

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## Creating a New Medina

This book examines how the idea of Pakistan was articulated and debated in the public sphere and how popular enthusiasm was generated for its successful achievement, especially in the crucial province of U.P. (now Uttar Pradesh) in the last decade of British colonial rule in India. It argues that Pakistan was not simply a vague idea that serendipitously emerged as a nation-state, but was popularly imagined as a sovereign Islamic State, a new Medina, as some called it. In this regard, it was envisaged as the harbinger of Islam's renewal and rise in the twentieth century, the new leader and protector of the global community of Muslims, and a worthy successor to the defunct Turkish Caliphate.

The book specifically foregrounds the critical role played by Deobandi *ulama* in articulating this imagined national community with an awareness of Pakistan's global historical significance. It demonstrates how these *ulama* collaborated with the Muslim League leadership and forged a new political vocabulary fusing ideas of Islamic nationhood and modern state. It, therefore, challenges three principal strands in India's Partition historiography: scholarship on elite politics that largely sees Pakistan's emergence as the result of breakdown of constitutional negotiations between the British government, the leaders of the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress; subaltern histories that argue that Pakistan was a vague but emotive religious symbol that found overwhelming popular support without an awareness of its meaning or implications; and finally narratives which argue that Jinnah led a secular nationalist movement to create Pakistan as a liberal democratic State.

**Venkat Dhulipala** teaches History at the University of North Carolina, Wilmington. He has a doctorate in History from the University of Minnesota besides degrees from the University of Wisconsin Madison and the University of Hyderabad.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

### Pre-Publication Praise

‘Dhulipala’s impressively researched, lucidly written, and intelligently argued book comes as a sharp but welcome corrective to the tendency to see Pakistan as a country created accidentally in a fit of popular enthusiasm and elite indirection in the final, confusing years of British rule in India. Dhulipala shows, with particular focus on north India, how rich the 1940s were with public debates in English and Urdu over the meaning of Pakistan. This is an exciting, significant, and challenging contribution to South Asian history.’

—Dipesh Chakrabarty, *University of Chicago*

‘This is a path-breaking book, indispensable to anyone who wishes to understand the emergence of Pakistan. It persuasively challenges dominant understandings of Pakistan as the creation of a ‘sole spokesman’ or of ‘secular elites’ and demonstrates a long-standing relationship between the Muslim League leadership and an important set of Deobandi ulama. It shows how preparations for creating an Islamic state in Pakistan began in the early 1940s, and explores the conflation in people’s minds between the creation of Pakistan and the fashioning of a ‘New Medina’. It thus brings Islam back into the debate on Pakistan’s birth and offers a new perspective for its subsequent development. It should be read not just by specialists working on India’s Partition and modern Pakistan, but by scholars in Middle Eastern history and politics and those interested in twentieth-century Islamic movements.’

—Francis Robinson, *Royal Holloway, University of London*

‘Dhulipala’s monograph breaks new ground in studies of the birth of the Pakistan idea in northern India. In place of the conventional focus on political negotiations and communal violence, he explores its cultural and religious dimensions and traces the roots of the concept in Indian as well as in early Islamic traditions. Based on meticulous research into a massive corpus of Urdu journals and religious treatises, it looks at the role of the Deoband clergy in very new ways. It is a valuable and important addition to the historical field.’

—Sumit Sarkar, *University of Delhi*

‘Dhulipala’s magisterial book is one of the first to carefully examine a broad range of debates on the idea of Pakistan both in English and in Urdu that illuminated the public sphere in the decade before Partition, particularly within the context of politics in UP. His book powerfully illustrates that understandings of Pakistan were not so vague or ill-formed as many historians have previously argued. Supporters (and opponents) of Pakistan were deeply engaged both with contemporary ideas about the modern nation-state and with conceptions of the state rooted in Islamic history. This is a significant story for understanding Pakistan’s intellectual and political heritage.’

