



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

Political ideas of B.G. Tilak: colonialism, self and Hindu nationalism

Oak, A.

Citation

Oak, A. (2022, April 12). *Political ideas of B.G. Tilak: colonialism, self and Hindu nationalism*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3283505>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/3283505>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Bibliography

Primary Sources

A Full and Authentic Report of the Trial of the Hon'ble Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, B.A., LL. B at the Fourth Criminal Sessions 1897. Edited by S. S. Setlur and K. G. Deshpande. Byculla: The Education Society's Press, 1897.

Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh. *Sampūrṇa Āgarkara*. Vol. 1, Pune: Varada Books, 1994.

Agarkar, Gopal Ganesh. *Sampūrṇa Āgarkara*. Vol. 2, Pune: Varada Books, 1995.

Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji. *Writings and Speeches, Vol. 1.* (1979). Compiled by Vasant Moon, Reprint. New Delhi: Dr Ambedkar Foundation, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, 2014.

Aurobindo, Sri. *Bande Mataram: Political Writings and Speeches, 1890-1908*. In *Collected Works of Sri Aurobindo*, Volumes 6 and 7. Pondicherry: Sri Aurobindo Ashram Publication Department, 2002. <https://www.sriurobindoashram.org/sriurobindo/writings.php>

Aurobindo, Sri. *Sri Aurobindo on Himself and on the Mother*. Pondicherry: Aurobindo Ashram, 1953.

Banerjea, Surendranath. *A Nation in Making: Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life*. 2nd Impression. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1921.

Bapat, S V (a). *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāncyā āthavaṇī va ākhyāyikā*, Vol. 3. Compiled and edited by S V Bapat, Pune: Published by the author, 1928.

Bapat, S V (b). *Reminiscences and Anecdotes of Lokamanya Tilak*. With a Forward by Annie Besant, Bapat, Pune: Published by the Editor, 1928.

Bapat, S V. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāncyā āthavaṇī va ākhyāyikā*, Vol. 1. Compiled and edited by S. V. Bapat, Pune: Published by the author, 1923.

Bapat, S V. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāncyā āthavaṇī va ākhyāyikā*, Vol. 2. Compiled and edited by S. V. Bapat, Pune: Published by the author, 1925.

Bapat-śāstrī, Vishnu Vaman. *Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītārtha-bhāṣya: Mūḷa śloka, anvayārtha, Śāṅkara-bhāṣya, śabdaśaha bhāṣyārtha āṇi Gītā Rahasya Parīkṣaṇārtha vistruta ṭipā, kośa yāṇsaha*. Pune: V. V. Bapat-śāstrī, 1921.

Besant, Annie. *Hints on the Study of the Bhagavad Gita*. Benaras: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1906.

Besant, Annie. *India and the Empire: A Lecture and Various Papers on Indian Grievances*. London: Theosophical Publishing Society, 1914.

Bhagwat, Rajaram-śāstrī. “*Āmacā deśa Āryavartācyā kinwā Puṇyabhūmicyā bāhera āhe*”. *Vividh-dynan-vistaar* 22, no. 5, (May, 1980). Reprinted in *Kai. Rājārāmasāstrī Bhāgavata yānce nivaḍaka lekha*. Edited by Durga Bhagwat, Mumbai: Abhinav Prakashan, 1950: 82-85.

Bhandarkar, Ramakrishna Gopal. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Volume 1*. Edited by N. B. Utgirkar and V. G. Paranjpe, Poona: BORI, 1933.

Bhandarkar, Ramakrishna Gopal. *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, Volume 2*. Edited by N. B. Utgirkar, Poona: BORI, 1928.

Bhandarkar, Ramakrishna Gopal. *Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages*. Bombay: Radhabai Atmara Sagoon, 1914.

Bhide-śāstrī, Sadashiv. *Bhagavdgītārtha-Rahasya-Dipikā* (1922). 2nd edition, Pune: Gita-Dharma-Mandal, 1928.

Bombay Legislative Council, Compilation of the Questions asked and speeches delivered by Hon. Shri. B. G. Tilak (1895 to 1897) and Hon. Shri G. K. Gokhale (1899 to 1901), Members of the then Bombay Legislative Council. Bombay: Government Central Press, 1991.

Bühler, Georg. “Note on Professor Jacobi’s Age of the Veda and on Professor Tilak’s Orion.” *Indian Antiquary* XXIII, (September, 1894): 238-249.

Chiplunkar, Vishnu-śāstrī. *Nibāṇdhamālā* (1873-1881). 1st Edition. Pune: Chitrashala Press, 1917.

Chirol, Valentine. *Indian Unrest*. With an Introduction by Sir Alfred Lyall. London: Macmillan and Company, 1910.

Curtis, Lionel. "A Letter to the People of India." In *Papers relating to the application of the principle of DYARCHY to the Government of India*. With an Introduction by Lionel Curtis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920: 38-95.

Curzon, George Nathaniel. *Lord Curzon in India: Being a Selection from his Speeches as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1898-1905*. With an Introduction by Sir Thomas Raleigh. London: Macmillan and Co., 1906.

Dharma (1904-1908)

Gandhi, M K. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 16 (August 1919-January 1920)*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1965.

Gidumal, Dayaram. *Behramji M Malabari: A Biographical Sketch*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892.

Godbole, Krishna- śāstrī. *Antiquity of the Vedas*. Bombay: Industrial Press, 1882.

Gokhale, Gopal Krishna. "Welby Commission Evidence' (1897). In *Speeches and Writings of Gopal Krishna Gokhale: Volume 1: Economic*. Edited by R. P. Patwardhan and D. V. Ambekar. Poona: Deccan Sabha and Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1962: 456-647.

Gokhale, Gopal Krishna. *Speeches and Writings of Gopal Krishna Gokhale: Volume 2: Political*. Edited by D. G. Karve and D. V. Ambekar. London: Asia Publishing House, 1966.

Gokhale, Gopal Krishna. *The Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale*. 3rd edition. Madras, 1920.

Golwalkar, Madhav Sadashiv. *We or Our Nationhood Defined*. 1st edition, Nagpur: n.p, 1947.

Hopkins, Edward Washburn. *Great Epics of India: Its Character and Origins*. 1st edition, London: Edward Arnold, 1902.

Hopkins, Edward Washburn. *The Religions of India*. London: Ginn and Company Publishers, 1895.

India's Goals: Constructive Criticisms by Leading Indians on the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme. Madras: G A Natesan and Co. n.d.

Jacobi, Hermann. "On the Date of the Rig Veda", translated by Dr J. Morison, *Indian Antiquary* XXIII, (September, 1894): 154-159.

