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**Azizjon Sharipov**

Abu Rayhan Beruni Institute of Oriental Studies of the  
Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan

PhD student

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1494-2843>

[sharipov.aziz@gmail.com](mailto:sharipov.aziz@gmail.com)

## **Information on the Historical Toponymics of Herat in Written Sources: Shahrukh's Period**

### **Abstract**

As is known, written sources contain a lot of information about Herat, one of the oldest cities in Khorasan, and its historical monuments. This article analyzes the history of urban planning of Herat from its ancient past to the Middle Ages, especially the Timurid period, the activities of Shahrukh in the field of construction and improvement, toponymical information about the architectural monuments, and the historical topography of Herat.

**Keywords:** *Herat, Timurid period, written sources, historical place names, madrasa, khānaqāh, shrines*

**Əzizcan Şərifov**

Özbəkistan Elmlər Akademiyasının

Əbu Reyhan Biruni adına Şərqşünaslıq İnstitutu

dissertant

<https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1494-2843>

[sharipov.aziz@gmail.com](mailto:sharipov.aziz@gmail.com)

## **Yazılı mənbələrdə Heratın tarixi toponimiyası haqqında məlumat: Şahrux dövrü**

### **Xülasə**

Məlum olduğu kimi, yazılı mənbələrdə Xorasanın ən qədim şəhərlərindən biri olan Herat və onun tarixi abidələri haqqında geniş məlumatlar vardır. Bu məqalədə Heratda qədim dövrlərdən orta əsrlərə qədər, xüsusən də Teymurilər dövlətinin hökmdarı Şahruxun hakimiyyəti dövründə şəhərsalmanın qısa tarixi təhlil edilir; Teymurilərin şəhərsalma və abadlıq sahəsindəki fəaliyyəti araşdırılır. Məqalədə bu dövrdə Heratın memarlıq abidələri və tarixi topoqrafiyası haqqında toponimik məlumatlar verilir.

**Açar sözlər:** *Herat, Teymurilər dövrü, yazılı mənbələr, tarixi toponimlər, mədrəsələr, xanəqahlar, ziyarətgahlar*

### **Introduction**

Herat is one of the oldest cities in Khorāsān. Although the period of the city's foundation is uncertain, during the Achaemenid period (550-330 BC), this region was mentioned in ancient Greek sources as a separate province (satrapy) called “Haraiva” or “Aria”. It is assumed that the name of the city is derived from the name of the present-day Harirud River, which is mentioned in the *Avesta* as “Harayu” or “Harairuda” (in ancient Aramaic, meaning “fast-flowing water”). This river originates in the Hindu Kush mountains of Central Afghanistan and flows through the southern lands of Herat. Upon reaching Taybad, the river turns north, passes the cities of Sarahs and Tejen, and then flows into the Karakum Desert (total length 1,150 km).

Herat was one of the important cities located on the ancient trade routes connecting the countries of “Rum” – the Byzantine (also known as the Eastern Roman Empire), Persia, Sindh, and India. The oldest part of Herat that has survived to this day is the old Herat Arch (Herat Citadel) located on the Kūhandiz Hill. According to local legends, the fortress was built by Alexander the Great in 330 BC and was called the “Alexandria of the Aria”. Undoubtedly, the city existed before Alexander. Hamdallah Mustawfi Qazvini (1281-1340) writes in his work *Nuzhat al-Qulub* (“Hearts Bliss”): “Herat is the name of one of the commanders of Narimān (the character of the *Shahnameh*), who founded the city. Alexander the Great rebuilt it and surrounded it with a wall of 9,000 steps” (Mustawfi, 1919). In later periods, the city fortress was destroyed and rebuilt several times. Today, the territory of the Kūhandiz Fortress has become the city cemetery.

### Research

Although written information about the pre-Islamic period of Herat is scarce, some information about the city began to increase in the 7th century as a result of the Arab invasion of Khorasan, along with the historical and political processes that took place in the Herat oasis. During this period, the city was built as a separate new fortress a little south of the Kūhandiz Hill. According to Abu Ishaq al-Istakhri, Maqdisi, Muḥammad Abū'l-Qāsim Ibn Ḥawqal, and other historians, the Herat fortress was rectangular, with four gates (*darvāza*) on each side, each with its own name. Mahmud ibn Wali, in his work *Bahr al-asrar*, based on the work *Taqvim al-Bilad* by the Samanid historian Abu Zayd Balkhi (235/850-322/934), gives the names of the Gates of Herat: the northern wall was called “Balkh” Gate, the southern one was called “Sistan”, the western one was called “Shiraz”, and the eastern gate was called “Ghōr” (“Ghur”) (Vali, 1977, p. 82). Surrounded by strong walls and towers, the fortress contained the ruler's residence (*Ark*), a mint, a Large Mosque, markets outside each gate, and numerous gardens (*bāgh*) irrigated by abundant rivers throughout the city and its surroundings.

