Rewriting of the History and Rebuilding of Geography of Iran's Handmade Carpet in the First Centuries A.H.*

Mahmoud Ashari¹, Ali Asghar Shirazi²*, Mohammad Ali Rajabi³, Khashayar Ghazizadeh⁴

Abstract

With regard to type of raw materials in use, impermanency of handmade carpet incurs the most damage on its historical studies body. The expanse of this damage is to an extent that has made almost empty from civilization works the history of carpet in the first century in the Islamic Iran. Rewriting of the history and geography of Iran's handmade carpet in the first five centuries, according to the written references, is among the aims of this research. In this research, it was found that the indirect written references would have the ability to extract the acceptable information on handmade carpet. Therefore, types of common words related to the handmade carpet were extracted from the above references. In terms of the words frequency; straw-like mat, Kilim (or rug), carpet and prayer mat, allocate respectively the most frequency to themselves. Moreover, the major production centers were distinguished in Fars, Tabarestan and Deylaman, Greater Khorasan, Khuzestan and Azerbaijan that among them, Khorasan, Fars, Tabarestan, respectively, have had the most frequency in the productions volume.

Keywords: Handmade carpet, Written references, History, Production centers, Iranian carpet.

* This article has been extracted from PhD thesis entitled «rewriting of the history and rebuilding of the geography of Iranian arts in use according to the written references, case study: Handmade Carpet», Art Faculty, Shahed University.

¹ PhD of Comparative and Analytical History of Islamic Art student, Faculty of Art, Shahed University, Tehran, Iran. E-mail: m.ashari@sau.ac.ir
² Corresponding author, Assistant Professor, Faculty of Art, Shahed University, Tehran, Iran. E-mail: shirazi@shahed.ac.ir
³ Assistant Professor, Faculty of Art, Shahed University, Tehran, Iran. E-mail: mrajabi@shahed.ac.ir
⁴ Assistant Professor, Faculty of Art, Shahed University, Tehran, Iran. E-mail: khashayar.ghazizadeh@shahed.ac.ir
**Introduction**

Discussion on the studies body of Iran's carpet history in the first five centuries, in comparison with the periods before and after it, will encounter with challenges with regard to insufficiency of the works. Impermanency of the works related to the handmade carpet has made difficult the possibility to achieve the productions' situation of those periods. The historical written references are among those resources which will have the ability to clarify some aspects of history and geography situation of handmade carpet. Apparently, despite of sectional apogees and perigees of social and political conditions in the first centuries Hijri calendar, the productions related to the handmade carpet have been able to protect their own quantitative and qualitative production procedure. The main aim of this research is that, by using the hidden capabilities of written references, to rebuild the history and geography of Iranian handmade carpet in the first five centuries A.H., in addition to study the guideline of historical texts analysis. This research seeks to answer a few questions: 1. How can we use the written references in order to rebuild the handmade carpet history? 2. According to the written references, which of cities are the major centers for production of Iranian handmade carpet? The method of this research is a descriptive-analytic way; the method of information collection performs also in the form of using the library references. In this research, in addition to identify documented historical references, the data were analyzed by utilizing of the words frequency usage. In this respect, by using the related specialized software such as geography of Islam world1-2, Noorat ol Sireh 1-2, history and way of behavior; Islamic Iran history2, Dorj3 and other software programs related to poems of the considered poets, the related words are extracted and analyzed.

**The research background**

Despite of importance of the written references in extracting the information on arts in use and Iran's handmade carpet, no proper research has been done about this subject and sometimes, in inner folds of historical books and/or geographical texts, it has been referred transiently. Sirus Parham in the book of «Tribal and rural handmade carpets in Fars» and also in his article entitled «Knot-woven carpet in Persian texts in the first centuries in Islamic Iran» believes that the historical researcher should achieve aspects of Iran's carpet history by a careful study of aspects of travel literatures lines and old historical and geographical texts. In his opinion, this type of writing has a native viewpoint and for this same reason, its documents will be indestructible. In the position of a historian, Arthur Upham Pope, beside the deep attitude to the sets of carpet protection in the world, has considered the historical written references such as a history book written by Bayhaqi, Ahsan al-Taqasim, travel literature written by Naser Khosrow. By utilizing of the written references, he has referred that at least since Abbasian era, Iranian houses, even, the poorest of them had been covered with rugs. In the book of Iran's carpet history, Fazlollah Heshmati Razavi considers some production centers and their carpet-weaving methods by adducing to the written references in the first centuries A.H.

**The validity-measurement of complementary references in arts in use**

Historically, the complementary references have referred to those resources which have been created simultaneously with the considered productions period and these references can be studied parallel to the discussed times. The complementary references divide into two domains include pictorial references and written references. In the domain of the written sources, the complementary references can be assessed in three divisions: 1) the specialized references, 2) direct references (Spuler, 2002, p.318) and 3) indirect references. The intent of writer in indirect references, unlike the specialized and direct references, will not be presentation of direct information on any arts in use. In extraction of information
from indirect references, we can achieve the new information on the considered art situation from two historical and literal references by searching the words applied in the texts and their qualitative analysis (Diagram No.1).

**Diagram 1. Classification of complementary references (reference: writers)**

**The method used in drawing a conclusion from historical books**

**A) Historical books:** As it was mentioned, the references adduced in this article are among the type of complementary references and the written references. With regard to the time area of the research, the indirect references will have importance in illustrating the situation of studied arts in use. With regard to the lack of presentation of specialized text with considered art in above-mentioned references; the researcher, at first, should extract and then, analyze the words after precise identification of historical books in terms of historical validity, information capabilities and frequency of mentioned specialized words. Usually, in indirect historical texts, the mentioned words will be applied in the frame of sentences with content of the tax situation of governors and provinces, booties gained from war, properties situation list and gifts. The precise observations of travelers and tourists from the cities, workshops and artistic products are also effective in this method. In this type of texts, the researchers, after identifying the words related to the mentioned art, study the relation of words with synonymous words and analyze the data after analyzing the text and preferably, its comparative study in relation with other written references.

