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THE ROLE OF SACRED SITES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOMESTIC TOURISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

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Abstract. This article focuses on the analysis of stimulating the development of domestic tourism. The authors have studied the key components of tourists' motivation to visit sacred sites, and also considered the classification of historical and cultural sights. The results of the study revealed the main motives for travel, factors that attract tourists to sacred places. It is also worth noting that the article deals with the theoretical aspects of sacred space and heritage. Sacred cultural and historical heritage is an important resource for the development of tourism in Kazakhstan. Current thematic tourist routes show that there are sacred places on the territory of Kazakhstan, the visit of which leaves people with strong emotions. A special role in the preservation of historical and cultural heritage sacred sites play Shyrakshy (watchmen). To date, Shyrakshy carry out a leading role in the interpretation of communicative practice and sacred space in Kazakhstan. Shyrakshy often have real or imagined genetic connection with the priesthood of the sacred site. However, it is necessary to distinguish difference between religious tourism and pilgrimage itself. Religious tourism is understood as partly secular visits to religious sites for cultural and educational

purposes, while ritual and ritual practices are not mandatory. On the contrary, pilgrimage is associated with performing ritual actions.

Key words: sacred geography of Kazakhstan, tourism, pilgrimage, motivation of tourists, historical and cultural heritage, holy places.

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ҚАЗАҚСТАННЫҢ ІШКІ ТУРИЗМІН ДАМЫТУДАҒЫ КИЕЛІ НЫСАНДАРДЫҢ РӨЛІ

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Түйіндеме. Мақала еліміздегі ішкі туризмді дамытудың жолдарын, оның сатылап даму әлеуетін талдауға арналған. Авторлар туристердің қасиетті нысандарға баруды ынталандырудың негізгі компоненттерін зерттеп, сонымен қатар тарихи және мәдени көрікті жерлерді жіктеудің ерекшеліктерін қарастырған. Зерттеу нәтижелері бойынша саяхаттың негізгі себептері, туристерді қасиетті жерлерге тартатын факторлары анықталды. Сондай-ақ, мақалада киелі кеңістік пен мәдени мұраның теориялық аспектілері қарастырылған. Киелі мәдени-тарихи мұра Қазақстандағы туризмді дамыту үшін маңызды ресурс болып табылады. Қазіргі тақырыптық туристік бағыттар Қазақстан аумағында киелі орындар бар екенін көрсетіп қана қоймай, оларға бару адамдардың көңіл-күйін, ішкі-жан дүниесін жақсартуға септік туғызатыны белгілі. Киелі нысандардың тарихи-мәдени мұрасын сақтауда шырақшылар (қараушылар) ерекше рөл атқарады. Бүгінгі таңда шырақшы Қазақстандағы коммуникативтік практика мен киелі кеңістікті түсіндіруші есебінде ерекше орны бар тұлға болып келеді. Көбінесе шырақшының киелі объектінің әулиелік-тұлғасымен шынайы туыстық немесе елестетілген генетикалық байланысы болады. Алайда діни туризм мен зайырлы көзқарастан зиярат ету түрлерін ажырата білу керек. Зайырлы тұрғыдан зиярат деп ішінара мәдени және танымдық мақсаттары бар діни нысандарға зайырлы көзқарастан зиярат ету, ал әдет-ғұрыпты сақтап зиярат ету міндетті түрде емес. ал діни зиярат ету, керісінше, барлық әдет-ғұрыпты сақтай отырып және соларды қайталап зиярат ету болып табылады.

Кілт сөздер: Қазақстанның киелі жерлерінің географиясы, туризм, зиярат, туристерді ынталандыру, тарихи-мәдени мұра, киелі жерлер.