—David Gilmartin, *North Carolina State University*

Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
 Late Colonial North India  
 Venkat Dhulipala  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

'I read *Creating a New Medina* not as a slice of Indian history but as a brilliant, elegantly written study of some of the crucial subjectivities that led to the partitioning of British India. Refusing to wear glasses well-meaning liberal historians often love to wear, Dhulipala takes a hard look at styles of mobilisation deployed by the Pakistan movement and explores how they radically changed the nature of politics in mid-twentieth-century British India - to ultimately shape the future of public life in postcolonial South Asia.'

—Ashis Nandy, *Centre for Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi*

### Post-Publication Praise

'... arguably among the most important studies of the ideological origins of Pakistan published to date ... A magnificent book.'

—Pratap Bhanu Mehta, *The Indian Express*

'Dhulipala has raised a host of uncomfortable issues that politicians and intellectuals on both sides of the Radcliffe Line would prefer to shy away from.'

—Swapan Dasgupta, *The Telegraph (India)*

'... a marvelous analysis of what Pakistan was meant to be ...'

—Khaled Ahmed, *The Indian Express*

'Venkat Dhulipala's book ... is a treasure house of information about debates and discussions relating to the idea of Pakistan.'

—Ali Usman Qasmi, *The News on Sunday (India)*

'... [an] engaging book ... a small treasure of references about how the campaign for Pakistan was being conducted in the areas of North India.'

—Ajmal Kamal, *The News on Sunday (India)*

'[In] *Creating a New Medina*, Venkat Dhulipala makes well-researched and insightful comments on the emergence and popularity of the demand for Pakistan in the final decade of colonial rule in India.'

—*The Express Tribune*

'... an encyclopedic masterpiece ... This wonderfully written and painstakingly researched book will be of tremendous interest to students and scholars of Muslim politics, nationalism and religion, and South Asian Islam.'

—Sherali Tareen, *New Books in Islamic Studies*  
*(newbooksinislamicstudies.com)*

'This is an important book ... Venkat Dhulipala has provided much food for thought and unearthed a host of sources that demonstrate, without doubt, that Pakistan was not 'insufficiently imagined'. On the contrary, it was abundantly imagined, both vehemently opposed and extravagantly supported, with many shades of opinion in between.'

—Gail Minault, *H-Asia*

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

# Creating a New Medina

*State Power, Islam, and the Quest for  
Pakistan in Late Colonial North India*

Venkat Dhulipala



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
 978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
 Late Colonial North India  
 Venkat Dhulipala  
 Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi - 110002, India

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107052123](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107052123)

© Venkat Dhulipala 2015

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

Hardback first published 2015

Reprint 2015

Paperback first published 2016

Printed in India

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Dhulipala, Venkat.

Creating a new Medina : state power, Islam, and the quest for Pakistan in late colonial North India / Venkat Dhulipala.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-05212-3 (hardback)

1. Pakistan—Politics and government—20th century. 2. India, North—Politics and government—20th century. 3. Uttar Pradesh (India)—Politics and government—20th century. 4. Elections—India—Uttar Pradesh—History—20th century. 5. Pakistan movement—History.

6. Nationalism—Pakistan—History—20th century. 7. Power (Social sciences)—Pakistan—History—20th century. 8. Islam and politics—Pakistan—History—20th century. 9. All-India Muslim League—History—20th century. 10. Postcolonialism—Pakistan—History—20th century. I. Title.

DS480.45.D49 2014

954.9103'5--dc23

2014018926

ISBN 978-1-107-05212-3 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-61537-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

To,  
*Amma* (Late Smt. D. Annapurna)  
*Nanna* (Sri. D. Suryanarayana)  
*Anu*  
&  
*little Aparna*

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---



Contents

<i>List of Photographs and Maps</i>	<i>xi</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>xiii</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	<i>xix</i>
<i>Glossary</i>	<i>xxi</i>
Introduction	1
1 Nationalists, Communalists and the 1937 Provincial Elections	25
2 Muslim Mass Contacts and the Rise of the Muslim League	49
3 Two Constitutional Lawyers from Bombay and the Debate over Pakistan in the Public Sphere	120
4 Muslim League and the Idea of Pakistan in the United Provinces	194
5 Ulama at the Forefront of Politics	279
6 Urdu Press, Public Opinion and Controversies over Pakistan	314
7 Fusing Islam and State Power	353
8 The Referendum on Pakistan	389
<i>Epilogue</i>	<i>462</i>
<i>Conclusion</i>	<i>496</i>
<i>Select Bibliography</i>	<i>503</i>
<i>Index</i>	<i>519</i>

