

## Assessment and Analysis of Liberalism Theme in Poems of the Constitutional (Mashruteh) Era

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### ABSTRACT

Liberalism was one of the outstanding themes of Persian poems in the Constitutional (Mashruteh) era. The concept of liberty by the poets of this era was different from that in past eras previous. It is obvious that the concept "liberty" mentioned in the Iranian contemporary poems has never been fulfilled.

"Liberalism" in the poems of this era mainly referred to social liberties. To prevent misunderstandings about the limitations of liberty, they mainly suggested law-abidance. Based on the modern concept of "liberty", the most significant characteristics of liberalism in poems of the Constitutional era were:

- a) Anti-dictatorship: Dictatorship is opposite of the freedom. Thus, one of the characteristics of the poems of the Constitutional era was rejecting dictatorship and fighting with dictators.
- b) Law-supporting: The object of supporting law in poems of the Constitutional era was organizing the concepts of liberty. Law in its modern concept related to society and the human social life. One of the main aspects of law-supporting in the era was emphasizing the role of people in legislation.
- c) Women's liberty: Another aspect of liberalism in the Constitutional poem was women's liberty. It was mainly based upon three components: freedom in social participations, education, and removal of veil.
- d) Freedom of the press: It was considered another aspect of liberty. Many poets of the Constitutional era considered freedom of the press as one of the social rights of people and composed some poems in its support.

**KEY WORDS:** Liberty; Anti-dictatorship; Law-supporting; Women's liberty; Freedom of the press.

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### INTRODUCTION

Liberty is one of the main topics in Persian poems of the Constitutional (Mashruteh) era. According to their viewpoint toward the topic, the poets of the era composed some poems in this respect. The common point of these poems is liberty in its social and political meaning, which was essentially different from that most often in the Persian poems referred to. To get a better understanding of the liberalism theme in poems of the era, it is necessary to consider the meanings of the word in traditional Persian literature.

The word "Azadi" is a Persian word, with Pahlavi origin "azat", which means pious, noble, and manly (Tabrizi, 1362: 35, Arastehkhu 1370: 39). In Persian literature, it is used as nobility and gentle, free from the carnal relations, free will versus determinism, freedom of thought, cessation of thought relationship and linkage with anything than god (Sadeghivi, 1383, Dehkhoda 1325: 86-87, Rosenthal 1379: 52, 55, 56, Nezhadhosseini 1364, Eslami Nadushan 1376: 40-42, Ahur 1372:227). Moein considered freedom (versus subjection) as the main meaning of liberty. Iranian history shows the attempts of Iranian for liberty and independence. The mythical Arash-e Kamangir is the symbol of Iranians' free spirit, who is ready to offer his life for his dignity and freedom of his country from invaders. Moreover, the fight of Kaveh-e Ahangar, who stood up among the people and raised the banner of combating with tyranny, is the symbol of public rise and requirement for freedom and liberality of Iranians, who did not accept any subjection. Rostam, the hero of Shahnameh, is the most outstanding representative of the liberal spirit of Iranians. It is thought that this characteristic is mainly showed in his combat with Esfandiar, where he is ready to accept any requirement of Esfandiar, except subjection. According to Rostam, life without freedom does not worth living and causes shame and dishonor (Ferdowsi Vol. 4 1370: 1257).

This means that the Iranian collective spirit fights with anything or any person, who endangers his freedom. This characteristic is evident everywhere in the most ancient Iranian religious and literature manuscripts up to the end of Sassanid dynasty (1) (Safa 1367: 19, Eslami Nadushan 1363: 17-19). The point is that freedom in Iran was close to the concept of liberality. For instance, Greece was divided into small city states, and people consulted and voted for governmental issues. They called this democracy, and since Iranian did not have such a system, they considered Iranian as Barbar. However, Iranian considered freedom as being glory and delight and not being

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subjected, which was different from what Greek considered, in spite of some similarities in words (Eslami Nadushan 1376: 32). As Farokhi Yazdi mentioned (Farokhi Yazdi 1363: 157):

زان پیش که آزاد شود سرو تهی دست  
ما پرچم آزادی افراشته بودیم

Besides, the meaning of liberty for contemporary Persian speaking people was different from that of their predecessors. The meaning of liberty in contemporary Persian poems is with no doubt closer to democracy, the idea which could not be fulfilled in past.

The modern meaning of liberty: Liberalism in contemporary poem mainly refers to social life and the participation of people in management of the society as well as freedom in determination of the type of government and its characteristics. Such issue was unprecedented in our country (natel Khanlari 1367: 17, Eslami Nadushan 1374: 75, Amir Ahmadi 1383: 12-31). Liberalism in this context was started in Constitutional, influenced by the French Revolution and the English Industrial Revolution (Shafie Kadkani 1380: 35, also see Gudarzi 1383: 11-12 and Katuzian 1372: 25). Such viewpoint spread more or less all over the world, including in Iran. By considering its western synonym, Bahar stated that (Bahar 1382: 91):

