International Academic Institute for Science and Technology

International Academic Journal of Humanities Vol. 2, No. 1, 2015, pp. 135-143.
ISSN 2454-2245

International Academic Journal of Humanities

www.iaiest.com

Interaction between Iran and India's Literary currents During Safavid rule

Mojahed Gholami

Assistant Professor of Persian language & literature, Shahid Bahonar University, Kerman, Iran.

Abstract

Without any doubt, poetry has its own specific lingual and aesthetic features in each period of time. But sometimes the differences between the lingual and aesthetic features of a poetry belongs to a period is too much rather than another piece of poetry of another period that may lead to misunderstanding or even reject and denial of it. In Indian style, or the poetic style of the 10th through the 13th centuries after Hegira (A.D. 16th to 19th centuries), which was a literary current in Iran and India, we can see some innovations in language and aesthetics of Persian poetry. This innovation was the result of the creativity and imagination of Persian poets in both of these vast and cultured countries in which its reflection could be seen in the mirror of literary and rhetorical works belongs to that era. The study of this works shows that while the Safavid rule in Iran and the Mughals reigned in India, two main trends of rhetoric were formed in Iran and India. The first, was relied on Arabic literary works and the second, was influenced by Indian rhetoric. The works related to first group were mostly reactionary and had no new concept. But the simultaneous works that composed in India, - which was both influenced by Indian and Persian/Arabic literature and rhetoric, had Significant innovations that will be discussed in a case study analysis.

Keywords: Comparative criticism, Literary currents, Safavid Rule, fancy, poetic metonymy

Introduction

More important than the presence of rhetoric in the language and poetry of nations are the attempts made by the scholars and literati of those nations to discover and extract rhetorical issues of their nation's language and poetry for the outcome of these attempts result in the formation of a rhetorical system bestowing to a nation a non-imitated, unique rhetoric. Among different nations of the world, the Indians, Greeks, Chinese and Arabs have a specific, non-imitated rhetoric system of their own. Each of them has a particular definition of the rhetoric. According to one Arabic rhetorical text *Al-Bayan Val-Tabyin* written by Jahedth (AH 255/ A.D 869), rhetoric, as perceived by the Greeks, is the art of rectifying different speeches and choosing the best one; the Romans define rhetoric "Hosn-ul Ibteda" (Good beginning) in

improvisation; and rhetoric for the Indians is *clear implications and good allusions* (Jahedth, 2003. p. 75). Abdulqaher Jorjani (AH 471\A.D 1078), the forerunner of Arab rhetoricians, identifies rhetoric as a spiritual matter which is created in the depths of human spirit (Jorjani, 1978, p. 2).
The statement of another Arab rhetorician, Abu Hilal Askari (AH 395\A.D 1005) further indicates the importance of this art for the Arabs; Abu Hilal believes that after the knowledge of knowing God, proficiency in rhetorical arts is the highest knowledge (Abu Hilal Askari, 1992, p. 1).
Since Iranians have lost their pre-Islamic rhetorical achievements, they have borrowed most of their rhetorical matters including the definition of rhetoric from the Arabs. These definitions can be seen in the books *Hadayeq-ul Sehr* written by Rashid-od Din Watwat (AH 573\A.D 117) and *Al-Mo'jam Fi Maa'ir Ash'aar-ul Ajam* written by Qeys Raazi (AH 630\A.D 1232).
However, the criteria of poetry' rhetoric has been subject to change throughout different periods of poetry in nations and stylistic changes. The epistemic bases of rhetoric vary in every poetic period and style. By epistemic bases we mean the attitude toward the world, things and the manner of imagination. Undoubtedly, the worldview of every historical era signifies various arts including poetry, the artist's attitude toward the world and things as well as his manner of imagination and rhetorical depiction.

Theoretical Basis of Research

As it is perceived, the capability of comparative and rhetorical criticism would be more effective than other theories, in our understanding of the literary currents of Iran and India. In this article, the compile year and the Genre have been noticed in accordance with the subjects. Besides, in addition to the structure, the contents has also been analyzed for the rhetorical criticism of works.