**B) The literal references:** Since the poets and writers have a sensitive and ingenious morale and on other hand, due to their relation with both the common people and cultural and political authorities, their works reflect the situation of their times to high extent. The considered hypothesis has been founded according to this logic that basically, the artists in literacy area in applying the words and composition of the poems paid an attention to common and understandable vocabulary for addressee of mentioned periods in order to transfer the poetic and literal concepts optimally. Although, the poet by applying the
words related to the arts in use has transferred only his own poetical concepts to the addressee in ambiguity and allusive form, tracing of the words applied in the versified pieces can be helpful in searching some historical incidents:

*Although, the originality of both products is wool*

*Carpet is much better than sackcloth* (Naser Khosrow).

**The adduced references**

The books adduced in this article considers those texts which have been placed in the class of the indirect references and for the same reason, with regard to importance and validity; they should be mainly placed in class of the main and first degree references. These references, in terms of their form, will be placed in the class of the written references and its subset, namely, historical books. The special historical books, geographical and literal references are among those resources which are studied (Diagram 2).

**Diagram 2.** The documents used in the research (reference: writers)

Selection of the above historical books and literal references is based on diversity and rare use of the words related to the types of floor covers and level of their historical validity in the first five centuries A.H.
Types of handmade textures popularized in the first five centuries A.H. and production center:

A) Carpet:

This word has been usually applied synonym with different types of floor covers. As Bayhaqi, in his book, remind of carpet as a floor cover: «They had decorated the Shadiyakh's buildings with different carpets, all of them were belong to Hasanak the Viziar, and no one could find like those carpets that Hasanak had made for the buildings» (Parham, 1992, p.41). Daneshgar believes that although Kilim, straw-like mat, coarse blanket, sackcloth, felt-carpet etc. are also carpet, but, the term of "carpet" is usually apply for the rug (Daneshgar, 1994, p.388). «Most of the slaves of Saghalab, Kazar and areas near them have made fur cloaks, carpets and Tabari cloths» (Yaqubi, 2003, p.43). Also, Ibn Hawqal, in his book, mentions that «in Darabjerd, good carpets like "Tabari carpet" are made and in Shiraz, famous curtains which are known as "Shirazi" are woven in most regions of the world» (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.65). Al-Masudi, also, when speaks about the artistic productions of Khuzestan, mentions the name of carpet beside other words lonely: «Since Shapur Sasani, after attack to the Rome, brought many people and caused them to reside in Khuzestan, Shushtari fine brocade and various silks in Shushtar, fur in Shush, and curtain and carpet-weaving in Nasibin territory were common and later on, they would be continued» (Al-Masudi, 1982, p.251).

Al-Muqaddasi, in addition to confirm the sayings of Al-Masudi, perhaps, has adduced to the carpet only with the meaning of the rug: «They bring from Shushtar to Baghdad good brocade, carpet and well-twisted textile, and many fruits; from Shush to Baghdad, much sugar, textile, fur (for cloths not turban); and from Askar to Baghdad, silken veils, fine and long-lasting textile and Ghannabi cloths and napkin and so on that are used by Khuzestan's residents; Businna curtain and Ghargoob carpet are also known» (Moghaddasi, 1983, p.622). «Paniz, which is better than «Maskan», raises From Tavaran ... and has textile, in other cities carpet and the like are woven, as it is woven in Quhistan of Khorasan...» (Ibid., p.707). «He has constructed this place in the form of covered hallways with a porch, facade and large hall which has been covered with Abadan's carpets. The book warehouses are around them (p.669). Residents of Gharajshar Region have been produced and exported the dolman and fine carpets» (p.475). Although, Muqaddasi in the above quotations repeatedly has referred to the fine carpets; he hasn't explained about their quality anymore. «... From Tabarieh, pieces of carpet, paper and textile and from Qods, the embroidered cloth, Baliesieh and "Tenab"...» (p. 253).

Yaqubi also present some points about Tabari carpets without any referring to the type of carpet: «Tabarestan is a territory with many castles, unfailling rivers and its people are non-Arab nobles and princes, the tax of this territory is equal to 1086956.5 dollars and carpet and Tabari cloths are made over there» (Yaqubi, 2003, p.55). With regard to the different documents related to the tribute and tax on Tabari carpets and importance of their value in the booties gained from Tabarestan Region, a type of the rug has been considered by writers. On one hand, the quantitative and qualitative comparison of Tabarestan carpet as distinguished product with other regions reminds its value to us. Good carpets like "Tabari carpet" are made in Darabjerd (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.65). Yaquot al-Hamawi also believed that large, well-knit and beautiful carpets are made in Amol (Pope, 2010, p.2627). The subject of being distinguish Tabari carpet can be studied in many texts (Istakhri, 1990, pp.134-135); (Yaqubi, 2003, p.433); (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.253).

