

Research Article

**The Traditionalist Political Reconstruction
and Anti-traditionalist Social Renovation**

**A Comparative and Critical Study of Two Readings of
Modernization in Contemporary Iran: Political
Reconstruction and Social Renovation¹**

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Abstract

The present article deals with an analytical and critical investigation of the traditionalist and anti-traditionalist readings of modernism, during the periods of Constitutionalism and 1st Pahlavi, in a comparative study of the thought and practice of ʿAllāmah Nāʾīnī and Reza Shah. This article tries to explain, by using the methodological facilities of hermeneutic phenomenology, the interpretive trend leading to the emergence of those two readings and find a way to discovering the logic effective in phenomenological emergence of those readings as interpretive systems in the contemporary Iran. Such an approach makes it possible for research to specify some of the consequences resulted from approaching those two readings. To do such

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an important task, as required by methodology, this article firstly investigates the individual and social lived experiences of 'Allāma Nā'īnī and Reza Shah, and secondly identifies and studies the hermeneutic background leading to formation of those two readings in phenomenological emergence of their experiences.

Keywords

anti-traditional renovation, traditionalist renovation, hermeneutic phenomenology, lived experience of Reza Shah.

Introduction

This article deals with a comparative study of two readings of political reconstruction and social renovation in contemporary Iran. Those two readings are discussed by 'Allāma Nā'īnī's leaning in Constitutional period and Reza Shah's leaning in Pahlavi period. The hypothesis in this study is that, as required by the personal and social lived experiences of those two persons, 'Allāma Nā'īnī's reading of political reconstruction during Constitutionalism was 'traditionalist' and Reza Shah's reading of social renovation was anti-traditionalist. This study shows that the former reading was able to offer a deep perception of the process of renovation, which was comprehensively consistent with the processes leading to emergence of renovation and modernism in parliamentarist leanings in other parts of the world as to the contemplation in an *a-priori* affair in order to pass to an *a-posteriori* affair. This is while the latter reading gives a radical perception of modernism, which was akin to fanatic and non-permanent leanings of political and social renovations in West such as Fascism, Nazism, and Bolshevism. The methodology in this study is hermeneutic phenomenology, which attempts to identify and pursue the phenomenological manifestations resulted from the lived experiences in individual and social levels in order to explain the interpretive trend leading to readings supported by the owners of those experiences. Approaching the aforementioned personages in this article was followed in view of the capacities of this methodology in identifying the relationship between awareness and the lived experience of the prominent and influential figures in order to discover the spirit of political reconstruction and social renovation in accordance with the evolutions of the

time and context in two eras of Constitutionalism and 1st Pahlavi respectively. The organization of materials in this study is in a way that the article consists, in addition to this introduction, of four sections as follows: the methodological explanation of the study and investigation of the central idea of the study, the political reconstruction in Constitutional period and Nā'īnī's contemplations, the social renovation under the 1st Pahlavi and Reza Shah's function, and finally, conclusion and presenting the findings of the study.

Section 1: the methodological explanation and investigation of the central idea of the study regarding its methodology

This section includes two main discussions: explanation of methodology, and explanation of the central idea of the study regarding the methodology. The followings are an exposition of them:

First: Explanation of the methodology of the study

The methodology of this study is hermeneutic phenomenology. This methodology is of the qualitative type and is specifically classified under a part of the theory of phenomenology, which is itself an eminent school in continental philosophy. Nevertheless, this methodology in addition to being directly affected by that school, seriously considers the theory of interpretation and hermeneutics as well.

In the late nineteenth century, Edmund Husserl offered phenomenology as a transcendental school with methodological accessories for understanding phenomena. By emphasizing the importance of human's experience as the most definite fact, he maintained that manifestations resulted from the contemplation on experience can be a basis for knowledge leading to realizing the "structure of consciousness". The Husserl's central idea is still ongoing in the hermeneutic phenomenology. The hermeneutic phenomenology was realized under the Utrecht School which is influenced by the Dutch phenomenologists (Cohen et al., 2000, p.9). Max van Manen, the prominent figure in hermeneutic phenomenology, introduces this method as showing an

effort for combining the methodological facilities in two spheres of hermeneutics and phenomenology (Willig, 2008, p.168). This phenomenology is specifically suggestive of a compound framework on the basis of which the lived experience is considered as a phenomenon that is necessary to take as a tool for comprehending and a context for interpreting the meanings of human's actions and behaviors, which is naturally a hermeneutic affair. Therefore, the methodology of hermeneutic phenomenology can be considered as an effort in the way of recognizing meaning, as an interpretive or hermeneutic affair, from the viewpoint of referring to the lived experience which is suggestive of phenomenological logic in pursuing the structure of consciousness or action. Considering this fact, one can recognize the methodology of hermeneutic phenomenology as follows: the effort for discovering the hermeneutic logic leading to consciousness and action following reference to the lived experience of the subject of study (Ehrich, 2005, pp.1-13). This means that according to this methodology, it is necessary for one to go through the channel of referring to manifestations of human's lived experiences to the interpretation of the system of consciousness and the structure of human's action in order to discover the logic of his reading. In other words, commitment to this methodology means a systematic attempt to discover the mode of individuals' reading of ideas and achievements, in an interpretive process, following a reference to their lived experience as a phenomenon to study. Considering the abovementioned facts, we may introduce such a methodological approach as resulted from the following steps:

