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STATE AND LEGAL SYSTEMS IN THE TERRITORY OF KAZAKHSTAN IN THE XIII-XV CENTURIES: CONTINUITY AND TRANSFORMATION

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The article examines the formation, functioning, and transformation of the state and legal institutions of political entities that existed in the territory of Kazakhstan and the adjacent regions of Central Asia in the XIII-XV centuries. Particular attention is paid to the Golden Horde, the Chagatai Ulus, Moghulistan, and the Timur's state as interconnected stages in the development of post-Mongol political organization. The study analyzes supreme authority, the ulus and military-administrative systems, territorial organization, taxation, legal regulation, and mechanisms for legitimizing rulers' authority. The source base and historiographical framework of the study comprise Eastern written sources, archaeological evidence, and scholarly works on the history of state and law. Comparative, historical-genetic, problem-chronological, and systemic methods are employed. The study demonstrates that political fragmentation did not eliminate the institutional foundations established during the Mongol period. The decimal military organization, dynastic legitimacy, qurultays, seals, khans' decrees, taxation mechanisms, and ulus administration continued to function while simultaneously adapting to diverse regional conditions. The reforms of Kebek Khan indicate an effort to strengthen the territorial and fiscal administration of the Chagatai Ulus, whereas the political system of Moghulistan demonstrates a combination of Chagatai dynastic legitimacy and the influence of powerful tribal emirs. In Timur's state, Mongol political and legal traditions coexisted with an increasingly influential Islamic normative order. The article concludes that the continuity and adaptation of these institutions created important historical preconditions for subsequent processes of state and legal development in the Kazakh steppe. Particular attention is devoted to the relationship between military organization and territorial administration, as well as to the role of urban centers, coinage, seals, and officials in the practical exercise of authority. A comparison of these elements reveals not only the common features of the states under consideration but also regional differences in approaches to centralization, interaction with the tribal nobility, and the administration and regulation of the tax-paying population.

Keywords: Golden Horde, Chagatai Ulus, Moghulistan, Timur, state system, legal system, Yassa.

XIII-XV ҒАСЫРЛАРДАҒЫ ҚАЗАҚСТАН АУМАҒЫНДАҒЫ МЕМЛЕКЕТТІК-ҚҰҚЫҚТЫҚ ЖҮЙЕЛЕР: САБАҚТАСТЫҚ ЖӘНЕ ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ

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Мақалада XIII-XV ғасырларда Қазақстан аумағында және Орталық Азияның іргелес өңірлерінде өмір сүрген саяси құрылымдардың мемлекеттік-құқықтық институттарының қалыптасуы, қызмет етуі және трансформациясы қарастырылады. Алтын Орда, Шағатай ұлысы, Моғолстан және Темір мемлекеті моңғол дәуірінен кейінгі саяси ұйымның өзара сабақтас даму кезеңдері ретінде талданады. Зерттеуде жоғарғы билік, ұлыстық және әскери-әкімшілік жүйе, аумақтық құрылым, салық салу, құқықтық реттеу және билеушілердің өз өкілеттігін заңдастыру тетіктеріне ерекше назар аударылады. Деректік және тарихнамалық негізді бастапқы зерттеуде пайдаланылған шығыс жазба деректеріне, археологиялық материалдарға және мемлекет пен құқық тарихына арналған зерттеулер құрайды. Салыстырмалы, тарихи-генетикалық, проблемалық-хронологиялық және жүйелік әдістер қолданылды. Саяси бытыраңқылық моңғол дәуірінде қалыптасқан институционалдық негіздерді толық жоймағаны көрсетіледі. Ондық әскери ұйым, әулеттік легитимдік, құрылтайлар, мөрлер, хан жарлықтары, салық тетіктері мен ұлыстық басқару әртүрлі аймақтық жағдайларға бейімделе отырып сақталды. Кебек ханның реформалары Шағатай ұлысындағы аумақтық және фискалдық басқаруды күшейтуге бағытталған шараларды көрсетсе, Моғолстанның саяси жүйесі шағатайлық әулеттік заңдылық пен ықпалды тайпалық өмірлер билігінің өзара байланысын аңғартады. Темір мемлекетінде моңғолдық саяси-құқықтық дәстүрлер исламдық нормативтік жүйенің күшеюімен қатар өмір сүрді. Зерттеу қорытындысында аталған институттардың сабақтастығы мен бейімделуі қазақ даласындағы кейінгі мемлекеттік-құқықтық даму үдерістерінің ма-

ңызды тарихи алғышарттарының бірін қалыптастырғаны тұжырымдалады. Әскери ұйым мен аумақтық басқарудың өзара байланысына, сондай-ақ қалалық орталықтардың, теңге соғудың, мөрлердің және лауазымды тұлғалардың билікті іс жүзінде жүзеге асырудағы рөліне ерекше көңіл бөлінеді. Осы элементтерді салыстыру қарастырылған мемлекеттердің ортақ белгілерін ғана емес, орталықтандыру тәсілдеріндегі, тайпалық ақсүйектермен өзара қатынастағы және салық төлеуші халықты басқарудағы аймақтық ерекшеліктерді де айқындауға мүмкіндік береді.