Moreover, sometimes, with regard to the related and synonym words, the technique of the related floor cover will be identifiable to an extent. In his book, Gardezi has mentioned the «precious carpets such as Armenian Mahfoori and Oveisi and variously-colored rugs». In his division of the subset of floor covers which have been named as carpet, Gardezi clearly refers to two parts: knotted carpets (Oveisi and variously-coloured rugs) and flat-woven carpets (Armenian Mahfoori). In the written references, if the
word "carpet" is specified beside other types of handmade products, the purpose of the writer will be knotted carpet. In the meantime, carpet is increasingly synonym with knot-woven rug. In contemporary and common Persian language, the word "carpet", generally, prompt the concept of napped floor cover and doesn’t embrace the secondary concept of Kilim, unless, it is specified. This subject can be identified in a quotation from the book of Hudud al-Alam: «The precious floor covers, carpets, straw-like mats and Kilims export» (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.130). In the presented text, the writer refers to a few distinct floor covers’ types (four and at least three parts). Apparently, an emphasis on value and importance of that types become the first matter (large rug and carpet), namely, the large rugs are better and more precious than straw-like mat and Kilim (Parham, 1993, p.8). Ibn Hawqal and Al-Muqaddasi also, about the products of Bukhara, introduce various floor covers: «The (made of) cotton cloths known as "Bukhara products", woollen fabric for bed, which is extremely nice, straw-like mat and prayer carpet are produced in Bukhara and exported to Iraq and other places» (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.217), «From Bukhara, soft textiles, prayer rug, carpet and bed for Hostel and Sefr al Manaber, Tabari and belt which are woven for horses in prisons..., from Quhistan, clothes like Nishabur white cloths, carpet and nice prayer rug... are exported» (Al-Muqaddasi; 1983; pp.475-476). In some literal texts, the difference between the words can be clarified to an extent with help of poetical symmetry. For example, in the following poem, with regard to the semantic contradiction between carpet and rush-mat, the quality of the first covering product in comparison with second one will be identifiable.

The carpet-like product was covered under someone
A rush-mat was stolen from another one again (Ferdowsi).

In some remained texts, synonymy of the word "carpet" with the words unrelated to the handmade carpet will be effective on qualitative study. In this case, equality of productions with a relatively specified value degree will help the relative analysis of handmade things. In his book, Gardezi has referred frequently to these cases in the form of tribute and tax and goods list: «He opened that fence with some Roman nobles, and took them captive, and gained much wealth included gold, silver, pearl, ruby, jewels, goods, carpet and arms» (Gardezi, 1985, p.86). In this type of texts, with regard to the synonym words and level of their relative value, a hypothesis can be presented for distinction of the type of mentioned handmade things. In the above quotation, equality of carpet with gold, silver, pearl, ruby etc. remind us that the carpet mentioned by the writer should be equivalent with other precious goods and this is deserve a valuable carpet which could have been profited from precious textiles like silk, gold, and silver (lame). This subject in other part of Gardezi's book can be studied: «So, they loaded on camels all the properties such as jewel, gold, silver, cloth, carpet and vessel, and invaded and moved toward India with that treasury, family and baggage» (Ibid., p.439), «when he heard the news, Yemen's Emir made his apparatus from articles of luxury, quadruped, carpet, vessel and inferiors, and dispatched him from Yemen to the Baghdad with honor and respect» (p.207). In a quotation from the book "Sistan History", carpet also is seen with other valuable goods. «...And they opened the door of castle, for thirty days, every day, from morning to the night, they took five-hundred mules, five-hundred camels, dinar and dirham, carpet, brocade, precious arms, golden and silvery vessels from that place, whatever of little value remained there, included many dishes of meat and vegetables, woolen carpet» (Sistan history, 1988, p.230). Ranking of carpet beside dinar and brocade leads to create this mentality that it is a carpet from type of silk and has a value higher than woolen carpets. Stipulation of woolen carpet in the last line has completely confirmed the contrariety of type of these two carpets and has made the above hypothesis adducible. Especially, when emphasis on goods with little value in the last line (woolen carpet...) can be diagnosed clearly and at the time of comparison specifies the quality of both products.
In addition to the historical texts, in the literal texts, the hypothesis of equivalency of rich words like palace, world, vessel, brocade, jewel, treasure and dinar with carpet will be effective on illustration of the quality, type, great supply of various carpets to an extent (Table 1):

Table 1. Comparing the equivalent poems and words (reference: writers)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poet</th>
<th>Equivalent words</th>
<th>The sample verse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rudaki</td>
<td>Brocaded carpet, dwelling-place</td>
<td>The Jam's picture-gallery is empty from you the brocaded carpet has been spread on dwelling-place§</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naser Khosrow</td>
<td>Carpet-palace</td>
<td>There will be no fear if we don’t have carpet and palace when we are richer in religion than Kaiser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naser Khosrow</td>
<td>Carpet-vessel</td>
<td>I don’t lose my religion for the sake of world I will apply neither carpet nor vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdowsi</td>
<td>Brocade-carpet-jewel</td>
<td>The purchasers of brocade, carpet and jewel moved toward the doorway of elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdowsi</td>
<td>Dirham, treasure-brocaded carpet</td>
<td>He also has dirham, treasure and dinar the same brocaded carpet and any species of things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferdowsi</td>
<td>Carpet-China's brocade</td>
<td>He spread a carpet of China's brocade as if the earth became sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudaki</td>
<td>Golden cloth-carpet</td>
<td>The golden cloth and decorated carpets celebrated sweet basils and thrones in great supply</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naser Khosrow</td>
<td>Aloes-wood, Roman carpet-variously colored carpet</td>
<td>From rose-water and musk-taking, its sun-dried brick was from water and soli door was from aloes-wood, and carpet was from Roman and variously colored type</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B) Besat:
The Besat has been also one of the common words in the written works of this era and it is mostly applied with the concept of various floor covering products. Gradually, this word has found another concept and usage from the 9th century A.H. (Parham, 1993, p.8). In the following verse, Naser Khosrow has spoken about Besat which is mat-like:

*The spring spread Besat in desert*
That its weft is ruby and its warp is turquoise.

In some literal and historical texts, the word "Besat" has been applied with knot-woven carpet, but this means rug. Perhaps, specifying of the knot-woven concept in the word "Besat" can be observed clearly in the verse written by Farrukhi Sistani:

I have spread the Roman Besat in two or more places

At that time that I have thrown away a Mahfoor.

Besat which has been considered by Farrukhi Sistani is a type of knot-woven rug, but according to the poetical symmetry, we can find out the social value and situation of Besat (rug) in comparison with Mahfoor (flat-woven carpet). Considering the financial ability, the poet has used the rug instead of Mahfoor. In a verse, Farrukhi Sistani has spoken about a type of carpet produced in Shushtar:

By the hand of "Mehr" month, the autumn wrote from garden

Shushtari's Besat and seven-color tent.

