COLLECTIVE MEMORY OF TUYAO WEDDING COSTUMES THROUGH PHYSICAL PRACTICE OF WEDDING CEREMONY THEATER AT HEZHOU, CHINA

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: Tuyao Wedding Costumes are an important part of the traditional culture of Tuyao, as well as an important embodiment of Tuyao unique characteristics and unique culture. The costume culture of Tuyao contains an important way of transmission and development of the history and culture of the Tuyao ethnic group. The memory of Tuyao Wedding Costumes is stored in the minds of generations of Tuyao people who have experienced the wedding ceremony, forming a collective memory. This collective memory guides the generations of Tuyao people to inherit and develop the ethnic costumes.

Objective: This research aims to explore the Tuyao traditional costumes in their wedding ceremony.

Method: This study employs a qualitative approach. Participant observation (PO) is employed in this research. The key informants for this research are Tuyao residence in Hezhou, China for 50 people selected by purposive sampling method. The researcher collects data by participating in Tuyao activities, observing Tuyao wedding ceremony and staying in Daming Village, Hezhou, China for more than 3 months. The data is analyzed by content and thematic analysis.

Results: The wedding dress of Tuyao consists of many symbols that interact with people in the wedding theater and the physical practice of the Tuyao couples wearing the dresses maintains and transmits the social memory, and thus preserves the ethnic identity of the Tuyao. The wedding dress of Tuyao show that the wedding dress is one of cultural trait and cannot be separated from the culture. Physical practice of wearing is the symbolic system that builds up the common social memory of Tuyao people for hundreds of years and formed a solid unique identity of Tuyao.

Conclusion: The Tuyao society not only creates the structure, color and other artistic features of the wedding dress, but also creates the national identity that it brings. The wedding dress of Tuyao consists of many symbols that interact with people in the wedding theater. The wedding dress, as a cultural trait, cannot be separated from the culture. Physical practice of wearing symbolizes the common social memory of the Tuyao people for hundreds of years and formed a solid group identity.

Keywords: Tuyao wedding costumes, physical practices, collective memory, Yao, Yao identity.

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MEMÓRIA COLETIVA DE TUYAO FANTASIAS DE CASAMENTO
ATRAVÉS DA PRÁTICA FÍSICA DE CERIMÔNIA DE CASAMENTO
TEATRO EM HEZHOU, CHINA

RESUMO

Introdução: Os trajes de casamento Tuyao são uma parte importante da cultura tradicional de Tuyao, bem como uma importante incorporação de características únicas e cultura única de Tuyao. A cultura de trajes de Tuyao contém uma importante maneira de transmissão e desenvolvimento da história e cultura do grupo étnico Tuyao. A memória dos Trajes de Casamento Tuyao é armazenada nas mentes das gerações de tuyao que experimentaram a cerimônia de casamento, formando uma memória coletiva. Essa memória coletiva guia as gerações do povo Tuyao a herdar e desenvolver os trajes étnicos.

Objetivo: Esta pesquisa visa explorar os trajes tradicionais de Tuyao em sua cerimônia de casamento.

Método: Este estudo emprega abordagem qualitativa. A observação participante (PO) é empregada nesta pesquisa. Os principais informantes para esta pesquisa são Tuyao residência em Hezhou, China para 50 pessoas selecionadas pelo método de amostragem proposital. O pesquisador coleta dados participando de atividades de Tuyao, observando a cerimônia de casamento de Tuyao e ficando em Daming Village, Hezhou, China por mais de 3 meses. Os dados são analisados por conteúdo e análise temática.

Resultados: O vestido de casamento de Tuyao consiste em muitos símbolos que interagem com as pessoas no teatro de casamento e a prática física dos casais tuyao usando os vestidos mantém e transmite a memória social, e, assim, preserva a identidade étnica dos Tuyao. O vestido de casamento de Tuyao mostra que o vestido de casamento é um de traço cultural e não pode ser separado da cultura. A prática física do desgaste é o sistema simbólico que constrói a memória social comum do povo Tuyao por centenas de anos e formou uma identidade única sólida de Tuyao.

Conclusão: A sociedade Tuyao não só cria a estrutura, a cor e outras características artísticas do vestido de casamento, mas também cria a identidade nacional que ele traz. O vestido de casamento de Tuyao consiste em muitos símbolos que interagem com as pessoas no teatro de casamento. O vestido de noiva, como um traço cultural, não pode ser separado da cultura. A prática física do desgaste simboliza a memória social comum do povo Tuyao por centenas de anos e formou uma sólida identidade de grupo.

Palavras-chave: fatoes de casamento Tuyao, práticas físicas, memória coletiva, identidade Yao, Yao.

