



项目一 土家族文化解码

Project One Decoding Tujia Culture

任务二 土家族风俗文化传播

Task 2: Communication of Tujia Customs and Culture

2.2: 土家族婚姻习俗

2.2: Marriage customs of Tujia

土家族的婚、育、丧、葬，有其独自的特点，其古风旧俗，虽然随着社会的发展、进步而不断变异和更新，但是，反映土家族特征的一些习俗，在土家族聚居地区，还不同程度地保留至今。第一节婚姻嫁娶土家族的婚姻在“改土归流”前是比较自由的。未婚青年男女，在每年正月新春（有的地方是三月），跳摆手舞时自由选择对象，以唱歌、吹木叶，表白爱情。只要男女相爱，经土老司作证后即可成亲，不受任何礼仪限制，也不要男方任何钱财。自清“改土归流”后，实行封建包办婚姻，男婚女嫁，全凭父母之命，媒妁之言。同时，还有“坐床”、“填房”的习俗。一般是兄亡，弟娶嫂为妻，叫“弟坐兄床”。弟弟不愿“坐床”，嫂嫂才能改嫁。个别也有“哥坐弟床”的。“填房”则是姐姐死后，妹妹嫁给姐夫。妹妹病逝，姐姐未嫁，可与妹夫为妻。男方丧妻之后，一般找女方家族同辈一女为妻。这种“坐床”和“填房”的婚娶习俗，叫“旧婚”。凡是男女双方均未婚而成亲的叫“新婚”。新的婚娶都要经过求亲、订婚、结婚、闹房、回门等程序。

The marriage, childbirth, funeral, and burial of Tujia have their own characteristics. Although their ancient customs are constantly changing and updating with the development and progress of society, some customs reflect the characteristics of Tujia. In the areas inhabited by Tujia, some customs have been preserved to this day to varying degrees. Section 1 Marriage. Marriage of Tujia was relatively free before “the bureaucratization of native



officers". Unmarried young men and women, in the first month of the New Year every year (in some places in March), freely choose their spouses as dancing hand dance, and confess love by singing and blowing wood leaves. As long as a man and a woman loved each other, they could be married after the Tu Laosi's testimony, which did not subject to any etiquette restrictions, and the woman did not want any money from the man. Since the Qing Dynasty after "the bureaucratization of native officers", feudal arranged marriages were practiced, and the marriage of men and women depended entirely on the orders of their parents and the words of the matchmaker. At the same time, there were "bed-sitting" and "house-filling" customs. Generally, when a brother died, the younger brother took his sister-in-law as his wife, called "the younger brother sitting in his brother's bed". If the brother was unwilling to "bed-sitting", the sister-in-law could remarry. There were individual cases that the old brother sat in his younger brother's bed. The "house-filling" was that, after the death of the older sister, the younger sister married her brother-in-law. When the younger sister died of illness, the old sister did not married and she could marry the brother-in-law. After the man lost his wife, he usually found a woman of the same generation in the woman's family as his wife. This "bed-sitting" and "house-filling" marriage customs were called as "old marriage". Those who were both unmarried and married were called "newly married". New marriages were subject to the procedures of courtship, engagement, marriage, bridal chamber, and back door.



(一) 婚姻程序

(I) Marriage procedures

1、求亲^[F]_[SEP]

1、Courtship

1) 访亲。土家族山寨做父母者，看到儿子年满十二岁以后，就开始请媒给儿子访亲。既要门当户对，年龄相当，又要聪明伶俐，“八字”（即出生的年月日时，按农历的天干与地支组成的八个字）。相合的姑娘。访好后，便请“暗媒”偷女方生庚“八字”，这



“暗媒”，要与女方有关系的人，以走亲或逢年过节的机会闲谈中，偷到女孩的生庚“八字”。若与男方的生庚“八字”合得上，便正式请媒人向女方求亲。

1) Visiting relatives. When parents of Tujia cottages see their sons reaching the age of 12, they begin to invite matchmakers to visit relatives for their sons. It is necessary to have the right family, the same age, intelligent and clever character, "eight characters" (that is, the year, month, day and time of birth, according to the lunar calendar, the eight characters composed of heavenly stem and earthly branch). Compatible girl. After the visit, they ask the "dark matchmaker" to steal the "eight characters" of the woman's birth date, and this "dark matchmaker", who wants to have a relationship with the woman, steal the woman's birth date "eight characters" in the opportunity of walking relatives or every New Year's festival. If the man's birth date "eight characters" matches with the woman, then they formally ask the matchmaker to ask the woman for a marriage.



2) 求亲。男方请的媒人到女方家求亲时，开始，只起试探与牵线的作用，不为媒证。得知女方父母有意之后，按“以媒为证”的程序，正式求亲。女方的父母，得知男方求亲后，也要了解男方的情况，比男方要求的条件更高些，俗说：“养儿问贫亲，养女攀高门”，“编牛必须要到有草的地方”，“会选选儿郎，不会选选田庄”。因此，求亲比较难。媒人求亲时，身带一把雨伞而去。这把伞叫“团圆伞”，它象征圆满的结果。因而，无论天之晴雨，路之远近，就是去邻居求亲也要随身带一把雨伞。媒人第一次到女家去求亲，将带来的雨伞倒置于大门外，空手进屋去见女方父母。主人便问：“今天喜走？”媒人说：“贵府闺女××人才美貌，聪明伶俐，被×家看中，专请我前来求亲。”主人说：“我家丫头年幼无知，且家境贫寒，不敢高攀。”表示没有拒绝。媒人第二次去求亲，将雨伞倒置于堂屋，主人把雨伞拿去再放置于大门外，示意好感。此时，媒人将男方的长处讲一番。俗说：“求亲讲大话，接亲告艰难。”凡做媒者都是如此。媒人第三次去求亲，



既要帶雨傘，又要帶一塊豬肉去。女方主人若將媒人的傘拿進房內，則表示同意這門婚事。經過多次請求，女方的父母才松口說好，給提親人招待酒飯，雙方才商量“認親”（即訂婚禮）的日期。媒人回到男方，一進大門，便向主人道喜，“恭喜！恭喜！姻緣前世修，為你家相公求得××府上千金！”主人高興地說：“難為你辛苦！”便殺雞備酒，款待媒人。俗說：“婆家殺了一籠雞，娘家還不知底細。”從開始提親起，不知要殺多少雞款待媒人，才能成功。

2) Courtship. When the matchmaker invited by the man goes to the woman's house to ask for marriage, at first, it only serves as a test and matchmaking role, not as a matchmaker. After learning that the woman's parents are interested, according to the "matchmaking as evidence" procedure, the formal marriage proposal will be done. The woman's parents, after learning the man's marriage proposal, they also want to understand the man's situation, higher than the conditions required by the man, as the saying goes: "raise a child to ask poor relatives, raise a daughter to climb the high gate", "raising cattle must be to the place where there is grass", "it is wise to choose a man, otherwise it is also OK to choose a country estate". Therefore, it is more difficult to ask for marriage. When a matchmaker asks for marriage, he goes with an umbrella. This umbrella is called "reunion umbrella", which symbolizes a successful outcome. Therefore, regardless of the weather and the distance, the matchmaker should bring an umbrella with him when he goes to the neighbor's house asking for marriage. The first time a matchmaker goes to a woman's house to ask for marriage, the umbrella will be brought backwards outside the door, empty-handed into the house to meet the woman's parents. The host will ask, "do you come as a matchmaker today?" The matchmaker will say, "Your daughter x x is talented and beautiful, smart and clever, and has been chosen by the x family, so I was asked to come and ask for marriage." The host will say, "My girl is young and ignorant, and the family is poor, we dare not climb high." It means no refusal. The matchmaker goes to ask for marriage for the second time, and he will place the umbrella upside down in the main room. The host will take the umbrella and place it outside the gate to show his goodwill. At this point, the matchmaker will talk about the strengths of the man for a while. As the saying goes: "It's hard to accept the marriage, if asking for marriage uses too much words." This is true for all matchmakers. The matchmaker goes to the marriage for the third time, both with an umbrella and a piece of pork to go. If the woman's host takes the matchmaker's umbrella into the room, which means that she agrees to the marriage. After many requests, if the woman's parents relent and serve the matchmaker a meal, the two sides can discuss the date of the "marriage" (i.e., the engagement). When the matchmaker returns to the man's side, he will congratulate the host as entering the front door, "Congratulations! Congratulations! The marriage was repaired in a previous life, and I obtained the daughter of the XX family for your husband! The host says happily, "I'm sorry you worked so hard!" So he kills a chicken and prepared wine to entertain the matchmaker. As the saying goes, "When the in-laws kill a cage of chickens, the mother-in-law still doesn't know the details." From the beginning of the marriage proposal, who knows how many chickens have to be killed to entertain the matchmaker before the proposal is successful.



2、订婚

2、Engagement

土家族人订婚，俗称“认亲”，又叫“放爆竹”。女方的父母许亲后，就商量“认亲”的事。“认亲”有大小之分。

The engagement of the Tujia people is commonly known as "recognizing relatives", also known as "setting firecrackers". After the woman's parents have made a promise of marriage, they discuss the matter of "recognizing relatives". There are small and large "recognizing relatives".