(1) Concentrating on the lived experience of the owners of a reading in regard with a special achievement (thought or action); (2) Referring to this experience as a definite phenomenon which is our main tool for recognizing the system of consciousness/ structure of action resulted from the lived experience and forming their reading from a particular situation; (3) Interpretive approach to this accumulated lived experience aiming at discovering the

hermeneutic features of their reading in that special situation.

Second: Explanation of the central idea of the study regarding the methodology

Considering the abovementioned facts, we try through this study to achieve the explanation of a variety of approaches regarding modernism from the viewpoint of the lived experience of two important and symbolic figures, i.e. Mīrzā Nāʾīnī and Reza Shah, in two readings of political reconstruction and social renovation. Due to their different individual and social lived experiences in two eras of Constitutionalism and Pahlavi, one has dealt with political reconstruction from an intellectual viewpoint and on the basis of a knowledge-based logic, and the other has pursued social renovation from an operational viewpoint and on the basis of a power-based logic. Our choice of these two figures returns to their central importance regarding the explanation of political reconstruction and social renovation as demanded by the time and context for each of them (Nāʾīnī's knowledge-based approach to political reconstruction in Constitutional era and Reza Shah's power-based approach to social renovation under the 1st Pahlavi).

An important point is that it is the methodological capacity of the study that theoretically prepares, by creating a theoretical facility for focusing on various backgrounds for formation of different readings of the subject under study (political reconstruction and social renovation), a potentiality for taking a comparative study between those two important historical figures in spite of difference in their background and functional logic. In other words, using hermeneutic phenomenology as the methodology of the study opens the way for a systematic study of a variety of lived experiences of individuals in the way to explain their readings and perceptions regarding various manifestations of modernization (political reconstruction by Nāʾīnī and social renovation by Reza Shah). Naturally, there is a considerable difference between Nāʾīnī's knowledge-based approach and Reza Shah's power-based approach in considering the new affairs. However, it is the capacity of the methodology of this study that can make those two approaches, beyond that difference,

comparable in the horizon of the implications of their position (phenomenology) regarding a common external issue (the hermeneutic trend of reading from one logic).

Clearly, as demanded by the methodology, what is important for us is not the lived experience of the two persons studied; rather, it is the reading resulted from it in relation to a third situation. Such a possibility would be useful, in a higher level, in identifying important levels of the system of consciousness related to the spirit of time and context in historical eras related to those persons (Constitutionalism and Pahlavi I), and heightens our apprehension of the thought and practice in those historical eras. Accordingly, we may explain the main concern of this study, in view of the capacity of its methodology, as follows: this study attempts to compare two different approaches (knowledge-based and power-based) in presenting different readings of modernization in contemporary Iran (political reconstruction and social renovation), while referring to the lived experiences of the two of the best-known figures representing those approaches, i.e. ‘Allāma Nā’īnī and Reza Shah.

Considering the aforementioned materials, we may formulate the hypothesis of the study as follows: in Nā’īnī’s reading of Constitutionalism, we face a traditionalist perception of modernism that attempts to make future possible in relation to the past. This system of consciousness is suggestive of a far-reaching effort for creating an intellectual link between the *a-priori* and *a-posteriori* systems of consciousness. This is while in Reza Shah’s modernism, inattention to the past becomes the source for power-based and pragmatist approach to policy-making. And accordingly, the continuous past and tradition (unlike the ideal past and mental traditionalism) are systematically denied and abased.

The present study attempts to refer to two central figures in the Constitutionalism and 1st Pahlavi periods, i.e. ‘Allāma Nā’īnī and Reza Shah, to achieve a perception of those two approaches to political reconstruction and social renovation in the contemporary Iran. Accordingly, in the next

sections (2nd and 3rd) of the study, we deal with the manifestations of the lived experiences of Nāʾīnī and Reza Shah – respectively – amid the social arrangements and their implications, and try to explain the reasons for formation of the interpretive system leading to two important readings of the political reconstruction and social renovation during two important historical eras of contemporary Iran up to Islamic Revolution. Each of those sections includes two main discussions: first, explanation of the lived experience of each of those personages in the individual/personal and social/ institutional levels; and second, explanation of the features of traditionalist or anti-traditional readings of those personages on the basis of their lived experience in their approach to political reconstruction and social renovation.

Section 2: Renovation and reconstruction in Constitutionalism and Nāʾīnī

The second section of this article includes two discussions: explanation of the lived experience of Mīrzā Nāʾīnī and explanation of the features of his traditionalist reading regarding that lived experience.