1 INTRODUCTION

Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region in China is in fact the habitation of many Chinese ethnic groups, including the Han and 11 indigenous ethnic minorities among which the Zhuang accounts for majority. Having been being influenced by the outside world, more than more youth generation of the minorities are accepting modern lifestyle
and concepts, but some of their peculiar ethnic customs are still well passed on in some remote areas. In this post we would like to share some traditional wedding customs in Guangxi (Visit our China, 2011).

Traditionally, Yao people did not intermarry with other ethnic groups. The youth can find their love by singing at festivals and can date as they like, but they have to get approval from parents if they wanted to marry (on the premise of obeying laws, of course). It is common for Yao that a man lives with his wife's family after they get married. In many areas in China, men who get such marriage are usually despised by some prejudiced people, but that's an honor for Yao men and they will earn high respect in Yao society. On the other hand, it is daughters who enjoy the priority of inheritance, which is far away from the feudal concept of "women are inferior to men" in China. A Yao wedding ceremony is usually simple and unadorned: on foot or by riding a horse the bride goes to the groom's home, where she will be welcomed by all the villagers with songs. The second of the wedding days will be spent at the groom's home and from the next day on they will go back to the bride's and start working, symbolizing the beginning of their marriage (Visit our China, 2011).

Figure 1: Traditional Yao Wedding Costume

Source: (Visit our China, 2011)
Tuyao Wedding Costumes are an important part of the traditional culture of Tuyao, as well as an important embodiment of Tuyao unique characteristics and unique culture. The costume culture of Tuyao contains an important way of transmission and development of the history and culture of the Tuyao ethnic group (Barthes, 2007).

The wedding costumes of Tuyao are created, developed and changed under the influence of cultural, religious, political, economic and natural ecological factors in the social space of Tuyao. In the context of modernization, cultural change has become an inevitable trend. The wedding costumes of Tuyao have been greatly influenced by this environmental change (Chen, 2013). To explore the inner significance of wedding costumes in Tuyao, we first need to explore the impact of social change on the physical practices related to wedding costumes and the culture of the practices.

The theory of collective memory has its origins in the French school of social annalism and the famous French sociologist Maurice Habwach. He is recognized as the starting point for research in this field. Habwach proposed the concept of "collective memory" on the basis of Turgot's theory of "collective consciousness" and Bergson's intuitionism (Turner, 2006). He pointed out that collective memory is not an established concept, but a socially constructed one. These different collective memories are constructed by their members, usually over a long period of time. Habwach found that an individual's memory occurs in a specific group situation, and that individuals always use this specific group situation to remember or reproduce the past. The memory of Tuyao Wedding Costumes is stored in the minds of generations of Tuyao people who have experienced the wedding ceremony, forming a collective memory. This collective memory guides the generations of Tuyao people to inherit and develop the ethnic costumes (Gertz, 1999).

Due to the lack of reliable documentary records, the creation and development of Tuyao Wedding Costumes can only be retrieved from story-telling, pieces of photos and direct interview. Therefore, it is beneficial for public and especially for Tuyao people in the future to learn the history and evolution of Tuyao original costumes in Tuyao’s wedding ceremony. This research aims for explore the Tuyao traditional costumes in their wedding ceremony.

2 METHODS

This study employs qualitative approach (Creswell, 2013) because it requires
deep understanding and details in answer research question and research objective. Participant observation (PO) is employed in this research since it is a research methodology where the researcher is immersed in the day-to-day activities of the participants. The objective is usually to record conduct under the widest range of possible settings. )Creswell, Research Design Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches. 4th Edition, 2013.

The key informants for this research are Tuyao residence in Hezhou, China for 50 people selected by purposive sampling method. The criteria of key informants consist of 1) Tuyao residence and live in Hezhou for more than 20 years, 2) Participating in Tuyao wedding ceremony more than 20 times, 3) Willing to provide information.

The researcher collects data by participating in Tuyao activities, observing Tuyao wedding ceremony and staying in Daming Village, Hezhou, China for more than 3 months.

The data is analyzed by content and thematic analysis.

3 RESULT

The data analysis results found that the evolution of Tuyao Wedding Costumes can be summarized into 3 phrases; before 1970, 1970-2000, and 2001 up to the present.