Jayakar, M R. *The Story Of My Life, 1873-1922. Volume 1*. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1958.

Joshi, Vaman Malhar. "A Gist of Gita Rahasya" (1917). Reprinted in *Vā. Ma. Joṣī: Jīvanadr̥ṣṭī āṇṇi Sāhityavicār*, edited by Vilas Khole, Pune: Suparna Prakashan, 1983: 111-179.

Joshi, Vaman Malhar. *Nīti-śāstra Praveśa*. Mumbai: Kashinath Raghunath Mitra, 1919.

Jotirao Phule. *Mahātmā Phule Samagra Vāṅmaya* (1969). Edited by Yashwant Dinkar Phadke. Revised 5th edition. Mumbai: Secretary, Maharashtra Rajya Sahitya ani Sanskruti Mandal, 1991.

Keith, Berriedale A. (ed.). *Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy, 1750-1921, Vol. 2*. Humphrey, Milford: Oxford University Press, 1922.

Kelkar, Narsinha Chintaman. *Case for Indian Home Rule: Being a General Introduction to the Congress-League Scheme of Political Reforms in India*. Poona: Indian Home Rule League, 1917.

Kelkar, Narsinha Chintaman. *Samagra Keḷakara Vāṅmaya: Vol. 3- Kesarī*, Pune: Aryabhushan Press, 1938.

Kesari (1880-1920)

Khadilkar, Krishnaji Prabhakar. *Khādilakarāṅcā lekhasaṅgraha, Vol. 2, 1918-1929*. Mumbai: Y K Khadilkar, 1949.

Khaparde, Ganesh S. "Correspondence and Diary of G. S. Khaparde." In *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. 8*, edited by B. G. Kunte, Bombay: Gazetteers Department, Government of Maharashtra, 1978.

Kolhatkar, Wamanrao M. "Widow Re-Marriage." In *Indian Social Reform: Being a Collection of Essays, Addresses, Speeches, & C. with an Appendix*, edited by C. Yajnesvara Chintamani, Madras: Minerva Press, 1901: 282-311.

Kolhatkar, Yashwant Vyankatesh. *Gītā-dharma athavā Rahasya-khaṇḍana*. Pune: Aryabhushan Press, 1916.

Kunte, Mahadeo Moreshwar. *The Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilization in India*. Bombay: Oriental Printing Press, 1880.

Lele, Kashinath Vaman. "Śrī Gaṇeśotsava." *Dharma* 2 (14th September, 1905): 718-725.

Lele, Kashinath Vaman. *R̥gveda Saṃhitā: Mahārāṣṭra tātparyopet Vedārthaprakāśa sameta*, translation in Marathi (Vol.1, Aṣṭaka 1), Vairaj: Sri Krishna Press, 1911.

Lenin, Vladimir Illich. "Inflammable Material in World Politics." *Proletary* 33, (July 23-August 5, 1908). Reprinted in *VI Lenin: Collected Works, Vol. 15, March 1908-August 1909*. Translated from the Russian and Edited by Andrew Rothstein and Bernard Isaacs. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1973: 182-188.

Macdonell, A A. "Review of 'The Arctic Home on the Rig-veda: An Untenable Position' by N. K. Dutt." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 53, no. 1, (January, 1921): 127-131.

Mahratta (1880-1920)

Max Müller, Friedrich. *A History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, So far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brahmans*. London, Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate, 1859.

Max Müller, Friedrich. *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. 1 (1894), 2nd edition, London and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co, 1898.

Max Müller, Friedrich. *Physical Religion- Gifford Lectures* (1890), London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1891.

Mazumdar, Ambica Charan. *Indian National Evolution: A Brief Survey of the Origin and Progress of the Indian National Congress*. Madras: G A Natesan and Co. 1915.

Mill, John Stuart. "Theism". In *Three Essays on Religion: Nature, The Utility of Religion and Theism*. New Impression. Reprinted from the 3rd edition. London [etc.]: Longmans, Green and Co. 1923: 125-257.

Minayeff, I P. *Travels in and Diaries of India and Burma*. Translated by Hirendranath Sanyal. Calcutta, 1955.

Montagu, Edwin S. *An Indian Diary*. Edited by Venetia Montagu. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1930.

Morley, John Lord. "On Presenting the Indian Budget." In *Indian Speeches*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1909: 1-28.

Morley, John. *Recollections, Volume 2*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917.

Morley, John. *Speeches on Indian Affairs*. Third Edition. Madras: G A Natesan and Co., 1920.

Naoroji, Dadabhai. "England's Duties to India." In *Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings (on Indian Politics) of Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji*. Edited by Chunilal Lallubhai Parekh. Bombay: Caxton Printing Works, 1887: 26-50.

Nevinson, Henry W. *The New Spirit in India*. London and New York: Harper and Brothers, 1908.

Oldenberg, Hermann. *The Gr̥hya-Sūtras: Rules of Vedic Domestic Ceremonies, Part 1*. In 'Sacred Books of the East', edited by F. Max Müller, Vol. XXIX, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.

Parasnis, Dattatreya Balwant. *Poona in Bygone Days*. Bombay: The Times Press, 1921.

Pavgee, Narayan B. *The Aryavartic Home and the Aryan Cradle in the Sapta Sindhus or From Aryavarta to the Arctic and From the Cradle to the Colony*. Poona: Aryabhushan Press, 1915.

Quarterly of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha (1872-1898).

Ranade M G. *Religious and Social Reform: A Collection of Essays and Speeches*. Edited by M. B. Kolaskar, Bombay: G. Claridge and Company, 1902.

Ranade, M G. "The Sutra Smṛiti on the Age of Hindu Marriage." In *Religious and Social Reform: A Collection of Essays and Speeches*, edited by M B Kolaskar, Bombay: G. Claridge and Company, 1902: 26-52.

Ranade, Mahadeo Govind. *Nyāyamūrtī Mahādeva Goviṇḍa Rāṇaḍe hyāncī Dharmapara Vyākhyāne*. Edited by Dvarkanath Govind Vaidya. Bombay: D. G. Vaidya, 1915.

Ranade, Mahadev Govind. "Shastric Texts on the Subject of Infant Marriage." In *The Status of Women in India: Or A Handbook for Hindu Social Reformers* by Dayaram Gidumal. Bombay: Fort Printing Press, 1889: 299-314.

Ranade, Mahadev Govind. "The Sutra and Smṛti Dicta on the Age of Hindu Marriage." *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha* 11, No. 2, (1888): 1-20.

Ranade, Mahadev Govind. *Miscellaneous Writings*. (1915). New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1992.

Report of the Fifth Indian National Congress Held at Bombay on the 26th, 27th and 28th of December, 1889. Bombay, 1890.