Түйінді сөздер: Алтын Орда, Шағатай ұлысы, Моғолстан, Темір, мемлекеттік жүйе, құқықтық жүйе, Ұлы Жасақ.

ГОСУДАРСТВЕННО-ПРАВОВЫЕ СИСТЕМЫ НА ТЕРРИТОРИИ КАЗАХСТАНА В XIII-XV ВЕКАХ: ПРЕЕМСТВЕННОСТЬ И ТРАНСФОРМАЦИЯ

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В статье рассматриваются формирование, функционирование и трансформация государственно-правовых институтов политических образований, существовавших на территории Казахстана и сопредельных регионов Центральной Азии в XIII-XV веках. Особое внимание уделяется Золотой Орде, Чагатайскому улусу, Моғулистану и государству Тимура как взаимосвязанным этапам развития постмонгольской политической организации. Анализируются верховная власть, улусная и военно-административная система, территориальное устройство, налогообложение, правовое регулирование и механизмы легитимации власти правителей. Источниковую и историографическую основу составляют труды и материалы восточных письменных источников, археологических данных и истории государства и права. Применены сравнительный, историко-генетический, проблемно-хронологический и системный методы. Показано, что политическая раздробленность не уничтожила институциональные основы, сложившиеся в монгольскую эпоху. Десятичная военная организация, династическая легитимность, курултаи, печати, ханские распоряжения, налоговые механизмы и улусное управление сохранялись, одновременно приспособляясь к различным региональным условиям. Реформы Кебек-хана свидетельствуют о стремлении укрепить территориальное и фискальное управление Чагатайского улуса, тогда как политическая система Моғулистана демонстрирует сочетание чагатайской династической легитимности с влиянием крупных племенных эмиров. В государстве Тимура монгольские политико-правовые традиции сосуществовали с усиливавшимся исламским нормативным порядком. Сделан вывод, что преемственность и адаптация этих институтов создали важные исторические предпосылки для последующих процессов государственно-правового развития в казахской степи. Существенное внимание уделяется связи между военной организацией и территориальным управлением, а также роли городских центров, монетной чеканки, печатей и должностных лиц в практическом осуществлении власти. Сопоставление этих элементов позволяет показать не только общие черты рассматриваемых государств, но и региональные различия в способах централизации, взаимодействия с племенной знатью и регулировании податного населения.

Ключевые слова: Золотая Орда, Чагатайский улус, Моғулистан, Тимур, государственная система, правовая система, Великая Яса.

Introduction. The thirteenth to fifteenth centuries occupy a special place in the history of statehood in the territory of Kazakhstan. The political order that emerged after the Mongol conquests connected the steppe regions of Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq with a wider imperial system and subsequently produced a number of autonomous and independent political formations. Among them, the Golden Horde, the Chagatai Ulus, Moghulistan and the state of Timur played a decisive role in the political history of the region. Their institutions combined inherited Turkic traditions, the military-bureaucratic mechanisms of the Mongol Empire and, increasingly, Islamic norms and administrative practices.

The relevance of the problem lies in the need to examine these states not merely as successive dynastic regimes but as interconnected stages in the development of political and legal institutions. The underlying research emphasizes the relationships, similarities and differences among their systems of government, territorial organization, taxation and law, and links these processes to the longer development of Kazakh statehood. Such an approach makes it possible to consider institutional continuity alongside political fragmentation and regional transformation.

Historiography on the subject developed through several complementary approaches. V.V. Bartold reconstructed the political and cultural history of Central Asia and the Mongol period from Oriental written sources [1], while B.D. Grekov and A.Yu. Yakubovsky examined the political history of the Golden Horde [2].

G.A. Fedorov-Davydov shifted attention toward its social organization and material foundations [3], and T.I. Sultanov analyzed Chinggisid political elites and mechanisms of dynastic legitimacy [4].

Kazakhstani scholarship has increasingly placed the medieval states of the steppe within the longer development of statehood in Kazakhstan. E. Abil systematized the evolution of state and legal institutions, while studies of Ak Orda and the eastern Jochid space clarified the territorial and political processes that preceded later state formations [5]. Taken together, these works make it possible to analyze the period not only through dynastic chronology, but through the continuity and transformation of administrative, fiscal and legal institutions.

The aim of the article is to identify the principal features of the state and legal systems that operated in the territory of Kazakhstan and neighboring Central Asian regions in the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries and to determine the forms of institutional continuity and transformation that connected the Golden Horde, the Chagatai Ulus, Moghulistan and the Timurid state. The **objectives** are:

- to characterize the system of supreme and military-administrative power in the Golden Horde;
- to examine its territorial organization, taxation and legal regulation; to analyze the governmental structure of the Chagatai Ulus and Moghulistan;
- to identify the principal administrative features of Timur's state;
- to assess the relationship between the Mongol legal tradition and Sharia in the changing political environment of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Methodology. The methodological framework combines the principles of historicism, comparative analysis and systemic interpretation. Historical-genetic analysis is used to trace the origins and evolution of institutions from the unified Mongol imperial model to the political systems of successor states. The comparative-historical method allows the identification of common administrative mechanisms and regional differences. Typological analysis is applied to forms of rulership, territorial organization and military administration, while historiographical analysis is used to distinguish the interpretations offered by different scholarly traditions.