اختر سعد دموکراسی ز مغرب بردمید  
پرتو آن اختر از مغرب سوی مشرق رسید

Besides the above-mentioned meanings, "Azadi" in Iran is used in a new meaning. In its new meaning, it is synonym of the French word "Liberte" and the English word "Freedom" (Ashuri 1372: 72, Babaei 1369: 25, Aryanpour 1370: 1842). The French synonym is obtained from the Latin root "Libertas"; i.e., lack of determinism and being away from limitations and stresses (Arastehkhu 1370: 39), and is mainly used for political and social freedom. In such a context, liberty is the foundation of democratic government, with the prominent aspect of "democracy" (2). Thus, in the Iranian contemporary literature, whenever the topic of freedom or liberty was discussed, the European meaning obviously or implicitly was considered; since fulfillment of liberty in its modern meaning is conditioned to fulfillment of democratic government. The European were pioneers of such governmental system (Morrison 1380: 447, Azhand 1363: 333-344, Gharagazalu 1384: 147-155, Shafie Kadkani 1380: 35, Yahaghi 1382: 16, Rahimian 1380: 11, Gudarzi 1383: 11-12). Some Iranians such as Mirza Fathali Akhundzadeh (1813-1877), Mirza Malkam Khan (1908-1933) and Seyed Jamaledin Asadabadi (1838-1896) were the revivers of liberal thoughts, inspired by European democracy. Malkam Khan as a politician and reformer, Mirza Fathali as a writer and critic, and Seyed Jamal in the field of social and political thoughts on the basis of religion, each with their specific method paved the way for distribution of modern thoughts and liberty concepts (Morrison 1380: 448, Azhand 1363: 343, and Eslami Nadushan 1376: 200). They did not have the same meaning for liberty in their mind, just the same as European who did not have a single meaning for the word in mind. Regarding his viewpoint, each of these thinkers pursued a particular meaning for liberty, which was greatly different in spite of some common aspects. Even in some points, their thoughts about liberty were in conflict with each other. For instance, Akhondzadeh, who is considered as one of the first propagators of liberty in its modern meaning, defended the colonial and dictator government of Tsarist Russia with its negative background against Iranians and even called it a democratic government (Khatami: 81, Aryanpour 1372: 6). In such conditions, clerics played an important role in the public understanding of liberty. However, they were also inhomogeneous and thus had different attitudes toward the issue. While some of the clerics conservatively followed dictatorship and were against modernizations and the political requirements of intellectuals and elites, other adopted some subtle and delicate understanding from the logical foundations of religion (Amir Ahmadi 1383: 122-126 and Gharagazalu 1384: 146), which was different from former understandings and also closer to the democratic foundations of the west.

After receiving the telegraphic order of election of the first course of National legislation parliament in Mashhad and the news on death of Mozafareddin Shah, in 1284, Maleko Shoaray Bahar composed the ballade "Adle Mozafar". In this poem, he encouraged Mohamad Ali Shah to be concordant with the people, establish the parliament, follow the rules, and avoidance of cruelty. All of these show his attention to social liberty in its modern meaning (Bahar 1382, 48-52, 148-149, 124-125).

شاهان دانی که ملک ایران زمین پیش تا که درین زشت روزگار ستردند و آنگه آسیب تند باد حوادث کامد فرخنده باغبانی پیروز آبروان کرد و خود برفت و از این نخل آب ازو برمگیر گرش ببايد	بود چو آراسته یکی شجر جور و سنبداد، شاخ و برگش یکسر خواست فکندش ناگهان ز بن اندر ناگه و آورد آب رفته به فرغر شاخی و برگی دمید ناقص و ابتر شاخ برومند و برگ خرم و اخضر ...
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In explaining the modern concept of liberty some points are noteworthy:

- a) The limits of liberty: Liberalism in contemporary period has sometimes led to some misunderstandings or misuses. Many poems of the period, which had liberal themes in its modern meaning, reflect the concerns of poets over the limits of liberty. According to them, the nature of law would prevent the friends and enemies of liberty from extremes (Bahar 1382: 261). In other words, relying on law can remove the concerns of extremes in the area of liberty to a great extent.
- b) Cultural barriers: Some concepts in past Persian literature including determinism, belief in fate and the role of stars in the fate of people as well as the superstitious understandings of reasonable religious beliefs were contrary to the modern concept of liberty (Eslami Nadushan 1376: 78). Therefore, considering this points, poets of the Constitutional era targeted a part of their liberal attempt toward fighting with the barriers of liberty. While they never rejected liberty (3), they knew that until the reactionary forces and consequently the dictatorship and colonialism obstacle the growth and development of liberty, the liberty tree cannot be planted in this country. Thus, liberalism led them to fight all enemies of liberty (Bahar 1374: 13-14).
- c) The accessories of liberty: Another important issue about liberty in its modern meaning is the types of liberty of accessories of liberty. Under democracy, the contemporary human requires different types of liberty, including freedom of writing, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, women's freedom, political liberty, individual liberty, ... (Minovi 1358: 48-49, Zaker Hossein 1377: 37-42, Aryanpour 1374: 225, Paulovich and Iransky 1357: 56, Noubakht 1373: 134-135, Katuzian 1372: 9, Neumann 1373: 113, Bushehri 1376 Vol.1: 33, 36-44 and Vol.2: 317-323, Ajudani 1383: 47, 238-241, 250-251, Kharabi 1380: 199-207). A part of the contemporary Iranian poems were composed on this issue.

