blending has its own structural development. In this structure, the free relationship between individuals becomes the relationship governed by norms among society. Turner's ritual theory shows the state change, hesitation and danger of everyone in the ritual process. In the blending of thresholds and limits, we seem to see people's yearning and hope for an ideal society during social transformation. Then, the change of personal status will return to the original state after the ceremony, which is in contrast to the irreversibility of our current social changes, and provides a series of new ways and ways to solve various problems in today's society and its social transformation.

Communitas stage. Communitas is "some social attributes in the threshold stage of ceremony", which mainly refers to the relationship between people in the threshold stage. In daily life, various social ties (such as class, race, class, etc.) connect and distinguish people, which is the structural relationship between people. Communitas is an ambiguous boundary relative to the social structure, an unstructured or weak structure, an existence within or outside the secular structure, a moment within or outside time. Communitas is a super-structural or meta-structural state of the relationship between people in society. In communion, there is no difference between

people, and people are equal. In this relationship, I communicate with you face to face. This exchange is a direct, timely and comprehensive dialogue. In such a kind of dialogue and communication, society has mysterious identity and unstructured *communitas* .

When we use Turner's theory of passing ceremony to demonstrate the wedding ceremony of Tuyao, we find that one of the important links, "Huimen", is the most important activity in the blending stage in the later period of threshold. In this activity, the bride and groom have entered the daily society, but it is in a relatively vague and weak state. At this time, the newly established family has been recognized by Tuyao society, but the new order has not been obviously established. But at this time, the bride and groom become equal with the people around them, and no longer have to obey the ceremony host and other figures as in the threshold stage. The bride and groom in the threshold stage break away from their original identity and become individuals in the normal family and social structure. However, when they enter the post-threshold, that is, the blending stage, they restore their independent, direct and equal communication and family structure, but this state is still vague.

Next, we will talk about the "Huimen" activity in the *Communitas* stage.

Clothing and its significance in “Huimen”

It is the traditional marriage custom of many nationalities in China for the newlyweds to return home. "Huimen" is also called "Guining", Or "go back to the bride's mother's house", refers to the first time that the newlyweds return to their home to visit their relatives after marriage. The bride and groom return to the bride's home to visit the bride's parents as a couple, which is the last step of the wedding. The significance of the bridegroom's visit to the bride's parents is significant, that is, to express their gratitude to the bride's family, to change their parents-in-law as their parents, and also to let the parents see their daughter's happiness in marriage and trust to hand over their daughter to the groom. However, due to different regions, the customs of returning home marriage vary from place to place.

In the previous field research, the author conducted interviews specifically on the clothes when returning home. The interviewees were middle-aged and elderly Tuyao

women and newly married young couples. The first is a group interview with Daming Village women:

The author thought for a while. There is a certain reason for this formulation. Because the return is also necessary after Tuyao's wedding. Return to the door is also an important symbol of the end of the wedding ceremony in the earthen kiln. Moreover, all Tuyao people must return to their parents' home after the Tuyao wedding, which is the completion of the establishment of a new family.

Their point of view is that you don't need to wear this grand wedding dress when you return home, but you will wear this Tuyao wedding hat, and the long silk thread is taken down with short silk thread. Whether it is long or short silk thread, even if it is short silk thread hat, it must be worn. It means that this hat is at the moment. Although he has completed the task of the wedding ceremony, he is at the moment of returning. He has new symbols and new connotations. It means that a couple of newlyweds have established their own family, and there is a kind of gratitude to the old family of the new family. And symbolizes a return to the parents of the original family. It is also an important symbolic object in the process of establishing the identity of Tuyao. "

In March 2023, the author Wang Dan conducted a telephone interview with Zhao Tuwang, 39, from Mingdong, Daming Village, who just held a wedding ceremony last year. The main question of the interview is what important activities or ceremonies need to be completed after the wedding ceremony. The following is the specific process of the interview:

Through the previous group interview and this interview, the author found that at least two facts were determined in Tuwang's communication:

First, Tuyao people must complete the ceremony of "Huimen" on a selected day after the wedding ceremony, and this passing ceremony can be regarded as the real end.

Second, in the "Huimen" ceremony, the newly married bride no longer needs to wear the whole set of wedding costumes, but wears the costumes after removing some

symbolic costume parts in the wedding costumes for "returning to the door" (that is, the simplified costumes).

The *Communitas* stage of Tuyao wedding ceremony (also called post-threshold stage) is not as much as the threshold stage, but it is indeed an indispensable part of the whole passing ceremony. Through this dialogue with Zhao Tuwang, we know that "Huimen" is the most important work that Tuyao must complete after the wedding ceremony. Compared with the three steps of Turner's passing ceremony, it is more certain that "Huimen" belongs to the post-threshold stage of Tuyao wedding, that is, the activity of blending stage. As mentioned earlier: In the action of "Huimen", the bride and groom have entered the daily society, but they are in a relatively vague and weak state. At this time, the newly established family has been recognized by Tuyao society, but the new family order and the order of connecting family and outside have not been obviously established. At this time, however, the relationship between the bride and groom and the people around them becomes equal, and they are no longer subject to the arrangement of the ceremony host (Shigong) and other key figures as on the wedding day (threshold stage).

And the two events in the activity of "Huimen". We can also find other problems: One of the suggestive facts is that the bride and groom no longer need to wear wedding clothes. Instead, wear the general costumes with the symbol clothing parts of the bride and groom removed to "Huimen". This is equivalent to announcing that the bride and groom at this time are no longer the free identity in the wedding ceremony, which just confirms that after the passing ceremony, the woman has left the wedding theater and returned to the daily social life, and she has become a member of the new family. Returning to my mother's home for the first time after marriage-"Huimen" announced the new identity of the newly married couple: the woman is no longer the daughter of family of origin, but the daughter-in-law of the new family; The man has also become the main body of responsibility of the new family, and has been burdened with the creation of the new family in economic status and social relations since then. From this point of view, it can be found that in the blending stage, the departure of wedding costumes itself proves the change of the identity of Tuyao newlyweds from another angle.

Before this process, all kinds of complicated and important ceremonies have been basically completed. During this period, men and women are in the stage of "integration", and women integrate into men's families and begin to assume their responsibilities and obligations in new families. Although a man is not completely separated from his family of origin, he also needs to change his role and assume new responsibilities and obligations. At this stage, the main body of the ceremony, that is, the newly married couple, began to return to normal daily life. They came out of the suspended wedding space, entered a new space and started a new life. The "Communitas" stage is a necessary stage for both men and women to enter secular life. Through this stage, both men and women complete the important passing ceremony in their lives, which marks the emergence of a new family.

4 Some thoughts after the ceremony: the function of wedding clothes, the inheritance of land

In the wedding ceremony activities in Tuyao society, whether the bride and groom, the master or ordinary guests, these ceremony participants of different identities play different roles in the whole wedding process. Just as Victor Turner summarized the operation procedure of the ceremony into the structure-anti-structure-structure process, as the subject of the wedding, the bride and groom, their perception and physical experience of the whole wedding ceremony are different from their usual identities. Under the guidance of the master and the important women who help them in the wedding, Complete all aspects of the wedding ceremony. Their social roles are different in the pre-ritual (separation stage), during the ritual (threshold stage), and after the ritual (post-threshold stage is the communion stage) according to the development process of the ritual. However, regardless of the difference, when the whole passage of the ritual is completed, their lives will eventually return to daily life.

4.1 "Daily" Change of Wedding Dress and Some Conceptual Analysis

In the field research, it is found that Tuyao people will make the wedding ceremony in advance when they are adults or ready to get married. In the important part of the wedding, the bride and groom should wear this costume to participate in

the wedding process of various important ceremonies, including the marriage on the way to the blocking eight roads ceremony, the wedding long table banquet ceremony, toast ceremony, giving name ceremony, marriage ceremony, blessing ceremony and so on. However, after the wedding ceremony, this costume becomes the daily attire of the Tuyao people. Whenever they meet other people's marriage activities or major events in the clan, married men and women of Tuyao will wear the same clothes that accompanied them through the wedding ceremony. However, the hat will be too grand colorful silk decoration and arm ornaments to be removed into a relatively simple style.

We can analyze the functional transformation of this dress after marriage through field interviews: this dress has become a daily dress; This suit also symbolizes "important", "rules", "festive" and other meanings.

4.2 Acquiring the right to inherit land and mountains in the true sense

The wedding ceremony of Tuyao people is the only way for their marriage and family to obtain "recognition within the family", and it is also an important step for them to obtain legal property in the village (such as land, forest, etc.). In other words, even after legal marriage registration at the civil affairs department, Tuyao people still need a special ethnic wedding to confirm their new family. At the same time, through this wedding ceremony, emotional ties within the ethnic group, namely among community members, are strengthened, and a good opportunity is created for more Tuyao young people to get to know each other. Field investigation also found that in addition to the family recognition, forest and land, many Tuyao people also regard the "necessary wedding (wedding banquet)" as an interactive activity between human relations, and believe that "after eating in the wedding of others, they should also host wedding banquet for others", which is a common concept of many older Tuyao people.

Wedding is the most important transition form of life, what is the transition of life? Victor Turner, in *The Forest of Symbols*, says: "It is an important moment in the process of physical or social development, such as birth, youth or death. Many ceremonies or rituals in the world mark the transition of an individual from one stage

of life or social status to another." Tuyao wedding is also an important ceremony of life transition. In this ceremony, people complete the transition form through the wearing of clothes and the process of the ceremony. The identity of a bride dressed in red has changed since then. First of all, she is "confirmed" by a certain clan, and her surname can be written on the future genealogy and memorial tablet of her husband's family. If a woman has not had a wedding ceremony, no matter how many children she gives birth to, she will not be recognized by the family. From this, we can deduce why Tuyao chose to buy a set of expensive dress for the bride (which may be the income of Tuyao people for many years) in spite of economic constraints. It is not only because of its beauty, but most importantly, because it carries meaning, which symbolizes the change of one's social status.

4.3 Relationship between Tuyao Wedding Ceremony and Wedding Dress as Adoption Ceremony

In Van Gannap's view, all passing ceremonies have three marked stages: separation, margin, and reaggregation. Transition to a ritual world, which is a sacred world separated from daily time and space, is also in the middle of "separation stage" and "aggregation stage". Finally, cross the threshold again and return to the secular world of daily life. Among these three stages, the most important is the intermediate state, that is, the "threshold stage".

From the above analysis of the overall process of Tuyao's passing ceremony, we find that the "threshold early stage" of Tuyao's wedding, that is, the separation stage, will go through engagement banquet, watching the day, customizing wedding costumes, sending invitations, asking for help, preparing wedding banquet materials and so on. In this separation stage, the most important link for Tuyao newcomers is to prepare a grand wedding dress.

In the field interview, it was found that, generally speaking, in Tuyao's wedding, the woman's wedding dress was prepared by the man, but if the woman's family was acceptable, her parents would also prepare a wedding dress for her daughter. Not all Tuyao families have mastered the skills of making wedding dresses. Generally, every Tuyao village has five or six embroidered mothers with particularly good wedding

resses. If these families of married daughters can't make their own clothes, they will ask the families of married daughters in the same village for experience. Through the experience sharing of "married daughters" by these families, we can get a set of wedding clothes: which stockade has good embroidery skills, the wedding clothes are exquisite and gorgeous, affordable, and the production time is more in line with our own requirements.

In fact, in the separation stage of "dress preparation" this link, not all occurred after the "engagement" behavior began to prepare wedding clothes. Some able and skilled mothers will start making their own wedding dresses when their daughters are adults, instead of having a marriage partner. However, it should be emphasized that, in the field research, it is found that even if this grand wedding dress is prepared early, as long as it is not worn through the whole wedding ceremony process, women have not fully owned this beautiful "Chinese dress".

Therefore, for Tuyao women, this beautiful costume is a symbolic object with mysterious artistic conception and unknown beautiful imagination. As explained by the theory of "separation stage" in ritual, separation is characterized by the departure of a fixed point in the structure of an individual or group towards something unknown.

This beautiful and gorgeous dress. It symbolizes the wedding ceremony in the near future and even symbolizes the unknown marriage life. It symbolizes that the identity of Tuyao women has been redefined, and it symbolizes the family identity that will be gained soon. Only after wearing it through the whole ceremony and finally completing the "integration" stage, girls become women, wives, daughter-in-law and sisters-in-law, and wedding clothes become an important bridge and medium for them to lead to their future life. Therefore, like girls of other nationalities, Tuyao girls are looking forward to growing up and getting a new life with a commemorative wedding: this new life will mean the change of women's identity and the establishment of a new identity. From the sociological point of view, this change is a kind of "progress" of "power status", especially in a clan and a new family. When a girl becomes a woman, she has more family participation rights, clan social participation rights and more "discourse rights". In this sense, Tuyao's wedding dress

has great significance of collaborative identity transformation. Therefore, in the early stage of the wedding ceremony, that is, the "separation stage", the preparation of Tu Yao's wedding dress has a more sacred meaning: it is a symbol that girls will soon have more power and assume more family responsibilities. Of course, this right and responsibility are still unknown before the completion of the adoption ceremony, and everything must be slowly reflected in the completion of the whole adoption ceremony, the realization of "integration" and the return to daily life.

From a male's point of view. Wedding, a passing rite, is also of great significance to it. After the wedding ceremony, he will soon become husband, son-in-law, uncle, uncle, father and so on. The new family he formed will be dominated by him, and he has a high voice in this family, and even his voice in the clan has been changed because of the wedding ceremony. This is reflected in: After the ceremony, I will no longer worry about having uncles and nephews gossiping. And of course, he got the right to inherit the land, and he even got a new name given by the family that can reflect the family's seniority (this name was handed down from ancestors and taken according to the ancestral system, and a special ceremony was given to the groom after the second round of toasting in the wedding ceremony).

It can be seen that the wedding ceremony is very important for Tuyao men. It is an important activity to complete the transformation of men's power and status, and it also reflects the protection of Tuyao people's dignity and status. Therefore, men's wedding clothes also have the symbolic significance of identity change.

4.4 The relationship between other participants in the ceremony and the wedding dress

4.4.1 Separation stage: bride's parents, groom's parents, costume makers, onlookers

Through field research, we know that the wedding dress production is an important and necessary link in the "separation stage" of the wedding ceremony. For any human group, getting married, having children and reproducing offspring are important events for the continuation of blood and survival and development. Although Tuyao's bride's wedding dress can be made by the bride's family of origin

parents themselves or designed by the wedding dress technician, the groom's family will also make a dress for the bride. However, the meanings of "making costumes for your mother's family" and "making costumes for your husband's family" are completely different.

First of all, let's understand the basic gender concept of Tuyao people. Compared with some areas where the concept of preferring boys over girls is particularly obvious, although Tuyao nationality also values boys, it is found in interviews that Tuyao's "preferring girls" is not serious. Some Tuyao families have no males, so it is normal to recruit "door-to-door son-in-law". Therefore, based on the above concept of equality between men and women based on breeding race and blood, the family and family status of Tuyao's "door-to-door son-in-law" is no different from the normal son status. Therefore, in the interview, several women all said, "It doesn't matter if you don't have a son, you can recruit a son-in-law to the door" (Huoliu Grandma), "Daughters and sons are all the same, they are all their own children" (36-year-old fairy), "My daughter, as long as she is willing to study, I will pay her to study no matter how hard I work, until she is not willing to." (35-year-old Huogu mama)

All these remarks are quite different from those in some rural areas where patriarchal ideology is serious. It can be seen that Tuyao people have strong feelings and love for their daughters, which is no different from their sons. From another angle, we can draw this conclusion: Since ancient times, there has been a saying of "bride price" in marriage in China, but in many areas, especially in rural areas, the gift money of "bride price" ranges from 50,000 yuan to 60,000 yuan. In Tuyao, the "bride price" is just a blessing symbolic number, usually ranging from tens of yuan to two or three hundred yuan (Shi Gong said that it was 39 yuan and 79 yuan in previous years, and now it is only 299 yuan)

It can be seen that although the Tuyao nationality is located in the deep mountains, in a corner and has a low material living standard, it has a very virtuous and friendly concept of marriage. They don't get rewards from marrying women, and they don't treat boys and girls differently. Therefore, the girl's growth pours the selfless love of her parents.

Then, back to our previous topic, a set of married costumes bears the love of family of origin's parents. After determining their daughter's marriage partner, families with better economic conditions began to prepare early, while families with no spare money may cut back on food and clothing, or earn the cost of marrying clothes by going out to work and working in the mountains in order to make this gorgeous wedding dress unique to Tuyao.

Therefore, from the beginning of Tuyao wedding dress making, the bride's family of origin began to peel off her daughter's emotion and identity. This daughter is still the daughter of family of origin, but she is about to bid farewell to her family of origin. She is now the groom's "unmarried wife". The production of this wedding dress reminds everyone in the family that this girl's identity has changed: she is still the daughter of the family, and she is not only the daughter of the family. And this bride-to-be, when we decided to make this wedding dress, the inner self is also divided into two: Family of origin's "I" and "I" who will soon become another family member, these two "I" are a pair of contradictory relations. An "I" is reluctant to go in the old order of family of origin (including living habits, emotional habits and all the order to keep the family running). Another "I" reminds myself that there are new lifestyles and new families waiting for me to join. Therefore, the wedding dress at this moment has become a symbol of the stage of identity separation, which contains various complex emotions such as disappointment, nostalgia, warmth, contradiction and hope.

Similarly, from the perspective of parents, this wedding dress of Tuyao also contains the ambivalence of parents when their daughter is waiting to marry since ancient times: they are reluctant to lose a family member who has been carefully cared for and accompanied day and night, and they are also happy and looking forward to having a new family for their daughter, and at the same time, they are mixed with some worries about her unknown life. Nevertheless, parents will do their best to prepare this costume for girls. After all, hard work is more meaningful than indulging in loss and gain.

Of course, traditional marriage is the beginning of the continuation of family incense, and it is an expansion of members for a family, which is a great happy event.

Therefore, for the groom's parents, no matter what the economic conditions at home are, as long as the wedding date is determined, they will start to make the wedding costumes necessary for the future daughter-in-law.

In the interview, it was found that at least in recent decades, the bride had to wear this special Tuyao wedding dress at the wedding ceremony held in Tuyao village. Therefore, from the perspective of the groom's family, the wedding dress means that a new family member is about to be welcomed, which means that the son is about to become a family leader.

Moreover, we know that in the old concept, Tuyao people are more persistent in wedding ceremony than any other nation, one of the reasons is that wedding ceremony is closely related to the means of production-land. In Tuyao's traditional family concept, if a wedding ceremony is not held, even if a marriage certificate is obtained, it cannot be recognized by the family. Only after the wedding ceremony can this new family member really get the de facto right to inherit the mountain land (of course, at present, this behavior is against Chinese law, but this established family rule or family rule restricts the Tuyao people in the mountains to manage the precious land in this way for hundreds of years or even longer).

Therefore, the wedding ceremony is a great beginning of life for the bride and groom, and in this beginning, "making wedding costumes" is "the beginning of the beginning". The future bride imagines her beautiful appearance in her wedding dress, and also imagines and expects a happy life after marriage, or some complicated emotions about the unknown future. For the groom, the wedding dress contains the hope of starting a new life of his own and the future.

However, it must be pointed out that because most families in Tuyao villages live in poverty, many wedding ceremonies of Tuyao are not completed in their twenties, but are held after living together for several years or having children. Then, although the wedding dress at this time still has the same function, the feelings of the experiencer and the wearer will be different. For example, the bride's sense of stripping family of origin will decrease, and family of origin's parents' sense of losing their daughters will decrease.

Let's talk about the makers of wedding costumes. In the separation stage of the passage ceremony, the wedding dress makers are important participants. The author conducted a collective interview with four wedding dress-making women in Daming Village, and went to their homes to observe and conduct in-depth interviews. Among them, the most representative inheritor of skills is 73-year-old Huoliu Grandma who lives in Mingdong Tail. She told me that every wedding dress she made will be different, which is mainly reflected in the different patterns produced by the color arrangement sequence of colorful beads in skirts and hats, and the silk thread length and color of skirts, hats and breasts can be somewhat different, and even the main color of bright red can be changed into pink according to the bride's preference. However, Grandma Huoliu thinks that she will make every wedding dress with her heart. She likes them to look beautiful in the clothes she made. She hopes the bride will live happily after marriage. In the eyes of clothing makers, this suit also symbolizes the change of women's identity.

In the eyes of other bystanders, when a girl owns this costume or wears this costume, even if there is no wedding yet, the girl's identity becomes different from before. These bystanders will imagine the girl's wedding, anticipate her new life in her husband's family, anticipate her status and status in the new family, and even compare it with her family of origin.

To sum up, it can be seen that the production and preparation of Tuyao wedding costumes is an important symbol and signal that the separation stage begins in the ceremony. It represents the beginning of the separation of girls from family of origin, and also symbolizes the prelude of the change of girls' identity.

4.5 "Tuyao holds wedding ceremony in costumes" and the traditional reinvention of ceremony.

According to the "traditional reinvention" theory of Hobsbawm, the famous British scholar, "ritual" can be used to explain "tradition". [6]

Tuyao dressed up for the wedding ceremony is essentially a process of "tradition being invented". Before any ritual becomes a tradition, it goes through a long process of "social practice" (involving many people's bodily practice). Or, from Hobsbawm's

point of view, we can understand this tradition of the passage of the marriage dress in the native Yao as:

First, the traditional invention of passing ceremonies in wedding attire was combined with the symbol of "ceremony". The tradition of dressing up for the rite of passage and the rite of passage are inseparable community structures. As the Tuyao people said in the interview, "In our Tuyao village, we must wear Tuyao's wedding dress", "I will definitely ask my daughter to wear our wedding dress when she gets married", "When I get rich, I will definitely help my daughter make a wedding dress", and so on.

Secondly, the wedding ceremony of Tu Yao is a yardstick to distinguish the traditional and historical value. It makes the tradition of "participating in the passage ceremony in wedding dress" into the social memory of Tuyao people, and this social memory is chosen as an important symbol of the life transition of Tuyao people. When Tuyao men and women choose to "dress up in wedding attire" to complete the passage ceremony, when this choice becomes the mainstream choice in Tuyao society, the tradition has already occurred.

Thirdly, on the contrary, ritual also plays a relative role in tradition. The occurrence of ritual itself is also a gradual process, especially the establishment of tradition. By holding ceremonies, Tuyao people have established the tradition of "dressing up for weddings". As a result, the ritual itself has become a "maker of tradition". Through the analysis of "participating in the wedding process by dressing up in wedding", we can understand this tradition and seek the historical opportunity of its occurrence.

4.6 Changes of Tuyao Wedding Ceremony and Wedding Dress

encyclo-paedia Britannica, published in 1771, defines ritual as a book of order and manner. It is a celebration or worship that takes place in a particular church, parish, or similar location. For example, the West is used to having church weddings. This is similar to the so-called "Gong" and "Jiao Festival" in Chinese folk religion. It is an integral part of the complete act of learning religious scriptures and practicing

religious teachings. Asad, on the other hand, believes that "rituals are specific ways of having gifts in the countryside."

From the description of western scholars, as a passage ceremony, the traditional wedding ceremony of Tuyao includes many beliefs and religious links of their ethnic group, such as choosing the wedding day by looking at the eight characters, the ceremony of telling ancestors before marriage, the ceremony of "blocking the eight road" in the process of sending off a bride, killing a chicken and crossing the basin to eliminate disasters, and the ceremony of "entering blessings" by throwing red envelopes into the wine bowl at night, etc. These behaviors all implied the ancestral beliefs passed down from generation to generation. For example, the banquet guests will sing a toast song, the bride goes out with a red umbrella, with Tu Yao wedding dress. In addition to these behaviors, which are based on the customs and habits generated by the long-term bodily practice of this nation, we believe that their belief concepts such as ghost worship and nature worship are deeply presented and strengthened in wedding ceremonies from generation to generation.

According to Turner, "Ritual is a kind of" social drama "in which interpersonal communication and cultural changes are carried out through performance. From Turner's point of view, the "technical convention" of Tuyao wedding ceremony is inherited for hundreds of years. In addition to the specific movements of the bride and groom in the ceremony, such as the bride is helped out by two women sent by the groom's family, the bride's feet must be too high to touch the threshold, and one of the helpers is responsible for holding a red umbrella for the bride. After the bride crossed the basin, the master immediately cut the rope on the basin surface, etc. In addition to such "technical movements" that have experienced the evolution and inheritance of time and space, the way specific objects are used in wedding ceremonies and the objects themselves have also experienced the evolution and inheritance of time and space. The bride in her wedding dress is one of the traditions. Because the wedding dress is the "necessary" in the ceremony, even in the relatively low economic level of the age, perhaps the form of dress is simple, but it still exists. Only with the development of The Times and the economy, the style of wedding dress has been developed accordingly. Therefore, "wearing wedding dress to participate in the

wedding ceremony" has become the "technical convention" in the ceremony. The observance of this "technical convention" hides the respect of Tuyao people for their ancestors and national culture.

The reason why the author spends so much time on embellishing the ceremony with ink is that the ceremony itself is the basis for the wedding dress, and the wedding dress itself is also a part of the ceremony. From the stubborn idea that "no wedding dress, no wedding ceremony" held by Tuyao people, the importance of wedding dress to Tuyao wedding ceremony is self-evident. Of course, in recent years, due to the increasing communication between Tuyao and the outside world, occasionally some Tuyao people accept to wear white wedding dresses or red Tang suits to "join" the wedding process. Why use the word "join", because it should be pointed out that: in the important part of the ceremony, the Tuyao newlyweds still wear their national costumes to carry out. When I interviewed Tuyao people, "Why do you have to wear these clothes at the wedding?" "These Tuyao people, young and old, men and women, basically say, "It's our habit. " "It's been like this for generations, for no reason." Visible, Tuyao dress for wedding ceremony, although not laws and regulations, but the formation of an obvious irresistible national habit. This national habit has been consolidated through the "technological repetition" of generations of newcomers. This helps explain why so many Tuyao adults put their weddings on hold (it's not uncommon to see Tuyao in their 60s and 70s) until they have enough money for the costumes and the guests. Therefore, we say that as an important "prop" in Tuyao wedding ceremony theater, costume is an "essential item" for the role play of the newlyweds. Without this "prop", the roles in the ceremony cannot be distinguished and defined through the form of costume, and the identities of the bride and groom and guests cannot be distinguished, and the role cannot become a specific symbol. Perhaps the wedding would go ahead, but it would become a normal "wedding party" and the religious and religious implications would disappear. Native Yao wedding dress in the whole wedding performance and games play an indispensable role. It can be seen that the Tuyao wedding ceremony without wedding costumes is lack of imagination and symbolic meaning, and cannot be accepted by the Tuyao nation.