1) 小“认亲”（小放爆竹）。由媒人带领男孩和备办的酒、肉、粑粑、团微等礼物去女方谢恩。男孩到女方家里，先放爆竹，拜祖先、拜亲爷亲娘，并要媒人指引男孩向伯伯、伯娘、叔叔、婶娘……逐个请安，这才叫“正式订婚”，告诉邻居亲事已定，别人不要再打主意。有些地方，女方把女儿的生庚时辰用红纸写下来交给男方，也叫“取八字”。男方合上“八字”后，才放爆竹认亲。小“认亲”，一般是不留客，当天去，当天回。

1) Small “recognizing relatives” (setting small firecrackers). The matchmaker leads the man and the prepared wine, meat, poop, group micro and other gifts to the woman's house to express gratitude. When the boy goes to the woman's house, he sets off firecrackers first, worships her ancestors, her father and mother, and asks the matchmaker to guide the man to greet her uncles, aunts, one by one; this is called "official engagement", telling neighbors that the marriage has been decided, so others don't make up her minds. In some places, the woman's family writes the date of birth of her daughter on red paper and gives it to the man, which is also called "taking the eight characters". After the man closed the "eight characters", he will set off firecrackers to recognize his relatives. Small “recognizing relative”, generally do not stay guests, the same day to go, the same day back.

2) 大“认亲”（放大爆竹），男方父母同媒人选择吉日，带上男儿和酒、肉、衣服、糯米粑粑、团微、鞭炮等礼物，到女家后，先放爆竹，祭祖先，男儿给亲爷、亲娘磕头礼拜。然后去女家的伯伯、叔叔家里去送礼、放爆竹、磕头请安。此次，新亲家相会，格外亲热。当天，女方要办酒席宴请本家的亲族戚友，这叫请“认亲酒”，即“订婚酒”。女方叫女儿以敬茶为由，给婆家父母下拜请安，给长辈敬茶，名叫“见面礼”；吃茶人必须回赠茶礼（亦叫见面礼）。新亲家相会，必须留客住宿。次日早晨，女方仍叫女儿给昨天敬茶的长辈，恭恭敬敬地各舀一盆洗脸水，洗脸人也要回赠礼物。女家散客后，将男家送来的粑粑，按亲族每户送两个，叫“耳朵粑粑”。俗说：“田是私田：女是众女。”意谓亲族都要承认这门婚事。“大认亲”回来，女方要赠男方一些鞋子、花带子、绣花手巾及银钱等礼物。但男方盛酒去的坛子被留下，直到男女结婚生儿育女之后，将酒坛装上食油，由娘家“望月”时送去男方。意谓养女本是养的酒坛子，而今生男育女，酒坛子



变成了油坛子。一般在“大认亲”两天之后，男方要请女方的父母作“过门客”。俗叫“走亲家”。作“过门客”，要带礼品，回来时男方要打发回礼。订婚之后，逢年过节，男方要向女方家拜年贺节。拜年时，要送猪腿、粑粑、团馓、糖食、酒等礼物；女方则做一至二双布鞋，或打发钱物作回礼，以发展和巩固亲姻关系。

2) The big “recognizing relative” (setting big firecrackers), the man's parents and the matchmaker choose an auspicious day, bring the man and gifts such as wine, meat, clothes, glutinous rice cakes, glutinous rice steamed buns, firecrackers, etc. After arriving at the woman's house, they first set off firecrackers to sacrifice ancestors. The man kowtows to the woman's father and mother. Then they go to the uncles' house to send gifts, set off firecrackers and kowtow to ask for peace. This time, the new in-laws meet, which is extraordinarily intimate? On the same day, the woman will hold a banquet to invite relatives and friends of her family, which is called please “recognizing relative wine”, that is, “engagement wine”. The woman's family asks her daughter to pay her respects to her parents-in-law on the grounds of offering tea, and offer tea to the elders, which is called a “meeting ceremony”; The tea eater must give a tea ceremony (also called a meeting ceremony) in return. The new in-laws meet; they must stay in guest accommodation. The next morning, the woman's family still asked her daughter to scoop up a basin of wash water respectfully for the elder who served tea yesterday, and the face washer also gives a gift in return. After the women's family is an individual visitor, the Baba sent by the man's family will be given two per family according to the relatives, and they are called “Ear Baba”. As the saying goes, “the field is private, the women are all women”, meaning that the relatives should acknowledge the marriage. When the “big recognizing relative” comes back, the woman will give the man some gifts such as shoes, flower belts, embroidered hand towels and silver coins. However, the jar where the man used to hold the wine will be left behind until after the men and women get married and have children, the wine jar will be filled with cooking oil and sent to the man's family when the woman's family at “full moon”. It means that the woman is raised on a wine altar, and now that she has a son and a daughter, the wine altar has become an oil altar. Generally, two days after the “big recognizing relative”, the man's family will invite the parents of the woman's family to be “passengers”, commonly known as “go in-laws”. As a “passenger”, they need to bring gifts, and when they come back, the man's family will send a gift in return. After the engagement, the man's family will pay New Year's greetings to the woman's family during the festivals. During New Year's greetings, gifts such as pig legs, Baba, glutinous rice steamed buns, sweets, and wine should be given; the woman's family will make one or two pairs of cloth shoes, or send money and objects as gifts in return, so as to develop and consolidate the marriage relationship.

3、结婚

3、Marriage

1) 求婚。男方要求结婚时，婚前那年农历正月初，选择吉日要到女方家拜年。拜年时的礼物中要送一只连猪尾巴的猪腿。女方若同意该年结婚，就收下连尾巴的猪腿；若



不同意，则将猪尾巴割下退回男方，表示推迟婚期。男方给女方拜年时，礼品中绝对不能送猪头，因猪头是送给媒人的，意味着这门亲事是媒人开的头。要是把猪头做礼物送给女方，意味着这门亲事是女方倒说媒，是对女家的侮辱。达成结婚协议之后，娘家准备嫁妆，婆家准备衣服等物，双方筹办儿女喜事。

1) Proposal. When the man's family asks for marriage, an auspicious day shall be chosen to pay New Year's greetings at the woman's house. One of the gifts for New Year's greetings is to give a pig's leg with a pig's tail. If the woman's family agrees to get married in that year, she will accept the pig's leg with the tail; if the woman's family does not agree, the pig's tail will be cut off and returned to the man's family, indicating that the wedding date will be postponed. When the man's family pays New Year's greetings to the woman's family, the pig's head must not be given as a gift, because the pig's head is given to the matchmaker, which means that the marriage is initiated by the matchmaker. If the pig head is given to the woman's family as a gift, it means that the marriage is an inverse-matchmaking by the woman's family and it is an insult to the woman's family. After the marriage agreement is reached, the woman's family prepares the dowry, the man's family prepares clothes and other items, and the both sides plan their wedding.

2) 送日子。女方同意这年出嫁后，男方就择定结婚吉日，并取得女家同意之后，男方则请媒人带上酒肉和衣服等礼物，到女方家“送日子”，正式决定婚期。若女方不同意，男方则要另择日子，再定佳期。

2) Send the day. After the woman's family agrees to get married this year, the man's family chooses an auspicious date for their wedding, and after obtaining the consent of the woman's family, the man's family asks the matchmaker to bring gifts such as wine, meat and clothes to the woman's house to “send the day” and officially decide the wedding date. If the woman's family does not agree, the man's family will have to choose another date and set a good date.

3) 忙嫁。婚期确定后，男方要作好接亲的准备，备好过礼的酒肉、礼布和送给新娘的衣服、首饰等；而女方则要准备“嫁奁”。女儿出嫁时，无论贫富都要准备“一、二床”西兰卡普（土家织锦）被盖，其他嫁妆量力而为，一般都要陪柜子、箱子等用具和四、五床被盖。经济条件较好的要陪柜、桌、椅、箱等全套家具和十二床被盖，这叫“单陪单嫁”。富裕人家要陪二十四床以上被盖和双套家具，谓之“双陪双嫁”。姑、舅、伯、叔、姨等近亲也要送一床被盖等陪嫁礼品，尽力相助。新娘的衣物多寡，由女方决定，如女方缝几件裤子，要求男方送几件衣服配套；女方备几床棉絮和被面，要求男方送几床被里子。另外，女方还要做若干双送给婆家长辈的布鞋，以及闹新房时送给青年人的花带子、花手帕……，使女方忙得不可开交。因此，土家族之女子，在出嫁之年一般不从事田间劳动，全力忙嫁。



3) Busy marriage. After the wedding date is determined, the man's family should prepare for marrying the bride, such as wine, meat, ritual cloth, clothes and jewelry for the bride; While the woman's family should prepare a "dowry". When the daughter gets married, no matter rich or poor, she should prepare one or two beds of "Xilankapu" (Tujia brocade) covers, and other dowry according to their ability, usually accompanied by cabinets, boxes and other utensils and four or five beds of covers. Those with better economic conditions should accompany a full set of furniture such as cabinets, tables, chairs, boxes, etc., as well as twelve beds and quilts, which is called "single accompany and single dowry". Affluent people want to accompany more than 24 beds and double sets of furniture, which is called "double accompany and double dowry". Close relatives such as aunts, uncles, should also give dowry gifts such as a quilt cover to try their best to help. The bride's clothes are decided by the woman's family. For example, the woman sews a few trousers and asks the man's family to send some matching clothes; the woman's family prepares a few cotton fibre and bedcovers, and asks the men's family to send a few quilts. In addition, the woman's family has to make several pairs of cloth shoes for her in-laws and seniors, as well as flower sashes and flower handkerchiefs for young people when they make a new house, which makes the woman's family very busy. Therefore, women of Tujia generally do not engage in field labor in the year of marriage, and do their best to get married.