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

List of Photographs and Maps

Photographs

1. K. M. Ashraf ( <i>black topi</i> ), Z. A. Ahmad ( <i>white Gandhi topi</i> ), Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan at Northwest Frontier Province (no date) <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi	264
2. <i>Standing</i> : CR’s son C. R. Narasimhan, CR’s ADC Captain Devendra Singh <i>Seated:</i> CR’s daughter Namagiri Ammal, B. R. Ambedkar, C. Rajagopalachari (CR), Mrs Ambedkar, CR’s daughter-in-law C. R. Thangammal <i>Venue:</i> Government House (now Rashtrapati Bhavan), New Delhi, circa 1949 <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi	265
3. M. A. Jinnah addressing the 1942 AIML Allahabad session. Also seated Nawab Ismail Khan, President of the UP Muslim League ( <i>holding his chin in his palm</i> ) and Raja of Mahmudabad ( <i>dark glasses</i> ). Other two faces in the picture are unknown. <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad	266
4. M. A. Jinnah and Liaquat Ali Khan in a procession to the 1942 AIML Allahabad session. <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad	267
5. <i>From Left to Right:</i> Nawab Ismail Khan ( <i>President U.P. Muslim League</i> ), Syed Hussain Imam, Raja of Mahmudabad, Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman, M. A. Jinnah, Saadullah Khan ( <i>behind Jinnah</i> ), M. A. H. Ispahani, and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, 1942 <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad	268
6. M. A. Jinnah at the Head office of the City Muslim League, Kanpur in 1941. <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> National Archives of Pakistan	269

Photographs

7. <i>From Left to Right (front row):</i> Maulana Hifzur Rahman Seoharvi, President Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani. <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> Maulana Anisur Rahman Qasmi, Nazim, Imarat-i-Sharia, Patna.	270
8. Jinnah, Fatima Jinnah and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani behind them on the extreme right in the white cap. <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad	271
9. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani at Jinnah’s grave, 1948. <i>Photograph Courtesy:</i> National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad	272

Maps

Map 1: Ambedkar’s Map of Punjab, 1940	273
Map 2: Ambedkar’s Map of Bengal, 1940	274
Map 3: Ambedkar’s Map of India, 1940	275
Map 4: Rajagopalachari’s Map, 1944	276
Map 5: Anis al Din Ahmad Rizvi Map, 1940	277
Map 6: Ambedkar’s Revised Map of Bengal and Assam, 1945	278

## Acknowledgements

It gives me great pleasure to thank the people whose sustained support over several years ensured that this project finally reached its fruition. I owe a great intellectual debt to David Gilmartin, who first read it in its raw form as a PhD dissertation and provided me much needed confidence at a time when I was unsure of its worth. His incisive reading, thoughtful suggestions, besides continuous support ever since have been critical as I reworked it into this book form. Few people have been as generous to me as Dilip Simeon who adopted this project as his very own after a meeting at Teen Murti in Delhi. Dilip enabled me to catch the proverbial second wind at a time when I felt exhausted by it all and kept me going over the last few years as we talked endlessly about the Partition and much else over the phone. Needless to say, he carefully read through the entire manuscript and made valuable suggestions, which have significantly enhanced its quality.

The first draft of this book was written at the Institute for Historical Studies, University of Texas at Austin, where I spent 2010–11 as a Research Fellow. I am thankful to Ben Brower and Yoav Di Capua for their friendship during my stay there and to Julie Hardwick for inviting me as a Fellow to the Institute. Philippa Levine was especially gracious and generous with her support, going out of her way to introduce me to the editors at Cambridge University Press. Imam Umer Esmail of the Nueces Mosque in Austin patiently clarified several difficult passages in the *fatawa* of Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi for which I am very grateful. Courtney Meador and Jose Barragan charmed me with their prompt and cheerful assistance with all the administrative paperwork during my time at the Institute.

