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Embodied Aesthetics and Philosophy in the Traditions of Sal-seri, Stilt Walkers, and Tricksters in Kazakh Steppe Performance

This article explores the philosophical dimensions of Kazakh performative traditions, focusing on the aesthetic, spiritual, and social significance of sal-seri culture, stilt walkers (agashayak), and tricksters within the nomadic heritage of the Kazakh Steppe. Drawing from historical, ethnographic, and folkloric sources, the paper argues that these artistic forms are not mere entertainments but constitute complex embodied philosophies of being, resistance, and communal memory. Through the lens of cultural aesthetics and performative identity, we examine how sal-seri figures — poet-singers, warriors, craftsmen, and spiritual intermediaries — acted as agents of ethical critique, poetic expression, and social cohesion. The syncretic blend of music, humor, ritual, and physical virtuosity embedded in these practices offers insight into an indigenous Kazakh philosophy of art rooted in mobility, improvisation, and ecological attunement. These traditions also prefigure contemporary notions of performativity, particularly in their fusion of artistic, ethical, and existential domains.

Keywords: Kazakh philosophy of art, sal-seri, cultural memory; tricksters, nomadic ethics, agashayak

Introduction

The cultural phenomenon of sal-seri — a uniquely Kazakh synthesis of poet, singer, warrior, artisan, and spiritual figure — stands as one of the most vivid embodiments of steppe aesthetics and nomadic epistemology. Far beyond the boundaries of entertainment or folk custom, sal-seri culture expresses a lived philosophy: a way of being that weaves together the ethical, the performative, and the communal [1], [2]. The sal and seri were not merely artists; they were bearers of memory, agents of beauty, critics of injustice, and transmitters of oral philosophy. Their presence in Kazakh society — alongside stilt walkers (agashayak), zhyrau (epic singers), and tricksters — offers a glimpse into a performative ontology grounded in movement, improvisation, and attunement to both social and cosmic rhythms [3], [4].

The etymology of sal-seri traces back to layered linguistic and cultural origins. The word sal, as used in Kazakh tradition, evokes an artist dressed in unconventional attire, moving with eccentric grace and exuding a sense of spiritual freedom. In the Shor language, sal connotes “hearth” or the center of ritual space — a site of transformation and intensity [5]. Seri, derived from the Arabic sayr (to walk), evokes the image of a noble wanderer, a lyrical knight, or a poetic seeker. The 13th-century Codex Cumanicus similarly affirms that the Turkic seri referred to an army or mobile cohort, reinforcing the connotation of movement and agility [6]. In this way, sal-seri figures are not only performers but mobile sages whose aesthetic interventions served as a living archive of Kazakh ethics, social critique, and joy [7], [8].

Philosophically, the sal-seri represents a figure of resistance to settled hierarchies and instrumental reason. Rooted in nomadic life, they embodied what might be called an “existential artistry,” in which the body

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becomes the medium of philosophical expression — through song, satire, dress, and gesture [9]. Their aesthetic was not decorative but ontological: it shaped how communities saw themselves, remembered their past, and imagined their futures [10].

In the modern era, elements of sal-seri tradition have been preserved and transformed through the circus arts and theatrical performance. The stilt walker (agashayak), for instance, with his exaggerated height and comic grace, becomes a metaphysical figure — literally rising above the ordinary, while gesturing toward ancestral memory [11]. Tricksters, likewise, enacted a carnivalesque critique of power and vanity, drawing laughter as a form of social philosophy [4], [12].

This paper seeks to reconstruct and philosophically analyze the evolution of sal-seri, agashayak, and trickster traditions as expressions of embodied ethics and indigenous aesthetics. Through historical, literary, and performative lenses, we argue that these figures should be interpreted not merely as entertainers, but as the philosophical actors of the steppe — keepers of joy, memory, and critique. Accordingly, this article is structured into three distinct sections: 1) A historical-philosophical examination of the origins of sal-seri in nomadic cosmology and early Kazakh social structures; 2) An exploration of the continuity and transformation of sal-seri practices in contemporary Kazakh culture; 3) An analysis of how these traditions informed and enriched circus performance, particularly through stilt walking and the performative logic of the trickster. Each section is guided by the core thesis that Kazakh performative traditions constitute a vernacular philosophy — one rooted in movement, beauty, and spiritual generosity.