In 998, Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni minted coins here after conquering Khorasan. As a result of the weakening of the Ghaznavid Empire, Herat was incorporated into the Ghurid Sultanate in 1175. During this period, the city experienced robust growth. According to Hamdallah Qazvini, more than 300 schools and madrasas, more than 12,000 trading posts, caravanserais, numerous khānaqāhs, and baths were built in the city. Of course, these figures are exaggerated, but there is no doubt that this period was indeed rich in architectural monuments. In 1201, the Largest Mosque of Herat, the Masjid-i Jame, was built by Malik Ghiyās ad-Din Muhammad Ghuri (1139–1203), but at the same time, Zoroastrian Fire Temples and Christian churches also functioned in the city. During this period, Herat became an important commercial and economic center for the production of gas, iron products, and especially bronze carvings.

By the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the city had become a battleground between the Ghurids and the Khorezmshahs. In 1214, it briefly fell into the hands of the Khorezmshahs. During the conquest of Genghis Khan, Herat was twice invaded and destroyed by the Mongols. When the Mongols, led by Tolui Khan, first besieged Herat in 1221, the fortress governor, Malik Shams ad-Din Juzjani, appointed by Sultan Jalal ad-Din Mangburni Khorezmshah, bravely fought against the invaders. Only after Malik Shams ad-Din and his 12,000 soldiers were killed did the city's inhabitants open their gates to the Mongols. Inspired by Khorezmshah's victory in the Battle of Parwān, the people of Herat revolted against the invaders, killed Genghis Khan's local viceroy and supporters, and expelled the Mongols from the city. In order to suppress the uprising, the Mongols, led by Elchidai Noyan, besieged the city for seven months and managed to recapture it in Jumādā al-'Ūlā 619 AH (1222, June-July). Almost the entire population was mercilessly massacred by the Mongols. Based on the work of Ata-Malik Juvayni *Tarikh-i Jahangushay* Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi writes: “Elchidai Noyan stormed the fortress from the Khākistar Burj (tower) and captured the city. By his order, they killed men and women, old and young, large and small; made the ditches bleed; burned and destroyed houses; demolished the city walls, towers, and buried the moats. For seven days, the Mongols did nothing but kill, set fire to, uproot, and shed blood. One thousand six hundred thousand (1,600,000) of the inhabitants of Herat were martyred. Elchidai Noyan leveled and cleared the land of Herat to

such an extent that not a single living soul remained” (Yazdiy, 2020, pp. 220-221). The sources state that the city lay in ruins for 20 years, until 1236.

In 1244, the Mongols transferred control of Khorasan to the local prince Malik Shams ad-Din Kart (d. 1278). Herat was revived during the Kart dynasty (a dynasty that ruled in Khorasan from 1244 to 1381. Sometimes referred to as Kurts or Kartids in sources and research). The Nizamiya Madrasah and several other mosques, khānaqāhs, and *maqbaras* (mausoleums) built during the Seljuk period were restored, and the Pul-i Mālān Bridge over the Harirud River was repaired. Ikhtiyār ad-Din Malik, the famous minister of Malik Fakhr ad-Din Kart (r. 1295-1308), restored and strengthened the arch (*Ark*) of the Herat Fortress, which had been in ruins since the Mongol era. This arch, consisting of six *burj-towers* surrounded by a moat and a wall, was now called “*Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin*”. During this period, the city became known to the world as the “Pearl of Khorasan”, as described in the work of Saif ibn Muhammad ibn Yākub Haravi in his *Tarikh-i Harāt* (“History of Herat”).

During the reign of Sāhibqirān (“Lord of Conjunction” – Amir Timur’s most famous title, rooted in astrology. In Persian and Turkic medieval sources, it means “born at the moment of conjunction of two planets: Venus and Jupiter or Venus and the Sun”, figuratively speaking, fortunate). With Amir Timur and the Timurids, Herat entered a new stage of its development. The written sources created during this period are distinguished by the abundance and variety of information about the history of the city in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries. From these sources, which complement each other, we can see how extensive the development work of the Timurid rulers was carried out in Khorasan, especially in its capital, Herat.

In 1380, Amir Timur incorporated Khorasan into his state. In 782 AH/1383, Sahibqirān’s 14-year-old son Miranshah Mīrzā showed special courage in this campaign, so he appointed him as the governor of Khorasan. Although Miranshah ruled Khorasan until 795 AH/1392, there is almost no information in the sources about his construction work in Herat. However, it is known that there was a large khānaqāh built by his wife, Khanzade Begum, outside the eastern gate of the Bāzār-i Khush in Herat, in the southern part of the Masjid-e Jame – “*Khānaqāh of Sheik-ul-Islam Mawlana Shahab ad-Din Bistamī*” and the Khanzade Begum Madrasah opposite it.

In 798 AH/1395, Amir Timur transferred Northern Iran, Iraq, and Azerbaijan to Miranshah. In the spring of 799 AH/1397, Shahrukh was appointed to the throne of Khorasan. After the death of Sāhibqirān, Shahrukh moved the capital of his empire from Samarkand to Herat and began unprecedentedly large-scale development work there.

