

Sacred "Filth": Cow Dung and the Construction of the Life World of Herdsmen

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Abstract: Cow dung, which looks "filthy" in the eyes of ordinary people, has no unclean meaning in the concept of herdsmen. Cow dung plays a very important role in the life world of herdsmen, which contains rich local culture. Based on the long-term field investigation in several villages and towns in the pastoral areas, this research intends to conduct a systematic and in-depth analysis and interpretation of the economic function and cultural connotation of cow dung in the life of herdsmen from the traditional concept of cleansing, and then explore the inheritance and development of traditional culture under the market economy.

1. Introduction

Cow dung is extremely important in the life world of herdsmen. In the process of rapid transformation of life style in pastoral areas, what situation is the traditional local knowledge of cow dung facing, and are there differences in attitudes among herdsmen? The research object of this paper is cow dung, which is to discuss the special significance of cow dung and the construction of local herdsmen's life and livelihood from the perspective of herdsmen's cleanliness. And under the impact of urbanization on this way of livelihood, where should cow dung culture go under the rapid development of modernization?

2. Cow dung and herdsmen

2.1. Cow dung in pastoral area

Herdsmen rely on traditional animal husbandry as their main means of livelihood, has a long nomadic tradition. In the past, herdsmen used tents as their home and nomadic on the vast grasslands. Nowadays, herdsmen mainly live an economic life mode that combines settlement and nomadism. Cow dung has been used as fuel in daily life for thousands of years. In addition to being fuel in daily life, cow dung has special uses and meanings in the life world of herdsmen, and the life world of herdsmen is closely related to cow dung. Ancestors gave cow dung the name "Jiuwa", which has nothing to do with feces and urine, but believes that cow dung means a good thing. There is also a saying: "A son does not think his mother is ugly, and a man does not think cow dung is

dirty." If a person in the meal or on the clothes stained with cow dung is called "Zhuo", meaning auspicious, good luck.

In the past, when people in the field roadside to see smooth cow dung, always can't help comparing cow dung to yellow mushroom, and as found the treasure immediately picked up. Herdsmen have a special emotion for the smoke emitted by the burning of cow dung, which gives people a warm feeling. Cow dung, as an important link in the grassland cycle, is one of the ways to continue the civilization in pastoral areas. In the daily life of the pastoral area, cow dung appears in almost every time and occasion, and runs through all the important rituals and rituals of the herdsmen's life. According to the herdsmen, cow dung is also regarded as a symbol of wealth, and the more cow dung the family has, the more yaks the family has, the richer it will be, and cow dung will also be used for eaves decoration.

2.2. Yak: producer of cow dung

The producers of cow dung are yaks, known as the "boat of the plateau". Yaks have two different names, "abrog" and "Yak", for wild yaks and domesticated domestic yaks respectively. Yaks have a strong adaptability to the harsh ecological environment of Nagqu, and for thousands of years, yaks have become an indispensable means of living in the production and life of herdsmen. Herdsmen drink yak milk, eat yak beef, burn cow dung, use its hair to make cow hair tents, blankets and other daily necessities, and use its skin to make boots, leather bags, belts and so on. Cow dung is a kind of excrement decomposed by yaks after they obtain the forage resources needed for their survival through nature, and it is an organic combination product of nature and livestock. When the herdsmen make cow dung, they first add fresh cow dung on the ground to water, mix it well and moisten it, and then rub it into a cake shape with their hands, and finally pat it on the wall to dry, and collect it into a pile after drying.

Cow dung is nature's gift to herdsmen, regardless of spring, summer, autumn and winter there are cow dung, its source is stable and sufficient, is the source of fire in the pastoral area. Where there is cow dung, there are herdsmen, and the herdsmen in the pasture are used to yard it on the wall of the house, or put up piles of cow dung and cow dung walls outside the house. In the dwellings in the village, generally people do not live on the first floor, and a house or space is reserved as a storage room to store cow dung fuel and fire-causing shrubs. Some herdsmen also have stacks of cow dung on the open space in their doorsteps or courtyards, with plastic sheets placed on the top to prevent rain and snow, and cow dung cakes or loose cow dung are placed neatly inside. In the pasture, the pile of cow dung is mostly built into a wall more than one meter high, which can be used as a shelter for cattle and sheep. Cattle manure collection and storage, is one of the daily labor of herdsmen, cattle in the morning to eat grass, back at night, cycle, every day will produce new cattle manure, herdsmen will be picked up in time during the day and made into fuel.

