

## Index

- Aasia Bibi
  - initial trial, 77–78
  - and Salman Taseer, 78–79, 83
  - and Supreme Court, 83, 108–110
- 'Abd al-'Aziz, 1–5
- 'Abd al-'Aziz, Shah, 180
- 'Abd al-Rashid, 1
- abode of peace (*dar al-Islam*), 179–181
- abode of war (*dar al-harb*), 179–181, 181 n. 194
- Abou Zahab, Mariam, 195, 221
- Abrams, Philip, 208, 212
- Abu Hanifa, 125, 163, 167, 168 n. 140, 179–181
- adultery. *See zina'*
- affect
  - and blasphemy, 99, 109, 111–115
  - and social imaginary, 182
- Afghanistan. *See also* Bamyan
  - border with Pakistan, 140, 224, 228
  - Islamic state, 35
  - militancy, 138, 218, 228–230
  - Pushtuns, 224
  - refugees, 28, 196, 229
  - religious dissent, 232–233
  - war with Soviets, 28, 197, 217
- Agamben, Giorgio, 86, 96, *See also* bare life
- Agrama, Hussein, 20 n. 60, 43
- agriculture, 225, 227
- ahl al-bayt*, 188, 205, 237, 239
- Ahl-i Hadith, 14
- Ahmad, Israr, 114
- Ahmadis, 51, 53, 90, 148, 181, 190 n. 10
- Ahmed, Asad, 89, 99, 110, 113
- Akhbari, 240
- Akora Khattak, 22
- Ali, Nosheen, 254
- al-Qa'ida
  - in Federally Administered Tribal Areas, 227
  - and Lal Masjid, 1, 3
  - Pakistan as un-Islamic, 141, 154, 164
  - Peshawar school massacre, 140
  - South Asia branch and militancy, 139–140
- 'Ali bin Abi Talib (Shi'a *imam*), 189, 239
- 'Ali, Chiragh, 40
- anarchism, 223, *See also* Scott, James
- anarchy, 128–131
- an-Na'im, Abdullahi, 246
- Anti-Terrorism Court, 101–102, 111
- apostasy
  - blasphemy by a Muslim as, 79, 88, 122, 124, *See also* sabb al-rasul
  - forgiveness of, 124
  - obligation to kill one who commits, 117, *See also* mubah ad-dam
  - Salman Taseer accused of, 79
- Appadurai, Arjun, 270–272, 275, 277
- Arabic, 23–24, 42, 97, 121, 159, 189, 256, 279
- Arendt, Hannah, 38–39, 270
- Arya Samaj, 90, 108
- Asad, Talal
  - blasphemy, 112
  - secularism, 20, 272, 276
  - tradition, 15
- Ashraf Sahib, 143–146

*Index*

311

- Ashrafi, Tahir, 129  
 Austin, J. L., 156  
 authority  
     of citizens, 103  
     imbrication of state's and '*ulama*'s, 72–73  
     negotiated between state and '*ulama* in  
         Pakistan, 47–55  
     theorizing '*ulama*'s, 38–44  
     types of, 73 n. 164  
     of '*ulama* and divorce law controversy,  
         63–66  
     of '*ulama* and Hudud Ordinance  
         controversy, 57–61  
     of '*ulama* in premodern era, 44–45  
     of '*ulama* in the era of the nation-state,  
         45–47  
     '*azadari* (Shi'a mourning rituals), 194  
 Aziz, Sadaf, 134, 136
- Bahrain, 121, 205, 246  
 Bamyan (Afghanistan), 232  
 Banuri, Yusuf, 52  
 bare life, 97, 100, 103, 120, 122  
 Benjamin, Walter, 7  
 Bhutto, Benazir, 54, 80, 203  
 Bhutto, Zulfikar Ali, 51, 156, 195  
 blasphemy laws  
     critique of, 80, 83, 107  
     history of Pakistan's, 88–90, 108,  
         113  
     Qibla Sahib's views on, 251–252  
     Salman Taseer's critique of, 77–78, 84,  
         90–92  
     and sovereignty, 99, 106, 110  
     support for, 116  
 Board of Islamic Teachings, 147–148  
 Bourdieu, Pierre, 111, 182, 215, 284  
 British East India Company, 180
- caliph, 90, 157, 163, 177, 258, *See also* 'Ali  
     bin Abi Talib, *See also* 'Uthman ibn  
         Affan, *See also* 'Umar al-Farouq  
 Casanova, José, 19  
 Chatterjee, Partha, 184  
 Chelebi, Husam, 125  
 Chishti, 'Allama Afzal, 84  
 Christianity  
     angels, 172  
     and blasphemy, 77, 108, 121  
     and caste, 82  
     central to Europe's image, 270
- legal dominance in India during  
     colonialism, 180  
     political theology, 171  
 colonialism  
     and academia, 288  
     and assumptions regarding South Asian  
         and blasphemy, 89–90, 113  
     British desire to continue, 146  
     debating religio-legal status of India  
         under, 179–181  
 Federally Administered Tribal Areas  
         under, 226–228  
     and Islamic law, 45, 55, 151  
     and nation-state, 7, 110  
     natives advocating secularism under, 253  
     religious passions, 113  
     religious identity under, 252  
     and scripture, 40  
     transforming religious authority, 41  
 companions of Muhammad, 90, 118–119,  
         121, 126–127, 177, *See also* caliph  
 constitution  
     and Ahmadis, 52  
     and Article 203, 48  
     and Ayman al-Zawahiri, 154, 162–163  
     and Council of Islamic Ideology, 14  
     and Islam, 8, 47, 92, 99, 104, 106, 114,  
         148, 158, 161, 164  
     immunity, 93–95  
     Indian, 289  
     Iranian, 241  
     and Objectives Resolution, 102, 146,  
         148–149  
     and Repugnancy Clause (Article 227), 17,  
         61, 101, 121, 147  
     and Salman Taseer, 92–93  
     and *shari'a*, 92  
     and social contract, 104  
         of 1956, 48, 148  
         of 1962, 49  
         of 1973, 61, 94, 103–104, 156–161  
         supremacy of, 105  
     conversion. *See* shahada  
 corporations sole, 172  
 Council of Islamic Ideology  
     and 'Ammar Khan Nasir, 134–135  
     Ashraf Sahib and, 143–145  
     and divorce law controversy, 61–66  
     history and function, 48–49  
     and Hudud Ordinance controversy,  
         56–61