Research Background

The articles listed for the review of literature are mostly separated articles, worked on the rhetorical and literary works of Iran and India. In fact, just a few articles comparatively examined the literary currents of Iran and India during the 16th and 19th centuries. Among the articles that examined the literary currents of Iran and India, or in other words, the articles that we can perceive the rhetorical trends of Iran and India through them, the followings are the most outstanding ones:
1-*"Azad Bilgrami and his Arabic works"* by Seyyed Hasan Abbas (1994),
2-*"Examples of the ancestors Poetry Criticism"* By Alireza Zekavati (1991) and
3-*"Faghir Dehlavi, a prominent figure of rhetoric in India"* by Fazlollah Rezaie (2007).
As it is clear, these articles focused on the rhetorical and literary works of an individual person. However, *"About Rhetoric"* by Ahmad Mahdavi Damghani (1996) and *"The Rhetorical Dissention"* by Mohammad Fesharaki (2004) contains analysis that would be useful for observing the rhetorical trends in Iran and India.

Research Methodology

The methodology in this study is using library and the attained goals were categorizes by descriptive analytic method.

The Analysis of Data

1.Main Rhetorical Trends

Based on our investigations, there have been two main trends in rhetorical writings and studies during the tenth to thirteenth centuries after Hegira (sixteenth to nineteenth centuries AD) in areas where Persian was the prevalent language, namely Iran and India:

1.1. First Trend; a Rhetoric Based on Islamic Rhetorical System Central to Iran

During the mentioned centuries Iran was under the reign of the Safavid Dynasty. Shah Ismail of the Safavids (AH 907-930\A.D 1501-1523), the first of a succession of kings, officially institutionalized Shiism in Iran subsequent to which religious scholars were held more dear and highly regarded by the Safavid kings. These scholars who were either originally Iranian or summoned from areas such as Jabal Amel gathered in Isfahan, the capital of the Safavid government and began teaching religious sciences. Rhetoric, because of its association of rhetoric with religious sciences and since it had always been recognized as a means to better understanding of the Koran and Hadith, could not be neglected by these scholars. Thus, they embarked upon compiling scholastic, rhetorical books. A book which had been taught up to this period in religious science schools for its rhetorical comprehensiveness was the Arabic book *Motavval Fi Sharh-ul Talkhis* compiled by *Sa'd-uddin Taftazani* (AH 792\A.D 1390). Scholars in the Safavid era also taught this book in their schools and in order to make the book more comprehensible to their pupils wrote some expositions on them. These expositions on *Motavval* which are in Arabic constitute part of the rhetorical writings of this era (Safa, 1984, v. 4, p. 188). Gradually, some scholars considered compiling books which tailored the rhetorical discussions of *Motavval* to Persian language and poetry. Some others began free translations of *Motavval.*

The rhetoric discussed in these works is, in fact, the Islamic rhetoric presented after seven centuries in an organized and neatly compiled manner by Taftazani. In other words, we may say that authors of these works added nothing new to the

rhetoric already made for the Iranians. The most important works written in this fashion are:

1.1.1 Anwaar-ul Belaqah

The author of *Anwaar-ul Belaqah* is Mohammadhadi Manzandarani, known as *Aqa Hadi,* son of Mullah Mohammad Salih Mazandarani who was a respected scholar of his age with existing, valuable works in religious sciences. His mother, Ameneh Begum is also famous for her knowledge and has some works in the field of religious sciences. *Anwaar-ul Belaqah* was written under the request of a Hussein Ali Khan (Mazandarani, 1997, pp. 29 & 30).

An Iranian scholar who first found a copy of the book believes that it is a translation of one of the expositions of *Talkhis* and arguably a translation of Taftazani's exposition on *Talkhis,* i.e. *Motavval* (Nakhjavaani, 1949, p. 149).