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РОЛЬ САКРАЛЬНЫХ ОБЪЕКТОВ В РАЗВИТИИ ВНУТРЕННЕГО ТУРИЗМА КАЗАХСТАНА

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Аннотация. Статья посвящена анализу стимулирования развития внутреннего туризма. Авторы исследовали ключевые компоненты мотивации туристов посещения сакральных объектов, а также рассматривают особенности классификации историко-культурных достопримечательностей. По итогам результатов исследования выявлены основные мотивы путешествий, факторы, притягивающие туристов к сакральным местам. Также стоит отметить что в статье рассмотрены теоретические аспекты сакрального пространства и наследия. Сакральное культурно-историческое наследие является важнейшим ресурсом для развития туризма, в Казахстане. Действующие тематические туристские маршруты показывают, на территории Казахстана существуют сакральные

места, посещение которых оставляет у людей сильные эмоции. Особую роль в сохранении историко-культурного наследия сакральных объектов играют шырақшы (смотрители). На сегодняшний день шырақшы осуществляют ведущую роль в коммуникативных практиках и производстве сакрального пространства в Казахстане. Зачастую шырақшы имеют истинную или воображаемую генетическую связь с патроном сакрального объекта. Однако необходимо различать религиозный туризм и собственно паломничество. Под религиозным туризмом понимаются отчасти светское посещение религиозных объектов с культурно-познавательными целями при этом обрядовые и ритуальные практики не обязательны. Паломничество наоборот связано с совершением обрядово-ритуальных действий.

Ключевые слова: сакральная география Казахстана, туризм, паломничество, мотивация туристов, историко-культурное наследие, святые места.

Introduction. One of the large-scale projects in the field of preservation and popularization of historical and cultural heritage is a project “Sacred Geography of Kazakhstan”. To date, the national register of sacred sites has more than 100 nationwide sacred sites, which, in turn, have been classified in the following areas:

1. Especially revered monuments of natural heritage. Natural heritage monuments, some of which are already under state protection, are considered by both the population and tourists as sacred site. Their legendary stories are harmoniously woven into the mythological fabric of the sacred geography of the world and local spaces (Konyr aulie Cave, Pavlodar region);

2. Archaeological sites and large medieval urban centers. Archaeological and architectural monuments as places of worship (Historical and archaeological complexes Berel, Shilikti, East Kazakhstan region);

3. Religious and cult sites as worship places. This group of sacred sites is associated with the phenomenon of Aulie – saints (Mausoleum of Khorosan ata, Kyzylorda region);

4. Sacred places associated with historical figures. The group of sacred sites includes objects of a memorial nature associated with legendary and historical figures. Among them: khans-rulers, famous batyrs, state and political leaders, poets, scientists, educators, who made an important contribution to gaining independence of Kazakhstan, to the development of its science, education and culture (Residence of Zhangir khan Bukelorda complex, West Kazakhstan region);

5. Sacred places associated with historical and political events. The sacred objects included in this section tell about heroic battles, the unity of the Kazakh people and milestones in the history of the Kazakh steppe. Modern monuments symbolize a qualitatively new understanding of the history and culture of Kazakhstan, its heroic and epic past (Republic Square – Independence Monument, Almaty).

The main goal of the project “Sacred Geography of Kazakhstan” is not only the preservation of national and cultural identity as the foundation of historical consciousness, the project is also aimed at developing a cultural and tourist cluster of the area using cultural and natural resources, as well as promoting the image of Kazakhstan at the international level, where the main emphasis is on the rich culture and geography of the country’s sights (Kazakhstanskaya Pravda, 2017: Looking into the future: modernization of public consciousness).

The main focus of this research is on:

-determination of the reasons for the sacralization of objects, forms of sacralization and the existence of ideas associated with sacred objects;

-determination of the role and place of the institution of watchmen – Shyrakshy in the functioning of sacred objects;

-determination of the attitude of the local community and pilgrims to sacred objects;

Sacral travel at the world level is associated with the spread of Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism, Hinduism, etc.

Historiography of the research problem. Due to the relevance of the sacred geography project, as well as the elevation of this project to the rank of national projects, it would be worth to review in detail the Soviet, Western and Kazakh historiographies on this issue.

1. Soviet historiography:

Classical works include the works of Soviet and Russian philosophers and culturologists A.F. Loseva, Yu.M. Lotman, as well as the Romanian cultural philosopher M. Eliade, dedicated to the socio-cultural phenomenon of sacredness, inherent in the nature of myth. Mircea Eliade reproduced in his reasoning about the essence of religion the logic of dividing the world into the sacred and the opposing secular.