In the Middle Ages, the city of Herat was administratively divided into several districts – *būluk* (plural *būlukot*). 11 of them are mentioned in the written sources of the Timurids: *Būluk-i Alinjān*, *Būluk-i Guzāra*, *Ghurvān* and *Pashtān* (*Gurvānu Bashtān*), *Būluk-i Injil*, *Kambarāq* (*Būluk-i Kamrāk*), *Parvāna* and *Havādashtak* (*Parvānu Havādashtak*), *Sabakār* (*Būluk-i Sabka*), *Būluk-i Sanayān*, *Būluk-i Turān* and *Tuniyān* (*Turāniyānu Tuniyān*), *Udvān* and *Tizān* (*Advādu Tizān*) and *Būluk-i Khiyābān*. Each *būluk* in turn is made up of *mahalla* – neighborhoods. For example: *Mahalla-i Khwaja Shihab*, *Mahalla-i Shamrezān* (“Neighborhood of the Candle Makers”), *Mahalla-i Mirān* (“Neighborhood of the Emirs”), *Sādat mahalla* (in the *Guzāra* district), etc. Outside the city, there were also many villages and small settlements. In the sources, the names of these places are found with the Arabic word “*qarya*” (قَرْيَة) and Persian word “*deh*” (ده), meaning “village”. For example: *Qarya-e Jabrail*, *Qarya-e Ābi Jalil* (villages in the northwest of Herat), *Qarya-e Khaima-i dūzān* (village of tent makers); *Deh-i Minār*, *Deh-i Miri* (villages in the southwest of Herat), etc.

While sources from the 10<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries mention four gates to the Herat citadel, in later centuries their number increased to five. This is certainly related to the gradual development of the city after the Mongol conquest. The following five gates of Herat are also mentioned in the sources of the Timurids. On the eastern wall of the citadel was *Darvāza-i Khush*; on the western – *Darvāza-i Iraq*; on the southern – *Darvāza-i Firuzabad*; the northern wall had two gates, one of which was *Darvāza-i Malik* (Gate of the Maliks; sometimes also called *Darvāza-i Maidān*) in the northwest, and the other, *Darvāza-i Qipchāq* was located on the northeastern wall of the citadel. Mahmud ibn Wali also mentions that both northern gates were called “Gates of Barāmān”. He also notes that the corners of

the Herat Fortress were protected by strong *burj* (towers), each with four pillars (*Burj-i Ali Asad*, *Burj-i Kharik*, *Burj-i Khākistar* or *Burj-i Khāk*, and *Burj-i Samāniyān*) (Vali, 1977, p. 82).

The Ark of Herat (i.e., the *Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin*) was a fortress within a fortress, located in the northern part of Herat Fortress, between the Malik and Qipchāq Gates, connected to the *Bāgh-i Shahr* ("City Garden"). In 818 AH/1415, Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin was transformed into a fortified military structure by Shahrukh. The area of the arch was further expanded, and the number of towers in it was increased to twelve, and it was called *Duwāzdah Burj* ("Twelve Towers"). Each of these towers was also named separately, the largest of which was called *Burj al-Malik* because it was located next to the Malik Gate of the Herat Fortress. Babur wrote that he visited these defensive structures during his stay in Herat: "On each of the twenty days I was in Herat I went out on horseback to tour the places I had not seen... The Duwāzdah Burj... the five gates of the fortress: Darvāza-i Malik and Darvāza-i Irak and Darvāza-i Feruzābād and Darvāza-i Khush and Darvāza-i Qipchāq... All these I saw in a short period of time" (Babur, 1996, 191b folio; Bobur, 2002) (In the following passages, we have found it necessary to refer to the manuscript folios rather than to the pages indicated in this publication, where quotations from the *Baburnama* appear in this article). According to information provided by Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi and Abdurazzaq Samarkandi, while construction work was underway in the city, Shahrukh renovated the *Bāgh-i Zāghān* and the palace within it, which existed during the Kurd period and was located to the northwest of Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin, and turned it into his residence (Renovations in the *Bāgh-i Zāghān* area were carried out in 814 AH/1411-1412. This garden, irrigated by the *Jūy-i Injil* Canal, was surrounded by walls; its eastern part adjoined the Gawharshad Begum's Musallā. Later, sources note that wedding ceremonies of the Timurid rulers were also held in this garden). Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin housed a mint (*zarbkhāna*), the treasury of the Timurid rulers, and there was also a separate prison (*zindān*) for political prisoners. Since the walls of the Ark were built of stone and red-baked bricks, Babur notes that it was also called *Ālakūrghān* ("Red Fortress") among the local population: "The princes' mothers, sisters, wives, and treasuries were in the Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin, or *Ālakūrghān*" (Babur, 1996, 206a folio). Separate positions were introduced for the security of the fortress. The Herat Fortress was under the responsibility of a guard, and the *Ark* was under the responsibility of a guard. During the reign of Shahrukh, such individuals as Amir Baba Masud, Musa Mirak, and Mawlana Ahmad Yasawur served as guards at the Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin (Samarqandiy, 2008, pp. 70-71).

Ghiyās al-Din Khvandamir (1476-1536) reports on the madrasa and the khānaqāh of Shahrukh, the construction of which began in Rabi' al-Akhir 813 AH (August 1410). These two buildings were located within the walls of the Herat Fortress, adjacent to the eastern side of the Qala-i Ikhtiyāriddin, and were completed in a very short time in a very beautiful and complex manner. At the same time, they drew up the design (i.e., laid the foundation for the construction) of the *Bāgh-i Safid* located in the northeast of Herat (G'iyosiddin, 2013, pp. 364, 466, 1083, 1096). The historian also mentions that prominent scholars of their time, such as Mawlana Jalal ad-Din Yusuf Ūbahi (833 AH /1430), Mawlana Nizam ad-Din Abdurahim Yār Ahmad, Khwaja Nasir ad-Din Lutfullāh ibn Khwaja Azizullāh, Mawlana Burkhan ad-Din Atāullāh ar-Razi (d. 902), and Khwaja Imād ad-Din Abd al-Aziz, known as "Mawlanazāda Abhari", taught at the Shahrukh's Madrasa.

