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PETROGLYPHS-SYMBOLS OF THE NORTHERN BALKHASH REGION IN KAZAKHSTAN (ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES)*

The article is devoted to the analysis of petroglyphs-symbols founded in the figurative monuments of the Northern Balkhash Region and Betpakdala and having complex mythological content, which is repeated in the form of symbolic signs similar in iconography, found over vast geographical spaces. These include images of solar signs, labyrinths, lattices, as well as some animals, chariots, anthropomorphic characters and clan's tamgas. The analogies proposed by the authors indicate the vast geography of their distribution and contacts of the local population with the southern regions of Central Asia both in the Bronze Age and in subsequent historical periods.

Key words: Betpakdala, chariots, Schrenk's tulip, sun-headed characters, solar signs, tamgas, migrations, sacred landscapes.

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ПЕТРОГЛИФЫ-СИМВОЛЫ СЕВЕРНОГО ПРИБАЛХАШЬЯ В КАЗАХСТАНЕ (ДРЕВНОСТЬ И СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЕ)

Статья посвящена анализу петроглифов-символов, обнаруженных в изобразительных памятниках Северного Прибалхашья и Бетпакдалы, имеющих сложное мифологическое содержание, которое повторяется в виде сходных по иконографии символических знаков, встречающихся на обширных географических пространствах. К ним относятся изображения солярных знаков, лабиринтов, решеток, а также некоторых животных, колесниц, антропоморфных персонажей и родовых (клановых) тамг. Предложенные авторами аналогии указывают на обширную географию их распространения и контакты местного населения с южными регионами Центральной Азии как в эпоху бронзы, так и в последующие исторические периоды.

Ключевые слова: Бетпакдала, колесницы, тюльпан Шренка, солнцеголовые персонажи, солярные знаки, тамги, миграции, сакральные ландшафты.

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Introduction. The beginning of the scientific study of the petroglyphs of the Northern Balkhash region and Betpakdala in the fifties of the last century was laid by Alkey Margulan (Margulan 2003). Research was continued by Leonid R. Kyzlasov (Kyzlasov 1950), Alan G. Medoev (Medoev 1979) and Aleksey N. Maryashev, as well as expeditions of the Kazakh Institute of Archaeology (Beisenov et al. 2012: 259—274; Maryashev, Gumirova 2016: 183—191) and Karaganda University. New materials from the monuments were partially published based on the results of their monitoring (Bedelbayeva et al. 2015: 180—187, fig. 56—76; Bedelbayeva 2019; Novozhenov 2020).

The purpose of this publication is to analyze the special, so-called *petroglyphs-symbols* found here among the various and numerous rock carvings, which have complex mythological content and are repeated in the form of symbolic signs similar in iconography and probable content, found over vast geographical spaces, often distant from each other over considerable distances.

Methods. Along with traditional field research methods, special attention is paid to the analysis of specific petroglyphs and other archaeological objects concentrated in a single cultural and historical landscape. Together with other archaeological sites (settlements, burial grounds, roads, etc.), rock carvings indirectly reflect in the landscape the way of ancient communities lived, their relationship to the environment and the functional significance of its individual components, depending on the level of communications, social and technical development in a particular period history, and most importantly, they determine the level of mobility of the ancient population and its ability to travel significant distances in the steppe space (Rogozhinsky, Novozhenov 2018; Novozhenov 2020; 2022). To copy petroglyphs from the rocks, a non-contact method of photographic scanning was used, followed by graphic processing of the images.

Results. In the Begazy Mountains, the figurative monuments of Serikbay, Symtas, Nartai, Ryspek and Akshoky were examined. Over a hundred petroglyphs from different periods have been identified. Here founded images of wild and domestic animals, humans, and solar signs. Petroglyphs for the most part turned out to be synchronous in time of creation with the excavated and nearby burial structures, which date back to the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. The repertoire of petroglyphs widely includes traditional images of various animals: mountain sheeps, horses, camels, deers, dogs, argalis, as well as horsemen, anthropomorphic images and solar symbols, the number of which at different sites ranges from several dozen to hundreds.