2.3. Collect and store cow manure

Winter and summer cow dung collection and storage are also different, the summer temperature is higher, herdsmen will herd cattle to eat grass, the family will shovel cow dung out of the circle, add some water and straw, to prevent cow dung clay cause not easy to burn, kneaded by hand and then pasted on the yard wall, so made cow dung cake strong and burnable. In the pastoral area, there are shepherds who pick up cow dung from the grass, pat it on the stone of the pasture, and then take it home after drying, or directly throw it into the cow dung frame behind. Dry cow dung can be picked up everywhere in the winter pastoral area, and the relatively loose cow dung is more stored, and the herdsmen do not need to make cow dung fuel. When asked about the "ownership of cow dung", the herdsman said that many herders live in the same pasture, and the yaks are also raised in

the same pasture, and there are a lot of cow dung, which can be picked up at will, and generally they will pick up around their houses. However, the herdsmen's houses in the pasture maintain a certain distance from other herdsmen, unlike those in the mainland who live close to each other, because the houses are too close to each other, and some conflicts are easy to occur, such as "my cow ran to your house and ate your grass".

Nowadays, the production of cow dung has undergone some slight changes, according to the herdsmen, the original was crumbled by hand, now use a shovel, do not want to stick cow dung on the wall of the house, in the open space near the house to find a place to store, dry and then get back. Some herdsmen now love to be clean and pay more attention than before. Many of the houses in the village are almost new houses built with stones, and the herdsmen who have moved into the new house have taken good care of the new house. In order to keep the courtyard wall clean and beautiful, they are reluctant to paste cow dung on the courtyard wall, and use a shovel to make cow dung cake because some herdsmen think it is more hygienic and convenient than using their hands. It can be seen that the modern concept of health has begun to popularize, herdsmen from the past simply pay attention to the spiritual level of cleanliness, to pay attention to the modern concept of health in real life cleanliness and health.

3. Cow dung and the living world of herdsmen

3.1. Cow dung in the daily life of herdsmen

Cow dung as a fuel has thousands of years of history, in Nagqu has a natural advantage, cow dung low ignition point, in the extreme hypoxia pastoral areas can be easily ignited, mostly composed of grass, burning up not only no odor and smoke, there is a light grass fragrance. Unlike the coal stove burning choking, in the dung stove beside the fire, people will feel the whole room is full of warmth, very comfortable, will not headache, dizziness. The temperature difference in the pastoral area during the day is very large, and the temperature drops very significantly in the evening. Even in summer, when it rains higher on the mountain, it will snow, and it is particularly important to burn cow dung for heating at night. Families that use liquefied gas for cooking occasionally use it to make a simple meal instead of cow dung, and most families on ranches use cow dung for cooking and heating at all times. The daily life of herdsmen is inseparable from butter tea, and the appropriate temperature can make the taste of butter tea good. When boiling butter tea, it can neither boil nor cool it. So herders often put unfinished cow dung ashes in the stove, and sprinkle some ground cow dung, and put the teapot on top of it to keep the butter tea in the pot at the right temperature.

There is a unique smoking treatment in pastoral medicine: the therapy of inhaling "Long Du". According to the herdsmen, a kind of calming medicine or incense is sprinkled on cow dung to make it smoke, and the patient inhales the smoke through the nose to calm and soothe the mind, as well as relieve headaches. Masks have a long reputation, one of which is made of cow dung as the main raw material, which is mixed with various herbs and plant gum, and then pressed into shape with fiber materials such as cloth. It is light in weight and toughness, and can prevent moth worms and corrosion, and is generally hung as a sacred relic for worship. What's more, cow dung is even used in the production of incense, due to the influence of region and culture, diet, environment and other factors, in addition to a large number of sandalwood, saffron and other precious incense, and even some incense also added animal components such as tortoiseshell, but the real traditional Xizang incense is filled with cow dung. Cow dung can also be used as fertilizer and biogas raw materials, dry cow dung can be fermented into high-quality organic fertilizer, to achieve the role of fluffy soil, improve land compaction, improve soil fertility.