The comparative method is applied at several levels. First, the Golden Horde, Chagatai Ulus, Moghulistan and Timurid state are compared according to the organization of supreme power, the role of military elites, territorial administration and legal norms. Second, the article compares different stages within the same political tradition, for example the early dependence of the Jochid ulus on the Great Khan and its later political autonomy. Third, legal change is considered through the interaction of customary-imperial norms and Islamic law. Such comparison makes it possible to identify both inherited structures and innovations without assuming that all post-Mongol states developed in an identical manner.

The problem-chronological approach organizes the material around institutional questions rather than around a continuous narrative of military campaigns. This is necessary because the same institution could change its political meaning over time. Coinage, for example, was not only an economic instrument but also a marker of sovereignty when rulers issued money in their own name. Seals, paizas and decrees likewise served practical administrative functions while simultaneously expressing political authority. A systemic approach therefore connects military, fiscal, legal and symbolic mechanisms instead of treating them as unrelated elements of medieval government.

The source base requires critical interpretation. Court chronicles often represented rulers through political and religious ideals, especially in descriptions of Timur's Islamic piety. For this reason, narrative evidence is compared with numismatic, diplomatic and institutional materials that demonstrate the continuing importance of Mongol political and legal traditions. This approach allows normative claims to be distinguished from administrative practice.

The study also treats legal development as a process of coexistence and adaptation rather than a simple replacement of one normative order by another. This is particularly important for the Timurid period, when chronicles often emphasized Islamic legitimacy, while evidence concerning titles, coinage, decrees, military organization and Chinggisid political symbolism indicates the continued significance of Mongol traditions.

Results and discussion. The governmental system of the Golden Horde developed from the ulus organization established after the conquests of Chinggis Khan. Political authority rested on dynastic legitimacy and military power. The khan was regarded as the supreme ruler, military commander and holder of authority over land and population. The armed forces were organized according to the decimal principle into tens, hundreds, thousands and tumens, while commanders were subordinated through a hierarchical chain. Darughas and basqaqs performed important administrative and fiscal functions, linking the center with subject territories [5, p. 66].

The institution of the qurultai retained a significant place in political life. Assemblies could participate in questions of succession, major campaigns and relations among Chinggisid rulers. The political importance of such gatherings did not mean that the Golden Horde functioned as a collective government; rather, the qurultai connected dynastic legitimacy with the consent and participation of influential members of the ruling elite. The khan's authority was also expressed materially through the seal and the paiza. These objects confirmed delegated authority and facilitated the movement of officials and envoys through the communication system of the realm.

The changing relationship with the center of the Mongol Empire illustrates the development of sovereignty. Under the early Jochid rulers, important aspects of external relations and dynastic appointment remained connected to Karakorum. During the reign of Mongke-Temur, the Golden Horde achieved effective political independence, a development reflected in the minting of coins bearing the ruler's own name. The qurultai of 1269 further marked the weakening of dependence on the Great Khan. In this context, coinage, diplomacy and administrative autonomy should be read together as indicators of the consolidation of a separate Jochid political system.

Territorially, the Golden Horde was organized through a division into right and left wings, alongside major ulus formations. The eastern part of the Jochid realm, associated with Orda Ejen and later with the Ak Orda political tradition, covered a substantial part of the territory of present-day Kazakhstan. Signaq became an important political center in this eastern steppe zone. The development of Ak Orda and the subsequent political formations of the steppe illustrates how the original Jochid framework generated new centers of authority without completely abandoning Chinggisid concepts of legitimacy [6, p. 140].

Ak Orda illustrates how the eastern wing could develop a substantial degree of political autonomy while remaining embedded in the wider Chinggisid tradition. The research associates its territory with the lands stretching from the Altai and Irtysh toward the Ural River, the Syr Darya basin and the northern Aral region. Its population included numerous Turkic-speaking tribal groups that later participated in the ethnopolitical consolidation of the Kazakh steppe. The political center gradually shifted toward the Syr Darya cities, and Syganak became a permanent capital. This movement toward an urban center did not abolish steppe mobility; instead, it created a dual political geography in which the ruler's court, pasture zones, military resources and urban administration complemented one another [6, p. 140].

The later political fragmentation of the eastern Jochid territories further confirms the durability of the inherited institutional framework. The weakening of Ak Orda and the rise of the Nogai Horde and the polity of Abulkhair did not erase the principles of ulus organization, military leadership or Chinggisid legitimacy. Instead, new political unions emerged through redistribution of territories, tribal groupings and elite loyalties. The research gives particular attention to the Manghit component in the formation of the Nogai Horde, illustrating how a powerful political group could provide the nucleus for a new ulus while operating within the broader Jochid political tradition.