Literature Review: The Historical-Philosophical Foundations of Sal-seri

The figure of the sal-seri holds a central place in Kazakh cultural heritage, not only as a bearer of lyrical tradition but also as a representative of an indigenous philosophical system rooted in the nomadic cosmology of the Eurasian Steppe. The scholarly consensus — spanning ethnographers, musicologists, and cultural historians — recognizes the sal-seri not merely as an artistic category but as a culturally embedded embodiment of ethical aesthetics, performative memory, and spiritual vitality [1], [2], [13].

Tursynov [14] offers one of the earliest archaeological-philosophical treatments of the sal-seri, tracing their origins to the Andronovo culture (c. 2000–900 BCE) and identifying in their practices a residual sacredness tied to communal rituals. Tursynov connects the emergence of sal-seri to the mythological personalization of early social groups and secret semi-military alliances, indicating that performative figures like the sal and seri were born of ritual practices designed to harmonize human life with ecological and spiritual forces. The nomadic lifestyle — steeped in environmental responsiveness and cyclical cosmology — thus served as fertile ground for the development of an ethical-aesthetic worldview encoded in performance.

Lexicographic and linguistic studies reinforce the polysemous roots of the term sal-seri. According to Radlov [5], sal in the Shor language refers to a place of fire, associated with festive and transformative energy. In Kazakh usage, it designates a flamboyant figure who speaks and sings with performative charisma. Seri, conversely, has roots in the Arabic sayr (“to walk”) and evolved into a word denoting a chivalrous wanderer. The Codex Cumanicus, a 13th-century Kipchak text, uses seri in the sense of a military cohort, suggesting martial associations tied to movement, honor, and presence [6]. Together, sal and seri denote not simply an entertainer but a socially consecrated figure capable of uniting music, poetry, craft, and ethical wisdom.

The historical reach of sal-seri culture deepened during the Turkic Khaganate period and reached artistic zenith during the era of the Kazakh Khanate. Margulan [8] and Ismailov [15] describe how dombra masters like Birzhan Sal and Aqhan Seri were not only celebrated for their artistic talents but revered for their public critiques of injustice, lyrical philosophy, and moral integrity. Their poetic duels, known as aitys, served both as entertainment and philosophical discourse — a performative dialectic that engaged social issues with intellectual rigor and emotional resonance.

Zhyrau figures, such as Asan Kaigy, further integrated sal-seri traditions into the political and spiritual fabric of Kazakh society. As advisors to khans and intermediaries between rulers and people, zhyrau solidified the epistemological legitimacy of lyrical wisdom in political life. This integration of ethical oratory, poetic expression, and musical performance offers an indigenous mode of philosophical inquiry distinct from Western textual traditions [14].

The sal-seri tradition also reveals a syncretism between shamanistic, artistic, and performative identities. The baksy (shaman), an archetypal figure in Central Asian cosmology, shares affinities with the sal-seri in terms of their communal function: healing, harmonizing, and re-enchanting social life through perfor-

mance. In this sense, the sal-seri may be viewed as an aesthetic heir to the shamanic worldview, now expressed through song, satire, and style rather than trance [16].

This rich cultural archetype shares resonances with global traditions, from the European troubadour and Russian skomorokh to the French jongleur and the German spielmann [1], [17]. Yet the Kazakh sal-seri remains unique in its groundedness in nomadic ethics, communal responsibility, and ecological spirituality. Its continuity into modern performance art — including circus traditions — illustrates a dynamic adaptability while retaining its foundational philosophical ethos.

In sum, the sal-seri figure constitutes a culturally embedded philosophy of art, performance, and life. As Ismailov [15] and Levin [2] emphasize, sal-seri culture is not confined to poetic performance but encompasses hunting, wrestling, crafts, musical improvisation, and communal critique. Its power lies in its holistic synthesis: a lived embodiment of Kazakh wisdom, freedom, and joy.

Methodology

This study employs a qualitative, interpretive approach grounded in cultural hermeneutics and indigenous epistemologies. Rather than treating sal-seri, agashayak, and trickster figures as fixed historical categories, the research views them as dynamic carriers of performative knowledge, social critique, and aesthetic philosophy. Primary and secondary sources — including oral histories, ethnographic accounts, biographical narratives, and Kazakh musical-poetic archives — serve as the foundation for a contextual reading of these traditions. The analytical strategy is grounded in close textual interpretation and cultural contextualization, drawing connections between lived practices and philosophical concepts such as embodiment, memory, improvisation, and resistance.