- Council of Islamic Ideology (cont.)  
 membership, 49 n. 53, 65 n. 138, 72–73,  
 148  
 rethinking role of, 67–70  
 tussles with other state bodies, 70–71
- Dar al-'Ulam al-Ja'fariyya, 242  
 Dar al-'Ulam Haqqaniyya, 22, 64 n. 132  
 Dar al-'Ulam Na'imiyah, 91  
*dar al-ifta'*, 27, 187, 279–280  
*dars-i nizami*, 41–42, 279  
 de Joubenel, Bertrand, 39  
 Delhi, 28  
 democracy  
     and Islam, 9, 133, 244  
     in India, 249  
     liberal, 277  
     and minorities, 277  
 Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 62  
 divorce, 61–66, 280
- East Pakistan, 156  
 Egypt  
     *'ulama* and state in, 8, 46, 184  
     majoritarianism in, 277  
     scholarship on, 9, 46, 234–235, 286  
     secularism in, 273–274  
     state religion, 35, 289  
 Enlightened Moderation, 54, 59, 134–135
- Facebook, 25  
 Faisalabad, 158  
 fantasy, 210–215, 285  
 Farangi Mahall, 180  
*fatwa*  
     against Salman Taseer, 91–95, 121  
     and authority, 44, 282  
     by Ayman al-Zawahiri, 170  
     description of, 4 n. 9  
     and Jami'a Nizamiyyah, 279–282  
     and state power, 281  
     and technology, 27, 280  
     by Shah Wali Allah, 180
- Federal Shariat Court, 90, 148  
 Federally Administered Tribal Areas  
     (FATA). *See* Parachinar  
 fieldwork description, 21–27  
*fiqh*, 42, 46, 176, 256  
 fornication. *See zina'*  
 Foucault, Michel  
     citizen-subjects, 11–13, 211, 283, 286
- governmentality, 211–212, 286  
 pastoral power, 43  
 state, 211–212
- Freud, Sigmund, 259  
*furu' al-din*, 259
- gender, 26, 188  
 Geo News, 3, 57, 165  
 Gharnati, Javed Ahmad, 60, 112 n. 169,  
 123, 134, 136  
 Gilgit, 254  
 Gilgit-Baltistan, 199  
 Gilmartin, David, 114–115  
 globalization, 270–271  
 Great Occultation, 240–241, 264–265  
 Group of Political Analysts (*Mashrabe Naab* journal), 217–220, 220 n. 130,  
 266  
 Gujranwala, 21, 123, 158–160  
 Gulpaygani, Ayatollah, 230
- hadd*. *See* hudud  
*hadith*. *See also* sunna  
     and authority, 40  
     and *hudud*, 52  
     and Hudud Ordinance, 58  
     and Sufism, 30  
     in seminary curriculum, 42  
*khabar wahid*, 127, *See also* usul  
     al-hadith  
 Supreme Court of Pakistan, 83, 107  
 used to justify Mumtaz Qadri's actions,  
 117  
 Haider, Syed Afzal, 67–68  
*hajj*, 27  
 Hallaq, Wael  
     academia and the state, 288  
     juridical colonization, 288  
     premodern *shari'a*, 132  
     *shari'a* and morality, 149–151  
     sovereignty, 97–100, 102, 105–106, 121,  
 131  
 Hanafi  
     early scholars and anarchy, 130  
     early scholars and blasphemy, 124–126  
     scholarship on *dar al-Islam*, 179  
 Hanbali, 88, 124  
 Hansen, Thomas Blom, 74  
 al-Haqq, Sami', 64, 285 n. 12  
 Hazara, 199, 200 n. 60  
 Hindu Kush Mountains, 224, 233

