



Study of the Development Process of Herat City During the Kart Dynasty, Based On the Survey of Developments in The Axis of Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat

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Article Info	Abstract
<p>PP: 309-325</p> <p>Article Type: Research Article</p> <p>Article History:</p> <p>Received: 07 April 2022</p> <p>Revised form: 06 July 2023</p> <p>Accepted: 08 December 2024</p> <p>Published online: December 2024</p>	<p>Tomb Street (Khiaban-Mazar) is described as a complex where the tombs are located on either side of a passageway. “Khiaban-e Herat” (Herat Street) is also a cemetery with tombs along its main axis, and it is one of the most unique and ancient examples of Mazar Street in Khorasan. This article aims to examine the process of early developments in Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat, study the evolution of Herat’s urban development during the Mongol-Ilkhanid era and compare it with the developments in Tabriz, the capital of Ilkhanid empire, analyze the similarities and differences between the developments in the two cities and finally evaluate the impacts that these urban changes have had on the expansion process of Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat. The research has been done by the historical-analytical method. This research shows that urban development in Herat was remarkably similar to Tabriz; in Herat, just like in Tabriz, the Mongols were extending the suburbs of the city and establishing commercial uses and aristocratic palace gardens. The process of expansion of Herat’s suburbs was so widespread that Herat’s ruler, imitating the “Ghazani Wall” in Tabriz, built a massive wall around Herat to encompass all of its new suburbs. With the construction of this wall, Herat’s Mazar Street was divided into two parts, North and South, and the south part of the wall within the boundary of the city was separated from the cemetery and led to various uses in Herat.</p>

Keywords:

Khiaban-Mazar, Herat,
Tabriz, Ilkhanid, Kart
Dynasty.

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1. Introduction

In Islamic urban planning, cemeteries were considered an integral part of the urban landscape and were often located outside city boundaries. While small cemeteries could be established within neighborhoods inside the city walls, larger cities in the Islamic world typically situated their cemeteries beyond the walls (Soltanzadeh, 2011, p. 254). Examples such as the Wadi al-Salam Cemetery in Najaf and the Takht-i Fulad Cemetery in Isfahan illustrate this practice. Similarly, the Khiaban zone in Herat served as the city's primary cemetery, with tombs established as early as the ninth century (Vaeiz, 2007, p. 19). What distinguishes the Khiaban Cemetery in Herat from contemporaneous cemeteries in other Islamic cities is the axial arrangement of graves and tombs along both sides of the main road connecting Herat's suburbs to the city's northern areas. During the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries, particularly in the Timurid era, this distinctive alignment of tombs along streets gained prominence. The practice of building tombs flanking major routes and adorning their façades gave rise to a distinctive architectural form referred to as Khiaban Mazar or "Cemetery Street" (Leisten, 1997, p. 96). The Khiaban Cemetery in Herat predates the Timurid era, serving as a model for the later Timurid Mazar-Street configurations. However, prior to the Timurid developments, significant transformations in Herat's urban planning occurred during the Mongol era. These changes revolutionized the principles of city planning in Herat, paving the way for the innovations that would define the Khiaban Cemetery's prominent architectural and urban role in the Timurid period.

2. Purpose of the research

This study seeks to compare the developments in Herat during the Ilkhanid era and after, with the Mongols' urbanization in Tabriz by analyzing the trends of development in the city of Herat and ultimately aims to specify its impact on the development of Herat-Mazar-street.

3. Research Questions

The most important questions of the present study are: what were the developments of urbanization in Herat city during the Mongol-Ilkhanid era? And, how did these developments relate to the principles of Mongol urbanization principals in other cities in this period, especially in Tabriz? And ultimately, how did Herat's urbanization development affect the growth and development process of the Herat-Mazar-Street during the Mongol era?

4. Research method

The method used in this research is historical-analytical and has been done in three stages to obtain information:

1. Using library studies methodology with a focus on historical texts, documents, articles, archaeological reports and investigations in line with the research.
2. Documentation and maps of the developments of Herat Street and Herat city constructions during the Mongol era based on library study.
3. Analysis of research findings in Herat city and comparison with urban development in Tabriz during the Mongol era, analyzing its impact on Herat-Mazar-Street.

5. Research History

One of the earliest works documenting the development of Herat prior to the Mongol era is attributed to Abd al-Rahman Fami Heravi (2008). Following him, Seyf ibn Mohammad ibn Yaqub-i Heravi (2006), writing in the 14th century CE, authored a history of Herat that examines the city's development up to the mid-Mongol period and the Kartid dynasty, offering unique insights into the events of this era. Later, towards the end of the Timurid period, Zamchi Esfazari (1960) built upon Heravi's accounts, expanding and completing these historical narratives in his own work, covering Herat's transformations from the Mongol era through the Timurid period. Asil al-Din Abdollah Vaeiz (2007) provides valuable information about Herat's cemeteries, including detailed descriptions of the tombs located along Herat Street. Terry Allen (1983) offers a comprehensive study of construction trends in Herat from the Kartid period to the end of the Timurid era, including several maps that elucidate the city's architectural evolution. Beyond Herat, the urban development of Tabriz during the Ilkhanid period has also been a focus of scholarly attention. Asghar Mohammad Moradi and Sanaz Jafarpur Naser (2011; 2013) have explored the structures of Tabriz in the Ilkhanid era, analyzing their influence on Ottoman-era urbanization in two papers. Bahram Ajourloo (2014) examined the role of architectural complexes and residential settlements in shaping Tabriz's development, drawing from historical texts of the Ilkhanid period. Hasan Karimian and Behzad Mehdizadeh (2017) investigated the significance of endowed collections in the architecture and urban design of Ilkhanid cities in Iran. Lastly, Muhammad Ali Keynejad and Azita Belali Oskui (2011) studied the principles underlying urban buildings and complex constructions during this period, with a particular focus on the Rabe Rashidi complex in Tabriz.