In tracing the genealogy of these performative traditions, the study integrates existing historical-literary scholarship [8], [2], [14] with philosophical frameworks on aesthetics and identity. It approaches sal-seri and related figures as ontological agents whose actions reveal embedded social values, rather than as mere artistic performers. Special attention is paid to how these traditions evolve through repetition, adaptation, and symbolic reconfiguration — particularly in their modern expressions within circus performance and theatrical spaces. Through this lens, the research foregrounds the philosophical significance of bodily expression, spiritual memory, and communal ethics as practiced in Kazakh performance cultures.

Discussion and results

Sal-seri in Contemporary Kazakh Culture

In contemporary Kazakhstan, the sal-seri tradition persists not merely as folklore but as a living, adaptive cultural memory — a mode of being that continues to inform aesthetics, ethics, and social imagination. While modernity has altered the sociopolitical structures in which sal-seri once thrived, their ethos survives through music, performance, fashion, and the symbolic representation of national identity. These figures remain icons of spiritual refinement, moral dignity, and artistic brilliance — qualities still deeply valued in Kazakh society.

Today's sal-seri figures can be seen as syncretic carriers of multiple cultural roles. As observed by Kassymova et al. [13] sal-seri artists such as Birzhan Sal and Tattimbet Kazangapuly have left enduring legacies that transcend musical tradition, shaping contemporary notions of artistic responsibility and aesthetic excellence. Their lives exemplified a commitment to beauty (sululyk), generosity (zhomarttyk), and moral courage (ar namys), qualities that continue to shape national ideals. These legacies are echoed in contemporary performers who maintain the poetic, musical, and moral functions of the sal-seri, albeit through updated mediums such as televised music competitions, state-sponsored cultural festivals, and theatrical productions.

Aesthetic expression remains central to the modern sal-seri figure. Traditionally, the sal was identifiable by extravagant clothing and ornamentation, reflecting not vanity but an aesthetic philosophy rooted in generosity, seduction of the senses, and symbolic differentiation [18]. Wide trousers, feathered hats, silk fabrics, and richly adorned horses served as extensions of the performer's persona, projecting charisma and otherworldly grace. The seri, by contrast, retained a more restrained and ascetic aesthetic, often dressing in clean but modest attire. As a result, the visual dialectic between sal and seri encapsulates a spectrum of Kazakh values — flamboyance and humility, laughter and contemplation, bodily expression and lyrical restraint.

Despite modernization, the ethical dimension of sal-seri practice persists. These figures are still associated with humility, compassion, and artistic integrity. The seri, in particular, is remembered as one who isolated himself from fame and materialism, remaining loyal to tradition and aesthetic refinement [7], [19].

Both sal and seri traditions continue to serve as ethical models in artistic communities, embodying values that resist commodification and superficiality.

Equally important is the improvisational character of sal-seri culture. As oral poets, singers, and actors, their performances were rarely scripted, relying instead on a heightened responsiveness to audience, space, and moment — what Levin [20] describes as “nomadic musical logic.” This responsiveness is an epistemological asset: it encodes cultural wisdom through embodied improvisation, facilitating a unique form of ethical attunement to social context. In contemporary practice, this improvisational ethos survives in aitys competitions, where performers engage in lyrical debates that combine satire, critique, and wisdom in real-time expression.

The performative roles of sal-seri also extended to symbolic leadership within society. At weddings, fairs, and communal gatherings, they acted as social mediators, entertainers, and moral voices. They were often accompanied by zhyrau, akyns, and other artists, forming a mobile collective that embodied the cultural richness of the Kazakh steppe. As Negimov [9] notes, the ensemble character of these artistic groups served as a metaphor for social harmony and pluralism — a model of interdependence grounded in artistic dialogue.

Stories of sal-seri such as Tattimbet and his dancing horse Bozzhorga further highlight the animistic and ritualistic dimensions of their performances. These tales reflect not only skill and charisma but an ontological connection to animals, nature, and spirit. To rural audiences, such performances were perceived as magical interventions, capable of healing sadness, countering injustice, and elevating the communal spirit [21]. These examples suggest a cosmology in which aesthetic expression is not secondary to life but central to the production of meaning, memory, and hope.