According to several historical documents, Shushtar has been considered the production center of textiles and the floor covering products; «...From Shushtar, good brocade, well-woven fabric and carpet, many fruits, from Shush, sugar in great supply, fabric, fur» (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.622). This quotation emphasizes on customariness of Shushtari's carpets and Besats in the mentioned centuries. In other part, Al-Muqaddasi refers to production of various Besats in Bukhara: «Of Bukhara's products, various prayer mats, Besat and hazel cups have been made» (Ibid, p.475). Nuh ibn Nasr Samani also has referred to the productions of this region in the book under the title of Bukhara history: «In Bukhara, there has been a workshop between the city's fence and town close to the Jameh mosque where Besat, large curtain, papyrus, pillows and prayer mats have been woven» (Samani, p.94). Production of Besat in Bukhara is also confirmed by ibn Hawqal, Narshakhi and unknown writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam: «piece goods like papyrus, hazel, thread, Besats and woolen cloths have been other productions of Bukhara City which are sent to Iraq, Khorasan and other regions» (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.217); (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.114) and (Narshakhi, 1973, pp.28-29). In the recent documents, the relation of Besat with knot-woven carpets or flat-woven carpets isn’t very clear. Ferdowsi also has used the word "Besat" in most of poetical concepts:

Till a time that your mountain and hilly country will become a bejeweled throne

Plain and desert, become like a Shushtari Besat.

On the other hand, Ferdowsi in the following verse speaks about Besat that its type, again, reminds us the equivalent and similar carpet with Baharestan:

Spread Besat which have golden frame

Chrysolite has been woven on it all over.

In two recent poems, also, though, the technique of handmade thing isn’t very clear, but, we can find out the diversity of color and design in Shushtari's Besat and use of gold and silver and precious stones in the mentioned Besat in the second verse:

C) Rug:

In using this word, the meaning of napped knot-woven carpet is considered. "Especially, the rug means a napped knot-woven carpet (Parham, 1993, p.8)". In between the studied texts, this word has written "غازلي" (Ghali) in Farsi language in a sample in the category of literary texts, this appellation may well be deserving of its literal meaning, Ghali (in Farsi: گازلي) means "high-priced versus low-priced" (Dehkhoda,
More clearly, this type of floor cover has been more valuable than other common ones.

*I have spread the Roman Besat in two or more places *

**At that time that I have thrown away the Mahfoor** (Farrukhi Sistani).

In his book, Al-Muqaddasi has referred to the productions of Khwarezm City that are among valuable productions and for this reason, have been applied for giving a gift or exporting to other regions too: «Sable parchment, ermine, fur, stripped-woven textiles, rug with large length, and silky-woven fabrics have been made for giving gift and exporting» (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.476). On the other hand, Al-Muqaddasi refers to the productions of a village named Khosrow Abad, which equals with productions of Khorasan: «In that place, they weave a type of rug that like it cannot be observed in Khorasan» (Ibid, p.475). Ibn Balkhi also mentions rug as the most important production in Fasa: «Fasa was known in making those fabrics which were made from the hair of goat, fabrics woven from raw silk and supplement of the rug, Kilim, table-cloth, napkins and curtains with crochet work, especially, with blue and green colors of peafowl feather which were woven between braid (Ibn Balkhi, 1935, p.449). Guy Le Strange in the book of *Eastern Lands*, also, has believed that Fasa has been the important city in the fourth century A.H. and valuable textiles have been produced in Fasa in order to export to other regions. Among textiles, valuable rugs and felt carpets are accounted in the invoice list of its export productions (Le Strange, 1954, p.315). The writers of the books of Hudud al-Alam and Bayhaqi history in their works-though, relatively in a limited form (compared with other floor coverings) has used the word "rug": «And in these small towns, many kinds of straw-like mats and rugs produce» (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.160), «...and thirty-hundred large curtains, two-hundred rug-houses and two-hundred Mahfoori-houses rise», «two-hundred rug-houses have been those gifts that Ali ibn Isa has sent for Harun al-Rashid from Khorasan» (Bayhaqi, 1978, p.538). In other part of Bayhaqi history, the story of preparing golden throne of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni has been mentioned that apparently they have been occupied in preparing for three years. Among the items used in this palace, there were carpets which have been taken from people in the form of tributes and gifts by governors and tributaries in ceremony of Norouz festival. This event shows that in most of the centers under dominance of Ghaznavids, hand-woven things and carpets from any type have been produced. In Bayhaqi history, unlike Hudud al-Alam which is firm on cultural observations, usually, the artistic productions can be observed in the invoice list of items and in the frame of tribute, tax and gifts from governors: «... And suitably for it, a few Mahfoori and rugs can be mentioned that causes to suffer farmers more than this request (Ibid. p.598) «And precious rugs included Armenian Mahfooris and Oveysi and variously-colored rugs, and various textures or textiles (Gardezi, 1985, p.408).

In the literal adduced texts, the word "rug" can be observed in the poems of Rudaki and Naser Khosrow. Some believe that perhaps, the oldest referring to the rug in the literature is related to the Rudaki (Heshmati Razavi, 2014, p.154):

*The nightingale doesn’t fly in the garden except on coral and beautiful flower*

*The gazelle doesn’t walk in the plain except on silky rug.*

In this poem, according to an adjective which has been mentioned following the name of rug, the type of rug can be also found out. Literally, «Parnoon» means silk, and consequently, with explaining this verse, we will see silken productions included knot-woven carpets and textiles and other floor covers in the early days of the fourth and fifth centuries A.H. This type of verses with the documents of written references shows level of silken productions in two above mentioned centuries. Apparently, most of Iran's population has been employed in farming occupation in the fourth and fifth centuries A.H. (Jahanbakhsh, 2017, p.59). For this reason, the woolen, cotton and silken textiles in this era have been in their apogee
and this show the relation of jobs in this era with occupations related to the farming (and animal husbandry). About productions of cocoon, especially in the northern regions and Tabarestan, many documents in the written references can be mentioned (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.171); (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.517) ... On the other hand, according to the historical documents, many silk-weaving workshops have been active in the cities of Nesa, Nishapur, Yazd, Amol and Isfahan (Ibn Balkhi, 1935, p.107); (Istakhri, 1990, p.221); (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.475)...

