

## Comparative literature in Iran: Origin and development

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### Abstract

This paper seeks to trace the historical tracks of comparative literature in modern Iran. I am following the early footsteps of comparative literature of Iran through the life of Fatemeh Sayyah (1902-1947), who is credited to be the founder of the discipline of Comparative literature in Iran, which started off as discipline with the introduction of a literary program for the first time at Tehran University in 1938. The very first academic comparative work with respect to Persian literature was done by an Indian scholar Umar Bin Mohammad Daudpota almost 11 years before its introduction in Iranian university curriculum, in 1927 at Cambridge University, with the title of 'The effect of Arabic poetry on Persian poetry'. As a discipline, throughout its journey that comparative literature encountered in Iran as far as its development is concerned has had to overcome obstacles in its way. Many a time the program faced its closures and reopening. The process of literary interaction with French literature, its impact on Iranian literature and the outcome of this process, which I believe is more out of a protest than anything else, though it was leveraged to some extent by Pahlavi dynasty in a bid to protect its claims for monarchy. The extensive "Persianization" in the name of Nationalization and the reception of this idea in literature of the times is evident. Due to some factors (major being the non-existence of some concrete curriculum for Iranian universities) the comparative literature program faces problems in its foundation as a discipline in Iran. Steps are being taken in this regard by academicians engaged in the field.

**Keywords:** fatemeh sayyah, persianization, comparative literature, Iran

### Introduction

Goethe asserts that nobody can identify oneself unless compares with others. He remarked while discussing with his disciple Eckermann back in 1827 that I am more and more convinced, that 'poetry is the universal possession of mankind, revealing itself everywhere and at all times in hundreds and hundreds of men.....I therefore like to look about me in foreign nations, and advise everyone to do the same. National literature is now a rather unmeaning term; the epoch of world literature is at hand, and everyone must strive to hasten its approach' (What is World Literature 2003: 1). He got influenced and inspired by fourteenth-century legendary Hafiz's poetry, and wrote in his imitation a Divan called *West-Ostlicher Divan*.

Comparative literature in Iran, according to Nasrin Rahimieh, serves as a particularly apt arena for the reconsideration of Iranian literary and cultural phenomena in a global context. A reconceptualization of Persian literary history from the vantage point of Comparative Literature can offer a different history of the apparent political, religious, and cultural impasse defining contemporary Iran's relations to other nations (A Companion to Comparative Literature: 296).

Comparative literature facilitates comparison of two different works of literature or a literary work with other artistic works. It helps to better understand the value of any literary piece when it is compared with other one and to explore the sources and ways of gives and takes, finding a connection between the two.

The emergence of comparative literature in Iran as a new academic discipline dates back to the first half of the twentieth century. Although the first evidence of interest in the comparative studies in Iran, in its modern sense, can be attributed to the publication of the book '*Romeo Juliet of*

*Shakespeare; A Comparison with Lyla Majnun of Niza'mi Ganjavi*' by Ali Asghar Hekmat (Khezri 2012: 323). But the credit of very first comparative study involving Persian literature, much before the aforementioned work was done by an Indian writer namely Umar Bin Mohammad Daudpota back in 1927. The work is a part of his Doctoral thesis entitled '*The effect of Arabic poetry on Persian Poetry*' in Cambridge University, under the supervision of Professor Edward Granville Browne, the well-known British orientalist. The first department of Comparative literature was opened for the first time in the year 1938/1317, under the chairpersonship of Dr. Fatemeh Rezaadeh Mahallati popularly known as Fatemeh Sayyah, in the University of Tehran (Anushervani 2012: 484). This, however, was not a full-fledged department dedicated to the study of comparative literature, but some rudimentary courses were taught by Dr. Fatemeh Sayyah as additional coursework. She was entrusted with the responsibility of teaching these courses for the period between 1317 to 1324 (Iranian calendar, 1938 to 1945 AD). Born in Moscow in 1902, to a well-educated family, Fatemeh Sayyah's father Mirza Ja'far Mahallati Sayyah, an Iranian national, was a Professor of Persian language and literature at the School of Oriental Languages, Moscow University (Parsinejad 1389: 11). Her mother was a German national.

