

## Status of Women in Contemporary Historiography Case study: the historical position of women in the study of Homa Nategh

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**Abstract:** When talking about men and their history, most of the times we talk about their position, performances and their social activities, but the question is that what can be written pertaining to the women and their position, thus this paper seeks to explain the status of the woman in the contemporary historiography, and evaluate the women position in the historical research of Nategh, and answer to this question that how is the attention to the position and role of women among contemporary historians in particular female historians, and achieve Homa Nategh's attitude toward women issues and their historic role. in order to answer this question, this paper develops an explanation about the approach of the Qajar historians to the history of women, and then in the other part, the attitude of the contemporary historians in particular female historians will be assessed and at the last part, it studies about the women position in the works and historic research of Homa Nategh in detail. The general answer to the major questions of this paper is that historians noticed to the women issues in the recent years, and assessed their roles in the historic developments; however, Nategh's attitude toward women issue is derived from their roles and environmental conditions.

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### 1. Introduction

Considering the women issue is highlight in the recent years, which led to the appearance of broader dimensions of political, cultural and social developments in this field. Thus in the Qajar era in Iran, political and social movements of women in the history embarked for different reasons, and provided the necessary situation for their act. Although the picture presented in the works of this age doesn't indicate the presence of women in the political and social developments, views and opinions of women can be released through the written works. Accordingly, this study evaluates the advertency of the contemporary historians of Iran, especially historians of women toward the historical role of women, and also studies about the consideration of Homa Nategh as an Iranian female historian to the women issues and their historic roles in detail. The importance and urgency of this paper is due to this reason that it reviews the studies on woman and perspective of the contemporary historians to the female issue, and it also considers the approach to the women in Nategh's works, and portrays the real and historical narrative of public and middle- class women, in addition it expresses the influential pattern of thinking on Nategh's notion, and studies the Conscious or unconscious nature of women's participation in economic and political conditions. Thus, due to the important role of women in

political, social and economic turmoil, each of them is separately analyzed. In this article we will see how the historical conditions of Iran were manipulated by Nategh's works, and extremely led to publication of some works illuminating the position of women in Nategh's works.

### 2. Women issue in the works of Qajar historians

As we know due to the various historical books in Qajar era, numerous works have been written which indicate the significance of the traditional historiography on the basis of military and political narratives accomplished by Qajar sovereigns, thus it is not expected that in the first resources the women issue is emphasized, because the women were neglected as a half part of the society by the men writing the history, men considered their activities important, and the women activities were measured by male criteria, that's why the women history remained silent. However, studying works of Qajar historians to present a picture of women situation sounds interesting, in such a way that many of them noted reports like; History of Azodi written by Qajar prince Azod Al Dole, newspaper of Memory of Etemad Al Saltane written by Mohammad Hasan Khan Etemad Al Saltane, Notes of private life of Naser Al Din Shah written by Ali Khan Moayer Al Mamalek, Awakening history of Iran written by Nazem Al

Islam. History of Azodi exhibits comprehensive information about harem of Fath Ali Shah, how the women enter to the harem, their social origins and harem system. Etemad Al Saltane due to the very important jobs and position in Naser Al Din Shah regime and also his wife commuting to the harem, could accurately describe the conditions of harem. "Kheyrat Al Ehsan" is one his other works which introduces the artist and scholar women in the period of Fath Ali Shah.

Moayer Al Mamalek was a descendant of Naser Al Din Shah that due to the family bond describes the court details very well, and provides useful study about women entertainments in harem of Nasser, and also in the book of "Tarikh Mashrouatiat Iran", Kasravi cites about the role of women in parliamentary and the quality of their education. And also in the book of "Tarikh Enghelab Mashrouatiat Iran", Malek Zade drew attention to the role of women in the parliamentary incidents.