3.1 FIRST PHASE: BEFORE THE 1970S

The modern wedding dress of Tuyao was developed from the daily dress of Tuyao. Before the founding of the State, the society of Tuyao was in the midst of the turbulence of storms and bloody winds, and survival was the main problem. Because Tuyao is an ethnic group without writing. Therefore, the wedding clothes of this period did not leave any mark, the interview only learned that the women shaved their heads and wore shorts and short tops, and the men were dressed in the same way as the general Tang system. In the wedding ceremony, the bride and groom should wear Tuyao flat-topped hats, and women also wore long robes and a colorful brocade belt. Barthes, 2007. After the founding of the country, especially around 1960, the "Four Clean-ups" team entered the Tuyao villages, and the Tuyao people began to contact the outside world. According to the 80-year-old village chief's recollection, after the "Four Clean-ups Campaign", the task force required women to wear long hair and pants in order to maintain their femininity and poise. Gertz, 1999. Later, with the gradual development of China's light industry,
some industrially produced clothing materials appeared on the market. The people of Tuyao accepted the new trend information, and the national costumes that had been fixed for hundreds or even thousands of years were gradually replaced by "general fashionable costumes". The traditional cotton and linen fabrics used to make clothes were replaced by the cheaper and more durable "shilin cloth" Mo, 2015.

Figure 2: Yao Wedding Costumes in 1972

Source: Bowmen, 1972

Figure 2: Yao Wedding Costumes in 1972

Source: Bowmen, 1972

3.2 SECOND PHASE: 1980S TO THE END OF THE 20TH CENTURY

In the 1980s, Tuyao still retained the Tang style of ethnic clothing, but the Tuyao Wedding Costumes have been improved from their earlier, more modest form. Interviews with several 75-year-old women in Daming Village revealed that the most significant changes in Tuyao Wedding Costumes were the use of colorful silk threads and beads. Decorative parts of colored silk threads appeared on the hats, skirts, and chest hangings of the wedding costumes. The white cotton cloth that women used to use to wrap their heads was replaced by a cheaper and more practical white towel. This white towel,
developed to this day, has become the most important part of the Tuyao wedding dress symbol system. And, through an interview with the 80-year-old master Zhao Muhua, we learned that in the past, the characters on the white towel on the wedding dress were written in red and blue ink, and it was not until after the 1980s that the embroiderers began to use embroidery to make the characters on the white towel. At this time, the wave of reform and opening up in China began to sweep across the country, bringing about a sudden change in the material standard and lifestyle of the society. Some young Tuyao people went out of Hezhou to become wage earners in the Pearl River Delta region. Thus, in the great wave of popular culture, the traditional aesthetic orientation of Tuyao had an unavoidable collision with the "popular" and "fashion". Especially in the mid to late 90s, jeans, sneakers and high heels became a kind of fashionable beauty. A part of the Tuyao people also began to give up their national costumes, and gave up thinking about the deep meaning and value of traditional culture. The lives of more Tuyao people are still below the subsistence line. They are busy with hard labor, and their dress is simple and convenient. Of course, it was also found in the field that a part of the Tuyao people at this stage not only did not abandon the Tuyao Wedding Costumes, but also worked hard to develop it. The wedding costumes of this period became more grand. The dresses made of colorful silk threads and beads became longer and longer, and the silk threads decorating the chest became grand.

3.3 THIRD PHASE: EARLY 21ST CENTURY TO PRESENT

At the beginning of the 21st century, according to the elaboration of the elders in the group interviews, very few young Tuyao people got married and gave up the
traditional wedding dress, but went to buy red Chinese cheongsams in the market. In 2006, with the Yao dress listed as the first intangible cultural heritage protection project, the identification of the ethnic wedding dress within the Tuyao people was strengthened under the guidance of the government. The making of wedding clothes became a part of the daily life of some Tuyao women. And, they endeavor to improve this wedding dress. The dress became more and more complicated and grand. One of the key points here is the change of the "love song towel". In our fieldwork, we saw that the white "love song towel" was embroidered in red and green, with some small blue patterns. Of course, this white towel has gone through several changes: cotton linen white cloth stage, writing stage, cotton thread embroidery and polyester cotton silk thread embroidery stage. During the fieldwork, the women who embroidered the white towel were asked what the writing on it meant. They thought it was a love poem. Before marriage, the love song towel was an important gift for one's sweetheart. At the time of marriage, the white embroidered towel became an essential part of the wedding outfit. The evolution of the "love poem towel" is also the result of the physical practice of the bride and groom.
Generations of Tuyao people have developed the forms and material compositions of the various parts of the Tuyao Wedding Costumes through the physical practices in the wedding ceremonies. The following is the evolution of Tuyao Wedding Costumes

**Material changes:** The main body of the Tuyao bride's dress: the black robe, shorts, and short top are generally made of blue, white, and black cotton or polyester fabrics, and the changes in the materials used are mainly reflected in the main structure of the hat and the decorative parts. According to the collective interviews with the women who make the costumes in Daming Village, the use of the material for the hat of the dress has gone through several important changes. The earliest hat body ring structure was using the bark of the tung tree on the mountain, which was smaller at this stage, and it was easier to get moldy from soaking and sweating; around the 1980s, the Tuyao people began to use a more resilient type of bamboo to make the hat body structure, selecting a larger bamboo, and after soaking it in water, stripping off the skin to make up a ring structure suitable for the head; and in the last ten years or so, the hat-making Women have discovered a fireproof material on the market - fireproof board, actually very suitable for the production of hats, the use of fireproof board material to make hats easier, and more solid, more flat, more generous (Wang, 2008).