Sayyah received her PhD in French literature from Moscow University and taught there for four years, before she returned back to Iran in 1934. Her dissertation was on the works of *Anatole France* (1844-1924). She was very fluent in French, Russian, English and Italian apart from the Persian. In the wake of the Russian revolution (1917), she came back to Iran in the year 1934/1312 (Persian calendar). She, because of her academic background and familiarity with several foreign languages, became Iran's first woman university professor,

when the chair of Russian language literature and comparative literature at Tehran University was assigned to her (Anushervani 2012: 484).

She has around 35 lectures and articles and translations to her credit, which are published by Mohammad Gulbun, in 2004 (Tehran) with the title of "*Naqd o Siyahar*". She wrote more in French language than in Persian. Her area of research and studies centers around comparative studies in the western literatures like the French, English, and German.

She has also written some research papers on Firdowsi and his *Shahnamah*. Most of her articles were published in French in *Journal de Tehran*, and articles published in this journal hardly find any mention in the only book written on her life (Anushervani: 484). Although Sayyah, taught comparative literature at Tehran University, almost nothing of her work on comparative literature except a few scattered class lectures which were recorded by her students and later on published by Mohammad Gulbun have reached us.

Sayyah, in the First (and last) Congress of Iranian Writers-1946, emphasized the social realism as being the most progressive perspective in both literary production and criticism. And she also stated that most fundamental task of criticism is to promote genuine realism as the dominant factor of literary style, especially prose style, in Iran (Gheissari 1998: 72-3).

Nevertheless, despite all the shortcomings, she laid the foundation, in a true sense, of the comparative studies in Iran. Her legacy was further continued by her students. Dr. Abolhassan Najafi, Ahmad Sami'I, Simin Daneshvar, Husain Khatibi and Mehdi Roshan Zamir were among her students. The work of Professor Umar Bin Mohammad Daudpota entitled '*The effect of Arabic poetry on Persian poetry*' is the pioneering work in the field of Persian Arabic comparative literary studies. This book has been translated into Persian by Prof. Sirus Shamisa and is published from Tehran in 1382 (Mohseninia 2014: 344).

With Sayyah's untimely demise in 1947 at the age of 45 years, Ali Akbar Siyasi, then the chancellor of Tehran University announced a temporary closure of the comparative literature program due to unavailability of qualified faculty members having Sayyah's scholarly qualifications (Anushervani 2012: 485). However, after that the work in comparative literature was carried on by the departments of language and literature in general, and departments of Persian and French language and literature in particular. Some scholars like Abdolhossein Zarrinkoub, Lotfali Soratgar, Zabihollah Safa, Mehdi Mohaqqiq, Hassan Javadi, Jalal Sattari and Mehdi Roshan Zamir were actively engaged in the comparative studies.

The program of comparative literature remained to be closed for a period of 20 years, when in 1967/1346 it was reopened in the Tehran university followed by Isfahan University and Mashhad University (after the Cultural Revolution of Iran 1980-87, it was rechristened as Ferdowsi University). Zarrinkoub along with other colleagues Dr. Hasan Javadi, Dr. Reza Baraheni and late Dr. Ardavan Davaran (Ardy) created the first graduate program of Comparative Literature at Tehran University which continued until a couple of years after the victory of Islamic Revolution in 1979, when it was shut down for the second time. In Mashhad University Javad Hadidi (1932-2002) after getting his doctorate degree on *Voltaire et L'Islam (Voltaire and Islam)* (Anushervani 2012: 486) from Sorbonne University in 1960, joined the department of French

literature and started his academic career teaching French and comparative literature there (Salehbek 1387:20).

Dr. Majeed Salehbek in an article "*Comparative literature in Iran: Origin and Challenges*" very rightly referred to the fact that the origin of comparative literature in Iran was neither an outcome of some intellectual or philosophical movement or the result of some genuine feelings leading to establishing the program but this new kind of literary research was just an imitation of western universities (1387:20). As there was no well-thought-out and long-lasting schematization for the program of comparative literature. And, in addition to that, the unavailability of the specialized and trained academicians impacted the field very negatively and thus it progressed at a very slow pace.