In the class of literal texts, following the hypothesis of valuation of related word by the same words, the luxury of rug can be confirmed as a hand-woven thing more valuable than other ones in mentioned era. Naser Khosrow in the following verse, transfers his poetical and literal concepts by using this subject:

_O hypocritical person! You are from tumult and hypocrisy_.

*With animal for riding, properties, silk brocade and rug.*

Perhaps, gaudy rug has convinced the poet to use the words "tumult and hypocrisy" in the poetical rhyme. On the other hand, other equivalent words applied with «straw-like mat» such as animal for riding, properties and silk brocade in the second hemistich of the verse helps to evaluate the word "rug" worthily.

**D) The prayer mat:**

Dehkhoda, Ali-Akbar has explained the prayer carpet based on this sentence: «A prayer carpet made of straw-like mat or rug that the prayers sit on it and spread a mat for praying on it» (Dehkhoda, 1999, pp.21-23). In many remained versified and prosed words, the prayer carpet, the prayer mat and prayer rug have been adduced as one of common floor coverings. This type of floor covering is considered as eldest types of contemporary carpets in Mihrab. In his book, Ibn Hawqal has mentioned the prayer carpet made in Bukhara that was sent from that place to the Iraq, Khorasan and other regions. He quotes that «the prayer rug in Mihrab» has been produced in Bukhara and exported to other regions (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.218). This has been confirmed by Jeihani, Narshakhi and writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam (Jeihani, p.185); (Narshakhi, 1973, p.29) and (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.106). In describing productions of Fars, Al-Muqaddasi and Ibn Balkhi refer to this point that the prayer carpets and burlaps are produced in Jahrom (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.659); (Ibn Balkhi, 1935, p.107). Among productions of Jahrom, Ibn Hawqal and Istakhri have also mentioned the prayer rug which is known as unique Jahromi in the world. Yaghut al-Hamawi points out that the most known, well-weaved and beautiful prayer rugs are produced in Amol (Pope, 2010, p.2627). Al-Muqaddasi also introduces the prayer rugs as most important product of Bukhara and in a place; he has used the word "beautiful prayer carpet" for them. Al-Muqaddasi introduces Rebanjan City, dependent region of Samarghand and Shash (Chach) in Transoxiana, as other center for producing prayer carpet (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, pp.475-476). In the studied texts, especially, the book of Bayhaqi history, the content aspects of prayer carpet have been emphasized: «... And he bowed down before honored and glorified God and cried a lot, wanted the prayer carpet and said two Rakats of prayer (Bayhaqi, 1978, p.255). «... He got up, wanted water and flat wash-tub and prayer carpet, so he brushed his mouth and said the next prayer» (Ibid., p.892) «...that a few ascetic and pious persons had seated on the prayer carpet and had put the books and papers away» (Ibid., p.602). Apparently, writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam has more familiarity with types of handmade things and has used the prayer carpet with other handmade things frequently: «... And from this area of Gilan, broom, mat and prayer carpet produce and when are they brought to the whole of the world?», «It is a small town with many blessings and from that place, straw-like mat and prayer carpets export (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, pp.150-159). In most of above-mentioned references, the prayer carpet, prayer mat and prayer rug have been used with the same meaning, so we are aware of its qualitative properties less. From the limited
quotations that we are informed on the cognition of raw materials, color and design of prayer carpet to an extent, a quotation from writers of Bayhaqi history and Hudud al-Alam can be referred. In Bayhaqi history, there is a referring to the color-scheme and type of «prayer carpet» which is unique: «... So, he came to the court, the prayer carpet from turquoise brocade had been spread close to his breast (Bayhaqi, 1987, p.193). Likewise, a quotation from the writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam shows the qualitative subject of the prayer carpet: «... And the good and woolen Besat, carpet and prayer carpet export from that place (Hudud al-Alam, 1987, p.106). Use of silk and wool in production of prayer carpet and turquoise color are from that limited information which is extracted from the previous mentioned texts qualitatively.

E) Kilim:

With regard to the analysis of the historical and literal texts, Kilim produced in the mentioned era have had various properties and features qualitatively and quantitatively, so that in their common classifications, they were divided into the precious, average and low valuable Kilims. This division might be dependent on raw materials in use, design, shape, size and dimensions and even, their production centers. Writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam presents the valuable information on this type of productions, with regard to the relative cognition about the types of floor covering. For example, the writer has used some compositions like the white ear, Deylam i lame, dark blue, silken and woolen Kilims, apparently some of them have had a value higher than other ones and even than some handmade things simultaneous with them. The type of raw materials in use, special design and color... have made that artistic production qualified for global fame. Perhaps, insist of writer on «precious Kilim» confirms superiority of this over other Kilims and handmade products: «... And from that place, cotton cloth and ploughshare turban, and white ear, lame Deylami's Kilim and different small lame turbans produce» (Ibid. p.145). «... And from that place, precious Kilims export (p.130), and dark blue Kilims export that are also applied in Tabarestan area» (p.146), and from that place, woolen Kilim and Besat and etc. (p.109).