In terms of structure and subjects, *Anwaar-ul Belaqah* is almost a duplication of *Motavval.* If slight differences between the two books are noticed in this regard, it does not mean that Mohammadhadi Mazandari has added or detracted any rhetorically valuable material to the book. He has only occasionally opened separate chapters for some of the topics of *Motavval* or joined some chapters together. *Anwaar-ul Belaqah* is a compact compilation of all the rhetorical techniques and devices for Persian speakers; however, the poetic citations of the book are generally the same Arabic verses which have been repeated in Islamic rhetoric books since the age of Abdulqaher Jorjani (AH 471\A.D 1078). The author has only inserted four Persian couplets from Ferdowsi and Orfi Shirazi.

Mazandarani was proficient in most of the original sources of Arabic rhetoric written up to his time; he cites almost all of them and criticizes important views of the old rhetorical scholars. Compiling such a book and yet in a time when poetry and versification had overshadowed Iranians' lives, suggests that the art of rhetoric has been taught in religious schools and among scholars and religious jurisconsults merely for the sake of understanding religious texts and knowledge and has been totally unrelated to the poetry and poets of the time. The book of Hadi Mazandarani is not much related to the poetry of the eleventh century, an age where poetry was the totem of Iranians. meanwhile, what is commonly found in poetic

gatherings and literary works has nothing to do with complicated, rhetorical topics in various fields of religious sciences (Fotuhi, 2006. p. 156).

1.1.2 Rasalyeye Bayan-e Badi

The author of this book is Mirza Abutalib, son of Mirzabeyg Musavi Fendereski, who lived some part of his life, which has happened to be its most fruitful part, during the reign of the Safavid Shah Soleiman (AH 1077-1106\A.D 1666-1694). *Rasalyeye Bayan-e Badi'* is also written in this period in AH 1099 (A.D 1687). Mirza Abutalib Fendereski, is the grandson or nephew of Mirfendereski, renowned scientist of the Safavid era (Fendereski, 2002, p. 13). This work is also a free translation of *Motavval* with some Persian verse supplements. This book consists of two sections and a conclusion. The first and second sections of the book are about rhetoric and the ending concerns poetic plagiarism. We cannot overlook the fact that Fendereski's *Rasalyeye Bayan-e Badi'* besides its containing a neat selection of *Motavval* and the most prominent rhetorical observations, except the topic of *Maa'ni(a branch of Arabian rhetoric),* is a successful attempt to understand *Motavval* and more importantly, introduce *Motavval*'s rheotic to Persian literature in order to interpret the aesthetical norms of Persian poetry based on *Motavval*'s rhetoric.

2.1. Second Trend; a Rhetoric Based on Indian Rhetoric Focused on by Indian Persian Speakers

In the period mentioned, India was the center of Persian literature, literati and poets. The pressure and humiliation exerted by the Shiite scholars in Iran from one side and the encouragement by Mughal kings of India from the other side, made Delhi and Agra courts highly desirable for men of art. Poetry criticism and rhetorical discussions was common in these courts. Not only did poets made critical and rhetorical comments on each other's poems, but also the kings and emirs showed great skill in rhetorical criticism of poetry. One of the stories that can be mentioned in this regard is the story of Noor Jahan Begum's frequent criticisms of the poetry of Abutalib Kalim, one of the greatest Indian-style poets (Zarrinkub, 2010, p. 257). A considerable part of the rhetorical criticisms prevalent among literati of the time had connections with Indian rhetoric. Indians are a nation well known for having an old, self-made, original rhetoric. Elements of rhetoric have has existed in all languages and rhetoric in the language of every nation is as old as the language of that nation. The difference is that some make attempts to define rhetoric and discover the rhetorical elements found in their language and define these elements, and these attempts lead to the formation of a cohesive, rhetorical system based on their native language. Indians have done this and if something of a nature similar to the elements of other nations' rhetoric is found in their rhetoric, it does not suggest their imitativeness, but inevitable rhetorical commonalities in different languages.

In Persian rhetorical works written in India during the tenth to thirteenth centuries (A.D 19-16th centuries), there are topics unprecedented in Persian rhetoric, almost entirely new; they are topics, titles and definitions which are not borrowed from Arabic rhetoric, but belong to Indian rhetoric.

Authors of these works do not only intend to introduce their rhetoric, but want to inject its elements to the dominating rhetorical system of Iranian literature. Examples used for rhetorical titles and definitions of these books are chosen directly from Persian poetry which indicates that Persian poetry has the potential to be criticized by the principles of this emerging rhetoric, especially the type of poem currently prevalent in Iran and India called *the Indian style*.