Urban centers were essential to the functioning of this steppe empire. Sarai served as the political center of the western Jochid realm, while Syganak played a comparable role in the eastern steppe. Cities supported trade, craft production, coinage and fiscal administration. The coexistence of mobile ruling courts with permanent urban centers is therefore an important feature of Golden Horde statehood. It complicates any simple opposition between 'nomadic' and 'sedentary' government and demonstrates the capacity of the ulus system to incorporate different economic and social environments.

Urbanization in the Jochid realm should therefore be interpreted as part of state practice rather than as a process external to nomadic politics. Capitals and regional cities concentrated craftsmen, merchants, mints and officials, while the steppe supplied military manpower, livestock and routes of seasonal movement. The interaction of these environments gave the ruling elite access to resources that no single economic zone could provide. Sarai and Syganak were important not because they transformed the Golden Horde into a sedentary monarchy, but because they anchored administrative and commercial functions within a political system that remained closely connected to mobile elites.

The eastern Jochid space is especially significant in this respect. Ak Orda combined the political traditions of the Jochid ulus with control over the Syr Darya zone, where cities connected steppe routes with agricultural and commercial regions. The growing importance of Syganak illustrates a broader tendency toward the concentration of political and fiscal functions around strategic urban centers. At the same time, the continued importance of dynastic appanages and mobile military forces shows that urban development supplemented rather than displaced the institutional logic of the steppe [7, p. 9].

Law and taxation were essential components of this system. The research treats the 'Great Yassa' as the normative legacy associated with Chinggis Khan and notes its role in state, administrative, criminal, judicial and fiscal regulation. Although the original text has not survived in a complete form, the legal tradition attributed to the Yassa remained politically significant. Fiscal practices included several forms of levy and customs payment, and taxation was closely connected with administrative control over subject populations and trade routes. With the Islamization of the Golden Horde, Islamic norms increasingly supplemented earlier legal practices rather than immediately eliminating them [8, p. 136].

Fiscal obligations linked dependent populations and regions to the ruling center. The research lists taxes and duties such as kopchur, kharaj, taghar, shygyn and customs dues, which reflected different economic activities and forms of obligation. Collection was carried out through officials, including basqaqs in territories subject to the khan. The census undertaken under Berke in 1257 is presented as part of a fiscal reform designed to register taxable populations and property. Such measures indicate that taxation was not merely episodic extraction but required administrative information and specialized agents [3, p. 55].

Communication infrastructure supported this fiscal and political system. The station network and the use of paizas allowed authorized representatives to travel, requisition resources and demonstrate their official status. Initially such privileges were closely associated with high officials and members of the

Chinggisid house, but the system became more regularized during the thirteenth century. In institutional terms, this network connected distant parts of the realm and reduced the practical problems created by the enormous scale of the Golden Horde. Administrative integration thus depended on mobility and communication as much as on territorial division [9, p. 19].

The Great Yassa, considered in the study as a body of norms associated with Chinggis Khan, regulated aspects of state, administrative, criminal, judicial and military life. Although its complete original text has not survived, the concept of Yassa remained politically significant as a symbol of the Chinggisid order. The continued use of customary and imperial norms was later accompanied by the growing authority of Islamic law. Under Uzbek Khan, Islam became the state religion of the Golden Horde, strengthening the institutional position of Sharia while customary law continued to operate in practice [8, p. 136].

This legal plurality was not necessarily contradictory. Different normative systems could apply to different spheres, communities or political situations. Chinggisid rules were closely connected with dynastic authority, military discipline and administrative tradition, while Islamic jurisprudence increasingly structured religious, family, property and judicial relations. The coexistence of these norms created a flexible legal environment capable of adapting to the heterogeneous population of the Golden Horde.

The administrative significance of this legal plurality becomes clearer when fiscal and communication practices are considered together. Tax collection required information about populations, property and productive resources, while the station network enabled officials to move across long distances and transmit orders. These mechanisms transformed political authority into routine administration: the khan's power was reproduced through registration, collection, credentials and mobility rather than through military coercion alone [9, p. 19].

The Golden Horde therefore combined several levels of integration. Dynastic legitimacy defined the apex of power; the ulus and military hierarchy organized elites and armed forces; fiscal institutions connected subject populations to the center; and urban centers linked political authority with trade and monetary circulation. This combination explains how a polity with a mobile court could nevertheless sustain durable control over heterogeneous steppe, agricultural and commercial regions.

The Chagatai Ulus inherited the same broad imperial foundations but developed under different social and regional conditions. Its territory extended from the southern Altai and Eastern Turkestan toward Transoxiana. Almaliq functioned as an important center. A major stage of administrative development is associated with Kebek Khan, whose reforms reorganized taxable territory into smaller administrative units and strengthened monetary circulation. The use of coinage and territorially defined fiscal units reflected the growing importance of settled regions and urban-economic relations within a polity whose ruling elite remained deeply connected to the steppe [4, p. 77].

The reforms of Kebek Khan represent one of the clearest attempts to adapt inherited institutions to the needs of territorial and fiscal government. According to the research, the territory was divided into smaller tax-paying administrative units identified as tumens and governed by Turkic-Mongol nobles. Kebek also introduced coinage that became associated with his name. These measures connected fiscal administration, territorial organization and monetary circulation, demonstrating that the Chagatai state was developing mechanisms of government that extended beyond purely tribal or military relations.