The usage of the term comparative literature in Iranian academia in its academic sense was delayed till the year 1952/1331, when Jamshid Behnam wrote an article with the title '*Anvaye Adabi: Adabiya-I Tatbiqi*' (The Literary genre: Comparative Literature). One year later he came up with a book entitled "*Comparative Literature*" believed to be a free and concise translation of Marius Francois Guyard's book '*La Litterature comparee*' (Khezri 2012: 323-4). After the work of Umar Bin Mohammad Daudpota entitled '*The effect of Arabic poetry on Persian poetry*' in 1927, second such literary work is attributed to Dr. Mohammad Mohammadi, who has written in 1944/1323 '*Farhange Irani va Ta'sire Aa'n dar Tamadon-I Islam va Arab*' (Iranian culture and its influence on the Arab and Islamic civilization). During this period we can see a wave of Anti-Arab writings <sup>[1]</sup> on the margin of Anti-West literary and cultural protest by both rulers and intelligentsia at that point of time. In addition to that we have the book '*Do Qarn-I Sukut*' (Two Centuries of Silence) by Abdolhossein Zarrinkoub in 1951/1330 dealing with the history of two early centuries of Islamic rule in Iran.

Syed Fakhruddin Shadman (1907-1967), wrote an article '*Ravabit va Ta'sira-t-I Adabi*' (Relations and Impacts of the literature) published in *Yaghma* in the year 1953 (Khezri 2012: 324) dealing with the French school of comparative literature. In 1959 Zarrinkoub came up with another book called *Aa'shnayi ba Naqd-I Adabi* <sup>[2]</sup> (Introduction to Literary Criticism) the book contains a lengthy article dealing with the comparative literature.

During the same period we witness some counter attacks in terms of Persian and Arabic rivalry in comparative studies of literatures produced at that point of time from scholars of the other side. Some Iran based Arab writers began writing about Arabic literary impact on Persian literature against the anti-Arab cultural and I would say jingoistic approach prevalent in Persian-Arabic comparative literary studies. Hussain Ali Mahfuz was such an Iraqi scholar based in Iran, who wrote a book namely *Motanabbi va Sa'di va Ma'khaz-I Mazamin-I Sa'di dar Adabiyat-I Arabi* (Motanabbi and Sa'di: The Sources of Sa'di's themes in Arabic literature) in the year 1957 (Khezri 2012: 324). Shojauddin Shafa's (1918-2010) book '*Iran in French Literature*' is also one such effort. Javad Hadidi (1932-2002), who is regarded as the father of comparative literature in Iran <sup>[3]</sup>, his book '*Iran in French literature*' (1969) which deals with the Persian literary impact on the French literature, can be included in that category too.

Anti-West movement <sup>[4]</sup> in the Persian literature was the result of Pahlavi regime's attempt to foster the Iranian nationalism based on the idea of identifying the Iranian state and nation

with the Persian people and Persian language and culture. Reza Shah through his policy tried to cultivate the idea that: The Iranian nation shared a common racial "Aryan" descent, collectively possessing a 2500-year old civilization, and propagated it through state-controlled media and schools. The regime glorified the Iran's pre-Islamic past and its Zoroastrian religion. The periods of non-Persian (Turkish and Arab) rule over Iran were considered the chief impediments in the past to the development of Persia's grandeur (*Encyclopedia of Nationalism*, Vol. II, pg. 238).

The Iranian nationalistic policy <sup>[5]</sup> was developed on two pillars: state sponsored and intellectual led. On the intellectual front it was shouldered by Zarrinkoub, Hadidi, Shafa and likes. These intellectuals tried to glorify the Persian culture, tradition and Persian literature as well. Resultantly, a great deal of literature was produced having ethnographic elements. From the 8<sup>th</sup> decade of the twentieth century there was a balance as far as the Persian and Western literatures and/or Persian and Arabic comparative studies is/are concerned (Khezri 2012: 326). A more humane and universal approach in comparative studies was there. The area of study became broader and wider. Zarrinkoub's *Na Sharqi na Gharbi; Insa'ni* (Neither Eastern Nor Western; Humane); Jalal Sattari's *Pevand-I Ishq Mayan-I Sharq va Gharb* (Love link between East and West) and Zabihollah Safa's *Durnomayi Az Farhang-I Irani va Athar-I Jahaniye A'n* (The Prospect of Iranian Culture and its Global Effect) can be given as fine example of the fact. Abolhasan Najafi was the first Iranian scholar who talked about the interdisciplinary nature of comparative literature in Iran, wrote an article in 1973 entitled *Adabiyat-I Tatbiqi Chist?* (What is comparative literature?).