Russian scientists Yu. Vedenin, E. Okladnikova in their works distinguish between historical, cultural, sacral landscapes. A cultural landscape is understood as “an integral and territorially localized aggregate of matter, energy and information, formed as a result of spontaneous natural processes, transformative and intellectual-creative activities of people” (Vedenin Yu.A., 1990: 5-17). The sacred landscape “is a special part of the cultural landscape, formed by spiritual human experience, i.e. spiritualized, imaginary space” (Okladnikova, 2014: 25).

2. Western historiography:

Considering the historiography of the problem of sacralization of spaces in relation to the current situation in the Republic of Kazakhstan, role of British researchers should be noted, as they conducted a classification of sacred objects and considered the features of religious tourism. For example, the classification put forward by British scientists reveals the essence of religious sites that are still relevant today:

- Natural phenomena (sacred lakes, mountains, islands, groves);
- Buildings and sites originally built for religious purposes;
- Religious buildings;
- Special events of religious significance held at non-religious sites;
- Sacralized secular landmarks associated with tragedies or politically significant events (Razaq Raj, Kevin Griffin, 2015: 161).

The consumer of pilgrimage tourism has his own motives and this forms consumer behavior. In this regard, for specialists of the tourist market, it is necessary to clearly highlight the correct presentation of the pilgrimage journey and the purpose of the pilgrimage. Motives and needs will help to identify customer expectations in relation to tourism products and target market.

According to researcher R. Blackwell, there are five characteristics of religious tourism:

- Voluntary temporary and unpaid travel;
- Motivation is religion, faith;
- Complemented by other motives;
- Destination is religious sites, area (local, regional or international);
- Traveling to your destination is not a religious practice (Blackwell, 2007: 35-47).

3. *Kazakhstan historiography:*

- With the implementation of programs for the modernization of public and historical consciousness in the Republic of Kazakhstan, the problems of sacred geography and memory practices have become one of the actively studied in Kazakhstani humanities. So, in the article by K.A. Medeuova "On the question of the typology of memory practice in Kazakhstan" author considered the criteria for the typology of actual memory practices. The author noted that the actors of commemoration processes are state and public institutions, local communities and business structures (Medeuova, 2016: 450-458).

In the work of K. Medeuova in collaboration with W.M. Sandybaeva "Sacred geography in Kazakhstan: commemorative policy of the state and local practices in public spaces" especially revered objects of western and northern Kazakhstan are considered as loci of sacralization. One of the most active social spaces with multilevel memory practices is the Otpan-Tau memorial complex in Mangystau. The authors note that in just a few years this complex has become the most recognizable sacred place and acquired national significance as a symbol of unity (Medeuova, Sandybaeva, 2018: 436-445).

The methodological basis of the work on the study is focused on interdisciplinarity, taking into account the territorial coverage – the Republic of Kazakhstan as the object and subject of the study.

In the course of work on the study, in addition to general scientific methods (synthesis, analysis, generalization), traditional methods, such as comparative-historical, geographical, it is planned to use the methods of cartographic analysis and semiotic approach. The theory of memory and the theory of the frontier will be used as adequate theoretical perspectives.

Sacrality represents significant ideas of the socio-historical formation of society. Shrines are religious or other objects conditioned by the spiritual value of the society. The multidimensional nature and versatility of the pilgrimage is due to the fact that the spiritual world is connected with history, culture, psychology, sociology, religions, society, etc. from the point of view of a comprehensive study (Moiseev, 2014: 53-61).

It is believed that since immemorial time, people have identified some elements of the natural environment as spiritual objects, treating them as sacred and, in many cases, endowing them with supernatural qualities, for example, Mount Kazygurt, Ungirtas (Kazakhstan). The spiritual meaning of some of them has been lost over time, but there is still a huge interest in these ancient places, examples of which can be found all over the world, such as the statues of Easter Island, Stonehenge in England, Uluru in Australia, the Ring of Brodgar in Orkney, Teotihuacan in Central America, Angkor Wat in Cambodia and the sacred mountains in China (Gellner, 2020).