The limits of these reforms became visible after the weakening of central Chagatai authority. Competition among emirs and the divergent interests of nomadic and sedentary regions contributed to the separation of the eastern and western parts of the ulus. Nevertheless, the administrative experience of the Chagatai period did not disappear. Political actors in both Moghulistan and Transoxiana continued to use the titles, military structures and dynastic principles inherited from the earlier state. Fragmentation therefore produced institutional recombination rather than a complete beginning from zero.

The Chagatai experience also reveals the limits of administrative reform when political authority remained dependent on competing regional elites. Kebek's measures strengthened fiscal and territorial organization, but they could not permanently resolve the structural tension between the settled centers of Transoxiana and the nomadic aristocracies of the eastern ulus. The subsequent division of the political space was therefore not simply the result of personal rivalry. It reflected different economic environments and different expectations about the distribution of power, taxation and military leadership. The survival of Chagatai titles and dynastic claims after fragmentation shows that political division could coexist with institutional continuity [4, p. 77].

Moghulistan inherited the eastern side of this problem. Its rulers operated in a political landscape where tribal leaders controlled significant military resources, while the Chinggisid dynasty retained the strongest recognized claim to khanal legitimacy. The elevation of Tughluq-Temur with the support of the Dulat emir Bulatshi illustrates how these two principles could be combined. Rather than treating the emir's influence as evidence that the khanate lacked institutions, it is more accurate to see the arrangement as a specific distribution of functions: the dynasty supplied legitimacy, while leading emirs provided the regional and military infrastructure of rule [10, p. 156].

The fragmentation of the Chagatai realm produced different political trajectories in its eastern and western parts. In the east, Moghulistan emerged in the mid-fourteenth century under Chagatai dynastic legitimacy, with a political structure strongly influenced by powerful tribal elites. In Transoxiana, by contrast,

effective power increasingly passed to Turkic-Mongol amirs and begs. This divergence demonstrates that the common Chinggisid institutional heritage could be adapted to different balances between dynastic authority, tribal aristocracy, military elites and settled administrative traditions.

Moghulistan emerged in 1347-1348 in the eastern part of the former Chagatai political space. The Dulat emir Bulatshi played a decisive role in elevating Tughluq-Temur, a descendant of Chagatai, to the khanship. This episode demonstrates a characteristic division of political functions: powerful tribal emirs possessed the military and regional resources needed to shape political outcomes, yet Chinggisid descent remained necessary for the formal legitimacy of the khan.

The resulting system combined dynastic monarchy with the substantial influence of tribal aristocracies. The khan could pursue campaigns and attempt to strengthen central authority, but his capacity depended on the support of major emirs. Tughluq-Temur's campaigns into Transoxiana illustrate how external expansion could also serve internal political consolidation by attracting the support of nomadic elites. At the same time, repeated conflicts among emirs reveal the limits of centralization in a political environment where regional power remained strong [10, p. 156].

Moghulistan is therefore important for understanding institutional continuity in eastern Kazakhstan and Zhetysay. Its political organization preserved the Chagatai dynastic principle and ulus traditions while adapting them to a new balance among regional groups. The state also formed part of the political environment in which later rulers and tribal groupings of the Kazakh steppe developed. The significance of Moghulistan lies not in a direct institutional identity with later states but in the preservation and transformation of political practices within the same broad regional space.

The political structure of Moghulistan also demonstrates that decentralization did not necessarily mean the absence of state institutions. The authority of the khan was constrained by powerful emirs, yet succession, military mobilization and external policy continued to be framed through the Chagatai dynastic tradition. The relationship between khan and emir was therefore institutional rather than accidental: legitimacy and effective power were distributed between actors who depended on one another for political stability.

This balance distinguished Moghulistan from both the more urbanized western Chagatai territories and the later Timurid model. In Zhetysay and Eastern Turkestan, regional aristocracies retained substantial military resources, so centralization proceeded through negotiation and coalition. The persistence of a recognized Chinggisid khan nevertheless supplied a common political framework within which competing groups could claim offices, territories and authority.

The state of Timur represented another form of institutional synthesis. Timur did not belong to the Chinggisid dynasty and therefore relied on a complex political language of legitimacy. He used the titles amir and guragan, maintained formal recognition of Chinggisid khans and issued decrees within a framework that preserved the symbolic supremacy of the house of Chinggis Khan. His seal, emblem and motto served as instruments of sovereign representation, while central administration included the *divan-i a'la* and *divan-i buzurg*, which performed differentiated administrative and judicial functions [11, p. 51].

Central administration under Timur included two principal *divans*. The *divan-i a'la* functioned as a broad administrative institution, while the *divan-i buzurg* appears in the research as a tribunal particularly associated with Chagatai emirs. Timur also altered the distribution of provinces among powerful tribal leaders and restored forms of appanage administration connected with members of the ruling house. These measures strengthened the ruler's control over regional elites while retaining recognizable elements of earlier Central Asian political organization [12, p. 56].