3.2. Cow dung in major ceremonies

Cow dung is also present in important ceremonies in pastoral areas. When holding a wedding ceremony, the herdsmen hang colored arrows in the center of a specific place, put a bag of cow dung and a bucket of water below, and tie a white long hada above, symbolizing the newlyweds' prosperous life after marriage, prosperous family business, and many children. On New Year, the same can not be less cow dung, on the last day of the year, the family man will carry a large bag of cow dung to the steep edge of the earth far from home to burn the New Year's Day morning worship sheep head. When a chicken was called three times, many families took "Qiema" and Zanba to take "peixi" : from the yak circle of other families to take "cow dung new", from the water source to take "water new", etc., to scatter some zanba powder in the four places of "four new". After the "four new" people return to their homes, they will put "cow dung new" into their own cow pen, which means that it can attract wealth and happiness, prevent hail disasters. During the New Year, the pasturing area used cow dung as stuffing and the custom of luck, and the meal on New Year's Eve was specially made for the exorcism ceremony, called "Gutu". When making the New Year's Eve dinner, the herdsmen will pack some things in the dough that cannot be eaten but can make people laugh and also ask for luck, such as chili, charcoal, stone, wool, etc. The most incredible of them is cow dung, and everyone will think that the person who eats cow dung is the most lucky person in the year.

After the death of herdsmen, they basically take the way of sky burial. According to the appropriate date calculated by the monks, the sky burial is usually held at dawn, and after the body is sent to the designated sky burial platform, the sky burial master will first light several bags of cow dung, from which some unburned cow dung ashes are offered to the gods. As soon as the vultures saw the smoke, they came from all directions. Most of the funeral lasts for seven days, seventy-seven and forty-nine days, during this period will continue to provide food for the dead, generally hanging in the door of a clay pot, put a little unburned cow dung ash, and on the above constantly sprinkle a small amount of barley and water, the clay pot day and night smoke, indicating that the dead uninterrupted food. In sky burials, cow dung and firewood are also used. Before going to the sky burial ground, the family will prepare the fuel needed for the sky burial, such as cow dung, firewood, sesame oil, etc. After the sky burial, the sky burial master or the sky burial person will burn some of the remaining wreckage and clothing of the deceased. After the death of the monks in the temple, the way is cremation, the fuel is mainly dry and coarse firewood, with ghee to fuel, and the amount of firewood is much. In these two funeral ceremonies in pastoral areas, it is absolutely prohibited to burn chemical fuels such as gasoline. Chemical fuels are unclean and disrespectful to the dead for cremation. When the herdsmen moved to a new house, the new person's room should be placed "Tang Dongjiebu" statue and a bag of cow dung, a bucket of water, meaning that after the owner moved into the new house, good luck, happiness and long life. After the new house is completed, the owner will specifically find a "fire day" in the new house fire for guests, said to officially move in. In order to retain the wealth of the family, the herdsman will face, zanba, butter, milk residue and other white things to give people, will put a little cow dung ash on top. In the daily offering of God, it is necessary to burn cow dung to carbon, no smoke, can be used to burn the plants for God, zanba, etc., otherwise the smoke of cow dung will mix with the smoke of the plants for God, which will cause unclean tribute.

3.3. Collecting cow dung and women in pastoral area

In the labor of making and collecting cow dung, the herdsmen said that there was no particularly obvious division of labor between men and women, and generally whoever had time did it.

According to the herdsmen, generally speaking, women do more of this kind of thing, but men will also do it, and picking up dry cow dung in winter is a physical job, and sometimes you have to go to the pastoral area to pick it up, when men go more. Traditionally this was obviously one of the main jobs of women, many of the pastoral families on the ranch were mainly women engaged in labor, and the women in the pastoral area got up very early in the morning to cook cow dung in the stove, boil two pots of water, a pot of boiling water, a pot of tea, and use the tea maker to make one or two pots of butter tea. And they then start to eat breakfast, breakfast is generally zanba and butter tea, because the labor of the pastoral area is heavy and tired, especially the herdsmen, in addition to carrying some dry food and zanba, there is no time to eat lunch, so the morning must be full. The midday diet is relatively simple, and there is generally no special fire in the summer. At night, it is necessary to make a special fire, and it will be more rich, and herdsmen often do noodles, and also do stir-fried rice.

Because the altitude of the pastoral area is too high, it takes a long time to cook some traditional pasta, which is not suitable for cooking with gas, and cow dung has become the first choice for cooking. At night, herdsmen will continue to burn cow dung to keep warm until they go to bed. In winter, when the weather is too cold, they need to burn cow dung all day long to keep the room warm. In winter, herdsmen families with yaks have to heat hot water to feed their yaks, and cow dung is in greater demand. Almost every family has an iron bucket for cow dung, and a bucket can hold about 50 kilograms, which can meet the needs of 1-2 days. A bag of cow dung 20 yuan, often not enough in winter, a day is estimated to be more than so much.