Thus, places of worship can be both natural objects, as well as historical, religious centers, secular sights.

There are many motives for pilgrimage, such as the desire to visit the holy places and places of worship of a religious center, to be cured of diseases, to receive a blessing, etc. An important aspect is the norms of behavior during pilgrimage and visiting holy places, with a religious mood, praying, not thinking about being, etc.

In sacred Kazakhstan, the objects of pilgrimage are famous mosques, holy places, pantheons. Sufism, as well as the traditions of "Ziyarat", worship at the graves of saints and for spiritual self-improvement, calling for the help of "Aruakhs", the spirits of ancestors had a significant influence on the development of spiritual life in Kazakhstan (Nurtazina, 2009: 25-37).

Motivation to visit sacred places in Kazakhstan is dominated by Muslim rites and the cult of Sufism worship, one of which is the Ziyarat rite. The rules of ziyarat include visiting religious places. In all religious places there is a Shyrakshy – the watchman of the shrine, who takes the role of a guide. Shyrakshy is appointed by an imam or a descendant of the saint. A complete Ziyarat is considered a rite of sacrifice. The purpose of the pilgrimage is to overcome life difficulties, diseases, etc. Ziyarat implies a mandatory overnight stay near mazarat, and this is determined by the types of tourists with a religious pilgrimage purpose. Tourists who visit places and do not observe all the elements of Ziyarat most often pursue cognitive goals (Medeuova and etc. 2017: 125-135).

In general, these practices are motivated by a standard set in the form of: healing diseases, receiving a blessing (bata), connections with the past. However, pilgrimage sites are not apolitical. This is indicated by the anthropologist Ulan Bigozhin, based on field studies of the “Akkol” mazar complex in the Pavlodar region. According to his observations, in order to maintain and expand the shrines, the Shyrakshy seek patronage from political and economic elites. There are also conflict situations between keepers and patrons. All this indicates that secular and sacred practices are interdependent (Bigozhin, 2018: 233-252).

In every region of our country there is some sacred place that has a very special cosmic energy, and people go there to recover, many wishes are fulfilled. Each place has its own history, legend.

The mausoleum of Khoja Ahmed Yasawi (Yassawi) is located in the city of Turkestan in the South Kazakhstan region. It is rightfully called the eighth wonder of the world. This is a complex of palaces and temples, a masterpiece of medieval architecture, included in the UNESCO World Heritage List. Khoja Ahmed Yasawi (Sultan Hazret) is a great Turkic Sufi poet and thinker of the 12th century. His book “Divan-i-Hikmet” (The Book of Wisdom), one of the oldest Turkic-language books in the world, has come down to our time. It consists of 149 religious and philosophical poems – hikmet. Yasawi organized his own Sufi community, whose commandments were work, a modest life, missionary work, and prayers. In memory of the Prophet Muhammad, who died at the age of 63, Yasawi considered it unnecessary to see the light of day longer than him, and, celebrating his 63rd birthday, retired to an underground cell near the mosque. The poet died in 1166 or 1167. His grave immediately became a place of worship for Muslims. It was said that its three-time visit was equivalent to a hajj to Mecca. Thanks to Khoja Ahmed, the city of Yasi – Turkestan – became the spiritual center of all the Turks. About 350 people are buried in the mausoleum, among them khans, biys, batyrs, outstanding personalities who contributed to the formation and development of the Kazakh people.

The mausoleum has one of the largest brick domes in Central Asia, with a diameter of about 18 meters. The mausoleum has more than 30 rooms, which are conventionally divided into eight blocks. They are interconnected by intertwined passages, corridors, ornate two-story staircases. Kazandyk is the largest hall of the mausoleum, a ceremonial room, covered by the main dome. It contains an ancient shrine, a bronze Tai-Kazan cauldron with a capacity of 60 buckets, a diameter of 2.2 meters and a weight of 2 tons. According to legend, Tai-Kazan was cast from an alloy of seven rare metals in the village of Karnak. Tai-Kazan is a symbol of unity and hospitality of the Turkic tribes. They say that after drinking the water from it, the pilgrim could cleanse himself of filth (Sakral'nye ob'ekty Kazakhstana obshhenatsional'nogo znacheniya, 2017: 68-73).