#### **Instances of liberalism in poems of the Constitutional era:**

##### **Anti-dictatorship:**

Liberty in its modern meaning and the awakening and knowledge of people about their human rights has made the previous methods of governing impossible (4). It is not anymore acceptable that one person as the king decides on behalf of all others and imposes his will by his administration, since in the modern meaning of liberty, the vote of each individual is valued. The Constitutional revolution (5) is an indication of the enthusiasm of Iranians for liberty.

In fact, another aspect of anti-dictatorship is rejecting the absolute power of one person and accepting democratic governmental systems, which was an unprecedented phenomenon in Iran. During our history, kings were in complete power and acted at their own discretion. Furthermore, kingdom particularly belonged to a specific category or descent, who considered them to be different from others. If someone declared to become a king on the basis of his capacities, it was not supported (6). The theme of many poems in the era was anti-dictatorship. This is noteworthy considering the great amount of panegyrics in Iranian traditional literature, and makes one of the main advantages of the contemporary poems over traditional Persian poems, such that a part of the Persian contemporary literature can be considered anti-dictatorship literature.

In the literature of this era, dictatorship is opposite of liberty. In the poems of Farokhi, there is always a fight between the "dictatorship captain" and the "liberty god". He considered liberty as the element for growth of the country, which is preferred over dictatorship in any case (Farokhi Yazdi 1363: 118, 120):

ز آزادي جهان آباد و چرخ کشور دارا  
و: هزار بار بود به ز صبح استبداد

پس از مشروطه با افزار استبداد مي گردد  
براي دسته پا بسته، شام آزادي

Moreover, anytime Nasim-e Shamal thinks about liberty, he remembers dictatorship and considers it as the obstacle in expansion of liberty. In his words about liberty, dictatorship and dictators are criticized more than other obstacles (Sadeghivivi 1383: 187):

فأش مي گويم الي يوم المعاد  
منقرض بنياد استبداد باد

Thus, one of the dimensions and instances of liberty and liberalism among the poets and thinkers of this era was anti-dictatorship, which provided the social basis for the Constitutional Revolution, and from one viewpoint the constitution was its accomplishment (8). Because, under the dictatorship, the first thing which naturally comes to one's liberal mind is liberty and rejection of dictatorship (9) (Ghobadi 1383: 85-86).

##### **Law-supporting:**

The concept of law, which is a set of orders to regulate the social life of human, has a long history in human life. The first kings who ruled Iran, were called Paradat (Pishdad) in Avesta, and Pishdad is the one who develops rules (Safa 1367: 17). Therefore, the topic of law and its background goes back to pre-historic and mythological era in the Iranian culture and civilization (10).

In spite of the dynamic in meaning, the concept and instances of law in the past (Langrudi: 2846-2847) were stable, and the position of legislation, which was usually on the top of the power pyramid, developed rule for those in the base of the pyramid.

Survival of the governments in the past and even their legitimation essentially relied on power and defeat. The rule was the will of king or his subordinates (Katuzian 1372: 8, Mosalanezhad 1383: 14); it is evident that in such case liberty in its modern meaning is meaningless.

Farokhi Yazdi wrote that before the Constitution, the dictator Sultans with their ideas and great arrogance, which they considered to be essential for their rule, carried out any murder or crime, and to responded their avidity and hatred with cruelty ... after killing many holy people and victims ... that problem is solved and the Constitution dominated (Farokhi Yazdi 1363: 303). Hence, the Constitutional Revolution was established from one viewpoint for fulfillment of the rules to survive liberty in the country. "The theoretical foundation of the revolution was this issue, which finally put the endpoint for the first time on the era of the dictator anarchic governments and the nation for the first time legislated to achieve his rights and political and social liberty" (Ajudani 1383: 12, and also Sobhani: 37). The Akhtar magazine, whose first volume was published in 13 January of 1876 by Mohamad taheer Tabrizi, played an important role in development of the modern concept of law. Some years later, "Qanun" (law) was the title and the main topic of a newspaper, published by Mirza Malkam Khan in 1890 in London. The essence of domination of rule was one of the concepts, Malkam was interested many times before publishing the Qanun newspaper, and perhaps the word "Qanun" was used for the first time in Persian language in its modern meaning in the "ketabcheh-e gheibi", written in 1858 (Elgar 1369: 198, 193-214 and Ghobadi 1383: 71-82). In general, about the quest of law and its modern concept, it can be stated that:

a) The quest of law under liberalism is the other face of anti-dictatorship, which was started before the Constitutional Revolution. When the pros of the Constitution were fought for law, their idea was the thing what limited the power of government in Europe; i.e., the removal of dictatorship (Katuzian 1372: 9, Zaker Hossein 1377: 26-35).

b) The belongings of law in its modern meaning is society and human social life, which according to Zeinalabdein Maraghei "be carried out for every person without any exception" (Maraghei 1364: 67), thus the law is flowed in the society and regulates the interrelation of human.

c) In contrast to past, the prominent participation of the victims, i.e., the public, in legislation is inherent in the quest of law in its modern meaning. During the history law was developed by the rulers, and the words ruler, sultan, or shah all indicate such issue. Democracy means that the power of ruling a country or authority over a nation is not in the hands of an individual. As people are free in choosing their shoes and caps, they have the right to participate in development of the rules related to their social life, and they will elect those who will pass and fulfill the laws, and people can always question them (11) (Minovi 1358: 44).

d) Besides rejecting dictatorship, emphasizing the role of people as the main origin of the law resulted in rejection of religion (Kanem 1378:165). However, this issue was not taken serious in Iranian contemporary literature.