**Color Changes:** The material of colored silk thread changes. Initially cotton thread, which is characterized by skin-friendly, but easy to roll and deformation. With technological advances, the market appeared mixed polyester silk thread, which is more silky, bright and easy to care for compared with pure cotton thread, therefore, polyester silk thread is currently being used.

The richness of the materials and chromaticity of colored beads is even more visible to the naked eye. While in the old days there were fewer color choices for beads, today there is a wide array of colorful beads to choose from, which greatly enriches the visual effect of wedding attire.

**Structural changes:** In a group interview with eight people aged around sixty to eighty years old in Daming Village, it was learned that wedding costumes in Tuyao have gone through different stages. When they were young, they used to see the wedding clothes of their grandparents and parents, as well as the wedding clothes of their peers, black robes with short blue tops with rows of buttons, straight men's pants and flat top hats, the main structure of these has basically remained unchanged so far, and what has changed the most is the bride's colorful aprons and accessories on the hats and so on.
Decades ago, brides did not use many colorful skirts, individual better-off wealthy families, the use of colorful silk threads for aprons and silk threads for chest ornaments is not much, the use of beads is even less, and the length of the apron is also shorter than today. Starting around the 1980s, the aprons became longer, the materials continued to increase, more and more colored silk threads were used, the beads became more and more colorful, and the weight of a complete set of wedding attire was four or five pounds heavier than the previous one!

The addition of colored threads and beads naturally enhances the vividness of the dress. It has changed from a relatively plain appearance to a warm, exuberant, gorgeous and highly personalized character, like a rainbow in this deep forest!

**Functional shift in wedding attire-from wedding attire to post-wedding everyday dresses:** The dress of any ethnic minority has a strong symbolic meaning. As scholar Wang Jianmin said, "As an important symbol that can be understood and recognized by cultural practitioners, the identity of ethnic groups may be based on it under different conditions, and then present colorful symbolic meanings in the process of interaction with others through the possession of space and landscape by ethnic costumes. The human body and its attachments, such as clothing, headdresses, and body ornaments, have become important symbols of ethnic identity. It is constantly emphasized and re-emphasized. Within an ethnic group, people will despise those who violate the cultural norms of body adornment and dress inappropriately." [1] Because clothing as a symbol of the people, its color, structure, and decorations and patterns are the choices of the times that have been handed down from generation to generation of the people's forefathers who have gone through physical practices after a long history. It contains the beliefs of the nation and the core of the national spirit. Therefore, national costumes have been an important symbol of national identity, racial identity and blood identity at different times, reflecting the respect for and inheritance of the culture of the ethnic group.

The symbolic function of the Tuyao dress is obvious. A girl does not have this costume when she is young. It is only made when she becomes an adult and is faced with the prospect of getting married, then this wedding attire invariably symbolizes the impending change in status from a young girl to a wife, a mother, or one of the main responsibilities of another family. The wedding dress is an important item in the wedding ceremony that assists the bride to complete the rite of passage, therefore it is a meaningful symbol. When the bride and groom put on their wedding clothes, all the guests distinguish
their identity, and the wedding clothes prove that they are the main characters in the performance theater of the wedding passage ceremony, therefore, at this time, the wedding clothes are important performance props, whose function is to make the wedding can be more colorful and more sacred to carry out.

The bride and groom complete the most important ceremony of the transformation of their lives with the wedding attire. After the conclusion of the wedding, their identities are transformed, at which point the dress code is stowed away in a wooden cupboard at home and treasured as a fond memory. The couple can continue to wear them to important events in the village or when someone gets married. However, at this point the dressage no longer functions as a wedding dress, but becomes a function of everyday dressage. Wearing it to other ceremonies and events is no longer a function of the bride and groom, but of the guests and general participants in the ceremony, and, instead of wearing the most elaborate adornment, it is worn in relative simplicity.