First: Mīrzā Nāʾīnī's lived experience

Nāʾīnī's lived experience prepared for him a unique historical facility to understand the 'old affair' and the 'modern affair' simultaneously and critically, and explain their more or less novel relationship from the facilities of old and modern consciousness. Therefore, many prominent researchers of Constitutionalism maintain that Nāʾīnī has a composing aspect regarding the Iranian Constitutionalist thought, and – in one sense – is considered the scientific figure of Constitutionalism (Keddie, 2013, p. 8). We explain his lived experience in two levels of personal/ identity and his time and context arrangements (social/ institutional features regarding Nāʾīnī):

One: Nāʾīnī's lived experience based on his personal/ identity features: to obtain a perception of the interpretive logic leading to Nāʾīnī's special reading of political reconstruction, it is necessary to discuss his personality features in two levels of his consciousness of jurisprudence and principles of

jurisprudence as well as his consciousness related to the contemporary era. The first level returns to the relationship between Nāʾīnī's scientific personality and traditional world; and the second level returns to the relationship between Nāʾīnī's scientific personality and the contemporary world. Here are the explanations:

A) The personality features related to the consciousness system of Nāʾīnī's jurisprudence and principles of jurisprudence: Nāʾīnī has studied in Sheikh Anṣārī's jurisprudential school and is the pupil and close associate for the late Ākhūnd Khurāsni (Ḥāʾirī, 1364 SH, pp. 156-157). The specific feature of this important jurisprudential school is its attention to the public sphere from a special perspective. At least in his important and influential book entitled *al-Makāsib*, unlike Mullā Aḥmad Narāqī (Narāqī, 1366, p.186) and Muhammad Ḥasan Najafī, author of *al-Jawāhir al-Kalām* (Ṣāhib Jawāhir, 1362, vol.22, pp.194-195), Sheikh Anṣārī considers entrance of jurists to the public sphere in the Occultation Period restricted to the affairs pertaining to judgment and *ḥisbiya*,¹ not the far-reaching and general jurisprudential authority (Sheikh Anṣārī, 1413 AH, vol.3, p.557). This special perception of the clerics' duties in the public sphere is formulated amid the special sociological evolutions which are, in turn, suggestive of the arrangements of the time and context of the period between Sheikh Anṣārī and ʿAllāma Nāʾīnī. This special evolution is that, under the influence of Ayatollah Najafī, known as *Ṣāhib Jawāhir*, and then Sheikh Anṣārī, known as *Sheikh Aʿzam*, the system of *marjaʿiyyat* (religious authority) is objectively realized, and is practically able to form a wide and, more or less, established network throughout the Shiite world – especially Iran. In a sense, for the first time, the new structure of religious authority in the form of a widespread network and still independent of the royal power and controllable by the zenith of hierarchy, i.e. the general Shiite authority, emerges (Qāsimī, 1384 SH, vol.1, p.19). Therefore, both from the sociological viewpoint (strengthening the institution of religious authority)

1. Benevolent action which requires a qualified religious jurist or his representative

and from the intellectual viewpoint (the jurists' authority in public sphere for judgment and *hisbiya* affairs), the clerics' authority in the society is established and the clerics' social trend gets importance as an institution rival for the monarchy. The most important feature of that institution is its reliance on people and its association with them. This is because the financial sources of this institution, which are provided mainly from the Imam's share of *khums*,¹ is directly dependent on taking religious tax from people, just as – even beyond the financial discussions – the principles of its reticulated presence in the society becomes possible and justified through the maintenance of an effective and continuous relationship with people. Indeed, the relationship between the clergy institution and the people in that era was – unlike the royal institution that was backed up by discernible aspects of enforcing power and hard authority – of the soft type of authority and sympathy resulted from belief and faith. Nāʾīnī's constitutional mentality was nurtured amid that conditions and grew up under its facilities.

Another important point in regard with Nāʾīnī's intellectual lived experience in relationship to the world of tradition is his historical and prominent status in the discipline of 'principles of jurisprudence'. He is known as the renovator of the Shiite discipline of 'principles of jurisprudence' in the modern age. Those who are familiar with the seminary chairs of discussion know that obtaining that position is no easy thing, and is the sign for his most important, most frequent and unique status in discussions on 'principles of jurisprudence' (Amīn ʿĀmilī, 1403 AH, vol.6, pp.54-55). This importance has come to today and has led to the point wherein his basic discussions and theories in various chapters of the 'principles of jurisprudence' is a fixed course in curriculum of seminary schools. This feature of Nāʾīnī's scientific personality was mostly effective in his methodic and systematically juristic approach to the theory of Constitutionalism.