6. Herat city and the background of Khiaban-Mazar

The city of Herat, situated in eastern Iran and western Afghanistan, was historically one of the major cities of the Khorasan province. Strategically located along a trade route connecting northern Iran and Transoxiana to southern Iran and India (Allen, 1983, p. 11), Herat emerged as a key commercial hub in eastern Iran. The precise origins of Herat's formation remain scientifically untraceable, but the earliest evidence of settlement is found north of the city walls, in an area known as Kohandez-i Masrakh. This area likely served as Herat's fortress, with the city later expanding southward from this stronghold (Allen, 1983, p. 11). Herat was enclosed by a rectangular defensive wall, which underwent multiple refurbishments over the centuries. Within the walls, the city's quarters were arranged along a network of grid-like roads. The central area housed the Great Foursquare Bazaar, the Jame Mosque lay to the east, and government offices were located in the northern sector (Allen, 1983, p. 13). Access to the city was provided by gates on all sides: Firouzabad Gate to the south, Khosh Gate to the east, Iraq Gate to the west, Qibchaq Gate to the northeast, and the Malik (or Baraman) Gate to the northwest. Beyond the city walls, suburban quarters flourished, with Khiaban-e Herat being one of the prominent neighborhoods located to the city's north. The history of Khiaban dates back to the early Islamic centuries. Geographically, Khiaban was situated north of the Enjil region, a vast area encompassing the entire city of Herat. Hafiz-i Abru (15th century) described the relationship between these regions: "The Enjil region is situated north of the river [Harirud], and the city of Herat is inside this region [...] The Khiaban region is located north of the river and north of the city, connected to the northern part of the Enjil region"

(Hafiz-i Abru, 1970, pp. 18–21). The Enjil and Juy-i No canals, which flowed from east to west, irrigated the northern suburbs, with Khiaban beginning north of the Enjil canal and extending to the north of the Juy-i No canal. One of the earliest mentions of Khiaban comes from Khajeh Abdullah Ansari, who referred to it as “Khodaban” around 1088 CE (Ansari Heravi, 2007, p. 522). Around the same time, Sheikh Abdulrahman Fami Heravi (11th–12th centuries) also mentioned a square in the “Khozaban” region in his writings, referring to it as the work of Muhammad Nouleh, an officer of Yaqub Leis Saffari in the 9th century (Fami Heravi, 2008, p. 66). Approximately two centuries later, in 1228 CE, Yakut al-Hamavi similarly used the term “Khozaban” to describe this region in Herat, noting, “Khozaban, with an O sound in the first letter, followed by Alef, B, and ending with N, is a region in Herat” (Hamavi al-Rumi, 1986, p. 349).

7. Chronicle of the cemetery on Herat Khiaban before the Mongol era

The Khiaban region, in addition to its neighborhoods and extensive farmlands, featured a significant north-south passage. This route not only provided access to the city of Herat but also served as a burial site, with graves situated on both sides of the road. The earliest known reference to the tombs in this cemetery comes from the 11th century CE, in the writings of Khajeh Abdullah Ansari. He recounts: “Leis Poshnjeh [...] said: I was going from Poshanj to Herat [...] as I was passing through the Khodaban cemetery, I saw a woman sitting by a grave” (Ansari Heravi, 2007, p. 522). Ansari further notes: “The grave of Leis is in Khodaban” (Ansari Heravi, 2007, p. 523). In the 15th century, Abdullah Vaeiz also documented the location of Leis Poshnjeh’s grave in his writings: “[Leis Poshnjeh’s] grave is in the Khiaban, behind the Enjil canal, on a high point, and his disciples are buried around him” (Vaeiz, 2007, p. 22). Vaeiz describes additional graves in the Khiaban cemetery dating back to before the 11th century, including that of Imam Osman Darani, who was buried there in 893 CE (Vaeiz, 2007, p. 19). He also mentions Muhammad ibn Osman Darani, buried alongside his father in 941 CE (Vaeiz, 2007, p. 21), and Sheikh Ammar Sajjestani, whose grave dates to 1030 CE (Vaeiz, 2007, p. 28). Vaeiz further details tombs established contemporaneously with that of Leis Poshnjeh, such as the grave of Sheikh Mohammed-i Gazor, identified as a disciple of Leis Poshnjeh and described as having a well-known tomb in Khiaban-e Herat (Vaeiz, 2007, p. 22). Another significant figure, Sheikh Abu Mansour-i Sukhteh, was noted by Jami as a contemporary of Abdullah Ansari, with his tomb also located in the Khiaban cemetery (Jami, 1991, p. 344; Vaeiz, 2007, p. 33). To identify the specific placement of these graves along the Khiaban route, later Timurid-period texts provide additional insights. Mirkhand, writing in the 15th century, states: “The tombs of the elders and scholars in that valuable area are located on the right and left, and they are countless” (Mirkhand, 2006, p. 519). Similarly, Zamchi Esfazari, also writing during the Timurid period, refers to the Khiaban cemetery, further affirming its historical and cultural significance.

“One of the neighborhoods that don’t have peers around the world is Khiaban-e Herat, which is well known for its mild air and countless numbers of its tombs, and there is no word to describe the extent of the graveyard and beauty of the tombs situated in the right and left side of this road”(Zamchi Esfazari, 1960: 387).

Accordingly, it can be said that the cemetery of Khiaban-e Herat was located on both sides of a north-south passageway of this neighborhood. Until the twelfth century, this crossing was completely enclosed in the Khiaban region, beginning at the north of the

Enjil canal and extending until Juy-i no canal. But at the end of the 11th century, an occurrence changed the dimensions of this crossing .Esfazari says:

“In 428 AH [1036 AD] the Seljuks attacked Herat but the people of Herat did not allow them to enter the city. At that time people lived in Qohandiz and Rabad, and these two areas were prosperous. [...]The Seljuks attacked Herat every year [...] but they could no” (Zamchi Esfazari, 1960: 387).