Most of the scholars who strived to keep the discipline alive in Iranian academia were the graduates of the western countries, particularly from France. They all were the students of French literature from Sorbonne University. They had no option but to join their respective language departments when they returned to Iran. Although having mastery over French language and literature they had not full command on Persian literature (Hadidi 1379: 5). Nayereh Samsami published her doctoral thesis *L'Iran dans la littérature Française* <sup>[6]</sup> (Iran in French literature: Paris: in 1936).

Abdolhossein Zarrinkoub <sup>[7]</sup> (1923-1999) a prolific writer researcher of Iran has many books in respect to comparative literature and world literature to his name. His work *Aa'shnyai ba Naqd-I Adabi* (Introduction to Literary Criticism) is regarded the pioneer <sup>[8]</sup> in the field of literary criticism by any Iranian in the Persian literature.

Dr. Hasan Javadi <sup>[9]</sup> (1938 b) who obtained his doctorate degree from Cambridge University (1960) in English literature under the supervision of late Prof. A. J. Arberry wrote his thesis on *'The Idea of Persian and Persian Literary Influence on English Literature, with Special Reference to the Nineteenth Century'* a remarkable work in terms of Persian-English literary impact. He is one of the middle generation of the comparatists in Iran who shouldered the responsibility to move forward the legacy that Fatemeh Sayyah left behind in Iranian academe. He knows many languages i.e. Persian (Dari, Tajik), English, Azeri, Turkish, French, Arabic and working knowledge of Italian and Uzbek.

Hasan Honarmandi (1928-2002) a poet, translator and literary scholar was one of the early comparatists in Iran who has written a lot on the subject. He was a Sorbonne alumnus,

wrote his doctoral thesis in comparative literature on *Andre Gide et al literature persane: recherches sur les sources persanes de l'oeuvre de Gide* (Andre Gide and Persian Literature: A Study of Persian Sources in Gide's Work) and published (Anushervani 2012: 486) the same in Persian in 1973 in Tehran <sup>[10]</sup>. And his book *De Djami a Aragon; etudes comparatives* (From Jami to Aragon; Comparative studies) talks of the influence of Persian literature on European literatures, particularly French literature. He has another book regarding comparative studies to his credit namely *Bonyad-I Sh'er-I No dar Faranseh va Peyvand-I A'n ba Sh'er-I Fa'rsi* <sup>[11]</sup> (The Origin of Modern French Poetry and its Connections to Persian Poetry) published in 1971.

Javad Hadidi (1932-2002) the graduate of Sorbonne University and the literary scholar and translator, he got his doctorate from Sorbonne University in French literature. The title of his thesis was *Voltaire et L'Islam* (Voltaire and Islam) <sup>[12]</sup>. His other books *Iran dar Adabiyat-I Franse* <sup>[13]</sup> (Iran in French literature) published by Firdowsi University Mashhad in 1346/1967 and *De Saadi a Aragon* (From Sa'di to Aragon <sup>[14]</sup>) about the Persian literary impact on the French literature. He has done a remarkable work in the comparative literature. He has innumerable papers <sup>[15]</sup> to his credit. Mohammad Ali Islami Nadushan (1925 b) another graduate from Sorbonne University has *Jam-I Jaha'nbin* (cup of Jamshid) and *Avaha va Ima'ha* <sup>[16]</sup> (Sounds and Gestures) on comparative literature and literary criticism to his name.

Shojauddin Shafa (1918 – 2010) a Sorbonne University alumnus, obtained his doctorate in comparative literature and was an erudite writer and translator. He embarked on a very ambitious plan to write a voluminous series on *Iran dar Ababiya-I Jaha'n* (Iran in world literature). He was well-versed in many languages. Unfortunately he could only complete his first volume *'Iran dar Adabiyat-I Franse'* (Iran in French Literature) <sup>[17]</sup>. Mohammad Reza Shafi'I Kadkani (1939) a writer, poet and literary critic has to his credit *Sovar-I Khayal dar She'r-I Farsi* (Imagery in Persian Poetry) in which he talks about the influence of Persian literature on Arabic literature and vice versa.