At the University of Minnesota, Ajay Skaria, my PhD supervisor was patient, showed confidence in my abilities when I was in doubt, and gave me the greatest possible freedom to write what I wanted for which I am thankful. Professor James Tracy was a warm and compassionate mentor through graduate school. His astute comments on the project as a reader from outside the field, his care, concern and steady encouragement were crucial as I struggled to cross the finish line. Chris Isett was a critical pillar of support and my go to person right from the beginning, somebody I could always rely on for sage advice that was cheerfully delivered over the phone at all times of day and night, whenever I hit a roadblock in research, writing, and

later on, teaching. Cesare Casarino kindly agreed to sit on my dissertation committee and also backed my application for the generous Harold Leonard Memorial Fellowship in Film Study for conducting archival research at the National Film Archives in Pune on Partition films – funds which proved crucial during my last year of fieldwork. I still owe him an essay in that regard. While running up the tunnel to the Social Sciences Building in the West Bank campus to avoid being late for class, I was once stopped by Allen Isaacman and encouraged to apply for a MacArthur Fellowship from the Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change (ICGC) at the University of Minnesota. The Center's munificent support in the form of a pre-dissertation Fellowship and then a Field Research grant were critical over the nearly two years I spent doing archival work in India and UK, for which I am beholden to him. I would like to thank Ann Waltner and M. J. Maynes for their encouragement and good cheer during my years in graduate school. The Department of History provided me with stellar institutional support granting me the H. R. Schoonover Fellowship during my first year of graduate study and Teaching Assistantships during the subsequent years of my coursework.

In Minneapolis, Christian Sieg was a wonderful friend, housemate and later a travel companion as we traipsed around Berlin, Prague, London, Budapest and Chicago. With Riyaz Latif, I spent many weekend evenings 'slandering God and his universe' as he put it, cooking and eating super spicy food and occasionally listening to his Urdu poetry. I must say a big thank you to Friedrike Weiss, a loyal friend whose dry humour and company to those films at Oak Street and Lagoon cinemas kept me going. I laughed a lot with Eleusio Filipe, Pantaleymon Anastasakis, Peter Mortenson, Abu Korah Ghariba, Rudolfo Gutierrez, Evan Roberts and Joel Helfrich, in the History department computer lab that was superbly run by the wise and genial Phil Voxland. It is here that I met Trond Nerland who remained supportive after returning to Norway. A big thank you is due to Don Johnson for cupcakes, good humour and help with the amazing resources of the Ames Library. Amanda Nelson cheerfully helped me with paperwork and formalities in the Department in spite of my exasperating absentmindedness. Jason Eden gave me many rides in his car between Minneapolis and Madison during which we discussed Zen Buddhism, the Bible and life in general as the Midwestern snows stretched endlessly around us.

At UW Madison where my American journey began, Velcheru Narayana

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

xv

Rao (VNR) was a stimulating teacher, full of refreshing ideas, amazing insights and bubbling energy. I would like to thank Andre Wink, Michael Chamberlin and Thongchai Winichakul for getting me started on journeys into the histories of India, Islam and nationalism, which all finally came together and culminated in this project. I was the recipient of immense kindness from Rajagopal Vakulabharanam who was a pillar of support during some particularly trying circumstances at Madison. He and Rukmini Kethireddipalle provided me with a home every Friday evening during my last semester where I met them for great food, fun and laughter along with Alope Thakore. I would also like to express my gratitude to my housemates at the Rochdale International Co-op, especially Cristina Hogetop, Tim Moye, Susan Nossal, Oscar Hernandez, Chris Ng, Priamo A. Melo Jr., Leeta Kim and Julio Pereira for their warmth and affection. My special thanks also go to Alan Ajaya for his wisdom, kindness and support during my Madison days. David Johnson, my homeopath in Madison, kept me healthy and spirited over all these years for which I am very grateful.