Despite this, to approach the conditions of public and poor women, studying the diarizing works concerning to the social issues of Iran is helpful. In the book of "sharh zendegani man", Abd Allah Mostofi accurately describes the detail of many social issues of Iran like; conventions, religious and ethnic custom, and also food and garment of people, and it is not just bounded to the women issue (delrish, 1375: 10 to 15), and this is true to the book of Abd Allah Bahrami, and he also provides beneficial information about social issues, but never utter about women issues extensively (Bahrami, 1363). And we could also mention Yahya Dolat Abadi as a diarist, who offers numerous records on the women presence in parliamentary and their education conditions due to his supportive inclination toward constitutionalism (delrish, 1375: 10 to 15). To be acquainted with the women conditions in this period, the Travelogue should not be abandoned as many explorers entered to Iran with divers provocations, wrote many works which despite of some reasons like absence of acquaintance with custom and culture of Iran society and lack of required elucidation, it was valuable for associating with courtier dignitaries, and encasing the courtier class and dignitaries in some cases, which were more significant in comparison to some resources of Iranian historians. Since they portrayed the society of Iran in great detail, the women issue was illustrated amongst them. For instance, Travelogue of Iran and Iranian written by Edward Pollock (Pollock, 1361: from 138 to 166), Travelogue of Drovyl written by Gaspar Drovyl (Drovyl, 1348, from 51 to 65), a journey to the court of Soltan Saheb nazaran written by Heinrich Brogsh (Brogsh, 1368), and Three Years In The Court Of Iran written by February (February, 1326: 15 to 20), and The

Social History Of Iran In The Qajar Era written by Wills (Wills, 1366: 101 to 161).

Now, this matter arises that, to what extent women themselves picture their role in the political, social and economic fields, although, women were not historians in this age, if they wrote something, it was deduced from their social and political consciousness, such as Taj Al Saltane, one of the Naser Al Din Shah's girl, albeit, illustrates the conditions of the women lives in harem in her memory, she wasn't blind to the reality of the women lives in her age, and in an exalted vision proceeds to access freedom and advancement amongst women and their involvement in the political affairs:

"If women were free in this country as the other women are in the other countries, and had their rights and could play role in the political and country's affairs, certainly I wouldn't consider ministry or suppressing the people rights as the way of progress." (Taj Al Saltane: 1362: 98)

In the following, to answer to one of the Armenians of Caucasia and crusaders and liberals of Iran, Baghe Anouf, describes duties of Iranian women as the below:

"Restitution of their rights, nurturing the children, assistance to the men as the European women do, patriotism, and contribution to the human, abandoning the indolence and retiring, are the charges of the Iranian women" (Taj Al Saltane: 1362, 100).

Also the female tourists drew attention to the social conditions of women. Lady Sheil, by her husband's assistance, Justin Sheil, the ambassador of England in Iran, provides worthwhile information about life style of women, their education and literacy level, and lives of bakhtiari women in her Travelogue (Sheil, 1362: 47, 63, 89).

And also Carla Serena, despite of her short residence in Iran, states accurately about life style of women in particular aristocrats class women, their dress and their culture.

Studying the Travelogue of women describing the women conditions in Iran in Qajar era is superficial, and it bears absence of profound contemplation in liberating women notions, because they had fleeting residence in Iran, and due to lack of familiarity with social conditions of Iran they were paralyzed to draw the notions and visions of Iranian women, while, the depth of Iranian female thought was apparent, when they themselves wrote about their conditions.

Accordingly, the female conditions in Qajar time came up desultorily by some women at the end of Nasser period, in such a way that the first works written by a woman about the women life conditions in the patriarchy society of Qajar age before

parliamentary was published. It is named "Maayeb Al Rajal" written by Bi Bi Khanom or Bi Bi Fateme to answer another paper called "Tadib Al Nesvan", in the year 1313. In this book, Bi Bi Khanom depicts the women life conditions and the oppression they suffer in the society, and shields the women ethic which was accused by the author of Tadib Al Nesvan (Etehadie Zan Dar Jameye Qajar, 1373, no 55, 56: 28).