*Index*

313

- Hinduism, 40, 55
- Hindus, 113, 146, 180 n. 189, 249, 251, 271, 274, 277
- Hobbes, Thomas, 209 n. 88
- homo sacer*, 96–97
- hudud*, 56, 125, 245, 248, 251
- Hudud Ordinance, 52, 56–61, 64, 83, 148
- Husayn (Shi'a *imam*), 178, 189, 194, 267
- al-Husayni, 'Arif Husayn, 218, 229
- Ibn 'Abbas, 'Abd Allah, 125
- Ibn 'Abidin, 124–125
- Ibn al-Bazzaz, 125
- Ibn Kathir, 126
- Ibn Taymiyya, Taqi al-Din, 88, 125, 167
- al-Ibshihi, Muhammad ibn Ahmad, 121
- ijma'*, 91
- 'Ilm ud-Din, 108, 115
- Imamiyya Student Organization (ISO), 219, 271
- Imdad Allah, Hajji, 30
- India
  - aggression against, 139
  - Barelawi movement in, 29
  - blasphemy during colonialism in, 89–90, 108, 113
  - civilization of, 253
  - constitution of, 274
  - Deobandi movement in, 28, 123
  - Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act in, 62
  - Islam and colonialism in, 40
  - majoritarianism in, 271, 274
  - Muslims and partition of, 47
  - national question, 194
  - religio-legal status under colonial rule, 180–181
  - religious identity under colonial rule, 252
  - sati*, 40
  - sectarianism in, 193, 198
  - secularism in, 247–248, 250, 253–254, 274
  - state anthropomorphism in, 174
  - state defining religion in, 274
  - war with, 29
- Indian Law Commission, 89
- Iqbal, Muhammad, 160, 267
- Iqtidar, Humeira, 150, 277
- Iran
  - animosity toward, 196, 214, 218, 284–286
- comparison with Pakistan, 8
- constitution of, 241
- foreign policy of, 261–262
- global community, 271
- and Javad Naqvi, 264–266, 275
- media in, 230
- minorities in, 286
- patronage of Pakistani seminaries, 32, 262, 285
- religious identity of, 36, 153, 205, 257
- revolution in, 28, 90, 153, 196, 217, 221, 241, 260, 271
- scholarship on, 9, 234–235, 286
- Shah of, 196
- study in, 33, 152, 192, 216, 218, 221, 243, 245, 256, 261
- and United States, 218
- wilayat-i faqih* in, 264
- Iraq
  - Ayatollah Sistani, 241–246
  - Islamic government in, 205
  - Islamic State (ISIS/ISIL), 17
  - patronage of Pakistani seminaries, 262
  - state religion in, 35
  - study in, 33, 256
  - war with Iran, 261
- Islamabad
  - fieldwork in, 21, 142–143, 157, 170, 258
  - and Lal Masjid, 1, 4
  - protests in, 196, 229
  - seminary in, 260
- Islamabad High Court, 94, 101–104
- Islamic Research Institute, 49–50
- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, 17
- Islamists, 15 n. 41, 44, 77, 83, 131, 147–154
- Islamization
  - by Council of Islamic Ideology, 144–145
  - efforts by '*ulama*', 3, 31, 53, 61, 66, 148, 156, 171, 289
  - Jamal Malik's study of, 13
  - and Qibla Sahib, 243
  - and Shi'as, 254
  - by Zia-ul-Haq, 52–53, 148
- Israel, 218
- Ja'far as-Sadiq (Shi'a *imam*), 221
- Ja'far, Ayatollah
  - biography, 153, 256
  - Islamic state, 153, 256, 259
  - and Pakistani state's identity, 153