In the above texts, different levels of Kilims production can be distinguished. On the other hand, some texts introduce productions of Kilim in some regions as a collection which have been exported to other areas in high scale. Ibn Hawqal and Istakhri refer to the Barin Plain located in Ghondejan in Fars province: «that Kilim and various cushions and the like, for example, Armenian handmade things are produced and most of them are exported to other regions». Ibn Hawqal has also spoken about the Jahrom and Fasa as the centers for weaving Kilims (Ibn Hawql, 1967, p.65). It seems that Jahrom and Fasa are another regions where have been known for weaving valuable Kilims in the mentioned era. The writer of Farsnama Book has mentioned that «Fasa ...was known for the fabrics woven from raw silk. Kilim...and curtains with crochet work...», «In Jahrom, Kilim and Jajim which were consumed for curtain and prayer mat which was used in mosques, were woven» (Ibn Balkhi, 1935, p.449).

In the literal texts, we can find out the division of Kilims in terms of their value. In a poem written by Ferdowsi, throwing the Kilim in the water due to be Qarun and so-called self-contained may be a reason for value of the mentioned Kilim:

*He answered that I am Qarun*

*I throw Kilim in the flowing water.*

In the conceptual oppositeness of above-mentioned verse, in the poems of Naser Khosrow, we can achieve verses that the poet has put Kilim versus other handmade things. In a part, he has spoken about the timeworn Kilim versus silk mixed with golden threads and in other part; he has put Kilim versus silk:

*Except for lack of wisdom, what is chosen by it?*
Timeworn Kilim on coarse brocade

Although, you are a valueless Kilim

But, you will become valuable brocade.

F) Straw-like mat:

According to the historical references in the first five centuries A.H., Fars especially Jahrom has been known in weaving of straw-like mat. «Jahrom is a green city and straw-like mat and prayer carpet export from that place», (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.135). «In Jahrom where the known straw-like mat was woven» (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.39), «in Jahrom, excellent painted cloths are woven, but... breadth of straw-like mat in Jahrom which is known as Jahromi is incomparable». In this manner, if straw-like mats in other regions have been discussed, it has been compared with origin of weaving straw-like mat, namely, Fars and Jahrom, qualitatively. Some writers like Jeihani, Ibn Hawqal, Istakhri and writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam with explaining the importance of Jahrom-Fars straw-like mats, have compared the similar products of other regions with Jahrom center too (Jeihani, p.171). «... And from that place, the carpet cups produce in Tabari way and straw-like mats in Jahromi way (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.102). «In the provinces of Quhistan, tent-cloth..., straw-like mat such as Jahromi are woven and they are brought from Toon to the Nishapur and other regions». The historians of those periods discussed in this research, except for Jahrom, introduce the other centers like Sistan, Bukhara, Taleqan, Armenia and Azerbaijan as the centers of straw-like mat production in the first five centuries A.H.: «This region [Jahrom] like Sistan in the fifth century A.H., has been the important center for weaving straw-like mat», «Bukhara is one of the centers for producing straw-like mat which have been exported to the Iraq and other regions», «from Taleqan,..., straw-like mat and sackcloth are exported», «Armenia and Azerbaijan are the centers for producing straw-like mat».

G) Felt carpet:

Felt carpet is among that hand-woven things that has been also used as floor cover in addition to other usages: Ibn Balkhi has mentioned Fasa as one of the centers for producing spreadable felt carpet: «felt carpets, tent and pavilion were also produced and exported from Fasa» (Ibn Balkhi, 1935, p.469). Writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam introduces Taleqan, Asbijab, and Sekasham as other centers for producing felt carpet: «Taleqan,..., from this area, many apparatuses export included felt carpet, saddlebag, and surcingle of horse export and so on», (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.95). «Asbijab..., from that place, felt carpet and sheep export» (Ibid, p.117). «Sekasham..., woolen saddle-cloth and Tirookhi export from its boundaries» (Ibid, p.121). Gardezi has also referred to of the travel story of the nobles from Baghdad to the Mecca and speaks about spreading those felt carpets that has been done in the houses by servants: «Abdullah said: From Baghdad to the Mecca, in each one of the houses, the servants spread felt carpet, and he went for pilgrimage to Mecca and finished the oath, and Harun admired him» (Gardezi, 1985, p.160).

H) Mat or rush-mat

Mat or rush-mat have high importance as one of the initial floor covers, and at the same time, because of technique used in it, as an introduction on information of initial human on the advanced techniques used in the textiles and the floor covers. Among the existing references, mat and rush-mat with their different usages have been adduced so much: The writer of the book of Hudud al-Alam has introduced Darabjerd in Fars, Abadan, Saman in Khuzestan, Gilan and Tabarestan Province, Termez in Khorasan as the important
centers for mat-weaving: «Termez [Transoxiana] is a green city where locate on Jayhoun (Amu Darya) riverside... and from that place, good soap, green mat and fan export», (Ibid., p.109). «Mamatir [Pars] is a small town with flowing waters and from that town, a thick and very good mat export that is applied in summer» (Ibid, p.145). The significant point is that the mats in these periods haven’t been only limited to the rush-mat and could include designed, many-colored, silken or woolen, and lame mats too. For example, the mats of Saman and Abadan have had a delicate texture. Because, according to Abolmotahhar al-Zedi, it has been more beautiful than carpet and softer than silk, so that can be manifested in the form of two half –folds as if have been woven from fabric (Yarshater, 2006, p.63). «Ebadan [Iraq] is a small and prosperous city where locate on seaboard and all Ebadan mats and Samani mats export from that place (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.152). According to the studied texts, Ebadan and Saman have been accounted the important centers of mat-weaving in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

By adducing to the narration of Nizami Aruzi Samarqandi, Pope also mentions that when Al-Mamun entered to the Bayt al-Aroos in the house of Al-Hasan ibn Sahl Sarakhsi, he had spread a carpet with decorations inlaid with gems, «a house-like (with room’s length), he has spread mat made in the golden road-way, has inlaid with pearl, garnet and turquoise and has put six pillows on it, Al-Mamun brought out eighteen pearls from his long garment, ...gave gift that moved on Besat» (Pope, 2010, p.2626). According to the texts extracted from literal references, rush-mat has been considered as a floor cover with value lower than other ones. In the following verses written by Naser Khosrow, the contrarieties of the applied words related to rush-mat in contrast with other carpets show the value analogy of these two products in the frame of poetical concepts:

And through analogy, if rush-mat is woven like brocade
In your opinion, rush-mat will be like brocade as a precious floor cover
The carpet-like product was spread under someone
A rush-mat was stolen from another one again.