Ultimately, the enduring relevance of sal-seri lies in their capacity to embody a distinctly Kazakh mode of being — rooted in improvisation, mobility, ethical beauty, and a deep commitment to communal well-being. Far from being figures of the past, they remain philosophical agents in the present, offering models of cultural resilience, creative adaptability, and ethical joy.

Sal-seri and Circus Performance

The philosophical legacy of sal-seri finds a compelling continuation in Kazakhstan’s circus arts — a field that has historically fused athleticism, music, humor, and spiritual symbolism. Far from being an imported European form, Kazakh circus traditions are deeply rooted in indigenous performative heritage, particularly in the embodied aesthetics and improvisational play of the sal-seri, agashayak (stilt walkers), and tricksters. These figures extended the epistemological logic of the steppe: art was not confined to stage or text, but lived, was mobile, and interwoven with communal rituals and everyday joy [1].

The syncretism of sal-seri performance and circus aesthetics is perhaps most vividly exemplified in the figure of Tattimbet, whose artistic charisma extended to his horse Bozzhorga — trained to dance to kui melodies played on dombra. This fusion of animal, music, and movement was not merely spectacle; it enacted a metaphysical harmony central to Kazakh cosmology, where the animate and inanimate co-create spiritual resonance. To rural audiences, Tattimbet’s performance was both entertainment and ritual — a temporary suspension of the ordinary that recharged the collective spirit [21].

This integration of art, ethics, and bodily discipline continued in the stilt walker tradition. Known as agashayak, these performers exemplified vertical transcendence — rising physically above the ordinary, while maintaining playful contact with the earth through humor, mimicry, and movement. Figures such as Berikbol Kopenuly (1861–1932) and Nazarolla Dzhundibaiuly (1818–1898) combined acrobatic feats, comic improvisation, and musical virtuosity, including playing the dombra with their toes or mimicking birdsong and animal sounds [11], [22]. These performances, while visually striking, were undergirded by an ethical sensibility: to uplift, enchant, and connect. Through them, circus art became a mobile theatre of communal joy, ethical critique, and memory transmission.

The spiritual genealogy of the sal-seri also influenced circus storytelling through its philosophical narrative structure. For example, the tales of Agash Ayak — whose love story with a village girl unfolds through movement on stilts and improvised song — combine elements of romance, heroism, and transcendence. His song “Janekey,” dedicated to his beloved, becomes both a personal lament and a public ritual of longing, inscribed into the geographical memory of Mount Kalbal [23]. Such stories are not merely anecdotes; they serve as ontological maps that encode values of courage, devotion, and aesthetic resistance.

Circus performances also inherited the theatricality and physical exaggeration of sal-seri culture. Contemporary circus clowns, for example, carry forward the performative lineage of tricksters such as Shashubai

Koshkarbaiuly — poet, composer, dancer, and juggler — whose humorous pantomime and satirical edge captivated audiences across steppe fairs like Koyandy [19], [24]. Shashubai's art was not escapist; it critiqued vanity, power, and absurdity, revealing a philosophical substratum in which laughter functions as a diagnostic of the social body.

Other trickster lineages, such as those associated with the Shanshar tribe — including Tontay and Ulzhan, the mother of Abai Kunanbayev — demonstrate the genealogical roots of Kazakh theatrical and comic performance. Their sharp wit, improvisational humor, and fearless social critique laid the foundation for what Zhaksylykova [3] calls “Kazakh professional acting art.” These figures, while marginalized as jesters or eccentrics, fulfilled a vital epistemological function: they revealed hidden truths, dissolved social pretense, and elevated joy as a form of wisdom.

Kazakh circus art thus represents more than a cultural adaptation; it is a continuation of nomadic performative philosophy. Unlike European circus traditions, often associated with class-based escapism or exotic spectacle, the Kazakh variant emerged from within communal aesthetics and egalitarian ethos. Here, the sal-seri, agashayak, and trickster coalesce into a tradition where performance is not a separate discipline, but a lived enactment of being, beauty, and becoming.

In this light, the circus becomes a space of decolonial reassertion — a revitalized theatre where Kazakh bodies, histories, and aesthetics are not merely preserved, but creatively reconfigured for contemporary resonance. Whether through stilt walking, comedic improvisation, or dombra mastery, the sal-seri legacy remains central to the spirit of Kazakh performance art: playful, profound, and perpetually in motion.