Figure 5: A Tuyao bride in her wedding attire making a toast

Source: Dan Wang, 2019

3.4 PHYSICAL PRACTICES OF TUYAO PEOPLE IN WEDDING CLOTHES IN WEDDING CEREMONY THEATER

Body Practices of Tuyao Couples in Wedding Clothes: "Physical practice, as a culture-specific category, requires a combination of cognitive and habitual memory. Drill includes movements in the context of a full set of activities that not only allow the driller to recall the categorization system considered important by the group, but also require the production of habitual memory. In drills, explicit categorization and behavioral norms are seen as natural to the extent that they are remembered as habits. It is precisely the habituation to the object of the drill that makes the cognitive content of the group members' shared memory persuasive and cognitive." (Paul Connaughton 1988)
According to Paul Connaughton's theory of cognitive memory and habitual memory in bodily practice, the wedding ceremony process in Tuyao contains actions and sequences related to wedding clothes, all of which are formed in the process of bodily practice of the cognition of the wedding clothes and the habit of participating in weddings in ethnic wedding clothes, as well as the formation of the memory of the specific actions in a series of ceremonies in the wearing of wedding clothes and the habit of the wedding clothes. The "wearing of ethnic wedding clothes for wedding ceremonies" has developed into an ethnic tradition. The physical practice of wearing wedding clothes is mainly manifested in the following three aspects:

**Aspect 1: Physical practice of wearing wedding clothes: on the order of dress**

"The memory of culturally specific postures is an example of a personalized practice" (Paul Connaughton, 1988). The wearing of Tuyao Wedding Costumes involves two aspects of postural drills and habitual memory. One is the process of wearing wedding clothes. Because the wearing of Tuyao Wedding Costumes is complex and requires a certain amount of skill, a relatively fixed sequence has been formed over hundreds of years of repetitive movement drills, and the second is the behavioral drills of the wedding dressers. They help the bride in the process of wearing, need to issue some fixed instructions. These instructions may be related to "correct order", "respect for tradition", "out of faith", and so on.

**Aspect 2: Physical practice of wearing wedding clothes: some guidelines for attention**

There are some rules or guidelines for the wearing of wedding clothes and for the "body in wedding clothes" that need to be followed. For example, if the Shishigong's calculations show that the time of the wedding is not auspicious, then a "charm" written by the Shishigong is attached to the back of the wedding clothes, the arms, and the inside of the hat on top of the head. The "body in wedding clothes" also has a number of postures to observe: the bride must raise her feet when she leaves the house in order to step on the threshold, which can lead to an inauspicious wedding; and if there are already children at the time of the wedding, the time and place of wearing the wedding clothes will change. The bride must change into her wedding clothes on a mountain road or in a forest near the groom's home instead of her parents' home.

**Aspect 3: Physical practice in wedding attire: on wedding ceremony drills**
"The importance of posture for shared memory is self-evident (power and hierarchy) for the choreography of authority expressed through the body. In a cultural sense, specific postural maneuvers provide us with mnemonics of bodily mnemonics." (Paul Connaughton, 1988) In wedding ceremonies, whether it is the "blocking of the eight roads" or the "entering of the blessed ceremony" on the way to the bride, the process is a set of fixed procedures mastered by the master to guide the bride to complete the prescribed actions and movements. In the wedding ceremony, whether it is the "blocking the eight roads" ceremony or the "entering the blessing" ceremony, the process is a set of fixed procedures mastered by the master guiding the bride to complete the prescribed actions and behaviors. The specific postures of the master and the bride during the ceremony have been passed down through generations of wedding ceremonies of the Tuyao people. The postures of the bride and groom are performed in the state of wearing wedding clothes. Therefore, the practice of rituals in a wedding is also the physical practice of wearing wedding clothes.

3.5 FUNCTIONAL INHERITANCE OF DRESSAGE IN BODILY PRACTICES

The costumes of ethnic minorities are a kind of "history book" that can't speak, from which we can often explore the survival state, natural environment, culture and beliefs, human relations, aesthetics and other appearance of this ethnic group in different periods. Tuyao is an ethnic group with no writing and little graphic culture, but from its wedding costumes, we can still analyze some of the history of Tuyao. For example, from the change of its construction, we can understand the difference of living standard and economic development of Tuyao in various periods; from the change of the white towel of the wedding costume from "no words to embroidered words", we can explore the history of the Tuyao people being influenced and infiltrated by the Han culture; from the change of the colorful lines of the dress from cotton to polyester-mixed silk, we can explore the connection between Tuyao and the economic technology of the times; from the change of the colorful lines of the wedding dress from cotton to polyester-mixed silk, we can explore the connection between Tuyao and the economic technology of the times. From the change of the colorful lines of the dress from cotton to silk thread mixed with polyester, we can explore the connection between the Tuyao and the economic technology of the times, and from the change of the arm ornaments of the wedding dress from white towel to the arm ornaments of delicate and beautiful embroidery with silk threads and
colorful beads, we can look into the history and change of the Tuyao people's aesthetic concept. All these changes have developed in a sequential manner in the physical practice of wedding dress.