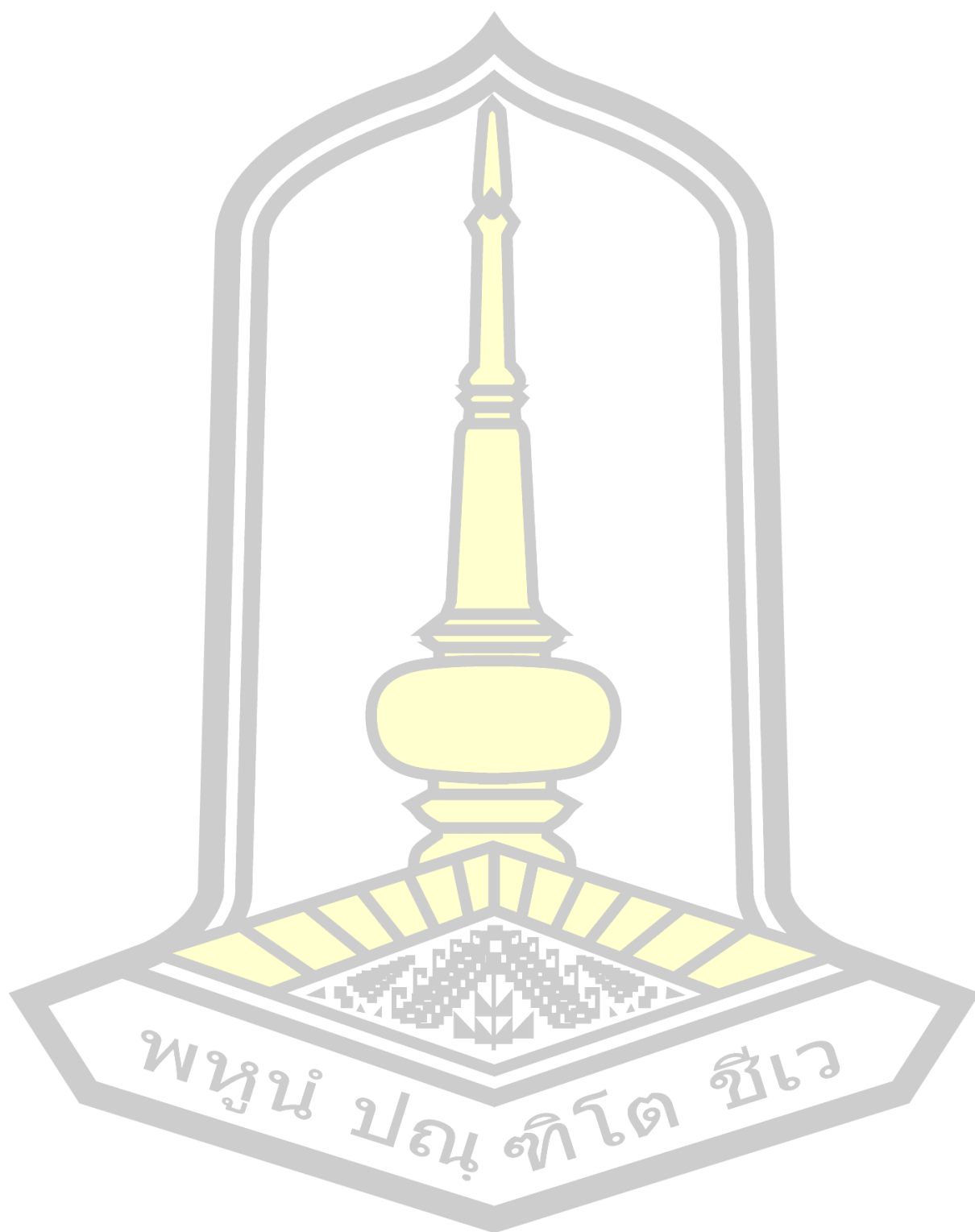
It should be pointed out that as one of the "props" of the ceremony, Tu Yao's wedding dress has undergone many changes or even more changes like other "props". It is built on the basis of Tuyao's general national dress of blue short shirt, black long gown, black shorts, but with the economic and social progress, the expansion of communication with the outside world and many other factors change, Tuyao wedding dress has correspondingly changed or improved. The specific changes will be elaborated in the fifth chapter of Tuyao wedding dress and symbol interaction.



Figure 25: Wedding scene, Wang Dan

Summary

This chapter discusses the wedding dress of Tuyao in the context of the ceremony. Tuyao wedding dress is not an isolated existence, it exists as one of the symbolic symbols in the wedding ceremony. In the wedding ceremony in the existence of the wedding dress is meaningful to the nation. Because the wedding ceremony of Tuyao is a passing ceremony, people only held a wedding ceremony, the new family can be recognized by the whole family. Only through the wedding ceremony, the Tuyao people can obtain the right to inherit the land and realize the real identity conversion. This is a good proof of the wedding ceremony in the Yao people in this important significance: about ethnic reproduction, about land inheritance, about national beliefs and so on. Also because of this, the wedding dress of Tuyao has a special significance. In the following sections, we will conduct in-depth analysis and discussion.



CHAPTER IV

Bodily Practice of Tuyao People in Wedding Ceremony Theater

1 Introduction

The passing ceremony consists of many specific wedding ceremony links. Throughout the wedding ceremony, all ceremonial behaviors of the bride and groom are closely related to wedding clothes. For example, wearing costumes requires many people's assistance, and there is a fixed procedure for wearing wedding costumes. The master Shigong leads the bride in costumes to complete the ceremony of "blocking eight roads". At the long table banquet, the bride and groom wear costumes to toast tea to relatives and friends. These bodily practices are all done in the case of wearing wedding costumes, and they must wear wedding costumes. If the wedding dress can't be afforded, Tuyao people would rather not hold a wedding ceremony. Tuyao people gradually formed and established their own unique habits in the historical process of bodily practice completed by dressing up in the ritual process, and then formed their unique social memory through long-term repeated exercises. Therefore, to study the bodily practice of wedding ceremony is to study the practice of wedding dress.

2 Wedding dress: memory of Tuyao's wedding dress in change

Tuyao wedding dress is an important part of Tuyao's traditional culture, and also an important embodiment of Tuyao's national characteristics and culture. I believe that Tuyao's dress culture actually contains an important way of inheritance and development of Tuyao's historical culture.

In fact, art has never been a pure thing in a closed space. It is inextricably related to culture, religion, politics, economy, science and technology and even natural ecology in social space. The wedding dress of Tuyao is not only a symbol of Tuyao culture, but also an artwork bearing Tuyao culture. Today's wedding dress of Tuyao is not what it looks like today from the beginning. It is also produced, developed and changed under the influence of culture, religion, politics, economy and natural ecology in Tuyao social space. Therefore, in the context of modern globalization,

great changes have taken place, and cultural change has become an inevitable trend of development. Tuyao's wedding dress has been greatly affected by this environmental change. Before discussing the relationship between Tuyao wedding dress and Tuyao people's bodily, we should deeply understand the impact of social changes on bodily practice and culture in practice.

The author has extracted a basic thread of Tuyao's wedding attire from the thinking of six field investigations - four stages before the 1970s, from the 1980s to the end of the 20th century, and from the beginning of the 21st century to the present.

Before the founding of the People's Republic of China, the Tuyao society itself was also in a state of turmoil, and survival was the most important problem. In addition, Tuyao was a group without words. Therefore, basically, there was no mark left on the wedding dress of this period. In the interview, we only learned that the women shaved their heads, wore shorts and short jackets, and the men were the same as the general Tang clothing. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, especially around 1960, the "Four Clean-ups Movement" force entered the Tuyao village, and the Tuyao people also contacted the outside world. According to the memory of the 80-year-old village head, after the "four clean-up movement", the task force asked women to start wearing long hair and trousers instead, in order to maintain the characteristics of women and keep them calm and dignified and better warm. Moreover, with the gradual development of China's light industry, some new clothing fabrics have appeared on the market. In addition, Tuyao people have stepped out of the mountains and received new trend information. The national clothing culture of Tuyao, which has been fixed for hundreds of years, even thousands of years, has gradually been replaced by "general trend clothing". The traditional cotton and linen cloth used to make clothes has been replaced by the cheap and durable "Shilin cloth". At that time, Tuyao people began to be happy to make in Liantang or Babu bazaar, because the manufacturing process and efficiency of sewing machines in the bazaar were far better than the past manual sewing. However, Tuyao in the 1980s still retained the Tang style of national clothing patterns, which were directly submitted to the tailor for reference when needed. The white cotton cloth used by

women for Baotou was replaced by cheaper and practical white towels. This white towel has become the most important part of the Tuyao wedding dress symbol system.

We should still focus on the change of "love song towel". We found in the field survey that the white "love song towel" embroidery colors are mostly red and green, dotted with some small blue patterns. Of course, this white towel also experienced several changes: pure cotton and linen white cloth stage, writing stage, cotton thread embroidery and polyester cotton silk thread embroidery stage.

In the field survey, we asked the women who embroider white towels what the words above mean. They always answered that love songs are important gifts for their sweethearts before marriage. At the time of marriage, this white embroidered towel became an essential component of the wedding dress. At least two or three embroidered towels should be worn on the hat of the bride and groom. However, these characters that resemble Chinese characters have a common feature. There are many wrong words in love poems, and it seems that the grammar is not smooth. However, the inner feelings of Tuyao people can be vaguely felt from the words in the poem.

Through an interview with Zhao, the 80-year-old Shigong, we learned that in the past, the words of this white towel were written in red and blue ink. It was not until the 1980s that the embroidery women began to use embroidery words. It can be seen that although the Tuyao people do not have their own characters, the Han culture has had an impact on the Tuyao society long ago. When Chinese characters entered the Tuyao society, they were recorded, and at the same time, due to the lag of education, they slowly deviated from the inheritance of Chinese characters within the Tuyao ethnic group, resulting in many typos. However, even if the typography can be widely spread and used within the ethnic group, it can still become a symbol and a carrier for the cultural heritage of the Tuyao ethnic group. When the white towel embroidered with love songs becomes one of the indispensable structures in Tuyao's wedding attire, when the new couple wears it to participate in the whole process of the wedding, this white love song towel is no longer the towel worn by the daily Tuyao people. The wedding ceremony gives it new connotation, and it also gives the bride

and groom a new identity. It transcends the general visual aesthetics of Tuyao society and records and transmits the feelings and sacred marriage of Tuyao people.

The third stage is from the 1980s to the end of the 20th century.

At this time, China's reform and opening up began to sweep across the country, bringing about sudden changes in social material level and lifestyle. The word "popular" began to seep into every bit of life unconsciously. Hezhou, as a major labor export place, a large number of migrant workers go to the Pearl River Delta. There are also Tuyao people among these migrant workers. In the huge wave of popular culture, Tuyao's traditional aesthetic orientation inevitably collided with "popular" and "fashion". Especially in the middle and late 1990s, the migrant workers brought back more information about the outside world, and also brought back wealth that could not be reached after years of work in the mountains. The TV and audio systems that migrant workers add to their families have greatly affected their descendants and opened a window for them to understand the outside world directly. Young people began to dress like returning migrant workers, imitating the idols in television and audiovisual products. They sing the most popular songs, hold mobile phones in their hands, and from time to time come the most popular pop music and QQ voice. There are more and more fashionable elements on their bodies, and traditional clothes cannot cover up the flavor of popular culture. Jeans, sports shoes and high-heeled shoes all reflect the beauty of fashion. The blindness and unconsciousness of popular culture made Tuyao lose the ability to criticize it and gradually give up thinking about the profound significance and value of traditional culture.

At this stage, according to the explanation of the elderly in the group interview, a small number of young Tuyao people gave up the traditional wedding dress and went to buy the red Chinese cheongsam in the market. Of course, more Tuyao people still live below the subsistence line. They are busy with hard work and wear more simple and convenient clothes. Because the production of wedding attire needs to spend a certain amount of money, they choose a more convenient way to dress casually in daily clothes to participate in the wedding. However, it is worth noting that the bride and groom should wear Tuyao's flat hat at the wedding ceremony even if it is simple, and the woman should wear a robe and a colorful brocade belt. This may be regarded

as the stubborn insistence of Tuyao people on the sacred wedding under the condition of material collapse and the invasion of market popular culture.



Figure 26: Tuyao wedding scene, (from the Internet)

Tuyao wedding dress around 2015 (there are no colored beads on the cover, the colored skirt in the front is shorter, about 30 cm, and only a small number of colored beads are decorated, and the armband is white towel)

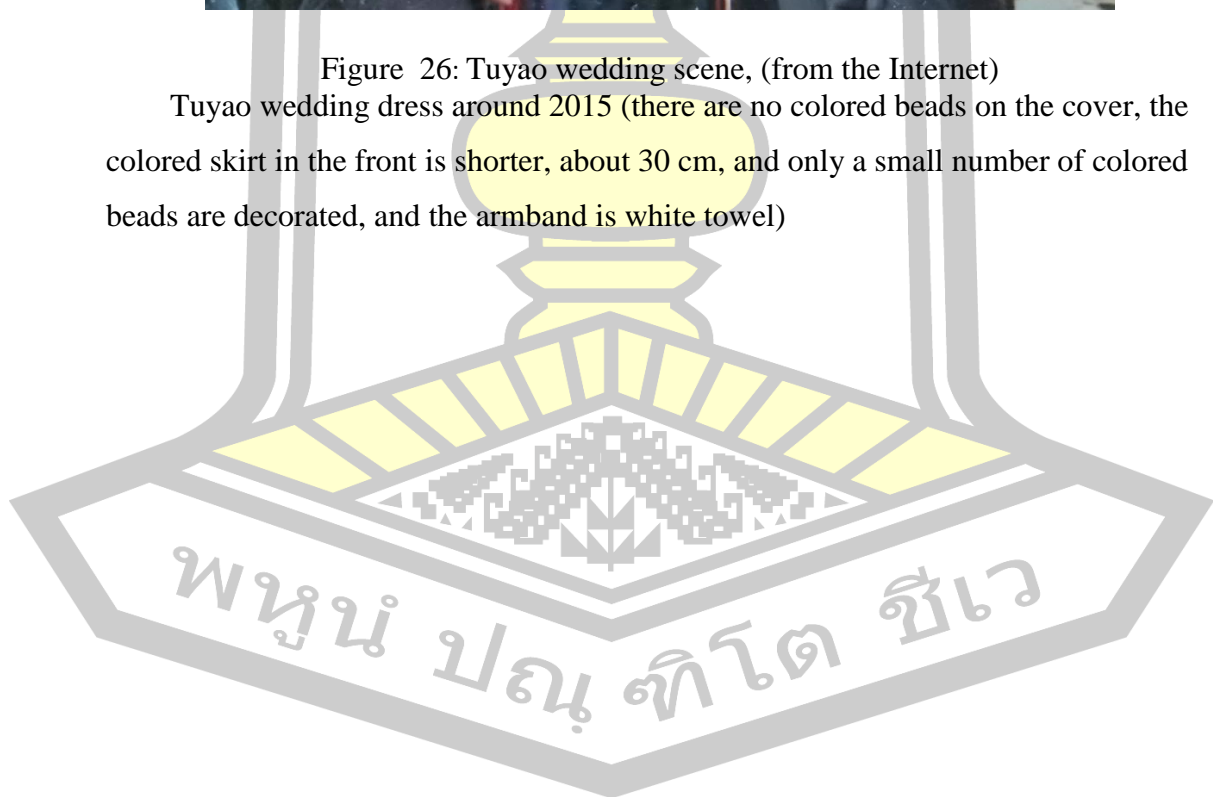




Figure 27: Sina clothing around 2015 (two white towel armbands)



Figure 28: About 2015 (the silk thread of the cap is folded into an oval shape on the left and right sides, there is no colored beading decoration in front of the cap, and the symbol of the groom's arm is white towel)

3 The formation and evolution memory of Tuyao wedding dress in the historical process of bodily practice

The theory of collective memory originated from the French social yearbook school, the second-generation member of the Durkheim school and the famous French

sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (Maurice Hah), which is recognized as the starting point of research in this field. Halbwachs put forward the concept of "collective memory" on the basis of Durkheim's "collective consciousness" theory and Bergson's intuitionism. He pointed out that collective memory is not an established concept, but a concept of social construction. There are as many groups and institutions in society as there are collective memories. These different memories are usually constructed by their members after a long time. In essence, memory is only the physiological function of an individual. However, Halbwachs found that individual memory occurs in a specific group situation, and individuals always use this specific group situation to remember or reproduce the past situation. A large number of connotations about collective memory are summarized as: the common representation of the collective formed in the past.



Figure 29: Tuyao costumes in the 1960s

Next, we will recognize and carefully analyze the composition and historical change process of the shape and material composition of each part of the costume in the collective memory based on the theory of bodily practice.

3.1 Overall evolution



Figure 30: Robes, photographed by Wang Dan in 2022

The black gown of the bride. We learned from the collective interview that the use of long shirts has a long history. The old people believed that the original wedding dress was mainly a long gown, with a colorful brocade belt tied around the waist. The previous gown was made of pure cotton and hemp fabric. Today's fabric is mixed with chemical fiber materials, so the smoothness is better and the feel is smoother and more comfortable. It is often matched with a short white shirt, and the white collar and cuffs are turned over. This black and white contrast makes it have a sense of movement and activity in the calm and dignified. This robe looks so simply, but the details are very special: it has no buttons, no waist, no buttons, and it is made of several pieces. The front and back are not completely sewn, and the side is split. It looks like a robe is not a robe, but it looks like a nun's dress in the Taoist temple. Because there are no buttons, the front two pieces need to be crossed and overlapped on the legs when wearing, and the waist needs to be tied with colored ribbons.



Figure 31: The blue and white blouse of Tu Yao, photographed by Wang Dan in 2022

This is the basic style of dress jacket, which is actually the style of Tuyao's daily national dress. According to historical data, it should be developed from the style of Tang costume. It is based on the blue color similar to ultramarine with high brightness and purity. The placket, vertical collar, and cloth breasting (and no buttons are generally used for decoration only) are composed of two pieces inside and outside to form a suit coat. Many lines are arranged with white thread embroidery on the collar as decoration, and white thread is also used for decoration on other parts. It is also very short. When wearing, the white collar and cuffs are turned out, and the contrast between blue and white is clear at a glance. The feeling of simplicity, solemnity and simplicity, and modernity are vividly presented.

พหุพันธ์ ปณฺ ทิโต ชีเว



Figure 32: The top two pieces are the lower part of the dress - colorful apron.

Source: Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022

The comparison shows that although the basic composition of the apron is consistent with the material, which is composed of brocade pattern ribbons, colored beads, and colored silk thread, the arrangement of colored beads is very creative, which makes the decorative patterns presented by each colored skirt different and different. According to the interview with women who make dresses, aprons are the place where Tuyao dress most differently, and this difference is formed by the different arrangement and combination of colored beads. Dress makers can create patterns according to the bride's preferences. This ensures the innovative vitality of this suit. However, it is also found in the interview with the elderly in Daming Village that the frequency and appearance of this skirt are different in different historical stages. In the 1950s and 1960s, many Tuyao people did not even see this apron at the wedding, but they did not deny its existence, only when a few women from large families got married, and it was much simpler than today's gorgeous and grand.



Figure 33: Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022

The hat is actually the most interesting part. First of all, its origin is full of historical interest, which includes the history and changes of Tuyaoyao's living environment, lifestyle, national beliefs and ethnic aesthetic patterns. According to the field collective interview, before the 1980s, the women of Tuyaoyao shaved their heads according to the traditional customs of the nation. In the interview, several elderly people in their 70s all agreed with a view that it was very ugly for women to shave their heads before, and wearing this kind of hat can well cover the bald head. This is the most important function, and the old man believes that wearing this hat to go out to work in the mountains can protect against the wind and rain, and bring a little sense of security to the hard Tuyaoyao people. The original Tuyaoyao flat-topped hat was even an important object for the Tuyaoyao girls' and boys' adulthood ceremony. When they could wear the flat-topped hat, they announced that they had grown up. Therefore, there was a special growth ceremony to wear the hat. However, it is clear that the "hat in costume" we are talking about today is not the hat in daily life, but the hat in wedding ceremony with many decorations. This must be clear.

The hat in the attire is basically formed by the bark or fireproof board, and is also composed of love song towel, colored silk thread, colored beads, etc. embroidered with words. Paste glossy yellow or green colored wax paper on the front brim of the basic shape, draw black and white straight stripes on it, and finally cover a layer of transparent cellophane on the outermost layer. The top of the hat is covered with a towel embroidered with love songs. Generally, the number of love song towels for wedding attire is two days or three or four. In recent years, some Tuyaoyao young people

like to use more love song towels on their hats. It is said that this is a symbol of wealth in large part, which makes more face. (Because a love song towel cost 300 to 500 yuan). Occasionally, women who make clothes will embroider textural patterns like words, flowers and flowers on this white towel according to the traditional pattern. As for the connotation of expression, even the towel maker himself can't express it in the field interview, but basically recognizes that it is beautiful and has good meaning.

As the most important part of a dress, colored silk thread is indispensable. The use of colored silk thread has also undergone changes. We used cotton thread, sand thread and wool thread, but now we use silk thread with a better blend of polyester material, glossiness and smoothness. A well-equipped dress hat must use at least three kilograms of colored silk thread. With the colorful beading with various beautiful textures woven from the brim of the hat, the weight of the whole hat can reach about 8 jin. In the field interview, the more complicated the dress that is, the higher its cost is. For example, the more love song towels are used, the greater the cost and the heavier the weight. Therefore, the complexity and grandness of the hat can also judge or show the basic situation of the groom's family. Therefore, in a sense, in addition to the aesthetic needs of the Tuyao youth, the hat in wedding dress seems to be understood as a symbol of their diligence, wealth and status.

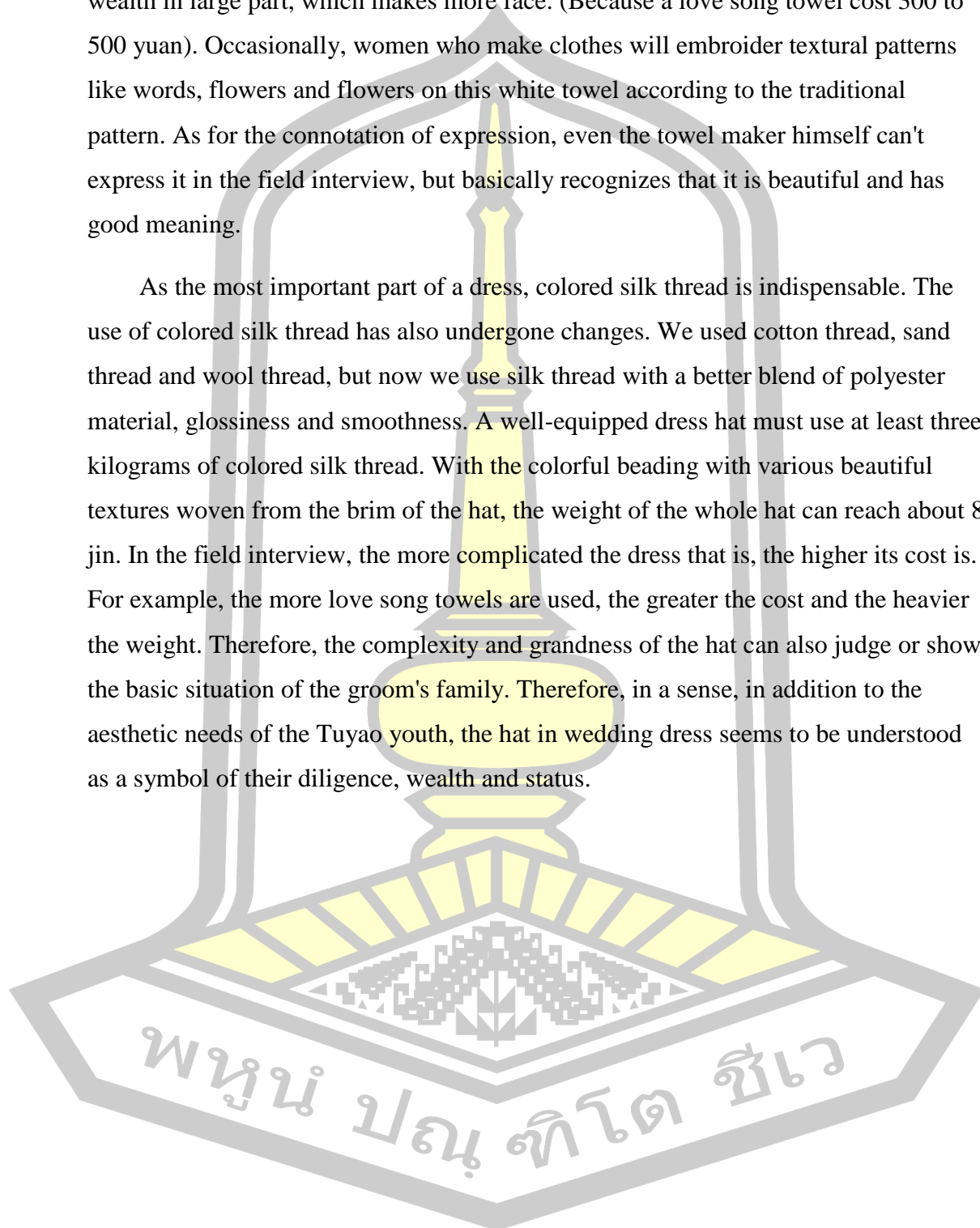




Figure 34: This belt with red as the main color and black and white patterns supplemented by yellow lines as the waist band is woven. It can be bought at the Babu and Etang markets.



Figure 35: Decorative parts of a tuyao wedding dress, photographed by Wang Dan in

2022



Figure 36: Tuyo wedding dress, photographed by Wang Dan in 2022

It is a strange phenomenon that Tuyo women are not good at embroidery.

Because most Yao women are skilled in this work. However, Tuyo women have their own unique craft - using colored silk threads, colored beads and other materials to carry out a planned, orderly and varied collocation, and designing beautiful external clothing accessories with extremely rich patterns, such as hat accessories, chest accessories, sleeve accessories, etc. The exterior decoration structure of the wedding dress is unusually orderly and gorgeous. The left part of the picture above is the bridal chest pendant, and the right part is the groom's chest pendant. Comparing the two, we will find that the bridal pendant on the left is mainly made of colored silk, supplemented by colored beads and silver beads, while the bridal pendant on the right is made of colored silk, and the exterior is covered with a large number of silver beads. The different color order of the beads has produced a new pattern. Compared with the left female breast ornament, the right male breast ornament is more solemn and rigorous in general, because more beads are used. Its weight is also significantly heavier than that of women's bras. It should be pointed out that there are many changes in the costume components of Tuyo, and the above only selects the more common ones for explanation.

3.2 Specific changes

Material change

The main bodily of Tuyao bride's dress: black robes, shorts and blouses are generally made of blue, white and black pure cotton cloth or fabric with polyester, and the material changes are mainly reflected in the main structure and decorative parts of the hat. According to the collective interview with Daming Village's dress making women, the use of hat materials in costumes has undergone several important changes. The earliest ring-shaped structure of the hat bodily was the use of tung bark on the mountain. At this stage, the hat was small, and it was easy to get moldy when soaked and sweated; Around the 1980s, the Tuyao people began to use a kind of bamboo with better toughness to make the main structure of the hat. They selected the larger bamboo, and peeled off its skin after soaking in water to form a ring structure suitable for the head; In the last ten years or so, women who make hats have found a fire protection material on the market - fire-proof board, which is very suitable for making hats. It is easier, firmer, smoother and more generous to use fire-proof board to make hats.

Color change

The material change of colored silk thread. It was cotton thread at first, which is skin-friendly, but easy to roll and deform. With the progress of technology, polyester blended silk thread has emerged in the market, which is more silky, bright and easy to handle than pure cotton thread. Therefore, polyester silk thread is currently used.

The material and color richness of color beads are more visible to the naked eye. In the old days, there were few color choices for beads. Today, a wide variety of colorful beads are optional, which greatly enriched the visual effect of wedding dress.

Structural changes

According to a group interview with eight elderly people aged 60 to 80 in Daming Village, Tuyao's wedding dress has gone through different stages. When they were young, they had seen the wedding clothes of their grandparents and parents, as well as the wedding clothes of their peers, black robes and breasted blue blouses, straight men's trousers and flat hats. These main structures have not changed yet. The biggest change is the bride's colorful apron and the accessories on the hat. Dozens of years ago, few brides used colored skirts. Some wealthy families with better families also used less colored silk thread for their aprons and silk thread for their chest

ornaments, and fewer used beads, and the length of their aprons was shorter than that of today. Since the 1980s, aprons have become longer, materials have been increasing, colorful silk threads have become more and more colorful, and beads have become more and more colorful. The weight of a whole set of wedding attire is four or five kilograms heavier than before!

The increase of colored silk thread and colored beads naturally enhances the color brightness of the dress. From its relatively simple appearance before, it has become warm, unrestrained, gorgeous and highly personalized, just like a rainbow in the mountains and forests!

3.3 Function transformation of wedding dress (from wedding dress to daily dress after marriage)

The costumes of any ethnic minority have strong symbolic meanings. As scholar Wang Jianmin said: "As an important symbol that can be understood and recognized by cultural practitioners, ethnic identity may be based on it under different conditions, and then through the occupation of space and landscape by ethnic costumes, it presents rich and colorful symbolic meanings in the process of interaction between others. Human bodily and its attachments, such as clothing, headwear, bodily decoration, etc., have become important symbols of ethnic identity. It has been constantly emphasized and re-emphasized. In one ethnic group, people will despise those who violate the cultural norms of bodily decoration and wear inappropriate clothes and hats. " Because as a symbol of this nation, the color, structure, decoration and pattern of clothing are all the choices of the times handed down from generations of ancestors of this nation after a long history. It contains the core of the nation's belief and national spirit. Therefore, national costume is an important symbol of national identity and ethnic identity and blood identity in different periods, reflecting the respect and inheritance of ethnic culture.