Tricksters and the Philosophy of Laughter

The figure of the trickster in Kazakh culture represents a powerful mode of vernacular philosophy — one grounded in laughter, contradiction, and ethical subversion. Like the sal-seri and agashayak, the Kazakh trickster blurs the boundaries between performer and philosopher, artist and social critic. Rooted in oral tradition, improvisation, and communal festivity, the trickster archetype functions as a destabilizing agent in rigid social hierarchies, exposing hypocrisy, vanity, and oppression through playful inversion. As Kamalashuly [4] notes, laughter in Kazakh feasts and fairs was not merely recreational but served as a social mechanism for truth-telling, often through performance forms that allowed audiences to confront difficult realities with wit and grace.

The legacy of Kazakh tricksters can be traced to figures like Tontay and the wider Shanshar tribe, whose sharp-tongued satire and spontaneous humor gained legendary status across the Steppe. According to Auezov [10] and Mukhamedkhanov [25], these jesters were so feared for their verbal dexterity that people would scatter at their approach, fearing public ridicule. Yet their presence was also anticipated and cherished — they acted as cultural arbiters who used humor not to undermine, but to illuminate. Their mockery, while sharp, was not cynical; it was a form of ethical recalibration aimed at deflating ego and reaffirming communal humility.

This tradition was carried forward into the 20th century by artists such as Zarubai and Kalibek Kuanyshbaev, whose mimicry of animals, exaggerated gestures, and biting social commentary helped shape the modern Kazakh theatrical canon [24]. These performers were capable of transitioning fluidly between emotional registers — making audiences laugh, weep, or reflect in a single act. As Tazhibaev described, they were “poets who could make you cry and laugh,” revealing a performative philosophy that embraced paradox and multiplicity as pathways to truth.

The philosophical role of the trickster is further exemplified in the legendary character of Kulakay, based on the historical clown Eleusiz. Kulakay, like Aldar Kose and Kozhanasyr, operated through symbolic impersonation — mimicking animals, feigning madness, or adopting exaggerated affect to expose moral failings in others. These performances were not isolated gags but complex social commentaries disguised in humor. As Zhumadilov recounts in his fictionalized narrative, Kulakay's ability to shift identities — becoming a rabbit, camel, or howling dog — signaled a performative fluidity that allowed him to transgress social roles and expectations, challenging the fixity of identity itself (Zhumadilov in Prometheus's Fire).

The existence of these tricksters in everyday settings — fairs, weddings, feasts — reinforces their ontological importance. They were not institutionalized court jesters, as in medieval Europe, nor were they merely rural entertainers. Rather, they were liminal figures who embodied the creative excess of Kazakh social life: the ability to hold contradiction, to embrace ambiguity, and to speak truth through joy. Kamalashuly [4] argues that even when villagers became angry or offended by a clown's joke, the cultural norm was toler-

ance, not retaliation — indicating an embedded ethical understanding of laughter as a communal right and a mode of social reflection.

Moreover, the philosophy of the trickster aligns with broader Central Asian conceptions of wisdom. Unlike Western rationalist models, Kazakh epistemologies often foreground intuition, improvisation, and relational knowing. Tricksters demonstrate this through their play with language, movement, and metaphor. Their use of satire to target wealth inequality, injustice, and arrogance repositions humor as a strategic ethical force rather than a marginal indulgence [3]. They do not offer systematized doctrines but ephemeral moments of enlightenment — flashes of insight emerging from performance.

In essence, the Kazakh trickster is a mobile philosopher whose tools are laughter, parody, and emotional resonance. They dramatize the fragility of appearances and the depth of human folly, not to ridicule, but to reawaken. Their legacy in Kazakh cultural performance reaffirms the view that humor is not the opposite of seriousness, but a different register of it — one that dances rather than declares, improvises rather than instructs, but ultimately teaches.

Conclusion

The traditions of sal-seri, agashayak, and Kazakh tricksters reveal a deeply embedded performative philosophy rooted in the nomadic worldview of the Steppe. Far from being folkloric curiosities or entertainment relics, these figures articulate an embodied aesthetics of being — an indigenous philosophical practice wherein beauty, movement, memory, and critique are not abstract ideals but lived, shared experiences. Through their music, speech, satire, and physical virtuosity, these performers activated ethical dialogue, fostered social cohesion, and preserved ancestral knowledge across generations.