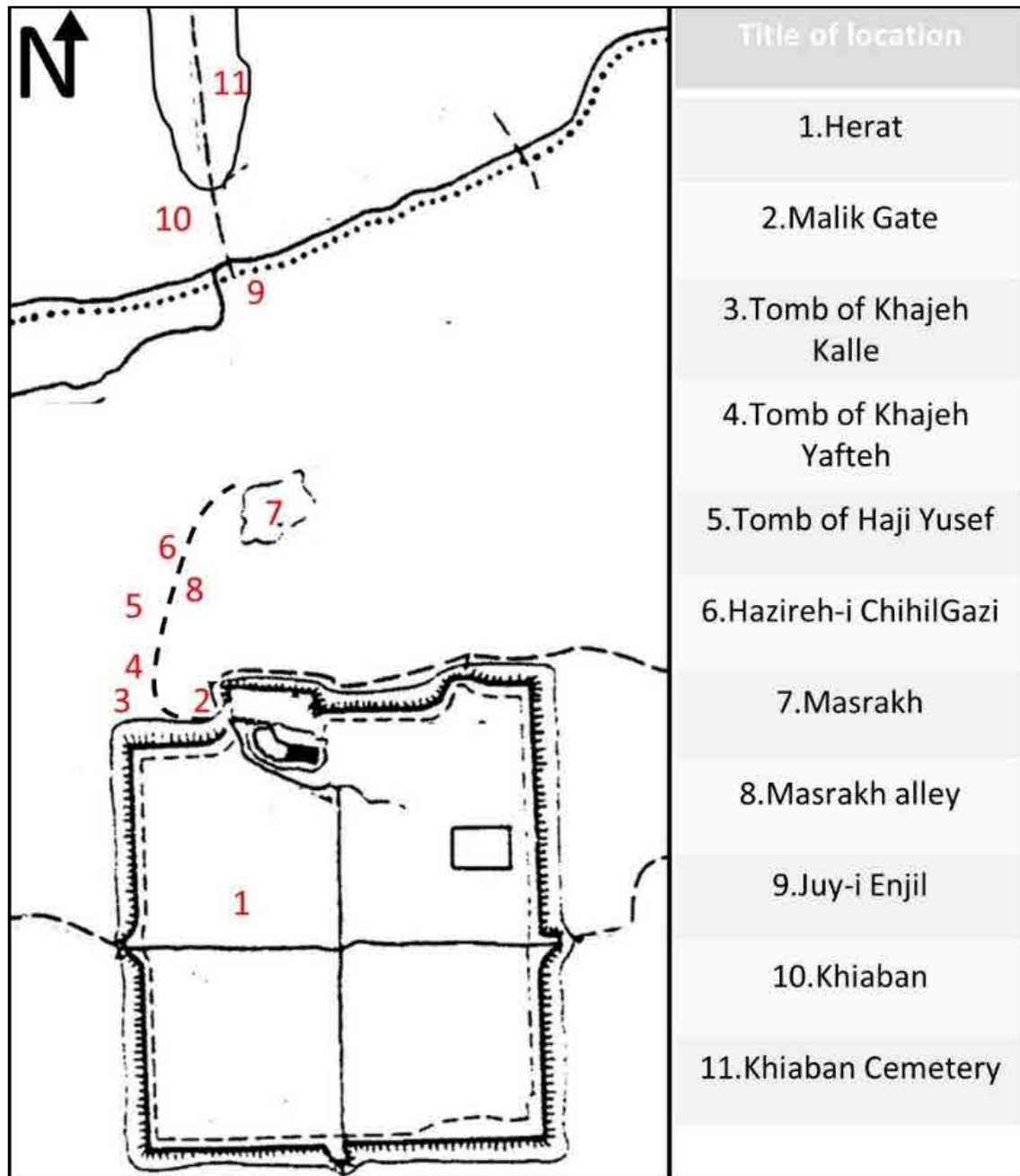


Fig. 1: Location of the tombs in Herat’s historical Rabad next to the alley of Masrakh. Marking on the map of Herat, by Terry Allen (1983), is done by the authors based on the documents mentioned in the text.

As mentioned earlier, Qohandez or Masrakh was located in northern Herat between the Enjil canal and the north of the defensive wall, and Heravi (Fifteenth century CE) sets the date of this fortress before the formation of the city of Herat (Heravi, 2006: 76-77). Likewise, Saber Heravi says that during the time of Khajeh Abdullah Ansari, around eleventh century, a huge garden was in this area and the home of khajeh abdullah's father was situated there (Saber heravi, 2007: 54). Presumably, until the 11th century, people lived in this section of Herat and it was considered the "Rabad" in the northern hinterland of the city. With the Seljuks attacks in the early eleventh century, the area was devastated and became vacant of dwellers. This has led the Khiaban cemetery to extend beyond the southern boundaries of the Enjil canal and reach the city's walls. Likewise, the Khiaban-e Herat crossing also passes through this area and reaches the Malik Gate in the northwest of the city. In a report about Khiaban-e Herat, Ute Franke noted the changes along in this crossing; in his excavations in Masrakh, he discovered a diversion along the crossing, and he says the crossing has only deviated from its original route once to access the Masrakh (Franke, 2015: 82). In fact, historical sources also refer to this route as the "Kuche-i Qohandiz"(Alley of Qohandiz) (Heravi, 2006: 155). This deviation confirms that before the Rabad was abandoned, the route started from the Malik gate, was merely headed towards Qohandiz. This can be proved by considering how the graves that belong to the pre-eleventh century are deployed along the route that leads to the Masrakh. Such as the grave of Khajeh Kalle outside the Malik gate (Vaeiz, 2007: 56), the tomb of Khajeh Yaafteh near the bath of King Suleiman, just above the Malik gate (Vaeiz, 2007: 56; Saber Heravi, 2007: 67), the tomb of Haji Yusef in the north of King Suleiman's Bath (Allen, 1983: 94), the Tomb of Khwajeh Chehelgazi, almost opposite the Masrakh (Fekri Saljugh, 1964: 103; Allen, 1983: 94), and finally, the Masrakh cemetery (Mirkhand, 2006: 198) (Fig. 1). In fact, it is after the abandonment of the Rabad that the Masrakh alley expanded until the Khiaban area and joined the Khiaban-e Herat passageway.

8. Herat's destruction by the Mongol invasion

Two years after the Mongol invasion of Iran began in 1221 CE, Tolui, the son of Genghis Khan, led a large army to raid the city of Herat. Following the execution of Malik Shamsuddin Jowzjani, Herat fell under Mongol occupation. According to Heravi, the Mongols forced the people of Herat out of the city, killing the majority of them, leaving only two hundred thousand survivors (Heravi, 2006, p. 110). However, shortly after the Mongol occupation, the citizens of Herat revolted in support of Sultan Jalal al-Din Khwarazm Shah, killing the Mongol-appointed ruler. In response to this defiance, Genghis Khan dispatched a substantial army under the command of Ilakchiday Noein to suppress the rebellion. In 1221 CE, after six months of warfare and siege, Ilakchiday Noein successfully recaptured Herat. Following the victory, the Mongols utterly destroyed the city, dismantling its defensive walls and towers, and massacring its population. Heravi records: "The Mongols cut off all the inhabitants' heads and destroyed all the buildings and houses of the city; they filled the moat with dirt and destroyed the city wall and its towers" (Heravi, 2006, p. 114). This catastrophic destruction rendered Herat abandoned and uninhabitable, a state in which it remained until 1236 CE (Heravi, 2006, p. 130).

9. Urban variations in Herat in the Mongol era

Fifteen years after the destruction of Herat, in 1236, Ögedei Khan (1229 to 1241 AD)

commissioned a Herati trader to rebuild Herat. This man, Ezziddin Moghaddam Heravi, brought several families of Herati traders from Transoxiana to Herat for this reason (Heravi, 2006: 141). This is the first sign of a community in Herat since the Mongol invasion. The first action of this society was to revive agriculture in Herat (Ibid: 150). After Ezziddin Moghaddam in 1238, his son, Amir Mohammad Heravi, became the ruler of Herat. At this time, Kherleq, the Mongols sheriff, also accompanied Amir Muhammad. Of their actions, one should point to building the Kherleq palace in the eastern hinterland of Herat as well as the Amir Mohammad bazaar outside of Herat (Ibid: 154). At this time, more families were sent by Ögedei Khan to subsist in Herat and with their help, Amir Muhammad reopened Herat's ancient canals, such as Enjil (Ibid: 158). In the year 1240, Amir Majd al-din Kalivni was appointed by Karguz as the new ruler of Herat (Ibid: 159). During the reign of Amir Majd al-din, the other canals of Herat were completely rebuilt and the city's population increased to 6900 people according to Heravi (Ibid: 163). Moreover, he built a great palace for himself outside the Herat city beside Khajeh Abdullah Taqi's grave (Ahrari, 1931: 36) and the Khosh gate (Zamchi Esfazari, 1960: 119). With the death of Amir Majd al-Din and his successor, in 1247, By the order of Möngke Khan, the reign of Herat and its subordinate territories came under the decree of Shamsuddin, the dynasty of the Kartids (Heravi, 2006: 175).