3.5.1 Functions of identification

In the course of hundreds of years of history, the Tuyao people first formed the general Tuyao national dress pattern in practice, and then developed the wedding dress on the basis of it. When the Tuyao wedding dress was practiced by the Tuyao people from generation to generation, it possessed the function of two kinds of identification: one is that the one who wears the wedding dress is a Tuyao person, and the other is that this Tuyao person wearing the dress is the newcomer who wants to carry out the wedding ceremony.

3.5.2 Functions of Documenting the Culture of the Tuyao People

Any costume has some kind of cultural representation. The wedding costumes of ethnic minorities have specific significance in terms of their structure and style, accessories, patterns and motifs. The cultural function of wedding costumes of Tuyao people has also experienced the wedding practice of Tuyao people from generation to generation to form a specific social memory and pass it down. So, what are the specific cultural functions of the Tuyao wedding costumes? For example, through this set of dress, we can know that the Tuyao people attach great importance to the wedding, because almost all of the Tuyao wedding brides and grooms must prepare and wear this set of clothes, and then interviewed almost all of the Tuyao people who have already held the wedding ceremony think that

"We must wear it, and if we don't wear it, it's not like this",
"Others wear it, and if I don't wear it, I won't have any face. I have no face if I don't wear it when others wear it",
"We should follow the habits passed down from our ancestors”.

3.5.3 Functions of materialized religious beliefs

The wedding costumes of Tuyao also have the function of religious belief. First of all, in terms of its overall color, it is mainly red, which, in addition to being a symbol of good luck and festivity, also has the significance of "red warding off evil spirits". When wearing the dress, if the master of the bride and groom after calculating the birth date and
eight characters to choose the wedding day, found that this day is not suitable for marriage, then the master will give the bride to draw a number of incantation "charm", the bride needs to change into the dress of the week before the incantation of the charm paper with weeks of sticking to the wedding dress in the inner parts of the dress or in the dress of the pockets. Moreover, in the field research, it was found that the Tuyao people believe in the culture of "wood, gold, water, fire and earth", and the five main colors in the dress, "green, yellow, blue, red and black", are the embodiment of the culture of the five elements. They love nature and admire it because they rely on it everywhere. The choice of dress color is not a one-touch process, but also a social memory formed in hundreds of years of physical practice, and there is an inevitability hidden in all the accidents, and the choice of dress color of Tuyao people also contains both accidental and inevitable components. In any case, the worship of nature, the worship of ghosts and gods is the foundation of the inevitable and accidental, and the cause of the dress color is built on the worship of ghosts and gods and the worship of nature.

3.5.4 Functions of Inheriting the Life Rituals of the Tuyao People

During the major events of a person's life, such as birth, adulthood, marriage and death, many ethnic groups have created a series of costumes with different meanings in the course of history and physical practice. The wedding costumes of the Tuyao people also serve a ritual function. For example, according to the traditional practice, they must change into full dress on the day of their marriage, and must wear full dress during the long table feast and the "marriage ceremony". These ceremonies have become the entirety of Tuyao weddings, so it can be assumed that Tuyao Wedding Costumes have inherited the life rituals of the Tuyao people.

3.5.5 Physical practices and cultural connotations of wedding attire

The physical practice of the way and order of dressing hides the culture of Tuyao. For example, after the master's "pairing of birthdays" and "looking at the day", if the bride is found to have any taboos (e.g., a hard life) or if the bride and groom do not have the same fate, a "charm strip" with an incantation written on it will be put on the bride's back, arms, and top of the head, etc., before she puts on her dress. of the "talisman". Moreover, the process of wearing the bride's dress, from the selection of the "dresser" to the process of putting on the dress, and the order of putting on the parts of the dress, all reflect Paul
Connaughton's theory of embodied practice. Connaughton's theory of embodied practice states that "embodied practice provides an extremely effective memory system". This memory system relies on "postural maneuvers". The Tuyao people, through the long practice of cultural postural drills for wearing wedding clothes, have turned this way of wearing into a meaningful program with national connotations and passed it down, forming a unique national memory. These memories, deposited in the body, have well preserved the past of their people.

Furthermore, the ceremonial practice under the dress is well passed on the cultural memory of Tuyao.