Another important example is pilgrimage places of worship such as the Tolegetay-Kylyshy ata complex, the Khorasan ata Mausoleum, the Okshy-ata pantheon of seven saints in the Kyzylorda region of South Kazakhstan. The place of worship and pilgrimage tourism in the Kyzylorda region is the Tolegetay-Kylyshy ata complex (11th-12th cc). Tolegetay Baba – a descendant of Kushilik Khan, who lived at the beginning of the 12th century. There are writings about him in the books “Babynam”, “Makhdumi Agzam and Dagbed” by K. Kattaev, “Zafarnama” by Ali Azdi about the life of Aksak Temir. Sayd Burkani, Aziret Ali 43rd descendant of Kuanysh Begimbek Abiltayuly considers the history of his ancestors as the basis of a healthy society, of respect and reverence for each other, for their ancestors, history. He researches the history of sacred places in the South Kazakhstan region. These studies of local lore are of great importance for future generations of their native land, motivation and education in the spirit of patriotism and national identity. Such a spiritual connection, passed down from generation to generation, is invaluable for the preservation of the national code of the Kozha clan living in the Kyzylorda region. Every year in the fall, descendants organize As – a memorial dinner in order to honor the memory of their ancestors. A flower garden is laid out near the complex – an oasis of the desert (Regional'nye sakral'nye ob'ekty Kazakhstana, 2017: 100-102).

The mausoleum “Khorasan ata” is located in the Zhanakorgan district of the Kyzylorda region. It is known that Khorasan ata was a great sage, scientist, and also a skillful healer. People who come here first stop near the Khorasan Ata cemetery, where they read the Koran. Such a ritual is also performed on the graves of the children and grandchildren of the great sage. There is an orchard around the mausoleum of Khorasan Ata. All descendants annually hold an as, a special religious meeting of descendants for the purpose of sacrifice and reading prayers to their ancestors. According to the 44th descendant of Abjalil Baba Burkan Muktar Seytkazyuly, the holy places of ancestors and the family tree are very important in

educating young people in the spirit of patriotism, attitudes towards their land, small homeland. The Special As, held every year, can be called a kind of religious symposium, where cohesion, friendliness, communication and family ties of descendants are clearly expressed. During the annual meeting, descendants clean the area, plant trees, listen to legends and stories about their ancestors (Regional'nye sakral'nye ob'ekty Kazakhstana, 2017: 110-113).

One of the sacred objects visited is the Otpan Tau memorial complex in Mangystau. In just a few years, it has become the most recognizable sacred place and a kind of “new” symbol of national unity.

The Adais built a memorial in memory of their ancestor Adai ata on the memorial mountain Otpan Tau, and hold various large, public events, among which the celebration of Amal (the onset of spring) is the most significant, widely broadcast by all means of the media. On this holiday, a fire is lit, which is called the Fire of Unity, which indicates the interest of the state in preserving such practices.

Various narratives have developed around the idea and practice of lighting a fire on the mountain, referring to Zoroastrian roots, Sufi practices, or considering it as a signal fire and a call to repel enemies.

According to Zira Nauryzbayeva, historically Otpan Tau was a guard mountain on which the Turkmens, and then those who conquered the Adai peninsula in the 18th century, were on guard and, in the event of an enemy invasion, they lit “Uran ot” – a signal fire (Nauryzbayeva 2018). There are legends about the Adai batyr Er Tulep, who was on guard on the mountain. In Soviet times, this place was an ordinary object. “But according to the local historian, a direct descendant of Er-Tolep Murat Akmyrzaev, in some families, for example, in their own, there was a tradition to occasionally visit this mountain, climb it, arrange for relatives a Sadaq – a memorial dastarkhan” (Nauryzbaeva Z., 2020).