This emerging rhetoric, however, could not find its way into Persian rhetoric. Firstly because Islamic rhetoric had existed in Iran for several centuries and people had habituated to and become skillful in it. Secondly, because of some weaknesses in this new rhetoric; and thirdly because this rhetoric belonged to a period in the history of Iranian literature which Iranian scientists and researchers considered a period of literary decadence in comparison with other periods and regarded the works written in that period as valueless.

Notable books of this rhetorical trend written in India include *Tohfat-ul Hind* written by Mirza Khan Ibn-e Fakhruddin Mohammad and *Ghezalan-ul Hind* written by Azad Belgerami. Before introducing these

books, it is essential that first the development process of Indian rhetoric, known as Alankar, to the tenth century after Hegira (A.D 16th century) be briefly studied.

2.1.1 Development of Indian rhetoric (Alankar)

The earliest written verses in Vedic Sanskrit are, like Veda itself and the Sanskrit of the last Vedic era or old Sanskrit, religious texts which are also named among literary works of India. These works are also practical compositions of eloquence and rhetoric and no trace of theoretical interpretation of these topics can be found in them. The impact of these chants on nonreligious and lyrical texts of the succeeding periods is also worthy of consideration.

When investigating the trajectory of nonreligious and lyrical poetry and its ups and downs throughout history, one should not forget about the reign of the Guptas. Guptas, known as the *heroes of the Sun*, reigned over a vast region of Northern India during the third and fifth centuries A.D almost contemporaneous with the reign of Shapur II and Yezdegerd I of Sassanids in Iran.

They were art worshippers and literature lovers and did not spare anything in praising craftsmen, artists and the literati. The period of Guptas' reign which has deservedly been named "the golden age of Northern India" (Hekmat, 1958, p. 22) was the thriving period of lyrical and court poetry. The courts of these kings were the haunts of poets and rendezvous of literary meetings. For better picturing these lines, we can bring to mind Ghaznavid courts under the reign of Mahmud as a palpable and familiar schema.

Kalidasa, renowned Sanskrit poet, holder of three books of poems in the style of "great poems", whose works are considered "representative of the highest level of perfection in Sanskrit style and an unparalleled equilibrium between the violence or naiveté of the earlier ages and sciolism of the later periods which would drown literary creations in it" (Renault, 1991, p. 38), had connections with the court of one Gupta king, Chandra Gupta (A.D 375-414). Composition of Ramayana and Mahabharata is also ascribed to the age of Guptas. Even the fictitiousness of this ascription shows how important this royal family has been in propagating Indian culture and literature that has made them capable of ascribing two magnificent Indian epics to their own times.

Poems composed in the age of Guptas are different from old poems in terms of having rhetorical elements. In these poems rhetorical elements are used, without being necessary, in a diverting and deliberate manner.

These poems could have had a crucial role in extracting and fashioning Indian rhetorical system (Alankar) two centuries after Guptas. Apparently, the seventh century (A.D) should be considered the century of India's first rhetorical writings and explication of the theoretical subjects of the rhetoric of Indian poetry. It is in this century that the works *Kavayaarca* or *Mirror of Poetry*, by Dandin and *Kavyalankara* or "the ornaments of poetry" by Bhamaha establish the foundations of theoretical discussions on Indian rhetoric and gradually include theories about types of poetry, qualities and shortcomings of poems.

Compilation of the first rhetorical books in India and explicating subjects on eloquence and rhetoric in *Indian language*, is contemporaneous with the years when Sassanid Empire is on the brink of its demise. No attention was paid to Indian rhetoric in Iran after the Arab Conquest for the bond which had existed from the past between Persian and Arabic for various reasons and most importantly, religious ones and which led to the transition of Arabic rhetoric to Persian literature never happened for Persian and Sanskrit.

It is only during the Mughal rule over India when a dialogue between Persian and Indian rhetoric is established. These dialogues were prompted by Indians themselves and not Iranians.