B) The personality features related to the contemporary system of

1. One fifth religious tax

consciousness in Nāʾīnī: Nāʾīnī lived between two worlds, i.e. Iranian Farsi speaking world and Iraqi Arabic speaking world eager to know and understand about social renovation. He was the product of an era when the Iranian and Arab world would experience important and influential intellectual evolutions. Those intellectual evolutions would be written down and presented in important books. Nāʾīnī was specifically influenced by that situation, and studied one of the most fundamental works written by the dynamic stream of Arabic modern thinking. This important and historic book, which would give a precise and first-hand perception of the important conceptions of modern age, was Kawākibī's *Ṭabāyiʿ al-Istibdād*. This book was composed, due to Alfieri's works, under the influence of one of the most important figures of modernism, i.e. Montesquieu, and brought about a basic attitude of the modernist logic (Ḥāʾirī, 1364 SH, pp. 223-226). The importance of Montesquieu's effort is to the extent that his intellectual heritage is considered among the most frequent attempts in comprehending the intellectual schools of the modern age. In addition to *Ṭabāyiʿ al-Istibdād*, Nāʾīnī was influenced by the milieu of religious modernism in Iran, and was informed of the important intellectual evolutions since Nāsirī's era.

Second: Nāʾīnī's lived experience based on the time and context arrangements. The arrangements surrounding Nāʾīnī's lived experience can be explained in social and institutional levels as follows:

A) Institutional arrangements: from the viewpoint of history of evolution in seminary centers, Nāʾīnī lived in a critical era and an important situation. He was a member of the recent generations of the numerous and powerful Iranian stream, who had made Najaf their scientific homeland after the decline of the Shiite seminary of Isfahan following the defeat of Safawids against rebellious Afghans, granting an exceptional scientific prosperity to that city. The importance of this issue was due to the fact that in Najaf seminary, like Isfahan, the Shiite jurists would regard the legitimacy of the Shiite religious government to be on the basis of the jurist's permission (Elgar, 1369 SH, pp.79-81), although in that city – unlike Isfahan – the jurists were not under the authority of the king; rather, they lived as a more or less

independent and authentic institution. Besides, the dominion of the school of principles of jurisprudence, influenced by Vaḥīd Bihbahānī's efforts, in Najaf seminary center must be considered as well.

The adherents of 'principles of jurisprudence' (*Uṣūliyyūn*), unlike traditionalists (*Akhhāriyyūn*) maintained that one can answer any question posed to the system of jurisprudential consciousness by considering legal evidences and principles of [religious] practice (Samī, 1397 SH, pp.9-10). Under such a perception, the hierarchal system of imitation from the most knowledgeable jurist became important; and as explained before, the jurisprudential theory and social arrangements of the post-Sheikh Anṣārī period caused us to face with a clergy institution independent of government and dependent on people – an institution whose observable and unobservable lines of infiltration were spread throughout the country.

B) Social arrangements: we have not gone astray if we consider Nā'īnī's age as the time of flow of consciousness of the Muslim elites to the public sphere and the social arena. Before him and in the Nāṣirī's age, the intellectual figures such as Sayyid Jamāluddīn Asadābādī had attempted to light a lamp in the dark room of the elites' minds; however, sometimes later and in the time when Nā'īnī composed *Tanbīh al-Umma*– actually, the era of constitutionalism in Iran and reforms in Iraq – the critical awareness of the Muslims' condition in the changing world was a more or less widespread social process and influential levels of educated people and ordinary people wished political reconstruction and social renovation (Fādilī, 1387 SH, pp. 14-15). In that era, the Shiite clergy institution enjoyed a special position which gave it a central status in the path of evolutionism. This institution was financially dependent on people, organizationally independent of the government, and legitimately influential on the power structure. In a sense, the Shiite seminary center was recognized as the most important institutional people-centered capacity against the power-centered royal system. The experience of Constitutionalism showed that important sections of that institution favored the structural reforms. We can find the grounds for gathering of this

historical potentiality around [religious] scholars, even before the Constitutionalism, and in 'tobacco movement' – which prepared, in a sense, the ground for the relationship between the scholars and the society against Qājār court. As some historians have asserted, the monopoly of tobacco was "a confrontation between people and government, wherein the leadership of the scholars showed a new willpower and concept of leadership" (Elgar, 1369 SH, p.307).

Third: The features of Nāʾīnī's traditionalist reading

Considering what was mentioned in the previous section, we may achieve a perception of the grounds for formation of the traditionalist reading of the political reconstruction for Nāʾīnī. Indeed, Nāʾīnī's lived experience in personal/ identity sphere (his perception of the awareness resulted from the classic thought – i.e. jurisprudence and principles of jurisprudence – and the new thought – *Ṭabāyiʿ al-Istibdād* etc.) and the social/ institutional sphere (formation of the pyramidal institution of authority-centered clergy in relation to people in Najaf in a way independent of royal authority and promotion of evolutionist public awareness in relation to the structure of this institution) became the source for a special intellectual system in Nāʾīnī, which is able to explain the interpretive logic and hermeneutical structure of his political thought. It was amid such arrangements that Nāʾīnī could deal, inside the system of jurisprudential awareness and in relation to capacities of his time and place, with elaboration of jurisprudential theory of Constitutionalism. To explain this important issue, it is necessary to deal with the central theme in Nāʾīnī's approach to Constitutionalism from the viewpoint of the science of jurisprudence. In the heart of this theorization, there is the creative offer of the concept of the 'typical common affair'. The typical common affair is that part of personal (hence from the viewpoint of jurisprudence under the dominion of persons over their fate) affairs (duties and rights), which is realizable as demanded by the logic of its specific manifestation in a congregational way and based on the principle of legal