4) 过礼。婚前三天，男方请人到女方家送礼，俗称“过礼”。男方为女方送去准备嫁女用的酒、肉、衣服、首饰、被里子等礼物。同时，还问清楚，迎亲那天要多少人，几乘轿子，还有什么未尽事宜，女方完全答复后，就准备迎亲。

4) Presenting gifts. Three days before the wedding, the man's family invites someone to the woman's house to give gifts, commonly known as "presenting gifts". The man's family presents the woman's family with gifts such as wine, meat, clothes, jewelry, and quilts to be used for marriage. At the same time, the man's family also asks clearly how many people would be needed on the day of the wedding, how many sedan chairs would be taken, and what else is left unfinished. After the woman's family answers completely, it will be ready to welcome her.

5) 哭嫁。婚前一月或半月，新姑娘按习俗规矩每夜晚要哭嫁，出嫁前夕要连续哭三至七个夜晚，新娘哭嫁时，全村寨相好的姐妹都要来陪哭、对哭。哭嫁的内容十分丰富，有“哭父母”、“哭戴花”、“哭吃离娘饭”、“哭离闺门”、“哭上轿”等等。到出嫁时新娘哭得眼皮红肿，声音嘶哑。哭得越狠，人说这姑娘有出息；哭得越好，人说那姑娘有才华。哭嫁期间，嫡亲叔伯，请侄女做客吃饭，叫吃“送嫁饭”。（女方哭嫁的歌词见第七章第一节：“哭嫁歌”）。

5) Crying marriage. One month or half a month before the wedding, the new girl will cry every night to marry according to the custom, and on the eve of the wedding, she will cry for three to seven consecutive nights. As the bride crying for marriage, the whole village and village good sisters are to come to accompany the cry. The content of Crying marriage is very rich, including "crying parents", "crying to wear flowers", "crying to eat from the mother's



meal", "crying to leave the boudoir", and "crying to the sedan chair" and so on. When the bride is married, her eyelids are red and swollen, and her voice is hoarse. The harder she cries, the more people say the girl has talent; the better she cries, the more people say the girl has talent. During the crying marriage, the uncles will invite the niece to be a guest for dinner, which is called "wedding meal". (For the lyrics of the woman crying and marrying, see Chapter 7, Section 1: "Song of Crying Marriage").

6) 戴花酒。结婚头天，为女方的“戴花”日，亲朋至友都来庆贺。吃“戴花酒”，给新娘戴花。戴花前，请里手而贤德和有子女的妇女给新娘“开脸”，即扯去汗毛、修好眉毛，将长发辫子绾成“粑粑髻”。髻心缠一红头绳，插上银簪、莲蓬、戴上青丝帕、牙签、手圈、耳环等头饰。开脸毕，举行戴花仪式。仪式开始，新娘入中堂，鸣炮、奏乐、拜天地、祖先，而后，给新娘戴花。当司仪者喊到某某亲戚给新娘带花时，新娘予以哭谢。如喊到外公外婆戴花时，新娘便哭道：“我的阿公阿婆啊！孙女是个下贱人，头上戴花花不香，身披红绫也不红”。哭谢舅舅、舅娘时：“我的舅舅、舅娘呀！贱人戴花花不开，花插满头也不红。”哭谢姑母：“我的麻妈姑娘啊！花开花谢花又分，各到他乡成生人。”哭谢叔伯：“伯伯、伯娘、叔叔、婶娘呀！贱人出嫁离亲人，您们的恩情记在心。”

6) Wearing flower wine. On the first day of the wedding, it is the woman's "wearing flower" day, and relatives and friends will come to celebrate. Eat "wearing flower wine" and wear flowers to the bride. Before wearing the flowers, the virtuous women with children are invited to "open the face" for the bride, that is, to remove the hair, fix the eyebrows, and tie the long hair into a "baba bun". A red headband is wrapped around the heart of the bun, silver hairpins, lotus pods are inserted, blue silk handkerchiefs, toothpicks, hand loops, earrings and other headgear are worn. After the face is opened, a wearing flower ceremony is held. At the beginning of the ceremony, the bride enters the central hall, fires guns, plays music, worships heaven and earth, ancestors, and then flowers are wear for the bride. When the master of ceremonies calls out to certain relative to wear flowers for the bride, the bride will cry and thank them. For example, when the grandfather and grandmother are called to wear flowers, the bride will cry: "My grandpa and grandma! The granddaughter is a scumbag, wearing flowers on her head is not fragrant, and wearing red silk is not red." When crying and thanking uncle and aunt: "My uncle and aunt! A bitch who wears flowers does not bloom, and the flowers on her head are not red." When crying and thanking paternal aunt: "My paternal aunt! Flowers bloom, wither, and then divide, and each goes to a foreign land to become a stranger. "When crying and thanking uncles: "Uncles, Aunties! When a bitch gets married and leaves relatives, and your kindness will be remembered."

7) 接亲。戴花酒这天下午，男方派花轿子和乐队等接亲队伍，由“头嘎”、“二嘎”、“摸米”带队到女家迎亲。“头嘎”即媒人或媒人的代理人，手拿一把雨伞，是迎亲队伍的领队。“二嘎”身背一个花背笼，专背执事人所需的“三茶”“六礼”（“三茶”即用红纸包好三封钱币，送给女方办饭、菜厨的师傅和烧茶人的礼品；“六礼”即六封红包送给女方作



四名抬花轿和两名打火把人的礼物。)“摸米”是代替新郎迎亲的人选，专搬新房的蚊帐和睡垫的人。接亲队伍到了女方大门口，女方便在朝门口摆一张大桌子拦门，桌上燃烛点香，摆三个酒杯，女方执事人过来讲拦门礼。内云：

7) Marrying the bride. On the afternoon of wearing flower wine, the man's family sends a sedan chair and a band to pick up the relatives, led by "Touga", "Erga" and "Momi" to the woman's house to marry the bride. "Touga" is the matchmaker or the matchmaker's agent, holding an umbrella, and is the leader of the welcoming team. "Erga" carries a flower-backed cage, specifically carrying the "three teas" and "six ceremonies" needed by the deacon ("three teas" are three coins wrapped in red paper and given to the woman to cook. "Liu Li" means six red envelopes are given to the woman as gifts for four sedan chairs and two torchlighters.)

"Momi" is the person who replaces the groom to receive the bride, and who specially moves the mosquito nets and sleeping mats of the new house. When the reception team arrives at the woman's gate, the woman's family conveniently places a large table in front of the door to block the door. The table will be lit with candles and incense, and three wine glasses will be placed. The woman's deacon comes over to stop the door. Interior says:

喜盈盈来笑盈盈，拦门桌子摆朝门；

Come with joy and smile, block the door and place the table towards the door;

燃香三柱蜡九品，主东请我来拦门；

Burning three pillars of incense and nine grades of wax, the Lord invites me to block the door;

我今拦门无别事，要请礼官先生报个名。

I have nothing else to do at the door today; I want to ask protocol officer to sign up.

外答：

Exterior says:

耳听贵府先生请，在下×××来报名。

Listening to Your House's request, come and sign up under ×××.

望乞先生原谅我，请问高姓和大名。

I hope you will forgive me, please ask for your surname and first name.

内云：

Interior says:

愚某久闻先生大名，

I have heard of you for a long time.

是当地贤良才子文人；

You are a local wise and talented man of letters.

学识广博明八方，

Knowledge is broad.

胸藏万卷通古今。



There are thousands of scrolls in your chest, connecting the past and the present.

今天红门大喜事，

Today is a big happy event,

先生带来多少人？

How many people did Mr. bring to us?

吹吹打打，炮火连天，

Blowing and beating, artillery fires,

从何而来？从何而行？

Where did it come from? Where did it come from?

从水路来，过了多少潭和滩？

How many ponds and beaches have been passed by the waterway?

从旱路来，走了多少岭和弯？

How many hills and bends have been traveled from the dry road?

外答：

Exterior says:

承蒙先生来提问，

Thank you sir for asking questions,

愚下是个山里人；

I am a mountain person;

出生家境贫寒微，

I was born from a poor family,

少读诗书言辞顿。

I only read less poetry and words.