Persian literature in the Constitutional era was influenced by the attempt of the Iranian nation to achieve the government of law and removing dictatorship. It was of course in some case successful. It can be mentioned that the emergence of this type of literature was coincidence with familiarity of Iranians with the idea of "liberty" in its European meaning (Azhand 1363:333). Liberty and liberalism for poets of the era was not a topic separate from law and the quest of law. From their viewpoint, the dominance of law is firstly a guarantee for survival of liberty and secondly leads to establishment of justice and stability of the country. Malek-o Shoara Bahar emphasized that without law and the dominance of law, there is no guarantee for freedom of independence. The symbol of this dominance of law is the national parliament, a parliament which is the projection of the nation's will (Ajudani 1383: 24). In one of his ballades in objecting the banning of his newspaper, Bahar composed (Bahar 1382, 261):

عمری به هوای وصلت قانون	از چرخ برین گذشت افغانم
در عرصه گیر و دار آزادی	فرسود به تن، درشت خفتانم
...گفتم مگر به نیروی قانون	آزادی را به تخت بنشانم

According to this viewpoint, the condition for fulfillment of this modern concept is development and execution of law. Law in this meaning is a barrier against the avarice of dictatorship and is a symbol of the national will in directing the nation, which was formerly isolated and convict due to the domination of the king. All the attempts of constitutionalist were directed toward administration of the country according to the laws passed by the people's representatives. The constitutional governing systems itself provided the individual and social freedoms according to the law (Yahaghi, 1382: 17). In other words, in this era, liberty was similar to the concept of law administration (Ajudani 1383: 239). That is why Farokhi Yazdi considered the survival of the constitution freedom (Farokhi Yazdi 1363: 213, *ibid*: 28, 29, 34, 124, 160, 213, 222, 239, 251):

چون موجد آزادی ما قانون است	ما محو نمی شویم تا قانون است
محکوم زوال کی شود آن ملت	در مملکتی که حکم با قانون است

Bahar considered that law leads to establishment of justice, and justice in turn will lead to the survival of the government, which preserves the country better than any other fort. This point has been mentioned in the Iranian classical literature, but with two differences: the requesters were in the position of a convict who humbly begged for justice, and never, neither the requestors nor the responders, did not take it serious. Although in some poems of Bahar, the former point is still present and the sensation of slaves and convicts can be felt in his poems, in other parts he is serious. Believing in the establishment of law as a prerequisite of institutionalization of the liberty, Bahar whole-heartedly spent his life in this way. According to Bahar, survival of a country is conditioned to establishment of law (Bahar 1382: 48).

ارجو که از این بنای فرخ قانون  
ملک بماند همیشه خرم و آباد

Bahar believed that legislation and fulfillment of the law would make government and the nation in one way, who were opposite of each other during the history. Understanding the positive and important role of law in the development of the nations, he composed (12) (Bahar 1382: 49):

دولت و ملت چو هر دو دست به هم داد  
ملکی کاو راست عدل و قانون در دست  
پای به دامن کشد عدوی سبکس  
سر بفرزد همی به برج دو پیکر

Another theme in the poems of this era is emphasizing the importance and authority of legislation parliament as the symbol of the constitution and liberalism. Some poets were elected as nation's representative repeatedly and emphasized the importance of the parliament in their poems. Even when they have ironically talked about themselves and the parliament, they had this concept in their mind, since in their poems they try that the parliament follows its primary role. For instance, during the election period of the second round of the national legislation parliament in 1287 A.H., he composed a poem and invited the people to elect competent representatives (Bahar 1382: 137-139, 179-180, 218-219):

در فکر وکیل باهنر باش  
خود شرط وکیل نیست امروز  
لیکن نه به طرز دوره پیش  
قطر تنه و درازی ریش  
وز عالم بی عمل بیندیش  
از ظاهر بی درون حذر کن

Having such a view toward liberty, in 1328 A.H., in a poem "masmat-e vatani", Farokhi Yazdi mentioned (Farokhi Yazdi 1382: 189):

تا که در ایران ز قانون اساسی هست نام  
تا ز ظالم می نماید عدل سلب احترام  
تا دهد مشروطه آزادی به خیل خاص و عام  
خسرو مشروطه ما تا قیامت زنده باد  
مجلس شورای ایران تا ابد پاینده باد

Believing in the importance of the parliament, Farokhi Yazdi asked the people with emphasis: "attention, do not sign for enemies". He required the people to elect the representatives appropriately (Farokhi Yazdi 1363: 258):