10. Urban Developments in Herat and Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat during the Kartids period

Before the reign of Malik Shamsuddin, most of the constructions were carried out outside the ancient city of Herat and the city's defense wall had not yet been rebuilt until then. Heravi states that at this time Malik Shamsuddin wanted to rebuild buildings inside the city, but the people called on him, wanting the defensive wall to be repaired for safety reasons. Thus, for the first time since the Mongol invasion, Malik Shamsuddin rebuilds the ancient defensive wall of Herat (Heravi, 2006: 217). Marktay, The Mongol officer and sheriff of Herat, also sets up a palace for himself in the southern suburbs of the city (Ibid: 279).

In 1264, a factory was built in the southern outskirts of Herat by the order of Abaqa Khan. Heravi says that Malik Shamsuddin wanted the factory to be built inside the city for the city to thrive more, but Abaqa Khan's envoys insisted on building the factory on the outskirts of the city, saying: "By the order of Genghis Khan, Ögedei Khan, Hulagu Khan and Abaqa Khan, the construction of any building by the malik and sheriffs inside the Herat has been banned[.....]On the south side of the city, they built a supreme factory and built a market in front of it that stretched to the Firouzabad gate"(Heravi, 2006: 311).

According to Ghazan Khan's decree, in the year 1294, Malik Fakhr al-din replaced his father, Malik Shamsuddin-i Kahin, as the governor of Herat. At this time the defense wall and the ditch of Herat were restored and the height of the city's defense wall was added to (Heravi, 2006: 463). About malik Fakhr al-Din's developmental activities, Heravi states that:

"After the defensive wall and the ditch were rebuilt, At the foot of the fence they built a field(Meydan) called Eidgah and a wall all around it and at the foot of the Firoozi fence a Khaneghah full of decorations was also built[....] He built Tareforush mosque in front of the Baraman gate, and constructed a Market, at the foot of the fence[....] And in the tombs and cemeteries of the

city, such as Gazorgah, Hyadvan(Hyaban), Khajeh Abu al-Valid, Khanjeh Bad and Khajeh Taqi, ordered to recite the Quran”(Ibid: 463-464).

Maybe what Heravi meant from the fence in his text is Herat’s castle or the citadel. This citadel was known as the Ikhtiyar Al-din, which was attached to the northern wall of Herat and situated between the gates of Malik and Qebchaq. Based on these documents, Terry Allen supposed the positions of the square, khaneghah, Tareforush mosque, and bazaar within the city and south of Ikhtiyar al-din citadel (Allen, 1983: 13, 18, 94). On the other hand, while addressing the events of 1320, Heravi refers to the Tareforush mosque again, stating it was placed outside the city walls (Heravi, 2006: 768). According to this, the mosque must have been next to the Baraman (Malik) Gate on the northern outskirts of the city. In this part of the text, for the first time since the Mongol invasion, Heravi refers to Khiaban-e Herat calling it “Khiadvan”. He separates the Khiaban’s cemeteries from the graveyards of Enjil region, like the Khaje Abu al-valid that was located in the north of Zaghan’s Garden. This indicates that there was a nominal connection between the graves placed in the south of the Enjil canal and the sepulchers situated in north at this time, because he mentioned all of the cemeteries in Herat in his report, but did not mention any of the graveyards placed in south of the Enjil canal, such as Chihil Gazi, Saed, and Masrakh, that were located along the road.

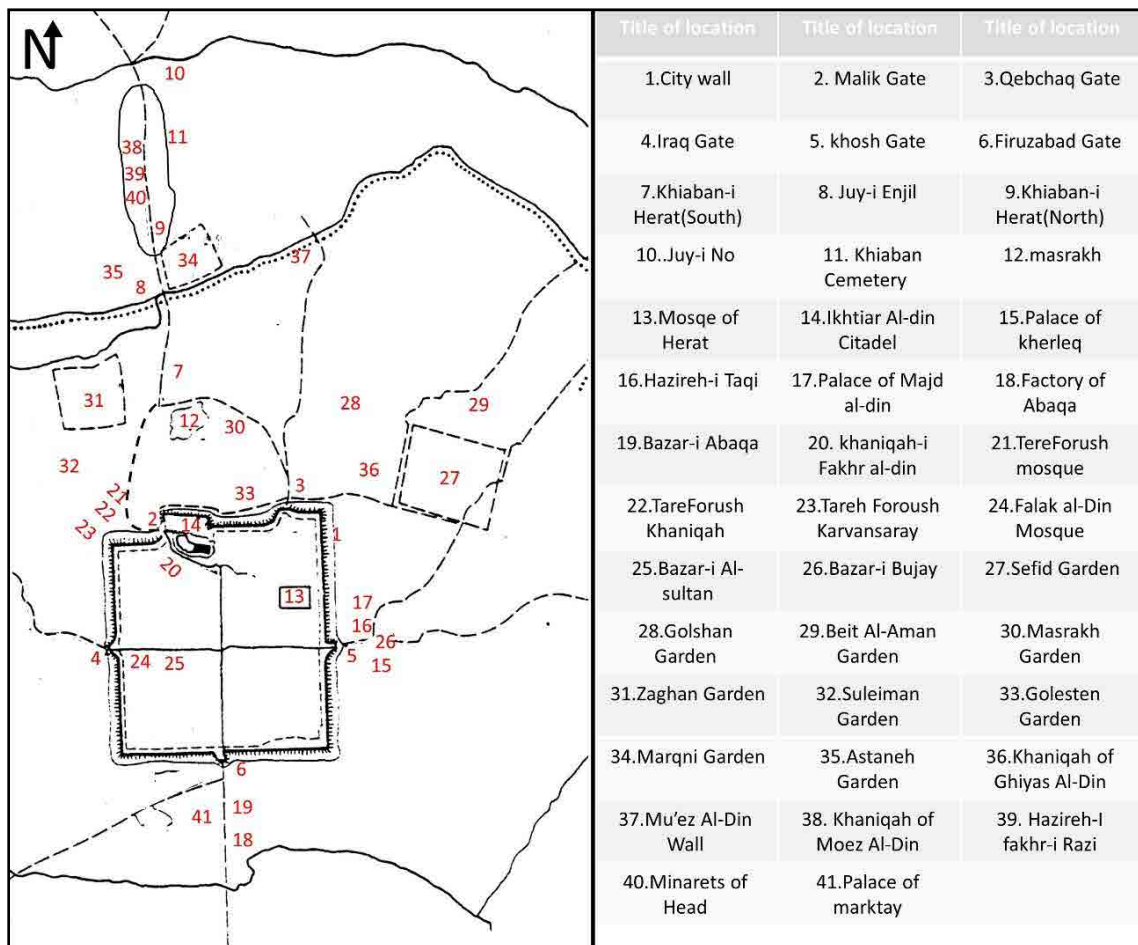


Fig. 2: The place of Mongol era works of architecture and urbanization in Herat. Marking on the map of Herat, by Terry Allen (1983), is done by the authors based on the documents mentioned in the text.