带来马匹一十二双，

I bring twelve pairs of horses,

随行队伍七十二人；

and seventy-two people in the accompanying team;

先从水路来，只见波浪滚滚，

First coming from the waterway, I only saw the waves rolling,

分不清是潭和滩。

I can't tell the difference between the pond and the beach.

后从旱路走，到处云雾醪碳，

After walking on the dry road, there were clouds and mists everywhere,

看不清是岭是弯……。



I can't tell if it's a ridge or a bend...

接着，内外双方的执事人，相互盘问和解答“婚姻根把”。若内面的执事人讲输了，就得无条件的开门，请接亲队伍进屋。若外面的执事人讲输了，就得拿出“三茶”、“六礼”等礼品，请求内面执事人开门进屋。向内请求道：

Then, the deacons both inside and outside will cross-examine and answer each other's "marriage roots". If the deacon inside loses, he has to open the door unconditionally, and invites the team to enter the house. If the deacon outside loses, he has to take out gifts such as "three teas" and "six rituals", and ask the deacon inside to open the door and enter the house.

Inwardly request:

在下愚昧无知，

I am ignorant,

甘拜先生为师；

I would like to be your student.

现把“礼性”（即礼物）奉敬，

Now pay homage to the "ceremony" (that is, the gift),

请开方便之门。

Please open the door of convenience.

内云：

Interior says:

笑纳“礼性”，打开中门。

Accept the "ceremony" with a smile, and open the middle door.

有请先生，请进中庭。

Please come into the courtyard, sir.

双方谦逊一番，清点“三茶”、“六礼”和梳头油罐、报晓鸡、露水裙、蒙帕、背亲布……等。清好后，便搬开大桌子，请接亲人进屋。由礼官先生带领手提灯笼的执事先生与女方主人见面。男方执事先生高声喊道：“向亲家道喜！”女方主人说：“谢喜！”此时“摸米”上前代替新郎叩头，女方主人一手扶起，说：“人到礼到”。然后由执事先生设香案、放鞭炮、镗子、唢呐、土号齐奏，“摸米”对女方祖先神龛三叩头，礼毕。

The two sides humbly count the "three teas", "six rituals", oil cans for combing hair, chickens, dew skirts, Mengpa, back kissing cloth...etc. After cleaning, they move the big table and invite them into the house. A ritual officer leads the deacon who carries a lantern to meet the hostess. The man's deacon shouts loudly, "Congratulations to my in-laws!" The hostess says, "Thank you!" At this time, "Momi" steps forward to kowtow in place of the groom, and the hostess of the woman raises him with one hand and says, "When the person arrives, the ceremony is here." Then the deacon sets up the incense table, sets off firecrackers, distillers, suona, and earth horns in unison, and "touching rice" kowtows three times to the shrine of the



woman's ancestors, and then the ceremony is over.

天将麻黑，陪嫁的姑娘们在手板上摸满漆黑的锅底灰，去寻找“摸米”，向她们认为是“摸米”的人脸上抹去。姑娘并不想寻找真正的“摸米”，而是想找她心里喜欢的对象。姑娘往“摸米”脸上抹黑，有时一个抹一个，有时几个人抹一个，因此，“摸米”往往躲避不及，被锅底灰抹成一个大黑花脸。分不清是潭和滩。后从旱路走，到处云雾醞碳，看不清是岭是弯……。接着，内外双方的执事人，相互盘问和解答“婚姻根把”。若内面的执事人讲输了，就得无条件的开门，请接亲队伍进屋。若外面的执事人讲输了，就得拿出“三茶”、“六礼”等礼品，请求内面执事人开门进屋。向内请求道：在下愚昧无知，甘拜先生为师；^[56]现把“礼性”（即礼物）奉敬，请开方便之门。内云：笑纳“礼性”，打开中门。有请先生，请进中庭。双方谦逊一番，清点“三茶”、“六礼”和梳头油罐、报晓鸡、露水裙、蒙帕、背亲布……等。清好后，便搬开大桌子，请接亲人进屋。由礼官先生带领手提灯笼的执事先生与女方主人见面。男方执事先生高声喊道：“向亲家道喜！”女方主人说：“谢喜！”此时“摸米”上前代替新郎叩头，女方主人一手扶起，说：“人到礼到”。然后由执事先生设香案、放鞭炮、镗子、唢呐、土号齐奏，“摸米”对女方祖先神龛三叩头，礼毕。天将麻黑，陪嫁的姑娘们在手板上摸满漆黑的锅底灰，去寻找“摸米”，向她们认为是“摸米”的人脸上抹去。姑娘并不想寻找真正的“摸米”，而是想找她心里喜欢的对象。姑娘往“摸米”脸上抹黑，有时一个抹一个，有时几个人抹一个，因此，“摸米”往往躲避不及，被锅底灰抹成一个大黑花脸。也陪着花轿等着。此时，随花轿来的木匠师傅在新房内安床，他看酬谢的礼物不如意时，便喊：“恭喜，恭喜，步步高升。”示意主人加礼钱，直到木匠师傅满意时为止。安床就绪，请一个夫妻双全，家庭和睦，子女兴旺，声望较高的妇女开铺。开铺毕，选择一个公婆健在，夫妻双全之人的男孩童，抱在床上滚几次，叫“放引窝蛋”。一切就绪，堂屋中灯火辉煌，人声鼎沸，争着看新郎、新娘拜堂。

When the sky is dark, the dowry girls touch the dark bottom of the pot on their hands, go to look for "touching rice", and wipe the face of the person they thought is "touching rice". The girls don't want to find the real "touching rice", but want to find the person they like in their hearts. The girls smear the face of "touching rice", sometimes one by one, sometimes several people for one. Therefore, "touching rice" often couldn't escape, and is smeared into a big black face by the pot bottom ash. They can't tell the difference between the pond and the beach. After walking from the dry road, there is cloud and fog everywhere, and it is not clear whether the ridge is a bend or a bend.... Then, the deacons both inside and outside will cross-examine and answer each other's "marriage roots". If the deacon inside loses, he has to



open the door unconditionally, and invites the team to enter the house. If the deacon outside loses, he has to take out gifts such as "touching rice", "three teas" and "six rituals", and ask the deacon inside to open the door and enter the house. Inwardly request: I am ignorant, and I want to worship Sir as my teacher; now I respect the "ceremony" (ie gift), please open the door of convenience. Interior says: Accept the "ceremony" with a smile, and open the middle door. Please come into the courtyard, sir. The two sides humbly count the "three teas", "six rituals", oil cans for combing hair, chickens, dew skirts, Mengpa, back kissing cloth...etc. After cleaning, they move the big table and invite them into the house. A ritual officer leads the deacon who carries a lantern to meet the hostess. The man's deacon shouts loudly, "Congratulations to my in-laws!" The hostess says, "Thank you!" At this time, "Momi" steps forward to kowtow in place of the groom, and the hostess of the woman's family raises him with one hand and says, "When the person arrives, the ceremony is here." Then the deacon sets up the incense table, sets off firecrackers, distillers, suona, and earth horns in unison, and "touching rice" kowtows three times to the shrine of the woman's ancestors, and then the ceremony is over. When the sky is dark, the dowry girls touch the dark bottom of the pot on their hands, go to look for "touching rice", and wipe the face of the person they thought is "touching rice". The girls don't want to find the real "touching rice", but want to find the person they like in their hearts. The girls smear the face of "touching rice", sometimes one by one, sometimes several people for one. Therefore, "touching rice" often couldn't escape, and is smeared into a big black face by the pot bottom ash. They also wait with the sedan chair. At this time, the carpenter master who came with the sedan chair will install a bed in the new house. When he sees that the reward gift is not satisfactory, he shouts: "Congratulations, congratulations, promoting to a higher position." Hinting the owner to add money until the master carpenter is satisfied. When the bed is ready, a woman with a good husband, a harmonious family, prosperous children, and a high reputation is invited to make the bed. After making the bed, choose a boy whose parents-in-law are alive and who has mom and dad, rolls on the bed a few times, which is called "putting the nest egg". Everything is ready, the lights in the main room are brilliant, the sound is riot, and everyone is vying to see the Baitang Wedding Ceremony of the bridegroom and the bride.