Report of the Thirteenth Indian National Congress Held at Amraoti, On the 27th, 28th, and 29th December, 1897. Bombay, 1898.

Report of the thirty Fourth Session of the Indian National Congress: Held at Amritsar on the 27th, 29th, 30th, 31st December 1919 and 1st January, 1920. Amritsar: Reception Committee, 1922.

Report of the Thirty-First Indian National Congress: Held at Lucknow on the 26th, 28th, 29th and 30th December, 1916. Allahabad: Reception Committee Lucknow, 1917.

Report of the Twentieth Indian National Congress held at Bombay, On the 26th, 27th and 28th December 1904. Bombay, 1905.

Sardesai, Govind Sakharam. *New History of the Marathas, Vol. 3*. Bombay: Phoenix Publications, 1948.

Satyadhyantirth Swami and Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Satyadhyānatīrtha Svāmī va Rājeśrī Ṭīlaka yāñcā Gītārahasyāvarīla samvāda*. Compiler Ramacharya Galgali. N.p.: 1917.

Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar. *Hindutva* (1923), 6th edition, New Delhi: Bharti Sahitya Sadan, 1989.

Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar. *Samagra Sāvarakara Vāngmaya, Vol. 4- Vāngmaya Vibhāga*. Pune: Samagra Savarkar Vangmay Prakashan Samitee and Maharashtra Prantik Hindu Sabha, 1965.

Self-Determination for India. London: Indian Home Rule League, 1918.

Shinde, Vitthal Ramji. *Mājhyā āthavaṇī va anubhava*. Pune: Lekhan-Vaachan Bhandaar, 1958.

Source Material for A History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. 2, 1885-1920. Edited by M R Palande. Bombay: Director, Bombay State, 1958.

Sudharak (1887-1896)

Sydenham, Lord. *My Working Life*. London: John Murray, 1927.

Taylor, Isaac. *The Origin of the Aryans: An Account of the Prehistoric Ethnology and Civilisation of Europe* (1890), 2nd edition, London: Scott, 1892.

Telang, Kashinath Trimbak. *Selected Writings and Speeches*. With an Introduction by D. E. Wacha. Bombay: G S B Mitra Mandal and Manoranjan Press, 1916.

Telang, Kashinath Trimbak (a). "Free Trade and Protection from an Indian Point of View." In *Selected Writings and Speeches*. With an Introduction by D. E. Wacha. Bombay: G S B Mitra Mandal and Manoranjan Press, 1916: 98-181.

Telang, Kashinath Trimbak (b). "Must Social reform Precede Political Reform in India?" In *Selected Writings and Speeches*. With an Introduction by D. E. Wacha. Bombay: G S B Mitra Mandal and Manoranjan Press, 1916: 269-306.

The Bombay Riots of August 1893. Bombay: The Times of India Office, 1893.

The Second Townhall Meeting on the Vernacular Press Act. Calcutta, 1878.

Thibaut, George. "On Some Recent Attempts to Determine the Antiquity of Vedic Civilization." *Indian Antiquary* 24, (April, 1895): 85- 100.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar (a). *Samagra Lokamānya Ṭīlaka- Rājākīya Lekha Saṅgraha*, Volume 3. Pune: Kesari Prakashan, 1976.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar (b). *Samagra Lokamānya Ṭīlaka - Nave Netrutwa*, Volume 4. Pune: Kesari Prakashan, 1976.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar (c). *Samagra Lokamānya Ṭīlaka - Samāja va Sanskṛtī*, Volume 5. Pune: Kesari Prakashan, 1976.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar (d). *Samagra Lokamānya Ṭīlaka – Jīvana Dhyeya*, Volume 6. Pune: Kesari Prakashan, 1976.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar (e). *Samagra Lokamānya Ṭīlaka- Towards Independence*, Volume 7. Pune: Kesari Prakashan, 1976.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. "The Chaldean and Indian Vedas." In *R G Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume* (1917). Reprint, Delhi: Bharatiya Publishing House, 1977: 29-42.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Letters of Lokmanya Tilak*. Edited by M D Vidwans, Poona: Kesari Prakashan, 1966.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka lekha saṅgraha*. Edited by Laxman-śāstrī Joshi, New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1969.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāñce Kesaritīla Lekha* - Vol. 2. Edited by N. C. Kelkar, Pune: Kesari- Maratha Sanstha, 1924.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāñce Kesaritīla Lekha* - Vol. 3. Edited by N. C. Kelkar, Pune: Kesari- Maratha Sanstha, 1926.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāñce Kesaritīla Lekha* - Vol. 4. Edited by N. C. Kelkar, Pune: Kesari- Maratha Sanstha, 1930.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāñce Kesaritīla Lekha*- Vol. 1. Edited by N. C. Kelkar, Pune: Kesari- Maratha Sanstha, 1923.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlaka yāñcī Vyākhyāne*. Edited by Sadashiv Hari Bhawe, Pune: Narayan Balwant Chavan, 1908.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlakāñce Nibandha* (1996). Edited by Ram Shevalkar. 3rd edition. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2004.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Lokmanya Tilak in England, 1918-19: Diary and Documents*. Edited by Divekar, V D. Pune: Kesari Mahratta Trust, 1997.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Samagra Lokamānya Ṭīlaka - Inṅrajī āṇi Marāthī Agralekha va Patre*, Volume 8. Pune: Kesari Prakashan, 1995.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Śrī Bhagavad Gītā Rahasya athavā Karma-yoga-śāstra* (1915). 14th edition, Pune: Tilak Brothers, 1986.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Śrīmad Bhagavadgita Rahasya or Karma-Yoga-Shastra*. Translated into English in Two Volumes by Bhalchandra Sitaram Sukthankar, 1st edition, Poona, 1936.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *The Arctic Home in the Vedas, being also a new key to the interpretation of many Vedic texts and legends* (1903). Reprint. Pune: Tilak Brothers, 2008.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *The Orion or Researches into the Antiquities of the Vedas* (1893). (8th edition). Poona: Tilak Brothers, 1999.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Vedic Chronology and Vedanga Jyotiṣa*. Poona: Messrs Tilak Bros., 1925.

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar. *Bal Gangadhar Tilak: His Writings and Speeches*. With an Appreciation by Babu Aurobindo Ghose, Madras: Ganesh and Co., 1919.

Trevelyan, Ernest John Sir. *Hindu Law: As Administered in British India*. 2nd edition. Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1917.

Trevor, G H. "The Famine in India." *Macmillan's Magazine* 75, (November, 1, 1896): 470- 480.

Trial of Tilak. (1908). Edited by N. C. Kelkar. 2nd edition, New Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India, 1986.