- Ja'far, Ayatollah (cont.)  
 meeting with, 255–256  
 rhetorical vagueness, 266  
 sectarian unity, 257  
*wilayat-i faqih*, 257
- Ja'fari (legal school), 32, 195, 221
- Jakhiani, Owais, 138–139
- Jalali, Muhammad Ashraf Asif, 78–79,  
 91–93, 121–122
- Jalandhari, Muhammad Hanif, 59, 64
- Jam'iyyat-i 'Ulama-i Islam, 123, 143–144, 144  
 n. 20, 146–148, 159, 203
- Jama'at-i Islami, 14, 59, 123, 148–149, 159
- Jami'a Ahl al-Bayt  
 description, 153  
 sectarianly unaligned Islamic state,  
 254–260
- Jami'a al-Muntazar, 215  
 description and fieldwork in, 186–188  
 views on anti-Shi'a violence, 193, 198,  
 201–206
- Jami'a Ashrafiyya, 22, 122
- Jami'a Islamiyya, 93, 120, 125
- Jami'a Islamiyya Imdadiyya, 158
- Jami'a Jalaliyya, 78, 91
- Jami'a Na'imiyya, 117
- Jami'a Nizamiyya, 279–283
- Jami'a Rizwiyya Ziyya' al-'Ulum, 116–117
- Jami'at al-'Ulum al-Islamiyya, 1  
 al-Jassas, Imam Abu Bakr, 130  
*jihad*, 3, 40, 139, 167, 180, 217
- Jinnah, Muhammad Ali, 160, 187, 253
- kafir*, 32, 159–161, 166–170, 179, 258
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H., 172, 174
- Kapur, Ratna, 274
- Karachi, 1, 138, 243
- Karbala, 189, 237
- al-Kasani, Imam Abu Bakr 'Ala al-Din, 124,  
 130
- Kashmir, 29, 218
- Khamenei, Ayatollah, 220, 223, 260–261,  
 265
- Khan, Ahmad Raza, 30
- Khan, Ayub, 48–49, 94
- Khan, Liaquat Ali, 155
- Khan, Mashal, 110
- Khan, Sir Sayyid Ahmad, 41
- Khawarij, 163–165, 168, 177
- Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah  
*din* (religion) of, 263
- loyalty to, 220, 223  
 path of, 263, 265  
 revolution, 196, 263  
 study with, 153, 189, 218, 256–257  
 warning Zia-ul-Haq, 196  
*wilayat-i faqih*, 240–241, 263–266, 283
- khul'*, 62, 70
- khuruj*  
 advocated by Zawahiri, 166–169  
 Khawarij attitude toward, 163  
 Murji'ah attitude toward, 163  
 Pakistani 'ulama's views on, 131, 145  
 n. 24, 165–169, 177–178
- Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, 224, *See also*  
 Parachinar
- kufr bawah*, 177
- Kurram agency. *See* Parachinar
- Lacan, Jacques, 210–212
- Lahore  
 Anarkali market, 109  
 fieldwork in, 21–27, 186, 236, 258, 279  
 seminary in, 91, 93, 117, 120, 122, 125,  
 152, 187, 191, 236, 261  
 Shi'a gathering in, 205  
 Taser's burial in, 84
- Lahore High Court, 101
- Lakhani, Saad, 113–114
- Lashkar-i Jhangvi, 197
- Liaquat, Aamir, 114
- literacy rate, 227–229
- Macaulay, Sir Thomas, 89
- Madani, Mawlana Husayn Ahmad,  
 247–249, 248–249 n. 58
- Madrasa Nusrat al-'Ulum, 123
- madrasas*. *See also* entries starting with  
 Jam'i'a, *See also* entries starting with  
 Dar al-'Ulum
- Afghan refugees in, 196
- Barelawi, 29
- Deobandi, 26–28, 148
- funding, 28 n. 68, 29 n. 74, 196, 218
- main research sites and fieldwork in,  
 21–26
- promoting militancy, 217
- Shi'a, 32–33, 187
- state intrusion in, 14, 54, 171, 287
- subject formation in, 41–42
- mahdi* (messiah), 52
- Mahmood, Saba, 111–112, 273–274, 276