ای توده گرفتار جهالت شده ای  
هر کس که کنی وکیل گر جنس تو نیست  
گم گشته وادی ضلالت شده ای  
بی چون و چرا بدان که آلت شده ای

Another aspect of supporting law in its modern meaning in the poems of the era is consideration toward the constitution. The contribution of the nation's votes in the affairs of government was one of the important and fundamental principles of the constitution. In practice, it should put an end to the dictatorship by establishment of national parliament and constitution and provides the requirements of freedom and equity of people's right (Ajudani 1383: 16). Therefore, by the requirement of people, liberalists provided the preliminaries of the representative election of national council parliament in Tehran. The first legislative parliament was inaugurated by Mozafarredin Shah's speech. In this round of parliament, the essence of development of constitution became obvious, and in spite of the discrepancy among the representatives of the government and the nation in this regard, the manuscript of a 51-act constitution was passed by the national legislative parliament in the 11th *Zighadeh* 1324 A.H. (Kermani 1357: 33, 35-36, Azghandi 2: 4, Madani 1382: 58-59).

Establishment and pass of the constitution brought cheer, hope and optimism to people. Many poets composed some poems with such theme about this topic. For instance, Bahar addressed the issue in his Divan and positively reminded it. He frequently adored Mozafarredin because of signing the constitution (13) (Bahar 1382: 93):

داد بر مشروطه فرمان خسرو و الا تبار  
یافت قانون اساسی در ولایت انتشار  
منتخب شد مجلس شوری در اول روزگار  
تاج و تخت ملک را بگذاشت از بهر پسر  
انجمنها گشت بر پا در همه شهر و دیار  
اندر آن هنگام فرمان یافت شاه دادگر

### The women's freedom:

Another aspect of liberalism in the contemporary era is the women's freedom. Some literary texts in the Constitutional era addressed the issue. By analyzing the poems of the era, one finds out that the issue of women's freedom is mainly based upon three items: a) freedom of social and political participation, b) freedom in education, and c) removal of veil.

Before starting the discussion, it should be noted that none of the three above-mentioned items were unprecedented in the culture and literature of Iran. The available resources on women in the ancient Iran indicate that women in the ancient Iran took advantage of various scientific educations (Kristensen 1368: 44). Being in the position of judge and treasurer implies the knowledge and abilities of these women (Ferrai 1375: 36-37, Alavi 1380: 32-35). Regarding the covering of women, it should be noted that Iranian women even in the ancient era covered their face. Besides the usage of the term "Chador" in the pre-Islamic era, the available documents of the ancient era implies the women had veil in those era (Ostad Malek 1367: 46-48, Alavi 1380: 43-47).

Nevertheless, the history belongs to men. The presence of women related to men was much lower in various aspects of social life, and the low level of presence was always influenced by men. For example, in the poems of Ferdowsi, the great poet of the medieval ages, the greatness of women was always linked with the greatness of men; such that Farank is the mother of Fereydoun, Rudabeh is the mother of Rostam, Tahmineh is the mother of Sohrab, and Katayoun is the mother of Esfandiar, and thus they have a high and specific position (Torabi 1380: 31). In the Islamic era, the various regulations of Islam were not fulfilled because of different reasons and thus, the history passed in favor of men. Although in Islam, the dominance of men over women is accepted (Nesa 4: 34), the dominance of men are limited with precise and clear regulation. Quran essentially did not consider any difference between men and women, and except in particular cases, Islam does not specified religious obligations for men and women separately. Moreover, it frequently orders couples to friendship and kindness (Hojarat 49: 13, Rum 3: 21, Baqarah 2: 228, Nesa 4: 23). However, the Muslim women, in Iran and also other oriental countries, women were considered as the belongings of men (Aryanpour 1375: 4).

Nonetheless, coincident with the constitution revolution, which was the result of great changes in Iran and the world; many changes occurred in the fundamentals of thoughts. The debates of the freedom of women, which was present from the past and also the feminist influenced many liberal men and women and inspired them to endeavor. It is of no doubt that the thing which was requested as "the freedom of women" in the era was essentially different from what was proposed before. In the following some differences are addressed:

- a) Women became familiar with their rights and requested it.
- b) Women requested for getting rid of the dominance of men. They wanted to express themselves independently and without the presence of men.
- c) Women asked for removal of the discriminations as well as obtaining opportunities similar to men.
- d) Based on the religious and legal laws, women in the past were also allowed to have political and religious activities, but the freedom was in the theoretical field and not the practice.
- e) In this era, women clearly asked for removal of the constraints on the obvious presence in the society. Although in the past women were rarely present in the society, the present also was largely related to particular individuals or social classes. The modern thoughts offered all women the right of being present in the society.
- f) Women did not want to have minor roles. Although this was indicated by the patrimonial system of life in the past, women asked for evolution in foundations of the modern life and wanted to actually have individual and practical presence.
- g) Following their demand for their individual and social life, women practically participated in various aspects of life (Torabi 1380: 31, Aber Cramney 1367: 155, Adamiat 426-429, Ruzbeh 1381: 360-361, Ostad Malek 1367: 73-134).