8) 拜堂。拜堂之前，请土老司先退轿煞。退煞后，由里面预先安排两名夫妇和睦，有子女的妇女（圆亲娘），一个用米筛端七星灯（此灯用一只清油碗，里面放七根灯草，分点七个灯，放在大门槛内地下），另一个从轿内将新姑娘扶出来，新娘从灯上跨过去。新娘进入堂屋中央，向祖先神龛恭恭敬敬地作一个揖以后，立待拜堂。行拜堂礼，叫“交拜合卺”，相当隆重。祖先神龛上点一对大红双喜蜡烛，三柱福寿香，大桌子上摆供品，地上铺一床睡垫，睡垫上铺着新被盖，这就是拜席。同样找一个条件好的中年妇女引新娘，一个男的引新郎，男左女右并立。拜堂开始，礼生喊：“奏大乐（打镗子，吹喷呐）！升炮！拜天地（新郎、新娘向外拜四拜）！拜祖宗！”新郎从新娘前面穿过来，二人向祖先神位前齐拜四拜后，跪着。礼生喊：“大乐止，细乐兴。”遂按排好的名字，以



班辈和年龄大小，顺序喊起。首先喊：“父亲大人，母亲大人，千辛万苦，新人下礼。”新人便恭恭敬敬地磕一个头。执事人便喊“礼性”，喊到谁谁就要掏钱赠“礼性”，等“礼性”到位，再喊第二个……。最后喊：“男女老少，内外帮忙人等辛苦！”新人向四周拜一礼。礼毕后，作大乐，鸣炮。这是结婚最大的礼。俗说：“大登科，金榜题名，小登科，洞房花烛。”此时，镗子声、唢呐声、土号声以及三眼铳，响彻庭院。新郎抢先入洞房，坐在床边，待新娘进门，新郎用双手揭去新娘头上的“蒙帕”，互相嫣然一笑，顺手又抢新娘头上的插花，表示爱新娘如爱花。新娘则摘去胸前的护身镜，以示一身清洁如镜，乐意来到婆家。送亲娘子随即进房，向新郎祝贺。新郎出房以后，送亲娘子关上房门，让新娘脱去露水衣、露水裙、露水鞋，换上新装，与众见面。接着，新郎新娘在“正酒席”上向亲友敬酒。

8) Baitang Wedding Ceremony. Before Baitang Wedding Ceremony, Tu Laosi will be asked for sending happy god. After sending happy god, two married couples are arranged in advance, a woman with children (Yuan Qinnian), one uses a rice sieve to hold a seven-star lamp (this lamp uses a clear oil bowl, put seven lamp grass in it, and lights up seven lamps, places on the ground in the large threshold), the other helps the new girl out of the sedan chair, and the bride steps over the lamps. The bride enters the center of the main room, bows respectfully to the ancestral shrine, and then stands ready for Baitang Wedding Ceremony. The Baitang Wedding Ceremony is called "paying homage to the swastika", which is quite solemn. The ancestors' shrine is lit with a pair of big red candles, three pillars of fukusou incense, offerings are set on a big table, a bed is set on the floor, and a new quilt is placed on top of it. This is the worship seat. Similarly, a middle-aged woman with good conditions is found out to lead the bride, the groom is led by a man, and the male and the female stand side by side. At the beginning of the Baitang Wedding Ceremony, Li Sheng shouts, "Play the big music (play the bran, blow the whistle)!" Raise the cannon! Worship the heaven and earth (the groom and the bride bow to the outside for four times)! Bow ancestors! "The groom passes in front of the bride, and the two kneel down after bowing four times in unison in front of the ancestral shrine. Li Sheng shouts: "The great music stops, the fine music rises." Then the arranged names are called out in order of class and age. First shouts: "Lord father, Lord mother, a thousand hardships, the new couple down the salute." The newlyweds bow their heads respectfully. The deacon shouts "ritual", and whoever is shouted who would pay for "ritual", and so "ritual" in place, and then the second shall be shouted Finally, he shouts: "Men and women, young and old, internal and external helpers, etc. hard work!" The newlyweds bow to the surroundings. After the ceremony is over, there will have great music and the cannon will be fired. This is the greatest gift of marriage. As the saying goes: "Big Dengke, titled on the golden list, small Dengke, wedding festivities." At this time, the sound of distillates, suonas, earth horns and three-eyed guns resounds through the courtyard. The groom enters the bridal chamber first, sits beside the bed, and waits for the bride to enter the door. The groom takes off the "monpa" on the bride's head with both hands, smiles at each



other, and grabs the flower arrangement on the bride's head, expressing his love for the bride as same as loving a flower. The bride takes off the goggles on her chest to show that she is as clean as a mirror and is willing to come to her husband's house. The person in the mother's family who sends her family to the man's home immediately enters the room and congratulates the groom. After the groom leaves the room, she close the door, and asks the bride to take off her dewy clothes, dewy skirts, dewy shoes, put on new clothes, and meet the public. Then, the bride and groom toast to their relatives and friends at the "Festival Banquet".

9) 闹新房。“交拜合卺”的当晚，全村寨青年男女闹新房，前后可闹三天，有“三天不分大小”之说。俗说：“越闹越发，人财两旺。”闹新房时，主要是开新男、新娘的玩笑，要新郎、新娘装烟倒茶，讲“四言八句”。小字辈要给新娘请安，要核桃、板栗、糖果及小手帕。凡向新娘要礼物的，都要讲根古。俗说：“核桃皮子薄，金牙咬不破，会讲的吃两颗，不会讲的旁边坐。”闹新房的人要吸烟，新娘要他讲烟的根巴。闹房人说：“烟是烟来烟是烟，正月里来把土翻，隔年下好烟种籽，清明栽苗嫩鲜鲜；四月除草又浇粪，接连锄它好几遍；五月六月天气好，烟叶长得大又宽，堆好脚来剪好巅，打芽捉虫天天看，长翻顶来起花斑；赶上天气好割烟，天天晒来时时翻，几个太阳就晒干；草烟要用稻草卷，稻草包烟红鲜鲜，新郎新娘都贤惠，快给闹房人装烟。”新娘道：“听了闹房人讲根源，根源讲的方方圆，我把纸烟送一双，烟虽不好味口香。”闹房人说：“吸了喜烟喜洋洋，祝您夫妇恩爱长，家兴人兴财也旺，明年抱个胖儿郎。”接着闹房人要绣花帕子、花带子、绣花荷包。新娘答应给礼品，但要讲棉根。闹房人道：“讲棉花，说棉花，隔年就把棉土挖。深深挖，细细刨，开厢打窝种棉花。谷雨节后好下种，立夏前后生嫩芽。苗排行，真如法，锄草匀苗乐哈哈，加肥瓣草好几遍，看看棉花发了芽、开了花。先开黄花结桃子，桃子长大开白花。白花摘来除去籽，除去棉籽是棉花。弹匠弹了搓成条，交给婆婆纺成纱。请来机匠织成布，姑娘拿来绣手帕，四角绣只彩蝴蝶，中间绣朵八瓣花，花帕绣成一塌塌，满箱满柜尽装它，人家问她有何用，等闹新房好打发。今天我把新房闹，打开箱子取花帕，每人一条花帕子，个个喜得笑哈哈，我给新娘道个谢，明年生个胖娃娃”。闹房时，有的随声附和，有的故意刁难。总之，闹新房是青年人的一件有趣活动，闹得人人欢喜，个个高兴，直到新娘将已准备的各种物品给大家送完为止。夜深人静，闹新房的人逐渐散去，圆亲娘引来一个童男儿，要童男儿亲手揭开用红纸封盖的马桶盖子，抓出放在里面的糖果。然后扯出“小鸡公”往里面撒一泡尿。土家族人以为“童子尿”是世界上最纯洁之物，可以引出一个吉祥的结果来。

9) Teasing the newlyweds. On the night of "paying homage to the swastika", young men and women in the whole village tease the newlyweds, and they could make trouble for three



days before and after. There is a saying that "Three days regardless of size". As the saying goes: "The more trouble, the more people and wealth." When paying homage to the swastika, it is mainly to make jokes about the new groom and the bride, asking the groom and the bride to fill cigarettes and pour tea, and say "four words and eight sentences". The juniors should greet the bride and ask for walnuts, chestnuts, candies and small handkerchiefs. Anyone who asks a bride for a gift should speak about Gengu. As the saying goes: "Walnuts are thin, and golden teeth can't bite, eat two if they can talk, and sit next to them if they can't talk." The person teasing the newlyweds wants to smoke, and the bride wants him to talk about the Genba of the cigarette. The person of teasing the newlyweds says: "Smoke is smoke, and smoke is smoke. In the first month, the soil is turned over. The next year, the seeds of smoke are planted, and the seedlings are tender and fresh in Qingming. In April, weeding and watering the manure, and hoeing for several times in succession. The weather is good in May and June, the tobacco leaves grow large and wide, shoot the buds to catch the insects and watch it every day, and the top is turned over to make piebald; when the weather is good, the tobacco is cut, and the sun comes and turns every day, just a few sunny days can dry it; the straw cigarettes should be rolled with straw, the straw wrapped in smoke is red and fresh, the bride and groom are virtuous, and quickly pack cigarettes for the person of teasing the newlyweds." The bride says: "I have heard the person of teasing the newlyweds talking about the root cause, and the root cause is square and round. I will give a pair of cigarettes, although the cigarettes do not taste good." The person of teasing the newlyweds says, "Smoke the happy cigarettes, wishing you a long loving couple, a prosperous family and prosperous people, and a fat son next year." Then person of teasing the newlyweds asks for embroidered handkerchiefs, flower ribbons and embroidered purses. The bride promises to give gifts, but to talk about cotton roots. The person of teasing the newlyweds says: "When talking about cotton, when speaking about cotton, the cotton soil is dug up every other year. Dig deep, plan finely, and open the compartment to plant cotton. It is easy to plant after the Grain Rain Festival, and shoots will grow before and after the beginning of summer. The seedlings are ranked, it is true, hoe the grass evenly with pleasure, add fertilizer to kill grass several times, and see that the cotton has sprouted and bloomed. First, the yellow flowers bloom and the peaches grow, and the peaches grow into white flowers. White flowers are picked to remove the seeds, and cotton seeds are removed from cotton. The marblesmith rolls them into strips and hands them to the mother-in-law to spin into yarn. Invite a machine craftsman to weave cloth, the girl brings a handkerchief to embroider a colorful butterfly at the four corners, an eight-petaled flower is embroidered in the middle for flower handkerchiefs in bundles to fill with boxes and cabinets, people asked her what the use is, she says to use them at teasing the newlyweds. Today I mess up the new house, open the box to get a flower handkerchief, each person gets a flower handkerchief, everyone laughs with joy, I thank the bride, and wish her a fat baby next year." As teasing the newlyweds, some chimes in with others; and some deliberately makes things difficult. In short, teasing the newlyweds is an interesting activity for young people, and everyone is happy, until the bride has delivered all the items that have been prepared to everyone. Late at night, the people teasing the newlyweds gradually disperse, and the Yuan Qinniāng brings in a boy, who is asked to uncover the lid of the toilet sealed with red paper and grabs the candy placed inside. Then pulls out the "little cock" and pees in