In the year 1306 AD, Malik Ghiyath al-Din became the ruler of Herat as his brother's successor. But shortly after, by the order of Öljaitü (the seventh Ilkhan), he was temporarily dismissed from the position and summoned to Soltaniyeh. During this time, the Mongol sheriffs had taken over the Herat city administration and they were constructing several buildings in there, which is reported as follows: "Mohammad Dolday built a Bazaar near the Falk al-din Mosque and named it Suq al-Sultan [...] Amir Yasavol rebuilt an old market in south of the city [...] Bujai also built a Bazaar outside the city near the Khosh Gate" (Heravi, 2006: 603). Except for Souq al-Sultan, which was inside the city and next to the Iraq gate (Allen, 1983: 94), two other bazaars had been built outside the city.

When Malik Ghiyath al-Din took the reign back in 1328, a battle ensued between him and Yasur, a Mongol prince. Heravi refers to the constructions in the northern hinterland of Herat for the first time while describing this battle. He points to the gardens and streets of the Bagh-i Sefid (White garden) (Heravi, 2006: 713), which were located in the north of the Malik and Qebchaq gates. This report illustrates the existence of gardens at this time in the northern suburbs of Herat. In fact, in the area where the old Rabad was located until the 11th century, suburb gardens were built at this time. Terry Allen also mentions gardens in this area in his report: Zaghan garden on the west of Khiaban road and south of the Enjil bridge. The Golestan garden in the east of Khiaban road and north of the defensive wall and the Sefid garden at the eastern end of the Khiaban road (Allen, 1983: 94). In this area Saber Heravi also refers to these gardens: Shah Suleiman garden in Baraman Village on the west of Shah Suleiman bath and Khiaban road (Saber Heravi, 2007: 67), Moreover, Masrakh garden in Qohandiz of Masrakh (Ibid: 41), Furthermore, Golshan garden in northwest of Sefid Garden (ibid: 48) and likewise, Beyt al-Aman garden in back of the Sefid and Golshan gardens (Ibid: 51). There are only two gardens mentioned in these reports that belonged to the Kartid era which were placed in the northern part of Enjil. Firstly, the Marqni garden in the northeast of the Enjil bridge and the East of Khiaban road (Allen, 1983: 94), and secondly Aštane Garden in front of Marqni garden in the west of Khiaban road (Saber Heravi, 2007: 74). These reports indicate a high density of orchards between the defensive wall and the Enjil canal and they also put forward this hypothesis that, alongside the Khiaban route across this region, besides cemeteries, the gardens also were built alongside them at this time.

Heravi also mentions the Khaniqah that Malik Ghiyas al-din has built in this part of the suburb near the Sefid Garden (Heravi, 2006: 745). Also Zamchi Esfazari (15th century) mentions the constructions of Ghiyas al-Din in the northern suburbs of Herat more than this and says: "In northern part of the Tareforush Mosque, he built a large pond [...]and in the west of Tareforush Mosque he built a Khaniqah and a Karvansaray in front of it"(Zamchi Esfazari, 1960: 507).

In the year 1331 Malik Mu'ez al-din Hussein, the most powerful ruler of Kartid, came to power. The beginning of his reign coincided with the collapse of the Mongol Ilkhanid dynasty (1335 AD). Therefore, he can be considered an independent ruler, far from the influence of the Mongol Ilkhanids. One of the most important events that took place during the reign of Mu'ez al-din Hussein was the construction of the Great Herat fence. He built the fence to strengthen the city's defensive power and wanted this fence to encompass all of the constructions placed in the suburbs. In the description of this fence's extent Zamchi Esfazari states:

"And the fence built by the Malik Mu'az al-din Hussein is infinitely wide."

Its diameter starts from the Enjil Bridge and continues to Darband-i Sheikh-i Khorram and the other diameter starts from Malassian region and continues until Kheim-i Duzan Bridge. That's about one Farsang (6.24km) in two Farsnags (12.48km)” (Zamchi Esfazari, 1960: 81).

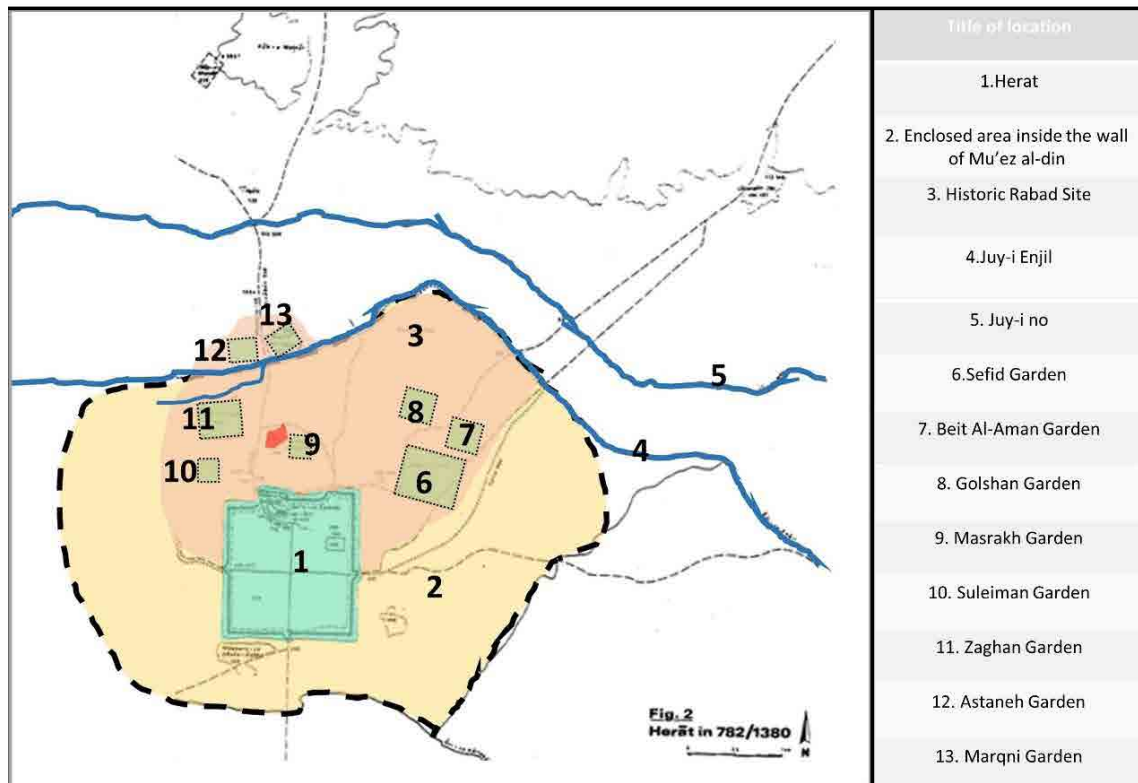


Fig. 3: Herat city area in the late Kartid period Marking on the map of Herat, by Terry Allen (1983), is done by the authors based on the documents mentioned in the text.