But, the most significant work to liberate the women demands and describe their conditions is the press of parliamentary age, in particular the journals written by the women in this period. Most of these works indicate the women education and enhancement of their literacy and awareness, some of them implemented in the following: Monir Mazandarani, is one of the women who was published in the Iran newspaper, no 91 in Zelhajeh 2, 1327. She inaugurates her article with the following statement "Recommendation of knowledge is obligatory for every Muslim man and woman", and accentuates the education of women. And also, Kamine Kasmaei, in the same newspaper, no 34 in Ramadan, 1327, pointed to the instituting the girls' school in Iran, and considered it as a recurrence of the life of Muslim women (Nategh, [www.Homana-tegh.net](http://www.Homana-tegh.net), Zanan Asr Mashroute: 1 to 7).

Thus, presence of women in the parliamentary revolution, propel them to step in the journalistic environment of Iran. Although, many writings were anonymously published, gradually the constitutionalist girls, wives or sisters published their writings identifiably, such as Mohtaram Eskandari, Sedighe Dolat Abadi and wife of Malek Al Motekalemin. Accordingly, women initiated to publish their own newspapers, such as; Danesh magazine owned by Dr. Kahal (Danesh, 30 numbers, Ramadan 10, 1327 to Rajab 27, 1329), Shokufe newspaper owned by Mozayen Al Saltane (Shokufe, 70 numbers, from the year 1330 to 1334), Zaban Zanan newspaper owned by Sedighe Dolat Abadi (Zaban Zanan, no 3, the year 24, 1323), Alam Nesvan magazine owned by Navabe Safavi (Alam Nesvan, in 3 numbers, 1308, the tenth year), Jahan Zanan magazine owned by Fakhr Afagh Parsa (Jahan Zanan, no 5, the first year of 1330).

Therefore, studying the works of historians of this period indicates that, first; the necessary perturbation to the women issue and highly valued vision to them didn't exist, second, by regarding forming the parliamentary revolution in this period, and evolution of notion, women could take the first measures to announce their existence and to egress from being isolated, and at the first step, to prepare them for the social acceptance, they required them to promote their knowledge through learning, and raised

educating children and attention to the sanitation of mothers and children, and matrimony duties for survival of the family. Later, employment of women, equal rights between man and women, were taken to account by the female activists.

### 3. Women issue in the works of contemporary historians

Among the contemporary historians, considering the women issue is one of the significant approaches in the current historiography, and in this style, the special vision of the historians to the political and military history for attraction of social and economic history depreciated, while women issue and attention to the necessary backgrounds to form the ideas, were taken to the consideration as the controversial and also pleasant issues in the cultural, social and political fields. Though, the historians, sociologist and also intellectuals of politics affiliated to the sociology vision and political thought to the women, and evolution of their status in the society, the female historians highly underscored the importance of performances and women roles in the history more than before.

Therefore, the importance of the women issue in the historical monitoring, and urgency of considering their roles and operations in forming the historical events, and also assessing the degree of contemporary historians' attention to the women status in the women studying, led to evaluating 61 works pertaining the women roles in the history of Iran, which 42 percent belonged men, and 58 percent was written by female historians, and this illustrates the significance of attention of female historians to the women history, and also the attitude alternation to the women and their status among the male historians. In addition, 18 percent of the written works date back to the before victory of Islamic revolution, and 82 percent of the remained works date back to the after victory of Islamic revolution, in particular the decade 1380, and this indicates the importance of women in the recent decade. Surveys depicts that, the women roles in the history shares 29 works of the 61 evaluated works (47.5 percent) generally, and approximately, 30 percent of the works point to the women roles and their status in the parliamentary and Qajar era professionally. This trend bears witness that historians' access to the divers resources, the directed atmosphere toward the political and social movement of women in society and utilizing various travelogue.

Also, many of the female historians believe that women always played part in the history and society, but they were passed over in the historic works and resources, accordingly, to find women trace in the history, they emphasized on revising the

historic resources, and also assert that criticism of female history is vastly different from the criteria of the general historiography.