The symbolic function of Tuyao costumes is obvious. Girls don't have this suit when they are young. Only when she grows up and faces getting married will she make it, so this wedding dress virtually symbolizes that her identity is about to change, from a girl to a wife, mother, or one of the main responsible persons of

another family. The wedding dress is an important item to help the bride complete the passing ceremony at the wedding, so it is a meaningful symbol. When the newlyweds wear wedding clothes, all the guests can identify their identities. The wedding clothes prove that they are the main roles in the performance theatre of the wedding ceremony. Therefore, at this time, the wedding clothes are important performance props, whose function is to make the wedding more brilliant and sacred.

The bride and groom completed the most important ceremony of life transformation under the witness of the wedding dress. After the wedding, their identity changed. At this time, the dress was put into the wooden cabinet at home and was treasured as a beautiful memory. When there are important activities in the village or someone gets married, the couple can still wear them to attend important activities. However, dress is no longer a function of wedding dress, but a function of daily dress. Wearing it to participate in other ceremonies and activities is no longer the identity of the bride and groom, but the identity of the guests and ordinary ceremony participants, and at this time, it will not wear the most solemn decoration, but relatively simple clothes.

4 Adherence and change: analysis of the changing Tuyao wedding dress bodily practice

This paper mainly analyzes the emotion and tolerance of Tuyao people in the practice of wedding dress by studying the changes of the structure and materials of various parts, as well as the color and graphics in different periods of practice, including the material adaptation and aesthetic concept adaptation under the economic and technological changes.

4.1 Diversification of inheritance methods

Inheritance practice of production method

The inheritance mode of Tuyao costume production is the same as that of other ethnic minority costumes, and its forms are diverse. It includes inheritance within the family, inheritance outside the family without kinship, and popularization inheritance under national cultural protection policies and mechanisms. The difference is that

there are two important factors in Tuyao's wedding dress production: one is Tuyao's concept of freedom of life and relative equality of relationship; the other is that the handmade wedding dress is mainly made of woven structure, which is not too complex in technique. The woven structure is the close combination of traditional structure and flexibility and variability, so there are also those who learn it by themselves. They can try to make clothes in the process of observing the practice of others, and can complete the acquisition of clothing handicrafts by relying on a close relationship between Tuyao women. Because of its seemingly simple production method, and the simple and simple ideological characteristics and living mode of mountain people, the inheritance of bloodless relationship has become a major way, and there is no strict sense of "master apprentice" relationship. (During the field survey, it was found that most women were not afraid of the idea of others learning production skills, nor of competition, so most of them were willing to let others watch the production, and would be generous to teach or communicate if someone asked for advice.)

Hezhou's Yao costume making technology is one of China's intangible cultural heritages, and Hezhou Tuyao costume technology is one of them. There is no doubt that Tuyao's wedding dress has valuable value and cultural information, and it is also a true witness of Tuyao's history. Under the protection mechanism of minority culture and the protection policy of intangible cultural heritage, through some cultural inheritance and protection activities led by the government and relevant departments, it effectively helped Tuyao to promote the inheritance of their own culture and protect the cultural space of Tuyao. For example, in 2016, Yao embroidery workshops were established in Jinzhu Village and Daming Village. The village committee organized women with a certain foundation of embroidery to make Yao embroidery in the Yao embroidery workshop. A group of embroiderers were trained professionally and sent to "Fuchuan Vocational School Yao Embroidery Culture Inheritance and Innovation Vocational Education Base" to learn new embroidery methods, etc. Although the overall performance of embroidery in the production of Tuyao costumes is not the most, and it pays more attention to the use of "weaving", these measures for the protection and development of Yao culture are still of great significance to promote

the protection, inheritance and development of Tuyao costumes. Because under the stimulation of this atmosphere, some Tuyao women joined in the attempt of making Tuyao costumes, thus the production and inheritance of Tuyao costumes has been promoted to a certain extent. It is important to know that in the context of Tuyao society, which has more and more frequent contact with the society outside the mountains, many young people have gradually separated from the traditional Tuyao cultural concept and are affected by the lifestyle and cultural patterns of modern society, including the thinking of the Tuyao wedding dress concept and the necessity of inheritance.

In a group interview with Daming Village women, we learned that the inheritance of Tuyao wedding dress production skills is mainly family inheritance, and occasionally other interested people will take the initiative to learn. For example, Granny Huoliu, 74, and Aunt Muhua, 73, both mentioned that they learned the technology of making wedding costumes from their mother. Grandma Huoliu watched her mother make dresses when she was young. She began to learn to weave colorful skirts and various decorative pendants when she was a girl. It has been 60 years since she learned to make them. However, even though it took decades, Grandma Huoliu said that she only made more than 20 sets of wedding dresses for others. According to her recollection, there are not many women who can make this dress all the time, and at present, there are only a few women who can make this dress in Daming Village.

Inheritance in the process of intangible cultural heritage protection.

Tuyao costumes were listed as the first batch of national intangible cultural heritage in 2006. In 2011, Tuyao costumes were announced by Hezhou Municipal People's Government as the third batch of municipal intangible cultural heritage representative projects. It is noteworthy that in recent years, Tuyao clothing has attracted more attention from the outside world. For example, in 2016, Tuyao clothing entered the National Museum of the Central University for Nationalities. Around 2020, Hezhou Wenhua School set up Tuyao class, and the relevant departments specially invited Huoliu, who is 70 years old in Daming Village, to make Tuyao costumes (mainly hats, corsets, skirts, etc.) for nearly 100 Tuyao students in the

school. As mentioned earlier, after the Tuyao women married, the function of this dress will be transformed into the dress for general festival activities. When the students of Tuyao class in Wenhua school owned and wore a full set of costumes, the function has changed in nature: they are no longer the function of transforming the identity of the bride and groom, no longer an important symbol in the wedding ceremony, but a characteristic national costume for external display and performance. This will still be mentioned and analyzed in the third and fifth chapters. This change in the function of wedding dress is also an example of the change in the way of inheritance.

This also shows a phenomenon of materialized practice: in the process of cultural development and protection, or in the process of the use and practice of things, groups will inadvertently change the shape, function and even meaning of things, and this change will eventually form a collective memory after practice. This is also why in the field process, most middle-aged and elderly Tuyao women over 40 years old will answer the question "What is the role of this dress, "Wear it when someone comes to visit the school for activities".

4.2 Dress function inheritance in bodily practice

The function of minority clothing is also gradually formed and passed down in the bodily wearing practice of this ethnic group.

Functions of inheriting the history of Tuyao

The clothing of ethnic minorities is a speechless "history book". From them, we can often explore the appearance of the nation's living conditions, natural environment, culture and belief, human relations and other aspects in different periods. For example, the Miao nationality recorded the history of migration, flight, resistance to oppression, migration and so on in the Miao nationality's national clothing through ancient characters and graphics. Tuyao is a nation with no words and little graphic culture, but its wedding costumes can still reveal some historical information of Tuyao. For example, from the changes in its construction, we can understand the differences in the living standards and economic development of Tuyao in different periods; From the change of the white towel in the wedding dress

from "no words to embroidered words", we can explore the history of Tuyao people affected by the influence of Chinese culture. From the change of the colored line in the wedding dress from cotton to polyester blended silk thread, we can explore the relationship between Tuyao people and the economy and technology of the times. From the white towel to the delicate and beautiful embroidery and silk thread, colorful bead arm ornament, we can see the history and change of Tuyao people's aesthetic concept.

All these changes are developed in order in the bodily practice of wedding clothes. Therefore, we can explore the history of Tuyao.

Identification function of Tuyao wedding dress

In the 5000 years of Chinese history, it is not difficult to find that the clothing of each ethnic group in China has its distinctive characteristics, and these characteristics are presented in a very intuitive way, which enables people to identify the identity of this nation from the national clothing. The same is true of Tuyao's wedding dress. In the course of hundreds of years of history, Tuyao people first formed a general Tuyao national dress pattern in practice, and then developed wedding dress on this basis. When Tuyao wedding dress has passed through the bodily practice of generations of Tuyao people, it has two kinds of identity recognition functions: one is Tuyao people wearing wedding dress, the other is Tuyao people wearing wedding dress is the new person who is going to carry out the wedding ceremony.

Record the function of Tuyao national culture

Any dress has a certain cultural representation. The wedding dress of ethnic minorities, whether its structural style, accessory pendants, pattern patterns, etc., has specific significance. Of course, the author believes that these meanings have been passed down through generations of bodily practice. The cultural function of Tuyao wedding dress also experienced the wedding practice of Tuyao people from generation to generation before forming a specific social memory and inheriting it. So, what are the specific cultural functions of Tuyao wedding dress? For example, through this dress, we can see how much Tuyao people attach importance to the wedding, because almost all Tuyao wedding brides and brides must prepare and wear

this dress. In the interview, almost all Tuyao people who have held the wedding ceremony believe that "must wear, do not wear inappropriate", "others wear, I do not wear no face", "we should follow the customs handed down by our ancestors" and so on.

Functions of materialized religious belief

Having unique religious beliefs is the characteristic of many ethnic groups. For example, women of Dongxiang nationality in Linxia area of Gansu Province generally wear headsets because of religious influence. Since the Republic of China, the hair is still covered to the waist, and only the face is exposed. This is because Islamic scriptures stipulate that women's hair is shy and needs to be covered.

Tuyao wedding attire also has the function of religious belief. First of all, in terms of its overall color, it is mainly red. In addition to auspicious and festive symbols, it also has the meaning of "red exorcism". When dressing in full dress, if the master finds that this day is not suitable for marriage after calculating the eight characters of the bride and groom's birthday and choosing the wedding day, the master will draw several "runes" with the mantra for the bride. The bride needs to paste the rune paper with Zhou's mantra on the inside of the wedding dress or put it in the pocket of the dress before changing into full dress. Moreover, in the field survey, it was found that Tuyao people believed in the five elements culture of "wood, gold, water, fire and earth", and the five main colors in the dress, "green, yellow, blue, red and black", were the embodiment of the five elements culture. They love and admire nature, because their dependence on nature is everywhere. The choice of dress color is not a matter of touch, but also a social memory formed in hundreds of years of bodily practice. There is necessity in all contingencies, and the choice of dress color of Tuyao people also contains the elements of contingency and necessity. In any case, the worship of nature and ghosts and gods is the inevitable and accidental basis, and the cause of dress color is based on the worship of ghosts and gods and nature.

Inherit the function of Tuyao wedding etiquette

Among the key life events such as a person's birth, adulthood, marriage and death, many nationalities have created a series of costumes with different meanings in

the historical process and bodily practice. For example, Hakka people should wear the "filial piety clothes" made of white linen when holding the funeral. After wearing the "filial piety clothes", many behaviors will be restricted. They can't make noise or joke at the funeral site, or they will not respect the deceased. Tuyao people's wedding attire also has the function of ceremony. For example, according to the traditional practice, the wedding day must be dressed up, and the toast must be dressed up.

5 Adaptation of materials and aesthetic concepts under economic and technological changes

Why would the element of "material adaptation to economic and technological changes" be put into the bodily practice and cultural performance of clothing makers?

Tuyao's wedding attire is based on Tuyao's daily ethnic costumes, and is composed of hats, corsets, and colored skirts. Tuyao's daily costumes can be purchased at the market, but all the decorative parts that make up the wedding attire must be made by Tuyao women themselves. Although Tuyao women are not good at embroidery, they are good at making beautiful wedding dresses with colorful silk threads and beads. The inheritance of Tuyao's wedding dress has undergone centuries of time and space baptism. It is not inherited by a fixed person, an era, a material, and a method, but has gone through countless Tuyao embroidery women, many times, different materials replacement, and many methods transformation, and then developed into today's appearance. We mentioned this in Chapter 2.

The bodily practice of Tuyao clothing makers is not only the stylized practice of pure production techniques, but also the practice of production materials. The most popular daily national costume among the earliest Tuyao ethnic group is the combination of white inside and green outside. According to the historical records, "men wear white trousers and clothes, but no hakama; women wear blue cloth clothes, and all wear shoes." The Tuyao people who have lived in the mountains for a long time have little communication with the outside world, so before the beginning of the 21st century, the clothing culture was less affected by the outside world. In the field survey, it was found that the Tuyao wedding dress changed with the change of the

times from the internal structure to the external appearance, from the material to the color. Of course, this change is accomplished by Xiuniang's bodily practice. For example, she needs to determine the length of the decorative lines on her chest and the number of love song towels on her hat according to the social aesthetics of Tuyao at that time. She needs to determine whether the functional and aesthetic properties of the new materials are better than those of the old ones and whether they need to be replaced according to the new materials appearing in the market at that time.

Therefore, the bodily practice of the producer of Tuyao wedding dress must be guided by the aesthetic concept of Tuyao nationality and the producer's own aesthetic concept of clothing, but the production itself is not a conventional and unchanging practice, nor is it limited to her own personal aesthetic bodily practice. This practice is based on the process of social development, from the perspective of materials Under the background of the era of technology and aesthetic development and the social background of Tuyao. In other words, the bodily practice of Tuyao costume makers should adapt to the development of the times.

5.1 Tuyao wedding dress production and Tuyao cultural posture exercise

5.1.1 Bodily practice and cultural posture exercise of Tuyao costume producers

What is bodily practice?

Paul Connorton believes that bodily practice is the way to form social memory. Bodily practice includes bodily practice and writing practice. The memory of culture-specific posture is an example of incorporating. Tuyao's wedding dress production, as a specific cultural gesture, can continue the close relationship between the wedding ceremony and Tuyao's wedding dress through the inheritance and memory of its production technology and techniques from generation to generation.

In the current heritage protection movement, "living protection" has become a widely recognized and influential way of cultural protection. The Tuyao costume making process has been passed down by the Tuyao people from generation to generation over hundreds of years of history, and has been constantly changing with

the progress and development of culture, science and technology and other factors in the era.

Whether it is the production process of wedding dress, or the use of wedding dress in the ceremony space, as well as its association and interaction with the surrounding things, it is in the bodily practice process of different people and different roles that the national habits are formed, and then transformed into the national memory of Tuyao. Therefore, while explaining the connotation of the ceremony space of the wedding dress, it is also necessary to understand the hundreds of years of bodily practice carried out by the clothing makers for it. Tuyao's wedding attire has become an important representative of Tuyao culture, so the production of Tuyao's attire has also become a part of Tuyao people's symbolic cultural postures.

The cultural performance in any historical river is a combination of inheritance and development, and so is the costume production process of ethnic minorities. The factors involved include technological changes, material changes, life concepts and aesthetic concepts, etc., which are produced with the development of the times. Even political factors that seem to have little connection with technology will directly affect the inheritance and status of technology. For example, in the context of the "Four Purity Movement" mentioned by Shigong, who is more than 80 years old, Tuyao people were asked to give up wearing Tuyao traditional shorts, and to give up the traditional "shaved head" to turn into hair, and so on. At that time, Tuyao people's wedding dress was also basically wearing black robes and a colored belt. Even in some historical stages, some Tuyao young people almost "dislike" the wedding dress of their own nation, and tend to wear the wedding "Tang-style wedding dress" or Western-style wedding dress of the world outside the mountains.

Therefore, in these specific historical stages, the skill and cultural performance of Tuyao's wedding dress and the cultural posture performance in the ceremony have changed accordingly. However, ethnic minorities, especially ethnic groups living in groups far away from modern society, have an amazing ability to inherit and repair their own culture. The living characteristics of Tuyao people living in mountains and forests far away from cities and their beliefs for hundreds of years determine that their cultural posture can still be remembered by Tuyao society. Even though some

changes have taken place in terms of production techniques, such as the weaving method of colorful skirt decoration, the material and quantity of love song towels, and the length of colorful silk thread on the chest, etc., these changes are also part of the bodily practice of ethnic minorities.

5.1.2 Adherence and change: changing Tuyao wedding dress bodily practice

Dressing basis: Tang daily blue and white shirt and black split long shirt

The traditional Tuyao women's clothing belongs to the upper type of double-breasted robes and short clothes. For example, the collar is sewn with dense white thread, and the coat has no buttons. It is a little like the ancient Han nationality's coat, but it is open in the front, with a long *Vi* between the two sides of the waist. When women work, they roll up the front hem and insert it into the waist, which is very convenient to walk. There is a record in the Book of the Later Han Dynasty that "all tailoring clothes have tails". The front is short and the back is long. There is also a short dress type, with a short front and abdomen. The clothes have four pockets in front of the chest. The collar is also sewn with dense white thread. The red thread is mainly used on the edge of the collar, and a little yellow thread and green thread are used to embroider a thin edge. The button is the style of Chinese Tang costume. This kind of clothes usually need to be made at the same time, one is white and one is blue. The white clothes are worn inside, in order to turn the white collar outside. This is a conventional way for Tuyao to wear. There are two ways to wear long clothes and short clothes. One is to put the short clothes directly on the outside and the long clothes on the inside. The other is to put the long clothes on the outside and the short clothes on the inside. But one thing is the same: the white-collar part of the short clothes should be turned out.

Tuyao's wedding dress and flat top hat: Inscribing practice in the countryside and Tuyao's concept of love

Tuyao's wedding attire consists of the following main parts: wooden (bamboo) hats, black long clothes, blue and white short clothes, shorts and color belts, color

chest ornaments, and color arm garlands. Some of these parts are consistent with the composition of ordinary dress, and some are different in order to distinguish the identity of the bride and groom. Therefore, when we decompose the big symbol system of wedding dress, all the components will naturally become small symbol meaning system. The hat in the bride's dress is a distinctive component of this symbol system. People identify this symbol to confirm the main role of the bride at the wedding. Therefore, the author will focus on the analysis of the flat hat of Tuyao's wedding dress, because the symbol of Tuyao's dress hat decoration not only implies the aesthetic and love concepts of Tuyao people, but also the brides.

First of all, it can be made clear that any clothing and articles with national characteristics handed down or still used by ethnic minorities have participated in long-term bodily practice along with the emergence and decline of this nation. The development and change process of Tuyao wedding hat is the process of Tuyao people wearing it through various bodily practices. In field interviews, many old people mentioned that Tuyao people are bald. Early ancestors liked to put towels on their heads when they went out for farming, which was used to shade or cover their bare heads. Later, it was found that simple wooden hats and bamboo hats made of plants in the mountains can be worn, which can play a more role in sunshade and wind protection, and also have a different form of beauty. Furthermore, at a certain stage, the flat-topped bamboo hat developed into a symbol of Tuyao's "adulthood ceremony". When the child grew up to the age of 14 or 15, the parents would make a hat for the child and hold a "crowning" ceremony, which symbolized adulthood. Unmarried women decorate the edges of wooden hats with wool, which means to replace hair.

The basic composition of traditional Tuyao costumes. It is composed of love song towels embroidered with love poems and abstract figures, tree bark or bamboo, colored silk thread, colored beads, and colored ribbons. The main ring structure of the traditional Tuyao costume hat is made of tung bark. Now some craftsmen use fire-proof board materials to make it. The brim of the hat is pasted with yellow and green colored film paper, with black stripes painted on it, and a layer of transparent cellophane is pasted on the outside. In the sunlight, transparent cellophane will glitter,

very eye-catching. The neat and vertical black lines drawn by the heart are exceptionally firm and orderly in the alternation of yellow and green colors, and have a modern design sense.

We know that Tuyao is a nation without its own language. Many ethnic minorities in China have their own national characters, so that their national culture can be recorded and passed down through writing practice. For example, the Zhuang people recorded the genealogy, Shigong's libretto, folk songs, Zhuang stories and legends, inscriptions, etc. through the ancient Zhuang characters, and the Miao people recorded the Miao poetry, folk stories, the Miao ancestors' escape from war and the pursuit of the imperial court, and the secrets of national cultural migration, etc. Due to the lack of native language and the backwardness of Tuyao, their acceptance of Han culture is not high. Therefore, the history and culture of Tuyao can only be carried out through oral teaching, and more historical and cultural customs are scattered in the mountains over the years. The two "love song towels" embroidered on Tuyao's flat-top hat are undoubtedly a way of expression of Tuyao people's national emotion through "carving practice", and a surprise left by the lack of written records of Tuyao culture!

Paul Connorton's theory of bodily practice includes two parts: bodily practice and writing practice. The Tuyao bride and groom complete the whole process of the wedding ceremony in their wedding attire. This is an important embodiment of the Tuyao people's identity transformation. This form of embodiment has lasted for hundreds of years and has become an important tradition of Tuyao. The love song towel on the hat has undoubtedly become an important carrier of the Tuyao culture carving practice. Let's make a detailed analysis.

Colorful silk thread in dress: beautiful witness of bodily practice.



Figure 37: Wedding dress parts with the bride, photographed by Wang Dan in 2022
(Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022)

A survey of all ethnic minorities in China shows that different ethnic costumes have different characteristics. For example, the clothing of the Dong nationality is made of blue and black cloth, on which many gradual silk threads such as pink, pink, lemon yellow, dark green and pink green are used for embroidery of various animal and plant patterns, bright and beautiful; The clothes of Bai Ku Yao are very different from those of the Dong nationality, but the Yao King's seal on the back of the jacket and the cloth strip of the leggings are all made by embroidery. There are also ethnic costumes of other branches of the Miao and Yao nationalities, and a wide range of embroidery techniques are used to decorate the clothes. Different from the production styles of most ethnic minorities, Tuyao people are very good at using colored silk thread for dress decoration, and the use of colored silk thread for wedding dress is more extreme and richer: chest, hat, arm and skirt decorations are all made of colored silk thread into decorative elements, which are directly hung on different parts of the bodily, and a beautiful wedding dress is like a gorgeous visual feast. However, the clothing culture of any nation has evolved from a long historical development, which is the process of wearing them for bodily practice.



Figure 38: Tuyo past wedding dress parts (from books)





Figure 39: Tuyao men's wedding dress after the 1980s

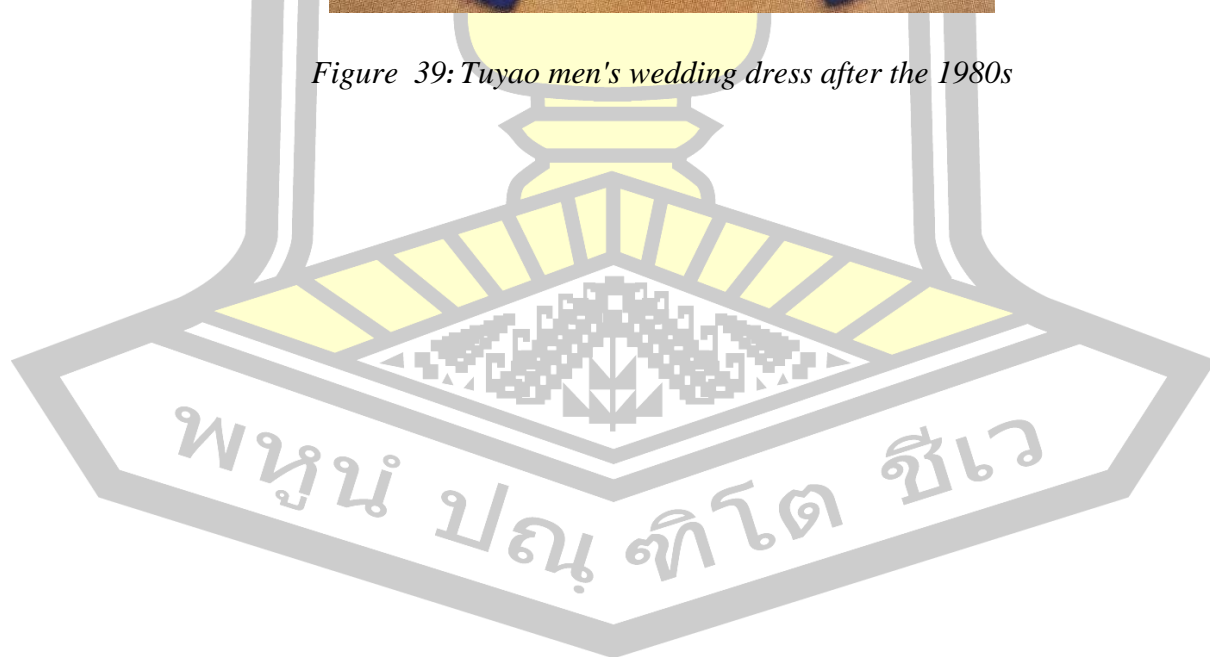




Figure 40: Tuyao past wedding dress parts (from the internet)



Figure 41: 2015 wedding dress (from Internet)



Figure 42: 2021 wedding dress (from Internet)

6 Tuyao wedding dress in bodily practice: comprehensive precipitation of national emotion

As early as the 1930s, Marcel, a famous anthropologist, put forward the concept of Techniques of the Bodily. He pointed out that in different societies, people know how to use their bodies.

The wedding ceremony of Tuyao people is a performance place where they use their bodily practice to inherit the social structure, social system and order. Each wedding ceremony has clarified and strengthened the relationship between the family, the relationship between the family and the external Tuyao society, strengthened some ideas and beliefs handed down by the Tuyao ancestors, and established new ideas through the bodily practice in this ceremony.

The theory of bodily practice in Paul Connaton's *How Society Memory* profoundly explains bodily practice and makes a detailed analysis of its causal relationship with social memory.

He said: "The practice of individualization is incorporating: a sender conveys information with their own bodily actions, which can only be conveyed in person. The memory of culture-specific gestures is an example of individualization practice. The importance of gestures for shared memory is self-evident (power and registration) The choreography of authority is expressed through the bodily. In a cultural sense, specific posture exercises provide us with mnemonics. " [2]

As a Tuyao nationality lacking in writing practice, the wedding ceremony is undoubtedly the best example of their personalized practice. Whether it is the bride and groom, the master, the send-off person, the greeter or the general guests, they jointly participate in the wedding feast, whether it is the wedding dress worn by the bride and groom, the national dress worn by the send-off person, or the Taoist dress worn by the master in the ceremony of inviting the family god, these clothes all participate in the bodily practice in this ceremony field in the way of the unique cultural symbols of the Tuyao people, and, Through the wedding ceremony of Tuyao people from generation to generation, the costumes in the wedding gradually formed the unique cultural gesture memory of Tuyao people, and this cultural gesture memory about the ceremony and wedding dress is one of the intangible and important bases for condensing Tuyao people's emotions.

7 Bodily practice and cultural connotation of wedding dress

7.1 Wearing time of dress for bodily practice: differences in wearing time and manner caused by differences in wedding ceremony age and fertility

"It can be considered that the memory of culture-specific posture is an example of bodily practice.... The importance of posture for shared memory is self-evident.... In a cultural sense, the unique posture exercise provides us with bodily mnemonic methods."

It is a topic that must be discussed that the difference of wearing time and wearing mode caused by the difference of wearing mode, timing, wedding age and fertility of Tuyao wedding dress. Because these differences are the embodiment of social contract formed by the bodily practice of Tuyao people for hundreds of years. From these differences, we can clearly differentiate and analyze the characteristics of social relations, marriage concepts, survival attitudes and beliefs of Tuyao people.

As an important part of the practice of Tuyao wedding ceremony, the dressing of wedding costumes has gradually formed a relatively fixed collective memory through the repeated performance of Tuyao nationality in the wedding ceremony within the ethnic group. This is a special bodily practice of Tuyao culture. Wearing steps and dressing combinations require Tuyao people to combine cognitive memory with habitual memory. It not only makes the performer recall the function of the substantive part of the dress culture system, but also helps the wearer to generate habit memory. In addition, the dressing skills of Tuyao costumes are not only a habit, but also contain the emotional image - the bride and groom's sense of ceremony and the "dresser's respect for the ethnic dress culture when they are dressed. Therefore, the dressing process of the wedding dress - the bodily practice of the bride and groom - is not only the process of strengthening the collective memory of Tuyao people, but also the expression of the common centripetal cohesion of Tuyao people's feelings. The following author explains the wearing method and order of wedding dress (bride dress).

The traditional Tuyao bride dress consists of a black split gown, a blue and white combination jacket, a flower belt with embroidery, a black and green striped hat made of bark, a white towel embroidered with Tuyao love poems, colored silk threads, colored beads, etc. On this basis, they should wear silk shawls, silk red covers, colored bead colored line aprons, waist ornaments, arm ornaments, chest ornaments, etc. with red as the main color. Because there are many wedding dress accessories and many of them are made of silk thread and colored beads, you need to be careful when dressing, otherwise the silk thread will be messy and knotted.