it. Tujia people think that "boy urine" is the purest thing in the world, which can lead to an auspicious result.

10) 教茶。婚后次晨，新郎、新娘还要给宿客长辈敬茶，新郎端一个内放若干碗团馓的茶盘，新娘另端一个内放若干双布鞋的茶盘，夫妻双双为长辈敬茶、送鞋，受用者，回赠茶礼，鞋礼。

10) Jiaocha. The next morning after the wedding, the groom and the bride also serve tea to the elders of the guests. The groom brings a tea tray with several bowls of group emblems inside, and the bride holds a tea tray with several pairs of cloth shoes inside. The husband and wife both serve tea and give shoes to the elders, the recipient shall give shoe gift in return tea gift.

11) 回门，新婚三朝，新郎新娘则要回娘家省亲，俗称“三朝回门”。回门要带猪腿、团馓、糖食、酒等礼物孝敬父母。回门，不论远近，一般要当天去，当天回。回时，女方父母要给新婚夫妇打发钱，并教他们兴家立业，夫唱妇随，白头偕老。土家族的婚俗，解放以后逐步变异，有的则以新式婚礼取代了旧风俗。但在土家族聚居的偏僻地区尚兴旧俗。

11) Go back to the door, at the third day after marriage, the groom and the bride have to go back to their parents' home to pay a visit to one's parents or elders, commonly known as "the third day back to the door". When they return home, they should bring pig legs, glutinous rice steamed buns, sweets, wine and other gifts to honor their parents. Go back to the door, no matter how far or near, generally they have to go on the same day and return on the same day. When they return, the woman's parents should send money to the newlyweds and teach them to start a family and start a business to be harmony between husband and wife and grow old together. The marriage customs of Tujia was changed gradually after liberation, and some replaced the old customs with new-style weddings. But in the remote areas where Tujia lives, old customs are still popular.

(二) 婚姻习俗

(II) Marriage customs

任何婚姻制度或婚姻形态的变迁总是无法摆脱社会力量的支配,它是在人类社会发展的历史进程中不断演进的。然而,表现婚姻制度或婚姻形态的婚姻习俗却具有相对的独立性,当一种婚姻制度或婚姻形态随着社会制度及生产方式的变革而消失后,相关的婚姻习俗依然被顽强地传承或保存下来。在土家族传统社会,曾出现过“骨种婚”、“抢婚”、“二婚亲”与“转房”等多种婚姻习俗,从这些婚姻习俗中,我们可以看出土家族婚姻制度变迁的历史痕迹。

Changes in any marriage system or marriage form can never be freed from the domination of social forces, and it is constantly evolving in the historical process of human



society development. However, the marriage customs that express the marriage system or marriage form are relatively independent. When a marriage system or marriage form disappears with the changes in social systems and production methods, the related marriage customs are still stubbornly inherited or preserved down. In the traditional Tujia society, there have been "Guzhong marriage", "robbing marriage", "second marriage" and "transferring room" and other marriage customs, from these marriage customs, we can see the historical traces of the changes in the Tujia marriage system.

1、“骨种婚”

1. “Guzhong marriage”

据考证，在清之前，土家族聚居区普遍存在着“骨种婚”的婚俗。我们可以从现存的历史文献中，找到有关“骨种婚”的记载。例如，《鹤峰州志》乾隆版毛峻德《文告》中说：“本州土俗……娶妻不论同姓，又异姓姑舅姊妹，罔顾服制，否则指云让亲。更有不凭媒妁，止以曾经一言议及，即称曰‘放话’，执为左券者。又女家疏族外戚，亦得把持主婚。”毛峻德所颁《条约》中第五条为：“背夫私逃之风宜禁也。旧日土民妇女，以夫家贫寒，或以口角细故，背夫逃回。而女家父兄不加训诫，以女为是，收留经年累月，纵其所为，甚至背义毁盟，妄称改嫁……”“土司旧例，凡姑氏之女必嫁舅氏之子，名曰‘骨种’。无论年之大小，竟有姑家之女年长十余岁，必待舅氏之子成立婚配”。若不遵从这一习俗，姑家必须向舅家做出赔偿，价格一般是一头牛。“古俗生女先尽舅家定亲，有‘舅家要，隔山叫’之语。女若别嫁，未归舅家，舅家要得赔偿金”。

According to research, before the Qing Dynasty, the marriage custom of “Guzhong marriage” existed in the Tujia settlements. We can find records about “Guzhong marriage” from existing historical documents. For example, in the Qianlong edition of Mao Junde's "Proclamation" in the “Hefeng Prefecture Chronicle”, it is said: The custom in this state is that it is against the law of etiquette to marry a wife whether it is the same surname or not, even if it is a relative of an uncle or sister, even if it is a different surname. If you do not comply with this provision, you will do (Zhiyunrangqin). In addition, the custom of prohibiting "letting go" is the behavior of discussing marriage by relying on the words of a family in the past, and if there is a person who negotiates marriage, please make a marriage contract with the matchmaker, and the two parties are willing. The person who takes the left coupon, which can be the woman's parents, grandparents or uncles and siblings, must preside over the marriage. Article 5 of the “Treaty” promulgated by Mao Junde reads: "The wind of treachery and evasion should be prohibited." In the old days, the native women fled back to their parents' houses without noticing their husbands because their husbands' family were poor, or because of their quarrel. And the women's fathers and brothers do not admonish, they believed that the women were correct, took them in after years and months, indulged in what they did, and even reneged on the righteousness of the alliance, delusionally claimed to have remarried” "As an old rule of Tusi, the daughters of the aunts' clan must marry the



sons of the uncles' clan, named as 'Guzhong'. No matter how big or small, there were daughters of the aunt's family who were more than ten years older, and they must wait for the sons of their uncles to form a marriage match." If this custom was not followed, the aunt must compensate the uncle's family, usually for a cow. "In ancient times, the daughter of the aunt's family should first make a marriage to her uncle's family, and there is a saying that 'the uncle's family wants, and the mountain is called'. If a woman does not marry, and does not return to her uncle's family, the uncle's family will have to get compensation".

“骨种婚”的核心是确保舅家之子拥有对姑家之女绝对的优先选择权，确保舅家“种”的延续。这种婚姻习俗实际上是原始婚姻中血缘观念在土司时代的复活，虽然人们已经放弃了父系亚血亲婚配的观念及形式，但是，却无法抛弃对婚姻中血缘关系的依恋，因此，以婚姻实践的意义上看，“骨种婚”就是“兄妹婚”的替代形式或衍生形式，它并没有跳出血缘亲属为婚的窠臼。

The core of "Guzhong Marriage" is to ensure that the son of the uncle's family has absolute priority over the daughter of the aunt's family, and to ensure the continuation of the "race" of the uncle's family. This marriage custom is actually the resurrection of the concept of blood relationship in the original marriage in the Tusi era. Although people have given up the concept and form of marriage between patrilineal sub-kinship, they cannot abandon the attachment to the blood relationship in marriage. Therefore, in the sense of marriage practice, "Guzhong marriage" is an alternative form or derivative form of "brother and sister marriage", which does not jump the blood relatives for marriage.