## II

Thus until the Islamic revolution of Iran, the research work was, sporadically, done by individual researchers purely out of their personal interest. The scholars who had graduated from French universities like Sorbonne University, when returned back, they got involved in the comparative literary studies. After the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1979, the program of comparative literature was shut down from the university curriculum (Ezzatiparvar 1391: 30). It became the victim of Islamic Cultural Revolution (1980-87) unleashed by the newly emerged regime led by Imam Khomeini which led to the purging of leftist students, faculty members and left lenient people. The entire Iranian academia was insulated from the western, especially leftist ideology which was perceived to be a threat by Islamist regime. The Cultural Revolution <sup>[18]</sup> was aimed at Islamization of universities and educational institutions. The whole Iranian academe was purged of western and non-Islamic influences. Thus, the universities and academic institutions, once regarded as 'Bastion of freedom', after the victory of Islamic Revolution were shut down for the indefinite period. Imam Khomeini, after the fall of Shah, authorized the purge of leftists from the universities without

identifying any executive body. He advocated that a fundamental revolution must take place in all the universities across the country, so that professors with links to East or the West may be purged, and university may provide a healthy atmosphere for the cultivation of the Islamic Sciences (Mojab 1991: 81).

Thus, it ended up in the clear demarcation between liberal and Islamic subjects in the curriculum. The comparative literature program was eliminated from the university curriculum for no obvious reasons. The new regime, perhaps, might have been afraid of reemergence of any sort of upfront to the newly established administrative setup. Fearing that, the comparative literature like many other liberal subjects was wiped out from the curriculum for political reasons.

For the next two decades the scholars and translators had busied themselves in translating books on theories and comparative literature from other languages into Persian. Many books written by Arab writers i.e. Hilal Ghanimi and Kafafi etc on comparative literature were translated into Persian. There were some efforts also by Iranian scholars who came up with some books on comparative literature in this period<sup>[19]</sup>.

In 2009 in Kerman University an MA course in comparative literature was introduced. Many other institutions followed the steps. Today, around eighteen universities run the comparative studies in their research level but none of them run any specific class for theories and their applications in research work. Off late, there emerged many journals for comparative studies. Islamic Azad University, Jiroft started publishing *Comparative Literature Quarterly* since spring 2007, Kerman University since fall 2009 came up with *Journal of Comparative Literature* and Academy of Persian Language and Literature publishes *Comparative Literature* since spring 2010 (Two issues per year), since spring 2011 Razi University publishes *Comparative Criticism and Literature Quarterly* and *Comparative Literature Research* is being published by Tarbiat Modarres University since spring 2013 (Khojastehpour and Fomeshi 2014: 2). Iranian Comparative Literature Association was founded in 2009. It does not have any publication of its own but it has conducted many conferences in collaboration with other institutions. Now there are many universities competing with each other to introduce courses in comparative literature at PhD level. Scholars and researchers like Dr. Abolhasan Najafi, Dr. Alireza Anushervai, Dr. Nasser Mehseini, Dr. Haidar Khezri, Dr. Tehmoreth Sajedi, Dr. Elmira Dadvar, Dr. Amir Esmael Aazar, Dr. Bahman Namvar Motlagh, Dr. Hasan Javadi, Dr. Hamid Dabashi and Dr. Ahmad Karimi Hakkak are very actively engaged in the process to move it further to the higher level of achievements. Many young scholars like Behnam Mirzababazadeh Fomeshi, are also doing well in the field. Despite that the Comparative Literature has a long and difficult way to go in Iran.