Selection of wearing time

This involves a series of actions and language triggered by the choice of the wearer, the practice of wearing methods, and the precautions when wearing. The person responsible for the operation of clothing is selected according to certain rules. First of all, they must be people who know how to wear clothes. Second, these two people must be women of good conduct and prestige in the village before they can be selected as dress wearers. This also shows that the dress of Tuyao is not a simple job, but a relatively complicated operation with certain rules and procedures. Moreover, it is a sacred thing to help the bride dress, so it must be operated by women with good conduct and reputation. Moreover, some links may still be symbolic and absolutely unmistakable. For example, if the wedding day is unlucky or the eight characters of the bride and groom do not match, it is necessary to paste the note paper on the bride. Where is the position? How many? This cannot be wrong. These actions are complicated in this small group of people who assist in wearing clothes, and are fixed after repeated practice, forming social memory. The timing of wearing clothes is also the result of Tuyao's wedding dress practice. There are several situations:

First, if the bride and groom are not living together after love, have no children, and are young to hold the wedding, then the bride must start from her parents' home (that is, the original family), finish breakfast, and with the help of the help women, dress up in her boudoir and go out of the house. When going out of the house, a woman must help, and one is responsible for holding the red umbrella for the bride, and when the bride steps out of the house, she must raise her legs and must not touch the threshold. If you meet the threshold, it indicates that the marriage will be unhappy.

The second kind: Tuyao bride is not necessarily at a young age when holding a wedding. At this time, the time to wear wedding attire will change. If you are old at the time of the wedding, or pregnant, when the bride gets married, you don't have to go back to the original parents' home, but just wait for the bride's wedding party to arrive at the roadside near the husband's home about 100 meters away from home. Then, in the mountains or on the side of a mountain stream, with the help of the help women, you can dress up and wait for the wedding time to return to your husband's home. The way the bride dresses in the wilderness is not casual, it is as fastidious as dressing in the house. I once saw a young Tuyao woman with a young child wearing

full dress when she married in the field: the place was in a mountain not far from her husband's home. The assistants wearing clothes around her were women in their 30s to 60s. One of them was holding a red umbrella, the other two were helping the bride dress, and the other one was holding clothes, which lasted for nearly two hours. At this time, all the family members were sitting on the rocks in the forest to watch (there were about one hundred people in the wedding procession). This moment makes people feel very sacred and important, because under the gaze of relatives and friends, the bride dressed up according to the prescribed actions and steps, waited for the time to come, and then escorted the bride to her husband's house along the winding mountain path.

Third, the bride holding the wedding is an elderly woman. The family is full of children and grandchildren. At this time, the bride can choose to wear the general national costume to participate in the whole ceremony process in the wedding ceremony, instead of wearing the special cap and arm ornament of the bride's dress. When interviewing women at such weddings in the field, they answered, "I have children, and I'm sorry to wear them", "What are you ashamed of?" "I don't know, my ancestors are in this habit. Older people don't need to wear the bride's clothes for weddings". The women answered. At the same time, I interviewed Tuyao men of different ages about when women need to wear wedding dress and when they can't wear wedding dress when they get married. The answer was basically the same as that of women. Just when talking about why the elderly women need to wear wedding attire at the wedding ceremony, the male response is more intense. They think that they can't wear wedding attire when they are old. The first is "humiliating, so old to drink", the second is "no need, everyone knows you", and the third is "those who wear this dress are young".

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above three occasions of dressing:

When the childless young girl is married, the bride's identity has drifted away from the original family, but has not become a part of the new family. She must wear it when she gets married, and must start from her family. Girls have always been a

symbol of holiness and beauty in people's minds. It can be seen that Tuyao brides are very holy and beautiful objects in the eyes of Tuyao people.

When a woman who has raised children holds a wedding, she still wears wedding clothes, but it is not allowed to start from the bride's original family, not to wear costumes in the original family, but in the mountains and forests on the way to get married, and when she is old, she does not wear costumes at all to hold the wedding. The appearance of these two situations just demonstrates the national concept contained in the wedding costumes: marriage is the most important life activity in the life of Tuyao people, The wedding dress exists in the hearts of Tuyao people as a symbol of holiness and beauty.

Tuyao people hold ceremonies in wedding attire, which is the embodiment of Tuyao people. In the long-term bodily practice of more than ten generations of Tuyao people, the customary memory of the timing and manner of wedding attire has been formed. This kind of habitual memory, in turn, guides Tuyao people to practice dressing in wedding ceremonies.

Bodily practice of wearing mode and sequence

As has been said before, before the bride leaves the house, she will usually ask two women of her own family who know how to dress and have a good reputation to help her dress, which will take about an hour or two. The dress procedure is fixed: first wear a black gown, then coat the gown with a white jacket and a blue jacket. The collar and outer edge of the white jacket turn out from the blue to form a large white collar. Tie a red Yao brocade with geometric patterns and decorative patterns on the waist, and then match the skirt with colored silk threads and beads on the waist. The skirt composed of colored silk thread and colored beads is composed of two large pieces at the front and back. The front is generally as long as the knee, and the back cover is as long as the outside of the legs as the calf. The top of the belt is also covered with a white towel embroidered with Tuyao's love poems. Then he began to wear a colorful corset composed of colored silk threads on his chest. The corset is hung around the neck directly from the shoulder, and two knots are tied on both sides of the shoulder. The decorative line on the knot is very long, reaching below the

waist. The corset is usually made of tricolor wool, which is as long as the waist. It is equipped with orderly-colored pearls, dozens of strings, and looks very luxurious. It is said that the more beads the bride wears on her bodily and head, the richer her life will be in the future.

Then wear the hat, which is covered with several newly embroidered love poem towels. Wrap a bundle of tricolor wool from the head to the chin outside the towel. This bundle of wool is used to fix the hat. When wearing, the node of the colored cotton thread is placed on the chin. Finally, wear a cap. The cover is made up of two embroidered ribbons, which are overlapped on it. The decoration method of the two ribbons is the same. Decorated with glittering silver decorative beads, the ribbons are about 60 cm or longer in length. Covered by two ribbons, the head is tightly covered by the surrounding three-color silk thread. The colored silk thread is mainly red with yellow and green as embellishments. The sleeves and belts on both sides are also tied with a towel embroidered with love poems. In addition, after Shigong's "birthday" and "look at the day", if you find that the bride has any taboos (such as hard life), or the eight characters of the bride and groom do not match, you also need to paste a "rune" with a spell on the bride's back, arm, head and other positions before wearing the full dress. However, according to the interview with the 80-year-old master of Daming Village, these "runes" can also be placed in the pockets of clothes.

The above bridal attire, from the selection of the two women who helped to wear it to the process of wearing clothing, and the order of wearing the attire parts, all reflect the view of Paul Connorton's theory of bodily practice that "bodily practice provides an extremely effective memory system". This memory system depends on "posture exercise". The Tuyao nationality has evolved this way of dress into a meaningful procedure with national connotation and inherited it through a long time of practice on the cultural posture of wedding dress, forming a unique national memory. These memories deposited in the bodily have well preserved the past of their nation.

Ritual practice under costumes

Through the above questions and answers, it is basically certain that these aunts agree that even if they get the marriage certificate issued by the Civil Affairs Bureau, if there is no wedding reception, there is no wedding ceremony. This family is unstable or unstable, and it is equivalent to not having a family.

Through the exchange of topics in this link, it can be basically determined that compared with the world outside the mountain or the attitude of the Han nationality and other nationalities towards the wedding ceremony, the Tuyao people obviously have a very urgent and persistent attitude towards the wedding ceremony and banquet. I think that this attitude may come from their belief and ancestor worship, they should inform their ancestors and ancestors of the fact of marriage and the fact of adding a wife to the family at all stages of the wedding. They hope to confirm their family or national identity through the wedding ceremony, and must also better prove their Tuyao identity through the wedding ceremony. This concept of persistence is not good or bad, right or wrong. However, it strengthens the relationship between marriage and family, deepens the status of marriage in the Tuyao ethnic group. On the contrary, the family also makes a woman of a family become a member of the male family through marriage ceremony. Therefore, the wedding ceremony is also a ceremony to help a woman gain the identity of another family, and also a way for the bride to obtain new identity authentication.

Complete the ceremony with different symbolic meanings under the condition of dressing up, such as the wedding wine ceremony, the Eight Roads ceremony, the blessing ceremony and other different bodily practices that symbolize different connotations.

The bridegroom and bride are symbolic figures in the wedding ceremony. They don't need to do anything special in the wedding ceremony. They only need to obey the service of the priest, matchmaker and dresser. As the British anthropologist Mr. Turner said, "No matter what kind of society we live in, we are all connected with each other. Our own 'important moment' is also the 'important moment' of others. In the wedding ceremony, their costumes are the same as those of ordinary Tuyao people, but they have mastered some important skills of manipulating symbols, or they are symbols themselves. It carries some symbolic meaning. Shigong has a high

status, is a cultural person in Tuyao, and is also respected by the people of the clan. They play an important ritual symbol in the wedding ceremony.

Some occasions can only be completed under the guidance of the priest: for example, when the bride is approaching the groom's house, the bride must stop. The master takes a book in front of her, and a young man with a chicken in his right hand and a knife in his left hand and a basin in front of her. There was meat and a rope on it. The rope was tied in a cross knot. The priest opened a book in the basin and read it. Then he killed the chicken, dropped the blood on the ground, and began to cut the rope with scissors. After the ceremony, the bride followed the bridegroom into the bridegroom's house. At the wedding banquet, the matchmaker sits in the middle of the hall and can sit with his uncle.

8 Ethnic identity constructed by practice in dress

Mr. Wang Jianmin said in his speech on national costume in the new theory of art anthropology:

"Clothes are the representation of culture, and clothes are the image of thought." He also believed that "human bodily decoration is not only the cultivation of individuals but also a cultural cultivation in a certain way. The human bodily is expressed as a place or space, and the cultural practices of different ethnic groups are engraved on it, and the bodily can show a cultural characteristic o"

8.1 Natural worship under Tuyao wedding dress practice (dress material and color symbol practice)

In terms of the large concept of Yao costumes, it has strong national characteristics. Moreover, most of the Yao costumes have rich patterns and special modeling techniques, which is due to the fact that the Yao people have lived in the mountains for a long time and worship nature and ancestors.

Most of the natural worship stems from the Yao people's consciousness of protecting the ecological environment consciously or unconsciously. It reflects and pays attention to the advantages and disadvantages between human and nature, and

pursues the harmony between human and nature. The worship of nature reflects the Yao people's subjective desire to understand and grasp nature, which is also the most obscure ecological consciousness of the Yao people. The worship of nature can be fully reflected in the clothing patterns and production processes of most Yao ethnic groups. For example, the clothing patterns of Yao ethnic groups are rich and colorful, including flowers, birds, fish, insects, geometric patterns, figure images, and so on. However, as one of the smallest branches, Tuyao has the smallest population, lives in a wild place, and lives with nature day and night. However, from this unique female Tuyao wedding dress, we seem to find few concrete animal and plant shadows, except for the colored ribbon on the waist. The form we found is abstract, image, linear, strongly contrasting form and color, which is extremely exaggerated and exaggerated.

However, is this kind of dress decoration and color, shape and composition also hiding the trace of nature worship? The author have more or less come into contact with some truth in six field trips.

When author Wang was interviewed and asked "Why do you like such bright colors?" Men and women of different ages almost gave the same answer: "Red is beautiful, like flowers. Do you want to do a good thing? It is to have a beautiful color like flowers, and it is very festive", "Green is beautiful, there are many green trees and grass in the mountains", "I think this yellow is very beautiful. When I go to mountain work every day, it is sometimes very cold. When the sun comes out, it is golden and warm.", "Blue looks very comfortable, and the sky is very beautiful when it is blue!" - The above answers come from women of different ages, such as Huogu, Mu Gu, Hua Gu, and Tian Xian. It is not difficult to find that when they explain the color of the dress, the things they mentioned intentionally or unintentionally are the nature they live with and depend on day and night, and even the "golden wood, water, fire and earth" hidden in their names, all reveal the secrets of the nation's heart: they love and adore the nature around them, and transfer this love, consciously or unconsciously, into the wedding dress, which is the symbol of the ceremony, For hundreds of years, it has followed the wedding ceremony of Tuyao people and practiced the love and faith of nature with its bodily.

8.2 The "rainbow" hidden in the wedding dress - Yao people think it is the symbol of the dragon

This is just author 's guess.

The "rainbow" is the symbol of the dragon considered by the Yao people. The "rainbow" pattern is embroidered with red, yellow, green and white silk threads. The color contrast is bright and harmonious. This kind of color matching is actually the true description of the rainbow on the horizon. Because the appearance of the rainbow often means that the fish in the sky or the rain in front of the sky is over, it is obvious that the Yao people's desire to pray for rain and abundance can be felt. The main colors of Tuyao costumes are also composed of these four colors. In the years of wind and rain blowing for hundreds of years, Tuyao people wear this gorgeous "rainbow wedding dress" and walk on the winding deep mountain forest road, which is not only the admiration of the "rainbow", but also the hope for the prosperity of future life. During the field survey, several respondents mentioned that "the color is as beautiful as a rainbow," "like a rainbow in the mountains" and so on.

It can be seen from this that the practice of wedding attire, whether it is in the bodily actors shaping this belief in "rainbow" or because of the inherent love for "rainbow", chose the charming red, yellow, green, white and blue in the wedding practice.

The natural worship and ecological awareness of Tuyao costumes are also reflected in their unique costumes weaving skills. Although they did not use embroidery to decorate their clothes, they used clumps of colorful silk threads, which felt like grass and plant whiskers, and orderly created the charm of "beauty to the extreme is natural", which is both fresh and simple, elegant and refined. These are Tuyao people who use their wedding dress to express their deep natural love and belief.

The peaceful balance of nature is related to human survival. Therefore, respecting, advocating and imitating nature have become the fundamental principles of human activities.

8.3 Dressed bodily: belief in gods and worship of ancestors

Religious belief is the accumulation of an ancient social ideology. The formation and development of Yao's religious belief is based on their concept of "all things are spiritual", and a series of mysterious forces in spiritual life have become the spiritual factors that dominate the ethnic life. Around the Song and Yuan Dynasties, Taoism and Buddhism were introduced into the Yao area and integrated with the original primitive religion of the Yao society. In particular, Taoism has a deep influence on the Yao people. At present, a set of sacrificial rites in the funeral of Yao people are basically carried out according to Taoist rites.

After the Opium War, Western missionaries had built churches in Yao areas, and some people believed in Catholicism. From the perspective of many temples, many gods, folk wizards, mysterious witchcraft and other social events related to religious beliefs in the Yao nationality area, there are mainly the worship of the ancestor, the natural worship of Taoism and primitive religions, the worship of the ancestor god, and the discipline.

However, after studying some existing documents and books on the origin of the Yao nationality, I found that the use of color in the Yao nationality's clothing is closely related to the worship of Panhu, the ancestor worship of Panhu, and this worship of Panhu is mainly popular in the Mian Yao and Jinmen Yao regions. Tuyao, as a small branch split from these regions, its wedding dress color is close to the hair of Panhu ancestors in the original fairy tales. Perhaps, this is a necessity in the accidental process of all things.

9 Bodily practice and ethnic identity of each role in the ceremony field

9.1 Shigong's bodily practice in presiding over the wedding ceremony (Taoist official dress and ceremony, scriptures, wedding signs, manipulation ceremony, and blocking the eight roads)

In Paul Connorton's "How Society Memory", it was written that the "incorporating" is a messenger who conveys information through their own bodily

actions. "It can be considered that the memory of culture-specific posture is an example of individualized practice, and the importance of posture for shared memory is self-evident.

The method to distinguish bodily practice: the distinction between bodily ritual, bodily attribute and bodily technology. First, bodily technology. According to Connerton's theory, whether the gestures and movements of different cultural groups are properly performed or not depends on the habitual memory of group members. Such silent communication and communication can remind them of their loyalty to this community.

For example, in the "Ancestor telling ceremony" at the bridegroom's home on the eve of the wedding, the master wore a special Taoist costume, held an ancient scripture (mantra or ancestral precept), and guided the bridegroom to kneel down in various directions in the southeast, northwest and northwest with specific actions,

Secondly, bodily attributes. For example, table rules. Among the bodily attributes, etiquette norms and court norms are copied and memorized. Court norms are the social control of court social privileges. Etiquette norms are self-restraint as accomplishments of civilized people. Bourdieu believed that this deliberate research shifted the focus and focus from content and function to form and method, and tried to deny the living material reality of eating, drinking and consumption.

Third, the ritual of bodily. The ceremony of privilege in the life of the French court and the ceremony of entering the court is a witness to the blood system. Ritual privilege is a kind of bodily memory, reminding people to pay attention to hierarchy. The activities in the court space are not only a symbolic form of culture, but also various memory systems.

9.2 Dressed bodily - bodily practice of relatives in wedding ceremony

Kinship dress in wedding ceremony: the human practice of Tuyao society - bride dress as the main bodily of study, but people who send off and help at the wedding also need to wear national dress in the ceremony, which also contains Tuyao people's human feelings and kinship concepts, so I think this content is also necessary to study.

"National costume is an important symbol and label of national identity and blood identity in a long historical period, and also an important symbol of one group's difference from another group, reflecting the respect and inheritance of the culture of the ethnic group. It contains the ideal and belief, life choices and likes and dislikes of the ethnic group, and is the comprehensive precipitation of ethnic identity, sense of belonging, sense of interest, and sense of psychological attachment in the historical memory."

Through field research, it can be seen that during the wedding, the married middle-aged and elderly women who see off the bride at home will wear the "national costume" they wear when they get married to attend the wedding ceremony. What needs to be explained is that this "national costume" actually comes from the wedding dress, and only removes some of the most solemn and representative decorative parts, such as the cap and arm decoration. However, it is grand on the whole, which is different from the daily Tuyao casual clothes. Daily ethnic casual wear refers to the complete removal of the decorative structure, leaving only the blue jacket and black trousers, as well as the hat without decoration.

So why do Tuyao people, as relatives attending the wedding ceremony, wear this suit? Compared with everyday casual clothes, this dress is still grand, and, as we said earlier, it actually comes from wedding dress. However, it is a change of dress function after the wedding ceremony. However, it is still warm and solemn. Let's take a look at the following field interviews:

When the author asked the women in a field interview what they were going to do with the suit after they got married? In the closet or out? Their answers were mostly the same: sometimes, someone was drinking, helping out in other people's homes, and the bride's Usher was wearing it when he was standing on the side of the road. But they live and work in ordinary life will not wear this dress.

9.3 Dressed bodily and collective memory and identity construction of Tuyao ethnic group

Collective memory is the premise of collective identity. "Identity" is the Chinese translation of English "identity". "Identity" refers to its own unique and different characteristics from others. The self-consciousness of a person or group to this different characteristic becomes the so-called identification. The characteristics that distinguish one group from another are mostly formed in history, and these characteristics are retained in people's memory through many symbols. These characteristics form the basis of a group's collective identity.

The word "social memory" is developed by Maurice Halbwachs's "collective memory" to highlight the social characteristics of personal memory and the problem of how social memory is generated and transmitted. In his book "On Collective Memory", Halbwachs pointed out that collective memory is not a fixed concept, but a concept constructed by a society. There is a framework for storing collective memory in society. Our individual thoughts exist in these frameworks and flow into the river of memories that can be recalled.

Mr. Wang Mingke has made great achievements in ethnic group theory, especially in the history of ethnic group development. Through discussion and exploration in the academic community for nearly 30 years, he put forward a summary of "collective memory" in "China's edge - historical memory and ethnic group identity": first, memory is a collective social behavior, people gain memory from society, and re-integrate memory in society; second, various social groups have corresponding collective memory, And help with group cohesion and continuity; Third, with regard to the past, memory is selective, distorted or wrong, because each social group has some special psychological tendencies, or the social and historical structure of the soul. Memory is based on psychological tendencies, which rationalizes the current experience impression and constructs the past. Fourth, collective memory relies on certain media, such as a large number of cultural relics and images, literature and various group activities, to maintain and strengthen. He stressed that the "cultural affinity" of "structural forgetting and strengthening of new collective memory" gathered a group to promote the development and reorganization of the group. The ethnic identity of human beings has a propensity for profit, and its

essence is instrumental and realistic. As a basic tool, the shared historical memory has practical benefits for people's gathering.

Ethnic identity is through a common social framework, and the attribute content within the framework is collective memory. That is to say, the common collective memory leads to the emergence of ethnic dimension, while the strong group in the ethnic prototype obtains the ethnic discourse power through the internal behavior regulation and reorganization, which leads to the emergence of collective memory in a specific period of time. Collective memory differentiates in the embryonic form of the ethnic group. When the amount of differentiation reaches a certain value, it splits into different new ethnic groups through specific forms and events. The emerging ethnic groups are more united, and the collective memory tends to be more assimilation.

Hutchinson pointed out that a cultural symbol can only play an effective role in encouraging people if it is suitable for collective memory and adapted to specific cultural customs and social and political structures. The Tuyao bride and groom came to the wedding ceremony in full dress, which is the bodily practice of Tuyao people for hundreds of years. This practice forms collective memory through the collective behavior of Tuyao society. This collective memory has the function of cohesion and unity of society, so it can be continuously inherited in Tuyao society. Although in the process of inheritance, with the changes of politics, economy and culture of the times, the style of wedding dress has also changed. However, these changes are still completed in the process of bodily practice, which is based on the wedding ceremony of the Tuyao people from generation to generation. The ceremony of passing the wedding dress makes the Tuyao people more united, and the collective memory in this process tends to assimilation. (Although some individual deviations may also occur in the assimilation of collective memory. For example, in the field interview, what are the different shapes and styles of wedding dress, including colors, in which era, may have different answers because of their different family backgrounds and experiences. However, on the whole, the characteristics of Tuyao wedding dress in a certain era are based on what most contemporaries recognize)

Therefore, the author believes that Tuyao's wedding dress is the collective memory shared by the nation, and it strengthens the national identity to some extent.

9.4 The bodily practice of wedding dress embodies the belief of Tuyao ethnic group

In a sense, the bodily is the writing of social memory, from which we can see the symbol of social memory. As some anthropologists have pointed out, the significance of the bodily lies in the social memory embodied in it. In the remarkable changes of social and political order, it is bound to be accompanied by changes in the memory schema (mnemonic plan) written in the bodily structure.

First, through the exploration of "dressed bodily" in the Tuyao wedding ceremony, we found that dressed bodily is the product of the social, economic and cultural development of Tuyao. This includes changes in several aspects: first, changes in the political environment. For example, the origin of its hat was related to the ethnic status of Tuyao people in feudal society. Tuyao women had to shave their heads, so that later people intentionally or unintentionally designed bamboo hats or wooden hats to achieve one of the "shame" and "aesthetic" functions of "covering the bald head". For example, in the reform and opening up stage, influenced by the external society, the cultural characteristics of clothing outside the mountain affected the young people of Tuyao society. They began to advocate simple and fashionable modern clothing, and introduced the cheongsam as the bottom coat at the wedding. At that time, even some Tuyao costumes were backward. However, with the implementation of China's intangible cultural heritage protection policy and the intervention of traditional cultural protection measures, the Tuyao nationality has rapidly developed wedding costumes on the original basis. In the past 20 years, in the practice of Tuyao wedding dress makers and wedding dress wearers, Tuyao's wedding dress has been greatly developed in terms of shape, color, structure and other aspects.

Second, from the perspective of the bodily practice of Tuyao's wedding dress, we can see the unconscious representation of Tuyao's original beliefs such as nature worship, five-element belief and ancestral belief in the practice of wedding dress.

First of all, the color of the wedding dress is composed of red, yellow, green, blue and other main colors. These color representations can infer the Tuyao people's worship and love for the blue sky, green trees, earth and stone, safflower, streams and other natural objects. When the wedding took place, the wedding procession was marching among the mountains and forests, among the thorns and strange vines, and a bright red, yellow and green line was walking along the mountain road, which was in sharp contrast with the simplicity of nature, as if it were a colorful light. The living space of Tuyao was so bright, unique and bright.

According to the author's investigation of the literature records, there is no record or description of the Tuyao people about the close relationship between color and religious belief. In the field communication with the three group interview groups, there is no correlation between color and religion. However, from their description, we can find the color of their wedding dress, which reflects their worship and love for nature and life.

For example, the 36-year-old fairy said, "The colored silk thread is beautiful, the green is beautiful, and the trees and grass are green"; The 75-year-old Huo Liu said, "These colors are very beautiful. Like the color of flowers, flowers also have colors. The green of trees is also beautiful"; The 16-year-old Huogu said, "The rainbow is also beautiful. The rich colors are beautiful. The yellow is also beautiful. Isn't the earth yellow? It is also beautiful."; Shigong, in his 70s, said, "I don't know why to use these colors. They are very bright and beautiful. The bride should look beautiful! They are as beautiful as flowers..."

No matter the trees, grass, flowers, soil they mentioned, or the mountains and rivers they did not mention, all of these are part of nature. Through their descriptions, we can clearly realize that Tuyao's wedding dress contains Tuyao's worship of nature and close relationship. Due to the limitation of the development level of productivity, Tuyao are weak in the face of nature. Therefore, their traditional concept is full of the idea that all things in the world are spiritual. They believe that gods control the fate of people. They are grateful for the gift of nature. They have a natural love and worship for land, mountains and forests. The most common example is that they are keen to use "gold, wood, water, fire and earth" when naming children. Although this is the

core content of the Han nationality's "Yin and Yang, five elements, and mutually reinforcing", at the same time, these substances are almost one-to-one correspondence with nature. Gold is rock, wood is forest, water is stream, fire is lightning, and soil is land. As the objects of worship of Tuyao, these elements have long been loved and protected by the Tuyao people. The land, as the basis and foundation of survival, is also the first protected object. Therefore, we find that the use of color in Tuyao wedding costumes can be understood and accepted from the perspective of nature worship. Bright dark green and light green symbolize forest vegetation, saturated bright red is like taking from bright sunshine and delicate flowers, bright fluorescent tender yellow is the power of lightning, and medium-purity yellow can be deep land and harvest hope.

Summary

The body practice of Yao's wedding dress is the collective memory shared by the whole nation, and it strengthens the national identity to some extent. This chapter mainly studies several contents: first, the wedding dress at different times, its various parts from the structure, material and color, graphic changes in the body practice of evolution; second, through the practice of different ceremony links in the wedding ceremony, the wedding dress itself has a profound symbolic connotation; third, through the use of the concept of body practice analysis of Tuyao wedding dress, we can find that the wedding dress of Tuyao is an important representative of the national culture, which not only reflects the aesthetic and belief of the nation, but also embodies the human concept of Tuyao, it maintains the social order within the ethnic group, strengthens the cohesion of the ethnic group in Yao, and enhances the sense of national pride.

CHAPTER V

Tuyao Wedding Dress from the Perspective of Symbolic Interactionism

1 Introduction

This chapter mainly studies in the context of Rite of Passage, the Tuyao costumes interact with all kinds of people in the wedding ceremony field through the symbols of each component, thus reflecting the belief and survival concept of the Tuyao people in the interaction. And complete the identity change of bride and groom in symbolic interaction. Costume head cover, love song towel, arm ornaments, etc. are all components of costume symbol meaning system. People identify and interact with the main role of the bride by identifying the special head cover and arm ornaments on the hat, thus guiding the actions of people with different identities in the whole wedding ceremony. For example, through the bride's head cover and arm ornaments, the bride can recognize the identity of "bride", choose to help her and hold up a red umbrella for her to enter the groom's house together. Similar symbolic interactions take place during the whole passing ceremony. From the perspective of cultural constructivism, human society is based on symbolic interaction. By using Symbolic Interactionism to analyze the connotation of costumes, we can see that wedding costumes are a grand symbolic meaning system, which includes the Tuyao people's view of nature, life, values and ethics. Tuyao wedding dress and its components interact with people around them in a symbolic way, thus guiding the bride and everyone to participate in the passing ceremony and realizing the identity change of the bride and groom.

2 Tuyao costumes under the theory of symbolic interactionism

2.1 Symbolic interactionism

According to the theory of symbolic interaction in the social science, it is believed that " people live in both natural and symbolic environments, and any fact is a..... based on and guided by the symbol The basis of symbolic interaction theory is

— meaning ". In other words, symbolic interaction studies the meaning integration of the interaction between individuals and other individuals in the social environment, focusing on " which symbols and meanings arise from the interaction between people?"。 According to this principle, the author thinks that, as the tu yao wedding ceremony through the ceremony of symbolic space environment, the characters (different functions of ceremony theater "actor"), language (such as the long table banquet toast), items (ceremony in the scriptures, long table banquet chopsticks, etc.), posture (Tu yao wedding in succession or inheritance of various gestures, such as Shigong or the bride and groom action) are one of the symbol, they respectively has their own characteristics, through the combination of these symbols in the wedding ceremony field, convey the corresponding or their different or common meaning.