Symbols of authority formed another important part of Timurid government. Timur possessed an emblem, seals and a political motto, and documentary authentication relied on seals in accordance with established practices of Muslim courts. Such symbols were not merely ceremonial. They connected the ruler's personal authority with the administrative circulation of commands, appointments and fiscal obligations. In this respect, the Timurid state combined steppe traditions of *tamga* and dynastic legitimacy with the documentary culture of the Islamic urban world.

The importance of political symbolism was particularly acute for Timur because his authority did not rest on direct Chinggisid descent. Titles, seals, dynastic marriage and the formal presence of Chinggisid khans allowed effective power to be expressed within a political vocabulary that remained intelligible to the steppe aristocracy. These devices did not conceal the reality of Timur's rule; they helped translate that rule into accepted forms. The result was a distinction between effective sovereignty and dynastic legitimacy, a distinction that demonstrates the continuing normative strength of the Chinggisid political tradition even under a ruler whose military authority was personal and overwhelming.

The same logic can be observed in central administration. The *divan-i a'la* and *divan-i buzurg* represented differentiated functions within the state, while the distribution of provinces and military commands remained connected to the political status of the ruling family and Chagatai elites. Centralization thus worked through selective preservation: institutions useful for mobilization, elite management and documentary authority were retained, but their relationship to the ruler was tightened. This explains why the Timurid system appears simultaneously traditional and innovative. Its institutional novelty lay less in creating entirely new offices than in combining existing steppe and Islamic administrative practices within a more concentrated structure of command [12, p. 56].

Military organization under Timur also retained the decimal and ulus-based legacy of the Mongol period. The army was divided into tumens, thousands, hundreds and tens, and tribal military formations remained important. At the same time, Timur's state mobilized the resources of settled territories and incorporated infantry, specialists, intelligence networks and logistical structures. This combination of steppe military organization and developed administrative control contributed to the strength of the Timurid political system.

The effectiveness of Timurid military administration also depended on logistics, intelligence and discipline. The research describes detailed requirements concerning provisions, weapons, additional horses, tents and tools carried by soldiers. Heralds transmitted mobilization orders, while commanders and individual soldiers had defined positions in campaign and battle formations. Reconnaissance and guides were treated as specialized functions. Such evidence shows that the military character of the state involved complex administration rather than only battlefield leadership [13, p. 87].

One of the most significant transformations concerned the relationship between customary Mongol law and Islamic law. Timurid chronicles often portrayed Timur as a ruler devoted to Islam and Sharia. However, the evidence discussed in the research suggests a more complex picture. Mongol legal and political traditions continued to operate alongside Islamic norms throughout Timur's reign. His recognition of Chinggisid khans, the organization of administration and the army, the form of decrees and the inscriptions on coins all indicate that Chinggisid political legality remained relevant. Contemporary and later Muslim critics even accused Timur of placing the *töre*, the inherited Mongol customary order, above Sharia in certain contexts [14, p. 477].

The tension between *töre* and Sharia is especially revealing. Contemporary and later Muslim writers could criticize Timur for placing Mongol custom above Islamic norms, while Timurid court historiography stressed his religious legitimacy. V.V. Bartold, as cited in the research, treated the image of Timur's piety in court histories with caution. The institutional evidence likewise suggests coexistence rather than replacement: administrative and military organization retained Mongol features even as Islamic law expanded its authority.

The legal interaction also had a political dimension. Sharia strengthened the ideological connection between the ruler and the Muslim populations of cities and agricultural regions, whereas *töre* preserved continuity with the military aristocracy and the political culture of the steppe. Timur's government had reasons to employ both. A purely religious legal order would not have erased the expectations of Chagatai military elites, while exclusive reliance on steppe custom would have been insufficient for governing major Islamic urban centers. The coexistence of the two traditions was therefore closely related to the social and territorial composition of the state [15, p. 89].

The coexistence of steppe and Islamic norms was reinforced by the social composition of the Timurid state. Military elites derived status from traditions of service, hierarchy and Chagatai political culture, while urban populations and religious institutions operated within an increasingly developed Islamic legal environment. A stable government therefore had to communicate with both normative worlds. The resulting order was not a temporary compromise but a practical mechanism for governing populations with different legal expectations.

Timur's central institutions also reveal the relationship between conquest and administration. The *divans*, provincial arrangements, seals and military command structure converted personal authority into differentiated governmental functions. In this respect, centralization did not require the elimination of inherited institutions; it depended on their reorganization around the ruler and the ruling house. The Timurid state thus illustrates how Mongol political forms could be incorporated into a more concentrated administrative system [12, p. 56].

Military organization provides the clearest example of this transformation. The decimal hierarchy remained recognizable, but mobilization also depended on logistics, reconnaissance, specialized personnel and resources drawn from settled territories. The army was consequently both a continuation of steppe military organization and an instrument of a territorial empire whose campaigns required complex administrative preparation [13, p. 87].