I) Mahfoori:

In the flat-woven carpets popularized in the first centuries A.H., the word ”Mahfoori” has been a common word, although it is completely separated between the contemporary dictionaries. According to some existing encyclopedias, «Mahfooor» has been a city on seaboard of Rome where precious Besat and other carpets have been woven⁶. Ali-Akbar Dehkhoda in explaining the word ”Mahfoor” quoted from translation of Tabari history has mentioned that Mahfoori has been woven in Armenia not in ”Mahfoor” in seaboard of Rome, but perhaps it has been woven in Armenia with style of Mahfoor carpets (Dehkhoda, 1999). About the word, Ravandi has mentioned that Mahfoori is a kind of rug and its best kind is woven in Armenia and he has emphasized that Mahfoori is a gift which have been usually exchanged between the governors in the form of precious presents (Ravandi, 2007, p.512).

In the book of Zayn al-Akbar the Armenian Mahfoori carpets are referred clearly: «And the precious carpets included Armenian Mahfooris and Oveysi and variously-colored rugs, and so on (Gardezi, 1985, p.408). According to many quotations which have been obtained from the studied texts, this point can be mentioned that Mahfoori is a precious handmade product that usually is recognizable along with precious artistic productions. The name of Mahfoori with rug is usually in the list of those products which have been exchanged in the frame of tributes, taxes, booties and gifts among the rich people and governors. In the book of Bayhaqi history, equivalence of rug and Mahfoori is observed repetitively with other precious productions of that era: «....great bowls, Chinese great and small vats and other types of products, three-hundred large curtains, two-hundred rug-houses and two-hundred Mahfoori houses», «....and there were
many cloths, rare and new fruits and properties, golden and silver things, servant, female slave, waterskin, camphoe, jujube, pearl, Mahfoori, rug, kerchiefs and types of blessings in this Syrian gift that Emir...» (Bayhaqi, 1978, pp.530-538), «...Nishapur gold equal to many thousands of dinars, thousand Roman cloths and other goods, thousand rugs and five-thousand kerchiefs...», «...he said, ....from these areas, there must be a gift for me (Sultan)..., they said, we obey..., from Amol and Tabarestan, 28261 dollars have been presented and suitably for it, several Mahfoori and rugs have been presented that more than this request will cause to suffer farmers so much» (Ibid., pp.590-598).

According to some above-mentioned documents, the referring of some verses to the Roman rugs can be also considered in line with the rugs known as Mahfoori, because, in some parts of texts, it has been referred that Mahfoor is a city on Rome's seaboard and precious silken Besats and rugs have been woven in that region. As Ravandi has confirmed silken type of Mahfoori: «the rush-mat has not remained in mosque in Iraq that the oppressors give to the Mahfoori and there is no cotton that the widows take thread from it to buy satin ...» (Ravandi, 2007, p.37). In the following verses, opinion of poet about those rugs that Roman silk has been used in weaving them is referred:

Without Parandi and Roman carpets
There is no plain, mounts (Naser Khosrow).

There is a flat-woven carpet from Roman brocade on it
Its entire body, from the jewel and gold of that territory (Ferdowsi).

J) Sackcloth:

Sackcloth is a type of those hand-woven products which has also a usage except for being the floor cover. In the book of Hudud al-Alam, Chaghaniyan in Greater Khorasan and Mughan in Iraq are introduced as the centers for sackcloth-weaving: «Chaghaniyan [Transoxiana] is a ruined and great area...and in that place, woolen cloth and sackcloth, produce in great supply...», «Mughan is a city ...where is on seaboard... and eatable Dangos, large woolen sacks and sackcloth produce» (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.109). Ibn Hawqal and Istakhri also mention that in Qhistan Province, good sack cloths have been woven and they were exported to the Nishapur and other areas (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.181); (Istakhri, 1990, p.216). Istakhri also in Masalik wal-Mamalik consider "Kuhistan" as a province of Khorasan and its Arabicized form as Qhistan, he believes that «in this area, narrow burlap and sackcloth and the like produce» (Yarshater, 2010, p.67). In the literal texts, the word "sackcloth" in the poetical symmetry has been used for transferring the literal concepts. In the mentioned verses, the contrariety of the applied words shows the value awareness of those productions in the considered society:

Although, both of them are woolen, has been never
Toward you, O far-sighted! Sackcloth like shot silk? (Naser Khosrow)

O brother! The people, undoubtedly, laugh on you

When you are lining the worn-out sackcloth from brocade (Naser Khosrow).

Introduction of the carpet-weaving geography in the first centuries A.H.

In studying the mentioned texts, various centers were extracted from geography of handmade carpet production. With regard to the texts of previous part, the major centers of production have been gained with separating of the hand-woven things:
A) Carpet:
Shadiyakh (Nishapur?) «Carpets and various floor covers» (Bayhaqi, 1978, p.538); Sa'ghab; Khazar areas «Tabari carpets» (Yaqubi, 2001, p.43); Darabjerd «carpets in Tabari way» (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.65); Khuzestan «good carpets» (Masoudi, 1982, p.251); Turan; GharajShar; Tabarieh; Gharhooob; Ebadan, «Ebadani and Gharhooob carpets...» (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.622); Tabarestan «Tabari carpet» (Yaqubi, 2003, pp.43-55); Istakhrī (1990, pp.134-135); (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.253) and...; Amol «Amol's carpets» (Pope, 2010, p.2627); (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.145); Bukhara «Bukhara's carpet» and «woolen carpet» (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.217); (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.471); (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.106); Sistan «carpet with style of Tabari carpets» (Hudud al Alam, 1984, p.102); Pars «silken and woolen carpets» (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.130); (Sistan history, 1988, p.230) are among centers where have been introduced as the carpet-weaving places.