Vaidya, Chintaman V. *History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. 1: Sruti (Vedic) Period, circa 4000 to 800 BC*. Poona: Aryabhushan Press, 1930.

Vaidya, Chintaman V. *Mahabharata: A Criticism*. Bombay: A. J. Combridge & Co., 1905.

Vaidya, Dvarkanath Govind. *Prārthanā Samājācā Itihāsa*. Mumbai: Prārthanā Samaj, 1927.

Vivekanand, Swami. *Complete Works of Swami Vivekanand- Volume 6*. 6th edition. Calcutta: Advaita Ashram, 1956.

Vividh-Jnana-Vistar (1880-1920)

Warren, William F. "Newest Light on our Oldest Mother Country." *The Open Court: A Quarterly Magazine* 19, no. 592 (September, 1905): 568.

Waters, George. *Bombay the Beautiful: A Lecture Delivered at the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute, Bombay*. Bombay, 1896.

Weber, Albrecht. *The History of Indian Literature* (1904). Translated by John Mann and Theodor Zachariae. (Popular Edition). London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner Co., 1914.

Williams, Monier. *Indian Wisdom: Examples of the Religious, Philosophical, and Ethical Doctrines of the Hindus*. London: H Allen and Co. 1875.

Winternitz, Maurice. "The Age of the Veda, Part 1 of *Geschichteder Indischen Litteratur*", (2nd edition)." Translated and reprinted by N. B. Utgirkar, *Deccan College Quarterly* 26, no. 2/3, (December, 1918): 1-11.

Secondary Sources

Agnes, Flavia. "Politicization of Personal Laws: A Study of Colonial India." In *Women of India: Colonial and Post-Colonial Periods*, edited by Bharati Ray, Vol. 9, Part 3 of *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, edited by Debi Prasad Chattopadhyay, New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations, 2005: 3–25.

Ali, Zaheer. *Khilafat in History and Indian Politics*. Delhi: Aakar Books, 2017.

Allen, Thomas M. *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Allender, Tim. *Learning Femininity In Colonial India, 1820-1932*. Manchester University Press, 2016.

Anagol, Padma. *The Emergence of Feminism in India, 1850-1920*. Aldershot [etc.]: Ashgate, 2005.

Anagol-McGinn, Padma. "The Age of Consent Act (1891) Reconsidered: Women's Perspectives and Participation in the Child-Marriage Controversy in India." *South Asia Research* 12, no. 2 (1992): 100–18.

Andersen, Walter K. and Damle, Shridhar D. *The Brotherhood in Saffron: The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Revivalism*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987.

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.

Apte, P P. "Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra." In *Sanskrit and Maharashtra: A Symposium*, edited by R. N. Dandekar. Poona: University of Poona Press, 1972: 30-35.

Armitage, David. *The Ideological Origins of the Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Armitage, David. *Foundations of Modern International Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Arneil, Barbara. *John Locke and America: The Defense of English Colonialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Arnold, David. *Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth-Century India*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1993.

Avineri, Shlomo. *Hegel's Theory of the Modern State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Baber, Zaheer. *The Science of Empire: Scientific Knowledge, Civilization and, Colonial Rule in India*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1996.

Bagade, Umesh. *Mahārāṣṭrātīla prabodhana āṇi vargajātiprabhutva*. Pune: Sugawa Prakashan, 2006.

Bagchi, Amiya Kumar. "Land Tax, Property Rights and Peasant Insecurity in Colonial India." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 20, no. 1 (1992): 1-49.

Bajpai, Rochana. "Liberalism: A Sketch." In *Liberalism as Ideology: Essays in Honour of Michael Freeden*, edited by Ben Jackson and Marc Stears, Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 2012: 53-76.

Bakhle, Janaki. "Country First? Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966) and the Writing of Essentials of Hindutva." *Public Culture* 22, no. 1 (2010): 149-86.

Balagangadhara, S N. *'The Heathen in His Blindness...': Asia, the West and the Dynamic of Religion*. Leiden: E J Brill, 1994.

Ballhatchet, Kenneth. *Social Policy and Social Change in Western India, 1817-1830*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Bandyopadhyay, Sibaji. *Three Essays on the Mahabharata- Exercises in the Literary Hermeneutics*. Ranikhet: Orient Blackswan, 2016.

Banerjee, Prathama, Nigam, Aditya and Pandey, Rakesh. "The Work of Theory: Thinking Across Traditions." *Economic and Political Weekly* 51, no. 37 (September 10-17, 2016): 42-50.

Banerjee, Prathama. 'The Abiding Binary: The Social and the Political in Modern India.' In *South Asian Governmentalities: Michel Foucault and the Question of Postcolonial Orderings*.

Edited by Stephen Legg and Deane Heath. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018: 81-105.

Banerjee, Prathama. *Elementary Aspects of the Political: Histories from the Global South*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2020.

Banerjee, Sukanya. *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010.

Banhatti, Shrinivas Narayan. "Caritrakāra Keḷakara." In *Keḷakara*. Edited by Kelkar Waadhdiwas Mandal, Pune: Kelkar Waadhdiwas Mandal, 1932: 54-74.

Basu, A. N. (ed). *Indian Education in Parliamentary Papers, Part 1*. Bombay, 1952.

Bayly, Christopher A. *Recovering Liberties: Indian Thought in the Age of Liberalism and Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Bayly, Susan. *Saints, Goddess and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700-1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Bedekar, Dinkar Keshav. "Ādhunika Mahārāṣṭrācī ghaḍaṇa āṇi udāramatavāda." *Samaj Prabodhan Patrika* 49 (October-December, 2011): 62-64.

Bedekar, Dinkar Keshav. "Lokamānya Ṭīlākāncī Niti-Mīmāṃsā." *Samaj Prabodhan Patrika*, (November- December, 1970): 1-7.

Bell, Duncan. *The Idea of Greater Britain: Empire and the Future of World Order, 1860-1900*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Bhagwat, A. K. and Pradhan, G. P. *Lokmanya Tilak: A Biography* (1956), Fourth Jaico Impression, Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2011.

Bhattacharya, Krishnakamal. *Institutes of Parāśara Translated into English*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1887.

Bhattacharya, Sabyasachi. *Talking Back: The Idea of Civilization in the Indian Nationalist Discourse*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Bilimoria, Purushottama. "Being and Text: Dialogic Fecundation of Western Hermeneutics and Hindu Mimamsa in the Critical Era." In *Hermeneutics and Hindu Thought: Toward a Fusion of Horizons*. Edited by Rita D. Sharma and Arvind Sharma, Springer, 2008: 45-80.