In 820 AH/1417, Gawharshad Begum (1378-1457), the wife of Shahrukh, the mother of Mirzo Ulughbek, also built her own *madrasa* and *masjid* [mosque]. The famous architect Qavām ad-Din Shirazi (d. 1438) is in charge of the construction works. These two monuments were located on opposite sides of the Musallā Square, north of the Herat Fortress. Although the last construction work was completed in 841 AH /1437-1438, academic activities in the madrasa began in 827 AH/1423. The construction of Gawharshad Begum Mosque was completed in 836/1432-1433. This mosque was located in the south of Gawharshad Begum Madrasa. It is worth noting that during this period there was a Timurid shrine built adjacent to it in the northwestern part of the Gawharshad Begum's Madrasa. After the tragic death of the princess, her body was buried in this cemetery, and now it is called *Gawharshad Begum's Maqbara*. In addition to the tomb of Gawharshad, his father, Amir Ghiyās ad-Din Tarkhān (d. 827 AH/1424), his brother Amir Hasan Sūfi Tarkhān (d. 827 AH / 1424),

Bāysunghur (1397-1433) and Muhammad Jūki (1402-1445), one of the sons of Shahrukh, are located in the mausoleum complex. Bāysunghur's sons Sultan Muhammad (1418-1452) and Rukn-ud-din Ala al-Dawla (1417-1460) and his son Ibrahim Mirza (1440-1459) were buried there. It is known that after Shahrukh died on 25th Dhu al-Hijjah 850 AH (1447, March 22), his body was also placed in this tomb for a while, and in 852 AH/1448–1449 Mirzo Ulughbek reburied it in the mausoleum of Amir Timur in Samarkand.

In the years 829-830 AH/1424-1425, Shahrukh renovated the tomb (*mazār*) of the famous scholar Khwaja Abu Ismail Abdullah al-Harawi al-Ansari (1006-1088) at the foot of Mount Gāzurgāh, 6 km northeast of Herat, and turned it into a large pilgrimage site (According to Fasih Hawafi, construction work began in Muharram 829 AH (November-December 1424) and was completed in Muharram 830 AH (November-December 1425) (Havofiy, 2018, pp. 275, 277). In the sources, this place is also mentioned as “*Māzār-i Pir Herat*”, “*Hazira-e Khwaja Abdullah Ansari*”. To ensure financial support for the shrine, Shahrukh will allocate additional land to this place. Among the ancient monuments in this area, the *rabāt* of *Sheik Ismail Sūfi* and the *Masjid-i Gāzurgāh* were also restored. During the Timurid period, the steppe lands around Gāzurgāh were developed and developed, especially through the Jūy-i Sultāni Canal, which was dug by Sultan Abusaid Mirza. Khvandamir mentions the *Bāghcha-e Gāzurgāh* located in this area and describes it as “not only in the land of Khorasan, but also in most prosperous lands of the world, such a paradise-like place with delicious water and pleasant air is not found” (G'iyosiddin, 2013). Later, Alisher Navo'i also paid great attention to the improvement of the Gāzurgāh pilgrimage site. In 1490-1494, he also built a smaller garden near the Namakdān complex of Gāzurgāh. This garden, which was mentioned in the *Baburnama* as *Bāghcha-e Alisherbek*, is now called Bāgh-i Naw. Babur also visited the Gāzurgāh complex in 1506 when he got acquainted with the sights of Herat (since information about the monuments built by Alisher Navoi in Herat is a separate topic of research, we did not dwell on them in this article – A.Sh.).

During the reign of Shahrukh, the mausoleum of Imam Fakhriddin Razi (Imam Fakhr; Fakhr ad-Din Abu Abdullah Muhammad ibn 'Omar ibn Husayn ar-Razi (543AH/1149-606AH/1209) – an Islamic commentator, sheik ul-Islam, philosopher, and preacher who lived during the reign of the Ghurids and the Khorezmshahs. He studied in Ray and Maragheh and lived in the cities of Ghazni, Bukhara, Samarkand, Nasaf, Khwarazm, Banākat, Merv, and Herat. He taught in madrasas on the subjects of faith, Aqedah, tafsir, jurisprudence, kalam, 'usul, history, literature, and philosophy. Furthermore, he participated in scientific debates on the teachings of Ibn Sina and Abu Nasr al-Farabi. He worked for a while in the Punjab region of India, then returned to Herat and lived there until the end of his life. The main works are *Mafātih al-ghayb* commentary, *Jame' al-'ulum*, *Munāzarāt al-Allamā Fakhr ad-Din*, *Kitab al-muhāssal afkār al-mutaqāddimin wal mutaaxxirin*, *Manāqib al-Imam ash-Shafi'i*, *Kitab al-mahsul*, *Chahārdah risāla*, and others) was renovated in Herat's Būluk-i Khiyābān. This place was improved over time and turned into a large architectural ensemble, reminiscent of the Shahi-Zinda mausoleum complex in Samarkand. During the reign of the Timurids, famous scholars, judges, imams, and sheiks of the time were buried in this cemetery, and several domed shrines were built over the graves. Babur notes that he also visited these mausoleums in Imam Fakhr during his stay in Herat (Babur, 1996, 191a folio). In 838 AH/1434, the Sabz-i Barāmān (Barāmān) Madrasa (built in 751 AH/1350-1351 by Malik Muizziddin Husayn ibn Ghiyās ad-Din Kart (reigned 1332-1370) outside the northern gate *Darvāza-i Malik* of Herat Fortress) (Ghiyās al-Din, 2013, p. 98.) was renovated by Shahrukh, and the imam-*khatib* of the Gawharshad Begum mosque, Mawlana Shams ad-Din Muhammad Avhad (d. 1435), and the emir Sadr ad-Din Yunus Husayni, taught in it (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 54; G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 1100).