Now, the three above-mentioned items in the poems of the constitution revolution;

- a) Freedom of social and political participation: Freedom of women from the superstitious limitations and the essence of their presence in the society was one of the important issues in the constitution era. In the past, this was proposed by many liberals, at the same time with the Iranians' revival. The issue was proposed frequently in periodicals. The publication activities as a social participation attracted many women, such that women were administrators or founders of many newspapers and magazines. In the first course, the newspapers "Danesh", "Shekufeh", "Zaban-e zanan", "Alam-e nesvan", "Nameh-e banovan", and "Jahan-e zanan" were all published by women (Sayah 1383: 44-53). However, the women's political and social activities were not limited to these fields. There are many evidences which reflect the strong and direct presence of women in the context of the society after the declaration of the constitution order. For instance, in Tehran, the national women club was established with the aim of fighting against the foreigners' intervention in the internal affairs of Iran. Moreover, some other societies were founded. Their members vowed to fight with owing from England and Russia, since this would endanger the independence of the country (Pavolovich 1357: 56).

The women's freedom to have social and political participation is less considered in the poems of the era. However, some poets have poems which obviously indicate the issue. For instance, influenced by the western world evolution and the rights women achieved there, Abolghasem Lahuti in an in exile poem in Istanbul 1918 stated (Kharabi 1380: 186)

زنہای غرب در سر کار حکومتند      در دست مردشرق تو چون بردہای ہنوز

البته هم اسیري و هم بردهاي از آنک  
ایمان به انقلاب نیاوردهاي هنوز

Pointing to the status of women in western countries, the poets encouraged Iranian women to participate in political and social jobs accompanied with men (Kharabi 1380, 188).

زنان باهنر در شهر پاریس  
قضاوت گه کنند و گاه تدریس  
روند از راه دریا سوي تغلیس  
بود این در خور صد گونه تقدیس  
که زن با شوهر خود یار باشد  
چو او راغب به کسب و کار باشد  
مگر نشنیده‌اي در انگلستان  
شد از نطق زنان مجلس گلستان  
...زنان را بعد از این شغل اساسي است  
خیال جمله در کار سياسي است

b) Freedom of education: During the Qajar era, women were limited from different aspects, and the limitations were justified by the patrimonial society in different ways. The worst method was considering religion as an excuse; the religion which has emphasized the education of men and women in the text of its holy book. It is obvious that coincident with the revival of Iranians and particularly after the constitution revolution, the claims of freedom of women in education and also its essence become more obvious, such that it could not be remained unheard. However, as it was mentioned above, the women's education was not unprecedented in Iran and it is not something new being imposed to our country, but the discussion around it as a social issue was started simultaneously with the constitution. Some issues which were considered by Iraj, Bahar, and Parvin in their poems did not exist before. The issue of women's pedagogy began with the Constitutional era and composes one of the major themes of the poems of this era (Shafie Kadkani 1380: 39).

Emphasizing the essence of education, Seyed Ashraf- aldin told Iranian girls (Nasim-e Shamal 1363: 309-312):

اي دختر من تا رمقي در بدنت هست  
از مشق و کتاب و طلب علم مکش دست  
...اي دخترکان در طلب علم بکوشید  
رخت هنر و معرفت از علم بیوشید  
...اي دختر من راه نجات تو بود علم  
شاهد به مقام درجات تو بود علم  
...علم است که سرمایه هر نقش و نگار است  
اي دختر من درس بخوان فصل بهار است

Other poets of the era also used this theme in their poems (14):

اگر خواهي شود این کشور آباد  
وگر خواهي شود دل‌هاي ما شاد  
شویم از قید محنت يك سر آزاد  
بیا بشنو ز من این پند استاد  
زنان را در جواني تربیت کن  
قلوب جمله را با معرفت کن  
...اگر خواهي چهیزی بهر دختر  
ز علم و دانش او را کن توانگر

c) Removal of the veil: Another issue of the women's freedom in the contemporary era is the freedom of women in using veil, such that some people considered removal of veil as the pre-requisite of taking the advantage of other types of freedom. Why? And what was the origin of such illusion? Some factors contributed to the idea, among which the extreme traditions, customs and illusions about women and their cover, played a role in the emergence of such illusion. Due to such extremist attitudes, women were deprived of many of their rights, thus some people thought that the veil impedes education and progress of women and their participation in the society. However, some prejudices and poor analysis also led to this idea. Taj- ol Saltaneh, the daughter of Nasser-aldin Shah talked about the issue: the human has been created free and there is no reason for being convict of the order of another person, rather the human dignity requires living in natural freedom. With grief, she mentioned that the women in Iran are separated from their counterparts and has adopted the terrible body of black grief. This is just due to lack of education and the disadvantages of the veil (Adamiyat 1349: 426). Some poets of the era had such viewpoint toward the veil and opposed it. In the poem "Kafan-e siah", Mirzadeh Eshghi stated (Mirzadeh Eshghi 1315: 74-90):