In the Zheltau mountain system, five large points have been recorded, in which the main groups of petroglyphs are concentrated. Each group includes from 20 to 40 surfaces with a total number of drawings from 100 to 400. Numerous single images of animals, mainly mountain goat, are scattered between them.

Zheltau 1. In the Zheltau mountain system, one of the main groups of petroglyphs is located 30 km southeast of the village of Begazy, 18.5 km east of the village of Saryterek, on the left bank of the Zhinishke river, on the southwestern slope of the mountain system of the same name on on the spurs of two small hills. There is severe destruction of the rock outcrops that form the structure and microtopography of the complex. The technique of making petroglyphs is dominated by continuous, shallow, small-point carving; in some cases, traces of scratching are recorded. In total, 30 slabs with 230 petroglyphs were discovered, among which images of mountain goats/rams and horses predominate, deers and predators are found. There are single representations of Bactrian camel.

Zheltau 2 (Fig. 1). A large location of petroglyphs was discovered in a gorge on the western slope of the Zheltau Mountains, 10 km east of the Tokyrauyn river. Petroglyphs are carved on the surfaces of rocks (dykes) and individual stones, covered with a dense so called *desert tan*. The

cluster contains about 50 surfaces with petroglyphs of different periods from the Early Iron Age and the Middle Ages; several compositions may date back to the Bronze Age. Mostly there are surfaces with single petroglyphs.

Zheltau 3. A small complex of monuments, including the remains of sites from different periods and petroglyphs, was discovered in a gorge on the southwestern slope of the Zheltau Mountains, 12 km east of the Tokyrauyn river. The remains of the sites are two groups of ruined stone structures located along the bottom of the valley in the lower and upper parts of the gorge. Estimated dating of sites from the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. Petroglyphs are carved on the surfaces of rocky outcrops occupying the right side of the gorge. The substrate is coarse sandstone with rough surfaces covered with a dense *desert tan*. The cluster contains about 100 surfaces with petroglyphs of different periods from the Early Iron Age and the Middle Ages; several compositions may date back to the Bronze Age. The latter include two surfaces with images of chariots and spoked wheels. Petroglyphs that presumably date back to the Middle Ages predominate numerically. There are surfaces with both single petroglyphs and multi-figure compositions. The signs are found in compositions with images of the Early Iron Age and the Middle Ages.

Zheltau 4. Found in the gorge adjacent to the east, in its middle part. At the foot of the slope at the mouth of a short erosion valley there are the remains of stone residential and outbuildings of a wintering quarters of the early 20th century. Above it, on outcrops of sandstone covered with a black *desert tan*, there are about 50 surfaces with petroglyphs. Images of animals and anthropomorphic figures of the Early Iron Age predominate; a significant part of the images dates back to the Middle Ages.

Zheltau 5. In the central part of the Zheltau mountain system, on the southwestern slope of the highest part of the mountains, a group of sites of different periods and two points of concentration of petroglyphs were identified. Three tamgas of the *two arc* type were discovered in one site. 300 m east of the rock with tamgas, at the top of the ridge, a mound with a stone structure (diameter 8 m, height 0.8 m) was recorded, in which 5—6 steles with signs of processing were preserved. The probable dating of the mound is the Middle Ages.

Repertoire and petroglyphs-symbols. Thus, in the Zheltau mountain system, five large points have been recorded, in which the main groups of petroglyphs are concentrated; numerous single images of animals, mainly mountain sheeps, are scattered between them. Anthropomorphic characters are represented by riders on horses and, in one case, on a Bactrian camel. The scene of the hunt for mountain sheeps, antelopes and deers stands out, in which the main character — a horse archer — is depicted very realistically: the man is shown from the waist up and turned back, armed with a large complex bow and arrow. The petroglyphs of Begazy and Zheltau are chronologically correlated with the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age; some of the images date back to the Bronze and Middle Ages (Beisenov et al. 2012: 259—274; Bedelbayeva et al. 2015; Novozhenov 2020).