The Tuyao people obviously have a very urgent and obsessive attitude towards the wedding ceremony and the banquet, which, I think, may be derived from their long-standing belief and ancestor worship, and they want to inform their ancestors and family ancestors of the fact of marriage and the addition of a wife to the family at all stages of the wedding ceremony. They, through the wedding ceremony, want to confirm their family identity or ethnic identity, and they must also use the wedding ceremony to better prove their Tuyao identity. This obsession and conception strengthens the relationship between marriage and family and deepens the status of marriage in the Tuyao ethnic group. Different symbolic ceremonies are performed under the condition of wearing dress, such as the Wedding Wine Ceremony, the Baji Lu Ceremony, the Blessing Ceremony, etc. Different connotations are symbolized by different physical practices. Some occasions can only be accomplished under the guidance of the Master: for example, when the bride arrives at the groom's house, the bride must stop and the Master holds a book in front of her, followed by a young man holding a chicken in his right hand and a knife in his left, with a basin in front of her. On it is meat and a rope, which is tied in a cross knot, the priest turns a book to the basin to read, then kills the chicken, drops the blood on the ground and begins to cut the rope with scissors, the ceremony is completed, and the bride follows the bridegroom's family to receive the bridegroom's home into the groom's home. There are many more ceremonies in the wedding, all of which carry on the cultural memory of Tuyao.

Tuyao Wedding CostumesFlat Top Hat: Engraving Practices in the Countryside and the View of Love in Tuyao. The hat in the Tuyao bridal dress is a distinctive component of this symbolic system, and it is through the identification of this symbol that people recognize the main role of the bride at the wedding. Any ethnic group's distinctive
clothing items that have been handed down or are still in use today have been involved in long-term physical practices along with the creation and rise and fall of the ethnic group. The development and change process of the hat of the Tuyao wedding costume is the process of the Tuyao people wearing it through various physical practices. One of the symbols of cultural inheritance and the concept of love in Tuyao is the "love song towel" embroidered with words on the Tuyao flat cap, which is undoubtedly an ethnic practice accomplished by the Tuyao people through inscribing (Paul Connerton The "love song towel" is undoubtedly a way to show the national emotion through the "inscribing practice" (Paul Connerton, 1988) of the Tuyao people, and it is a surprise left to us by the Tuyao culture, which lacks written records!

Paul Connaughton's theory of bodily practice contains two parts: embodied practice and inscribed practice. The Tujiaoyao bride and groom complete the whole process of the wedding ceremony in wedding clothes, which is an important embodied practice for the Tujiaoyao people to complete their identity transformation, and this form of embodied practice has been continued for hundreds of years, which has already become an important tradition in Tujiaoyao, and the love song towels on the hats have undoubtedly become an important carrier for the practice of Tujiaoyao cultural inscribing.

3.6 TUYAO WEDDING COSTUMES IN PHYSICAL PRACTICE: A COMPREHENSIVE PRECIPITATION OF ETHNIC EMOTIONS

The wedding ceremonies of the Tuyao people are a performance arena in which they utilize their physical practices to transmit the social structure, social system and order. Each wedding ceremony clarifies and reinforces the relationships within the family, the connection between the family and the external society of the Tuyao, and the concepts and beliefs passed down from the ancestors of the Tuyao people, and at the same time establishes new concepts through the bodily practices of the ceremony. As the Tuyao people who lack the practice of writing, the wedding ceremony is undoubtedly the best example of their physical practice. Whether it is the bride and groom, the master, the bridegroom, the bridegroom's escort, the bridegroom's welcome, or the guests in general, they all participate in this wedding feast together. Whether it is the wedding costumes worn by the bride and groom, the ethnic costumes worn by the bridegroom's escort, the bridegroom's welcome, or the Taoist priests' costumes worn by the master in the ceremony of inviting the family gods, all these costumes participate in the bodily practice
3.7 ETHNIC BELIEFS AND ETHNIC IDENTITY EMBODIED IN THE PHYSICAL PRACTICE OF WEARING COSTUMES

Nature Worship under the Practice of Tuyao Wedding Costumes: The colors of Tuyao Wedding Costumes are composed of red, yellow, green, blue and other major colors, and these color representations can be deduced from the Tuyao people's reverence and love for natural things such as the blue sky, green trees, earth and rocks, red flowers and streams. The Tuyao people believe that the gods control people's destiny, they are grateful for the gifts of nature, they have a natural love for the land, mountains and forests and worship, the most common example is that they are keen to use "gold, wood, water, fire, earth" when naming their children, which are in fact almost a one-to-one correspondence with nature. As the objects of worship of the Tuyao people, these elements have long been loved and protected by the Tuyao people, and the land, which is the root and foundation of their existence, is even the first object of protection. Therefore, we find that the use of colors in the wedding costumes of Tuyao is understandable and acceptable from the perspective of nature worship.