A comparison of the Golden Horde, Chagatai Ulus, Moghulistan and Timurid state reveals several common features. First, military organization remained closely connected with territorial administration. Second, political legitimacy continued to be shaped by Chinggisid concepts even where actual power was exercised by non-Chinggisid elites. Third, taxation and control of trade were indispensable instruments of government. Fourth, the expansion of Islam modified the legal order but did not instantly erase the earlier normative system. Finally, the growing role of cities, coinage, written decrees and administrative offices demonstrates that these states cannot be reduced to purely nomadic political structures.

The comparison shows that institutional continuity operated through functions rather than through unchanged forms. A *tumen* could serve primarily as a military unit in one context and acquire fiscal-territorial significance in another; dynastic legitimacy could be exercised directly by a Chinggisid khan or preserved symbolically under a non-Chinggisid ruler; and urban centers could complement rather than replace mobile political structures. Continuity should therefore be understood as the repeated adaptation of familiar political technologies to new balances of power.

The fiscal dimension is equally important. Across the states considered here, stable rule required mechanisms for defining obligations, collecting revenue and controlling trade. The specific taxes and administrative agents varied, but the underlying problem remained the same: rulers had to transform access to people, herds, land and commerce into predictable resources. Fiscal administration therefore provides one of the strongest links between military organization and territorial government.

Finally, the evolution of legal institutions demonstrates that political change was cumulative. The expansion of Sharia did not simply replace the Yassa or customary steppe norms; instead, rulers and communities drew on different normative traditions according to political, social and judicial needs. This layered legal environment helps explain why Mongol-derived institutions remained visible even in states whose public ideology and urban administration were increasingly Islamic [15, p. 89].

There were also important differences. In the Golden Horde, Chinggisid khans directly embodied supreme dynastic legitimacy, whereas Timur exercised effective sovereignty without claiming descent from Chinggis Khan. Moghulistan depended more visibly on the political weight of tribal emirs, while the Timurid state developed a more concentrated central administration around the ruler and his divans. The Chagatai reforms under Kebek reveal a stronger emphasis on territorial-fiscal reorganization, while the Jochid realm's right-left wing structure reflected its particular dynastic and military geography.

These differences also affected the relationship between center and region. In the Golden Horde, territorial organization developed within a ruling dynasty that directly occupied the khanal throne. In Moghulistan, the khan's authority was mediated more strongly by tribal emirs, whereas Timur concentrated effective power in his own hands while preserving Chinggisid forms of legitimacy. The comparison therefore suggests that the decisive variable was not whether a state possessed uluses, military elites or Islamic institutions, but how these elements were arranged within the hierarchy of power.

The role of cities likewise varied without producing a simple contrast between nomadic and sedentary states. Sarai, Syganak, Almaliq and the urban centers of Transoxiana performed different political functions, but in each case cities provided resources that complemented steppe forms of rule: mints, markets, craft production, documentary administration and access to agricultural revenue. The political systems examined here were consequently based on interaction between ecological and economic zones rather than on the dominance of only one way of life.

From this perspective, the development of statehood in the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries appears as a process of institutional selection. Rulers retained practices that continued to solve problems of legitimacy, mobilization, taxation and territorial control, modified those that no longer corresponded to changing conditions, and incorporated Islamic legal and administrative mechanisms where they increased governing capacity. Such an approach makes it possible to explain both the strong family resemblance among the post-Mongol states and the substantial differences in their political organization.

The comparison also demonstrates that state formation in the medieval steppe was not incompatible with institutional complexity. Mobile courts, tribal military units and seasonal movement existed alongside taxation, written decrees, diplomatic missions, urban capitals, coinage and judicial structures. The evidence used in the research therefore challenges interpretations that treat nomadic political organization as inherently temporary or administratively undeveloped. The states considered here maintained authority over extensive territories precisely because they combined flexible steppe mechanisms with the administrative resources of towns and settled regions.

For the history of Kazakhstan, the most significant result is the persistence of political structures within the territories where later Kazakh statehood developed. Ak Orda, the eastern Jochid space, Moghulistan and neighboring Timurid domains formed a connected political environment rather than isolated worlds. Their institutions contributed to traditions of rulership, territorial organization, military mobilization and legal regulation that remained relevant during the transition to the political formations of the fifteenth century. The institutional perspective is especially useful for interpreting the transition toward the political formations of the fifteenth century. It avoids treating each dynastic change as a complete rupture and instead asks which mechanisms of rule remained available to new elites. Control of ulus territories, the mobilization of tribal forces, access to Syr Darya cities and recognition of legitimate descent continued to shape political competition. The later consolidation of power in the Kazakh steppe therefore occurred within a political environment already structured by several centuries of post-Mongol institutional development.

At the same time, continuity should not be confused with direct institutional identity. The Golden Horde, Ak Orda, Moghulistan and the Timurid state differed in territorial scale, social composition and the balance between dynastic rulers and military elites. Their significance lies in the repertoire of political practices they transmitted: forms of territorial allocation, military hierarchy, fiscal obligation, diplomatic representation and legal legitimation. These practices could be recombined by later rulers according to new political circumstances.