A peculiarity of the repertoire of petroglyphs in the region is the absence of images of bulls, which are a marking image of the Bronze Age petroglyphs. The horses are drawn in an extremely simplified manner: a straight line of the body, the head and tail are often lowered, and four straight legs are shown. Despite some sketchiness in the engraving of other animals, they are presented much closer to originals and with great expressiveness. At the same time, stylized images of fantastic and opposing animals, *sun-headed* characters, solar signs, chariots, tulips and graphic images of generic (clan's) tamgas are of significant interest in the repertoire of the considered art monuments.

Fantastic animals and Master of the beasts. In the group of petroglyphs of Zheltau 3, images of an unusual animal were recorded — the celestial peri? (Fig. 2: 1); feline predators opposing each other (Fig. 2: 2; Fig. 3). The idea of confrontation between two animals or two people is quite common and popular in the Kazakh steppe and has many analogies in ancient art (for example, Luristan bronzes) and has already been interpreted (Novozhenov 2020).

As an antithesis to the unknown world of wild and fantastic animals, at the very top of the gorge, on a slab visible from all sides, there is a scene featuring various animals and a large human figure who dominates them (Fig. 2: 3; Fig. 4).

Solar characters and signs. Of interest are the schematic anthropomorphic images of the Zheltau 1 group, which can be considered as *sun-headed* characters (Fig. 2: 4; Fig. 5): above a person's head, drawn from the front, a *halo* is shown with several large dots. In one case, the arms of such a deity are spread out to the sides, the legs are apart, the phallus is drawn, in the other, the image is detailed by drawing the palms and fingers. This conventional manner of conveying the image may indicate its late origin in comparison with the canonical image of the *sun-headed* deities from Tamgaly and Akkainar, dating back to the Middle of the Bronze Age, and indicates the continuity of traditions and specific images on the rocks in different historical periods.

The images of the Zheltau 2 group, carved on a separate stone lying at the base of the dike, stand out for their symbolism. On the surface of the stone are depicted: three concentric circles with 12 rays radially extending from the outer circle. An identical solar sign published by Irina Shvets (Shvets 2012: 84—86). Below the solar sign there is a figure in the form of a straight cross; and a vague silhouetted figure from which extend four curved lines, converging together, resembling a flower bud; S-shaped figure with ends bent into a spiral (Fig. 2: 5).

The images are made using the deep embossing technique, the surface of the drawings is covered with a *desert tan*. Presumable dating is the Late Bronze Age or the beginning of the Early Iron Age. The type of petroglyph-symbols also includes images of *a lattice*, *labyrinth*, or *spiral*. Similar symbols are found in Siberia, Altai, Tuva and Mongolia, Northern Pakistan and the Alps (Shvets 2012: 88). Researchers explain the existence of such symbols and signs in petroglyphs by the dynamic development of associative and rational human thinking (Fig. 2: 6, 7).

Heavenly chariots. Conventional and very schematic images of three chariots were found in the Zheltau 3 group (Fig. 2: 8; Fig. 6). They are carved on a massive, almost horizontal slab located in the lower part of the gorge, destroyed by chips and abundantly covered with colonies of lichens. Made with fine-point embossing in combination with polishing the patina, they are difficult to distinguish, the images itself are well patinated.

The outlines of the image of the first chariot are damaged by lichen; it is located in the lower left part of the surface and represents a standard design for Central Asian chariot's petroglyphs. Wheels with four spokes, a semicircular platform in plan, and a central draught-pole with a rounded top at the end are depicted. Other features of the image include a protrusion on the drought-pole — a possible reinforcement of the place where the drawbar is attached to the riding platform and the design of the yoke of the cart in the form of two (three) parallel lines with a length and shape of the ends that is not typical for this structural element.

The draft animals — a pair of horses, are shown in an unusual place for them and are connected to the cart, probably by lassos and are in no way connected to the yoke of the chariot. Perhaps this depicts a partially unharnessed quadriga, in which only the trailing horses are shown, and the two root horses are only implied. The traditional place where the charioteer of this cart should have been — significantly destroyed by a colony of lichens and only isolated traces of carvings in the form of a circle (possible head) have been preserved, which in general do not allow to confidently speak about the presence of a charioteer's figure here. At the same time, the noted features do not distinguish this chariot from the entire array of analogues known in chariot petroglyphs of Altai, Southern Siberia, China, Mongolia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (Novozhenov 2012; 2021).