Schenk and Holman (1980) pointed out, " symbolic interaction is a dynamic theory, because according to this theory, objects have meaning within themselves, and individuals formulate their activities by evaluating themselves and the direction of the people and objects around them." Therefore, according to this view, it is clear that the social actors give the object meaning. In other words, in the Tuyao wedding ceremony field, is the people in the wedding of various arrangements, Settings and actions, so that the wedding dress has significance. Of course, as ordinary people living in ethnic minority communities, Tuyao people generally cannot and do not need to actively summarize and summarize these meanings, but the meaning actually exists in their life, production and ritual scenes, which in turn functions in the daily life, production and operation. This is also the significance of the author's research and exploration of the subject.

Mead argued that "symbols are used as a means of thinking and communicating". Mead focuses on how people interact through symbolic interactions, and how they create order and meaning. As a Mead student, Blumer was the first to use symbolic interaction terms. Therefore, he is also known as the founder of symbolic interactions. According to the symbolic interactive view of Blumer (1969), there are two ways for humans to form "meaning": one is "meaning is attributed to objects, events, phenomena, etc."; the other is "meaning is a bodily attachment imposed by humans on events and objects". Blumer Significance is the result of the

interaction between group members rather than an intrinsic feature of objects (Tezcan, 2005). Therefore, meaning is the result of interactions between people, and meaning allows people to produce some facts that constitute the sensory world. These facts have something to do with how people form meaning. Thus, the facts consist of interpretations of various definitions. If the wedding dress did not appear in the wedding, it does not have the significance of passing the ceremony. For example, if it appears in a tourist attraction, for people to wear the wedding dress for photos or performance, it at the moment is just "yao wedding dress" or "for people to appreciate or performance dress", and did not become "with the bride body through the ceremony, make the wedding identity transformation" of this a meaningful object, therefore, it is not meaningful, at least is not to help the yao people realize identity transformation. Only dressed in the married couple —— that is, the bride and groom dressed to participate in the completion of all the ceremony process, the realization of identity transformation, this set of wedding dress in the eyes of people have a symbolic meaning, and this symbolic meaning may be Tuyao people do not know.

The theory of symbolic interaction holds that "the principle of meaning is the center of human behavior, and the symbols form the basis of communication". In other words. Symbol is an indispensable element for the formation of any kind of propagation behavior. Therefore, any items in Tuyao's wedding, even if they are common in daily life, such as bowls and chopsticks, such as wine glasses, such as POTS in the eight-way ceremony. These ordinary objects, together with the wedding costumes, are integrated in the scene of Tuyao wedding ceremony. Through the interaction of these symbols with all participants of these symbols, these symbols have a certain meaning in the interactive perspective.

Blumer believes that people develop their attitudes towards things according to the meaning they give to them. These meanings are inferred from "the interactions between them," and these meanings change during interpretation. Thus, objects, people, conditions, and events have no intrinsic meaning. Significance is assigned to these elements through human interaction. For example, the wedding dress up, because people give it the meaning is to help the bride and groom to complete this passage ceremony. Therefore, Tu yao people attitude towards wedding dress becomes

very sacred and solemn, they prepared before the wedding, elaborate, care, even at the end of the wedding also reluctant to throw away or casually wear, because the importance of the dress developed their attitude towards dress: sacred, respect, care, and love. After marriage, they will take it out and wear it again on important and sacred occasions.

"These meanings will change in the process of interpretation" applies to the symbolic meaning of Tuyao's wedding dress. For example, after passing the ceremony, when Tuyao people wear the dress again to attend important activities, such as grand festival celebrations, such as children's full moon banquet, and so on. At the moment, the dress is no longer "assisting identity transformation", but into a system of other meaning.

Therefore, symbolic interaction is actually a process that involves behavioral interpretation. In conclusion, the primary condition for meaning formation is the presence of events, while the condition is the experience of these events. As Blumer pointed out: "the meaning of things guides action", symbolic interaction emphasizes social interaction and the role between people. Tuyao's wedding dress is the symbol formation and meaning construction in the interaction between people in the practice of wedding ceremony.

2.2 Composition of costume symbols in ritual space

In the important ceremony field, the wedding dress as one of the most important meaning symbols, it is also composed of many small meaning systems. The author thinks that these small components including the symbol of the entity nature of meaning objects, such as hat, cover, love towel, arm, chest, skirt, etc., and the meaning of the nature of the entity system — sensory type color symbol system and the number of meaning symbols, the two types of symbols through with new Shigong and groom, marry team, wedding team, helper, eat wedding Tu yao people and eat wedding wine of ordinary other ethnic guests various role of interaction, finally completed the meaning of the wedding dress symbol construction.

3 Tuyao Wedding Dress: Engraving Practice in Rural Areas and Tuyao's View of Love

Tuyao's wedding dress is composed of the following main parts: dress wood (bamboo) hat, black long clothes, blue and white short clothes, shorts and colorful belt, colorful chest, colorful arm rings. Some of these parts are consistent with the composition of ordinary costumes, and some are different in order to distinguish the identity of the bride and groom. Therefore, when we break down the big symbolic system of the wedding dress, all the components will naturally become a small symbolic meaning system. The bridal hat is a distinctive part of the symbol system, and people identify the symbol to confirm the main role of the bride of the wedding. Therefore, the author focuses on the analysis of the flat hat of Tuyao wedding dress, because the dress hat decoration is not only a symbol of bridal identity, but also implies the aesthetic and love concept of Tuyao people.

First of all: the basic composition of the traditional Tu Yao dress hat. It is composed of love songs embroidered with love poems and abstract figures, towels, bark or bamboo, colored silk thread, colorful beads and ribbons. The traditional main ring structure of Tuyao hat is enclosed by tung wood bark, and now some craftsmen make fire board material. The brim is affixed with yellow, green colored film paper, painted with black stripes, and a layer of transparent cellophane. In the sunlight, the transparent cellophane will shine, very eye-catching. And the neatly drawn vertical black lines in the yellow and green color alternation in the abnormal resolute and do not lose the order beauty, a modern sense of design.

As we know, Tuyao is a nation without ethnic characters. Many ethnic minorities in China, because they have their own ethnic languages, make their national culture can be recorded and passed on through engraving and practice. For example, the Zhuang people recorded the genealogy, music, folk songs, stories and legends, and inscriptions of the Zhuang nationality through the ancient Zhuang characters. The Miao people used the ancient Miao characters to record the Miao poems, folk stories, the secrets of the Miao ancestors fleeing war and the court, and the migration of ethnic culture. However, Tuyao has no own ethnic language, and because of the

occlusion, its acceptance of the Han nationality education level is not high. Therefore, the history and culture of Tuyao can only be carried out through mouth, and more historical and cultural customs drift in the mountains with time. The one or two "love song towels" embroidered with words on Tuyao's flat hat is undoubtedly a way to show the national emotions of Tuyao people through "inscribing practice", and is a surprise left to us by the Tuyao culture without written records!

Paul Connerton's theory of bodily practice contains two parts: bodily practice and engraving practice. Tuyao bride and groom wear wedding costumes to complete the whole process of the wedding ceremony, which is an important bodily practice for Tuyao people to complete the identity transformation. This form of bodily practice has lasted for hundreds of years. Although, this form of bodily practice is accompanied by the continuous development and change of the wedding clothing, but also accompanied by the development of the ceremony and the change of customs. In any case, the wedding ceremony in costumes has become an important tradition of Tuyao. The love song towel on the top of the hat has undoubtedly become an important carrier of the practice of Tuyao culture carving, and it is almost the only carrier. Below, we conduct a detailed analysis.

3.1 Dressing head cover: Innovation of form and concept hidden in symbol

3.1.1 Innovation of form

Tuyao dressed up, is a full set of bride wedding clothes inside the most grand and warm part. It conveys the attitude towards marriage and family and the pursuit of beauty in bold and exaggerated external forms.

Tuyao's costume cover is built on the traditional bride cover and through the combination of the national costume characteristics. Therefore, it is necessary for us to dig out the connotation of Tuyao wedding dress cover head by understanding the traditional cover head. In traditional Chinese ideas, red symbolizes happiness. The marriage custom of wearing red cover has a long history in folk marriage. According to the research, the cover first appeared in the Southern and Northern Dynasties, only covering the top of the head for shelter. During the Tang Dynasty, it evolved into a curtain hat. By the Southern Song Dynasty, the use of the wedding cover has been customized, the opening of the cover also became a ceremony.

Generally speaking, the cap is also known as Xipa, cover scarf, etc., refers to the wedding red scarf covering the head of the bride. Since many areas think that the bride should not be unveiled, so the bride has to cover her face. There is another traditional folk saying: the veil also protects the bride from the evil spirits on the way to get married. In China, except for the Han nationality, the bride will cover the head of the Yao nationality.

As one of the least populous branches of the Yao nationality branch, its wedding customs are also more or less influenced or related by other clades of the Yao nationality. However, in the interview learned that, now tu Yao dress "color silk thread hat cover" style is gradually developed.

According to Zhao Muhua, 65, at least before the 1980s, the wedding hats were not as grand as they are now, even "covered". Only on the flat wooden hat hanging a small number of decorations.

But Tuyao's ability to create beauty is amazing. When the living standard has improved, people's demand for beauty and the pursuit of beauty and the importance of the wedding ceremony is also gradually increased. This can be confirmed by the change in the hat cap in the wedding dress. Through the comparison of Figure , it is found that the development of cap cover has experienced the process of form change and innovation from simple to complex and from light to heavy. In the early hats, there were few decorative silks thread, and only a handful of silk thread was used to fix the hat and the head, while the long excess silk thread was hung down from the top, as shown. It was then improved to the style of Figure: the number of colored threads increased, and the left and right sides were folded to form a closed long elliptic line. According to the survey, this kind of "folding in half" has been a long time, has evolved into a daily ethnic costume hat, the women who marry the women and the groom's family will wear this hat to participate in or assist the wedding process.

Later, the use of color silk thread is more and more, and longer and longer, from hanging to half head developed into hanging to the shoulder, hanging to the chest, behind the cover head wire is hanging to the waist. The gradual lengthening and

change of the silk thread brings a great impact to the vision. In particular, the combination of colored silk thread and colored beads, warmly added a few minutes of luxury.

Through the comparison of these brides, we marveled at the beauty of Tuyao wedding clothes, but also at the ability of Tuyao women to create beauty. At the same time, the importance of the bride's cover decoration not only lies in its function of transmitting beauty, as an important part of the wedding dress, it is the most obvious and critical symbol of the bride's identity. Because tu Yao wedding costumes come from the daily ethnic costumes, it can also be said that tu Yao wedding costumes become the daily ethnic costumes after completing the mission of the wedding ceremony. Moreover, it is worth noting that when the Tuyao wedding dress appears as a daily dress, in fact, it reduces the grand decorative cover and arm decoration on the hat. Therefore, the decorative cover head is actually one of the most important status symbols of the bride.

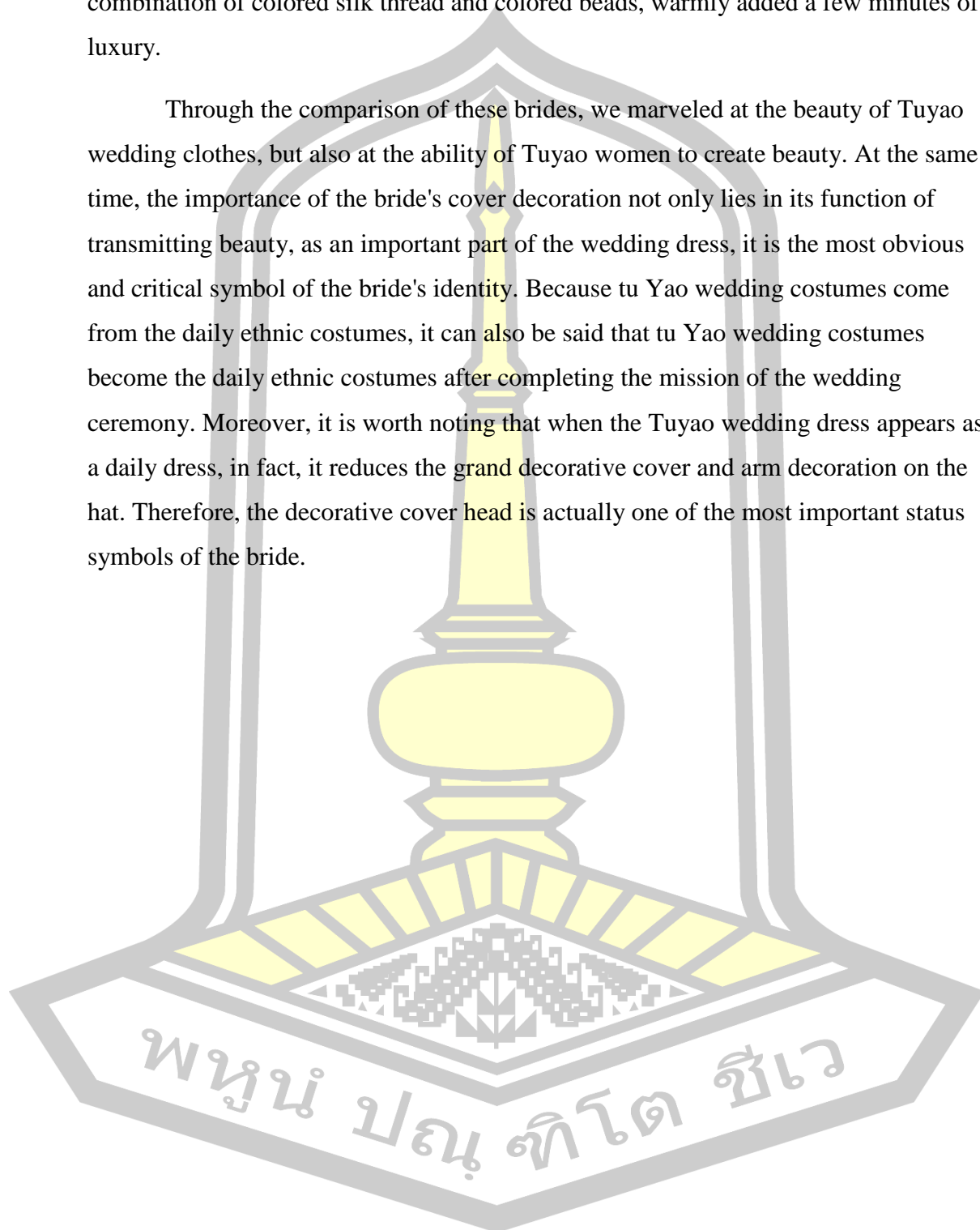




Figure 43: Tuyao wedding dress — hat cover change (part of the network pictures)

3.1.2 The concept change of color and form bearing in the cover symbol

3.2 Dress up the Hidden "Emotional Code"--Analysis on the Style and Content of Tu Yao's Love Song Towel

Hegel believes that the first kind of human art is the symbolism. In his opinion, a symbol is to take a concrete thing from the outside world as a mark or a symbol to express the concrete content of an abstract concept. Holding hands is the symbol of things, while the latter is the symbolic meaning.

It is a specific thing. For a wedding ceremony or the identity of the bride, the cover is one of the symbols, and the appearance and development of this symbol must contain a profound meaning, which is actually some of the ideas of Tuyao people.

Moreover, this concept has changed along with social progress in this regard. The earliest Tuyao did not cover head as grand as today, but only wound a small amount of colored silk thread on the top of the bamboo hat. The colors of the threads are similar to those used today: red, yellow and green. The ancestors of Tu Yao, who first used the colored silk thread, have gone away. Since Tu Yao did not have their own words and spread no stories, the connotation of the use of the colored silk thread could not be traced with certainty. However, in the era of extreme material scarcity, it is obviously more difficult to find some gorgeous silk threads in rural areas than to use white cotton thread or original ramie thread. However, the Tuyao people, who have been living deep in the mountains, chose to use the colored silk thread, which is more difficult to obtain, as the decoration on their bamboo hats. Therefore, it is not difficult to infer that the aesthetic concept and color concept of Tuyao people at that time were deeply influenced by other branches of Yao nationality and Han nationality. The local Guoshanyao in Hezhou live adjacent to Tuyao, and there are certain exchanges between ethnic groups during the Panwang Festival or some Yao festivals. Guo Shanyao and other branches other than Tuyao, are good at embroidery, and their clothes are colorful and rich in patterns.

There is no doubt that Tuyao people choose to use colored silk thread whether it is inspired by the costumes of other ethnic minorities. From the analysis of the living environment, Tuyao lives in the isolated mountains all the year round, the mountain is lush all the year round, full of green shade appropriate. This tone is too dull for the wedding, in the collective dialogue of several field trips, when the author asked the question: what color do you like best? Why do you like it? What do these colors do? Tuyao people of different ages almost gave the same answer.

Tianxian, 36, think: "red, yellow, green collocation together is very beautiful, very bright", 16-year-old HuoGu think "red festival", and making clothing 75-year-old fire left grandma think "marriage is good, half a year good is to use red", and Daming village Shigong think, "red can ward off evil spirits". From the survey, it is found that the general Tuyao people think that bright red, yellow and green are beautiful colors, because they are very special and eye-catching, and easy to distinguish from the colors of the surrounding nature. Of course, they don't know that

these three colors are so attractive because of their strong contrast and high saturation. And the bride in the wedding is the most important role, with bright colors to dress up her, can make her "stand out", but also can express the tu Yao people to marry this matter of attention and cherish. For Shigongs and costume makers, their concept of "red to ward off evil spirits" comes from the traditional Chinese concept. In addition, as ethnic groups living deep in the mountains, they should respect for red should be more profound than the Han people outside the mountains. In ancient times, tribes gathered, terror spread in the night, the original ancestors would gas piles of firewood, red fireworks can scare off all wolves, tigers and leopards. And the fire, the sun is to give people with positive upward positive energy. Therefore, as the Tuyao people who still have a relatively simple and primitive life style, their love for fire and their belief in the sun will be shown in their important days.

In the interview, Tuyao people's love for yellow and green is obvious yellow. Fire left grandma think yellow thread like the light of the sun, and a 74-year-old woody grandma think "yellow like mountain wildflowers", 17, Huogu said "land is yellow, land a lot of things are yellow, and the mountain fruit", the above shows that yao people love red, yellow, green, more is coming from their nature and their struggle with the nature and fusion.

With the change of The Times and the social and economic progress, the colorful silk thread on the bamboo hat began to rise more.

The author in 75 big Ming village Tu yao wedding costumes production artists fire left grandma oral Tu yao wedding parts draw the evolution of the hat and headdress, and through the interview with other old man, determine the fifty years ago Tu yao hat and hat of basic sample change, the change contains the Tu yao wedding cover causes and form change, more embodies the change of ideas.

To sum up, it is at least the following points:

1) Concept in color: red is the main tonal, red yellow green bold collocation. From the red is the most auspicious, festive color and red can ward off evil spirits.

2) The concept in the form: the more and more colored silk thread on the cover, the more and more solemn the cover is due to three reasons: one is from the natural love of color, the pursuit of beauty; the second, in the process of wedding dress change, the more capable people, like the more colored silk thread and colorful beads for decoration. On the other hand, in the last decade, tu Yao's wedding dress cover has become unusually complicated and grand, even long to the waist. And in the front of the cap brim part decorated with many beautiful colorful beads, very luxurious and beautiful. Because with the development of economic and social, color silk thread and easy to get, and the more silk thread and beads, the cost more expensive, wedding cover with the rest of the clothing become living standard and economic ability of a performance, therefore, most Tu yao people think, the wedding dress the more noble identity, and family economy, the better, also indicates the future life will be better.



Figure 44: Tu Yao's Love Song Towel (Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2022)

พหุบัน ปณฺ ทิโต ชีเว



Figure 45: The pattern of the towel (Photo taken by Wang Dan, 2021)

During several field trips, the author found that the emotions of the Tuyao people were simple, sincere, and straightforward with some romantic fantasies. One of the typical emotional symbols is the important "love song towel" embroidered with words in the wedding dress. This towel is one of the most important components of the whole wedding dress. What is an important component? It can't be done without it. Many other ethnic minorities in China also embroider some figures on their costumes. For example, the costumes of the Miao people are embroidered with the dragon: the broad forehead of the dragon represents wisdom and intelligence, the antlers of the country and the longevity, and the ear of the dragon means the first leader, and so on. These symbolic figures form a relatively fixed connotation and meaning structure under the historical practice and inheritance of their nation. Unlike other ethnic costumes embroidered with various symbolic animals and plants or ethnic totems, Tuyao's hat is embroidered with many "words". This is a very strange phenomenon and a fact.

In the investigation of many scholars, the overall cultural quality of the Tuyao people is very low. Before 2016, most Tuyao people went to primary school, but many people then dropped out of school in the third grade. The main reason is still caused by family poverty. In recent years, under the effective implementation of the national education policy and education department, some of Tu Yao's children have successively entered junior high school, even high school. So, in the case of the overall low level of education, but in the wedding dress hat towel accessories

embroidered with a lot of words, this phenomenon is out of the "cultural lack" caused by the "psychological drive", or other reasons, this basic cannot be studied. But, from the specific objects presented, we seem to find some clues.

For example, let's analyze the specific content of the three-towel embroidery written in Figure 1.

Thinking together with righteousness than Yingtai, the world Ming thought feelings, not afraid to spread the world.

Because there are individual words really can not recognize, they use the symbol "X" to replace. The text of this towel is mostly recognizable. We literally, it roughly contains three aspects: one, "mutual love", two; "Liang Shanbo and Zhu Yingtai's deep friendship"; three, " I love you; I miss you, all the people have feelings, my love to you, not afraid of the world know."

This is a very interesting "love words". Plain, simple and warm. It has no secret of the performance of Tuyao people and their own into a new life of the woman (man) love and love, and he (she) will also be this emotion into the wedding dress, in this seemingly so weak white towel on the brave expression. Of course, we also consider a question: since the Tuyao people cannot read, can they understand the words on the love song towel of the wedding dress? The author interviewed several women in the field, most of them thought they could not understand, but the old people understood, and the Shigong public understood. They think: the wedding towel has to embroider these words, it is certainly a good moral, I hope two people good, happy, after marriage can live a good life. These women shallow straightforward expression may not completely prove what, however, the towel on the creator and rewriter are yao people, whether justice or embroidered niang, and can know some words of yao "culture", they created the "love", and words "should be" marriage "and embroidered" love ", the starting point led to the" love product ", it largely can prove that we see as onlookers: yao emotional characteristics —— simple, sincere and warm.

Then look at the "love poem" in Figure 2:

This "love poem" is different from the previous one. Probably means: miss each other, but the other side does not know. Because of miss, even if looked up at the summer stars, also cannot see the stars, autumn to see the beautiful flowers, also do not seem to feel the scenery, all this, because the sister is too far away from the brother.

This is how warm and romantic thoughts, a pair of love kind of Tu Yao lovers' feelings through the sky stars and spring flowers and autumn moon, suddenly appear in front of us. This is a very simple emotion, and the stars, and the flowers, and the nature where they live.

This article is particularly specious and has low identifiability. But from the words that can be recognized, basically can guess the following meaning: the missing of each other is not false, all is true. Even if far away, or for a long time, to miss each other is a thousand times, one thousand or ten thousand years.

The towel in the tu Yao wedding dress is an important part of the dress. Its material, form and content have evolved after hundreds of years of ethnic bodily practice. According to the collective interview between the field work and the old people, the original white towel is all plain color, without decoration, and its function is mostly to block the sun and wipe the sweat while working. White towel developed from practical function to decorative function to metaphor and connotation function, which is another important factor: Tuyao adult men and women did not leave hair, most of them have a buzz cut or even bald, women. Interview Tu yao elderly women all think: wearing a hat cover white towel is an important benefit is cover ugly head, they think baldheaded is not good-looking, but the traditional let them still choose shave, wear a white towel cover Tu yao flat cap, the head became good, this in the Daming village, 36,73, fire and 16, fire and 80-year-old old village chief of the collective interview. However, today, Tuyao men and women no longer advocate bald, but the custom of wearing a flat hat has been handed down. In addition, both white towels and flat wooden hats have been developed and improved: the cap plate of wooden and bamboo hats is changed to a simpler modern fireproof plate, and the white scarf uses a stronger woven towel.

Due to the age and the survival of Tuyao herself in the labor mode, the details of the initial form and evolution process of the love song towel cannot be studied. However, it is the result of a social collective memory of the wedding dress, as well as the choice of the bodily practice of the wedding dress. As Chinese scholar Peng Zhaorong said, " In front of specific ethnic units, some things need to be forgotten, some things need to be remembered; and what need to be forgotten and what needs to be remembered is made through choice." Tu Yao's wedding headdress —— white towel, has been in the development of the tide of The Times and history. In addition, it has been evolved in the creation of the Taoist or Tuyao culture people, the embroidery of the towel text and the practice of the wedding clothing users, and then become what it is today.

The full wedding dress is only embroidered in a few places, such as collar neckline, sleeves cuff lace, the most concentrated embroidery reflected in this white love song towel. In field investigation discovery, the embroidered word and figure on towel is given priority to with red, green, ornament a few blue decorative patterns. Even in the last century, the threads were available in department stores or supply cooperatives.

So, we look back to the words on these towels, the women in the field cannot say that the content of the towel text, even can know the words are only teenagers to go to school. In the group interview, the women basically recognized that these words are some love poems with good meaning, and the towels embroidered with these words have good meaning, so they should be used when they get married.

But, as we have said earlier, field studies have found that many of the Chinese characters on these towels are typos, and the grammar is not necessarily smooth. But we can experience the shadow of "love" and "love" from the identifiable words. When I interviewed the literate Shigongs, they could read the towel directly. From these signs, it can be seen that the people of Tuyao were influenced by the Han culture earlier before, and Chinese characters, as an important meaning symbol, intervened in the inheritance of the national culture of Tuyao.

Through this "love song towel", it can be seen that in the poor and careful imitation of Tuyao's "cultural people", although they are located in the remote and the inconvenience of transportation leads to cultural occlusion, using Chinese characters to express their inner feelings and love is their efforts without the background of their own national characters. At the same time, this can also reflect the fact that the Tuyao embroidery niang is basically a lack of culture.

Since the development of The Times, these specious Chinese characters have become an important part of the wedding dress, and the use of love song towels in the dress has naturally formed some ideas: for example, the number of towels is no longer limited to one or two, some three or four, and even some brides use more than ten love song towels! The change and selection of the number of towels shows its importance, but also can prove that Tuyao's aesthetic concepts and some values have changed. For example, there is a view in the field that the whiter towel, the richer the family, after all, a towel is less than three or four hundred, more than five or six hundred yuan. On the other hand, the increase of towel will also strengthen the layer of flat top cap.

The bride and groom wore the head to participate in the bodily practice of the whole wedding ceremony, from the wedding, across the basin to the tea toast ceremony. This embroidered with good wishes and affectionate love song towel, become the bride groom wedding through ceremony and participants, it not only declared the bride and groom and the old identity of the past, also contains the birth of a happy new family, which was born, not cold, but a temperature, full of feeling of new, a poem in the towel is full of love and blessing.

3.3 Colored silk thread symbols in costumes: the warmth of love and the sacredness of marriage

As for the history and contemporary development of colored silk thread, Tuyao people themselves did not take the initiative to explore the profound connotation and the special emotion of these colored silk threads. Even, in five field surveys, when I threw out colored threads to different interviewees, such as " Why do you use so

many colorful threads?," "Since when to use colored silk thread as a dress?" And other similar questions, not even a Tuyao people can answer.

First of all, this is quite a normal phenomenon. The nation living in the phenomenon does not know the significance of this phenomenon for the nation, and the significance often needs to be summarized and refined by onlookers by observing the phenomenon. Therefore, they did not think in this respect, but their behavior and attitudes during the interaction with the colored silk thread proved the significance of the existence of the colored silk thread.

Through research, the author believes that the colored silk thread in the dress can at least be considered as the symbolic meaning of the length of love and the color degree of happiness.