During the reign of Shahrukh, several monuments were built in Herat by his viziers (ministers) and emirs. For example, in 809 AH/1406-1407, a large prayer hall was built by the vizier Sālar Simnani in the north of Herat, at the foot of Mukhtar Mountain, by order of Shahrukh. In the same year, the Fatkhabad Canal, dug by Khwaja Ghiyās ad-Din in the Būluk-i Udvanu Tizān, was also solemnly opened (Havofiy, 2018, p. 87).

Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Qaini (d. 1435) also had a madrasa in Herat. This monument, popularly known as the *Madrassa-i Peshburd*, was located to the south of Herat's Masjid-i Jame (G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 479).

The great emir Alauddin Alikā Kūkaldāsh (d. 844 AH/1440), who served the Sāhibqirān and was the teacher of Shahrukh, had his own madrasa and khānaqāh in the Khiyābān area (near the *Pul-i Jūy-i Naw* Bridge). Another mosque of Alikā Kūkaldāsh was adjacent to the Masjid-i Muqatta built by Mirzo Ulugbek in Samarkand Registan. Masjid-i Alikā Kūkaldāsh was located on the opposite side of the Tillakori Madrasa, to the left of the Ulugbek Madrasa (in the place of the observation deck and steps of the Registan Square. According to Khvandamir, Alikā Kūkaldāsh herself was later buried under the dome of this madrasa. The imam of Herat's Masjid-i Jame, Nuridin Nurullāh Khwarizmi (d. 838/1435), taught in the madrasa (Havofiy, 2018, p. 288). Five *farsahs* (about 30 km; Farsakh – also known as a “*parasang*”, is a historical unit of walking distance, the length of which varied according to terrain and speed of travel. The European equivalent is the league. In modern terms, the distance is about 3 or 3½ miles (6 km) north of Herat, there was also Alikabeg's rabāt (*Rabāt-i Alikā Kūkaldāsh*). This rabāt “consisted of a large and spacious area, and by 949 AH/1542-1543 the rooms of this building had begun to be demolished” (G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 439; Samarqandiy, 2008, p.101). Alisher Navo'i also notes in his *Waqfiya* that there was an Alikabeg's *hammām* (public bathhouse) outside the Darvāza-i Iraq of Herat Fortress. Because the shop (*dūkān*) belonging to Navo'i was “near the *Alikabeg's hammām* on the stone of the Darvāza-i Iraq” (Navoi, 1998). Undoubtedly, Alikā Kūkaldāsh had extensive experience in the field of construction. It is not for nothing that in the first days of Shahrukh's reign, according to Abd al-Razzak Samarqandī, in 813/1410, Alikā Kūkaldāsh was appointed by Shahrukh to be responsible for the development of Merv and its environs, for the construction of canals and dams (Samarqandiy, 2008, p.171), and later in 842AH/1438-1439 – for the construction of “venerable building structures” in Merv area (Havofiy, 2018, p. 298).

Sources note that Jalal ad-Din Feruzshah ibn Arghunshah, one of the famous emirs of Shahrukh, who served him during the reign of Amir Timur, also played a special role in the construction of the Timurid empire. According to Abd al-Razzak Samarqandī, he was appointed by Shahrukh's decree as the responsible leader for the reconstruction of Herat (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 48). Khvandamir also highly praised Feruzshah's creative activities: “He built madrasas, mosques, khānaqāhs, rabāts and ponds inside and outside the capital of the empire, Herat, and in other regions, and brought them to completion. He made great contributions to the construction of monuments, the repair of dahmas and mausoleums, and the improvement of their beauty in cities and villages” (G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 442). Feruzshah had a madrasa and a khānaqāh built in 838 AH/1434 at his own expense in the south of the Gawharshad Begum's Mosque in the Khiyābān area, as well as a mosque built in 848 AH/1444. Another of his madrasas was located on the Khiyābān road near *Pul-i Injil* Bridge, and the emir himself was later buried under this “madrasa dome” (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 171). Sources indicate that the shaykh-ul-Islam Mawlana Shams ad-Din Muhammad Kirangi (d. 838 AH/1435) taught in Feruzshah's madrasas. In addition, there was a garden belonging to the emir in the west of the Būluk-i Khiyābān, called *Chārbāgh-i amir Jalal ad-Din Feruzshah*. When Firuzshah's brother Nasiruddin Khāvandshah, the governor of Isfahan, died in 1435 in Shahr-e Ray, his body was brought to Herat and, according to Abd al-Razzak Samarqandī, “was buried under a beautifully crafted dome” (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 51) on Khiyābān Street. This mausoleum, called “*Gunbaz-i Nasiruddin Khāvandshah*”, was also apparently built by Jalal ad-Din Firuzshah.