The second chariot is depicted in the upper right part of the surface, next to the image of a mountain goat. The chariot is shown unharnessed, the design is traditional, triangular struts are shown that strengthen the place where the central draught-pole is attached to the yoke. This feature is noted on many chariots found in the geographically close mountains of Khantau and Shunak in the Balkhash region, as well as in more remote regions of Tuva, Mongolia, China and Tajikistan.

The third chariot was discovered in the upper right end of the common inclined surface, on a separate adjacent slab. A schematic image of an unharnessed chariot, two mountain goats and an indefinite geometric figure (sign) is recorded.

On the other vertical surface (Fig. 2: 9) are depicted two large wheels with eight spokes, a human figure, subrectangular and other figures, three horses depicted one above the other and an

archer opposing them. Embossed above this scene are two more four-spoke wheels and vague figures. Overall, the scene gives the impression of a symbolic image of a fantastic chariot — a triga with the charioteer shown with his arms spread to the sides. Only the most significant details of this chariot are depicted — a pair of wheels, a yoke, and draft horses. The lower rectangular figure is divided into two parts and crossed out by carved lines in the form of a lattice and perhaps symbolizes the riding platform of this chariot. We assume that this depicts a scene of confrontation between a symbolic, heavenly (?) chariot driven by a charioteer and an opposite archer, a plot very popular in the ancient rock art of Eurasia (Novozhenov 2012; 2020; 2021).

A unique image of a tulip, previously unknown in the petroglyphs of Kazakhstan, was discovered on the periphery of the Zheltau 1 group, at a distance and apart from the main concentration of images, on a relatively flat rock surface facing southwest and covered with a dense *desert tan*. A tulip shows a flower, a stem, two characteristic leaves and a round bulb. Below the flower is an indefinite figure and a straight cross (Fig. 7; 8). Judging by the shade of the patina, both drawings are older than the medieval petroglyphs carved on adjacent rock faces; their probable dating is the Bronze Age.

The image is identified as a Schrenk's tulip — *Tulipa Schrenkii*[1].This perennial herbaceous plant is considered the ancestor of the first cultivated varieties of tulip. This species was first discovered by A.I. Schrenk, associate professor of mineralogy at the University of Tartu, who in 1842—1843 traveled to these places. Dry buds of Schrenck's tulips are ubiquitous near the found image.

Tamga petroglyphs. In the Zheltau Mountains, a large series of ancient and medieval signs of identity of clans — tamga petroglyphs — has been identified. Thus, in the Zheltau 3 group, along with figurative images, a series of tamga-like signs was discovered, among which previously unknown types of signs stand out (Fig. 9). One of them is a large image in the form of a diamond, from the corners of which four straight lines extend, ending in a short arc. The dating of the sign, judging by the known analogies in Mongolia, may correspond to the Xiongnu-Sarmatian period. Probably, several images of tamga, reminiscent of the letter *H* unfolded horizontally, date back to the same time, analogies of which and the accompanying artistic tradition can be found in Tuva, Eastern Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (Yatsenko et al. 2020: 171—175).

Discussion. Analysis of the petroglyphs-symbols of the Northern Balkhash region and their scientific interpretation allows to draw analogies with the rock carvings in the Tamgaly, and other pictorial monuments located to the south, to reveal a clear similarity with the Tamgaly style in the depiction of anthropomorphic creatures. Similar analogies take even further south — to the fertile Fergana Valley, through the sanctuary with the petroglyphs of Saimaly Tash, in Kyrgyzstan, thereby marking the ancient and probably traditional path of advancement of the population.

Note that images reminiscent in iconography of anthropomorphic *sun-headed* characters from Tamgaly, Akkainar and others in the Chu-Ili mountains and on Saimaly Tash, in the mountains of Kyrgyzstan, were found in the Northern Balkhash region for the first time. Above we have given a number of specific analogies for vehicles and solar signs depicted in petroglyphs, which clearly outline the geographical area of cultural contacts and possible migrations of the local population over significant distances both along the north-south line and in the latitudinal directions.