Furthermore, monitoring the genealogies approves that they were all allotted to the men, and women had no part. From the contemporary female historians' point of view, although, the general and traditional history is paralyzed to express the women roles in the society completely, the other resources such as testaments, marriage contracts and the deeds for endowments cite the women conditions and their morals comprehensively, for instance, union of the police reports in the period of Naser Al Din Shah remarks the family struggle, the extent of the women presence in the society, and official and family archives, and extracted important documents and information about women conditions (gofto gu: tarikh negari zanan, 1378, no 127: 27).

Furthermore, some of the female historians believe that alternation in subject, approach and resources emerged in the women historiography, in the manner that, the extent of subject alternation is demonstrated, when women drew to the attention of the historians as the history subject, since traditional historiography just narrated the men actions and performances, and political elites among men, meanwhile women entrance to the historic researches implies gravity of the subject among historians. Moreover, the recent changes in the approach led to the elimination of sexual vision to the history, in the way that, although, the women performance was pale in the past history, some historians who paid attention to the women historiography, believe that plus modifying this abandon, the specific definition of history as an experience of male elites should be reanalyzed, and be registered as the historic experience of both (whether men or women), thus female historians like Simin Fasihi, believe that:

"It would be better, if women themselves write their history, because in the male historiography, women are object and subject is something else, and only in the historiography of women about women, the relation of subject and object change from the inner one to the outer one".

Since, many of the historians raised the absence of the historic resources; the major issue of the contemporary female historians is how to find women in the history, meanwhile, the contemporary historians and women studies researchers believe that neither femininity nor manliness is self-existent, but they are formed by each other (Keyhani Yazdi, [www.zamane.info](http://www.zamane.info), Tarikh Negari Zan Irani Zire Khakestar, no 10).

Anyhow, unquestionably, surveying the women position in the Iran history is one of the most notable new fields in the historic studies, and the

arrival of this young field could be arisen from the procedure alternation in the traditional historiography style, and nowadays, the attention to the women position in the history is one of the considered multidisciplinary fields from both historians and women studies researchers, in such a way that, women and their social activities are important in the sociology studies and other humanitarian sciences. The antiquity of attention to the women historiography is less than 40 years and due to the increase of appeal among women and allocated budget to them in the recent years, the subject of attention to the women swelled in Iran. Thus, nowadays, the new trend of historiography of women runs, which assesses the women position in the different periods of Iran history, in the way that, judgmental vision to the woman and her presence in the history extricated her from the hidden dark cavity of the history, and clarified her act and her emotions in the confrontation with the hazardous occurrences. At this time, as one of the female historians and researchers, Nategh presents a picture of women position in the field of social history.

#### **4. Women position in the historic researches of Homa Nategh**

Homa Nategh is one of the female historians in the Iran contemporary history, who published various works in the fields of idea, economic and social history in Qajar era. And far from any feministic vision, she has an equal insight to the women in comparison to the men. She centered on the components of economic and social history as the most major criteria, and paid attention to the women issue as well. Thus, although, few works are written about the women issue, due to the foraging the documents, diaries, and the first rate resources, Nategh illustrated the women role in her works.

Rather than express the lives of celebrated and courtier women in the Qajar time, she proceeds to express a real and historic narrative of poor, middle class and public women, and not necessarily political, and submits a description of the nature of conscious or unconscious presence of women in the chaotic political, social and economic conditions.

A probe into the works of Nategh concerning to the women depicts that, in the first years after triumph of Islamic revolution, she extricated her most attention to the women issue independently. In her written works in these years, she sought to declare the women conditions and their combats in this period. In these analyzes, she believes women had no identity in the history and literature of Iran, because "women has an abstractive and unidentified existence, women is pondered, but she is not taken to account" (Nategh, 1358, no 30:45).

To proclaim the Anonymity of women in the works and literature of Iran, she mentions examples of men speaking:

“These ignorant women made our lives miserable; to fill these idles we steal, to satisfy them we betray. When, a man marries in this country, he becomes a traitor if he is merchant, he becomes stealer if he is common people, he swindles if he becomes minister, and he issues an unfair command if he is judge”(Nategh: from 45 to 54).