Several friends in India helped me generously while I researched this project. Pradhanji kept me going with his earthy humour and genuine goodwill after I rented a room at his house. Later, Siddharth Mallavarapu put me up and put up with me in his apartment inside the JNU campus. I owe an unpayable debt to Jasvir Singh, who invited me to stay with him at his residence in Lucknow after our very first meeting. I will always remember the many evenings we spent discussing UP politics, the Indian Police Service, or listening to his dhol. Ram and Darshi Advani provided me with much warmth and friendship during my Lucknow days. I spent several evenings at their bookshop browsing through new titles, meeting Lucknowis or scholars passing through town. I am grateful to Sumit Awasthi, uncle, aunty and Eesha for taking care of me after my road accident which temporarily put me out of action. I will be forever beholden to Azra Kidwai for graciously offering to translate *Islam ka Siyasi Nizam* when I was really pressed for time and could not work on the translation myself.

Archivists, librarians and friends, at various institutions were enormously kind and considerate. At the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, Shri Dharam Singh Rautela, Sardarji and Mr Sartaj Abidi were extremely helpful. Maulana Mahmood Madani generously allowed me access to the archives of the Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind in Delhi. In Lucknow, Shri Amitabh Pandey at the UP State Archives was cheerfully prompt in clearing all of my file requests.

At the CID Headquarters, Pradeep Mishra kept me going in the dusty record room with his dry humour while he oversaw my note taking from the Police Abstracts of Intelligence. The National Archives of Pakistan, Islamabad, supplied me with digital copies of photographs for the book for which I am very grateful. I would like to especially thank its Deputy Director, Mr Irshad Ahmad, for his prompt and cheerful help in this regard. Muhammad Naveed, out of the goodness of his heart for a stranger who he met only over the phone, personally went over there to expedite matters. Hafeez Jamali, Faiza Moatasim, Matthew Hull and Mr Muneer Jan pitched in to help with these processes in Pakistan for which I am very grateful. Prashant Keshavmurthy allowed me access to the riches of the Islamic Institute Library at McGill University and patiently put up with numerous requests to translate lines of Persian that kept cropping up in the Urdu texts I read. Gopalkrishna Gandhi kindly gave me permission to use a photograph from the Rajagopalachari collection at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library and also identified all the people in the picture.

Several friends and colleagues gave me an opportunity to present this project at various locations and asked searching questions that allowed me to sharpen my arguments. Pralay Kanungo and Bhagwan Josh invited me to deliver talks at the History and Political Science departments at JNU where Neeladri Bhattacharya, Radhika Singha, Indivar Kamtekar, Zoya Hasan and Gopal Guru asked useful questions or commented on my presentations. Ranjeeta Dutta and Mujibur Rahman invited me to make a presentation at Jamia Millia Islamia where Mushirul Hasan and Dilip Simeon again joined a lively debate on the Partition. Pradeep Dutta invited me to present this project at the India International Centre where an enthusiastic audience asked me several interesting questions. At Teen Murti, Mahesh Rangarajan and Srinath Raghavan invited me to give a talk on this book. Dr N. Balakrishnan helped me acquire photographs from the rich collections at the NMML. B.M. Chandana Gowda and Arvind Susarla invited me to Azim Premji University and the University of Hyderabad respectively to give talks before keen audiences for which I am grateful.

I am beholden to Professor C. M. Naim who answered numerous questions about personalities and places in the UP and kindly went through my translations of Urdu poetry in the last chapter even when he often found the poetry quite awful. I learnt the rudiments of the Urdu script from Blain Auer at a time when this project was nowhere in the horizon. Professor



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

xvii

Muhammad Umar Memon, an inspiring, passionate, and sensitive teacher got me truly started on my journey in the world of Urdu letters at Madison. I would like to thank Sanjay Palshikar, A.V. Satish Chandra and Satish Deshpande, early exemplary teachers at Hyderabad, who encouraged me to pursue an academic career when I myself was not so sure. At UNCW, Paul Townend and Sue McCaffray were supportive Chairpersons; Mark Spaulding accompanied me on those lovely trips to NARA while Michael Seidman exhibited an active interest in this project. I would like to thank Lisa Pollard, Lynn Mollenauer, Larry Usilton, Chris Fonvielle, Yixin Chen, Bill Mc Carthy, Candice Bredbenner, Taylor Fain, Tammy Gordon, Jarrod Tanny, Monica Gisolfi, and Eva Mehl for their support in the department. At the front office Catherine Johnson, Allison Lawlor, and especially Tammie Grady were immensely helpful with paperwork and administrative issues. I would like to thank Suvadip Bhattacharjee, my editor at Cambridge University Press, for his cooperation and for making the publication process a really smooth affair.