The combination of images of chariots with mountain goats and a certain sign identified in two cases seems to be non-random and may indicate a certain narrative structure and mythological content of these subjects. Thus, statistical methods have revealed a significant predominance of such combinations in the chariot petroglyphs of Altai and, above all, in the monuments of its Mongolian part

[1] Definition was made by Doctor of Biological Sciences, Professor M. Yu. Ishmuratova (Karaganda Buketov University), to whom the authors express gratitude. *Tulipa schrenkii* is a low (from 10 to 20 cm) erect plant with smooth leaves rich green color, about 20 cm in size, which fall apart. There are 3—4 leaves on one plant. The first rises from the ground, the remaining 2 or 3 wrap the peduncle at the very base. The edge of the leaves is slightly wavy. The flower is cup-shaped, 6—7 cm high . It consists of 6 petals, their edges are usually rounded or slightly pointed. The bulb is small in size from 2.5 to 3 cm. The shape is ovoid, densely covered with gray-brown scales. The flowering period is April-May.

(Novozhenov 2012). The mythological significance and interpretation of such combinations of images of chariots and deer or mountain goats were also noted (Smirnov 2018: 63—91).

The discovery in Zheltau of an image of a tulip flower — a motif atypical for the repertoire of Bronze Age rock art in Kazakhstan as a whole — forces us to again turn to the topic of distant cultural ties between pastoral tribes and the ancient agricultural population of Central Asia. Previously, a wide range of images and realities had already been identified, the appearance of which in the rock art of southern Kazakhstan was due to contacts of the steppe's tribes with the inhabitants of the ancient agricultural oases of Fergana, the Zeravshan and Murghab valleys (Rogozhinsky 2011: 87—99). In recent years, the number of such evidence has increased, including thanks to new finds in Semirechye, in the middle course of the river Chu, and objects of material culture (stone weights, painted ceramics), and rock paintings, the oldest of which indicate a connection with the carriers of the Anau culture of the Namazga III period, Sarazm and the Bactrian-Margiana archaeological complex (Rogozhinsky 2020: 37—48). That is why what is surprising is not the iconographic similarity of the tulip-petroglyph with numerous similar reproductions on cult objects of the Bactrian-Margiana archaeological complex (Fig. 8), but the area of its location — on the southern border of Kazakh steppe.

The abundance of images of tulips on Bactrian and Margiana things shows how important this symbol is for the Bronze Age population. In the materials of Gonur, analyzed by Prof. V.Yu. Kryukova, images of tulips are recorded on clay seals and a number of sculptures, which the author correlates with the veneration of the goddess of fertility and calendar rituals of worship at the time of their flowering. Semantic comprehension shows an important parallel with the presence of a goat, which in some cases plays the role of a sacrificial animal, in others it personifies a royal person (Kryukova 2012: 224—225). It has been suggested that there is an ancient "...Central Asian holiday, the marker of which was the tulip, and which was established much earlier than Nowruz, and then, having lost its specific ancient meaning, entered into a new ritual, including Zoroastrian and ethnographically attested…", during which a female deity is venerated, associated with the tulip (Kryukova 2012: 234). Thus, the found image of a tulip can serve as convincing evidence of cultural ties between ancient agricultural oases and the inhabitants of the Balkhash steppes.

In general, the original idea of mobility, embedded in local rock carvings and replicated in subsequent historical periods, corresponds to an accurate understanding of the sacred character of the entire natural-historical landscape (Novozhenov, Sydykov 2019; Rock Art 2020). A number of scenes on local rocks have already been interpreted as mythological, as scenes of sacrifice and worship of heavenly bodies (Margulan 2003: 14). Supporting such interpretations, we note their geographical distribution over considerable distances throughout Central Asia (Berezkin 2012: 35—39). It is obvious that such a wide geography of these subjects and the beliefs, cults and rituals associated with them is the result of the physical movement of their bearers themselves in space. Only in this way can the geographical distribution of many universal archetypes and mythologies, including those associated with the idea of mobility and the eternal search for the Promised Land, be explained (Novozhenov 2017; 2020).