Next to the mausoleum, a giant bowl is installed, in which the Fire of Unity is lit on the Amal holiday on the night of March 13-14. The bowl is supported by a kind of tripod, symbolizing three Kazakh Zhuzes (Nauryzbaeva, 2018). Nearby there is a sculpture of a wolf Kokbori – a symbol of freedom and strength. As in many sacred places, here you can see the dry tree Aulie agash, on which pilgrims tie pieces of cloth. The idea of unity should be represented by two banners – the banner of the Adais and the flag of Kazakhstan, which will be installed on the second peak of Otpan Tau – Tutube. This sacred mountain symbolizes the Great Mother, perhaps that is why a stele with a female figure resembling a balbal was installed here. As Nauryzbaeva writes, “in the Adai epic works, in the genealogy of the Adai, a significant place is occupied by the foremother Khanbibibi, who conceived the son of Adai from the Light and gave birth to the Spring of Light – Nurbulak on the bank. This miraculous birth is also described in epic works of the early 20th c.” (Nauryzbaeva, 2018). At the foot of the mountain there is one more complex, Karashanyrak, i.e. Shanyrak of ancestors, as well as Karakazan – a miniature copy of the Tai-Kazan from the Yassavi Mausoleum in Turkestan.

One of the less well-known sacred sites is the Karasai and Agyntai batyrs memorial complex, located in another part of Kazakhstan – in the Ayrtausky district of the North Kazakhstan region. The idea of the unity of the people was also used in its construction. The complex is included in the List of sacred places of the North Kazakhstan region. According to the formal criterion, it is classified as a sacred place associated with historical figures, but today it looks more like a place of pilgrimage associated with various practices of addressing the Aruach. At the entrance to the mazar, there is a long shop for visitors at the tombstone. Shyrakshy recites suras from the Koran to each group.

To the right of the tower of Karasai batyr are the graves of his two children. The whole complex is located on the Kulshynbai-tobe hill and is fenced off. Before entering the complex, you can put your palm to an open book made of granite, with the text of the sura on one page in Kazakh, on the other in Arabic. The same can be seen in other mazars. The road leading to the hill with mazars is asphalted. For pilgrims and visitors there are living rooms, ablution rooms, a specially equipped space for sacrifice and preparation of memorial food. According to local stories, there are numerous burials of warriors near the memorial, and the remains of a two-meter batyr with heavy armor were found.

According to Muminov's classification, this memorial-mazar can be classified as “with a mausoleum and a mosque”. If we proceed from the principle of “popularity”, then it does not fit into the proposed framework, since it is not known in Central Asia. At the same time, it cannot be limited to the region, since it is also popular in neighboring regions of Russia (Muminov, 1996: 14-21).

The question arises about the status of holiness, because the memorial was erected to the batyrs as historical figures, defenders of the people from enemies, at least according to the plan of the state. In summer, you can see many tents, yurts, buses and cars here. Pilgrims gather around a person giving a sermon, giving a personal bata (blessing), or performing some kind of ritual.

Despite the fact that the mausoleum of Karasai and Agyntai batyrs was completely created at the expense of the state, which supports the general commemorative logic of praising the batyrs, for example, it is believed that Karasai batyr was endowed with a special gift and was accompanied everywhere by the sacred snow leopard and that he helped those who ask in work matters etc., the site is of interest precisely as a transnational one. Representatives of various ethnic groups and confessions come here with different motives. Newlyweds come from neighboring villages, school graduates with their requests, or for blessings, there are many middle-aged women, their requests are often related to health, childbirth,

family problems. Pilgrimage to the mausoleums of batyrs is massive, and there are many tourists and pilgrims from the bordering regions of Russia.

The memorial complex Karasai and Agyntai batyrs is interesting because batyrs from different clans are buried here: Agyntai bytyr from the Argyn clan of the Middle Zhuz and Karasai batyr from the Shaprashty clan of the Elder Zhuz. These batyrs fought together against the Dzungars in the 17th century and were friends, which is reflected in the tablets located in the hall between the mazars: “49 years out of 73 years of his life, Karasai batyr spent with his half-century friend Agyntai in battles. This monument-mausoleum was erected in 1999 by grateful descendants of the batyrs of the sovereign Republic of Kazakhstan, which gained true independence in 1991”.