Also about the northern border of this fence he states:

The Current defense wall is in the south of Shemiran and Qohandiz [...] [In other words Kohandis and Shemiran] and in the north of them another fence built by Malik Mu'az al-din Hussein used to encompass Shemiran and Qohandiz which is now destroyed.” (Zamchi Esfazari, 1960: 77).

Although the full extent of the wall is unclear, it can be understood that the boundary of this wall in the northern part of Herat was accordant with the line of the Enjil canal. In addition to strengthening the defensiveness, this fence was standing against the growth of the city's suburb like a dam and blocked it around the Enjil Canal and it also led to the restoration of the historical Rabad that had remained deserted since the eleventh century. On the other hand, the construction of this fence has blocked the Khiaban thoroughfare and caused the Khiaban cemetery to return to its former borders.

Other buildings erected by Malik Mu'az al-din were also located in the north of Herat. On the Khaniqah that he built on Khiaban-e Herat, Abdullah Vaeiz says: “Malik Mu'az al-din Hussein built a Khaniqah for disciples of Sheikh Shahab al-din Bastami in Khiaban-e Herat [...] Sheikh Shahab al-din died in 404[AH] and his tomb is on the Khiaban near the tomb of Fakhr-i Razi” (Vaeiz, 2007: 70). Sheikh Shahab al-din's tomb may have been erected near his Khaniqah. Accordingly, this Khaniqah has been on the west side of the

Khiaban thoroughfare, between the Enjil and the Nou canals, just near the tomb of Fakhr-i Razi (Fekri Saljugh, 1964: 66-68).

The last edifices related to Malik Mu'az al-din, were also located on Khiaban-e Herat, near the tomb of Fakhr-i Razi. This building consisted of two minarets that he built using the insurgents' cutoff heads. According to Zamchi Esfazari, these two minarets were symmetrically constructed on both sides of the Khiaban thoroughfare and were still there until the 14th century (Zamchi Esfazari, 1960-2: 13).

Shortly after the death of Malik Mu'az al-din Hussein, Malik Ghiyath al-Din Pir Ali, the last ruler of Kartids, came to power in 1389. His reign ended in 1381 with the Timur invasion to Herat and the capture of this city. Half a century after the collapse of the Mongol Ilkhanid empire, the Kartid rulers' era in Herat, also came to an end (Fig. 2 &3).

11. Tabriz in the Ilkhanid Period

The Mongol Ilkhanid Empire, established by Hulagu Khan in 1256 following the third Mongol invasion of Iran, extended its dominion over all Iranian territories, as well as Baghdad and Mesopotamia, effectively suppressing all resistance (Qazvini, 1935, p. 138). Despite their rule over Iranian lands, Hulagu Khan and his successors retained their nomadic traditions. During the winters, they migrated to the warmer regions of Mesopotamia and Arran in northern Azerbaijan, while in summer, they resided in the northwestern plains of Iran, particularly in Azerbaijan and Greater Armenia. Living within urban settings was deemed undignified by the Ilkhanids, who preferred establishing camps outside cities (Blair & Bloom, 2003, p. 13). Nonetheless, Ilkhanid urban planning reflected a synthesis of their nomadic heritage and the architectural and urban traditions of the conquered territories, as evidenced in their construction activities, particularly in Tabriz, their primary capital for over a century (Hatef Naiemi, 2019, p. 60). The Mongols' initial foray into urbanization occurred during the reign of Arghun Khan (1291–1295 CE). During this period, the Arghuniyeh Complex was constructed in the Adeliyeh Garden of the Sham district, located in the western suburbs of Tabriz. This architectural complex represented a blend of traditional nomadic patterns and urban design principles for the first time (Hamedani, 1994, p. 1179). Influenced by the Arghuniyeh model, most Ilkhanid-era architectural projects in Tabriz were situated in the suburbs, rather than within the old city itself. Instead of revitalizing existing urban centers, the Mongols often established new settlements on the peripheries of cities (Hatef Naiemi, 2019, p. 231). These suburban settlements, built adjacent to older cities, either maintained an interactive relationship with them or functioned as entirely independent entities (Keynejad & Belali Oskui, 2011, p. 115). Notable examples include the Sahib Abad Garden, the Do Menar Endowment Collection, the Seyed Hamzeh Complex, the Ghiyasiyeh Complex, the Dameshghiyeh Complex, and the towns of Ghazaniyeh and Rashidiyeh (Moradi & Jafarpurnaser, 2011, p. 931). These developments reflect the Ilkhanids' unique approach to integrating their nomadic lifestyle with the urban traditions of the regions they ruled.

One of the principles that led the Mongols to inhabit in the independent settlements outside the cities, was the desire to live the tribal life and maintain the racial originality (Masuya, 2002: 78). Accordingly, the Mongol tribal communities settled in isolated and independent areas of the indigenous urban community and formed independent settlements like the ancient Mongolian "Kuran"¹ (Moradi & Others, 2016: 36). In addition to building these independent settlements, the Mongols also were interested in building