3.4. Buying and selling cow dung

In the markets of pastoral areas, the universality of cash as a general currency seems to be weakened, because the source of cash income is extremely limited, and the herdsmen do not have much cash in their hands. Different from the frequent cash and Alipay transactions in the current lively market, many years ago, the form of barter exchange still accounted for a certain proportion in the market of pastoral areas where production was basically self-sufficient. It is common to exchange yaks for motorcycles, highland barley, highland barley and peas for vegetables, and cow dung for hay for yaks. The internal exchange in pastoral areas has obvious features of complementary resources with the advantages of agriculture and animal husbandry. As a daily necessity, although people in rural areas collect and make cow dung, it is still not enough to meet the entire year's consumption. When cow dung is insufficient, villagers either go to the pastoral areas to collect it, or buy or exchange it with hay from herdsmen in the pastoral areas. Herders in the grazing areas exchange cow dung from villagers in the farming areas for hay, peas, etc. Hay and peas are fodder for yaks in winter when grass is scarce, and are byproducts of food growing in the farming areas. If the exchange of these items is measured in cash, the value is lower. There is also an "exchange" of cow dung in the village, according to the herdsmen, the herdsmen pick up cow dung from the pasture and transport it back to the village by motorcycle, and the unused cow dung will be traded and exchanged with the village people for hay, because the pasture animals will return to the village for a while in winter, so some villagers have insufficient hay at home, often use cow dung for hay, or use hay for cow dung. Whether herdsmen will use cow dung as a kind of exchange "currency" depends on their family situation and personal choice. Most herdsmen will exchange cow dung for other items, and some herdsmen will give cow dung as gifts to others. Most herdsmen will exchange cow dung for other items, and some herdsmen will give cow dung as gifts to others. Commodities, like people, have social life.^[1]

The exchange of agricultural and animal husbandry products plays an important role in traditional pastoral areas, which are interdependent. However, with the improvement of living

standards and economic ability, people's needs have changed greatly. The exchange is not limited to agricultural and animal husbandry products, but the demand of herdsmen for TV sets, tea makers, motorcycles, vegetables, cars and other items has gradually emerged, and the scope of exchange has been further expanded. City and county became a frequent market for herdsmen, and animal husbandry products income in addition to meeting their own needs, did not form a large-scale industry to increase economic income, and this distress of life also prompted some young people who were not satisfied with the status quo to leave the pastoral areas and become far away from the pastoral areas to the city to sell labor in exchange for remuneration. With the increase of people's demand and the wide range of material sources, the exchange of agriculture and animal husbandry has tended to shrink. The widespread barter phenomenon in pastoral areas may be due to low economic income, so that herdsmen can only use their own production as an exchange for some necessities of life.

4. Cow dung and the concept of purity of herdsmen

4.1. The concept of purity of herdsmen

Purity and filth are not "things in themselves," but a symbolic category.^[2] Nothing is absolutely filthy and dirty. As a religious people, the herdsmen have a very strict concept of cleanliness. In herdsmen's concept, "purity" shows a strict order relationship, and this process is a process of separating "filth". "Filth" is a kind of disorder and chaos caused by the transgression of this order. Where "filth" is produced, there must be a "disorderly" behavior, and there is danger when there is "filth", and there is taboo when there is danger. Cleanliness and filth are a system and principle of classification that draws a line between "I" and "he", the good and the bad, the orderly and the disorderly in religion, identity and some other aspects, thus constituting a social boundary.^[3]

4.2. Cow dung from the perspective of purity of herdsmen

Due to the restrictions of nomadic objects and living conditions, unclean clothing, sitting on the ground and eating, dust and mud in tents and picking up cow dung do not pose any "threat" to the life of herdsmen, and do not belong to the unclean concept of herdsmen, and the disorderly order will make them feel anxious and uneasy, and herdsmen pay attention to an orderly "purity". As a nation heavy on religion, light secular, heavy on spirit, light material, the cleanliness and health of the body may not be so important, more important is the cleanliness of their own soul. Burning incense with cow dung is the symbolic "bath" of the herdsmen, and the herdsmen feel refreshed after the smoke smoke and meet the inner need of cleanliness. Herdsmen's demand for cleanliness comes more from the spiritual aspect, although in the eyes of outsiders, the living environment and living habits of pastoral areas are not necessarily clean and hygienic, the wall is covered with cow dung, herdsmen rarely bathe on weekdays, and the clothes always have the stain of ghee and the taste of cow dung, but they do not know that herdsmen actually attach great importance to "clean" and hate "filthy".