### Challenges and Future Perspectives

A host of academic institutions, with some exceptions, boast of running comparative studies program, but the matter of fact is that there is dearth of trained comparatists in the field. And besides that these comparative studies are at research level but the course works on different comparative literary schools and their applications in research work lack. There is a grave need to include it in the university curriculum and to put forward a

much-systematized plan. During my field work in Iran I met with some academicians engaged in the field of comparative literature in Iran. Dr. Anushervani in the interview with the author mentions that unfortunately we still do not have any independent discipline of comparative literature in Iran. He also added that he has designed a program and syllabus for the same and have submitted to the Ministry of Sciences for their approval. Why comparative literature suffered in the country, he argues that on the one hand, its name has been a misnomer and has led many to misunderstanding; on the other hand, its ever-changing nature and scope have brought about confusion among novice researchers (Anushervani 2010: 2). Wellek's 'Crisis of Comparative Literature', Etiemble's book also with the same name and Gayatri Spivak's 'Death of a discipline' and 'Challenges of Comparative Literature' by Guillen are good examples to support his argument. Many new themes and genres and new trends like translation studies, post-colonial studies, cultural studies and world literature which over the time emerged in the discipline, also added the confusion to researchers in Iran. On top of that new literary theories are not very well introduced to them yet. Anushervani also asserts that clear theoretical background is lacking. The journal of Comparative Literature published from the Academy of Persian Language and literature, Tehran has started publishing the material on theories and new literary trends in comparative literature. The Academy has taken the first step and is determined to move forward in establishing a strong discipline in the Iranian academe. One of the fundamental challenges the program of comparative literature has suffered in Iran, Salehbek mentions that most of the researchers in Iran in respect to comparative literature are unaware of the theories of comparative literature. He believes its cause as most of these scholars did not consider it as an independent discipline and always considered it as a part of the history of the national literature ( Adabiyat-I Tatbiqi dar Iran: Paidayesh va Chalesha 1387: 26). Translations studies in one of the neglected subjects in Iran. According to Anushervani, it is considered derivatory and second hand, though many scholars today believe that it is as creative as writing. Comparative literature in Iran is also limited to binary influence studies and its interdisciplinary character is lacking in Iranian academe. There is a need for a wide range of collaboration between the faculties of different schools in, let's say supervising a research work in co-guidance by two faculties of different disciplines if required. Some instances of these steps and their outcomes are there by some well-trained academicians like Dr. Alireza Anushervani, Dr. Dadvar, Dr. Motlagh and many more. So, as far as the future of the discipline is concerned, from a decade on it has moved from its traditional binary influence studies to more and more interdisciplinary studies.

### Conclusion

The history of Comparative literature in Iran could be, divided into Pre-Islamic Revolution and Post-Islamic Revolution periods. In the Pre-Islamic Revolution era some institutional efforts were made but were very short-lived. More systematic steps for institutionalizations were made in the Post-Islamic Revolution period, more specifically in the last decade of the twenty-first century. After marginalizing and ignoring it for many decades by Iranian academia it has once again found its place in the ambiance of academe. At the outset, although, it

was concentrated to only Persian Arabic literatures in comparative studies but now it has broadened its canvas and Persian literature as the main component is made to compare with other national literatures like French literature English and Russian and Indian literatures apart from Arabic as well. At the outset, although, it suffered a lot on many points but as of now it has gained a respectable place among the Iranian academia. Many departments of foreign languages and literature in general and Persian literature almost in every academic institution a comparative study trend has brought in. Many universities have started degree courses in comparative literature. There are now efforts being made by many universities to open up PhD courses in comparative literature. Many research journals fully dedicated to the comparative studies are under publication. Efforts are under way to make it more and more interdisciplinary and necessary steps are taken by academicians engaged in the field. A comprehensive curriculum and a systematic framework are being prepared by Dr. Anushervani in this respect.