*Index*

315

- mahr*, 62
- Maitland, Frederic William, 172
- Majlis-i Wahdat-i Muslimin (MWM), 206, 219
- majoritarianism, 214, 249, 270, 272, 274–278
- Malik, Jamal, 13–14
- marriage, 56, 61–63, 65, 81, 108, 242, 280
- Marxist, 208–212
- Mashhad, 152
- Mashhadi, Irfan, 129
- Mashrabe Naab* (journal), 216–218 n. 112, 219–220, 222, 261, 263, 266
- Masud, Muhammad Khalid, 58, 65, 67
- Mawdudi, Abu al-A'la, 8, 123, 133, 247
- mazalim* courts, 16
- Mecca, 24, 85
- Middle East, 17, 23, 197, 217
- militancy
  - Afghanistan and, 138
  - anti-Shi'a, 192–193, 197–198, 202–203, 209, 229–232
  - in Federally Administered Tribal Areas, 228–229
  - and Lal Masjid, 2–3
  - at *madrasas*, 218
  - Peshawar school attack, 140
  - promoted by the West, 217
  - reasons for, 165–169
  - by Shi'as, 222
  - state action as solution to, 206
- military
  - in Federally Administered Tribal Areas, 228, 231
  - impact on state identity, 153
  - and Lal Masjid, 1–4
  - state's coercive arms, 7
  - as target of terrorism, 139–141, 154, 169
- Millat-i Ja'fariyya, 193 n. 14, 204, 221
- Minhaj-ul-Quran International, 118
- Ministry of Education, 134, 148
- Ministry of Religious Affairs, 49, 55, 65–71
- Mitchell, Timothy, 211, 287
- mubah ad-dam*, 97, 117, 122, 124, 131
- mufti*
  - authority of, 44
  - expertise of, 42
  - in Egypt, 8, 184
  - at Jami'a Ashrafiyya, 122
  - at Jami'a Nizamiyya, 280–281
  - my friendship with, 27
- premodern, 45 n. 37
- and state, 46
- training manuals, 43
- and women, 22
- Mughal, 119, 249, 254
- Muhammad al-Mahdi (*Shi'a imam*), 239
- Muharram, 187, 195, 204, 218
- Munib ur-Rahman, 59, 64, 91
- al-Muntazar* (journal)
  - anti-Shi'a violence, 201–207
  - office, 187
  - Shi'a insurrection, 188
- Murji'ah, 163–165, 169, 177
- Mu'tazili, 118
- Musharraf, Pervez
  - anti-Shi'a, 204–206, 230
  - Council of Islamic Ideology, 134
  - Enlightened Moderation, 54, 64, 134–135
  - and Hudud Ordinance, 57–59
  - and Lal Masjid, 3
  - relationship with 'ulama, 54
- Muslim League, 203
- mustaqti*, 22, 242–243, 279–283, 288
- Muttahida Majlis-i 'Amal, 54, 59
- Na'im, Mufti Muhammad, 129
- Nair, Neeta, 113
- Najaf, 256
- Najafi, Ayatollah Sayyid Riyaz Husayn
  - advocating state combat militancy, 206–207
  - biography, 189
  - views on anti-Shi'a violence, 198, 202, 204–206, 205 n. 79, 214
- Naqvi, 'Allama Sayyid Sajid 'Ali, 204
- Naqvi, Javad
  - constituting the state, 276
  - foreign powers and Pakistani my attempt to meet, 232
  - sectarianism, 219
  - views on Pakistani state, 216–217, 220, 230
  - weakening state effect, 220–224, 227, 231–233
  - wilayat-i faqih*, 260–278
- Naqvi, Sayyid Husayn, 256–260
- Naqvi, Sayyid Zaidi, 157–158, 170, 176, 258–259
- narrative historiography
  - justifying sectarianly unaligned Islamic state, 259

- narrative historiography (cont.)  
 justifying secularism, 249–250, 253  
 justifying *wilayat-i faqih*, 267–269  
 theorizations and general observations,  
 252–253
- Nasir, ‘Ammar Khan  
 biography, 123  
 emphasizing the perils of anarchy and  
 lawlessness, 129–130  
 my relationship with, 25, 27, 160  
 and Pakistani state’s identity, 161,  
 168–170  
 relationship with state, 133–136  
 views on blasphemy, 124–128  
 ‘ulama’s training on the question of the  
 state, 176
- Nasrallah, Sayyid Hassan, 220, 223
- National Assembly, 52, 54, 58, 65, 230, 245
- Navaro-Yashin, Yael, 74, 210–211, 223
- Nizami, Rashid, 279–283
- Objectives Resolution  
 and sovereignty, 99, 102, 147, 155, 160  
 as *shahada* (testimony of faith), 156,  
 160–161  
 made part of constitution, 149  
 passing of, 47
- Orientalist, 40–41
- orthodoxy, 155–156, 164, 233
- orthopraxy, 151–155, 164, 168, 170
- Ottoman, 9–10, 125
- Pakistan Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS),  
 178
- Pakistan studies, 36
- Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI), 219
- Pandey, Gyanendra, 194, 197–198,  
 252–254
- Panipati, Qazi Sana’ Allah, 118
- Parachinar, 222–233
- Parliament, 58, 66, 68, 71–72, 90, 121, 134,  
 144–145, 154, 160, 170
- Pashtun, 224, 226
- passion, 111–117, 268
- performative utterances, 156
- personhood, 173
- Peshawar, 140, 229
- police  
 attack on PNS Zulfiqar, 139  
 authority of, 281–282  
 impact on state identity, 153
- and Lal Masjid, 2
- Mumtaz Qadri, 76, 84, 105
- registering blasphemy report, 78, 94
- Shi'a persecution and, 203–204,  
 206–207, 220
- state’s coercive arms, 7
- subject formation, 13
- target of terrorism, 140
- political theology  
 justifying *wilayat-i faqih*, 260–278  
 sectarian unaligned Islamic state,  
 254–260
- secularism, 241–254
- public sphere  
 and Council of Islamic Ideology, 69  
 and Hudud Ordinance debate, 57  
 and Pakistani ‘ulama, 53, 55, 73, 282  
 place of Islam in, 253  
 religion and the, 19  
 anti-Shi'a sentiments, 192–193, 244  
 state-society relations, 74  
 subject formation and, 282  
 and Urdu poetry, 114
- Qadiyanis. *See* Ahmadis
- Qadri, Muhammad Khalil ur-Rahman, 76  
 n. 1, 93, 120, 125
- Qadri, Muhammad Khan, 93–94, 120
- Qadri, Mumtaz  
 and Aatish Taseer, 82
- Anti-Terrorism Court and, 101–102, 111  
 critique by ‘ulama of, 128–129  
 first trial, 81
- Hanif Qureshi and, 116–117
- Islamabad High Court and, 94,  
 101–104
- killing Salman Taseer, 76–77
- love for Muhammad, 111, 114–115
- popular support for, 80–85, 114
- religious legitimacy of actions, 93–96,  
 101–102, 115, 117, 120–121
- Supreme Court and, 82–83, 95, 101,  
 104–108, 136
- qanun*, 16
- qaum* (nation), 220–221, 248 n. 58
- Qibla Sahib  
 advocating secularism, 241–254, 273  
 advocating state combat militancy, 206  
 biography, 152, 241–243  
 describing plight of Shi'as, 236, 238  
 ideal state, 201