In a review of accomplished phrasing and generalization, in order to honoring the women participation in decolonization and Anti-authoritarian combats in the parliamentary revolution, Nategh first chases the women roles in the press and cultural activities of parliamentary movements by citing some examples of women presence, in the way that, she believes women in fighting against nescience and lethargy, they themselves, rose against nescience and “ruling retardation”, and emphasized that at the beginning of the second half of the ninetieth century, Iran was the first and the only Islamic country that brought the issue of women recklessly (Nategh, 1362, no 1).

Due to the being affected by the emerged situation in the society after triumph of Islamic revolution, she pursued finding a way to introduce the performances and activities of women in this period. At the heart of the Islamic revolution, as a member of the Iranian Writers Association and advocate of the left ideas, many times, she participated in women protests as the lecturer and author. In Bahman 17, 1357, during a speech in women gathering at Tehran University, she questions all performances of Pahlavi regime about women and Calls them superficial, and also declares that women freedom depends on the freedom of the all society, and women will be extricated when the real revolution yields results. In the referring to the veil issue in Iran, she extremely attacks to the unveiling of Reza Shah, and also believes that women could never adopt and liberate their ideas So long as they don't freely pick their coverage (Keyhan, Bahman 17, 1357, no 10631: 6). Her faith to the Freedom of cover in Iran, and attending the women gathering in front of the Judiciary Palace in protest to the execution of Hijab law after victory of Islamic Revolution, and writing in the Keyhan newspaper caused her to continue insisting on negation of any imposition of cover (Keyhan, Esfand 17, 1357, no 10656, p 2, and Keyhan, Esfand 21, 1357, no 10659: 8).

Published studies in this period was because of Nategh's attitude , and she pointed to psychological and social reasons as backwardness and decadence of women , she believed that all the

rights of women in Pahlavi era was given to them without their effort(Nategh 1347,no.14:4 to 16). Although she abandoned political activities after going abroad and according to Fereidoon adamiat keep up with academic activities.(Yadname Fereidoon Adamiat,1388:91). Therefore, Nategh's view to women issue in her published studies is scientific social and historical events, and mentioned social , economical and political developments as main section of her reports. She rejected the common approach that says men wrote history for men and consider women play role prominently in history as well as men.

She believed that women in Qajar era suffer from discrimination and oppression in society and many figures grant bad situation of women and their unsuitable social conditions in this era. In reviewing the role of women in this era she introduced progressive and liberal idea of them in social and political events. She scanned the women entrance in to historical wisdom which signaled as equality of men and women , attention to women education and leaving ignorance.(Nategh, [www.Homa-nategh.net](http://www.Homa-nategh.net), zanane asr mashroote:3) In her works, she was aware of the grassroots uprisings and forms of women's struggles against imprudence of authorities in economic and social issues. It is developed in the following:

### 5. Women and their roles in political turmoil

Nategh's attention to the women presence in political unrests is based on the surveying of their roles in the parliamentary revolution. Although, had little hint to the women roles in the political discontents, she believes that women are counted as the significant Sponsors of this revolution, that demonstrated several times in order to support parliamentary system. For instance; in the sanctuary of the British embassy, two to three thousands of women gathered outside of the embassy, and demanded joining the strikers (Nategh, 1362, no 1: 2). She deems the women's activities are not derived from their awareness and political thought per se, but addresses the political designed slogans of women naive. She even evaluated the foundation of women's association with this vision, thus, she assumes that most of the female writings whether in dealing with the West or Iran are deduced from the cultural aspect and less of them are taken from the political aspect, since” women less than men drew attention to the everyday slogans, and by a little inquiry in their disordered conditions, and as far as the extent of their knowledge, they blend their reviews and complaints with the chaotic status and conditions.”, and “ in the other word, they sought trough of their frustration

and inevitably measured their ravages with others advancements (Nategh, 1375: 34, 35).