During the reigns of these kings, particularly during the time of Jalal-uddin Akbar (AH 963-1014\A.D 1555-1693) and his successors up to Aurangzeb the Alamgir (AH 1069-1118\A.D 1658-1706) following a cultural policy, an agenda of translating Indian texts into Persian was pursued.

Translation of Indian text to Persian and writing books in this language under the dominion of Mughals opened Iranian windows, which had been open for centuries only to the horizons of the Arabian Peninsula, to the horizons of Indian Peninsula, too.

What was translated in this period into Persian was not limited to certain subjects and techniques and includes various works from Hindu faith discussions to mathematics, music and poetry. The scope of translations was so vast that Dara Shikoh (AH 1069\A.D 1658), son of Shah Jahan, translated some parts of *Upanishads* from Sanskrit to Persian and named it *Sirr-e Akbar*; Sheikh Abulfeyz Fayyazi (AH 1004\A.D 1595) translated Bhaskaracharya's Sanskrit work on algebra, Lilavati, into Persian; and Nizamuddin Panipati translated Jog-Bashesht which included Indian mysticism themes; but we know of no book on rhetoric which has been translated entirely from a Sanskrit rhetorical text into Persian or its content leave no room for doubt whether it is translation of a Sanskrit text. Nevertheless, it is possible that some parts of Indian rhetorical books translated into Persian are translations of the original texts.

It appears that the Persian speakers of India have felt the concern to write the basics of Indian literature's rhetoric and eloquence with delay because the first work on this subject is penned no sooner than in the period of the last ring from a chain of the Great Mongol power and influence, namely Aurangzeb the Alamgir. The name of this work is *Tohfat-ul Hind* and its author is Mirza Khan Ibn-e Fakhruddin Mohammad.

In fact, one decade before the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, in the twenty fourth year of Shah Jahan's sultanate, Nizamuddin Ahmad Ibn-e Mohammad Salih Seddiqi had also written a book in Persian called *Majma-ul Sanaye'*; we may even trace the record of such writings in India back to the seventh and eight centuries after Hegira when *Kanz-ul Favayed* and *Jame-ul Sanye' Wal-Oazan* were written. But the only association between these books and India is that their authors are Indians or they are written somewhere in India, otherwise these books are only rewritings of the same topics of Arabic rhetoric supplemented with some examples taken from Persian poetry and they are, in terms of text organization and type of aesthetical understanding, no different from their counterparts on rhetoric written in Iran.

About writing *Jame-ul Sanye' Wal-Oazan,* Seyf Jaam Heravi states that he had once composed "an innovative poem with a pleasing figure of speech called ornamented epanodos and rhymed prose" eulogizing Firuz Shah Tughlaq (AH 750-790\A.D 1351-1388) and recited it in the court. Prince Fath Khan, son of Firuz Shah, who was present in the meeting praised him for his "reliable talent" and admired him for his "honest nature" and while pointing out the rhetorical points of Seyf Hervai's eulogy requested him to write a composition in order to understand the minutes of rhetoric. You can read the rest from Seyf Jaam Hervai himself:

"Since I had good sense in treasures of poetry and good judgment in secrets of Alankar, I saw it incumbent on me to create a comprehensive collection in this subject as an instructional book for the study of the laity and professionals…abundant explanations make it unnecessary for pupils to consult teachers and ample explications make referring to any other books unnecessary. And whatever there is in Arabic rhetorical devices congruent with the rhetoric of *Talkhis* and *Meftah* is provided here with full explications and all the details invented by rhetoricians in this country are included in this collection and I have named it *Jame-ul Sanye' Wal-Oazan* (Nushahi, 2001, p. 42)."

The author of *Majma-ul Sanaye'*, a book written during the reign of Shah Jahan, also describes his book's relation with Arabic rhetoric thus:

"It is obvious for the masters of rhetoric that the art of rhetoric is specific to Arabs and non-Arab orators of this art are mere followers; however, since it was decided to translate examples of Persian poetry in this work, diverting away from the Arab territory to non-Arab was inevitable and since passing quickly by it could bring blemishes on the book, several comprehensible poems by rhetoricians were added and some verses from the Holy Koran and some Hadiths by the Prophet were inserted only for the blessing of the book (Seddighi, p. 9)."