This approach also clarifies the role of regional diversity. Eastern Desht-i Qipchaq, Zhetysay, Eastern Turkestan and Transoxiana were connected through warfare, migration, trade and dynastic politics, but they did not develop identical administrative systems. Institutional continuity therefore operated across a network of neighboring political spaces. Similar concepts could acquire different functions depending on the strength of urban centers, the organization of tribal elites and the ruler's access to fiscal resources. The overall

pattern is one of adaptation within continuity. Military institutions provided an enduring framework for mobilization, while fiscal and urban mechanisms increased the capacity of rulers to govern complex territories. Dynastic traditions supplied legitimacy, and Islamic law gradually expanded the normative resources available to states. The interaction of these elements, rather than any single institution, explains the resilience of political organization in the region during the thirteenth-fifteenth centuries.

Conclusion. The state and legal systems that developed in the territory of Kazakhstan and adjacent Central Asian regions during the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries were products of both continuity and transformation. The political fragmentation of the Mongol Empire created separate states, but many fundamental institutions survived: dynastic legitimacy, ulus organization, military hierarchy, administrative officials, fiscal mechanisms, ruler's decrees and symbols of authority. These institutions were modified according to local political, economic and religious conditions.

The analysis confirms that the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries should be viewed as a period of institutional differentiation within a common post-Mongol political framework. The collapse of imperial unity produced new states, but their rulers continued to employ inherited mechanisms of administration and legitimacy. Changes in territory and dynasty therefore coexisted with continuity in the practical technologies of government. At the same time, continuity did not mean institutional immobility. Fiscal reforms, the growth of urban political centers, independent coinage, the strengthening of regional elites and the expansion of Islamic law changed the content of government. The history of these states is consequently best interpreted through the interaction of inherited structures and regional adaptation rather than through a simple opposition between 'Mongol' and 'Islamic' models.

In the Golden Horde and its eastern political space, the military-administrative model of the Jochid ulus became the basis for durable territorial and political structures. In the Chagatai realm and Moghulistan, the same heritage was reshaped by the relationship between Chinggisid rulers and tribal elites and by the increasing significance of settled regions. Timur's state preserved key elements of Mongol political organization while developing a more complex central administration and actively employing Islamic forms of legitimacy. The legal development of the period is best understood as a gradual interaction between the normative legacy associated with the Yassa and the expanding authority of Sharia. This institutional synthesis formed an important part of the political experience of the steppe and Central Asia. In this sense, the thirteenth–fifteenth centuries constituted a major stage in the evolution of statehood preceding the establishment of the Kazakh Khanate in the second half of the fifteenth century.

Conflict of interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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ТОРҒАЙ ОБЛЫСЫНДАҒЫ ДЕНСАУЛЫҚ САҚТАУ ІСІНІҢ «ТУРГАЙСКАЯ ГАЗЕТА» МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫНДА ДЕРЕКТЕЛУІ (XIX Ғ. СОҢЫ – XX Ғ. БАСЫ)

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Джумашев А.М. – тарих ғылымдарының докторы, профессор, Өзбекстан Республикасы Ғылым академиясы Қарақалпақстан бөлімінің Қарақалпақ гуманитарлық ғылымдар ғылыми-зерттеу институты тарих бөлімінің меңгерушісі, Нүкіс қ., Қарақалпақстан, Өзбекстан Республикасы.

Мақалада XIX ғасырдың соңы мен XX ғасырдың басындағы Торғай облысындағы денсаулық сақтау жүйесінің қалыптасу ерекшеліктері, санитарлық саясаттың бағыттары мен індеттерге қарсы күрес шаралары «Тургайская газета» (1895–1910 жж.) материалдары негізінде кешенді деректанулық тұрғыда қарастырылған. Зерттеудің мақсаты – өңірдегі негізгі ресми мерзімді басылым деректері арқылы Торғай облысындағы емдеу ісінің жай-күйін, медициналық инфрақұрылымның құрылуын және дәстүрлі емшілік пен еуропалық медицинаның арақатынасын айқындау болып табылады. Зерттеу міндеттері: басылым беттеріндегі денсаулық сақтау тақырыбындағы нормативтік және есептік құжаттарды жүйелеу; шешек, оба, тырысқақ індеттерінің таралуын саралау; Орынбор фельдшерлік мектебінің алғашқы қазақ мамандарын даярлаудағы рөлін анықтау; Ақтөбе және Қостанай уездерінің 1-ші және 3-ші дәрігерлік учаскелерінің тыныс-тіршілігіне талдау жасау. Газет мәліметтері мен ҚР Орталық мемлекеттік архивінің деректері негізінде өлкедегі медициналық желінің халық мүддесінен гөрі, империяның әскери қауіпсіздігі мен «санитарлық қалқан» құру мақсатына бағындырылғаны дәлелденген. 46 мыңнан астам тұрғыны бар Қостанай уезінің 3-дәрігерлік учаскесі мысалында өлкедегі дәрігерлік кадр тапшылығы көрсетілген. Мерзімдік басылым бетіндегі жас ағартушы Ахмет Байтұрсынұлының 1896 жылғы куәгерлік жазбасы арқылы