representation in the social sphere (not individually). The duties pertaining to government such as protecting the public properties (routes and the like), economic management of society (economic policy-making, adjusting economic relations with foreigners, etc.), providing people with various services (education, etc.), and so on are among these duties and rights (typical common affairs). For Nāʾinī, as explained in his theory of Constitutionalism, in the Occultation period, the government is anyway illegitimate and usurper, for it violates both the rights of God and the people's rights. However, in Occultation period, unlike the age of Imam's presence – wherein the rights of God and people's rights are observed – it is necessary to reduce the level of that usurpation as far as possible. As a result, in the Occultation period, in spite of the fact that we cannot – due to structural reasons and in view of the situation resulted from the Occultation – hinder the usurpation of God's right directly; however, we may – at least – preclude usurpation of people's rights by relegating 'typical affairs' and common affairs to themselves. Accordingly, it is necessary to establish a constitutional government which is the product of the presence of legitimate representatives for people in order to attain the 'typical affairs' common among them. As Nāʾinī explains, these rights and duties are delegated to the rulers 'as a deposit' and under the rule of proxy (*wikālat*). This does not create a privilege for the person, for all the shareholders of this right have the same status (Nāʾinī, 1388 SH, p. 71). Such an approach, for Nāʾinī, is in proportion with the motif of ruling favored by God, which is realized by observing three basic concepts of freedom, equality and participation. This is because the nation's rights are secured when the people's typical common affair is realized by their deputies as demanded by the people's legal dominion over the personal common affairs among them (typical affairs) (Nāʾinī, 1388 SH, p. 64). As a result, according to Nāʾinī's theory, the *saltana wilāyatih* or the desired type of ruling, which is based on people's authority over their typical good, is possible through the three principles of participation, freedom and equality (Muballighī, 1395 SH, pp. 429-434). In a look at

Nāʾīnī's important project from the outside, one can say his approach to the typical common affair as the exposition of the government's duty (Fīrahī, 1394 SH, p. 140) shows his system of consciousness being influenced by his intellectual and social lived experience in that important historical moment.

Indeed, his approach to the Constitutional theory shows that Nāʾīnī does not consider political and social authority as belonging to kings in Occultation period; rather, he defined it as the place for manifestation of people's will, to which the pyramidal structure of authority-related clergy was associated in intellectual, financial and legitimate aspects. Through an approach like this, the necessity of circulation of justice and freedom in the public arena (Nāʾīnī's lived experience in the new age influenced by the milieu of Iran and Iraq) became the motif of his theory regarding the political reconstruction on the basis of principled-jurisprudential mentality (Nāʾīnī's lived experience in relation with the Islamic classic knowledge). According to this innovative theory, he could set the typical common affair (which is suggestive of Nāʾīnī's theoretical defense of people's status in relation to the clergy's social/ institutional situation in supporting the public sphere as the place for manifestation of people's will against the royal authority) as the basis for formation of the Constitutional political system in the Occultation period (a system wherein legislation was acknowledged), although it was necessary, as demanded by Nāʾīnī's legal approach to the limits of religious law, for those laws under the supervision of the jurists not to transgress the religious rules and principles. Such an explanation shows the interpretive structure and phenomenological hermeneutic logic of the Constitutional theory in Nāʾīnī's intellectual system. Indeed, on the basis of such an explanation and in accordance with the phenomenological hermeneutic methodology, one can conclude that Nāʾīnī's lived experience in the personal and social levels created the possibility of an interpretive reference to the intellectual, political and social process leading to modernism, a process that became – in a surprising way – suggestive of a critical and stylish system in theorizing, in the threshold of the Iranians' effective familiarity with the new conceptions,

in understanding the new world from the viewpoint of the facilities of the old world. By relying on his illustrative capacity in the spheres of jurisprudence and principles of jurisprudence as explained before, 'Allāma Nāʾīnī could offer – in a systematic way – a schema of the link between the new and the old affair, which contained a more or less genuine reading of the way to political reconstruction based on the "constitutionalization of power under the law". This reading based on the dynamism of historical evolution in the Shiite thought and jurisprudence gathered the deep-thinking necessary for traditionalism – as demanded by non-slogan and research-based modernism – along with the selective approach to the new age. His approach, in view of his special lineage in systematic traditionalism in a time of making effort for political reconstruction, was akin to the main readings of the authors of reconstruction of the logic leading to its manifestation and, in a sense, was suggestive of an intrinsic potentiality in our traditional thought for an effective leaning towards the new age according to the implications and demands related to here and now.