Nevertheless, as already mentioned, the most notable books belonging to the second trend are *Tohfat-ul Hind* and *Ghezalan-ul Hind* which are analyzed below.

2.1.2 Tohfat-ul Hind (AH 1069-118\A.D 1658-1706)

Tohfat-ul Hind is written during the reign of Aurangzeb, a Timurid king of India. The author is Mirza Khan Ibn-e Fakhruddin Mohammad. Mirza Khan allocates the third part of his book to the art of Alankar, Indian art of rhetoric. The first topic discussed in this part of the book is the nine *rasas* literally meaning "flavor" and "joy" and figuratively suggests "a state which surrounds man." (Mirza Khan Ibn-e Fakhruddin Mohammad, 1975, p. 265).

According to the author, states that may surround one in a poem are no more than the following nine states:

1. *Sengar Rasa*: the state of the lover and the beloved;
2. *Hasya Rasa*: the state of humor, joy and joviality;
3. *Karuna Rasa*: the state of compassion and pity;
4. *Vira Rasa*: the state of bravery, combativeness, and bloodthirstiness;
5. *Raudra Rasa*: the state of anger and violence;
6. *Vibhatsa Rasa*: the state of loathsomeness and disgust with the object of loath;
7. *Santa Rasa*: the state of confidence, relaxation, and internal and external peace;
8. *Abdhuta*: the state of wonder because of a mysterious matter;

The background of the theory of *Rasa* in Indian rhetoric goes back to seven centuries before the composition of *Tohfat-ul Hind*. The theory of *Rasa* or the flavor of poem and the theory of Dhvani or *echo* were both introduced by Abhinavagupta who lived during the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D and had a great role in the theoretical system of Indian rhetoric. This subject is almost similar to the subject of "poetical motives" in Iranian rhetorical books.

Another valuable discussion in the books is the analysis of the six *opmans* (similes) in Indian rhetoric. This topic is particularly important because it provides a ground for a comparative analysis of simile in the two Arabic and Indian rhetorical systems. Some similes have identical structure in Indian and Arabic rhetoric and some are different; for instance, the "reverse simile" has this structure in Arabic rhetoric:

$$A=B \quad \rightarrow \quad B=A$$

and it is different with the structure of reverse similes in Indian rhetoric:

$$A=B \quad \rightarrow \quad B=C \quad \rightarrow \quad C=D$$

Altogether, compared to Azad Belgerami, who is the second person who has offered a Persian reading of the Indian rhetoric, Mirza Khan's attempt on rhetorical devices is an unripe one.

2-1-3 Ghezalan-ul Hind (AH 1178\A.D 1764).

The author of *Ghezalan-ul Hind* is Mir Gholam Ali Azad Belgerami. He was a literary and knowledgeable person proficient in Indian, Persian and Arabic languages (Abbas, 2005, pp. 57 & 58).

Khan Arezu, who was a celebrated expert of his time in literary techniques and poetry criticism, writes about Azad Belgerami and his poetry:

"[he is] a talented and erudite man…whom I have never seen. He is so enthusiastic that he has sent a young essenger to ask for my poems; he has also sent two Persian ghazals and one elegiac in Arabic with utmost eloquence. Once he sent three ghazals of his own composition to me through a young messenger. From his poems it is clear that he is perseverant." (Khan Arezu, 2005, p. 42).

The fame of Azad Belgerami in knowledge and talent did not perish with his death and according to the writings of *Hig* in the book *Important Historical Works of Dakan*, parents took their children to his burial place so that they could carry away on their lips a lump of sugar from the grave with the intention of being endowed with artistic taste and talent for learning (Naqavi, 1964, p. 263).

Comparative analysis of Indian, Persian and Arabic languages and delving into the subjects of prosody and its associated subjects in the poetry of these languages in the introduction of *Ghezalan-ul Hind* indicates Azad Belgerami's knowledge and his skill in Indian, Persian and Arabic languages. Being able

to compose poems both in Arabic and Persian has enabled Azad to acquire personally through time the characteristics of the two languages alongside his school learning.