Furthermore, part of the women dissatisfaction about the political confusion was due to the oppression of governors that Nategh pointed to some cases. For instance, in Kerman Shah, women gathered in Gohar Shad mosque neck and neck into the men, and demanded dismissal of Emad Al Dole from governors of land, government at first refused to discharge Emad Al Dole, but the women protesting alongside men increased in such a way that while carrying Quran shouted:

“If you murder all of us, we never accept government of Emad Al Dole” (Nategh, 1356: 182, 185).

Or elsewhere, she implies the women protest to the arrest of Mirza Reza that, women write an opposing letter within palace of Naser Al Din Shah and express their complaint as the following:

“Do not suppose that no one understands what a good masterpiece you acquired, **arresting or murdering** brave and patriotic People under the name of rebel, if you are true and gutsy enough hurt these arrested people and see whether you are revenged, many people are desperate to devote their lives, your life is a compensation for their lives (Nategh, 1385: 87, 88).

Thus, however, Nategh wasn't ignorant to the political protest, she emphasized on the women protest concerning economic and social issues more than political protest. Accordingly, in one of her articles, she cites a poem from Nimtaj Salmasi, daughter of Masoud Divan Lak; the poetry was in the degeneration of parliamentary and the events of Rasht, Salmas and Urumieh, and at the end of the poem invites men to rise (Nategh, 1358, no 30: 58).

“Iranians, who wish splendor, must first seek their Kaveh.

There should be a great man and a greater determination to solve the problems with his power.

Women of Rasht with disheveled hair in queue, describe your drawbacks meticulously.

Maidens of Urumieh, Be witness of many sisters in Salmas territory; use the brothers' blood as a blusher.

To clear your stigmas, other Noah and other storm **are** necessary.”

## 6. Women and their roles in the economic and social turmoil

In her works, Nategh utters about socially desirable and undesirable conditions of women, and describes each of them. In the studying of unfavorable conditions of women, she mentions victimization of women as a result of poverty and

poor economic conditions in the period of Qajar, and believes that:

“Maybe, not talking about our country, Iran, is better and more **dignified**,

Women sale was prevalent in the parliamentary age, and under the pretext of poverty, families sold their girls between 20 to 40 tuman to foreign nationals.”(ibid)

In analyzing women and girls trade, she cites some other reasons such as; inability of people on taxation to court and tax pressure, as to express women conditions in Kerman, she states the women and girls sold to the court as the result of inability of people to pay taxes (Nategh, 1385: 16). Even when Mirza Reza Kermani was in Kerman, speaks of a steward whose job was trade of servant and slave, a mother and daughter sold separately and male served steward as slave (ibid: 26). The following example depicts that as a result of the tax pressure to what extent women were more vulnerable than any other groups, in a “petition” peasants of Talysh wrote to the king: “our spouse were transplanted and as captives were brought to Anzali, when we were in Tehran” or in Sari rustic peasants wrote a letter that “our product dedicated to your excellency as the share of government, extent of obtaining the product was quite violent and Incalculable that rebuked and flogged some of our women and took money (Nategh, 1356: 386).

Some of the trade was due to the interest and tendency of Iranian to the foreigner. Nategh mentions some documents that Ashuri families were willing to marry their daughters to western men for a certain time, and cost of per girl fitted her beauty, skill and her expertise, and the birthed children from this marriage had different destiny, in the way that some of them were taken to Europe by father, and the others were abandoned and most of the time, children were sold by their mother, and also daughters were encouraged to prostitution (Nategh, 1365, no 12: 51, 52).

In Nategh's works, describing the women status hasn't always been disappointing; she refers to the conditions of women among the Turkmen tribes that social and human relation, mutual respect to the rights and conditions of women were ruled among them, and also humans respect and merit were determined according to their competence. She speaks of women in these tribes who “personally took the annual tax to the Khan” and among men of tribe, there was less bigamist (Nategh, 1354: 77).