I wrote my PhD thesis in the sublimely beautiful setting of Monterey, California where I joined my wife after completing archival research in India. Dr Glynn Wood kindly provided me with visiting scholar privileges in their library where I sat from morning to evening everyday trying to write. For their kindness and courtesy, I would like to thank Ann Thompson the Institute librarian, as well as the staff of the Monterey Public Library, where I spent countless hours going through microfilms of English and Urdu newspapers. Khalid Hayat Khan Jamaldini, a generous friend who I met at the Monterey Institute, sent me several volumes of photocopied materials from the Archives of the Freedom Movement after going back to Islamabad.

Close friends kept me going with their affection and kindness through the years without which I could not have crossed the finish line. Vasu Sreekakolapu, childhood friend, has kept me going with our daily phone call whether from his home in Nashua or from distant cities around the world when traveling. Ravi Hirekatur has been a conscience keeper over the last decade and our weekly talks on phone allowed me to keep my sanity, faith and composure during some really stressful times. Neeraja Voruvoru was of great help during my fieldtrip in Delhi and generously put me up at her Mansa residence after my Lucknow road accident. B. M. Chandana Gowda and I spent numerous hours on phone discussing Indian politics, talking shop and shoring up each other's spirits as we ploughed through graduate

school. Arvind Susarla egged me past the finish line while I was struggling with the PhD thesis. My heartfelt thanks go to the monastics of the Self Realization Fellowship, especially Brahmachari Sarat for his friendship, prayers and support over the last several years.

Finally, I can never thank my family enough for literally carrying me along during the nearly eleven years that it has taken to complete this project. Anu resolutely refused to read a single page of this manuscript preferring to instead read William Dalrymple on Indian History. Yet, she took care of everything else at home even after coming back from long tiring days at work, gave me countless weekends over the past decade to work on the project, and tried to instill some of her sound common sense into me whenever I was assailed by doubts and anxiety. The book would never have happened without her. My brother Srinivas lavishly wrote out a big cheque to fund my London research trip besides regularly enquiring about the book's progress, while Nancy, Neel and Anika welcomed us at their home whenever we visited New Jersey. My mother-in-law Ramadevi Kilaru was of immense help at a time when our family got bigger and I was scrambling to finish my PhD thesis. Sudheer Kilaru, Jyothi Gudavalli, Vindhya and Safdar gave us a second home whenever we visited them at Santa Clara. My greatest though is to my father who I left alone in Hyderabad, a year after my mother's death, to come as a graduate student to the US. I can never repay my debt to him or to my late mother for their love and countless blessings. Finally, my daughter Aparna brought us great joy and happiness, and did her own bit of egging by periodically enquiring: 'How many pages left?' I am glad to be done since I can now spend more time playing with her.

List of Abbreviations

AFM	Archives of the Freedom Movement, Karachi
AICC	All India Congress Committee
C.P.	Central Provinces
CWMG	Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi
GOI	Government of India
IAR	Indian Annual Register
JUH	Jamiatul Ulama-i-Hind
JUI	Jamiatul Ulama-i-Islam
ML	Muslim League
MUB	Muslim Unity Board
NAI	National Archives of India, New Delhi
NAP	National Agriculturalist Party
NARA	National Archives and Research Administration, College Park, Maryland
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi
OIOC	Oriental and India Office Collections, London
PAI	Police Abstracts of Intelligence
QA Papers	Qaid-i-Azam Papers
SHC	Shamsul Hasan Collection
SWJN	Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru
U.P.	United Provinces (of Agra and Oudh) in British India, later Uttar Pradesh, India
UPML	United Provinces Muslim League
UPMLPB	United Provinces Muslim League Parliamentary Board