He considers Arabic the most subtle language among the three and, while contending that Indian language suffers from a poor prose, cautiously prefers Arabic prose to the prose of the two other languages. Nonetheless, Azad Belgerami does not always close his eyes to the capabilities and strengths of Persian language and poetry as he aptly writes about "radif" in poetry:

"*Radif* is specific to Persian language which ornaments the lines and because of *radif* there is boundless diversity in Persian poetry; and Arabic does not have *radif* except for some imitations but lacking that subtlety." (Azad Belgerami, 2003, p. 30).

The introduction of *Ghezalan-ul Hind* is invaluable for the information it provides about the elements of Indian poetry and its difference with Persian poetry. It is through this introduction that we understand, for instance, that in one Indian poetical meter called *soorteh* the rhyme appears at the center of a line. These comparative analyses in the field of language and prosody are an entrance to the main discussion: discussion about poetic devices; devices which primarily belong to literatures with old, self-structured rhetorical systems.

Results from a comparative analysis of Indian, Arabic, and naturally Persian rhetoric show that:

1. Some rhetorical devices are common between two languages; for example, ambiguity, syllepsis, poetical etiology, Socratic irony, allusion, metaphor, simile, pun and rhyming prose;
2. Some devices are specific to Arabic rhetoric including zeugma and *hosni takhallosi.*
3. Some devices are specific to Indian rhetoric.

The first article of *Ghezalan-ul Hind* is on the definition and description of the third type, namely Indian rhetorical devices. Some of these devices have existed in Indian rhetoric from the past and some are innovations by Azad Belgerami.

Some noted devices in Indian rhetoric and some of Azad Belgrami's innovations are different variations of simile all of which are new to those accustomed to Arabic rhetoric. Though existing in Persian poetry before the tenth and eleventh centuries after Hegira in Persian poetry, these similes are not considered special types of simile and have had no distinctive term.

In fact, Iranian and Arab rhetoricians do not perceive similes as Indian rhetoricians do. In Indian rhetoric, similes are structurally analyzed.

Conclusion

Rhetoric and rhetorical theories have numerous usages. One of the applications of rhetoric and rhetorical theories is in poetry criticism. Furthermore, poetry in no nation has a permanent form and its principles including rhetorical ones change through time. Persian poem assumed particular characteristics during the tenth to thirteenth centuries after Hegira (A.D 19^{th}-16^{th} centuries) which made it clearly distinct from the Persian poem of the previous centuries. The cultural environment of Indian and India's rhetoric had an immense effect on Persian poetry during these centuries. Persian poets of these periods emigrated from Iran to India and were respectably welcomed by the Mughal kings. Therefore, for criticism of the Persian poetry of these centuries known as Indian-style poetry, rhetorical books written in India during this period are more useful than the rhetorical books written in Iran. That is because the rhetorical books written in Iran are repetitions of the same rhetorical theories which are formed in consistence with the pattern of the Persian poetry of the past originating from Islamic rhetoric.

In addition, by comparing the rhetorical theories presented in these two books, we find out that Indian rhetoric and Persian rhetoric have differences and similarities. In general, Indian rhetoric is more seriously concerned with the structural issues of poetry. Also Persian-speaking rhetoricians of India in the mentioned centuries have a wider perspective, compared to Iranians, on rhetorical elements. The majority of Persian-speaking rhetoricians of India do their best, by analyzing and criticizing poems by different poets, to discover new rhetorical devices. But, in Iran rhetoricians are satisfied with the same repeated rhetorical debates and theories without even thinking about correctness or wrongness of those theories to the extent that the rhetorical books written in Iran from the tenth to thirteenth centuries after Hegira (16th to 19th centuries A.D) are either imitations or translations of Taftazani's *Motavval*. However, In *Tohfat-ul Hind* and *Ghezalan-ul Hind* written in India, some novel suggestions by the authors as well as the influences of old Indian rhetoric can be noticed. These two are the major trends in rhetoric existing in Iran and India between the tenth to thirteenth centuries after Hegira (A.D 19th-16th centuries).

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