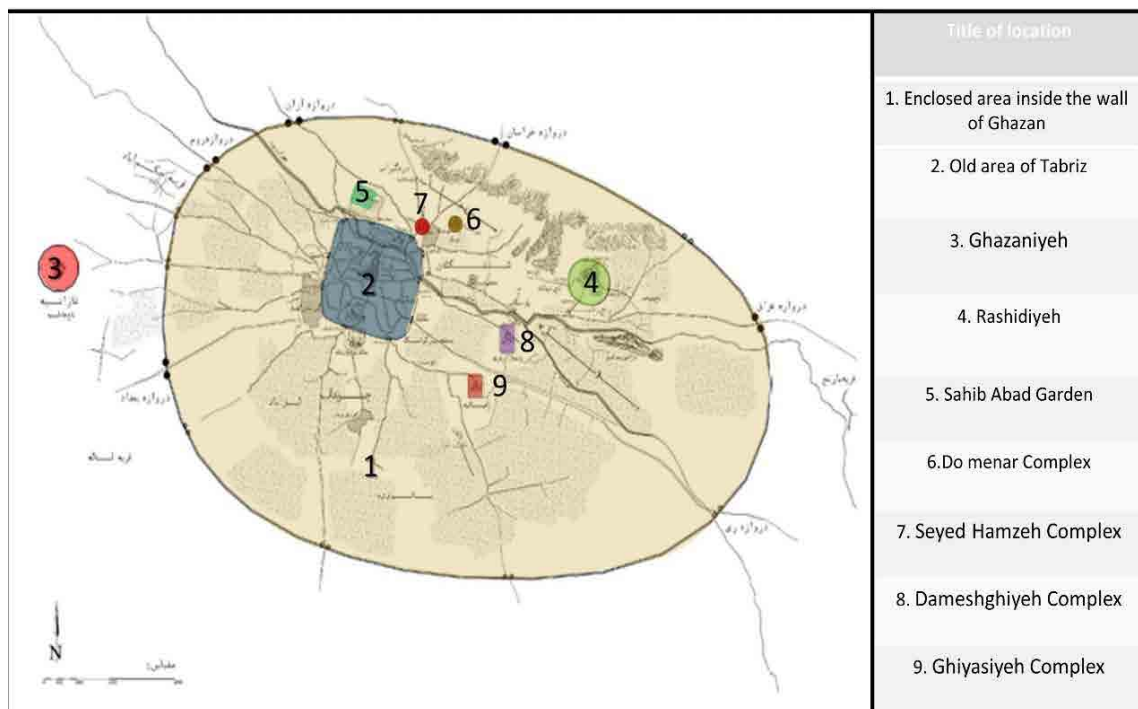


Fig. 4: Tabriz area in the late Ilkhanid Period Marking on the map of Tabriz by Mohammad Moradi and Jafarpurnaser (2011), is done by the authors based on the documents mentioned in the text.

gardens around the old cities. These gardens were usually constructed between the old city and the new residential cores (Karimain & Mehdizadeh, 2017: 50). Building gardens, restricting the city to the boundary of gardens and placing new settlements amid these gardens was rooted in the Mongols nomadic life and inspired by their interest in nature.

After mentioning all these developments, if we are to illustrate the prospect of Tabriz in the middle of the Ilkhanid period, during the reign of Ghazan Khan (1295-1303), we are faced with a multi-core metropolis, which consists of three well-planned urban areas:

- First District: Old city of Tabriz which was the Residence of peasants, traders, and artisans. This area was the commercial and industrial heart of the city.
- Second District: Ghazaniyeh town, which was considered to be the royal residence of the city.
- Third District: The Architectural collections and the residential settlements made based on the endowment principles. These areas were considered to be the residence of the Mongol nobility and elite class of society (Ajourloo, 2014: 4).

The connection between the old city and the new urban cores in the Tabriz metropolis was established with a network of commercial routes that were essentially the same as traditional Bazaars (Moradi & Jafarpurnaser, 2011: 939).

Finally, it should be noted that the most important action of Ghazan Khan in Tabriz was the organization of all these developments. Ghazan Khan built a new fence ten times bigger than the old fence of Tabriz in size. This new fence encompassed all the residential cores and gardens situated on the outskirts of the City (Karimain & Mehdizadeh, 2017: 75). This transformed Tabriz into a metropolitan, with a large defensive wall, which encompassed residential cores situated among numerous gardens (Fig. 4).

12. Analysis

12.1 Analysis of developments in Herat city: Before analyzing the developments of Khiaban-e Herat, we have to look at the events from the perspective of urban developments during the Mongol era in Herat. These events, as noted throughout the paper, have been obtained from historical reports and documents, since it has coincided with developments in Tabriz, in this section, we compare the developments in Herat city with those happened in Tabriz:

12.1.1. Lack of construction inside the city: The historical accounts show that until 1294AD, seventy-five years after the destruction of Herat by the Mongols, no major construction was done inside the Herat city. These documents cite an order, which Mongolian khan, explicitly prohibits any construction in the Herat city. This ban was probably only for the nobles and the rulers and did not include the ordinary people of the city. This is similar to Ilkhanids' special attention to the construction on the outskirts of Tabriz that caused the suburbs of Tabriz to extend during this period.

12.1.2. The Focus on constructing commercial buildings on the outskirts of the City: The Bazaar's routes made the connection between the old city of Tabriz and the new residential cores in the suburbs. Also in Herat, the Mongols focused on expanding Bazaars outside the city walls rather than rebuilding in-town Bazaars. In the south of the city, a newly established factory was connected to the Firouzabad gate in southern Herat with a Bazaar route. Also in the eastern outskirts of Herat, which several palaces and mansions were built in there since the early Mongol era, a Bazaar route established the link between these buildings and the city of Herat.

12.1.3. New Residential locations in outskirt of City: Like Tabriz, which was surrounded by endowed, royal and commercial settlements, some smaller residential cores were also located around Herat. In the first period of Ilkhanid, the Mongols and their rulers erected palaces and mansions in the east and south outskirts of Herat. For instance: The Kherleq palace and mansion of Majd al-din Kalivni in east and Marktay Palace in South.

12.1.4. Expansion of garden constructions in the suburbs: In the city of Tabriz, the gardens were built between residential cores and the old city. By contrast, in the Herat, no evidence was achieved from gardens being located between the city and suburbs, and it was mentioned that most of the gardens were focused exclusively on the northern outskirts of the city. It should be noted that most of the royal palaces and gardens of the Kartid era were built in the Rabad historical part of the city which was situated in the northern outskirts and these constructions make this part of the northern suburb completely revitalized. The most important examples of these gardens are the Sefid Garden in the northeast and the Zaghan Garden in the northwest of Herat. It can be said that this part of Herat was the new core of the royal settlements and was similar to the Ghazaniyeh complex in comparison to Tabriz.

12.1.5. The construction of large defensive walls around the new suburbs: Both in Tabriz and in Herat, with an aim to determine city expansion extent and to protect new suburbs and residential cores, rulers constructed a new defensive wall around the city that was several times bigger than the previous wall and the old city.

12.2. Investigation of developments in Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat: After categorizing the transformations of Herat city during the Mongol era, the impact of these developments on Khiaban-Mzar-e Herat can be categorized in this chronological order:

12.2.1. Transformations of Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat until the twelfth century: Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat, was a cemetery in the north of a major Islamic city, located in the middle of a neighborhood that was situated on the outskirts. One of the major differences that distinguishes this cemetery from other outskirts cemeteries in Islamic cities is that the graves and tombs in this cemetery were located on the two sides of the commercial road that connected Herat to the northern cities of Khorasan and Transoxiana. This is the reason we call the Cemetery of Khiaban-e Herat a Mazar Street.

12.2.2. The demolition of Rabad and its impact on Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat: In the 12th century, the northern Rabad of Herat, located between the city and the Khiaban area, was destroyed. This transformation caused the Khiaban roadway to enter this area and then the cemetery infiltrated this region.

12.2.3. The influence of Mongol invasion on Transformations of Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat: there are no reports of developments in Khiaban area in the historical documents for about seventy-five years after the Mongol invasion, until 1391. The documents of the year 1391 about the activities of Malik Fakhr al-din, shows that tombs of the Khiaban cemetery were in association with the tombs of the Enjil region. This indicates that during the middle decades of the Mongol domination of Herat, Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat was still important and regarded as a religious center.