### References

1. See for details *'The Image of Arabs in Modern Persian Literature'* by Joya Blondel Saad, Lanham: University Press of America, 1996.
2. Book comprises of 8 chapters dealing with different aspects of literary criticism, from ancient to modern Persian literature, Greek and Roman Philosophers, Arabs and Islam and Comparative literature.
3. <sup>1</sup>Bahnman Namvar Motlagh, the comparativist, dubbed him as the 'Father of Comparative Literature in Iran' due to his contribution to the discipline, in a session held about the impact of Iranian scholars on other countries' literature on the occasion of 'The 26th Tehran International Book Fair'. (<http://www.ibna.ir/en/doc/report/168320/javad-hadidi-father-of-comparative-literature-in-iran> accessed on 4 December 2015)
4. See for detailed study *'In a Persian Mirror: Images of the West and Westerners in Iranian Fiction'* by M. R. Ghanoonparvar, Texas: University Press, 1983.
5. The nationalistic approach was brought in to legitimize new monarchic and autocratic Pahlavi rule. Thus the policy was based on the ideologies of nationalization, modernization and secularization. Secularism, as Nematollah Fazeli maintains, implied de-Islamization (2006:46). They emphasized on the pre-Islamic culture of Persia. Reza Shah initially committed to emulate the political structure of that of a republic in Iran too. The republican phenomenon in turkey under Kamal Ataturk made clerics very anxious. But at the same time dillydallying of Reza Shah in its implementation, made the liberals very uncomfortable. He also gave the Ulama assurance of not introducing the Socialism and Marxism in Iranian social system. So he came up with a well thought-out idea of romanticized nationalism. As Gheissari notes: 'To reconcile the discrepancy between his constitutionally sanctioned title of monarch and his actual autocratic leadership, Reza Shah distanced himself from the traditional sources of legitimacy, i.e., religion and tribe, and turned instead to a carefully crafted version of nationalism that celebrated Iran's pre-Islamic heritage. This source of legitimacy could be promoted as being older than Islam and broader than any single tribe. By stressing the institution of kingship and the panorama of Iranian history and culture, Reza Shah generated a deluge of nationalistic rhetoric and sentiment. He named the new dynasty Pahlavi, a reference to the ancient language of the Pre-Islamic Sassanids. Heroes of the past were honored; ancient names and symbols were given too many public places and people began to give their children Old Persian names. The Iranian Academy, Farhangestân, was founded to purify the language of foreign loanwords. Emphasizing patriotic sentiments was a measure by which the Pahlavi state expected to curb foreign influence and reduce ethnic prejudices and religious obscurantism in the country' (1998: 46). Fazeli maintains that in the early decades of the twentieth century, the government and independent intellectuals were keenly interested in anthropology. He also adds that nationalistic anthropology was inspired by European Nationalism, the official nationalist anthropology was to justify the authoritarian, despotic and autocratic rule of Reza Shah and the intellectual nationalistic anthropology was shaped by chiefly among the literati and folklorists, to follow the democratic and modernist ideals, and the ultimate goal was social reform (2006: 47-8). Its impact on the Iranian literature was inevitable. Thus it paved the way for a discourse of cultural criticism. The scholars and literati began glorifying the Iranian culture, civilization and race in their write-ups.
6. Book is divided into five chapters: (1) "L'Iran des premiers voyageurs," (Iran's first travelers) (2) "L'Iran des Mille et une Nuits," (Iran of Arabian Nights) (3) "L'Iran des philosophes," (Iran's Philosophers) (4) "L'Iran des poètes," (The poets of Iran) and (5) "L'Iran des prosateurs" (Prose writers of Iran), (Anushervani 2012: 4).
7. His other works on comparative literature can be mentioned: 1) *Yadashtha va Andisheha* (Notes and Thoughts) a collection of articles compiled by Enayatullah Majidi in which Zarrinkoub talks of penetration of Iranian literature in world literature. In the article *Goethe and Iranian literature* he discusses how Goethe, who was very much fascinated by Hafez's poetry, came to write his own Divan of poetry popularly known as West-Eastern Divan on the pattern of Hafez's. 2) In *Naqsh bar A'ab* (Inscribed on water) the article 'Az Adabiyat-I Tatbiqi' (From Comparative Literature) is in line with the French school of comparative literature, 3) *Na Sharqi na gharbi; Insa'ni* (Neither Eastern Nor Western; Humane) is another book by Zarrinkoub in which he discussed the influence of Sa'adi and his book *Golestan* on western writers. This book is also of importance for the fact that in this book he deviates for the first time from Anti-West cultural criticism carried out by the writers in the wake of policy of Nationalization and Persianization brought by Pahlavi dynasty in.
8. Shibli Nomani is regarded as pioneering the literary criticism in Persian literature. His book *She'r-ul-Ajam* is in five volumes published from Darulmusannefin, Azamgarh, 1857-1914.
9. He published his doctoral thesis with the title *'Persian literary Influence on English Literature'* in 1983 from Iran Society, Calcutta and its revised version is reprinted from Mazda Publishers, Costa Mesa, in 2005.