土司时期，土家族封闭的自然环境及落后的社会生产方式是促成“骨钟婚”婚俗产生与延续的重要原因。在漫长的土司统治时期，土家族地区“舟楫不通，其户零星四散，罕聚族而居者，五方杂处，分离乖隔”，及至所隘地区，亦“人烟稀疏，上下一带居民不过一二十户。草木畅茂，荒郊旷野，道路俱系羊肠小径，崎岖多险，兽蹄马迹，交错于道”。这种封闭的自然环境造成了人们之间社会交往的困难，使婚姻选择的范围变得非常狭小。同时，由于社会生产方式的落后，“凡耕作出入，男女同行”，妇女是家庭生产的重要劳动力，也是家庭财富的创造者，为了使劳动力不致因婚姻关系的产生而外流或者使出嫁女子在成长时的消费成本能得到一定的补偿，土家族便选择了“骨种婚”这种方式来平衡家庭财产与婚姻形式之间的变量。

Tusi period, the closed natural environment and backward social production mode of Tujia are the important reasons for the emergence and continuation of the marriage custom of "Guzhong marriage". During the long period of Tusi rule period, in the Tujia area, "the boats are not accessible, their households are scattered, and there are few people living together in the five directions. Five square miscellaneous places are separated and obedient." As far as the pass area is concerned, it is also "sparsely populated, and there are only one or twenty households living in the upper and lower areas. The vegetation is lush, the wilderness is wild,



and the roads are all sheep intestines trails, which are rugged and dangerous. The trail of the hooves of the beast interlaces in the road” This closed natural environment creates difficulties in social interaction between people and makes the range of marriage choices very narrow. At the same time, due to the backward production methods in society, “men and women walk together wherever they work”, women are an important labor force in family production, and they are also the creators of family wealth. The generation of the marriage relationship causes the exodus or the consumption cost of married women when they grow up to be compensated to a certain extent. Tujia chose the method of "Guzhong marriage" to balance the variables between family property and marriage form.

2、“抢婚”

2.“Robbing marriage”

土司时期的土家族婚俗中，存在着一种象征性的“抢婚”习俗。宋代陆游《老学庵笔记》曾记载：“辰、沅、靖州蛮……嫁娶先密约，乃伺女于路，劫缚以归，女亦忿争号求救，其实皆伪也。”杨昌鑫先生在《湘西土家风情》一书中，曾描述清代以前的湘西凤凰、吉首等地土家族的“抢婚”习俗。“当某一土家寨子青年男子爱上另一土家寨子青年女子以后，事先约定婚期，新郎邀约本寨青年男子按期去女方寨子抢亲，沿途敲锣打鼓，举着灯笼火把奔向女方寨子，到了女家，抢得新娘后塞进花轿抬起就走，女家兄弟和族内亲戚则故意追赶阻拦，直到双方相持不下时，男方便给些钱财向女方求情”。这种“抢婚”仅仅只是一种形式上的掠夺婚制，它仍然是以男女双方的自由婚恋为基础，并非以武力手段抢劫或俘获。

Among the Tujia marriage customs in the Tusi period, there was a symbolic custom of "robbing marriage". Song Dynasty Lu You's "Notes of Lao Xue'an" once recorded: "Chen, Yuan, Jingzhou barbarians... Marriage is a secret covenant first, but it is to rob the woman on the road, and the woman also argues for help, but in fact, it is all false." Mr. Yang Changxin described the custom of "robbing marriage" of Tujia in Fenghuang, Jishou and other places in western Hunan before the Qing Dynasty. "When a young man from a Tujia village falls in love with a young woman from another Tujia village, the wedding date is agreed in advance, and the groom invites the young man from the village to go to the woman's village to grab the marriage on schedule, beating gongs and drums along the way, holding the lanterns and torches and running to the woman's village, and when they arrived at the woman's house, they grabbed the bride and put them in the sedan chair and carried her away. The women's brothers and relatives in the clan deliberately chased and blocked, until the two sides were at a standstill, the man would give some money to plead with the woman." This kind of "robbing marriage" is only a form of predatory marriage, which is still based on the free marriage and love of men and women, not robbery or capture by force.

土家族的“抢婚”习俗在时代的变迁中逐步演化为迎亲礼俗中的一个组成部分，有了新的文化内涵。例如，在鄂西来凤、黔东沿河、川东秀山一带，盛行一种“拦门”



仪式。当男方迎亲队伍抬着花轿来到女方门前，女方拦门官摆桌拦门，并唱道：“手执鸳鸯一把凭，主东请我来拦门”，男方礼官必须以歌对答，若反应迟缓或回答不上，就会被拒之门外，这时，男方只好把门冲开，去“抢夺”新娘。“拦门”仪式及“抢亲”礼俗，增添了新婚礼仪中的喜庆气氛，象征男子“娶”亲并非易事，新娘应该得到应有的家庭地位及社会地位。但是，它也折射出掠夺婚制的原始性，“闭门迎婿，或叫‘拒亲’，这是一种古代抢婚习俗的遗留，大多数情况下，表现为当男方家的娶亲队伍到达女方家时，女方家便将大门关起来，拒绝迎亲队伍进入家门”。

The Tujia custom of "robbing marriage" has gradually evolved into an integral part of the custom of welcoming relatives in the changing times, and has a new cultural connotation. For example, in Laifeng in western Hubei, Yanhe in eastern Guizhou, and Xiushan in eastern Sichuan, a kind of "blocking the door" ceremony prevails. When the man's welcoming team came to the woman's door with a sedan chair, the woman's gatekeeper set a table to block the gate, and sing: "Holding a pair of mandarin ducks in hand, the Lord invites me to block the gate", The man's ceremonial officer must answer with a song, if the response is slow or the answer cannot be answered, the door will be turned away. At this time, the man has no choice but to rush the door to "rob" the bride. The ceremony of "blocking the door" and the etiquette of "bride kidnapping" adds to the festive atmosphere in the wedding ceremony, symbolizing that it is not easy for a man to "marry" a bride, and the bride should get her due family status and social status. However, it also refracts out of the originality of plundering the marriage system. "Greeting a son-in-law behind closed doors, or 'refusing bride', is a remnant of the ancient custom of robbing marriages, and in most cases, it is manifested in the fact that when the marriage team of the man's family arrives at the woman's home, the woman's family closes the door and refuses to welcome the family to enter the house."



理论界同仁多引用《周易·屯》之“爻辞”，来证明抢婚习俗与古代氏族部落外婚时期掠夺婚制的渊源关系。“屯如雷如，乘马班如，匪寇婚媾……乘马班如，泣血涟如”。人们普遍认为，掠夺婚产生于对偶婚向个体婚演进的原始社会末期。对偶婚制实行“夫从妇居”，男子“寄人篱下”。随着男子在社会生产中的地位日趋重要，他们要求不再“嫁”出去，而是将女子“娶”回来，将“夫从妇居”变为“妇从夫居”，这种婚配方式的转变是以暴力掠夺手段来实现的，于是，便出现了“抢婚”习俗。

Colleagues in the theoretical circle often cite the "Yao Ci" in "Book of Changes. Tun" to prove the relationship between the custom of robbing marriage and the plundering marriage system during the exogamy period of ancient clans and tribes. Sometimes stationed, sometimes not advancing, and sometimes moving on horseback. Not a robber who came to plunder, but a marriage proposal. It was pity who couldn't do its best, blood and tears rippled across the face. It is generally believed that predatory marriages arose at the end of the primitive society when dual marriages evolved to individual marriages. The dual marriage system implements "husbands live at women's house" and men "depend on women". With the increasing importance of men in social production, they demand that they no longer "marry" out, but "marry" women back, changing the "husband live at the women's houses" to "the wives live at the husbands' houses". This transformation of the marriage formula was achieved by means of violent plunder, and the custom of "robbing marriage" appeared.

学者们真正关心的也许不是掠夺婚产生的时代，而是掠夺婚的主旨及文化意义——那就是，它推动了婚姻制度向个体婚的转变，推动了以母权制为中心的家庭形式向以父权制为中心的家庭形式的转变。法国的早期马克思主义者拉法格在《关于婚姻的民民间歌谣和礼俗》一文中，阐明了掠夺婚制的实质。他指出：“作家在解释这些婚姻礼俗时，



没有能找到它们的真正意义，因为他们把这一意义和与之依存的民族与礼俗孤立起来，重视的仅仅是假装抢夺未婚妻那一种行为。我相信，如果全面地考察礼俗……就可以得出另一种解释，这些得出来的解释全然使我们明白关于上述的奇异礼俗已经失去了意义；同时，给我们一个关于原始父权家庭风俗的概念”。土家族“抢婚”习俗在一夫一妻制作为主流婚姻制度的时代能保存下来，有其多方面的原因，但就其存在的普遍意义而言，在于它适应了日益膨胀的夫权的客观要求，被作为阶级社会中巩固和发展父权的手段而保留下来；同时，作为一种礼仪形式，“成为人们缔结婚约、争取婚姻自主的手段，为婚礼仪式增添了无限乐趣，使喜庆热闹的婚庆场面高潮迭起，异彩纷呈”

What scholars really care about may not be the era of predatory marriage, but the main purpose and cultural significance of predatory marriage — that is, it promoted the transformation of the marriage system to individual marriage, and promoted the transformation of matriarchy-centered family forms to shifts in family forms centered on patriarchy. Paul Lafargue, an early French Marxist, clarified the essence of robbing marriage in his article "Folk Ballads and Customs on Marriage". He points out: "When the writers explain these marriage customs, they fail to find their true meaning, because they isolate this meaning from the nations and customs that depend on it, and focus only on the act of pretending to snatch a fiancée. I believe that if the etiquette is examined comprehensively... It is possible to derive another explanation which makes us fully aware that the strange customs mentioned above have lost their meaning; At the same time, it give us a concept of primitive patriarchal family customs. " There are many reasons why the Tujia custom of "robbing marriage" has been preserved in the era when monogamy became the dominant marriage system, but in the universal significance of its existence, it adapts to the objective requirements of the growing husband's power and is retained as a means of consolidating and developing patriarchy in class society; At the same time, as a form of etiquette, it has become a means for people to conclude marriage contracts and strive for marital autonomy, adding infinite fun to the wedding ceremony, and making the festive and lively wedding scenes climactic and colorful.