The tamga-petroglyphs examined in the Zheltau Mountains are of significant interest because they contain an expressive series of signs that are contextually related to the petroglyphs of the nomads of the Xiongnu-Sarmatian era and medieval nomads. For the first time in this part of Kazakh steppe, a cluster of tamga petroglyphs of different periods has been discovered, the typological and stratigraphic analysis of which provides an example of the stage-by-stage formation of such monuments of tamga use practice, deepening their lower boundary.

The tamga dates back to the medieval period in the form of *two arcs*, with their ends facing in opposite directions. Notable is the large collection of tamga petroglyphs in the Zheltau 3 group, in which there are six signs of this type with various additional elements. Two varieties of tamga were not previously known, but in Zheltau they were found together at one more point. Later, during exploration in the Chu-Ili mountains in the fall of 2023, the same two signs, carved side by side on the same rock, were found above a medieval site in the Otyzuy valley. According to existing ideas, tamga petroglyphs of this type on the territory of Kazakhstan date back no earlier than the 9^{th} —10^{th} centuries, and their

distribution area should be associated with the settlement of tribes of the Kimak-Kipchak association (Yatsenko et al. 2019: 287—288). New finds of such signs in the Northern Balkhash region and in the southwest of Semirechye apparently mark another vector of migration of medieval nomads.

Conclusions. The variety of pictorial, archaeological, religious and natural objects can be correlated with the presence in various regions of Kazakhstan of traditions associated with the idea of mobility and the worship of caves, mountains and other natural objects, that is, monuments of a cult nature.

In fact, the sacred space of an area is not only visible, embodied monuments (locations of petroglyphs, archaeological sites, mausoleums, flora and fauna), but rather a complex socio-religious discourse aimed at the idea of thanksgiving, granting longevity, fulfillment of desires and consisting of a number of components: a ritual of collective pilgrimage, petition, repentance, mystical experiences, spiritual purification, sacrifice, prayer, a common meal, communication with the *shyrakshi* — the guardian of this cultural and historical landscape and sites, a kind of priest of this sanctuary. The basis of such ideas and the whole concept is the idea of mobility and the eternal search for a better life, better pastures, that very Paradise on earth, which is called the Promised Land (or Aria Vaidja), which fully corresponds to the Kazakh idea of *Zheruiyk*.

Thus, the rock art monuments of Betpakdala currently represent relict cultural (archaeological) landscapes, combining both fine and other types of archaeological monuments. Rock art as immovable monuments does not exist outside of the natural and cultural context. Along with other territorially related archaeological sites: settlements, necropolises, irrigation structures, remnants of communications, etc., they reflect in the landscape the mobile nature of the habitation of ancient groups, their cultural and religious ties, their attitude to the environment in a specific period of human history.

At the same time, petroglyphs are the embodiment of basic archetypes — collective subconscious myth-like symbols that express the basic needs and life cycles of society. Archetypes are reflected in the form of specific images, close in style and imaging technique to real objects, while maintaining their symbolism (Bedelbayeva 2019: 633—634). At the same time, the geographical distribution of similar archetypes and mythologies, and sometimes entire myths, as well as different artistic styles or tamgas, may indicate ethnic identity and the spread of related clans across large expanses of steppe Eurasia, their close cultural contacts and mutual influence on each other.

In the context of this discourse, the process of creating images becomes a ritual and one of the important spiritual practices that ensure the identity and mobility of society. Once formed, the sacred space lives life together with the society that created it and does not completely disappear with changes in the myths that determine its development, leaving both material and spiritual traces in the form of updated ideas about the sacred landscape and its use in new conditions.

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Fig. 1. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. General view of the 2nd group. Photo by V.A. Novozhenov.