Section 3: reconstruction and renovation under the 1st Pahlavi and Reza Shah

The third section of this writing includes two main discussions: explanation of Reza Shah's lived experience and investigating the features of his anti-traditional reading of social renovation. We discuss them as follows:

First: Reza Shah's lived experience.

The lived experience of Reza Shah as the axis of social renovation in 1st Pahlavi period is explicable in two levels of his time and context and the features of his personality and identity. This is explained as follows:

One: Reza Shah's lived experience based on the features of his personality and identity: the features of personality and identity pertaining to the Reza Shah's lived experience must be discussed in individual and professional levels.

Individual level: Reza Khan, on the one hand, had no consistent education and, on the other hand, was evaluated as a more or less hotheaded and egocentric person. This was inconsistent with the Constitutionalism's central idea, i.e. priority of people's wish in appropriating the sources of power. In addition, in view of his lineage, he was not classified as those who had lived, for a long time, with the ideas leading to formation of Constitutionalism (Niyāzmand, 1387 SH, pp. 21-54). In a sense, his personal lived experience in educational, identity and genealogical levels was alien to the talent leading to emergence of Constitutionalism and its achievement.

Professional level: Reza Shah's professional origin was of those arrangements in Constitutional and post-Constitutional periods that was not apt to acquiring a deep and critical perception of modernism. He was counted among the Cossack Brigade. This profession has a modern nature and comes from the logic of nation-nation states. However, the Cossack martial forces in Iran, due to reasons related to the power structure, unlike the European pioneering examples of the modern armies in that age, were educated and trained on the basis of the idea of submissiveness and absolute obedience. In a genealogy of Iranian army, the French philosopher, Michel Foucault, deals with the Cossack lesion under the command of Reza Khan and, while explaining the logic leading to the importance of soldiery in contemporary Iran under the Qajar and Pahlavi, explains that the military institution "never had the chance to identify itself with Iran", and instead of protecting people, "had always protected the ruling kings" (Foucault, 2005, p.13). In other words, although the modern Cossack force was formed under the idea of modernization and around the axis state-nation and not the other forms of pre-modern faithfulness, the logic leading to its birth and spread was not a support of the national will; rather, it was obedience of power centers. We may well observe the reflection of this part of Reza Shah's lived experience in reading of modernism when the 1st Pahlavi government put forward, by relying on the military force, an anti-traditional perception of the social renovation – a perception that, in spite of paying attention to the principle of nationalism, would not follow the nation's will.

Two: Reza Shah's lived experience based on his time and context arrangements (before and after kingdom)

Reza Shah lived in a special era. The important and central features of that era are explicable in subjective and objective levels:

- 1) Subjective level (from the elite's view): regarding the elite's mentality, we must deal with two issues: (a) following the failures ensuing the victory of liberals and adherents of constitutionalism, some sort of skepticism about the possibility or utility of constitutionalism spread among the political figures and elites (Gūdarzī, 1387 SH, p.12); (b) Influenced by those failures, fresh ideas and new readings of modernism were offered that, unlike the conditions of pre-Constitutionalism and arrangements leading to the victory of Constitutional movement, had an authoritative nature (Amīrī, 1383 SH, p. 26).

These two intellectual evolutions resulted in emergence of layers of collective disappointment in approaching Constitutionalism and formation of layers of intellectual weariness in defending Constitutionalism among the elites.

- 2) Objective level (in accordance with the external world and social arrangements): regarding the objective discussions and social arrangements pertaining to people, two important features of that era must be noted: (a) during the world war I, Iran's neutral position was not taken seriously by the most important countries representing modernism and idea of renovation, and the Iranians' national ruling, in relation to which the Constitutionalism gained prestige, was ignored (Muṭfī, 1397 SH, pp.72-74). This caused a grave situation in the society (Shamīm, 1387 SH, p.82), in a way that the waves of poverty and famine covered important parts of the society, causing exotic crises for people (Axworthy, 2016, p. 214); (b) the integrity of Iranian land as the most important historical achievement of Iranian people and the common point of Iranian community was practically in danger, and there were – throughout the country – individuals whose activities seemed to lead to

disintegration of the country. This infelicitous situation somehow realized in practice: from Khūzistān and western regions to Khurāsān, and from Āzarbāyjān to northern parts, due to various reasons and under the influence of a variety of ideologies, were involved in such conditions (Humāyūn Kātūziyān, 1389 SH, pp. 86-90). This situation had a bad impact on Iranians' mind, and the public, even more than the elites, were annoyed by such a condition.