Study of Nategh's works indicates that most of her attitude to the women's participation in society goes back to their role in the social and economic movements, because in the nineteenth century, women were seen at the forefront of high prices and

sometimes as the leadership of religious movements, in the way that in many cases, as a result of social dissatisfaction inclusion of women in rallies and street protests was highlight. Thus, protest against famine, shortages and high prices foodstuffs was one of the most protests, which among these objections can be pointed to the famine year, 1267 AH during the Sepahsalar, when returning from hunting, shah confronted a group of women demanding solving the famine issue. Government inefficiency in solving this problem caused that women dealing with this issue alerted Shah. They looted shops and injured gatekeeper with sticks and stones. The sheriff Mahmoud Khan Nouri with a group of his soldiers attacked to the female population and a woman was injured by stroke of his stick and led to increase of protests, in such a way that, Shah summoned sheriff and to end this disturbance, after shaving sheriff beard hanged him, and his naked corpse were dragged on the ground (Nategh, 1385: 110 and also Nategh, 1385, no 30: 58).

In the years 1310 and 1311, incidence of bread fracas as a result of outbreak of cholera and plague led to increasing famine and high prices in Iran, such that, meat and bread were very expensive in this year, and also this time, in opposition to the trend of increasing prices to Shah, women were in the forefront, and found Naeb Al Saltane as the most important factor for incidence of these famines. In this protest women stated to the king:

“Instead of supervising the peasants’ conditions and suppressing the oppression of Naeb Al Saltane which is the inflation factor, you have nothing to do except running after women, aren’t you the same who killed the sheriff Mahmoud Khan forty years ago when it was famine for some days?” (Nategh, 1385: 109, 110). Based on the letters of Mohammad Ali Amin Al Tojjar in Moharam 28, 1310, Nategh clears that in these years, lack of efficient labor force of man and woman as a result of outbreak of cholera to work in the agricultural section led to decline of production and consequently incidence of famine and economic recession in the country.

The fear of this disease leads to various reactions which some were out of superstitious, for instance a woman called Shahrbanoo warned that if women put on scarf and skirt cholera will stay in Tehran for ever (ibid:244). Bread strike in Tabriz in 1313 was one of significant strikes of women which 3000 women gather in mosque and streets around the palace and shut down all the shops and Mozafar Al Din shah had to issued shooting order that five women and a Seyed were killed. And after that women put the corpse on their shoulders and took refuge in Russian Consulate. The next day, the

protests resumed and This time, as well three women were killed and several injured. It showed how the bread became a political protest, And the state in order to avoid more mass protests brought down the price of bread and wheat came out of speculating. In this social movement 30 people were killed and 60 were injured (Nategh, 1385:118, Nategh 1358, no.30:58). Nategh deemed the role of speculators significant in rising prices in Tabriz and named some of them ([www.homa-nategh.net](http://www.homa-nategh.net), Nategh, ibid.).

In Ardabil as well women have opposed heavily with commodities speculators. A dignity was Haj Ghasem Ardebili Representative of people in Ardebil who speculated goods which leads to rising in prices, so that constitutionalists of telegraph decided to sentence him and because haj ghasem was sick and old, members of community tried to just take back wheat but by the interference of women he sentenced to death. (Nategh, 1362, no.1:2).

Women revolt in Tehran in 1316 AH, is one of the above samples which occurred as a result of food shortages, as always women were involved with government forces, and also this time in Tehran, they tussled with Asef Al Dole, one of the ringleaders of bread hoarding, and demanded his resignation. The riots with leaving many injured, finally set the government back (Nategh, Adl Mozzafari-[www.homa-nategh.net](http://www.homa-nategh.net)).