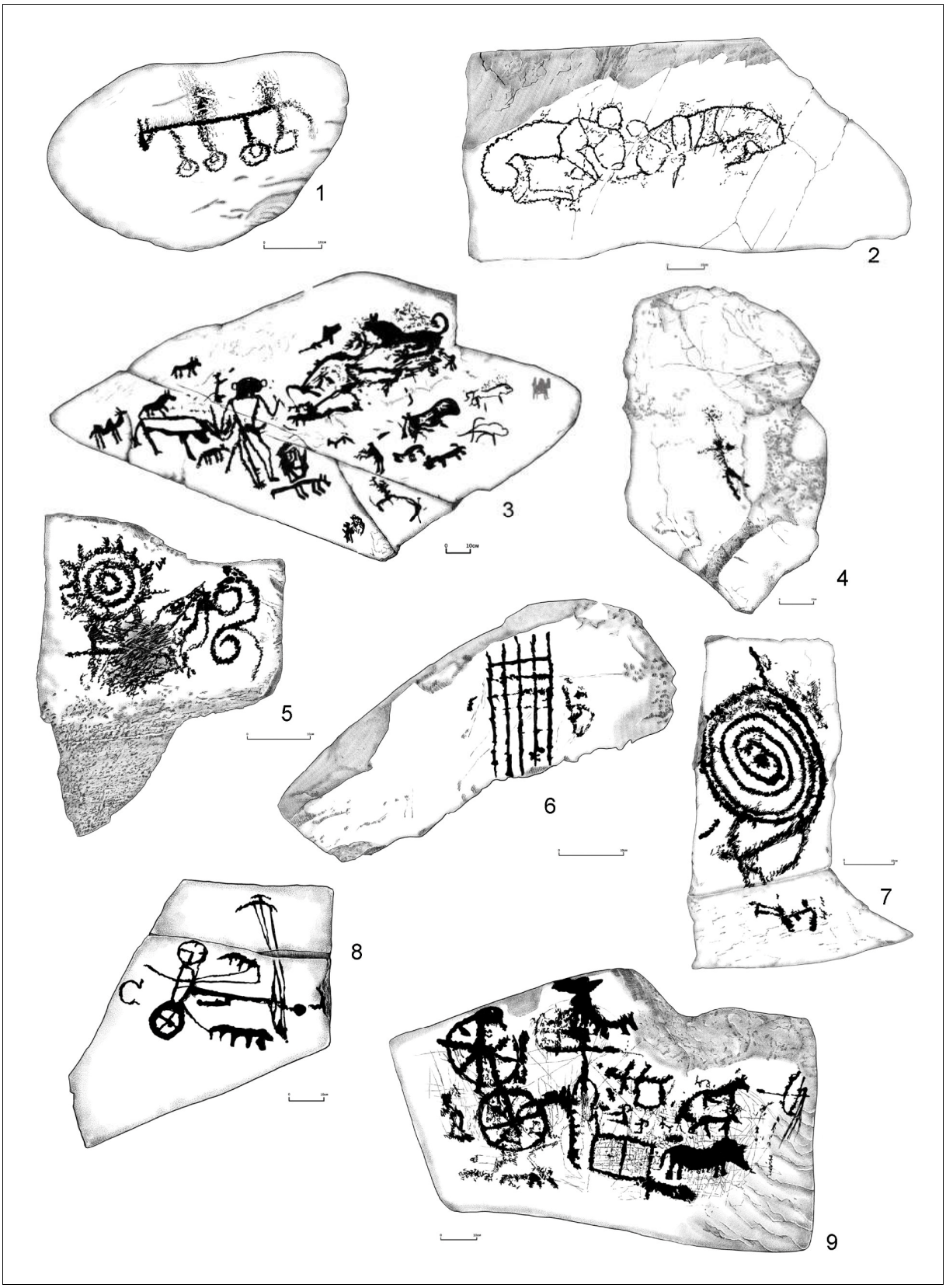


Fig. 2. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau 1-3 groupes. *1* — image of a fantastic animal (Heavenly peri?). Group 3; *2* — opposing feline predators. Group 3; *3* — Master of beasts. Group 3; *4* — stylized image of the Sun-headed deity. Group 1; *5* — image of a solar sign. Group 2; *6* — image of a *lattice*. Group 3; *7* — image of a *labyrinth* or *spiral*. Group 3; 8, 9 — images of chariots. Group 3. Drawings by the authors.



Fig. 3. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. Group 3. Opposing feline predators. Photo by V.A. Novozhenov.