آتشین طبع تو عشقي که روان است چو آب  
رخ دوشیزه نگر از چه فکنده است نقاب  
در حجاب است سخن گر چه بود ضد حجاب  
از حجاب است که این قوم خرابند خراب  
بس خرابی ز حجاب است که ناید به حساب  
...شرم چه مرد یکی بنده و زن يك بنده  
چيست اي چادر و روبنده نازیبنده  
زن چه کرده است که از مرد شود شرمنده  
گر کفن نیست هلاچيست پس این روبنده

Aref Qazvini considered removal of veil as the education of women and mentioned that the modern civilization without the education of women is an unfinished journey (Qazvini 1364: 229):

بدر این حجاب و آخر به در آ ز ابر چون خور  
که تمدن ار نیایی تو به نیم راه ماند

In contrast, Seyed Ashraf-aldin Gilani considered the veil necessary for virtue and religion. He encouraged women to follow the covering codes of Islam and regretted not following the codes. On the other hand, he did not consider it as an obstacle to women's social activities. In his beliefs, they could be present simultaneously (Nasim-e Shamal 1363: 309, 309-312, 766-771, 781-784).

اي دختر من درس بخوان وقت بهار است  
بيکار به خانه منتشین موقع کار است  
يك چادري از عفت و ناموس به سر کن  
وانگاه برو مدرسه تحصیل هنر کن

Considering the issue, Ajudani stated that mentioning the veil as the most important factor of women's lag indicate the simplicity in the ideas of many poets toward a complicated social issue, since the main reason for women's miserable condition was the unorganized social conditions (Ajudani 1383: 239-241).

#### The freedom of press:

آزادي است و مجلس و هر روزنامه را  
هر روز بي محاکمه توقيف مي کنند  
گويند لب ببند چو بيني خطا ز ما  
راهي است ناصواب که تکليف مي کنند

(Ajudani 1383: 250-251)

Another aspect of liberty in the Constitutional era poems is the freedom of press, which poems of 1285-1299 A.H. frequently addressed it, asked it directly or indirectly, or had complained the authorities' inattention to it (15). For example, in the ballade "Ey malek" to object the banning of "Nou-bahar", Bahar warned Ahmad Shah about the freedom of speech. Bahar considered lack of freedom of speech as the first step in the victory of enemies. According to him, the freedom of press led to the awakening of the king and consequently the nation (Bahar 1382: 252):

ملک ايران سر بسر در انقلاب است اي ملک  
کشور جمشيد و افريدون خرابست اي ملک  
... ما بجز بيداري شهمنان نباشد آرزو  
دلگر از اين آرزو جوشد، مصاب استاي ملک  
... شاه را گفتند تا بندد زبان دوستان  
دشمنان را اين نخستين فتح باب است اي ملک

He also composed some other poems with the same theme between 1285 and 1299 A.H. (Bahar 1382: 254-255, 259-261, 798-799, and 1063). In 1297 A.H., during the cabinet of Mostoufi Al-Mamalek, all Tehran newspapers, including the Bahar's newspaper, were banned. Thus, for complaining, Bahar composed the ballad "Bot al-shekva" and published in the literary journal of the colleges, which was established by him (Bahar 1382: 259). In this ballad, by defending his liberalism, artistry, and erudition, he complained suffering and being mistreated by fools and administrators. Bahar saw himself fighting with the enemies of the liberty, and emphasized that he suffers from these people and highlighted his mission in the field of the press (16) (Bahar 1382: 259-261).

از نقيمت دشمنان آزادي  
و امروز عميد ملک شاهنشاه  
... در عرصه گير و دار آزادي  
... اي آزادي، خجسته آزادي!  
گه در ري و گاه در خراسانم  
بسته است زبان گوهر افشانم  
فرسود به تن درشت خفتانم  
از وصل تو روي برنگردانم

The consciousness of Farokhi Yazdi in this regard is noteworthy. By highlighting the role of the freedom of speech in the victory and accomplishment of the nations, he emphasized its demand

در دفتر زمانه فتد نامش از قلم  
هر ملتي که مردم صاحب قلم نداشت

(Farokhi yazdi 1363: 96)

تا قلم نگردد آزاد، از قلم نميکنم ياد  
گر قلم شود ز بيداد، همچو خامه هر دو دستم

(Farokhi yazdi 1363: 167)

When the poets talked about the two other main barriers of liberty, colonialism and dictatorship, they complained of fools, naives, and ignoble (17).

#### Conclusion:

Of what was mentioned, it can be concluded that the concept of liberty in the poems of the Constitutional era is different from that in the conventional poems. In the past, it was mainly emphasized on the nobility with the domination of the carnal aspects, while in the poems of the Constitutional era was mainly of subjective aspects and addressed the social and political aspects of life. From this viewpoint, the dominance of law will guarantee liberty as well as the establishment of justice and survival of the country.

Analyzing the social poems of the constitution era, it can be concluded that liberalism was a concept with anti-dictatorship, supporting law, women's freedom, and freedom of press as the most outstanding aspects. All these aspects indicate a significant evolution in the society, including literature, in this era. The liberalism themes of the poems of the Constitutional era obviously indicate modern attitudes and viewpoints in Persian poems. These attitudes and viewpoints are the advantages of the poems of the Constitutional era over that of the previous era.