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

Glossary

<i>Achhutoddhar</i>	uplift of untouchables taken up by the Congress under Gandhi’s influence
<i>akhlaq</i>	ethics, moral or mannerly correctness
<i>alim</i> (pl. <i>ulama</i> )	a religious scholar trained in the Islamic sciences
<i>anna</i>	one-sixteenth of a rupee
<i>anjuman</i>	a voluntary public association or society
<i>ansar</i>	the ‘helpers’, companions of the Prophet in Medina
<i>asabiyat</i>	group/tribal loyalty
<i>ashraf</i>	high-caste respectable Muslim communities
<i>barakat</i>	blessing; good fortune; abundance
<i>ba’yat</i>	pledge of allegiance or public acknowledgement of the caliph or ruler
<i>bid’a</i>	innovation
<i>badshah</i>	king
<i>bande mataram</i>	national song sung at Congress meetings or sessions composed by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay praising the glories of the motherland
<i>biradari</i>	endogamic kinship group
<i>chillakashi</i>	a forty day period of seclusion for mystic communion
<i>crore</i>	ten million
<i>dal-bhat</i>	daily bread
<i>dar al harb</i>	lands not under Islamic rule
<i>dar al Islam</i>	lands under Islamic rule
<i>darul uloom</i>	an abode of knowledge
<i>dastarbandi</i>	convocation for honoring a qualifying student by tying a turban on his head

xxii	GLOSSARY
<i>dhimmi</i>	category of Islamic law signifying non-Muslims who were protected by the Islamic state
<i>dhoti</i>	dress covering the lower part of the body
<i>din</i>	religion; faith
<i>din-i-illahi</i>	faith inaugurated by the Mughal Emperor Akbar
<i>duniya</i>	world
<i>diyanatdar</i>	honest, faithful, conscientious
<i>faqir</i>	dervish, saint, mendicant, mystic
<i>fatwa</i> (pl. <i>fatawa</i> )	a legal opinion issued by the <i>ulama</i>
<i>fiqh</i>	the science of Islamic jurisprudence
<i>fitna</i>	civil war, violent factional strife, rebellion that leads to schism
<i>ghair</i>	opposite, other
<i>ghat</i>	riverbank
<i>ghulam</i>	slave
<i>hadith</i>	written traditions of the Prophet revealing what he did, said, or of his tacit approval for something said or done in his presence
<i>haj</i>	pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>hazrat</i>	Muslim notable, elite
<i>hijrat</i>	migration; in Islamic history the migration of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina
<i>hukumat</i>	government; rule
<i>ibadat</i>	worship; religious practice
<i>ijtihad</i>	lit. ‘exerting oneself’; used in Islamic law to refer to the use of independent reasoning in the interpretation of a point in the <i>sharia</i>
<i>ijma</i>	ideally connotes the consensus of the Muslim community; it is generally used, however, to describe consensus of the <i>ulama</i>

GLOSSARY xxiii

<i>ilham</i>	revelation
<i>Imam</i>	in Shi ‘ism one of the descendants and legitimate successors of the Prophet
<i>iman</i>	belief; faith
<i>ishtaraqiyyat</i>	socialism
<i>istifta</i>	query sent to a <i>mufti</i> seeking a <i>fatwa</i>
<i>jabiliyat</i>	the times of ignorance or paganism before the manifestation of Islam
<i>jadid</i>	new; modern
<i>jamiat</i>	organization
<i>jamhooriyat</i>	democracy
<i>jihad</i>	effort or struggle; often used in the context of holy war in defence of Islam
<i>jizya</i>	poll-tax paid by non-Muslims to an Islamic ruler
<i>kafir</i>	infidel; non-Muslim
<i>kalima</i>	Islamic creed
<i>khaddar</i>	homespun cotton popularized by Gandhi
<i>khilafat</i>	office of the Caliph
<i>khilafat-i-rabbani</i>	God’s rule
<i>khulafa-i- rashidin</i>	Golden Age of Islam during the reign of the rightly guided caliphs
<i>khutba-i-sadarat</i>	presidential address
<i>kisan sabha</i>	peasant association
<i>kripan</i>	sword
<i>lakh</i>	one hundred thousand
<i>lashkar</i>	army
<i>maatam</i>	mourning rituals
<i>madrasa</i>	school or seminary
<i>majlis</i>	council or gathering
<i>maktab</i>	school for young children