One of Amir Timur's famous emirs, Ghiyās ad-Din Shakhmalik (d. 829 AH/1426), who held a high position under Shahrukh, also had several monuments erected in Khorasan. In 1413, Shahrukh granted this experienced commander the Khwarazm region as a *suyurgāl* – a fiefdom. Because the northern borders of the empire were not free from the dangers of Dasht-i-Qipchāq (دشت قیپچاق; – The Cuman-Kipchak confederation, which was a tribal confederation in the western part of the Eurasian Steppe, between the 10th and 15th centuries. The confederation was dominated by two Turkic nomadic tribes: the Cumans, also known as the Polovtsians, and the Kipchaks. Cumania was known in Islamic sources as *Dasht-i Qipchaq* which means “Steppe of the Kipchaks”

in Persian.). In addition to Shahmalik's military activities, the sources also contain information about his construction work. He had his own madrasa built in Mashhad, near the Imam Reza complex. According to Abd al-Razzak Samarqandī (Khvandamir and other historians too) of the time, after Amir Shahmalik died in Khwarazm (1426), his son Ibrahim Sultan brought him to Mashhad-i Muqaddas and buried him in his own madrasa. In the Herat region, it is noted that there was a mosque, a garden, and two rabāts associated with him. The mosque of Shahmalik, called *Masjid-i Darbandi Bāzār-i Iraq*, was built inside the Herat Fortress, more precisely near the Nizamiya Madrasa and Falakkiddin's Mosque (according to Fasih Khawafi, on the 29th day of Dhul-Hijjah (May 21, 1441), the minaret of the Falakkiddin mosque collapsed and destroyed a part of the Nizamiya madrasa. Many students in the madrasa yard are trapped under the rubble and die) (Havofiy, 2018, p. 303) in the Bāzār-i Iraq area. There was a garden called *Bāgh-i Amir Ghiyāsuddin Shahmalik* in the Herat area. According to Fasikh Khawafi, on 12 Sha'bān 844 AH (1441, January 6), Āisha Begum (Aisha Begika), the daughter of Bāysunqur Mirza, was buried in this garden (Havofiy, 2018, p. 303). One of the tombs of Shahmalik was in the Kusuya (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 416), west of Herat, and the second was in Torbat-e Jam, and both were called *Rabāt-i Amir Shahmalik*. Information about other monuments built by Amir Shahmalik is almost absent in written sources. Khvandamir is limited to general information, stating that he "did good deeds in the lands of Khorasan, Māwarāunnahr, and Khwarazm, built madrasas, khānaqāhs, mosques, rabāts, and ponds, and left a monument of himself" (G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 417).

Amir Kamāliddin Farmanshaykh ibn Malikshah (d. 1439) also had his own madrasa in Herat. This madrasa, built in 831 AH /1427, was located near the Jūy-i Naw Bridge (*Pul-i Jūy-i Naw*), adjacent to two khānaqāhs built during the Kart dynasty (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 95).

Amir Jalal ad-Din Chaqmāq Shāmi also had a madrasa built in 833 AH /1429-1430. This madrasa was located in the Khiyābān section, south of the Alikā Kūkaldāsh madrasa and west of the Kamoliddin Farmanshaykh's madrasa. Khvandamir writes that Khwaja Mawlana Samarkandi (d. 876 AH /1472) was buried in the courtyard of this mausoleum (G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 654).

Shahrukh's Amir Uwais ibn Amir Āqbuqa (d. 844 AH /1440) also built the tombs to the east of the Khiyābān, and later he himself was buried in a mausoleum called "*Hazira-e amir Uwais bin Amir Āqbuqa*" south of the palace of Sultan Abusaid Mirza, which was also located in this area (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 102).

Northwest of the Jūy-i Naw Bridge (*Puli Jūy-i Naw*), south of the *Eidgah* (site of Eid observances), was the tomb of Sheikh Zayni al-Din Abubakr Khawafi (d. 838 AH /1434). This tomb was built by Shahrukh's vizier Khwaja Ghiyās ad-Din Pir Ahmad Khawafi, and he himself was later buried there. According to Abd al-Razzak Samarqandī, this "high building was decorated with beautiful patterns of mosaic, lapis lazuli, and gold" (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 53, 342; G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 478, 546).

Sources from this period also mention the *Gunbaz-i Amir Muhammad Sultanshah* mausoleum, located next to the *Darvāza-i Firuzabad* of Herat Fortress. This dome, renovated by Shahrukh in 847 AH/1443, was built over the tomb of Amir Shams ad-Din Muhammad Sultanshah Barlās (d. 794 AH/1391-1392), who loyally served Amir Timur and Miranshah (Samarqandiy, 2008, p.138, 692).