Botting, Eileen Hunt and Kronewitter, Sean. "Westernization and Women's Rights: Responses to Mills' *Subjection of Women*, 1869-1908." *Political Theory* 40, No. 4 (2012): 466-496.

Brasted, Howard. "Indian Nationalist Development and the Influence of Irish Home Rule, 1870-1886." *Modern Asian Studies* 14, no. 1 (1980): 37-63.

Brown, Judith M. *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics, 1915-1922*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Brown, MacKenzie D. "The Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak: Karma vs Jnana in the *Gita Rahasya*." *Journal of Asian Studies* 17, no. 2 (February, 1958): 197-208.

Bryant, Edwin. *The Quest for the Origins of Vedic Culture: The Indo-Aryan Migration Debate*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Burns, Arthur. "The Authority of the Church." In *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain*. Edited by Peter Mandler, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006: 179-202.

Carpenter, David. "Language, Ritual and Society: Reflections on the Authority of the Veda in India." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 60, no. 1 (1992): 57-77.

Carroll, Lucy. "Law, Custom and Statutory Social Reform: the Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act of 1856." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 20, no. 4 (1983): 363- 388.

Cashman, Richard. *The Myth of the Lokamanya: Tilak and Mass Politics in Maharashtra*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

Chakrabarty, Bidyut and Jha, Bhuwan Kumar. *Hindu Nationalism in India: Ideology and Politics*. London [etc.]: Routledge, 2020.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "Communal Riots and Labour: Bengal's Jute Mill-Hands in the 1890's." *Past & Present* 91, (May, 1981): 140-69.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. "The Difference-Deferral of (a) Colonial Modernity: Public Debates on Domesticity in British Bengal." *History Workshop* 36 (1993): 1-35.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Habitations of Modernity: Essays in the Wake of Subaltern Studies*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Chakrabarty, Dipesh. *The Calling of History: Sir Jadunath Sarkar and His Empire of Truth*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2015.

Chakravarti, Uma. *Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai*. New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1998.

Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan. *History, Culture and the Indian City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Chandavarkar, Rajnarayan. *The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India: Business Strategies and the Working Class in Bombay, 1900-1940*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Chandra, Bipan. *The Rise and Growth of Economic nationalism in India: Economic Policies of Indian National Leadership, 1880-1905*. Revised Edition. New Delhi: Har-Anand Publications, 2010.

Chandra, Sudhir. "Subjects' Citizenship Dream: Notes on the Nineteenth Century." In *Civil Society, Public Sphere and Citizenship: Dialogues and Perceptions*. Edited by Rajeev Bhargava and Helmut Reifeld, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2005: 106-29.

Charlesworth, Neil. *British Rule and the Indian Economy, 1800-1914*. London: Macmillan Press, 1982.

Charlesworth, Neil. *Peasants and Imperial Rule: Agriculture and Agrarian Society in the Bombay Presidency, 1850-1935*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Chatterjee, Kumkum. "Communities, Kings, Chronicles: The Kulagranthas of Bengal." *Studies in History* 21, no. 2, (2005): 173-213.

Chatterjee, Partha (a). *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Chatterjee, Partha (b). *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (1986). 2nd impression, London: Zed Books, 1993.

Chatterjee, Partha. "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialized Women: The Contest in India." *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 4 (1989): 622-33.

Chatterjee, Partha. "History and the Nationalization of Hinduism." *Social Research* 59, no. 1 (1992): 111- 149.

Chatterjee, Partha. "The Disciplines in Colonial Bengal." In *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciples in Colonial Bengal*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995: 1-29.

Chaudhury, Nirad C. *Scholar Extraordinary: The Life of Professor the Rt. Hon. Friedrich Max Muller P. C.* Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Chavan, R N. "Lokamānya Ṭīlāk va asprushyatā niwāraṇācā praṣṇa." *Samaj Prabodhan Patrika* 18, no. 5 (September-October, 1981): 354-67.

Chidester, David. "'Classify and conquer'- Friedrich Max Muller, indigenous religious traditions, and imperial comparative religion." In *Beyond Primitivism: Indigenous Religious Traditions and Modernity*. Edited by Jacob K Olupona, New York: Routledge, 2004: 71-88.

Chousalkar, Ashok. *Ādhunika bhāratīya rājakīya vicāra: Prāvaha āṇi antah pravāha*. Pune: Pratima Prakashan, 2014.

Claeys, Gregory. *Imperial Sceptics: British Critics of Empire, 1850-1920*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Conlon, Frank F. "The Polemic process in Nineteenth Century Maharashtra- Vishnubawa Brahmachari and Hindu revival." In *Religious Controversy in British India: Dialogues in South Asian Languages*. Edited by Kenneth W Jones, New York: SUNY Press, 1992: 5-26.

Cooper, Frederick and Stoler, Ann Laura. "Between Metropole and Colony: Rethinking a Research Agenda." In *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Edited by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997: 1-56.

D'Sa, Francis X. *Sabdapramanyam in Sabara and Kumarila*. Vienna, 1980.

Dallmayr, Fred. "Gandhi on Self-Rule." *ReVision* 24, no. 1 (2001): 9-18.

Dalmia Vasudha. *The Nationalization of Hindu Traditions: Bharatendu Harischandra and Nineteenth-Century Banaras* (1997). Reprint, 3rd Impression, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2017.

Dandekar, R N, ed. *Sanskrit and Maharashtra: A Symposium*. Poona: University of Poona Press, 1972.

Dandekar, R N. "Twenty-Five Years of Vedic Studies." In *Progress of Indic Studies: 1917-1942*, edited by R N Dandekar. Poona: BORI, 1942: 1-68.

Danzig, Richard. "The Announcement of August 20th, 1917." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no. 1 (1968): 19-37.

Das, Manmatha Nath. *India Under Morley and Minto: Politics Behind Revolution, Repression and Reforms*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1964.

Datar, Abhay. "The Lucknow Pact of 1916: A Second Look at the Congress-Muslim League Agreement." *Economic and Political Weekly* 47, no. 10 (2012): 65-69.

Date, Shankar Vasudev (ed). *Marāthī Grantha Sūcī*. Pune: Samartha Bharat Chapkhana, 1943.

Datta, Pradip Kumar and Palshikar, Sanjay. "Introduction: Reframing Indian Political Thought." In *Indian Political Thought*. Edited by Pradip Kumar Datta and Sanjay Palshikar, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013: 1-27.

Datta, Pradip Kumar. *Carving Blocs: Communal Ideology in Early Twentieth-century Bengal*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Davis Jr, Donald R. *The Spirit of Hindu Law*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Derrett, J Duncan M. "Dharmaśāstra and Juridical Literature." In *A History of Indian Literature, Part 5*. Edited by Jan Gonda. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973.