On the other hand, some parts of women protests were resulted from tax pressures taken by rulers and governors by force, thus, peasants wrote many petitions and letters to the king which women and children were extremely affected as the vulnerable class (Nategh, 1356: 386). Peasant women's protest advanced so much that they resorted to taking sanctuary; Lahiji women announced that: “we became impatient with cruelty of Hajji Mirza Hossein and descendants of Mirza Abdul Vahab Mostofi. When our men said to them that they took our real estate by a passive deed and they have word of sharia with them... again and again we are suffering from their torture and irritation, and inordinately they loot our homes, now it reached to the point that 30 women have taken refuge to the **telegraph**” (ibid: 394). And also due to the oppression of Nosrat Allah Khan, the women of Gorgan Roud took sanctuary in the mausoleum of Sheikh Safi so that the king would take some measures for their petition (ibid.: 395).

The remarkable thing is that social and economic participation of women wasn't bound to their presence in the turmoil, but in some cases to boost economic situation, they associated government, for instance, women investment in establishment of bank before constitutional revolution, when raising money to establish national

bank was discussed and many people pioneered, women also requested foundation of bank by dedicating their jewelries, in the way that, their generous support became well known to the parliament and provoked their admiration (Nategh, 1380: 18). And also in advancement of Shahi Bank, Naser Al Din Shah and the government were distrustful of Investing in bank, and it was ultimately established by investment of some people in Tehran, meanwhile, one of the wives of Shah was one of the investors and incentives on implementation of the plan who invested 10 thousands lira (Nategh, 1371: 28).

The final section of this article is dedicated to the women and girls presence in protests particularly in the years 1334 to 1341. To explain and evaluate the causes of the student movements and repression of them, she implies a case of female presence in the year 1340, who protested against opposition of freedom of speech and political freedom which was strongly suppressed, and clarifies how the first presence of female in economic issue or colloquially pain of bread evolved to a premiere purpose in the later years (Nategh, 1364, no 10: 156 and 157).

## 7. Conclusion

Studies in the field of women's history suggests that although, due to significance of political and military history, historians of Qajar age **in introducing history of this period** were blind to the women history and their role in the developments of this period, some of the Travelogue writers and politicians in addition to presenting the customs and traditions of social history, speak of the customs related to women, but the importance of attention to the women history among contemporary historians specially women historians declares that in the recent 30 years historians and writers such as; Sima Bahar, Farah Azari, Pari Sheykh Al Eslami, Fakhri Ghadimi, Abd Al Hossein Nahid, Badr Al Molouk Bamdad, Mansour Etehadie, Simin Fasihi and Afsane Najm Abadi along with Homa Nategh in the field of women history in Qajar era and Organization of Women Council in the constitutional age, drew high attention to the women studies (Parsa, Esfand 1384 and Farvardin 1385, no 226 and 227: 485).

Despite this, many of researchers believe that Nategh is not such a historian who centers on the women historiography, because her method of historiography is shifted to the social and economic performance and history of idea, thus less people consider her as a historian concentrating on women issues. Albeit, wrote a little about women, by scrutinizing the documents, memories and first rate and unpublished resources, she presented a divers

picture from the contemporary historians. In the other word, in Nategh works, women status is based on their presence in political, economic and social turmoil, and in addition, she wasn't ignorant to their educational approaches. About women presence in political and social unrests, Nategh believes that attendance of women at communities was men desires.

From her point of view, women presence and their role in political participation and ultimately their mobilization to achieve political goals are never fruited from their political consciousness, but women shielded due to their obedience from men and their husband. On the other hand, the uproars caused by the scarcity of bread and high price of food supply, fabricated hoarding and disease outbreak led to women presence in the social turmoil. Thus, over and over in famines and high prices, women assembled instead men and demonstrated, and sometimes they proceeded so much that said: "either the bread price is lessen or we will follow Russia" (Nategh, Adl Mozafari, [www.homa-nategh.net](http://www.homa-nategh.net)).

What is clear is that in historical studies of Homa Nategh, women position is more based on their attendance at street protests, in the way that, they could finally move the government backward from its autocratic programs and implementation of them, and could portray economic and social chaotic situation in Iran with their objections. The measure which is always visualized hesitantly by men due to their fears of death or imprisoning and beheld by women with boldness and courage.

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