Excrement as human excrement is not clean, which is recognized by almost all cultures, and the herdsmen are also so. In addition to human feces, other excretions produced by the human body, such as eye feces, sputum, mucus, etc., are also regarded as unclean things by herdsmen. As for whether cow dung is "clean" in the minds of herdsmen, almost all herdsmen think that it is "clean" or even blessed, the herdsmen need to cut cow dung after buying the first knife, and they will eat cow dung if they accidentally fall into the bowl in life, and the person who eats cow dung dough in "Gutu" is the luckiest person.

4.3. The concept of purity and herdsmen's life world

In the world of herdsmen's life, occupations such as butchers, blacksmiths, and body lifting were not "clean" in the past, and those who engaged in "dirty" occupations were considered contemptible and despised. The abandonment of gasoline and other fuels in funeral rituals and the use of fertilizers and pesticides in fertilizing the land reflects the sense of "purity" among herdsmen, who view these chemicals as unclean and unnatural. Energy that comes from nature and eventually returns to nature, even animal waste such as cow manure, is considered natural and clean. This concept of cleanliness is based on the traditional concept of all things from nature in pastoral areas, herders believe that the world is composed of wind, fog, water, particles and other substances interact, people are from nature, so when disposing of the dead body, it should also be allowed to dissolve in the universe.

It is on this view that what comes from nature is given a high place in the classification of purity. In pastoral areas, the concepts of "purity" and "filth" are ubiquitous, symbolic conceptual systems that establish national, class, social, and cultural boundaries that separate different people and societies. Cultural diversity makes herdsmen's judgment of purity become a kind of integration of their life order, and their cognition of purity and filth makes their cultural practice and life order establish a clever connection, thus becoming an important force to integrate social order.

5. Cow dung and ecological view of herdsmen

5.1. The uniqueness and significance of cow dung in the ecosystem

The climate of the pasturing area is extremely cold and dry, and the vegetation is sparse, many crops cannot grow here, and only a few special plants and animals can survive. The ecological resources for human beings are extremely limited. The animals raised by herdsmen mainly include yaks, sheep, and a small number of horses and mastiffs that are easy to graze. Basically all ecosystems are composed of three parts: producers, consumers and degraders. In pasturing area, producers and consumers barely exist, but degraders are absent. Due to the low temperature, insects and pests can not survive, and the accompanying microorganisms can not reproduce in large areas, and the lack of degraders leads to the dead animals and plants in pasturing area can not rot for many years. Trees cannot grow here, posing a fatal threat to the stability of the ecosystem.

It is difficult for cattle manure in pastoral areas to decompose, and if it is not picked up by herdsmen in time, it will cover the ground for a long time, resulting in the inability of pasture to grow. As temperatures heat up, the seasonal frozen soil melts to varying degrees, and the inorganic salts in the soil will seep into the cow dung, forming bezoar, which destroys the ecosystem in pasturing area. Secondly, once the frozen soil is damaged or the exposed surface, the fresh water resources formed by atmospheric precipitation will melt into a large number of inorganic salts, and the salt content of the surface water is seriously exceeded, resulting in a large area of land salinization. For thousands of years, herdsmen have used cow dung as fuel, which can not only speed up the material and energy cycle in pastoral area, but also meet the cultural adaptation of herdsmen's production and life.

5.2. Nomadism: The Unique "Survival Wisdom" of Herdsmen

The dung ash formed by the burning of the dung is not wasted by the herders, and most of it is returned to the grassland in addition to being used for the preservation of the dung fire, food insulation materials, anti-slip materials on the road, medicinal materials and other daily needs. Cow dung ash not only does not contain toxic harmful substances, but even contains many trace or trace

elements. After being processed by herdsmen, cow dung is returned to the grassland in another form, so that cow dung participates in the cycle of the plateau ecosystem. Herbage is the main material basis for the survival of livestock, but herdsmen can not directly eat it to meet the survival and reproduction, and can only choose nomadism to change the existence mode of resources. On the one hand, herdsmen should make full use of grassland resources to ensure the continuous expansion of livestock groups; On the other hand, grassland is the basis for the survival of herds, and herdsmen should try their best to maintain grassland resources to ensure the recycling of grassland resources.