In Daming Mountain melon, Zhao Mulan, 65, of Zhao Wenyong's grandmother, told me that more than 30 years ago, when she got married, her hat, chest and arms were decorated with colored silk thread, but the number was not so much, and the length of the silk thread was not so long. And, not so people can buy colored silk thread to dress up the wedding dress, the family conditions of the better bride and groom can afford to buy colorful silk thread to do decoration. She said: "When I got married, my clothes had colored silk threads. The lines were very beautiful. Many people don't, either. Yes, just very happy."

Aunt Mulan, 65, shared the unique shyness of a Tuyao woman, but her smile and her voice showed happiness and pride in having a decorative wedding dress woven with colorful silk threads.

The author also interviewed an 82-year-old grandmother (a 73-year-old sister-in-law). In addition, during the sixth field work later, the author bought the 82-year-old grandmother who got married at the age of 26. (52 years old)

I interviewed a woman in her 70s in a field and asked her if she had married in a colorful silk dress more than 40 years ago. The other party through the recollection that the wedding dress is different, which is reflected in the difference: at that time the number of wedding dress colored silk thread is not so much, and different materials,

silk thread is not as vertical and smooth as it is now. And, the old man thinks, this dress is to prepare for the wedding. Her mother made the dress for her before she got married. Wang asked: “Do you have these colored silk threads on your wedding dress when you Do the wedding ceremony?” She said, “I have it. My Amah made it for me.” Wang asked: “At that time, Tuyao people have such clothes?” She replied, “The clothes were a little different then.” . Not such silk thread, silk thread I s Not so straight, Not as good as now. The silk thread I s not that much either. “ Grandma, is such silk clothes made for marriage?” “Yes, what my mother helped me do before I got married wasn’t wear it when I got married.”

Visible, in decades ago, color silk has been Tuyao used in wedding dress, only, based on the social material level and the economic status of yao, the wedding dress material used mainly when hemp and cotton thread, the number of decorative color cotton thread is much less than now, but as long as there is color silk to wedding dress decoration, can prove that the color silk clothing Tuyao woman is the role of "bride". In addition, it can show that the married Tuyao woman's original family or her in-law family is relatively rich or attaches great importance to the marriage.

Although, all the time, because TuYao lives in a corner and always follows the intermarriage system, many marriages are made through the introduction of the people, because of this, marriage is more precious to the Tuyao people. Therefore, being able to hold a wedding banquet is a great happy event. In the concept of Tuyao people, the colored silk thread is lively, festive, beautiful, happy to see, let people like. This emotion is consistent with the feelings that the marriage event itself brings to them. As the ancestors survive in many conflicts between migration and foreign nationalities, they are trying to maintain the survival right of the own nation and the quality of life of the ethnic groups. They do not have too much opportunity and too much thought to develop their clothing culture, but the change will still occur with the development of the society. Therefore, unlike the exquisite embroidery techniques mastered by other Yao branches such as Shanyao or Bai trouser Yao, the Tuyao people created the "colored silk thread and beaded decoration method" which looks more convenient but is no less effective to make their wedding costumes. In order to

express the warm love for them and the wedding for their inner sense of holiness. Now, some women think: " the more colored thread, the more beautiful, the grander. Marriage should be livelier, so that the marriage will be happier." Others think," The more colorful silk threads and beads you use, the grander the dress, and the more money, the grander the dowry. So, with silk thread very color beads more families are richer."

Huo Liu, 75, confirmed this: " Everyone can use a different number of colored threads for the bride's clothes, and some demanding a little more colored thread. More money takes more money. The groom's white towel can also be one, or a few more. But the towel is very expensive, a to more than 300 pieces, money to buy a few more."

To sum up, colored silk thread, whether in the past or now, is a symbol with a certain symbolic significance: it is not only an external symbol of the bride's beauty, but also a symbol of the bride's family economic prosperity and marital happiness. Almost all the interviewees in the field agreed that: colored silk thread is indispensable. Lack is incomplete: namely, there is no beauty, nor decent. It can be seen that the colored silk thread has formed a fixed aesthetic form in the hearts of the Tuyao people, including a fixed aesthetic color. It is a symbol of happiness, beauty and festival.

3.4 Dress Colors under Interaction: Symbolized Views on Nature and Life

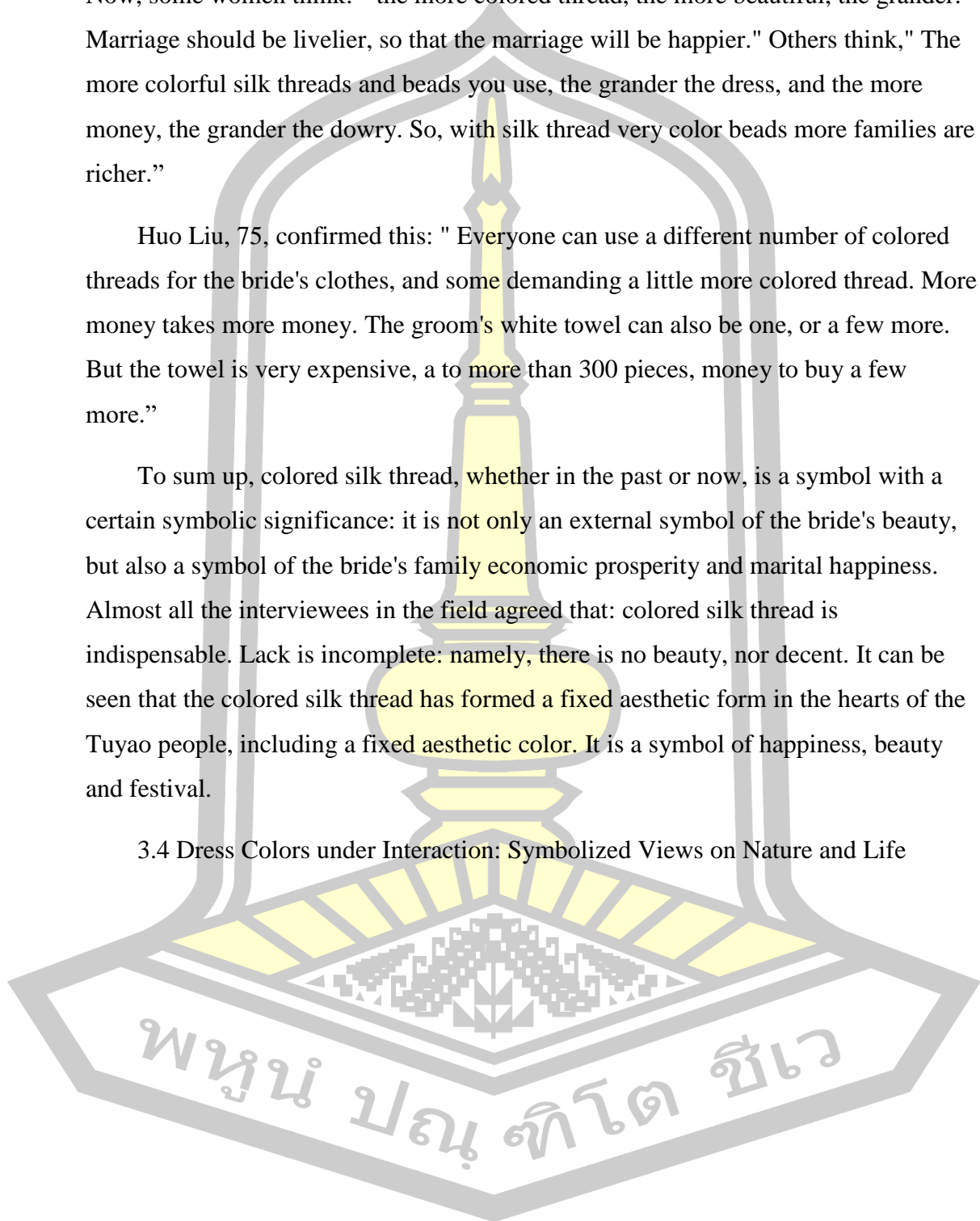




Figure 46: Tu Yao wears a bride with colorful silk thread (some online pictures, taken by Wang Dan, 2022)

First of all, we should talk about the material and color development history of tu Yao dress.

In August 2022, the author conducted the fourth field investigation in Daming Tuyao Village, Pinggui District, Hezhou. One of the important tasks of this field trip is to pursue the materials and color changes of Tuyao's wedding. According to some existing literature and distributed written records, there are some broad summaries of Tuyao clothing, which is basically limited to the general description of the existing state of Tuyao clothing, and there is a lack of in-depth exploration and analysis of this clothing from the perspective of wedding. However, in the process of the field, the author found that Tuyao's wedding dress actually experienced the evolution of different historical periods. Each evolution involves the form and color, and each evolution deeply reflects the social culture and economic life of Tuyao society.

The author conducted three groups of collective interviews: the group interview group mainly Tuyao women over 70 years old, the interview group led by the 79-year-old village head, and the young women interview group mainly Tuyao high school students and Tuyao new women. Through three groups of interviews, the following can be obtained about the modern development history of Tuyao wedding dress:

In the 1960s and 1970s, the Tuyao people in Hezhou lived a very difficult life. Due to the steep and steep terrain in the area, the ravines and the mountains and valleys, there is no road connection between most of the natural villages, only the hillside stone road, full of thorns and grass, and no cars and horses. Therefore, Tuyao society can only rely on feet, shoulders and poles to transport all kinds of oil, salt, sauce, vinegar and daily necessities needed daily. In such difficult circumstances, holding a wedding ceremony itself is an extreme luxury. In the memory of several nearly 80 years old, at this stage, they have almost never seen a bride dress with a large number of colored silk thread. At that time, the bride was basically Tuyao flat-topped hat (the hat has a small amount of silk thread and colored beads) (as shown in the picture hand-painted grandma), black shorts, short shirt, black gown, and a fine woven belt between the waist. Under such difficult material conditions, the slightly dressed Tu Yao flat hat and a black gown tied with a colored belt became the symbol of the bride at that time. This symbol not only reflects the identity of the new person, but also is a symbol of the social and economic development and living standard at that time from the current perspective.

Around the 1980s, under the background of reform and opening up, the economy of Hezhou area was also developed. On the basis of blue short clothes and black shorts, the clothes are mainly black long shirts, with colorful embroidery at the waist, and a dome wooden skin hat. The hat has been decorated with some colored beads, more colored threads, and a small number of colored silk threads on the chest. According to the old man's recollection, a small number of Tuyao brides had colorful dresses. Some will borrow from others to wear. It can be said that at this time of the Tu Yao wedding clothing has been a certain improvement. At this time, the wedding dress, as a symbol, can not only reflect the progress of the society and economy, but also reflect the pursuit and change of the color aesthetic at that time.

At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, with the development of social economy, Tuyao's wedding dress have been greatly adjusted. In addition to the daily short shirt, long gown, shorts, belt and hat, the waist, chest, hat and arm ornaments have become eye-catching highlights. Due to the wealth of social materials, colored silk thread is sold in Etang Town and Babu Town, which greatly

stimulated the development of Tuyao traditional wedding clothing. Tuyao embroidery niang began to use a large number of colored silk threads, with color symbols to strengthen the role of "bride", after the Tuyao wedding practice again and again, this strong color gradually formed the collective memory of the Tuyao society on the marriage clothes, forming a new color symbol. In 2015, all the roads leading to Tuyao Administrative Village were hardened, and the roads between some natural villages were basically hardened. The interaction between Tuyao and foreign nationalities and the outside world became simple and convenient. Tu Yao embroidery niang began to spend more attention to consider the "aesthetic function" of the wedding dress. On the basis of the original, they wear the hat, chest, arms, skirts longer, more, and use a new silkier, pendant better chemical fiber material: polyester cotton silk thread.

In the decades of modern development, the author found that the wedding dress is the continuous development and change with the progressive economic development of The Times. However, no matter how to develop, its color is built on the most original blue, black background color, color decoration on such a stable color basis. Blue, black and color become the important color symbols of Tuyao wedding dress.

Color language is "the symbol system of the combination of color and meaning as a means of information transmission in human society", which is one of the important factors of clothing. To a large extent, we can think that "color is the soul of clothing", especially for Tuyao's wedding dress. China's 55 ethnic minorities live on a land of 9.6 million square kilometers. They have created a splendid dress culture. Different ethnic groups have different clothing colors.

Some scholars who study color have put forward the rules of color matching: ornament method, foil method, unified method, echo method, buffer hair, method, block method and cohesion method. Different clothing color collocation will present different clothing personality characteristics. As far as Tuyao's modern wedding dress is concerned, the overall wedding dress color is very bright, especially women's dress is bright. This dress, based on a blue coat and a black robe, hangs a lot of colorful silk threads on the outside. These threads are made of extremely saturated red, green, extremely bright peach and extremely bright lemon yellow. The collision of red and

green, the strong contrast of low lightness and lightness, jumped out in the relatively simple blue and white cloth, so bold and warm, like their love song towel, no cover, no modification, brave expression. What is more surprising is that, unlike most minority colors are presented through embroidery, the gorgeous colors of Tuyao's wedding clothes are formed through a combination of silk threads. The chest, hat and sleeve ornaments of the fashion, formed by hundreds of years, have produced a collision with the current sense of simple design and fashion.

As is known to all, color is the most rapid transmission of information in the process of human visual perception and acceptance, and emotional expression is also the most direct and far-reaching existence. The color can see, but actually can't touch. The color of the clothing is attached to the different clothing fabrics. Otherwise, different materials bring different visual feelings to the color according to its attributes. Undoubtedly, from the pure bodily point of view of view, the colorful silk thread in Tu Yao's wedding dress brings people festive, gorgeous, hot, brave and public psychological feelings. In addition, these feelings tie the emotions of the ancestors and younger generations closely together, as if in four or five hundred years, there is a red, green, blue and yellow dazzling light belt floating in time and space, becoming a mark that cannot be separated from and cannot be erased. This mark carries the emotional memories of Tuyao people, such as faith, marriage, family and identity, and has become an important symbol of Tuyao society.

Different from the color meaning contained in the costumes of many ethnic minorities, the wedding costumes of Tuyao people incorporate more ideas from nature and survival. For example, the Yi people advocate black because of their worship of black tigers, believing that the nation is the descendants of black tigers. In addition, the Yi people believe that after death, there are "living souls", "guarding family souls" and "guarding the grave soul". The tower men will be put into the tube of the gods, and will be placed in the steep cliffs by the gods dressed in black riding on dark horses. Therefore, they like to wear black clothes to pray for the blessing of the gods. According to the author's investigation of the literature records, I did not find the record or description of the Tuyao people having too close connection between color and religious belief, and in the field communication of the three collective interview

groups, I did not find their cognition of the correlation between color and religion. However, from their description, they can find the color of their wedding dress, reflecting their worship and love for nature and life.

For example, the 36-year-old Tianxian said, "Beautiful colored silk, beautiful green, green trees and grass," Huo Liu, 75, said, " These colors are beautiful, like the color of flowers, and the flowers have color. The green tree is also beautiful "; 16 years old Huo Gu said," the rainbow is also very beautiful, rich color is beautiful, yellow is also beautiful, the Tu is not yellow, also beautiful."; More than 70 years old Shigong said," do not know why use these colors, very bright is good-looking, the bride will be good-looking! As good as a flower....."

Whether they mention trees, grass, flowers, Tu, or mountains and rivers they do not mention, all this is a part of nature. Through their description, we can clearly realize that the wedding costumes imply the worship and close relationship of nature. Yao due to the limitation of productivity development level, is weak in front of nature, and in their traditional concept is full of the idea of all things, they believe that the gods around the fate of the people, they are grateful to the gift of nature, they have land forest natural love in worship, the most common example is when they give children name keen to use "gold, wood, water, fire, Tu,", although this is the Han "Yin and Yang, mutually" core content, but, at the same time, this a few material and nature is almost one to one in nature. Gold for the rock, wood for wood, water for the stream, fire for thunder and lightning, Tu for the land. As the object of worship of Tuyao, these elements have been loved and protected by the Tuyao people for a long time. As the foundation and foundation of survival land, they are regarded as the first object of protection. Therefore, we find that the use of color in Tuyao wedding dress is understandable and accepted from the perspective of nature worship. The bright dark green and light green symbolize the forest vegetation, the saturated red is like the bright sunshine and delicate flowers, the bright fluorescent yellow is the power of lightning, and the pure yellow can be the deep land and the hope of harvest....

4 Interactive expression of costumes and people's symbols in Tuyao wedding ceremony

"To carry the road" is a point in the world. For example, the oldest and most basic clothing form in China, "wear under the coat", which, according to relevant research, is derived from the shape and color of heaven and earth. For another example, the top of the dress in the Chinese folk sacrificial ceremony is mostly composed of dark colors such as black silk and dark color. The costumes and etiquette of ethnic minorities can symbolize and imply the idea of national etiquette education. In the relevant rituals, the clothing and its components are often integrated with the ceremony itself in the form of symbolic symbols to complete the transmission of a meaning together.

As participants in the important context of the wedding ceremony, whether the groom or the bride, the Shigongs or ordinary guests, they will not think too much about the relationship between the clothing and the ceremony. However, the choice of dress in the practice of ceremony is the most directly reveals the connotation and correlation of dress symbols, so we must think about it accordingly. Yao, wedding ceremony, for example, some specific ceremony link, Shigong or the bride and groom need to participate in specific clothing, some ceremony need the bride and groom in the wedding dress under the guidance of Shigong to complete, moreover, even couples to marry relatives or the groom family helpers, also wear yao, national costumes to the wedding ceremony this specific time and space and place to participate in the corresponding practical activities. Therefore, whether it is the wedding dress of the bride and groom, or the Taoist dress of the Shigong, in the wedding ceremony field, they all convey the corresponding meaning and connotation in the way of symbols, or imply the cultural belief and life and survival concept of the Tuyao nation.

4.1 Interaction of dress symbols in wedding ceremony venue

Visual competence is one of the conditions that generate an interaction. German sociologist Olger. The (Georg Simmel) proves the interactivity of Tuyao's wedding dress as a symbol: " The eyes have a unique sociological function."

"The combination and interaction between individuals are based on mutual gaze."

One man's eye expose another, and also himself.

Through the same behavior, the observer seeks to understand the observer, and he also makes himself known by the observer. Therefore, "glance" is not just an action, but a subtle form of interaction. So much so that Carles Horton Cooley later stressed that "the eyes created me." The symbolic interaction theory led me to play a vital role in thinking about the meaning of Tuyao's wedding dress.

4.1.1 Indicative symbols in symbols: head cover and arm trim

First of all, the author should make it clear is: tu Yao's whole set of wedding dress (including the bride and groom dress), is a big symbol system. The overall significance of this symbol lies in that it symbolizes the transformation of the bride and groom from one identity to another and even several other identities. At the same time, it can also dismantle many differentiated small symbols, such as hat, arm decoration, headdress, colored silk thread and so on. These objects interact with the people in the wedding ceremony field in the form of symbols, and the objects themselves have their own instructive meaning.

As human beings with symbolic behavior, Tuyao people, perhaps like many other ethnic minorities, have actively created many symbolic symbols in the natural and life scenes around them without knowing them. However, when the bride and groom in the wedding dress symbol, in the wedding scene with parents, elders, Shigongs, guests and other different identities of social interaction, to promote the self-awareness of their own identity, when the guests also in the wedding ceremony, the interactive place of social activities, determined the grand cover and arm wearing beautiful arm decoration is the bride, and then issued the interactive behavior related to the identity of the bride.

According to the two weddings that the author personally participated in, the cover head and arm ornaments are the most important part of the bride's dress

different from other ethnic costumes. They not only start when the bride wears them, but also constantly interact with the people around them.

When the costume wearer picks up the grand, warm and delicate and beautiful cover head and arm ornaments, his heart has already interacted with the object. This interaction is both objectives, rational, and experienced, and psychological. They will have their own experience and memories of how to help others wear the cover and arm ornaments. This imagination and memories help them complete the following wearing movements. From the perceptual experience, when tu Yao picks up the bride's covers and arms, their minds will present the other styles of covers and arms they have helped others wear, and judge the similarities and differences between the styles? Who looks better? Whose price is higher or cheaper? Or, through the appearance of the cover and arms, the money spent, they came to mind everything about the bride: whether the bride's future family is rich, happy after marriage, and so on.

Another question to explain.

The dress of the bride and the dress of the bride are in the same form. As a symbol, they both have exactly the same thing: the blue and white top. Similar symbols are not conducive to distinguishing the identity, therefore, the bride cover and arm ornaments become an important symbol of the others to distinguish the bride identity in national dress.

The relatives and friends and the guests of the groom's house found the figure of the bride by identifying the ornaments of the cover and arms, and then read the bride's dress and the bride's own state: is she tired? Is she very happy? What was the financial situation of her married family? Is her new family harmonious? Wait a minute. By observing the two independent symbols of the cover head and the arm decoration, one may get different imagination in the symbol interaction.

The bride will also observe their appearance and actions in people's observation, and then guide their next behavior.

4.1.2 The body in the mirror-the costumes as symbols and the people in the ritual field

When the bride wears her whole dress and goes out of the house, when her parents and relatives see the bride in full dress, their hearts immediately interact with the symbol of dress. In the symbol interaction, her parents once again realized that their daughter is really about to leave this family of origin and become a member of another family. They will have some complex emotions: both the "joy" of their daughter's marriage and the "sadness" of losing her daughter, such sad and joyful emotions are revealed from their expressions. When they become the daughter of the bride, they will accept the emotional changes of their parents from their parents' expressions, voices, and action reactions, and then their hearts will have corresponding emotions and movements, no matter whether the reaction is happy or sad. The parents' emotions and the bride's emotions are obtained from the interaction of the wedding dress.

In the process of farewell, in national costumes in the procession, Shigong and meet by observing the bride head and arms of the color ring the two special symbols to identify the bride, and then can lead her to complete "block ceremony", Shigong to observe and found the process of the bride symbol interaction. The cover and arm ornaments are fixed by the Tuyao people, with the certainty of "this is the bride" through the visual interaction with the Shigong, and then the Shigong can issue the next action related to the ceremony.

The dress of the bride and groom, as the symbol of the ceremony, also interact with the relatives, the guests attending the wedding, the relatives and so on. As a close relatives and friends, when she sees the dressed bride, the heart will have some special feelings. These emotions may be a shock to the beauty of the dress, a special national pride in the costume, a vague feeling about the bride leaving the clan, or a guess about how much the dress costs... In short, these onlookers become the symbol interaction as they look at the particular wedding symbol. The "effect" of the bride and groom on the wedding dress under the eyes of the gaze will also produce the corresponding emotion. This emotion, for the bride may be the original family and clan, may be the pride and love for the beauty of the parents for her; for the groom, the wedding

symbol, in the sacred sense of family responsibility, he becomes the responsible person of the independent family and gained more power and responsibility after the wedding, and will inherit the land and mountains...

Whether they think of this or not, the wedding dress has these meaning when it is used as an important prop in the wedding ceremony, and in the interaction with the people around it.

This echoes the theory of "mirror body: reflexivity as an incarnation" of symbolic interaction. Whether guests, the bride parents' relatives, or Shigong, matchmaker, etc., when they watched the bride's body, is bound to see this body warm dress, this interpretation may be objective and procedural, but also may be subjective and empirical, in short, through the bride dress this symbol, they issued the corresponding expression and action. Similarly, the bride is also completing the "reflection of the mirror" by observing the expressions and eyes of these observers and imagining what they see. — This is the process and result of the wedding dress as a symbol interacting with the people around her.

4.2 Call of Ancestors: Shigong's Clothing Symbol

4.2.1 Summoning Ancestors and Blocking Demons: The Symbolic Connotation of Dao Gong's Clothing in Passing Ceremony

In this study object —, the term "wedding dress" contains the bride dress. Because the bride dress is the grandest, and to assist the bride to complete the most important dress through the ceremony. However, as the costume props of the whole ceremony, the groom's dress, the Shigong dress, the guest dress and so on as a part of them, this paper will also carry out the corresponding research.

Next, we invite the ceremony of family God and the ceremony to analyze the corresponding connotation of fair service.

In the first day of the threshold stage —, in the "family god ceremony" on the day before the wedding, the groom does not need a special dress, but the Shigong has to wear a unique "Taoist priest dress" to practice.

According to the field interview, the style, color and pattern of Dao male clothing form a relatively unified style among the Yao nationality. The biggest feature is the content and structure on its back. One of the most important elements is the Taiji Eight Diagrams, which is an important classic figure of ancient Chinese Taoism discussing the changes of all things. This symbol symbolizes the eight natural phenomena of heaven, mine, feng shui and volcanoes. The fusion image of Yin and Yang symbolizes that "the interaction of the two forces of Yin and Yang is the root of all things". The main image of the Shigong uniform basically shows that the Taoist official invites the heavenly gods to come to the temple to increase its energy and power. The colors selected among them generally adopt the traditional five colors: red, green, yellow, orchid and purple, symbolizing the five material elements of gold, wood, water, fire, and earth, which is also understood as the five directions in the southeast, southeast and northwest. The specific images include "Sanqing image", various statues, Bagua patterns, water moire, and a particularly representative pattern of "Nai Ho Bridge" and five mountains (Luming Mountain, Kunlun Mountain, Wudang Mountain, Jingshan Mountain, etc.). In Taoist culture, the bridge represents the term of life and death, therefore, as the "wedding ceremony" in the early stage of the wedding ceremony, through the practice to invite the ancestors to come back to participate in the wedding. Therefore, as a symbol, the dress of the Gong has profound symbolic significance in the "ceremony of inviting the family god". It conveys the religious belief of the Yao people, and also conveys the life attitude of the Yao people in the impermanence of life. In the wedding ceremony, the Taoist costume is an important medium connecting the sky, the earth and the underground, through it, the important religious belief function of "inviting the family god" is realized.

Similarly, in another important ceremony on the wedding day — "Block the eight roads" ceremony, the Shigong will also wear a robe. In the third chapter, we stated the process of "blocking the eight roads" ceremony: when the bride prepares to go to the groom's door, about 100 meters away from the groom's house, the bride and the wedding procession must stop. At this time, the Shigong gong and his assistant together to guide the bride to participate in the completion of the "block eight roads"

ceremony. Shi Gong holding a scriptures book, followed by the man in one hand, carrying a chicken, holding a kitchen knife in one hand, there is a basin in front of the bride. Basin with water, basin mouth across two rope outlines beside "ten" glyphs on the sacrifice with the rooster, scissors and all kinds of tribute, lit incense, Shigong first according to the scriptures chanting, with "ruler" will left hand holding a live rooster with a knife from chicken neck, chicken blood, God, and then in the basin, the chicken blood drops on the ground, throw the kill chicken to the side of the road. Then, two female helpers stepped over the basin. When the bride crossed the basin, the Shigong ordered his assistant to cut the rope on the basin immediately, and the ceremony was over. Then walk into the hall through the gate. According to the interview with Daming village division group, they said "eight way" kill chicken basin rope cutting ceremony: the meaning of the chicken represents the ghosts and unlucky things, the chicken killed dry chicken blood, represents the monsters and bad things removed, cut the rope symbolizes the cut of the ghost, the bride dressed across the basin, Shigong spell will protect the bride life peace, can also reassure the bride, husband and wife work together to create a happy life, but also symbolizes the ghosts and all the bad things before, also can't bring bad things to a new family.

It can be seen that gong is an important symbol of the wedding process in the ceremony. He is an important bridge and medium between ancestors and gods. Whether it is the ceremony of announcing the ancestors or the ceremony of blocking the eight roads, these religious and cultural postures held by the Shigong Gong have their corresponding symbolic significance. These symbolic meanings are the history and culture of Tuyao.

From the large space of the wedding ceremony (that is, including the preparation before the wedding, the process of the wedding ceremony, and the end of the wedding), the "ancestral ceremony" and the eight-way ceremony are one of the important contents of Tuyao's passage ceremony. Balt proposed the "typical mark" (typical mark concept (signe typique)). "So we can just say that the essence of energy is always qualitative (sound, object, image). Semiotics of mixed system is and a variety of different material composition (sound and image, objects and writing, etc.), in semiotics, the best unify all marks, because they are in the name of the typical concept

(*signe typique*) by the same material: namely language marks, map, posture, etc., each form a typical mark. The quality of the concept: namely, posture marks and language marks are a typical mark.

The author believes that Gong itself is a dynamic symbol in the wedding ceremony field, and this dynamic symbol conveys the symbol and connotation of the ceremony through posture notation and language notation. And the clothing of the Taoist public is another kind of material in the ritual field ——, namely objects, it is a very sacred "static symbol", he is a medium connecting the celestial gods and human fireworks.