10. About the impact of Persian literature upon him in general and of the poets, like Khayyam, Hafez, Sa'adi and Manuchehri, in particular. Also it contains a comparative study of Abdol-Rahman Jami (1414-1492) and Louis Aragon (1897-1982). The book, as Abedi notes, has not been yet translated in Persian. This book is result of a series of his talks on Radio Tehran during 1968-9 (Encyclopaedia Iranica 2012: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/honarmandi-hasan> accessed on 11 Dec 2015).
11. The book deals, as its title suggests itself, with the issue of She'r-I Nou in French literature and how it entered in Persian literature. The book starts with how French came to know Persian poets and their compositions. The impact of Sa'di on French writers and what French writers wrote about Iran and Iranians is covered in the book.
12. It was originally published in Persian as Islam az Nazar-I Voltaire from Mashhad for the first time in 1964 then republished from Tehran: Tus Publishers in 1977. The French version was published from Paris: L'institut national des langues et civilisations orientales (The National Institute of Oriental Languages and Civilizations) in 1974 (Anushervani 2012: 486).
13. Hadidi asserts that though Europe in general and France in particular became aware of Iran and Iranians poets apparently in Safavid era, but the fact is that they were known of Iran much more before through many references in Torah and especially in the book of Esther, the book of Daniel and the book of Isaiah (Hadidi : 4209-10)
14. De Djami a Aragon; etudes comparatives (From Jami to Aragon: Comparative Studies) (Tehran: Ministere de la culture et des arts, AH 1351/AD 1972 (Anushervani 2012:486).
15. For example *Noujoi dar She'r* (Innovativeness in the Poetry), *Shayrane Irani dar Nomayeshnamehaye Franse* (Iranian Poets in the French dramas), *Zanane Shahnameh dar Dastanhaye Franse* (The women of Shahnameh in French Novels) *Shayere Fransvi dar Maktabe A'arefane Irani* (French Poets in the school of Iranian mystics) and *Zartosht Az Nazare Oropaiyan* (Zoroaster from the Eyes of Europeans).
16. This is the second volume of *Jam-I Jahanbin* in which Nadushan made a comparative study of Firdowsi and Homer. He also has called Tolstoy as the modern Maulavi Rumi.
17. Published in 1954 by Ibn Sina Publishers, Tehran. The series, as Dr. Anushervani notes, was supposed to comprise nine volumes vol. 1, Iran in French Literature; vol. 2, Iran in English and American Literature; vol. 3, Iran in German Literature; vol. 4, Iran in Russian Literature; vol. 5, Iran in Italian (and Latin) Literature; vol. 6, Iran in Spanish and Portuguese, Latin American, Greek, Balkan, and Scandinavian Literature; vol. 7, Iran in Arabic Literature; vol. 8, Iran in Turkish Literature; and vol. 9, Iran in Indian, Pakistani, Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Armenian, and other Asian Literature (Anushervani 2012: 486).
18. The goals of Islamic Cultural Revolution were to establish the authority over university campuses and purging of the leftist oriented faculties and students and to Islamize the higher education system. Khomeini's aims, in the words of Mojab, Shahrzad, were twofold: 1) to overthrow the rule of the left on the campuses and to establish the authority of the Islamic state over this unruly political entity; 2) to Islamize the secular universities. He wanted the unrivalled rule of one ideology, his brand of Islam, to dominate the institutions of higher education. (*The State and University: The Islamic Cultural Revolution in the Institutions of Higher Education of Iran 1980-87*. pg. 90-1).
19. The extensive bibliographies have been prepared namely 'Kitab Shanasiye Payan Namehaye Adabiyat Tatbiqi dar Iran' (Bibliography of theses of Comparative Literature in Iran) by Vida Bozorgchami and 'Kitab Shanasiye kitabhaye Nazariye Adabiyat-I Tatbiqi dar Kishvarhaye Arabi va Iran Az Aghaz ta S'al-I 1391/2012' (Bibliography of the theoretical books on Comparative Literature in the Arabic countries and Iran from the beginning till the year 1391/2012) by Haidar Khezri.
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