Conclusion. In Kazakhstan, sacred objects are actively and successfully used for the development of domestic tourism. The interest of tourists in these sacred sites appeared long ago and continues to grow even without serious advertising of these ideas from the state and the tourist industry. Kazakhs have always revered their ancestors and visited holy places, but the enthusiasm with which they are doing this now speaks volumes, and above all about their active search for their national identity.

General characteristics of sacred objects with natural landscape support, be they mountains, valleys, caves, rivers, tracts, single trees, deserts, ancient settlements, places of unusual natural phenomena, always has the “best” practice of sacralizing space, because mythological roots and preserved epic-poetic forms convey ideas about sacred topos. Therefore, the positioning of Mount Otpan Tau as the most branded object of sacred geography is obvious.

One of the features of natural landscape sacred spaces and specific sacred places is that they are associated with the main migration routes of peoples and the well-known caravan routes of interaction between ancient cultures and civilizations. Therefore, transcultural regions are distinguished by the depth and density of historical memory, manifested in various artifacts of cultures of different eras: in mounds and menhirs, ritual complexes and petroglyphs, chapels and monasteries, mazars, kamals, memorial signs and zirat. Mazars, mausoleums, kulyptases (steles, sculptural pillars), koytases (gravestones), sandyktases (cenotaphs), border towers – these are all material signs of the social, spiritual evolution of the steppe over many centuries. Sacred places can also perform a demarcation role, be signs in space to designate ancestral territories, directions of migrations. In such places, totem attributes, tamga-like images, kamals, balbaltases, ulyptases are used.

Understanding the significance of sacred places is based on holistic (universal) knowledge. Sacred places – “Kasietti” – do not exist by themselves, they always correlate with certain systems of hierarchically organized knowledge. Generic relations are to some extent social capital, which is again actualized and interpreted in an ideological context. Knowledge of origin and ancestral ties retain their value as a cultural capital that allows one to have a certain status. For the state, the ideas of the unity of the people, common identity are important, therefore it appeals to national heroes, batyrs, awliye, and is loyal to local, regional articulations if they also support the idea of the integrity of the “cultural and geographical belt of shrines” as a “symbolic defense” of the country.

Studying sacred religious sites, one can see constraining factors such as the lack of a specialized route, the underdevelopment of soft infrastructure, the inadequate condition of hotels or overnight rooms near the mazarat, lack of knowledge and a lack of qualitative analysis of consumer behavior, lack of advertising and mechanisms for managing sacred sites.

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О НЕКОТОРЫХ ПРОБЛЕМАХ ХРОНОЛОГИИ ПАМЯТНИКОВ ПАЛЕОЛИТА ВОСТОЧНОГО КАЗАХСТАНА

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Аннотация. В статье рассматриваются некоторые вопросы хронологии памятников каменного века Восточного Казахстана, на основе ранее известных объектов палеолита и неолита, и открытых впервые в последние годы совместно с археологами Института археологии и этнографии СО РАН. Представлена краткая характеристика каменной индустрии основных памятников эпохи палеолита Восточного Казахстана, территория которой имеет определённые особенности и при первичном освоении региона первочеловеком. Здесь, сравнительно большой разнорельефный район, который включает на севере предалтайские и предиртышские степи, на юге - северную часть Балхашско-Алакульской впадины, на юго-востоке - зайсанскую котловину и хребты Южного Алтая, а на западе - восточную часть Казахского мелкосопочника. Первые находки и исследования каменной индустрии Восточного Казахстана показали тесную связь культурных традиций с палеолитом Сибири и Алтая, что подтверждается при корреляции самих памятников.

Ключевые слова: палеолит, стратиграфия, артефакт, стоянка, лёсс, каменный век, периодизация, хронология, исследования, корреляция, анализ.

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ШЫҒЫС ҚАЗАҚСТАН ПАЛЕОЛИТ ЕСКЕРТКІШТЕРІНІҢ КЕЙБІР ХРОНОЛОГИЯЛЫҚ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ

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Түйіндеме. Мақалада бұрыннан белгілі болған палеолит және неолит нысандары негізінде және

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