Fig. 4. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. Group 3. Master of Beasts. Photo by V.A. Novozhenov.



Fig. 5. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. Group 1. Anthropomorphic characters with splayed fingers, horses and horse rider. Photos of the authors.



Fig. 6. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. Group 3. Image of chariots. Photo by V.A. Novozhenov.



Fig. 7. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. Group 1. Image of a tulip. Photo by V.A. Novozhenov.



Fig. 8. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. Group 1. Image of a tulip. Drawing of authors and analogies in the monuments of the Bactrian-Margiana Archaeological Complex (after Sarianidi 2002: 268).

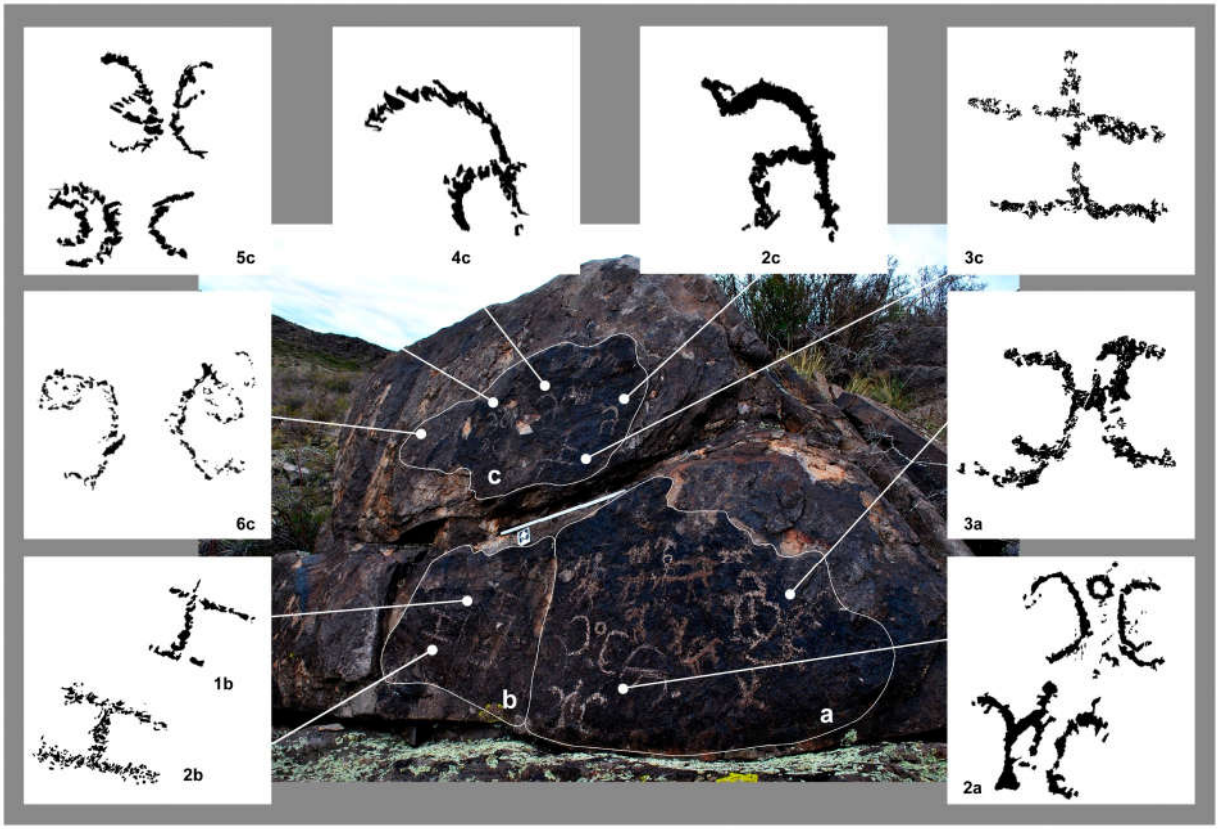


Fig. 9. Northern Balkhash region. Petroglyphs of Zheltau. Group 3 (separate flake). Clusters of tamga petroglyphs. Photo and drawing by the authors.