12.2.4. The significance of Religious functions of Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat in Comparison to Commercial and Residential functions of other Suburb regions: All of the early construction reports of the Mongol era, only cited to commercial and residential buildings built in the suburbs of City. There is no hint about any construction in the northern outskirts of Herat, where the Khiaban cemetery was located, in any of these reports. This could indicate that the Mongols have avoided constructing any commercial buildings on this site because of the sanctity of the cemetery. Even though this part of Herat suburbs was very rich in water resources, there is no sign of palace constructions in this region in the first hundred years of the Mongol era. Reports about constructions in the northern suburbs of Herat and the Khiaban area belong to the middle Mongol era, and are mainly about the construction of religious buildings in this area of Herat.

12.2.5. Dividing Khiaban-e Herat into Residential and Religious Sections by constructing Royal Gardens: It can be deduced from historical documents from the Mongol era that, there has been a unity of religious functions along Herat Street during this period. However, in the late Mongol era, the construction of royal gardens at the beginning of Khiaban-e Herat thoroughfare, between the city wall and the Enjil Canal, makes the Khiaban-e Herat functions divided into two categories: religious and residential.

12.2.6. The construction of a new defensive wall and division of Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat into two sections, internal and external: The construction of a second defensive wall on the outskirts of Herat causes the residential functions that were formed in the region of the historic Rabad, to separate from the religious functions situated on the north of the Enjil canal. This wall at the end of Kartid era creates a boundary, which subsequently causes the Khiaban-e Herat thoroughfare to return to the same region it was before the twelfth century. It also makes this section of Khiaban-e Herat thoroughfare closer to urban life-related functions and away from religious uses.

13. Conclusion

Khiaban-e Herat, characterized by its cemetery and tombs arranged along its central axis,

stands as a distinctive example of a Mazar Street within Greater Khorasan. The origins of this historic cemetery date back to the early Islamic centuries, with its gradual expansion stretching along the entirety of the northern outskirts of Herat. During the initial phase of Mongol domination, when Herat was left desolate, activity along the Khiaban-Mazar-e Herat axis came to a halt. However, with the commencement of Herat's reconstruction under the orders of Ögedei Khan, Mongol rulers and administrators undertook significant building projects, including the restoration of the city's watercourses and the construction of commercial and residential facilities on Herat's outskirts. The Mongols' preference for suburban construction, rooted in their nomadic traditions, meant that they largely avoided inhabiting or constructing within the city itself. Despite this, they demonstrated respect for the cemetery located along Khiaban-e Herat, refraining from erecting non-religious structures in this area during the early Mongol period. Over time, as the Mongols' influence waned and local rulers such as the Kartids gained power, there was renewed interest in developing the northern suburbs of Herat, historically the city's rabad (outer town). Late in the Mongol era, the Kartid rulers emulated the royal gardens of the Mongols in cities like Tabriz, establishing palaces and gardens along the southern portion of Khiaban-e Herat. This concentration of gardens distinguished this area from the northern section of Khiaban, which retained its primarily religious and funerary functions. The construction of Herat's Great Wall further divided the Khiaban-e Herat thoroughfare into two distinct sections: northern and southern. Modeled after the Ghazani Wall in Tabriz, this fortification encompassed Herat's suburbs, with the southern part of Khiaban brought within the city's expanded boundaries. This southern section became predominantly used for gardens, tombs, and religious structures. Conversely, the northern portion, located outside the wall, continued to serve as a Mazar Street. In conclusion, under the influence of Mongol urbanization, Herat expanded significantly into its suburbs, culminating in the construction of a massive defensive wall that established it as the largest city in the Khorasan region by the end of the Mongol era. Throughout these transformations, Khiaban-e Herat maintained its historical integrity, with its boundaries fixed by the city's new defenses and its function as a cemetery and religious axis preserved.

14. Endnote

1. According to historical documents, Kuran is one of the most common types of temporary settlement was, which included the establishment of tents around the khan's tent, according to Jami' al-Tavariikh. The tents were placed in Kuran in such a way that they finally formed a circle (Hamedani, 1994, 330).

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بررسی تحول شهر هرات در طول دوره ایلخانی بر مبنای مطالعه تحولات در محور خیابان-مزار

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چکیده	تاریخچه مقاله
<p>خیابان-مزار به گونه ای از مجموعه سازی گفته می شود که در آن مقابر در دو سوی یک معبر استقرار می یافته اند. خیابان هرات نیز به عنوان گورستانی که مقابر در امتداد محور اصلی آن استقرار داشته اند، از نمونه های منحصر به فرد و کهن ساخت خیابان-مزار در منطقه خراسان بزرگ محسوب می شده است. این پژوهش با هدف بررسی روند تحولات اولیه در خیابان-مزار هرات، تطورات شهرسازی هرات را در طول دوره ایلخانان مغول مطالعه می کند و ضمن مقایسه آن با تحولات شهر تبریز، پایتخت ایلخانان، شباهت ها و تفاوت ها، میان تحولات این دو شهر را تحلیل کرده و در نهایت، تأثیراتی که این دگرگونی های شهری بر روند گسترش خیابان-مزار هرات داشته اند را مورد بررسی قرار می دهد. این پژوهش با روش تحلیلی-تاریخی صورت گرفته و نتایج این پژوهش نشان می دهد که تحولات شهرسازی در هرات بسیار مشابه با تبریز بوده است؛ به گونه ای که در هرات نیز مانند تبریز، مغولان حومه های شهر را بسیار گسترش می دهند و در این حومه ها کاربری های تجاری و کوشک-باغ های اشرافی را مستقر می سازند. روند گسترش حومه های شهری در هرات به قدری گسترده است که در اواخر عهد مغول، حاکم هرات به تاسی از دیوار غازانی در تبریز، دیواری گسترده بر گرد شهر هرات احداث می کند تا تمام حومه های جدیدالتاسیس آن را دربر بگیرد. با احداث این دیوار، خیابان-مزار هرات به دو قسمت شمالی و جنوبی تقسیم شده و عملاً کاربری قسمت جنوبی آن که در داخل محدوده دیوار قرار داشته از کاربری گورستانی تفکیک شده و به تعامل با کاربری های گوناگون در شهر هرات سوق پیدا می کند.</p>	<p>صص: ۳۰۹-۳۲۵</p> <p>نوع مقاله: پژوهشی</p> <p>تاریخ دریافت: ۱۴۰۲/۰۱/۱۸</p> <p>تاریخ بازنگری: ۱۴۰۲/۰۴/۱۵</p> <p>تاریخ پذیرش: ۱۴۰۲/۰۹/۱۸</p> <p>تاریخ انتشار: ۱۴۰۳/۰۹/۳۰</p> <p>کلیدواژگان: خیابان-مزار، هرات، تبریز، ایلخانان مغول، آل کرت.</p>

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