*Index*

317

- my relationship with, 243
- Pakistani state's religious identity, 152–153
- Pakistani state's sectarian leanings, 191–193, 206, 272
- Qom
  - Ayatollah Gulpaygani, 230
  - Husayn Naqvi, 256
  - Javad Naqvi, 216, 260
  - Qibla Sahib, 152, 192, 242
  - seminaries in, 33
- Quetta, 199, 206, 237
- Qur'an*
  - and authority, 40, 58, 189
  - and blasphemy, 88, 118
  - in constitution, 17, 48, 61, 92, 121, 148, 158, 160, 162
  - and Council of Islamic Ideology, 48
  - defining Islam in India, 274
  - desecration criminalized, 90, 251
  - divorce law controversy, 62
  - and *hudud*, 52
  - Hudud Ordinance, 57–60
  - and Islamic law, 44, 93, 98, 104
  - Islamic state, 205, 257
  - online tutor of, 27
  - in seminary curriculum, 42
  - and Sufism, 30
  - Supreme Court of Pakistan, 83–84, 107–108
  - teachings on war, 40
  - used to denounce Mumtaz Qadri's actions, 124–130
  - used to justify Mumtaz Qadri's actions, 117–120
- Qureshi, Hanif
  - inspiring Mumtaz Qadri, 116–117
  - my meeting with, 117
  - Qalm Kuch aur Likhta hai, Zaban Kuch aur Kahti hai*, 117–122
  - relationship with state, 136–137
- Rajpal, Mahashay, 108–109, 113
- Rangila Rasul*, 90, 108, 113, 115
- rape, 56–57, 60, *See also* Hudud Ordinance
- Rawalpindi, 21, 80, 101, 116–117, 204
- rebellion. *See khuruj*
- Red Mosque (Lal Masjid), 1–4, 7, 141
- Rieck, Andreas, 204 n. 74, 234
- Rizvi, Agha Ziya' ud-Din, 199
- sabb al-rasul*, 117–118, 123–125
- Safavids, 240
- Safdar, Sarfaraz Khan, 123, 128, 130
- Sahih al-Bukhari*, 177
- al-Sarakhsī, 179
- sati*, 40, 55
- Saudi Arabia
  - anti-Shi'a, 217–218
  - patronage of Pakistani seminaries, 28, 196, 218
  - pilgrimage to, 24
  - religious identity of, 36
  - Shi'a Islamic Reform Movement in, 246
- Schmitt, Carl, 86, 100, 268, 272
- Scott, James, 223–227, 231–233
- scripture. *See also* Qur'an
  - and colonialism, 40
  - focus on, 40, 48, 52, 58, 107
  - in modern Hinduism, 40
  - in modern Islam, 40
- secularism
  - advocated in colonial India, 247–248, 253–254
  - advocated in Pakistan, 201, 241–254
  - denounced in Pakistan, 201, 256
  - recent theorizations of, 19–20, 272–274, 286
- September 11, 2001, 17, 54, 144, 227, 229
- Shafi'i, 88, 126, 135
- al-Shafi'i, Imam, 135
- shahada* (testimony of faith), 156–164
- shari'a*
  - and blasphemy, 31, 86–88, 95–96, 115–116, 120, 127
  - bolstered through state, 132
  - compatible with nation-state law, 92
  - and *hudud*, 52, 56
  - impact of colonialism on, 55, 151
  - impact of state on, 9, 46
  - incompatible with nation-state law, 93
  - and *khul'*, 62
  - and Lal Masjid, 2
  - and nation-state, 129, 131, 175, 181, 288
  - practiced, 132
  - premodern, 15–16, 45, 142, 149–151, 176
  - and sovereignty, 97–100, 121, 128, 282
  - subject formation under, 150–151
- al-Shari'a* (journal), 25, 123, 131, 158, 166, 168
- Sharif, Nawaz, 54, 110