Derrett, J. Duncan M. *Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu Law. III: Anglo-Hindu Legal Problems*. Leiden: Brill, 1977.

Deshpande, G P. *The World of Ideas in Modern Marathi: Phule, Vinoba, Savarkar*. New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2009.

Deshpande, Madhav M (a). "Pune: An Emerging Centre of Education in Early Modern Maharashtra." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 19, nos. 1 and 2 (2015): 59-96.

Deshpande, Madhav M (b). "'The Arctic Home in the Vedas'- Religion, Politics and the Colonial Context." In *Political Hinduism: The Religious Imagination in Public Sphere* (2009), edited by Vinay Lal, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, (4th Impression), 2015: 33-57.

Deshpande, Madhav M. "Aryan Origins: Arguments from the Nineteenth Century Maharashtra." In *The Indo-Aryan Controversy: Evidence and Inference in Indian History*, edited by Edwin F Bryant and Laurie L Patton, London and New York: Routledge, 2005: 407-433.

Deshpande, Madhav M. "Pandit and Professor: Transformations in the 19th century Maharashtra." In *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, edited by Axel Michaels, New Delhi: Manohar, 2001: 119-153.

Deshpande, Prachi. *Creative Pasts- Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700-1960*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007.

Desika Char, S. V. *Readings in the Constitutional History of India, 1757–1947*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983.

Devare, Aparna. *History and the Making of a Modern Hindu Self*. New Delhi: Routledge, 2011.

Dhavalikar, Madhukar Keshav. *Śrī-Gaṇeśa: Āśīyāce ārādhya daivata*. Pune: Rajhans Prakashan, 2009.

Dobbin, Christine. *Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities in Bombay City, 1840-1885*. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Engels, Dagmar. "The Age of Consent Act of 1891: Colonial Ideology in Bengal." *South Asia Research*, 3, 2 (1983): 107–31.

Farquhar J N. *Modern Religious Movements in India* (1914). Reprint, Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1977.

Figuera, Dorothy M. *Aryans, Jews, Brahmins: Theorizing Authority through Myths of Identity*. New Delhi: Navayana, 2015.

- Fitzpatrick, Claire. "Nationalising the ideal: Labour and Nationalism in Ireland, 1909-1923." In *Citizenship and Community: Liberals, radicals and collective identities in the British Isles, 1865-1931*. Edited by Eugenio F. Biagini. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996: 276-304.
- Fitzpatrick, John R. *John Stuart Mill's Political Philosophy: Balancing Freedom and the Collective Good*. London and New York: Continuum, 2006.
- Forbes, Gerladine. *Women in Modern India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.
- Franklin, Michael J. *Orientalist Jones: Sir William Jones, Poet, Lawyer, and Linguist, 1746-1794*. Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Freitag, Sandria. *Collective Action and Community: Public Arenas and the Emergence of Communalism in North India*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1989.
- Friedlander, Eli. *J J Rousseau: An Afterlife of Words*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- Ganachari, Aravind. "Keshub Chandra Sen's Bombay Visit (1864) and the Response of 'Young Bombay': Contours of Reform Movement in Western India." *The Indian Historical Review* 35, no. 1 (January, 2008): 49:83.
- Ganachari, Aravind. *Gopal Ganesh Agarkar: The Secular Rationalist Reformer*. Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2005.
- Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand. *Hind Swaraj and Other Writings*. (1997) Edited by Anthony J. Parel. 13th Reprint. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1983.
- Ghose, Anandita. *Claiming the City: Protest, Crime, and Scandals in Colonial Calcutta, c. 1860-1920*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind. "The Religious Complex in Eighteenth-Century Poona." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105, No. 4, (Oct-Dec., 1985): 719-24.
- Gonda, Jan. *Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious Point of View* (1966). 2nd Photomechanical Reprint, Leiden: E J Brill, 1969.

Gopal Ram. *Indian Muslims: A Political History, 1858-1947*. (1959). Reprint. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1964.

Gopal, Priyamvada. *Insurgent Empire: Anticolonial Resistance and British Dissent*. London and New York: Verso, 2019.

Gopal, Sarvepalli. *The British Policy in India: 1858-1905*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Gordon, Richard. "Non-cooperation and Council Entry, 1919 to 1920." *Modern Asian Studies* 7, no. 3 (1973): 443-73.

Gorman, Daniel. *Imperial Citizenship: Empire and the Question of Belonging*. Manchester [etc.]: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Goswami, Manu. *Producing India: From Colonial Economy to National Space*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Gowda, Nagappa K. *The Bhagavadgita in the Nationalist Discourse*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Guha, Ramachandra. *Gandhi: The Years that Changed the World, 1914-1948*. New Delhi: Penguin. 2019.

Guha, Sumit. "An Indian Penal Regime: Maharashtra in the Eighteenth Century.' *Past & Present*. No. 147, (May, 1995): 101-126.

Gune, Vithal Trimbak. *The Judicial System of the Marathas*. Poona: Deccan College, 1953.

Gupta, Partha Sarathi. *Imperialism and the British Labour Movement, 1914-1964*. 2nd Print. ed. New Delhi [etc.]: Sage Publications, 2002.

Guru, Gopal. "The Idea of India: 'Derivative, Desi and Beyond'. *Economic and Political Weekly* 46, no. 37 (2011): 36-42.

Halbfass, Wilhelm. *India and Europe: An Essay in Philosophical Understanding*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990.

Hall, Catherine. *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867*. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002.

Hancock, Mary. "Home Science and the Nationalization of Domesticity in Colonial India." *Modern Asian Studies* 35, no. 4 (2001): 871-903.

Hardiman, David. *The Nonviolent Struggle for Indian Freedom, 1905-19*. Gurgaon: Penguin/Random House, 2018.

Hare, R M. *The Language of Morals* (1952). Reprint. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Hasan, Mushirul and Pernau, Margrit (ed.). *Regionalizing Pan-Islamism: Documents on the Khilafat Movement*. New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 2005.

Hasan, Mushirul. *Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916- 1928*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1979.

Hatekar, Neeraj. "Farmers and Markets in the Pre-Colonial Deccan: The Plausibility of Economic Growth in Traditional Society." *Past & Present*. No. 178, (2003): 116-47.

Heath, Deana. "Bureaucracy, Power and Violence in Colonial India: The Role of Indian Subalterns." In *Empires and Bureaucracy in World History: From Late Antiquity to the Twentieth Century*, edited by Peter Crooks and Timothy H. Parsons, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016: 364-390.

Heehs, Peter. "Aurobindo Ghose and Revolutionary Terrorism." In *Nationalism, Terrorism, Communalism: Essays in Modern Indian History*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998: 42-67.