Information about the many tombs and mausoleums located in Herat and its surroundings is often mentioned in sources (including the *Mazār-e Piri Sesadsāla* (Khoja Qazi Mas'ud Qumi was buried in this cemetery (G'iyosiddin, 2013, p. 1077, 1087), the *Mazār-e Baba Hasan Abdāl*, the *Mazār-e Khwaja Rushnāi*, the *Mazār-e Shahidān*, the *Mazār-e Sheikh Sufi Ali* and *Chihilgaz*, the *Gūristān-e Gharibān* (cemetery), the *Gūristān-e Imam Quzāt* (Navai, 1926), the *Gūristān-e Khwaja Tāq* (Tomb of Sheik Abu Abdullah *Tāqi*. Babur had visited this place) (Navoiy, 2000; Bobur, 1996, 191b folio), the *Maqbara-e Piri Mujarrad* (Muhammad Abu'l-Walid ibn Ahmad's Mausoleum), the *Maqbara-e Sheikh Bahauddin 'Umar* (built on the grave of Sheik Bahauddin 'Umar (d. 857 AH/1453) in the time of Abul Qasim Babur in the north of the Herat Shrine. Babur writes that he also visited this mausoleum (Bobur, 1996, 191a folio), the *Maqbara-e Jalal ad-Din Abu Yazid Purāni* (built by Sultan Husayn Mirza over the grave of Jalal ad-Din Abu Yazid Purāni (d. 862AH/1457), the *Maqbara-e Shahzada*

*Abdullah ibn Muawiya*, etc.). In our opinion, the fact that there are so many densely located cemeteries (*mazār*, *gūristān*) and mausoleums (*maqbara*) in the city is due to the following factors. Firstly, it is explained by the improvement of these pilgrimage sites by the Timurid rulers, and secondly, it is related to the plague (cholera) that spread in the Herat region during this period. Abd al-Razzak Samarqandī (and other historians) cites the following information about the plague that broke out in Herat in 838 AH/1435: “By the will of Allah, a general plague and plague disease spread in the city and its districts so terrible that it is beyond the ability to describe it in writing. In the months of Jumada al-Akhir (1435, January 2 – 30) and Rajab (January 31 – March 1), this disease began to appear in the city and districts. The people were helpless and amazed, as they had never seen or heard of such a disease before. Diseases and ailments multiply every day. A person would suddenly have a headache and a burning fever, and a spot the size of a pea, or smaller or larger, would appear on his body, and after a day or two, he would reach the mercy of Allah. Many of the people, both young and old, chose to leave their homeland and went to the outskirts, and many of them returned safely. This disease raged in the months of Sha'ban (1435, March 2-30) and Ramadan (March 31 – April 29), and reached such a level in the months of Shawwal (April 30 – May 28) and Dhu al-Qa'dah (May 29 – June 27) that in the city and the suburbs... ten thousand people died of this disease in one day... in addition to those carried out by the porters without coffins, seven hundred coffins were taken out of the city gates. Many bodies were loaded onto donkeys... thrown into pits and covered with earth, and they were buried in the same way in the city itself. This situation was also widespread in the suburbs, and the number of victims was greater than in the city (Samarqandiy, 2008, pp. 52-53). As a result, a large part of the population of Herat, as well as famous scholars, architects, craftsmen, and other prominent figures of the time, died from this disease. The sources indicate the ineffectiveness of the measures taken by the local authorities to combat the spread of the plague. Some historians explain this by the fact that the ruler was not in the city at the time of the plague. Indeed, three months before the outbreak of the disease, on the 2nd day of Rabi' al-Thani 838 AH (1434, November 5), Shahrukh left for a campaign in Azerbaijan. In addition, there were not enough doctors and hospitals in the city. Sources about hospitals during Shahrukh's reign note that he had only one *Dar ush-shifā*. This building was located outside the Herat fortress, south of the Kūhandiz Hill. It can be seen that the construction of the main medical facilities began after 1435.

Indeed, so many scholars and scholars of Herat died from the plague that historians of the time exaggeratedly emphasize that they are powerless to list them by name and that “even a sea of ink is not enough to describe them.” In order to leave the names of these scholars who lived and worked in the territory of Herat and died from the plague in history and immortalize them, the Timurid rulers even ordered the writing of separate histories and treatises. For example, Asiluddin Abdullah Vāiz Hirawi (d. 1487-1488) dedicated his work *Risāla-i Māzārāt-i Hirat* to Sultan Abusaid Mirza, writing about the holy shrines of Herat, and tried to collect detailed information about 209 shrines and graves. For example, in accordance with the instructions of Sultan Abusaid Mirza, Asiluddin Abdullah Vāiz Hirawi (d. 1487-1488) attempted to collect detailed information about 209 shrines and tombs in his work *Risāla-i Māzārāt-i Hirat* (“A treatise on the cemeteries of Herat”), writing about the holy shrines of Herat.