In the sal-seri, we encounter a synthesis of the poet-philosopher and aesthetic warrior — figures whose presence animated weddings, communal gatherings, and spiritual rites. The sal-seri tradition exemplifies a performative ethics that values improvisation, generosity, beauty, and moral conviction. In the circus arts and theatrical traditions that evolved from it, particularly through the figures of stilt walkers and clown-tricksters, we observe a remarkable continuity of this philosophy: one that privileges relational wisdom, bodily expression, and affective knowledge.

The agashayak performers comedic figures like Shashubai or Kulakay, who served not only as entertainers but as philosophical provocateurs — questioning hierarchy, mocking excess, and using joy as a means of resilience. Their artistry demonstrated that laughter and elevation (both literal and symbolic) were not distractions from life's seriousness, but essential modalities for spiritual and social survival. This study affirms that Kazakh performance traditions must be understood as a vernacular philosophy — deeply ethical, profoundly aesthetic, and fundamentally communal. These traditions articulate an alternative mode of theorizing identity, beauty, and justice — one rooted in embodied improvisation, ritual play, and cultural memory. In our contemporary moment, where globalized forms of art and philosophy often marginalize indigenous thought systems, the sal-seri tradition offers a vital, resilient, and joyous vision of what it means to live meaningfully through art.

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Қазақ далалық орындаушылық өнеріндегі сал-сері, ағашаяқ және трикстерлер дәстүрлерінің эстетика философиясы

Мақалада қазақтың орындаушылық дәстүрлерінің философиялық қырлары зерттеліп, сал-сері мәдениетінің, ағашаяқ өнерпаздарының және трикстерлердің эстетикалық, рухани және әлеуметтік маңызына назар аударылған. Қазақтың көшпелі мәдени мұрасын негізге ала отырып, авторлар бұл көркемдік формалар тек ойын-сауық құралы ғана емес, сонымен қатар күрделі болмыс философиясы, қарсылық және ұжымдық жады үлгілері екендігін алға тартады. Мақалада мәдени эстетика мен перформативті болмыс тұжырымдары арқылы сал-серілер — ақын-жырау, жауынгер, шебер және рухани дәнекерші ретінде — этикалық сын, поэтикалық өрнек және әлеуметтік бірлік агенттері ретінде қарастырылған. Музыка, күлкі, рәсім және денелік шеберлік синкретизміне негізделген бұл дәстүрлер қазақтың қозғалысқа және экологиялық үйлесімге негізделген төл өнер философиясын көрсетеді. Сонымен қатар, осы дәстүрлер қазіргі заманғы перформативтілік теорияларын зерделейді, өйткені олар өнер мен этиканы, болмысты біртұтас кеңістік ретінде қарастырылған.

Кілт сөздер: қазақ өнер философиясы, сал-сері, мәдени жады, трикстерлер, көшпелі этика, ағашаяқ.

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Философия воплощённой эстетики в традициях сал-сері, ходулистов и трикстеров в казахском степном исполнительском искусстве

В данной статье исследуются философские измерения казахских исполнительских традиций с акцентом на эстетическое, духовное и социальное значение культуры сал-сері, ходулистов (ағашаяк) и

трикстеров в контексте кочевого наследия Казахской степи. Основываясь на исторических, этнографических и фольклорных источниках, авторы утверждают, что указанные художественные формы представляют собой не просто развлекательные практики, а сложные воплощённые философии бытия, сопротивления и коллективной памяти. Через призму культурной эстетики и перформативной идентичности в статье рассматривается, как фигуры сал-сери — поэты-певцы, воины, ремесленники и духовные посредники — выступали носителями этической критики, поэтического самовыражения и социальной сплочённости. Синкретическое сочетание музыки, юмора, ритуала и телесной виртуозности, присущее этим практикам, позволяет увидеть в них выражение автохтонной казахской философии искусства, основанной на подвижности, импровизации и экологической чуткости. Эти традиции также предвосхищают современные концепции перформативности, особенно в их слиянии художественного, этического и экзистенциального измерений.

Ключевые слова: казахская философия искусства, сал-сери, культурная память, трикстеры, кочевая этика, агашаяк

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