Second: The features of Reza Shah's anti-traditional reading

What results from Reza Shah's individual and social lived experience can be observed in a reading he offers of social renovation. Among the goals of this section of the article is explanation of that reading and the interpretive structure leading to it by referring to Reza Shah's lived experience. Numerous researchers have dealt with this failure from various angles, and offered a variety of conceptualizations in different theoretical systems to refer to this failure. In sum, in spite of difference in theoretical dispositions, we may mention three different approaches: (1) description of modernist movement under Reza Shah as "authoritative modernity" (*Tajaddud Āmirāna*) by the writers of the letter of Academy in Germany (Shakūrī and ʿAbbāsī, 1395 SH, pp. 109-128) or by persons such as Tūraj Atābakī in comparing Iranian and Turkish modernization (Atābakī and Zurcher, 2004, p. 20) or Leylāz who refers to the first wave of authoritative modernity in Reza Shah's era (Leylāz, 1392 SH); (2) description of modernism in Pahlavi era as "quasi-modernism" by theorists such as Yīrvānd Ābrāhāmiyān (Ābrāhāmiyān, 1383 SH, p.169) and Muhammad Ali Humāyūn Kātūziyān (Humāyūn Kātūziyān, 1381 SH, p.147); and finally (3) identifying modernism of Pahlavi era as "superficial modernism" by authorities such as Muhammad Madadpūr (Madadpūr, 1388 SH).

As I believe, such approaches, in spite of being useful in uncovering some part of the nature of social renovation under Reza Shah, do not lead to the central core of modernization he meant due to no explanation of interpretive logic leading to Reza Shah's failed reading in understanding the continuous nature of old and new affair in the process of modernization, and

fails in explaining it.

We go on with the signs leading to Reza Shah's anti-traditional reading of modernization, while considering what we said regarding his time and context as well as his individual character and the structural arrangements surrounding him, and attempt to present a perception of the social renovation under the 2nd Pahlavi. Approaching those signs is important since it shows Reza Shah's reading of modernism in different levels. Those signs can be explained in political, somatic and identity spheres.

- A. Political sphere: among the most important features of anti-traditional reading of modernism under Pahlavi was its systematic retreat from constitutional theory (defending political reconstruction) to the pre-Constitutional political arrangements. The great achievement of Constitutionalism was the partial delegation of authority to people and the National Parliament selected by them. This invaluable achievement was severely challenged in Pahlavi period (*Zībākālām*, 1398 SH, p. 286). Indeed, the 1st Pahlavi made efforts to turn the National Parliament into a mainly dependent collection which had mainly ceremonial and formal functions for the goals of the court. Considering this fact, some have described that parliament as a seal in the hands of the court for enacting the interests of the government (Yaghoubian, 2014, p.132). As a result, an important part of the Constitutional law, except its appearance, did not remain; and instead of committing to observing the basic rights guaranteed in the Constitutional law, they restricted themselves to a bureaucratic order including a weak parliament intended for providing despotic Shah's interests. Another instance of anti-traditional modernism in Pahlavi era was its Shah-centered and unilateral policy-making in the public arena. The symbol for that approach was forcing women to remove their veils. What made enforcing such policies possible was the "absolute dictatorial power" against which no one could resist (*Humāyūn Kātūziyān*, 1389 SH, pp. 419-420). It is quite clear that such an approach was never consistent with the idea of deep-thinking

renovation believing in the enjoyment of people – including men and women – of rights and was, in practice, suggestive of enforcing violence against all members of the society.

- B. Identity sphere: among the features of anti-traditional reading of modernism was its resort to a distant revivalism instead of referring to tradition as an objective reality and achievement. More precisely, leaning towards tradition and enjoying the past history is the identity-giving factor for the communities. In answering to this leaning, the anti-traditional reading of modernism resorts to idealism of tradition instead of realism of tradition. In such a view, tradition – as a continuous affair – is audaciously denied, humiliated and ruined, not reviewed, researched and purified. As a result, instead of real tradition, a world of distant and subjective concepts is propounded as the tradition. Such a condition can be clearly observed in the Pahlavi era. The idea of ancient Iran under an idealistic and ideological perception, and not as a valuable part of our continuous and palpable identity before and after Islam, was the result of such an approach. It was under such a look that we observed the systematic extension of the concept of superstition to various aspects of the spiritual heritage remained from the past, aimed at supporting a superficial, invalid and available perception of the superiority of ancient past gone. Some fanatic critiques of poets such as ‘Aṭṭār, Sanā’ī, Sa’dī, and Mowlānā – that would consider their little achievements as superstition and regarding approaching them as a cause for lag (Kasrawī, 1322 SH, pp. 15, 47-48) – were suggestive of such an approach. Besides, among the symbols of this identity approach was a request for the change in Iran's international name in non-Persian languages. Iran, which is one of the few countries with a real continuous history from the ancient times up to now, has for centuries been known as "Iran" among its inhabitants and some of the neighboring countries, and as "Persian Land" among the people of many other countries, a name with different historical forms in various linguistic branches such as

"Persis" in Greek, Latin, German, Dutch, Czech and in some other languages in eastern, northern and central Europe; "Perse/ Persie" in French; "Persiana" in Spain; and "Persia" in English (Roberts, 2014, p. 346). This identity name and historical notation was, and still is, a valuable and unique part in identity and historical heritage of Iranian people in all ethnic groups and a forming element of the contemporary Iranian culture (Akbarzāda, 1382 SH, p.82-87). Reza Shah's anti-traditional and simplifying reading of modernism, which lacked any perception of the breadth of the running tradition and the historically ongoing campaign in Iran and the surrounding countries as the continuous identity among different peoples and wanted – under a petty mentality – to separate itself from whatever returns to the near past, Qājār in particular, struck a dire blow to that historical capacity by changing Iran's international name in 1935 (Mu'taḍid, 1383 SH, p.118). Reza Shah had the anti-traditional and naïve belief that Iran's international name is reminiscent of the Qājār politicians' clumsiness, and this was inconsistent with the progression in his era.