- Sherani, Muhammad, 69–71, 106  
 Sikhs, 146, 180 n., 188  
 Sipah-i Muhammad, 199, 222  
 Sipah-i Sahaba, 197, 199, 203  
 Sistani, Ayatollah, 241, 243, 245–246  
 social imaginary, 42, 113, 182  
 society  
     ideal, 151  
     Islamic, 114  
     morality in, 150–151, 153  
     in Pakistan, 35–36  
     state and, 5–6, 11, 34, 73–75, 110, 132,  
         191, 208–209, 211, 233–235, 286  
     support for Mumtaz Qadri, 77  
 South Asia  
     Al-Qa‘ida branch in, 139  
     Deobandi movement in, 28  
     Hanafis in, 125  
     historiography in, 252  
     history of Muslim rule in, 254  
     modern Muslim imaginary in, 40  
     natives’ passion in, 113  
     religio-legal status under colonial rule,  
         180–181  
     sectarian tensions in, 198  
     seminary curriculum in, 42  
     Shi‘a madrasas in, 33  
 sovereignty  
     bare life and, 95–98  
     Carl Schmitt and, 86  
     contestations over, 106  
     Giorgio Agamben and, 86  
     God and, 45, 59, 121, 149, 158, 160  
     importance of, 85  
     Max Weber and, 39  
     nation and, 5  
     and Objectives Resolution, 155  
     Objectives Resolution, 47  
     perspective of the state, 98–111  
     reconciling divine and temporal, 86,  
         128–136  
     state and, 8, 16, 45, 113, 120–121,  
         128–129, 134, 289  
     and Taseer’s murder, 86  
 Soviet Union, 28, 197, 217–218  
 Sri Lanka, 198  
 state anthropomorphism, 169–177,  
     181–184  
 state effect, 34, 191, 209, 211–215, 220,  
     222, 227, 233, 282, 284, 287, 289  
 state religion, 8, 35, 48, 148, 156, 289  
 state’s two bodies, 169–175  
 Stepputat, Finn, 74  
 subaltern, 102  
 subject formation, 11–13, 132, 150, 183,  
     284–287, 289  
 al-Subki, Taqi al-Din, 88  
 Sufi Advisory Council, 55  
 Sufism, 30, 41, 55  
*sunna*  
     and blasphemy, 88  
     in constitution, 17, 48, 61, 92, 121, 158,  
         160, 162  
     and Council of Islamic Ideology, 48  
     divorce law controversy, 63  
     Hudud Ordinance, 57–58  
     and Islamic law, 44, 98, 104  
     used to denounce Mumtaz Qadri’s  
         actions, 125  
 Supreme Court  
     and Aasia Bibi, 83–84, 108–110  
     in India, 274  
     and *khul'*, 62  
     and Mashal Khan, 111  
     and Mumtaz Qadri, 83, 100–101,  
         104–108, 136  
     and terrorism, 206  
 Tabari, Imam ibn Jarir, 127  
 Tablighi Jama‘at, 150  
 al-Tahawi, Abu Ja‘far Ahmad ibn  
     Muhammad, 124, 126  
 Tahir-ul-Qadri, 118–120  
 Tahrik Labbaik ya Rasul Allah, 79  
 Tahrik Sirat-i Mustakim, 78  
 Tahrik-i Ja‘fariyya, 204  
 Tahrik-i Labbaik, 83  
 Tahrik-i Nifaz-i Fiqh-i Ja‘fariyya (TNJF),  
     218  
*takfir*, 145 n., 24, 178  
*talaq*. *See* divorce  
 Taliban  
     in Afghanistan, 228  
     anti-Shi‘a, 197, 231  
     attacks by, 140–141, 154  
     in Federally Administered Tribal Areas,  
         227, 231  
     history of movement, 197 n., 44  
     Pakistan as un-Islamic, 164  
     support for, 1  
     Tahrik-i Taliban Islami, 231  
*taqlid*, 44