3、“二婚亲”与“转房”

3. "Second marriage" and "transferring room"

此婚俗在鄂西恩施、长阳一带比较盛行。“二婚亲”即男子续娶，女子改嫁。若男子的前妻过世，则续娶的媳妇进门时要先至门后“拜阿姐”，即给男方死去的前妻行礼，以免其日后作祟。寡妇改嫁，离开原夫家时只能从后门出去，并在离原夫家较远的树林里或者岩坎边脱去亡夫家的衣服，穿上新夫家的衣服，腰间系上草绳，待新夫家来作示意性的抢婚。“转房”也称“接房”，即兄亡，其妻嫁弟；或弟亡，其妻随兄。但在长阳土家族部分地区，转房婚仅限弟媳，而兄死其妻不得改嫁其弟。因为民间普遍认为，



兄嫂比母，弟娶之则有乱伦之嫌。转房婚亦称“叔嫂相就”，或“坐床夫妻”。

This marriage custom is more prevalent in the areas of Enshi and Changyang in western Hubei. "Second marriage" means that men continue to marry and women remarry. If the man's ex-wife passes away, the daughter-in-law of the remarriage should first go to the door after the "sister", that is, to the man's dead ex-wife salute, so as to avoid its future hauntings. When a widow remarries, she can only go out through the back door when leaving her former husband's house. She takes off her deceased husband's clothes in the woods far away from her former husband's house or on the edge of a rock ledge, puts on her new husband's clothes, and ties a straw rope around her waist, to wait for the new husband's family to make a symbolic marriage grab. "Transferring room" is also called "receiving room", that is, if the brother dies, the wife marries the younger brother; or if the younger brother dies, the wife follows the elder brother. However, in some areas of Tujia in Changyang, transferring marriage is limited to sisters-in-law, and their wives cannot remarry their younger brothers after the death of a brother. Because folk generally believes that brother and sister-in-law are as same as mother, younger brother marrying his sister-in-law is suspected of incest. Transferring marriage is also known as "uncle marrying sister-in-law", or "sleeping couple".

4、哭嫁

4、Crying marriage

土家女儿出嫁时，一定要哭嫁。哭嫁有“哭嫁歌”，哭得动听、感人的姑娘，人称聪明伶俐的好姑娘。因此，在土家人那里，“哭嫁”是一门传统技艺。土家女儿要从十二三岁起开始学哭嫁。哭嫁一般在婚前一个月开始，也有在出嫁前两三天或前一天开始。娘家人边为她置办嫁妆，边倾诉离别之情。会哭的姑娘一个月内不哭重复，要哭祖先、哭爹娘、哭兄嫂、哭姐妹、哭媒人、哭自己。哭的形式是以歌代哭，以哭伴歌。歌词有传统模式的，也有触景生情的即兴创作。土家姑娘利用“哭”这一形式倾诉心中的情感。哭嫁时，母亲先开场：

When a Tujia daughter gets married, she must cry for marriage. There is a "crying marriage song" in crying marriage; a girl who cries is beautiful and touching, known as a smart and good girl. Therefore, among the Tujia people, "crying marriage" is a traditional skill. Tujia daughters begin to learn to cry marriage from the age of twelve or thirteen. Crying marriage usually starts one month before marriage, and sometimes starts two or three days before marriage or the day before. While buying a dowry for her, her mother's family pours out their parting feelings. A girl who can cry will not cry repeatedly within a month. She will cry about her ancestors, her parents, her brothers and sisters, her younger sisters, her matchmaker, and herself. The form of crying is to cry with songs, to accompany songs with crying. The lyrics range from traditional patterns to improvisations that touch the scene. Tujia girls use the form of "crying" to express their emotions. As crying marriage, the mother opens first:

桃子花开水红色，来了许多陪嫁客。



The peach blossoms are red in the water, and many dowry guests have come.

招待不好莫见怪，桃园义气莫丢开。

Don't be offended by the bad hospitality; don't throw away the righteousness of the peach garden.

母亲道了欢迎词之后，再来哭女儿：

After the mother gave the welcome speech, she cries to her daughter again:

菊花开花一片黄，女儿快要离开娘。

The chrysanthemum blossoms are yellow, my daughter is about to leave her mother.

粗茶淡饭养大你，养育之恩儿莫忘。

I have raised you on a light diet; the kindness of raising a child should not be forgotten.

女儿接过来哭道：

The daughter takes over and cries.

桐子开花一片白，只有女儿做不得。

Tongzi blooms are all white, only her daughter can't do it.

娘生娘养十八九，娘儿怎能来分开。

I have been born and raised by my mother for eighteen or nineteen years old, how can my mother and I come apart.

母亲又回头安慰女儿：

The mother turns back to comfort her daughter:

荷花开花一瓣瓣，莲蓬结籽一排排。

The lotus flower blossoms one by one, the lotus seeds are in rows.

莲子落地生贵子，娘儿终究要分开。

The lotus seeds fall to the ground and give birth to a precious son, but the mother and the son will eventually be separated.

如此这般，直哭到姑娘上轿日为止。土家人的“哭嫁”犹如一台赛歌会，有独唱、对唱、轮唱、伴唱、合唱等形式。

And so on, until the day when the girl gets on the sedan chair. Tujia people's "crying marriage" is like a singing competition, there are solo, duet, round singing, accompaniment, chorus and other forms.



5、“陪十姊妹”与“陪十兄弟”

5. "Accompanying ten sisters" and "Accompanying ten brothers"

“陪十兄弟”与“陪十姊妹”。此婚俗流行于鄂西清江流域一带。新郎成亲的当晚，须请 12 岁左右的少年男子 9 名，陪新郎围桌而坐，陪坐“伴郎”谓之“陪十兄弟”。新郎坐席之上首，9 人坐两边。席中设酒一杯，选一歌师傅开令，唱开台歌。然后，依次轮流唱歌，歌唱得不合规矩者罚酒。歌唱时，依不同曲牌与歌调的需要，有独唱或对唱，或一人领唱，众人帮腔等。歌词内容多为一些互相奉承及贺喜之类的词句，以表达对新人的祝贺。“陪十姊妹”，是在姑娘沐浴开脸之后，设宴请 9 名未婚女子作陪，行女子于归之礼。席间饮酒唱歌，谓之“女儿会”。是夜，女家于中堂设场，以数张大方桌拼成席面，神龛上烛火高照，尊长净面洗手之后，焚香化纸。新娘行罢告祖礼，再向家人及亲友中之尊长一一磕头，礼毕，开始唱歌。先由陪女开台，每人各唱一首，之后，场上客人互相挑战接唱，至天明尽欢而散。歌词多以规劝新娘到婆家后尽孝道、讲礼节、勤俭持家、和气待人等为主要内容。唱至高潮时，又多以猜调讲古论今，各显所能。大家互不相让，歌声此起彼伏，热闹异常，实为女儿们的盛会。

"Accompanying ten brothers" and "Accompanying ten sisters". This marriage custom is popular in the area of Qingjiang River in western Hubei. On the night of the groom's marriage, 9 young men around the age of 12 must be invited to sit around the table with the groom. The "best man" is called "Accompanying ten brothers". The groom sits on top of the table, 9 people sit on both sides. A glass of wine is set in the table; a master is chosen to give the order to sing the opening song. Then, take turns singing in turn, and those who don't sing



well will be punished with alcohol. When singing, according to the needs of different tunes, there are solo or duet singing, or one person leads the song, and everyone helps. The lyrics are mostly words of mutual flattery and congratulations to express congratulations to the newlyweds. "Accompanying ten sisters" is to hold a ceremony of woman's return setting 9 unmarried women to accompany the girl after the girl bathes and opens her face. Drinking and singing during the banquet is called "daughter's meeting". At night, the woman's family set up a venue in the middle hall, with several large square tables to form a table, the shrine is lit by candles, and after the honorable head washed his hands, he burns incense paper. The bride performs the ancestral ceremony, and then prostrates her head to the respected elders of her family and relatives and friends, and after the ceremony is completed, she begins to sing. First, the escort girls open the stage, and each person sings a song. After that, the guests challenge each other to sing, and they part happily until dawn. The lyrics mostly focus on exhorting the bride to perform filial piety after arriving at her in-law's house, talking about etiquette, being diligent and thrifty, and treating others with kindness. When the singing reaches its climax, they often use guessing to talk about the past and the present, and each showing his abilities. Everyone refuses to give in to each other, singing one after another, it is very lively, which is really a grand gathering of daughters.