- C. Somatic sphere: among the features of anti-traditional social renovation was inattention to objective symbols of the previous age and making effort to remove them. Removal of the somatic aspects of the previous age, such as destruction of architectural remnants of Qājār period and the eras before it in cities such as Tehran (Kūbān, 1370 SH, vol.1, p.118) was a definite symbol for that superficial approach in modernism. From the destruction of magnificent gates of Tehran to Qazwīn and Rey and other regions to disarranging the historical urban textures remained from Qājār period and before it were all suggestive of such an approach. These changes in urban architectural arrangements, more than anything else, were similar to a billboard that would announce the message of the new age or "Pahlavi Era" (Devos & Werner, 2013, p. 114). Another instance of this leaning to change in city body was destruction of symbolic parts of the previous authority. Specifically Reza Shah, due to his aversion to Qājār dynasty, ordered the

destruction of the internal section of Gulistān Palace (Raḥīmī Amīn, 1398 SH, pp.71-72).

In contrast to this destructive zeal for anti-traditionalism, the traditional reading of modernism was attempting to preserve the somatic aspects related to the antecedents, which gives a historical continuity to the intergenerational spiritual life. In explaining this approach, one can deal with the way modernism encounters architecture in England. The result of this modernism can be seen in London, the city that, in spite of high cost and the limited usage of the old buildings, seriously preserves them, and the management of the urban façade in it is based on a traditional perception. Similar conditions can be seen in important cities such as Paris and Rome. The feature of this modernism is protecting the past and its heritage. What is seen in cities such as London, Paris and Rome is in the sphere of architecture, but this protection heralds the traditional spirit of modernism in protecting the past achievements, both in somatic and subjective levels.

As the result, the social renovation in 2nd Pahlavi era must be seen as the product of a mentality that sought the identity in idealism of tradition instead of real and continuous tradition; substituted modern dictatorship for older forms of despotic government instead of furthering the constitutional political affair which was the historical heritage of Iranians in controlling Iranian classic sultanate; and finally, attempted to remove the somatic forms and signs of the world before itself instead of protecting the past heritage.

Such a perception of modernization, in spite of partial successes in creating new bureaucracy and industrialization of some parts of the society as well as some architectural achievements such as making new ways and the north railway, did not make its way into a basic change due to enmity towards fundamental reform in appropriating power (political affair) and demanded by its despotic nature, and remained restricted to the level of social renovation and not deep-thinking reconstruction in regard with logic of authority and arrangements of power. As we explained, many aspects of this social renovation were inconsistent with the citizens' political wish and basic rights, showing a dictatorial and patriarchal approach.

Section 4: conclusion and offering the research findings

The hermeneutic phenomenology prepares a creative methodological ground for understanding the variety in readings of modernization. This important point is achieved through a study wherein we explain the logic that is suggestive of the lived experience of carriers of those readings in relation to the social arrangement and dynamism of the public arena. In such an approach to the contemporary political history of Iran, the two spheres of Constitutionalism and the era of the 1st Pahlavi show this variety of readings of modernization. One of the two readings is able to offer the reconstructive approach to the political affair, but the other cannot go beyond social renovation. The difference between these two readings is that the traditional reading focused on political reconstruction can manage to view, under an intellectual evolution, the tradition and its capacities from the viewpoint of historical facilities for an internal change from the past to the present, and can focus its attention on theorizing about political reconstruction on the basis of identity regeneration and reflective criticizing of the past achievements, while the anti-traditional reading of modernization focused on social renovation has, intellectually and executively, an approach inattentive of tradition and, from the viewpoint of psychology and identity, distrustful and disappointed of the past. As a result, such a reading, in the absence of a reconstructive reference incapable of creating idealistic relationship in understanding a continuous awareness from the tradition to future, prepares an ideal identity free from *a priori* affair for itself.

According to the findings of the study, Nāʾīnī could offer a critical reading of the necessity and justification of Constitutionalism based on the facilities of the Iranian local thought, a necessity and justification that was similar to the most genuine reconstructive attitudes in the origin of modernization such as the gradual parliamentary reformation, while Reza Shah's reading of social modernization in the 2nd Pahlavi era was simplistic and similar to the readings of modernization that emerged during the modernist radical approaches such as Fascism, Nazism and Bolshevism.

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