Heimsath, Charles H. *Indian Nationalism and Social Reform*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964.

Hill, Jen. *White Horizon: The Arctic in the Nineteenth-Century British Imagination*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2008.

Hiltebeitel, Alf. "New Possibilities in Considering the Mahabharata's Intention as "History"." In *Ways and Reasons for Thinking about the Mahabharata as a Whole*, edited by Vishwa Adluri, Pune: BORI, 2013: 29-62.

Hiriyanna, M. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy* (1932), 1st Indian edition (1993), 5th reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2009.

Holt, Thomas C. *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labour, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992.

Horstmann, Rolf-Peter. "The Role of Civil Society in Hegel's Political Philosophy." In *Hegel on Ethics and Politics* edited by Robert B. Pippin, Otfried Hoffe, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004: 208-240.

Hyam, Ronald. "The Study of Imperial and Commonwealth History at Cambridge, 1881-1981: Founding Fathers and Pioneer Research Students." *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29, no. 3 (2001): 75-103.

Inamdar, N R. "The Political Ideas of Lokmanya Tilak." In *Political Thought in Modern India*, edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L Deutsch, New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1986: 110-121.

Inamdar, N R. *Lokamānya Ṭīlākāñce rājakīya vicāradhana*. Pune: University of Pune Press, 1984.

Isayeva, Natalia. *Shankara and Indian Philosophy*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993.

Iyer, Raghavan N. *The Moral and Political Thought of Mahatma Gandhi*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. *The Hindu Nationalist Movement and Indian Politics, 1925 to the 1990s: Strategies of Identity-building, Implantation and Mobilisation (with Special Reference to Central India)*. London: Hurst, 1996.

Jaffrelot, Christophe. "The Roots and Varieties of Political Conservatism in India." *Studies in Indian Politics* 5, no. 2 (2017): 205-217.

Javadekar, Acharya S D. *Ādhunika Bhārata* (1938). Revised 2nd Edition. Pune: Rajguru Press, 1953.

Javadekar, Acharya S D. *Lokamānya Ṭīlāka va Mahātmā Gāṇdhī*. Pune: Saraswati. 1946.

Jayal, Niraja Gopal. *Citizenship and Its Discontents: An Indian History*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Johnson, Gordon. "The Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress, 1915 to 1926." *Modern Asian Studies* 9, No. 2 (1975): 145-203.

Johnson, Gordon. *Provincial Politics and Indian Nationalism: Bombay and the Indian National Congress, 1880 to 1915*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973.

Jois, Rama M. "The Mimamsa Rules of Interpretation." In *Purvamimamsa from an Interdisciplinary Point of View*. Edited by K. T. Pandurangi and in *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization' Vol. 2, Part 6*. Series edited by D. P. Chattopadhyay, New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations & Motilal Banarsidass, 2000: 575-613.

Jones, Kenneth W. *Socio-religious Reform Movements in British India*. Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 1989.

Kahan, Alan S. *Aristocratic Liberalism: The Social and Political Thought of Jacob Burckhardt, John Stuart Mill, and Alexis de Tocqueville*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Kaiwar, Vasant. "Property Structures, demography and the crisis of the agrarian economy of colonial Bombay presidency." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 19, no. 2 (1992): 255-300.

Kamra, Sukeshi. 'Law and radical Rhetoric in British India: The 1897 Trial of Bal Gangadhar Tilak.' *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies* 39, no. 3 (2016): 546-559.

Kane, Pandurang Vaman. *History of Dharmasastra: Ancient and Medieval Religious and Civil Law, Vol. 2, Part 1*. 1st edition. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1941.

Kapadia, Kanaiyalal Motilal. *Marriage and Family in India*. Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Kapila, Shruti. "A History of Violence." In *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavadgita and Modern India*, edited by Shruti Kapila and Faisal Devji, Delhi and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013: 177-199.

Kapila, Shruti. "Self, Spencer and *Swaraj*: Nationalist thought and Critiques of Liberalism, 1890-1920." *Modern Intellectual History* 4, no. 1, (2007): 109-127.

Kapila, Shruti. "The Enchantment of Science in India." *Isis* 101, no. 1, 2010: 120–132.

Karandikar, Anant Janardan. *Krāntikāraka Ṭīlāka āṇi tyāñcā kāḷa*. Pune: Kaal Prakashan, 1969.

Karandikar, Janardan Sakharam. *Gītā-tattva-Manjarī athavā Nirlepa Karmaśāstra*. Pune: Kesari Prakashan, 1953.

Karandikar, Shivram Lakshman. *Lokamanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak: The Hercules and Prometheus of Modern India*. Poona: S L Karandikar, 1957.

Karandikar, Shivram Lakshman. *Sāvarkara-Caritra* (1943). 2nd edition. Pune: Modern Book Depot. 1947.

Karandikar, V R. “Gītārahasya- Lokamānyāncā Dharmanitivicāra.” In *Sānskrutika Sanchita* (1978), 2nd edition, Mumbai: Majestic Prakashan, 2006: 179-201.

Kaur, Raminder. *Performative Politics and the Culture of Hinduism: Public Uses of Religion in Western India*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003.

Kaviraj, Sudipta (a), *The Imaginary Institution of India: Politics and Ideas*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010.

Kaviraj, Sudipta (b) *The Trajectories of the Indian State: Politics and Ideas*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010.

Kaviraj, Sudipta. “On the Historicity of ‘the political’: *Rajaniti* and politics in modern Indian thought.” In *Comparative Political Thought: Theorizing Practices* edited by Michael Freeden and Andrew Vincent, London and New York: Routledge, 2013: 24-39.

Kaviraj, Sudipta. “Contradictions of Conservatism.” *Studies in Indian Politics* 6, no. 1 (2018): 1-14.

Keer, Dhananjay. *Lokamanya Tilak: Father of Our Freedom Struggle*. Bombay: S. B. Kanguthar, 1959.

Kelkar, Narsinha Chintaman (a): *Lokamānya Ṭīlāka yāñce caritra- Vol. 1*, (1923). Reprint, Mumbai: Riya Publications, 2012.

Kelkar, Narsinha Chintaman (b): *Lokamānya Ṭīlāka yāñce caritra - Vol. 2*, (1928). Reprint, Mumbai: Riya Publications, 2012.

Kelkar, Narsinha Chintaman (c): *Lokamānya Ṭīlāka yāñce caritra* - Vol. 3, (1928). Reprint, Mumbai: Riya Publications, 2012.

Kendle, John. "The Round Table movement, the empire and world order." In *Federal Britain: A History*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997: 79-103.