The "rainbow" hidden in the wedding costume-the Yao believe it is a symbol of the dragon: The "rainbow" is a symbol of the dragon according to the Yao family. "The rainbow is embroidered with four kinds of threads: red, yellow, green, and white, with contrasting colors that are both bright and harmonious. This color combination is actually a true depiction of the rainbow in the sky. Because the appearance of a rainbow often means rain in the sky or a clearing of the sky before us, the Yao people's desire to pray for rain and abundance can be clearly felt. The main colors of the Tuo Yao dress are also composed of these four colors. During the hundreds of years of wind and rain, the Tuyao people wear such a splendid "rainbow wedding dress" and walk on the winding forest road in the deep mountains, which is not only the admiration for the "rainbow", but also the hope for the future life to be thriving. In the practice of wedding costumes, whether
the belief in the rainbow is shaped by the physical actors, or whether it is due to the love of the rainbow in the first place, these are the ways in which the Tuyao people express their deepest beliefs through the physical practice of wedding costumes.

*The body in full dress: deity belief and ancestor worship:* The religious beliefs of the Yao people were formed and developed on the basis of their concept of "all things have spirits", and a series of mysterious forces in their spiritual life have become the spiritual factors dominating their lives. From the numerous temples, gods and goddesses, folk shamans, mysterious sorceries and other social events related to religious beliefs in the Yao region, there are mainly the worship of the founder, the nature worship of Taoism and primitive religions, the worship of the ancestor god, the precepts and so on.

However, the author believes that the use of color in Yao clothing is closely related to its ancestor worship - the worship of Panzai. Tuyao, as a small sub-clan split off from these regions, has wedding clothing with colors that are close to the hair of Panzai's ancestors in the primitive mythological stories. Perhaps, this is the inevitable in the process of accident in the operation of all things.

*The Body in Dress and the Collective Memory and Identity Construction of the Tuyao Community:* Collective memory is a prerequisite for collective identity. There is a framework of collective memory in society within which our individual thoughts exist and which feeds into the river of memory that enables recall. Ethnic identity is realized through a common social framework, and the content of the attributes within that framework is collective memory.

It is a centuries-old physical practice of the Tuyao people that the bride and groom dress up to participate in the wedding ceremony. This practice is a collective memory formed through the collective behavior of the Tuyao society, and this collective memory has the function of social cohesion and unity, so it can be passed down in the Tuyao society. Although the style of the wedding costume has changed with the political, economic and cultural changes of the times during the process of inheritance, these changes are still made in the body. However, these changes are still accomplished in the process of physical practice, built on the wedding ceremony of the Tuyao people from generation to generation, and the wedding ceremony performed in wedding costumes makes the Tuyao nation more united and closer, and the collective memory tends to be assimilated in the process. Therefore, the wedding costume of Tuyao is the collective memory of this ethnic group, and it strengthens the ethnic identity of Tuyao.
4 DISCUSSION

The finding of this research found that the wedding dress of Tuyao consists of many symbols that interact with people in the wedding theater and the physical practice of the Tugao couples wearing the dresses maintains and transmits the social memory, and thus preserves the ethnic identity of the Tuyao. The wedding dress of Tuyao show that the wedding dress is one of cultural trait and cannot be separated from the culture. Physical practice of wearing is the symbolic system that builds up the common social memory of Tuyao people for hundreds of years and formed a solid unique identity of Tuyao. This finding is consistent with the study of Mo Li (2015) that the construction of ethnic Zhuang identity is influenced by the interplay between institutional power, sociocultural environment and individual agency. Specifically, participants show three divergent patterns of ethnic identification, namely: receivers, who readily accept their official ethnic classification but have limited ethnic awareness; constructors, who have strong ethnic awareness and strive for ethnic language transmission and heritage culture protection; and utilizers, who are keen on the instrumental values brought by their ethnicity. It is further found that the Zhuang

5 CONCLUSION

The Tuyao society not only creates the structure, color and other artistic features of the wedding dress, but also creates the national identity that it brings. The wedding dress of Tuyao consists of many symbols that interact with people in the wedding theater. "In customary memory, the past seems to accumulate in the body" (Paul Connerton 1988), and the physical practice of the Tugao couples wearing the dresses maintains and transmits the social memory, and thus preserves the ethnic identity of the Tugao. As a research model, the results of the study on the wedding dress of Tuyao show that the wedding dress, as a cultural trait, cannot be separated from the culture. Through this study, the author hopes to enhance the way people look at the phenomenon of ceremonial dress. One should not only see what happens on the surface of the wedding ceremony phenomenon, but also notice the symbolic system hidden behind the phenomenon. It is this "physical practice of wearing the symbolic system" that has built up the common social memory of the Tuyao people for hundreds of years and formed a solid national identity.
REFERENCES