*Index*

319

- Taseer, Aatish, 81–82
- Taseer, Salman
- critique of blasphemy laws, 92
  - deemed an apostate, 79, 84, 91–92, 94
  - description of murder, 76–77
  - dismissive of blasphemy accusations, 79, 94
  - immunity from prosecution, 94–95
  - public antagonism toward, 81–83
  - state's stance on murder of, 86, 95, 98–111
  - support for Asia Bibi, 78
  - 'ulama's stance on murder of, 86
- Taylor, Charles, 277
- terrorism. *See also* al-Qa'ida, *See also* Taliban
- anti-Shi'a, 207
  - condemned by 'ulama, 155
  - and Lal Masjid, 4
  - rehabilitation of those who participate in, 207
  - state action as solution to, 206
  - state sponsored, 198, 202
  - 'ulama as instigating, 17, 24
- Thanawi, Ashraf 'Ali, 30, 177
- Thanawi, Jamil Ahmad, 122
- 'Umar al-Faruq (caliph), 118–122, 126–127
- Umayyads, 178
- ummah*, 97, 106, 112, 115, 141, 283
- United States of America
- aggression against, 139–140, 167
  - management of Pakistani religious life, 17, 24, 133, 145
  - minorities in, 23, 270
  - and Salman Taseer, 77
  - and scholarship on state, 6
  - sectarian violence in Pakistan, 216–219
  - secularism in, 244, 249–250
  - War on Terror, 154, 205
- Urdu
- poetry, 114
  - press, 114
  - print, 25, 108, 125, 158–159
  - typing, 280
- al-'Urwa al-Wuthqa, 261–263
- usul al-din*, 259
- usul al-fiqh*, 42
- usul al-hadith*, 126
- Usuli, 240
- 'Uthman ibn 'Affan (caliph), 163
- 'Uthmani, Shabbir Ahmad, 146
- 'Uthmani, Taqi
- biography, 2 n. 4
  - and Hudud Ordinance, 59–61
  - and Islamic Research Institute, 50
  - and *khul'*, 62
  - and Lal Masjid, 2
  - leading anti-Ahmadi protests, 52
  - and Pakistani state's identity, 47, 146, 159, 165, 169, 287
  - respecting political authority, 166, 169, 177
  - state appointments of, 59
- Verkaaik, Oskar, 74, 208
- violence
- against Shi'as, 33, 190–206, 210, 213, 216–220, 223, 229, 231, 236, 238, 243, 250, 252, 274, 285
  - and Shi'a political theology, 34, 244, 249–250, 254, 260, 266–267, 282
  - and sovereignty, 86, 100, 102, 109–111
  - by Shi'as, 199, 222
  - justified against blasphemer, 116–122
  - Shi'as appeal to state for protection from, 206–209
  - state's monopoly over, 16, 31, 39, 86, 96, 102–104, 120, 123, 128–132, 209
- Wafaq al-Madaris al-Shi'a, 187
- Wahhabi, 219, 257–258
- Wali Allah, Shah, 180
- War of Independence (1857), 41
- Weber, Max
- authority, 38, 43, 72
  - state and violence, 39, 209
- Wedeen, Lisa, 213
- wedlock. *See* marriage
- welfare state, 6, 144, 147, 149–152
- West
- and birth of nation-state, 5
  - education and the state, 288
  - hegemony of, 286
  - and political views, 133–134, 145
  - political discourse, 182, 223, 285
  - promoting militancy, 217–218
  - religion and modernity in, 19–20
  - and Salman Taseer, 82, 87
  - scholarship on state, 6, 157, 174, 182
  - in 'ulama's perception, 24, 145, 151, 249
- White, Hayden, 252

- wilayat-i faqih*  
Ayatollah Ja'far, 257  
Ayatollah Khomeini, 240–241  
Javad Naqvi, 216, 223, 260–278  
opposition to, 241, 245–246  
Qibla Sahib, 242, 245
- women  
in America, 23  
at *dar al-ifta'*, 22  
literacy rate of, 228  
rights of, 19, 30, 55, 57 n. 86, 63, 66  
role in public life, 147  
and tradition, 55–56  
Women's Protection Bill, 57–61
- Yemen, 7, 22–23, 46, 79 n. 17, 213, 289  
Yousafzai, Malala, 141
- Zahid ur-Rashidi  
biography, 123, 159  
my relationship with, 27  
and Pakistani state's identity, 160–161, 165
- and political rebellion, 169  
views on blasphemy, 79, 125
- Zahid, Mufti Muhammad, 158
- zakat*, 148, 196
- al-Zamakhshari, 118
- Zaman, Muhammad Qasim, 10, 43, 52–53
- Zardari, Asif Ali, 192–193
- al-Zawahiri, Ayman  
emphasizing orthopraxy, 31  
and Lal Masjid, 3  
Pakistan as un-Islamic, 154–155,  
162–163, 169  
urging insurrection, 139, 166–169, 167  
n. 136, 168 n. 140
- Zia-ul-Haq, Muhammad  
courting 'ulama, 54  
Islamization by, 52–53, 90, 148,  
200  
and Shi'as, 195–196, 201, 217
- zina*', 56, 60, 82, *See also* Hudud  
Ordinance
- Zizek, Slavoj, 210–212