B) Besat:
Shushtar «Shushtari Besat» (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.622); (Farrukhi Sistani); (Ferdowsi); Bukhara (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.475); (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.217); (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.106); (Narshakhi, 1973, pages.28-29); Roman «Roman Besat»; (Farrukhi); Darzanli (Darzangi), «woolen Besat» (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.109); Pars (Ibid., p.130)

C) Rug:

D) Prayer carpet

E) Kilim

F) Straw-like mat
Jahrom «the known Jahromi's straw-like mats» (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.135); (Jeihani, p.171); (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.181); Istakhrī (1990, p.216); Qhīshīstan «straw-like mats like Jahromi»; (Ibn Hawqal, 1967, p.181); Bukhara (Ibid., p.218); Taleqan (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, p.95); Armenia, Azerbaijan (Al-Muqaddasi, 1983, p.347); Pars «straw-like mats»; Vaznan (Vartan, Varsan) «straw-like mat»; Berkeri (Bergeri); Arjih; Akhlat; Nakhiaviyan; Bitlis «straw-like mat» (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, pp.130-160).
G) Felt carpet
Fasa; (Ibn Balkhi, 1935, p.469); Asbijab «from that place, felt carpet rises»; Sekashem; Jowzan «felt carpet»; Taleqan «felt carpet»; Kazh (Kas) «felt carpet»; (Hudud al-Alam, 1984, pages.95-122).

H) Mat and rush-mat
Darabgerd and Mametir in Fars, Abadan, Saman in Khuzestan, Gilan and Tabarestan province, Termez in Khorasan have been introduced as the important centers for mat-weaving: Termez- (Transoxiana) «green rush-mat»; (Ibid., p.109), «from Mametir [Pars], a thick mat rises»; Saman; Ebadan [Iraq] «Ebadani and Samani mats»; Gilan «mat» (Ibid., pages.145-151).

I) Mahfoori:
Armenia, Armenian Mahfoori (Gardezi, 1985, p.408); Amol and Tabarestan (Bayhaqi, 1978, p.538); Mahfoor (Ravandi, 2007, p.512).

J) Sackcloth:

Conclusion
According to the written references, vocabulary of the Iranian handmade carpet in the first five centuries A.H. had diversity quantitatively and qualitatively equal to the keywords popularized in contemporary era and perhaps, it made present itself in all related subsets. Of course, some words like Mahfoori (carpet), Besat and prayer mat have been excluded from this assumption and are among those keywords that apparently were common till 7th and 8th centuries A.H. among Besats. The provinces of Fars, Tabarestan and Deilyman, Greater Khorasan, Khuzestan and Azerbaijan play main role in division of Iran's carpet-weaving regions in above-mentioned centuries. In this division, Darabgerd, Fars, Tabarestan, Amol, Turan, Shadiyakh, Gharaajesh, Khuzestan, Gharhoob and Abadan are the major centers for carpet production; Fasa, Fars, Bokhara, Darzanli and Shooeshtar are the major centers for weaving of Besats; Amol, Tabarestan, Kharazm, Khosro Abad, Khoi and Khorasan are the main centers for rug production; Pars, Jahrom, Amol, Rabinjan, Chach and Bokhara are the main centers for prayer mat production; Bareen Plain, Fasa, Jahrom, Pars, Amol, Natel, Chalous, Rudan, Kelar, Gilan and Vaset are the major centers for production of Kilim; Jahrom, Pars, Quhistan, Bukhara, Taleqan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Vartan, Arjih, Ekhlat, Nakhchivan and Tadlis are the main centers for straw-like mat production; Fasa, Asbijab, Taleqan, Guzganan and Kazh are the main centers for the felt carpet production; Darabjerd, Pars, Mametir, Tabarestan, Gilan, Tarmaz, Abadan and Saman are the major centers for mat and rush-mat production; Amol, Tabarestan, Armenia and Mahfoor are the main centers for Mahfoori (carpet) production; Chaghaniyan, Khorasan, Quhistan, Guzganan and Mughan are introduced as the main centers for sackcloth production. According to the written sources documented in this paper; Khorasan, Fars and Tabarestan, respectively, have allocated the most frequency in types of the floor large covers to themselves. Moreover, in terms of the words frequency related to types of floor covers, by excluding the carpet and Besat due to allocate them to all floor coverings in some texts; straw-like mat, Kilim, rug and prayer mat, respectively, allocate the most frequency to themselves.
References


Footnotes

1. The publications of computer researches center of Islam world.

2. The electronic library of Persian poem and literacy.

3. The pictorial references like fossils, figures, wall paintings, inscriptions and designs depicted in artistic and historical objects... have the ability to extract the historical incidents, cultural customs, social and political conditions. Many pictorial references also present complete details of transformations procedure of some applicable arts.

4. The specialized references are considered as a few books and theses, which have referred to the situation of art and artists of special era. The weavings of ragged garments, art theses and some biographies are placed in the class of specialized references. In terms of the subject, inscription and affiliated arts in the above class allocate the most frequency percent to themselves. The outset of these references is from the end of 14th century and they become customary in 15th century. Direct references: From 13th century, the representational arts in terms of aesthetic and not applicable issues were as the
spotlight of the courtiers and supporters. For this reason, in many historical books of this era, the biography of artists has been also introduced. This class of books is in the group of direct references.

Napped coarse carpet is significant.

5. Woolen saddle-cloth, horse cloth, human cloth, tent of tribes ...

6. Of course, with regard to this point that carpet has been also customary in two general meanings and meaning of knot-woven napped carpet. This issue will include the word of long narrow carpets too.

7. The words of carpet and Besat are placed in the general meaning of various floor coverings and in the specialized meaning, with regard to the related words; they are placed in the next classifications.