#### Descriptions:

1- Zabihollah Safa pointed to the Iranian respect for freedom of religious ideas and national customs (Safa 1376: 20-21, Amir Ahmadi 1383: 12-21). Farokhi yazdi stated (Farokhi Yazdi 1363: 155, Adamiyat 1340: 3):

آزادي ايران که درختي است کهن سال  
ما شاخه نوريسته آن کهنه درختيم

2- Democracy originates from the Greek word "demokratia", which is composed of demos (people) and kratos (rule). The term *demokratia* was first used in the 5th century B.C. for the government type of the city-states of the ancient Greece. In this type of government, the rule of the country was based upon the direct participatin of people in public

affairs. The thing known as democracy regarding the nation-states in modern world is indirect democracy or delegation; i.e., the elected representatives in legislative parliaments fulfill the will of people. One of the major aspects of democracy is liberty (Ashuri 1366: 157-166, Babaei 1369: 25, Toluei 1372: 29, Gold and Colb 1376: 6-7).

اي آزادي، اي خجسته آزادي از وصل تو روي برنگردانم-3

(Bahar 1382: 261 and also 138).

4- Katuzian wrote that the term national in the Constitutional era in Iran was synonym of public, non-governmental, and even anti-governmental ... the intellectuals of the constitution and post-Constitutional era translated democracy as the national government, ... Modares stated that a revolution has occurred in Iran and the nation has awakened and made the single-rule governments into the national government (Katuzian 1374: 96-97).

5- The lexical meaning of the term *mashruteh* (constitution) is under debate (Ajudani 1383: 40-379, Ajudani 1383: 15, Madani 1382, 53). The public, journalists, and clerics each had a different interpretation on it (Momeni 2537: 95, Khatami: 86, Aryanpour 1372: 24, and Ghobadi 1383: 87).

6- The story of Bahram Chubin supports this claim, when he heard from *Gordieh* (Ferdowsi 1370: 2010):

تو خواهي که شاهي کني بي نژاد همه دوده را دادخواهي به باد

7- The courageous action of Mirza Reza Kermani was one of the most significant indications of this issue (Kermani 1357: 102-103).

8- The most important achievement of the revolution, if not in practice, was recognition of the right of the national and nation's rule at least theoretically (Ajudani 1383: 12).

9- About dictatorship and liberty refer to Bushehri 1376: 317, Kavakebi 1364: 16-20 and 59, and Minovi 1358: 43-44.

10- The first title in Avesta, historical book, and Shahnameh for *Hushang* is *Pishdad*, i.e., the first legislator (Mahmudi Bakhtiari 1368: 265).

11- Malekzadeh wrote about the issue: the constitution established freedom of thought, equity in the right of people, and democracy in Iran, and offered the people the fate of the country and the nation to the people and freed the people in passing the appropriate laws proportionate to the ethics and discretion of the society (Malekzadeh 1373: 21).

12- Farokhi Yazdi considered (Farokhi yazdi 1363: 124):

با ادب در پيش قانون هر که زانو مي زند چرخ نوبت را به نام نامي او مي زند  
وانکه شد تسليم عدل و پيش قانون سر نهاد پايه قدرش به کاخ مهر پهلو مي زند

13- Seyyed Ashraf-oldin Gilani said (Nasim-e Shamal 1363: 313):

مشروطه درختي است پر از ميوه و اثمار قانون اساسي در او ناظر هر کار  
عدليه و انصاف و مساوات ورا بار فرقي به ميان غني و شاه و گدا نيست

14- The poem was composed by Abdol Hossein Hesabi. In 1338 A.H., a long poem "*Taraghi-e nesvan*" of him was published in No.11 of the *Gol-e zard* newspaper. In the poem, he described his ideas on the subject and besides proposing a series of topics including the essence of educating girls and removal of discrimination between girls and boys and describing the underlying reasons for the lag of Iranian women and the successes of European women, he considered the education of women as the requirement of the country's success (Kharabi 1380: 187).

Also, in a long ballade, which was composed by the end of 1296 A.H. in Istanbul, Abolghasem Lahuti invited the Iranian girls to education, liberty, and fulfillment of social duties (Aryanpour 1374: 10).

15- in evaluating this indication of liberalism that is the theme of many poems of the era, besides the mission and the liberal attitude of the poet, the occupation motivations of some of them who were journalists should not be neglected.

16- However, the attitudes of them toward liberty were not the same. In this respect, refer to Madadpour 1373: 194-195, Gharagzalou 1384: 150-155, and Yahaghi 1382: 18-22.

17- The main reason for the complaints is that the most frequent and dangerous oppositions with the freedom of press was proposed by this group. Ajudani quoted a sentence from Mirza Ali Esfahani, which reflects the meaning (Ajudani 1383: 407). It is not obvious what the meaning of liberty was for this group, that they opposed with it such hardly. This is while in the viewpoint of some others, the only condition required for the development and success of Iran is freedom of thought and press (Maraghei 1364: 92, Minovi 1358: 48-49).

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