As the Shigong male posture mark, language mark, clothing mark, they are "referred to" (material) intermediaries. These can refer to (material mediation) together, to form the Shigong in the ceremony of the whole complex, mixed symbol system, through the symbol system, at least convey the Tu yao people the following symbol: the belief in nature, the worship of ancestors, indifferent to the impermanence of life, loyalty to marriage and family guardian.

4.2.2 Interactive process of costume symbols in wedding ceremony

The third kind of "blocking eight roads", "entering blessing ceremony", "blessing ceremony", "toast ceremony", "recognition and name ceremony", "marriage ceremony" and so on, through the analysis of the different connotation of these ceremonies, and the analysis of the correlation between the ceremony and clothing, we can explore the significance of Tuyaoyao costume symbols. We believe that the dress of the Gong as a symbol. It conveys the religious belief of the Yao people, and also conveys the life attitude of the Yao people in the impermanence of life. In the wedding ceremony, the Taoist dress is that it is an important medium connecting the heaven, earth and underground. So, how does the dress symbol of the Shigong and the dress symbol of the bride interact with the people around him in the ceremony?

First of all, we know that, Tu yao people are often according to the Shigong at birth or see day to decide what need to do ceremony, the unity of all Chinese almost to wedding, this is because the Chinese traditional culture that celestial will affect people's fortunes, so according to the celestial change made the traditional calendar,

and according to the distribution of the stars, will be divided into zodiac and Mafia, zodiac day on behalf of the auspicious day, Mafia day is not appropriate. This is out of the psychology of seeking good and avoiding harm. For example, the "block the eight roads" ceremony in the Tuyao wedding ceremony, and the stickers for the wedding dress, are all derived from this tradition. Therefore, the dress has the "deified", he is in the wedding ceremony represents the ability of the god, when he put on the dress, he became a connection between the ghosts and gods, when the bride saw the symbol, the symbol will pass through her vision to her brain, and produce a sense of solemn and awe, so respectfully obey the Shigong refers to the following action. In the Tuyao translation as "block eight roads" the ceremony is as specific: the bride ready to go to the groom's door, about 100 meters away from the groom's home, the bride and the wedding procession, must stop. At this time, the Shigong and his assistant together to guide the bride to participate in the completion of the "block eight roads" ceremony. They say the meaning of the "block eight roads" of the chicken rope cutting ceremony: chicken as a symbolic symbol represents the ghosts and unlucky things, killing the chicken and releasing the chicken blood, this behavior represents the demons and ghosts and bad things, cutting the rope symbolizes the way of cutting the ghosts and gods.

So, how does Gong interact with the bride's dress? First of all, in many dressed in national costumes to marry team, he must see with a special hat with grand cover, the man's arm must also wear color silk thread and beads woven arm, the two or three symbolic objects greeted Shigong, will let Shigong immediately identify the bride, it is today's "eight" pray and bless the couple. So, they gave the instructions to make the ritual action that must be done. At this point, when the master action completed, the groom welcome two women immediately helped the dressed bride across the basin was pray and blessing, the spell will protect the bride life peace, can also make the bride at ease, husband and wife work together, create a happy life, but also a symbol of the ghosts and gods in all directions and all bad things before, also can't bring bad things to a new family.

In this process, many of the appearing props have become symbols of special meaning. However, the significance of their existence is built on the basis of two

wedding roles: the bride and the Shigong gong, both of whom are the subjects of the ceremony. Therefore, their costume symbols are also the key symbols in the ceremony. The key symbols interact with the people around them, triggering the psychological cognition and symbolic association of the wedding group. This is the process of wedding dress and Shigong dress interaction with the people around.

5 Wedding End: Symbolic Functional Transformation of Wedding Dress and Life Turn of Newcomers

Does the same object appear as a symbol have different meanings transformed?

In this section, the author would like to discuss the transformation of the symbolic meaning of the Tuyao wedding dress.

When the author raised the following questions in the field interview, the Tuyao people of different age groups answered them.

In the Tuyao family of wedding dress handicrafts, the author asked Aunt Huo, who was watching the wedding, “When you saw this wedding dress for the wedding, what do you think it means or what does it mean?” “It means that someone is getting married.” “I want to know, who is this married person? Who is she going to marry?” “I don’t know when I’m going to get a suit like this? I want to know who’s going to marry... .” “At Donglin’s wedding, the author communicates with wedding guests about wedding dresses. “What do you think when you see the bride in this beautiful Tuyao dress?” “Very beautiful! It was passed down from our ancestors, and I think it should be passed down from children.” “It will tell you whose bride it is! The bride’s dress is different from others. The bride has a lid, skirt and arm ornament. To sum up, in the early stage of the wedding, this dress is also a symbol. It symbolizes that the new couple is about to enter the marriage. At this time, it does not have the meaning of passing the ceremony, but means that the new person stands at the beginning of passing the ceremony.

When they are attached to the couple, and from the bride in the original family to the groom's home to send the wedding and the wedding ceremony, the dress

accompanying the couple completes its functional transformation: at this time, this dress symbol is the symbol of the identity of the bride and groom in the wedding ceremony.

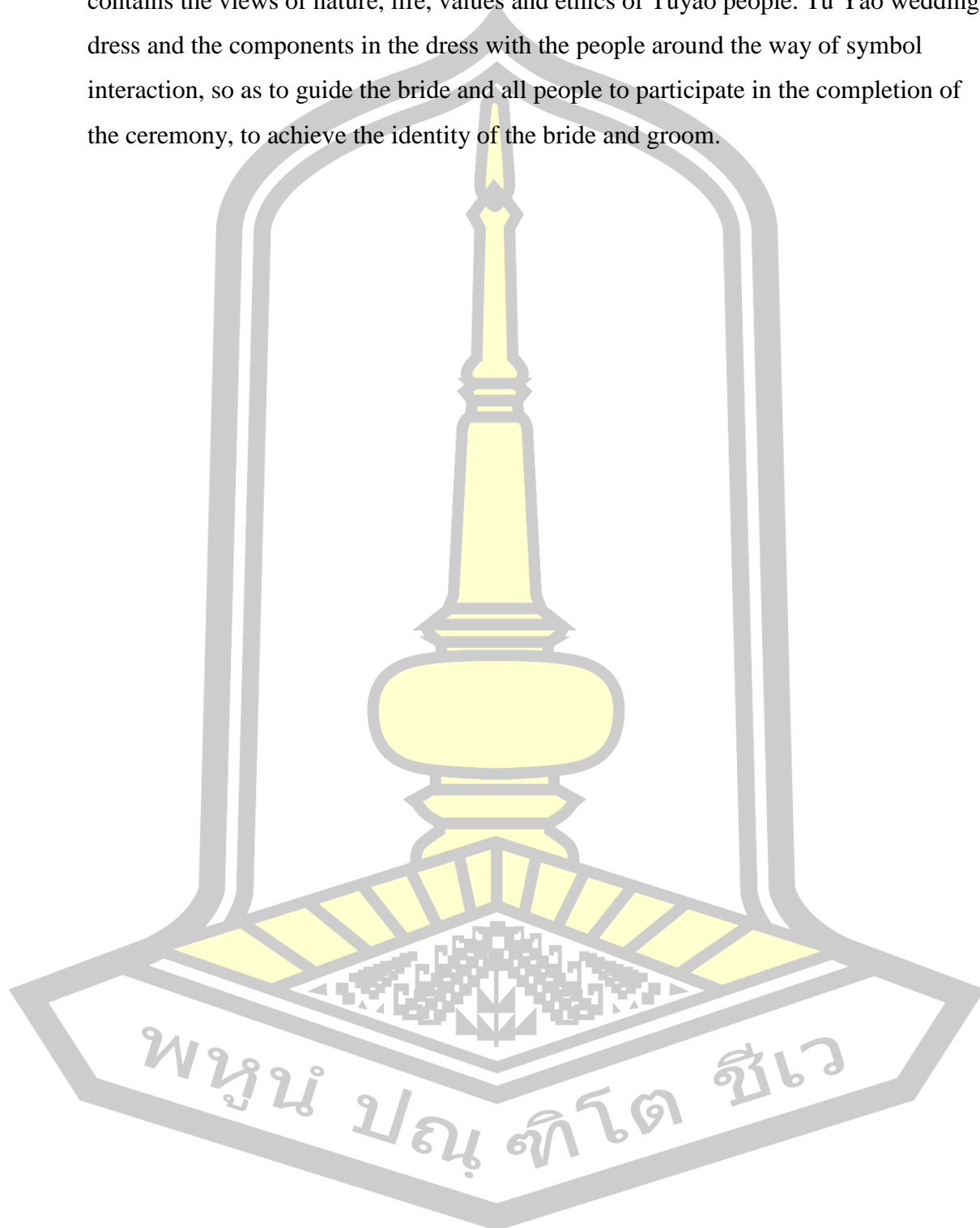
However, we found in the field, no matter in the wedding, or in some important ceremony activities, tu Yao adult men and women will also wear the wedding dress, the difference is: at this time to wear this dress, no longer wear the cover, grand skirt and arm ornaments. From the perspective of material form and composition, this dress is still the original dress, but some of the components are reduced in the process of wearing. But, when it appears in the wedding outside other celebration or performance, it is no longer "to assist the bride and groom conversion and build new identity" symbol, but became the Tu yao important activities "dress", it no longer represents the identity of the bride and groom, and turned into the general meaning of Tu yao national identity symbol.

Thus, the same object can have different symbolic meanings in different social contexts. The same set of clothing, when it appears in different scenes, it is a different symbolic connotation.

Summary

The above research reflects that the Tuyao dress in the context of the ceremony interacts with various types of people in the wedding ceremony field through the symbols of various components, so as to reflect the belief and survival concept of the Tuyao people in the interaction, and complete the identity change of the bride and groom in the symbol interaction. The cover, love poem towel and arm ornaments are all part of the meaning system of dress symbol. People identify the main role of the wedding bride and interact with the symbol on the hat, so as to guide the actions of people with different identities in the whole wedding ceremony field. For example, through the bride's cover and arm decoration, the bride can identify the identity of the "bride", choose to help her and hold up a red umbrella for her to step into the groom's house. While similar symbolic interactions occur throughout the passage ritual. From the point of view of cultural constructivism, human society is based on the interaction of symbols. Through the connotation analysis of the theory of symbol interaction, it

can be seen that the wedding dress is a grand symbolic meaning system, which contains the views of nature, life, values and ethics of Tuyao people. Tu Yao wedding dress and the components in the dress with the people around the way of symbol interaction, so as to guide the bride and all people to participate in the completion of the ceremony, to achieve the identity of the bride and groom.



CHAPTER VI

Conclusion, Discussion and suggestion

1 Conclusion

Research title: Wedding Dress of Tuyao at Hezhou: Bodily Practice and Rite of Passage of a Minority in China

Research method: This study adopts "qualitative research method".

Data collection methods: This study adopts two data collection methods: field survey and literature research.

Research objectives:

1.1 The birth and development of Tuyao wedding customs and wedding costumes

Tuyao is a branch of the Chinese Yao family. At present, there are only 8500 Tuyao people in the world. Tuyao people in Pinggui District of Hezhou live in the depth of Dagui Mountains all year round, which is a relatively remote mountain area. Dagui Mountain is located at $111^{\circ} 05' E$ and $23^{\circ} 39' N$, more than 30 kilometers away from Hezhou City, and is not too far away from the urban area from the perspective of distance. However, because most of the areas separated are deep mountains and old forests, where steep slopes and deep valleys are deep, water resources are abundant, and forest resources are rich. Before 2016, due to the traffic congestion here, there was little contact with the outside world. Before the implementation of the targeted poverty alleviation policy in Pinggui District, Hezhou, the vast majority of Tuyao people spent their lives working hard in the forest land, and paid little attention to cultural education. The Tuyao nationality also has no written language of its own. Therefore, it does not have many folk stories and folk literature inheritance like other nationalities, and even does not leave a relatively complete story about the origin of its own nationality. It is also because of the closeness that poverty has little contact with the outside world. They still retain the ethnic custom of intermarriage within the

ethnic group. The Tuyao nationality has created and developed its own dress culture, especially the wedding dress culture, in its own special living space and conditions, and this wedding dress has been passed down from generation to generation with the memory of the times of the wedding custom culture.

However, the generation and migration of Tuyao's branches, marriage concepts, wedding customs and social and economic development of Tuyao are the basic background of Tuyao's wedding dress research. Based on the research of these factors, it is the necessary way to explore the symbolic connotation of Tuyao's cultural concepts and costumes contained in Tuyao's wedding dress. The change of Tuyao's wedding dress is bound to be closely related to many factors such as social, economic and cultural changes and changes in living and production conditions. Because the ceremonial dress not only participated in the completion of an important ceremony, but also participated in the expression of the Tuyao people's reproduction model, ethnic belief and identity, and values.

1.2 A Study on the Ritual Process of Tuyao Wedding from the Perspective of Passing Ritual

The bride and groom complete the whole process of the wedding ceremony in their wedding attire, which is the traditional culture and social memory of Hezhou Tuyao nationality passed down through bodily practice for hundreds of years. "Wedding" is the most important "passing ceremony" in Tuyao people's life. The bride and groom wear wedding clothes to attend the ceremony, so the wedding dress becomes the main body of bodily practice. Through the wedding ceremony, Tuyao people realize the transformation of identity and status. Therefore, the ceremony has become an important research context.

Tuyao newlyweds wear wedding attire and perform bodily practice in accordance with the wedding attire handed down by the unique social memory. In the whole wedding ceremony, all the ceremony behaviors of the bride and groom are closely related to the wedding attire: for example, many people help to wear the wedding attire, one or two hundred people surround the bride to send off the wedding, the ancestral ceremony led by the master, the ceremony of "blocking the eight routes",

the ceremony of "entering the blessing", the ceremony of toasting and tea at the long table. These ceremonies were carried out in the wedding attire. When all the performances are completed, the "passing ceremony" of Tuyao people is also completed, and the bridegroom and bride also complete the identity transformation and build a new identity. In the field interview, it was found that the former Tuyao people would rather not hold the wedding ceremony and put the wedding on hold if they could not afford the wedding dress. Therefore, Tuyao's wedding ceremony is one of the most important "passing ceremonies" in Tuyao's life. The study of Tuyao's wedding dress must be carried out in the context of Tuyao's wedding ceremony.

1.3. Study the body practice of Tuyao people in the wedding ceremony

Turner's talk about the process of pre - threshold - threshold - threshold corresponds to the process of structure - anti - structure - structure. In the pre-threshold stage, there is a social structure to regulate or limit our status. We are in a structured society; When entering the threshold stage, that is, the stage of anti-structure, the relationship between people is in a special state, which highlights the characteristics of anti-structure or unstructured state; Finally, when the ceremony is over, the society is restored and people are integrated into the society again.

The ceremony consists of many specific wedding ceremony operation links. In the whole wedding ceremony, all the ceremony behaviors of the bride and groom are closely related to the wedding dress: for example, wearing the dress requires the assistance of many people, and the wedding dress has a fixed procedure. The master leads the dressed bride to complete the "eight blocks" ceremony. At the long table banquet, the bride and groom dress up to give tea and toast to relatives and friends. These behaviors are performed under the condition of wearing wedding attire, and must wear wedding attire. This kind of ritual, a modern body practice, has been repeatedly performed within the ethnic group for hundreds of years. If they can't afford this wedding dress, Tuyao people would rather not hold a wedding ceremony. The Tuyao people gradually formed and established their own unique habits in the historical process of body practice completed in full costume during the ceremony, and then formed their unique collective memory through repeated practice for a long

time. Therefore, to study the body practice of wedding ceremony is to study the practice of wedding dress.

1.4 An Analysis of Tuyao's Wedding Dresses from the Perspective of Semiotics Interaction

Symbolic interaction theory (also known as symbolic interaction theory) is a sociological theory school that studies the life of human groups by analyzing people's interaction in the daily environment. It mainly studies the way, mechanism and law of people's interaction. Mead, a social psychologist, is regarded as the founder of the theory of symbolic interaction. Mead, an American social psychologist, believes that symbols are the basis of social life. People interact through various symbols. People can understand other people's behavior with the help of symbols, and also evaluate the impact of their own behavior on others. According to the theory of symbolic interaction, human actions have social significance, and the interaction between people is mediated by various symbols. People react by interpreting the meaning contained in the symbols representing the actions of actors, thus realizing their interaction. There is no objective meaning in things themselves. It is given by people in social interaction. Symbolic interaction studies the meaning fusion of interaction between individuals in social environment and other individuals. As a passing ceremony, all objects in Tuyao's wedding ceremony are no longer daily attributes, but special symbols. In particular, the wedding dress, when it appears in the wedding ceremony field, will complete each link of the ceremony with each action of the bride and groom, and then help the bride and groom complete the identity transformation. Therefore, every component of it, from hats, chest ornaments, skirts to clothing colors, has become a unique and meaningful symbol. These symbols interact with different roles in the wedding theater in the ceremony field. Therefore, this study also analyzes the significance of the components of Tuyao wedding dress in the process of interaction with people from the dimension of symbolic interaction.

2 Discussion

As the country of etiquette and the kingdom of clothing, the civilization of Chinese clothing has a history of thousands of years. Ancient Chinese wedding dress

is the carrier of the spirit and culture of ceremony. The development of wedding dress also reflects the development of dress culture. The dress system of the Shang Dynasty was inherited and improved by the Zhou Dynasty, forming the "crown dress" system in ancient China and laying the foundation for the wedding dress system in ancient China.

As one of the traditional Chinese etiquette costumes, wedding costumes can reflect the essence and spirit represented by the etiquette culture, and can also show the connotation and role of the norms and norms of etiquette, the symbol of civilization, etiquette, order and other aspects.

Tuyao, a branch of the Yao nationality, has little contact with the outside world because of its remote location and deep residence in the mountains and forests. Therefore, it preserves a relatively primitive way of life and ethnic culture. Among them, the wedding ceremony is a more prominent primitive culture of Tuyao. Tuyao's wedding dress, as a distinctive example of Chinese minority wedding dress, has not received much attention.

The title of this study is "Wedding Dresses of Tuyao in Hezhou, China - Through the Body Practice of Ethnic Minorities in the Context of Ritual". In my thesis, I studied the social and historical background of Tuyao and the birth of wedding ceremony, and the function of wedding dress in the ceremony. This paper studies the ceremony process of Tuyao wedding from the perspective of ceremony, studies the body practice of Tuyao people in the wedding ceremony, and analyzes the Tuyao wedding dress from the perspective of semiotics interaction. Through the above research, this paper discusses the symbolic connotation of Tuyao wedding dress and the role and significance of its inheritance on the development of Tuyao culture.

2.1 Tuyao, Hezhou, China, wedding dress, literature reanalysis

In recent years, the relationship between Yao costumes, production techniques and the body and identity of the main body has begun to receive attention. For example, Li Yan discussed the reflection of the transformation of field, props, identity, etc. on the Yao people's dual beliefs from the dressing change in the ceremony of returning the Yao people to the home. Wei Haoming analyzed the

relationship between clothing, supplies, gifts, etc., and the internal and external identity of the ethnic group in the ceremony of the Yushan Yao bridegroom in Fuchuan. The second is to pay attention to the relationship between body and clothing as well as production skills. For example, Feng Zhiming explained the body expression of Hongyao from four aspects: social identity mark, the body representation of ethnic historical memory, the expression of individual emotion and self-experience, and the reflection of body politics in his paper "Social identity mark - one of the cultural expression studies of the body decoration of Hongyao". Xie Fei's "From image to practice:" Flower "Yao women's cross-stitch clothing and its body discourse" related papers reveal the body practice and changes of cross-stitch through body image, clothing making skills, etc., starting from the mutual construction of the flower Yao cross-stitch clothing and body. Taking the wedding dress of Tuyao in Pinggui District, Hezhou City, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region as the object of investigation, the author collected a large number of Tuyao wedding ceremony cases, interviews of the relationship between wedding dress and wedding at different stages of the ceremony, the history of development and change of wedding dress, the inheritance and development of dress making skills and other relevant field data, On the basis of the comprehensive investigation of the folk culture of the Tuyao wedding ceremony and wedding dress in Daming Village, this paper studies the bodily practice of the Tuyao wedding dress in the wedding ceremony, and discusses the mutual construction relationship between the Tuyao social cultural space and the Tuyao ethnic group history, ancestor worship and deity belief, and the collective memory inheritance and expression through ceremony and identity transformation.

The specific analysis is as follows: Hezhou Tuyao wedding dress is an important symbolic symbol in the Tuyao wedding ceremony. In the traditional Tuyao wedding ceremony, the bride and groom need to wear specially prepared costumes to complete the most important passing ceremony of the nation, which is closely related to the prosperity of the family - the wedding ceremony. The birth of wedding customs is based on the living space of the nation and the influence of the social, political, economic and cultural background. The establishment of national customs is a long-term process that changes across time latitude and space field, not overnight. As an

important, symbolic and symbolic prop in the ceremony, the birth and change of the wedding dress is accompanied by the development of Tuyao wedding ceremony in all ages.

The author found that the research on Tuyao wedding dress is relatively limited in the literature and writings.

In the book "Pinggui Tuyao", the scholar described the origin, migration history, living environment, living customs, economic development, social organization and cultural education of the Tuyao nationality in detail, which better recorded the tradition, transformation and social status of the Tuyao nationality, and became one of the important carriers of protecting and inheriting the Tuyao culture. In the chapter of "Tuyao marriage system and family", the book describes the origin and current situation of the wedding banquet system, Tuyao people's love style and the "long table banquet" in the wedding in more detail. This book is written in the form of "record" and "description", without too much excavation and analysis of the wedding customs and the culture behind the wedding dress, let alone "using concept analysis" to deeply explore the cultural background behind "long table banquet" and "wedding dress". However, the book's detailed description of Tuyao culture and history provides rich historical data support for my research on the theme of "through the bodily practice of ethnic minorities in the context of rituals".

In the article "Research on the Potential Cultural Significance of National Traditional Clothing", the author analyzed the cultural connotation of Tuyao women's clothing, "Tuyao women's clothing is the carrier of Tuyao's history and culture. It not only contains a kind of primitive aesthetic flavor of the ancestors, but also contains their historical footprints and worship of ancestors. You can also see the ancient customs of Tuyao society and the historical and cultural changes of Tuyao society. Tuyao women's clothing is an important part of recording Tuyao culture...", "The dress symbolizes the belonging and values of the ethnic group in the Tuyao wedding ceremony", "the dress symbolizes the cultural outlook of Tuyao in the Tuyao wedding ceremony", "the bride's dress symbolizes the turning point of life in the wedding ceremony scene". The above is a small general discussion article, "Research on the Potential Cultural Significance of National Traditional Clothing". This article was

published in Journal of Hezhou University. The above three main points also bring some inspiration to my research.

The paper "Symbolic symbols of ethnic costumes in wedding ceremony scenes -- Taking Hezhou Tuyao costumes in wedding ceremony scenes as an example" studies the symbolic symbols of ethnic costumes in wedding ceremony. In the process of describing, the article tries to explore the different cultural metaphors of the costumes in the scene in the whole wedding ceremony scene. The three main points are:

First, clothing symbolizes the ethnic affiliation and values during the Tuyao wedding ceremony.

Secondly, clothing symbolizes Tuyao's cultural outlook in the process of Tuyao's wedding ceremony. This part quotes the view of scholar Wang Jianmin: "Clothes are the representation of culture, and clothes are the image of thoughts." He also believes that "human body decoration is not only the cultivation of individuals but also a cultural cultivation in a certain way. The human body is expressed as a place or space, and the cultural practices of different ethnic groups are written on it, and the body can show a cultural feature."

Third, the bride's dress symbolizes the turning point of life in the wedding ceremony scene. The article points out that "Tuyao wedding is also an important ceremony of turning point in a person's life. In this ceremony, people complete the turning form through the process of dress and ceremony."

Another research on Tuyao costumes is entitled "Aesthetic changes of Yao costumes under contemporary popular culture - taking Tuyao, a branch of Hezhou Yao, as an example". The article holds that Tuyao costumes are rapidly translated into Chinese under the catalysis of contemporary popular culture, and the aesthetic changes of Tuyao costumes culture in Hezhou have been investigated and studied from the perspective of art anthropology. The author believes that "the strong aesthetic gap, the impact of complex language system, and the rupture of the inheritance of traditional costumes and crafts are the main reasons for the aesthetic changes of Tuyao costumes". It mainly discusses three aspects:

The first aspect is: the invasion of contemporary popular culture into Tuyao costume aesthetics. In this regard, the author believes that "the aesthetic tendency of Tuyao has been close to that of the mainstream ethnic groups, and their aesthetic experience has changed to a popular aesthetic way. The younger generation has begun to disagree with the traditional way of life, and is more willing to change the shackles of traditional costumes, try to stimulate the senses brought by popularity, and have more choices and definitions of beauty in popular culture".

The second aspect is the change and loss of the traditional aesthetic of Tuyao costumes in popular culture. The author believed that "the blindness and unconsciousness of popular culture made Tuyao lose the ability to criticize it and gradually give up thinking about the profound significance and value of traditional culture."

The third aspect is that "the inheritance of clothing craftsmanship" is no longer an important standard for mate selection. According to the article, "The rapid development of industrialization and modernization has brought infinite convenience to our lives, and at the same time, it has also prompted the traditional culture to slowly leave us. The original symbolic significance of Tuyao traditional clothing and the core value hidden in the lost ethnic dress culture have gradually been ignored by people. The traditional culture has gradually died out, becoming the traditional beauty lost in the contemporary popular aesthetic value." The key structure of this article is to analyze the changes of Tuyao wedding dress.

Another research article related to Tuyao costumes is entitled "Comparative Study of Tuyao and Guoshan Yao Women's Clothing Culture". This paper compares and analyzes the costumes of Tuyao and Guoshan Yao from the aspects of shape, color and pattern, and then analyzes the cultural connotation in depth. It believes that Tuyao and Guoshan Yao women's clothing are the externalization form of Yao culture and the symbol of Yao culture. The author believes that Tuyao women's clothing remains unchanged in different places because of the internal needs of the ethnic culture and measures taken to strengthen the cohesion of the ethnic group, and they need to have a stronger internal spirit to maintain the interests of the ethnic

group, achieve this unity through physical clothing, and emphasize the consistency of culture and value system.

In the “Comparative Study of Tuyao and Guoshan Yao Women's Clothing Culture”, the Tuyao women's clothing and the Guoshan Yao women's clothing are analyzed and compared, and the cultural phenomenon of the clothing hidden in the women of these two Yao ethnic groups is interpreted. The author believes that the women's clothing of Tuyao and Guoshan Yao are different on the surface, but their culture is the same. The author also analyzes the ethnic cultural symbols hidden in Tuyao costumes from the ethnic origin story that Yao is the descendant of Panhu, the divine dog, and believes that Tuyao women's clothing and Guoyao women's clothing are the externalized forms of Yao's cultural identity, reflecting the demands of Yao's ethnic identity and values.

In the process of consulting and learning documents and materials, I have included "Pinggui Tuyao", "Comparative Study on the Culture of Women's Clothing of Tuyao and Guoshan Yao", "Aesthetic Changes of Yao Clothing under Contemporary Popular Culture -- Taking Tuyao, a branch of Hezhou Yao as an Example", "Symbolic Symbols of National Clothing in Wedding Ceremony Scenarios -- Taking Hezhou Tuyao Clothing in Wedding Ceremony Scenarios as an Example", and "Study on the Potential Cultural Significance of National Traditional Clothing". The above are a few papers and writings that take Tuyao costumes as the research object or describe more. From the above research content, although the research is about Tuyao costumes, there are few people who really take Tuyao "wedding dress" as the research text object. The only article related to wedding dress is entitled "The Symbolic Symbol of National Dress in the Wedding Ceremony Scene - Taking Hezhou Tuyao Dress in the Wedding Ceremony Scene as an Example", which basically equates the national dress of Tuyao with the wedding dress, without analyzing the difference between the dress worn by the bride and groom and the general daily dress. In fact, after a lot of field research, I believe that the ethnic costumes of Tuyao should belong to a broader range. It includes wedding costumes and post-wedding ethnic costumes (although in a sense, Tuyao ethnic costumes also come from wedding costumes, because according to research, Tuyao people

traditionally make wedding costumes for the wedding ceremony. Dresses change into daily ethnic costumes after the wedding ceremony, so the two are a very special relationship).