xxiv	GLOSSARY
<i>markaz</i>	centre; headquarters
<i>mashaikh</i>	shaikhs; elders, holy persons
<i>maulana</i>	designation of religious distinction and authority
<i>mazdoor</i>	labourer; worker
<i>mazhab</i>	religion
<i>millat</i>	religious community
<i>momin</i>	believer in Islam
<i>mufti</i>	juri-consult in Islam
<i>muhajir</i>	migrant; the companions of the Prophet who migrated with him from Mecca to Medina
<i>mujtahid</i>	one who is qualified to perform <i>ijtihad</i>
<i>mulk</i> (pl. <i>mamalik</i> )	country
<i>munafiq</i>	someone who pretends faith in Islam; hypocrite
<i>murid</i>	disciple
<i>murshid</i>	spiritual guide
<i>musalman</i>	Muslim
<i>muttahida qaumiyat</i>	composite nationalism
<i>nawab</i>	ruler
<i>nazim</i>	organizer; administrator
<i>nechari</i>	materialist, atheist; term often used by the <i>ulama</i> to refer to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and his followers or students at Aligarh
<i>pir</i>	spiritual guide
<i>purna swaraj</i>	complete independence
<i>pesh imam</i>	leader of the congregational prayer
<i>purdah</i>	the veiling or seclusion of women
<i>Qaid-i-Azam</i>	Great leader
<i>qasba</i>	Muslim towns and rural settlements in north India



<i>qaum</i>	community or nation
<i>qazi</i>	Muslim judge
<i>qiyas</i>	process of analogical reasoning in <i>fiqh</i>
<i>qurbani</i>	sacrifice; refers to sacrifice of cow by Muslims in north India during <i>Eid</i>
<i>raja</i>	king; title also used by several large landlords in India
<i>raj'at pasand</i>	conservative; retrogressive
<i>ravayat</i>	narratives; reports
<i>rozah</i>	fasting
<i>sangathan</i>	organization
<i>sarmayadari</i>	capitalism
<i>sarparast</i>	patron
<i>shura</i>	council; consultative body
<i>sunna</i>	traditions; practice of the Prophet
<i>shaikhul Islam</i>	pre-eminent <i>alim</i> in a Muslim society
<i>sadaqat</i>	charity, propitiatory offerings
<i>shahadat</i>	martyrdom
<i>sharia</i>	the law of Islam
<i>sharif</i>	well born
<i>swaraj</i>	independence; self-rule
<i>tabligh</i>	proselytization of Islamic knowledge
<i>tafsir</i>	the science of Quranic exegesis
<i>taluqdar</i>	a large landowner
<i>tamaddun</i>	culture; civilization
<i>tanzim</i>	organization
<i>taqlid</i>	lit. imitation; refers to the acceptance of a religious ruling from someone who is regarded as a higher religious authority without necessarily asking for technical proof

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-316-61537-9 - Creating a New Medina: State Power, Islam, and the Quest for Pakistan in  
Late Colonial North India  
Venkat Dhulipala  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

xxvi

GLOSSARY

<i>taqsim</i>	partition; division
<i>taragqi pasand</i>	progressive
<i>taziya</i>	an effigy of the tomb of Imam Hussain symbolically revered and interred during <i>muharram</i>
<i>tehzeeb</i>	culture, etiquette
<i>ummah</i>	worldwide community of Muslims
<i>vifaq</i>	federation
<i>waqf</i>	a religious endowment directed towards the upkeep of institutions such as mosques, <i>madrasas</i>
<i>watan</i>	homeland
<i>wataniyat</i>	territorial nationalism
<i>zabhiyat</i>	mentality
<i>zakat</i>	obligatory Islamic alms; one of the five pillars of Islam
<i>zamindar</i>	landholder
<i>zat</i>	caste