In order to prevent and eliminate such disasters in the future, the sources note that the Timurid rulers took drastic measures. Additional hospitals were built one after another in the city, and the provision of medical knowledge to students in madrasas was further strengthened. In Herat, from 844 AH/1440, the *Dar ush-shifā-i Mahdi ulyo Milkat agha*, from 862 AH/1457, the *Dar ush-shifā-i Abdullah Amr*, from 880 AH/1475, the *Dar ush-shifā-i Alisher*, and in 905 AH/1500, the *Dar ush-shifā-i Sultan Husayn* (south of the Shahrukh's hospital) began to operate. In 905 AH/1500, the “*Dar ush-shifā-i Shahrukh*” was also repaired and continued to serve the population. The sources of the Timurid period mention many scholars who practiced medicine in these places and also taught in madrasas (we did not dwell on them in this article – *A.Sh.*).

The sources also mention that Herat experienced several natural disasters during the reign of Shahrukh. In 818 AH/1415 and 843 AH/1339-1440, there was such heavy rain in Khorasan that the



Harirud River and the rivers in Herat overflowed, destroying most of the buildings (Samarqandiy, 2008, p. 285; Havofiy, 2018, p. 300; as-Samarqandi, 1946-1949). The numerous gardens and monuments on the banks of the *Jūy-i Injil* Canal, in particular, suffered great damage. Because more than 6,000 hectares of land (including *Bāgh-i Baland*, *Bāgh-i Jahānārāi*, *Bāgh-i Zāghān*, *Bāgh-i Nazargāh*, *Bāgh-i Safed*, *Bāgh-i Khiyābān*, *Bāgh-i Shahr*, and others) were irrigated from the Injil Canal alone through about 40 branches. *Jūy-i Injil* (Injil Canal) is the oldest and largest canal in Herat (200 km long, 2-5 m wide). It was mentioned in sources from the 10th century. The river originates from the Harirud River and flows westward through the northern regions of the city. During the Timurid period, a large part of the river flowed through the *Būluk-i Injil* of Herat. The origin of the name *Injil* (*The Bible*) is associated with the activities of ancient Christian (Nestorian) communities in Herat, which were mentioned in sources from the 6th century. In addition to residential buildings, the banks of the *Jūy-i Injil* Canal were home to the Gawharshad Begum's Mosque and madrasa (Musallā complex), the mausoleums of Abu'l-Walid Billuri, later Baysunqur, Sultan Husayn Mirzo, Abdurahman Jami and Alisher Navoi; the Alisher's khānaqāh *Khalāsiya*, the *Ikhlasīya* madrasa, Badi'uzzaman's madrasa, and many other monuments. Many bridges were built over the Injil Canal in the Middle Ages, the most famous of which was called *Puli Injil*. To ensure a fair distribution of Injil Canal waters among the population, Abdurahman Jami wrote a treatise called *Taksimāt-i Hakābi Āb* (currently stored in the archives of the Herat Water Resources Department). This treatise has served as the main general program in resolving water-related disputes from the time of the Timurids to the present day.

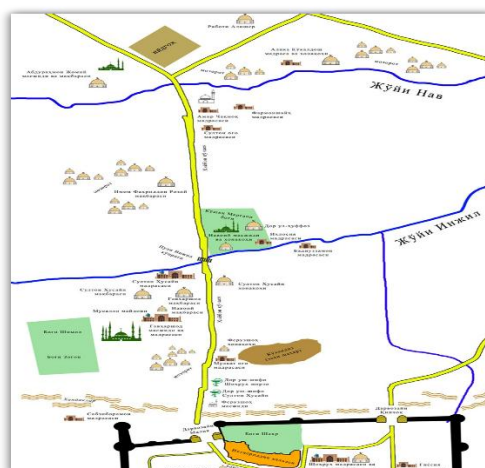
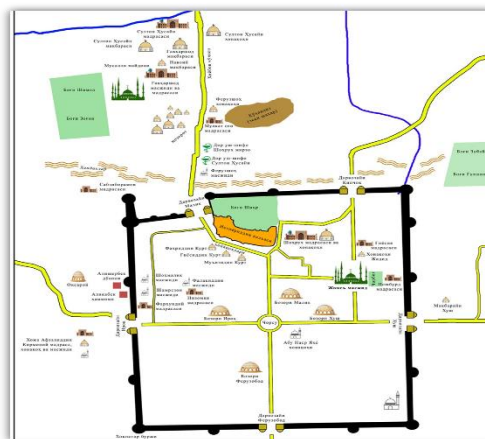
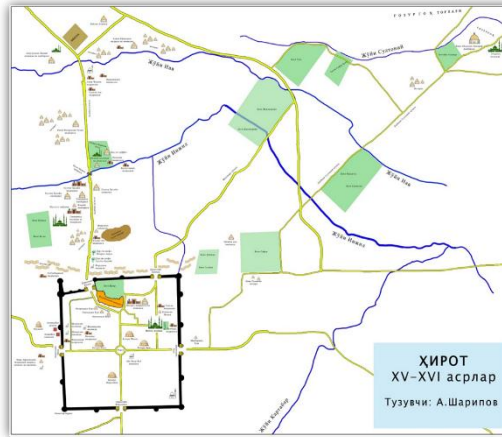
### Conclusion

In conclusion, the urban development history of Herat, the capital of Khorasan during the Timurid period, is directly related to the creative activity of Shahrukh. During this period, many architectural monuments were built, and the city reached a new stage of development. Not only the Timurid dynasty, but also state officials and prominent figures made a significant contribution to the development of the city. These charitable works were carried out by later rulers in subsequent periods, becoming a unique tradition of Timurid architectural patronage.

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