Secondly, the above articles and writings can be summarized as follows: wedding dress symbolizes the values of Tuyao people, Tuyao people's national dress aesthetics, the cultural significance of traditional Tuyao dress, and the symbolic significance of Tuyao dress. These discussions have done some guidance for my own research and opened up some ideas for me. However, among the relevant studies of Tuyao wedding dress, the first is the lack of in-depth and systematic analysis, the second is the lack of relatively complete in-depth analysis of the national cultural significance behind the wedding dress, and the third is the lack of systematic discussion of applying concepts to in-depth analysis of the cultural truth and beliefs behind the wedding dress. Therefore, it is a new and more in-depth perspective to put wedding costumes in the context of wedding ceremony, and use the concept of body practice to explain Tuyao wedding costumes and conduct academic analysis.

2.2 This study uses the concept of "rite of passage" to record and explore the significance of wedding attire to the identity transformation of Tuyao people in the context of "rite of passage"

Arnold van Gennep believed that human life is always transformed from one stage to another, and in the process of transformation, a rite of passage is needed: The transition from one group to another, from one social status to another, is seen as a necessary part of existence, and so each individual's life consists of a series with similar beginnings and endings: birth, social maturity, marriage, fatherhood, ascension to a higher social class, professional specialization, and death. Each of these events is accompanied by a ritual with the same fundamental goal: to enable the individual to transition from one defined situation to another equally defined situation.

Arnold van Gennep proposed the concept of Rites of passage in his book *Rites of Passage*, in which the rites of transition from one place to another or from one world to another are collectively referred to as rites of passage. He divided the ceremony into three stages: separation, margin and aggregation. He collected the various rites of

passage in human society and classified them according to their different emphasis on the three stages. Turner inherited Van Genapp's distinction of the three stages of passage and deepened the analysis and research of the threshold stage. He also delves into the liminoid phenomenon that exists in civilized society.

Turner inherited Van Genapp's three-stage division. In the separation stage, the ritual subject is separated from the original identity and status. In the threshold stage, the transitional subject is the ambiguous stage of breaking away from the original identity without obtaining a new identity, or it can be said that the zone does not exist in structure. In the stage of convergence, the ritual subject gains new status and identity, and correspondingly new rights and obligations .

In addition, Turner used Max Gluckman's "process transition" theory to study ritual processes [14]. Durkheim and Radcliffe Brown focused on the cohesion function of ritual, while Max Gluckman believed that social contradictions would be exaggerated and released during the performance of ritual. In this way, ritual performance can achieve the purpose of eliminating contradictions and consolidating social unity [15]. Based on the theories of Max Gluckman, Turner also focuses on the conflict that plays out during ritual processes. Turner regarded ritual as a process of mutual transformation between structure and antistructure, and put ritual in the context of social development and transformation to show the role and function of ritual in the process of social operation. The society also develops dialectically in the transition between the two opposing states of structure and representative antistructure.

From the perspective of the relationship between ritual and myth, passing ritual is a ritual demonstration of self-regeneration myth. Turner believes that "everyone's life experience contains alternate experiences of structure and communion, as well as conditions and transitions" . In this alternating process, the individual completes the process of separation (symbolic death), threshold (return to the mother) and convergence (rebirth) in a ritual process shaped by the vortex of structure and anti-structure.

It is the wedding dress of Tuyao people who live in Tuyao that is produced by the wedding. Its function is to play a role with the bridegroom and the bride participating in every necessary part of the ceremony, and finally realize the identity transformation - establish a new family, the bride becomes a member of the new family, the bridegroom becomes the main responsible person of the new family, and has the right to use the forest land in the sense of ethnic group.

2.3 This study uses the two concepts of "body practice" and "symbolic interactionism" to deeply explore the connotation of Tuyao wedding dress

As early as the 1930s, Marcel, a famous anthropologist, put forward the concept of Techniques of the Body. He pointed out that in different societies, people know how to use their bodies.

The wedding ceremony of Tuyao people is a performance place where they use their body practice to inherit the social structure, social system and order. Each wedding ceremony has clarified and strengthened the relationship between the family, the relationship between the family and the external Tuyao society, strengthened some ideas and beliefs handed down by the Tuyao ancestors, and established new ideas through the bodily practice in this ceremony.

The theory of body practice in Paul Connaton's *How Society Memory* profoundly explains body practice and makes a detailed analysis of its causal relationship with social memory.

He said: "The practice of individualization is incorporating: a sender conveys information with their own body actions. Only in person can it be conveyed. The memory of culture-specific gestures is an example of individualization practice. The importance of gestures for shared memory is self-evident. In the cultural sense, specific posture exercises provide us with mnemonics."

Some scholars in China also use the theory of body practice to discuss some activities related to rituals in anthropology, such as the "Ritual Sports:

In the paper "Ethnic memory as bodily practice", it is believed that the "climbing knife pole" ceremony is a social practice activity that uses the body to understand and

use the body to display ethnic memory. Under the "discipline" of social and cultural traditions, the repeated ethnic memory forms the behaviors that conform to the ethnic values and norms through the internalization of ethnic members, and finally is stored in ethnic members for a long time.

Most of the other studies based on body practice also demonstrate that people form relatively fixed beliefs and spirits through body practice in different rituals. In contrast, the focus of this study is not on the ceremony itself, but on the process of studying the ceremony and participating in the ceremony to become "objects" - Tuyao wedding dress. A nation's clothing characteristics and habits are also evolved from a long time of bodily practice. In other words, the costumes in the ceremony also change with the emergence, development and change of the ceremony. The formation of clothing habits is the process of bodily practice in the ceremony. At present, the academic circles in the field of humanistic design in China start from the perspective of body practice, and few studies focus on the wedding dress of ethnic minorities. Most clothing studies focus on the analysis of shape patterns, aesthetic functions and cultural symbols.

Therefore, using the body practice theory to explain the national connotation and national spirit of Tuyao wedding dress is an attempt to study the spirit of dress and the connotative aesthetics of dress based on the anthropological theory rather than the principles of art.

So, how to understand the relationship between "symbolic interaction" and this study?

Mead, an American social psychologist, believes that symbols are the basis of social life. People interact through various symbols. People can understand other people's behavior with the help of symbols, and also evaluate the impact of their own behavior on others. According to the theory of symbolic interaction, human actions have social significance, and the interaction between people is mediated by various symbols. People react by interpreting the meaning contained in the symbols representing the actions of actors, thus realizing their interaction.

Wang Jianmin once said in "New Theory of Art Anthropology": "As an important symbol that can be understood and recognized by cultural practitioners, ethnic identity may be based on it under different conditions, and then through the occupation of space and landscape by ethnic costumes, it presents rich and colorful symbolic meanings in the process of interaction with others. The human body and its attachments, such as clothing, headwear, body decoration, etc., have become important symbols of ethnic identity, which are constantly emphasized and renewed emphasize. Within an ethnic group, people will despise those who violate the cultural norms of body decoration and wear inappropriate clothes and hats " .

Turner, the British symbolic anthropologist, once said in his book: "The ritual symbol has become a factor in society and a force in the field of action. The symbol is related to people's interests, intentions, goals and means."

Turner's "ritual symbols" include dynamic and static symbols such as posture, language and props in the ceremony. Tuyao wedding attire is one of the most important outward "props" in the ceremony. It carries the important symbolic spirit of Tuyao society in a symbolic way. It is because of its significance that the Tuyao society spared no effort to spend a lot of money and time on the wedding dress preparation and dressing. This is not only about a national aesthetic topic, but more importantly, it implies the social order and belief concept of the ethnic group, and reflects the principles, hopes and aspirations of the Tuyao people's reproduction.

Therefore, the author believes that the traditional wedding dress of Tuyao is a cultural form that is closely combined with the production and development of material and spiritual civilization of Tuyao community. It is composed of many symbols. These symbols, through the bodily practice of Tuyao society, not only can inherit the national memory, enhance the sense of identity of the ethnic group, but also become an important tool for the collective memory expression of the ethnic group and maintain the internal order of the ethnic group.

Tuyao is a nation without words, and there is no oral legend about history and mythology. Mr. Yuan Tongkai found that Tuyao was a nation without stories to

spread. They did not encourage storytelling, but said that "no rice goes into the pot when telling stories".

However, in the process of the emergence, survival and development of a nation, it will certainly carry its history in some way.

As a Tuyao nationality lacking in writing practice, the wedding ceremony is undoubtedly the best example of their cultural practice. Whether it is the bride and groom, the master, the send-off person, the greeter or the general guests, they jointly participate in the wedding feast, whether it is the wedding dress worn by the bride and groom, the national dress worn by the send-off person, or the Taoist dress worn by the master in the ceremony of inviting the family god, these clothes all participate in the bodily practice in this ceremony field in the way of the unique cultural symbols of the Tuyao people, and, Through the wedding ceremony of Tuyao people from generation to generation, the various parts of the wedding dress have been continuously evolving, and finally formed symbols and fixed in the evolution of hundreds of years. The composition of the dress, including the way of wearing, has also gradually formed the unique cultural posture memory of Tuyao people in the way of dynamic symbols and static symbols in the wedding ceremony scene, and this cultural posture memory about the ceremony and wedding dress. It is one of the intangible and important bases for the cohesion of Tuyao national emotion. From the wedding costumes of Tuyao, we can see that they still insist on wearing national costumes to hold the wedding in the modern development of clothing, which must hide the footprints of human activities and their understanding and love of life.

To sum up, some existing studies provide theoretical basis and corresponding inspiration for this study. Tuyao society is a relatively closed community. They keep a good wedding ceremony and the custom that the wedding ceremony must wear specific national costumes. The relationship between ceremony and wedding costumes must have internal connection or profound connotation. These connections and internal significance are exactly what this study is looking for and exploring.

3 Suggestions

3.1 Innovation points of academic suggestions:

First of all, the research on clothing is mostly based on art and aesthetics in domestic academic circles. Due to the particularity of living physical space, Tuyao wedding dress has been concerned for a short time. At present, it has not been studied much from the perspective of art and design or from the perspective of anthropology, and less attention has been paid to the ethnic cultural connotation behind the wedding dress. Therefore, it is an innovative perspective of this study to analyze Tuyao wedding dress in the context of ceremony by using anthropological concepts.

Secondly, most of the time, researchers use the theory of "body practice" to analyze the dynamic ceremony itself or the formation of certain specific customs and cultural life styles, and use the two theories of "body practice" and "symbolic interaction" to study Tuyao wedding dress. At present, there is no research on Tuyao wedding dress.

3.2 Social suggestions

In the process of completing this research, I found several important issues that need to be paid attention to and give corresponding suggestions:

First of all, since Tuyao costumes were included in the national intangible cultural heritage protection project, wedding dress has indeed received some attention to some extent. However, as more and more young Tuyao people go out to work, the concept of clothing modernization impacts the concept of inheriting and developing national clothing. How can we realize the protection of Tuyao wedding attire by keeping Tuyao wedding attire in the context of passing the ceremony, and continuing to carry out live and modern inheritance in the way of body practice, that is, wedding ceremony practice?

The author believe that modern society has its own unique material and cultural foundation after all. Those cultural heritages built on the material foundation of the past and constructed by another system concept have to gradually fade into the "past" as the material foundation and superstructure become history. Therefore, if we want to protect the original ecological appearance of Tuyao's wedding dress, which is an

"intangible cultural heritage", You can put it in the Tuyao wedding ceremony, the passing ceremony of the Tuyao people. Protecting and respecting Tuyao's marriage custom culture is the key means for Tuyao's dress culture to be passed down in comparison with the original ecology. Specific measures: We can develop live cultural tourism of Tuyao's marriage customs and other ceremonies. If we can combine the protection of minority culture on the basis of developing cultural ecotourism, it will bring a win-win situation to Tuyao's social economy and clothing culture inheritance. The wedding dress will not only be displayed in the window of the museum, but will continue to convey the thoughts and love of Tuyao people through bodily practice for hundreds of years. It is Tuyao culture that is respected and inherited in a more fresh and original appearance.

Secondly, from the perspective of clothing technology, the government and relevant protection agencies should actively seek the most appropriate way to inherit the Tuyao costume making technology. History is always worth remembering, especially human civilization. Even though we have changed dynasties, some beautiful symbolic objects bearing national characteristics are worth recording. The memory of Tuyao's clothing culture appears in modern society with such beautiful forms and colors. How to protect the essence of tradition in a rapidly developing and changing society is an eternal topic. Since the reform and opening up, many traditional handicrafts have the same fate with other traditional folk cultures, and are scattered by the impact of modern machine production. Most of them have been unable to withstand the tide of modernization and face the possibility of being submerged. However, the production technology of Tuyao costumes has not been too affected by the mass production of machines. This is because the manufacturing process of Tuyao wedding dress is different: it does not have more embroidery technology that can be realized by mechanized production, but is more based on the method of manual weaving. Moreover, there is no fixed template for the style of dress. Almost every wedding dress has its own graphic layout and element matching. The above factors make the inheritance of the handicraft skills of Tuyao wedding costumes still need to be completed in the most primitive way of handwork and manpower. Therefore, I believe that through the village committee, we can set up a

study class of ethnic costume production, so that Tuyao women can regularly carry out the study of ethnic costume production activities in their spare time of farming. At the same time, this dress craft learning class can be combined with cultural tourism development and become a live cultural tourism project after the outside world enters the Tuyao village. For example, tourists can participate in weaving a cover and an arm ornament, so that tourists who are cultural others can have a deeper understanding of Tuyao culture and achieve the purpose of cultural promotion and economic income.

Thirdly, does Tuyao wedding dress need or can excavate the rich aesthetic elements according to the aesthetic concept of modern society to realize the modern transformation of positive significance? The protection of the original ecology of national cultural heritage is a paradox. Because, after all, modern society has its own unique material and cultural basis. Those cultural heritages built on the material basis of the past and constructed by another system concept have to slowly fade into the "past" as the material basis and superstructure become history. So, should we put national culture in the market and aesthetic fashion of modern society? Can it become "fashion" through its rich "aesthetic" elements and realize the modern transformation of positive significance? "Either the technology is changed by the market, or the technology is blindly over-developed, or many modern elements are forcibly added for innovation, or the successor is forced to lose the autonomy of inheriting the technology due to the change of production relations, or the traditional technology is simplified, crude, convergent, and inferior in quality. The traditional technology may be abandoned and forgotten in this social environment of capital and profit" [22]. Such worries and thinking are necessary. In my opinion, the better way to protect is to protect and inherit its superb skills and cultural connotation under the support or guidance of the government. Even if it is necessary to derive cultural products, it should also make high-quality products with small quantity and high quality and realize the protection of the essence of cultural content in a small range. For example, cultural derivative products are designed according to Tuyao costumes. For example, the production of Tuyao bride and groom dolls, key chains, notebooks, etc., combined with Tuyao's ginger, tea and other local specialties to develop product packaging, promote Tuyao culture and promote the development of tourism economy.

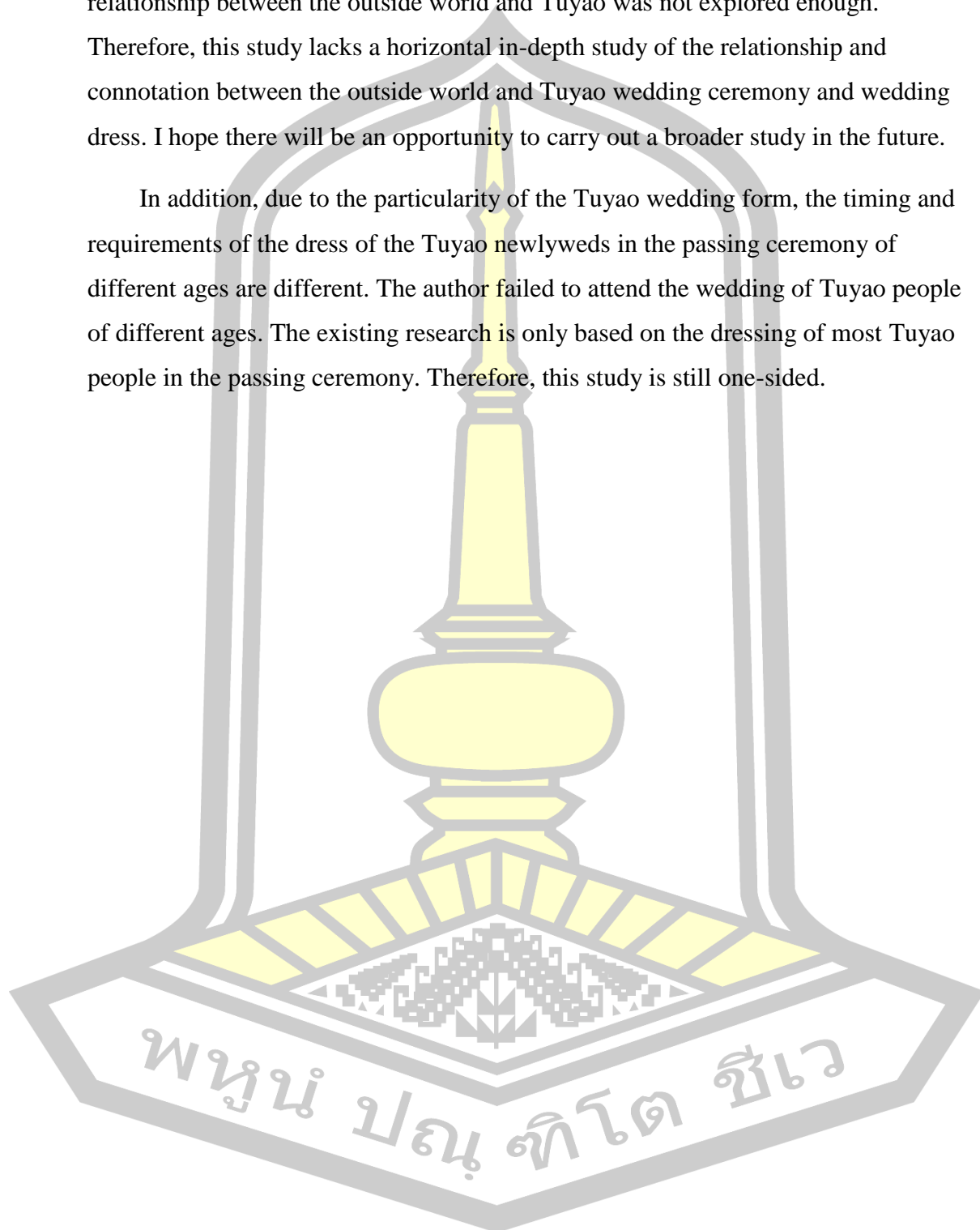
Fourth, under the policy background of the great integration of the Chinese nation, how to realize the protection of Tuyao costumes and the inheritance of national culture? In the field, we learned that some cultural management workers are not clear and accurate about the relationship between the preservation of national culture and the policy of ethnic integration. As a part of the Chinese culture and the world culture, how to preserve the characteristic culture in the wave of national integration is a problem that the government needs to consider. I believe that the task of strengthening Tuyao's sense of national identity through the protection of Tuyao's wedding dress can start from the spiritual field of Tuyao teenagers. For example, school education should take the inheritance of Tuyao national culture as the teaching content, strengthen the protection and publicity of Tuyao national culture, and gradually increase the content of Tuyao clothing culture protection in the curriculum, such as the design of school-based teaching materials in the art discipline, and the production of Tuyao costumes and creative design of paintings as topics for students to participate in learning.

3.3 General recommendations

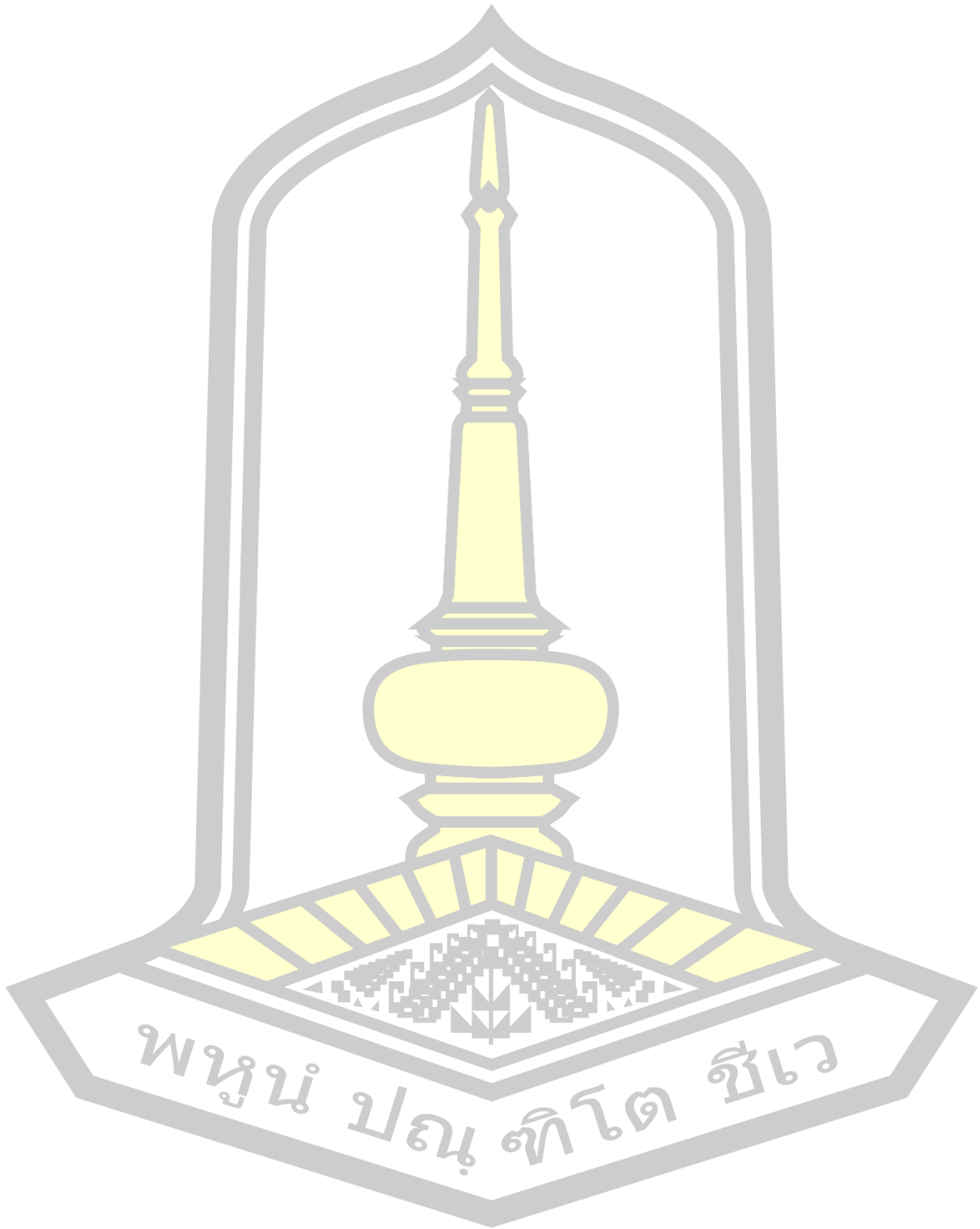
This study describes the history of Tuyao and the emergence and development of wedding costumes, as well as how Tuyao people dress in wedding costumes for bodily practice, and how wedding costumes interact with different people in the ceremony scene. Through these studies, we can infer the significance of wedding dress for such a nation. In order to more truly explore the true meaning of Tuyao's wedding dress and the nation, and make this study closer to the spirit and cultural essence of Tuyao, I have done a lot of field work and used a variety of research methods. For example, in the way of classified group interviews, we will conduct classified interviews with the artisans of clothing production, the Shigongs and workers of ceremonies, the unmarried women, and the children, so as to make the field data more detailed and accurate. At the same time, the author also attended two Tuyao wedding ceremonies. Through on-site observation and research interviews, author deeply understood the significance behind the wedding dress, and tried to explore as many ways as possible to avoid the one-sided information brought by a single respondent and the one-sided judgment caused by the life experience of a single respondent. However, due to various reasons, this study still has limitations.

For example, this study was basically carried out in Tuyao villages, and the relationship between the outside world and Tuyao was not explored enough. Therefore, this study lacks a horizontal in-depth study of the relationship and connotation between the outside world and Tuyao wedding ceremony and wedding dress. I hope there will be an opportunity to carry out a broader study in the future.

In addition, due to the particularity of the Tuyao wedding form, the timing and requirements of the dress of the Tuyao newlyweds in the passing ceremony of different ages are different. The author failed to attend the wedding of Tuyao people of different ages. The existing research is only based on the dressing of most Tuyao people in the passing ceremony. Therefore, this study is still one-sided.



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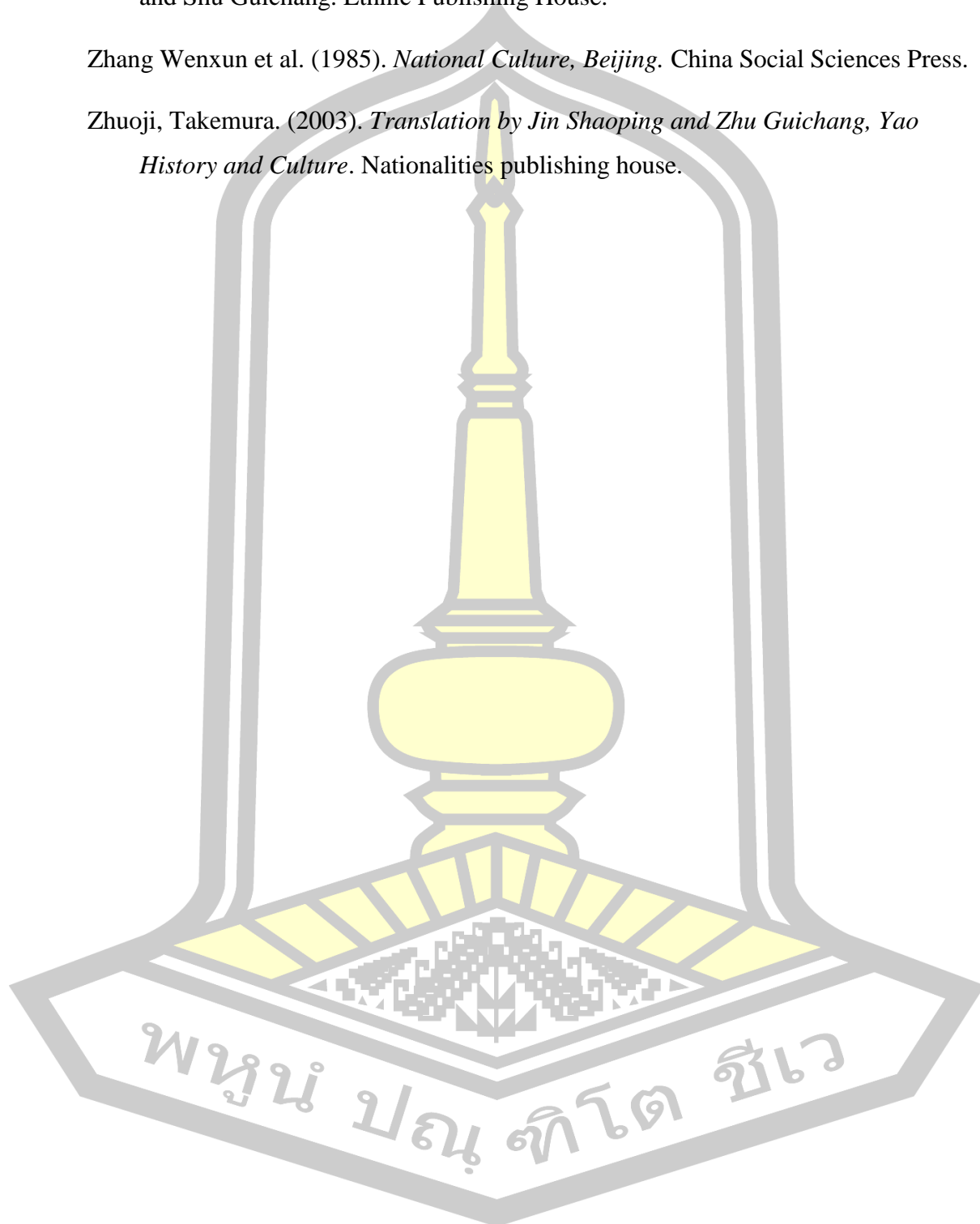
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