It is inevitable for herdsmen to choose nomadism, but the nomadism of herdsmen is not boundless, but according to the growth conditions and characteristics of herbage in the whole region, the number of livestock, etc., regularly move back and forth between different pastures, mainly including three basic modes, that is, the large-scale nomadism of "living by water and grass", the semi-settled small-scale nomadism, and the seasonal nomadism. ^[4]Adapting to local conditions is an immutable law. Any innovation is based on a systematic understanding of the particularity of the local ecosystem, and must be based on its own cultural tradition, so as to realize the creative transformation of Chinese traditional culture under the condition of modernity. The pastoral areas need to develop, but not to abandon traditional culture in order to integrate into the market economy. The internal driving force of development is the national culture in the final analysis. Only by protecting, inheriting and carrying forward the traditional culture of the nation can we take into account the problems of environmental protection and resource utilization.

6. Cow dung and the reconstruction of herdsmen's living world

6.1. Reflection on the relationship between herdsmen and cow dung

The harmonious relationship between herdsmen, cow dung and the environment reflects the mutual influence between social groups, living environment and culture. Taking advantage of the unique natural environment, herdsmen have created a suitable way of production and life and a distinctive culture. From the interdependence and symbiology of herdsmen, yaks and cow dung in pastoral areas to the formation of a unique plateau animal husbandry culture, it is the process and result of herdsmen's respect, adaptation and transformation of nature, revealing the degree of dependence between herdsmen and nature and culture.

The use of natural resources is a unique cultural phenomenon in human production and life, and it also reflects the unique survival wisdom and ecological culture concept of the nation and the values behind it. The formation process of the unique cow dung culture is a vivid history of herdsmen constantly adapting and transforming and improving the unique ecological environment in the pastoral areas. On the one hand, as the material basis and premise, environment affects and restricts the survival and development of human beings. On the other hand, human beings affect and change the environment through their own production and living behavior in life.

6.2. The impact of urbanization on the status of cow dung

The process of urbanization and market economy have become the "separators" between herdsmen and cow dung. Due to the impact of foreign cultures, the status of cow dung as a fuel began to face a crisis, in the harsh ecological environment, the herdsmen believe that cow dung is a gift of nature. However, with the development of science and productivity, the pure herding life mode has been broken, a large number of people in pastoral areas have flocked to the city, and the area of pasture and the number of livestock have also decreased. Cow dung, as the most important symbol of traditional pastoral life, is constantly being swallowed up by urbanization. The rise of the

"health revolution" has made some herdsmen have a great change in the concept of dirt and cleanliness, no longer regard cow dung as clean, but as a synonym for dirty, and the emergence of new energy has also become a threat to cow dung.

In the herdsmen's concept of purity, cow dung is no longer a simple animal dung, but is widely used as an energy source, which makes the herdsmen classify cow dung as clean and useful in the classification of clean pollution. In the long history, many related cultural customs, legends and taboos have emerged from the herdsmen's dependence and emotion on cow dung, which has also made cow dung a vitality as an energy source and become a cultural energy source. While using energy, herdsmen also transmit culture. In sharp contrast, the conventional energy and new energy that entered the life of herders later, such as electric energy and liquefied gas, only exist as a form of energy, and lack a rich and colorful cultural connotation.

6.3. The life world of herdsmen and the future of cow dung culture

Human beings rely on their own culture to actively adapt to the natural ecosystem in which they live. The process of adaptation is actually a process of processing, utilizing and transforming ecological resources. Different ways will directly affect the relationship between human beings and the ecosystem. Cow dung is closely related to the traditional livelihood mode of the pastoral areas. In the hundreds of years of animal husbandry experience, the wise ancestors found cow dung as a precious fuel energy, which made cow dung inevitably become the main traditional fuel energy for a long time. Market economy and urbanization have penetrated into every aspect of herdsmen's life.

For herdsmen living here, how to calmly face the coming of modernization and have the confidence to accept the challenge of modern civilization is a problem that needs to be considered. If we give up the persistence of tradition and rush into the flood of modern culture, it is very likely to cause the loss of traditional culture, which is the ancestors who were born and grew up in pastoral area do not want to see. If you want to maintain the "original ecology" of traditional culture, then at least the gap in economic development will become larger and larger, for the herdsmen who have lived in the pastoral areas for generations, this confusion between economic development and traditional culture inheritance will still exist for a long time in the future.

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