Keune, Jon. "Eknāth in context: the literary, social, and political milieus of an early modern saint-poet." *South Asian History and Culture* 6, no. 1 (2015): 70-86.

Kidambi, Prashant. *The making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920*. London and New York: Routledge, 2016.

Koditschek, Theodore. *Liberalism, Imperialism, and the Historical Imagination: Nineteenth-Century Visions of Greater Britain*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Kopf, David. *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance: The Dynamics of Indian Modernization, 1773-1835*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969.

Kosambi, Meera (a) "Gender Reform and Competing State Controls over Women: The Rakhmabai Case (1884-1888)." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 29, no. 1-2 (1995): 265-90.

Kosambi, Meera (b). "British Bombay and Marathi Mumbai: Some Nineteenth Century Perceptions." *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*, edited by Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995: 3-24.

Kosambi, Meera "Girl-Brides and Socio-Legal Change: Age of Consent Bill (1891) Controversy." *Economic and Political Weekly* 26, Nos. 31-32 (August 3-10, 1991): 1857-1868.

Kosambi, Meera. "Women, Emancipation and Equality: Pandita Ramabai's Contribution to Women's Cause." *Economic and Political Weekly* 23, no. 44 (1988): WS38-S49.

Kosambi, Meera. *Crossing the Threshold: Feminist Essays in Social History*, Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2007.

Kotani, Hiroyuki. "Dośa (Sin)- Prāyaścitta (Penance): The Predominating Ideology in the Medieval Deccan". In *The State in India: Past and Present*. Edited by Masaaki Kimura and Akio Tanabe, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006: 103-119.

Kulkarni, V D. "Vāṅgmayīna upasamhāra." In *Marāthī Vāṅgmayācā Itihāsa*, Vol. 6, Part 2. Edited by V. D. Kulkarni and G. M. Kulkarni, Pune: Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad. 1991: 344-397.

Kumar, Ravinder (a). *Western India in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in the Social History of Maharashtra*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.

Kumar, Ravinder (b). "The New Brahmans of Maharashtra." In *Soundings in Modern South Asian History* edited by D. A. Low. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968: 95-130.

Kurundkar, Narhar. *Vyasāñce śilpa* (2002). Reprint. Pune: Deshmukh and Company, 2015.

Lamba, Rinku. "Nationalism". In *Political Science- Indian Political Thought*, Vol. 3. Edited by Pradip Kumar Datta and Sanjay Palshikar. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2013: 121-149.

Lederle Matthew. *Philosophical Trends in Modern Maharashtra*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1976.

Lele, Jayant. *Elite Pluralism and Class Rule: Political Development in Maharashtra, India*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Leopold, Joan. "British Applications of the Aryan Theory of Race to India, 1850-1870." *The English Historical Review* 89, no. 352 (July, 1974): 578-603.

Lingat, Robert. *The Classical Laws of India*. Translated from the French with additions by J. Duncan M. Derrett. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press, 1973.

Llewellyn, J E. "The Modern *Bhagavad Gita*: Caste in Twentieth Century Commentaries." *International Journal of Hindu Studies* 23, (2019): 309-323.

Ludden, David. "Orientalist Empiricism: Transformations of Colonial Knowledge." In *Orientalism and Postcolonial Predicament: Perspectives on South Asia*. Edited by Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993: 250-278.

Mahajan, Gurpreet. *India: Political Ideas and the Making of a Democratic Discourse*. London and New York: Zed Books, 2013.

Mainkar, T G. "Literature and Darsanas." In *Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar as an Indologist: A Symposium*. Edited by R N Dandekar. Pune: BORI, 1976: 163-176.

Majeed, Javed. *Ungoverned Imaginings: James Mill's 'The History of British India' and Orientalism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

Mamdani, Mahmood. *Define and Rule: Native as Political Identity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts [etc]: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Mander, William J (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Manela, Erez. *The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*. New York [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Mani, Lata. *Contentious Traditions: The Debate on Sati in Colonial India*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998.

Manjapra, Kris. "Knowledge Internationalism and the Swadeshi Movement, 1903-1921." *Economic and Political Weekly* 47, no. 42, (October 20, 2012): 53-62.

Mantena Karuna. *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010.

Mantena, Karuna. "Mill and the Imperial Predicament." In *J.S. Mill's Political Thought: A Bicentennial Reassessment*. Edited by Nadia Urbinati and Alex Zakaras. New York: Cambridge University, 2007: 298-318.

Martin, Ged. "Empire Federalism and Imperial Parliamentary Union, 1820–1870." *The Historical Journal* 16, no. 1 (1973): 65-92.

Masselos, Jim. "The City as Represented in Crowd Action: Bombay, 1893". *Economic and Political Weekly* 28, no. 5 (January, 30, 1993): 182-88.

Masselos, Jim. *Towards Nationalism: Groups Affiliations and the Politics of Public Associations in Nineteenth Century Western India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1974.

Matikkala, Mira. *Empire and Imperial Ambition: Liberty, Englishness and Anti-Imperialism in Late-Victorian Britain*. London and New York: I B Tauris, 2011.

Matilal, Bimal K. *The Collected Essays of Bimal Krishna Matilal: Ethics and Epics*. Edited by Jonardan Ganeri, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002.

May, Alex. "The Round Table and Imperial Federation, 1910-17." *The Round Table* 99, No. 410 (October, 2010): 547-56.

McGee, Mary. "Ritual Rights: The Gender Implications of *Adhikara*." In *Jewels of Authority: Women and Textual Tradition in Hindu India*. Edited by Laurie L. Patton. New York [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2002: 32–50.

McLane, John R. "The Early Congress, Hindu Populism, and the Wider Society." In *Congress and Indian Nationalism: The Pre-Independence Phase*. Edited by Richard Sisson and Stanley Wolpert. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988: 47-61.

McLane, John R. *Indian Nationalism and the Early Congress*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.

Mcpherson, Kenneth. "*How Best Do We Survive?*": *A Modern Political History of the Tamil Muslims*. London and New York: Routledge, 2010.

Mehrotra, S R. "The Politics Behind the Montagu Declaration of 1917." In *Politics and Society in India*. Edited by C H Philips. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1963: 71-96.

Mehrotra, S R. "The Poona Sarvajanik Sabha: The Early Phase (1870-1880)." *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 6, no. 3 (1969): 293-321.

Mehta, Uday Singh. *Liberalism and Empire: A Study in Nineteenth-Century British Liberal Thought*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999.

Menon, Nivedita. "Beyond the Euro-centrism-Indigenism Binary: Counter-Narratives to Hindutva Claims." *Economic and Political Weekly* LIV, no. 38 (September, 21-27), 2019: 37-45.

Metcalf, Thomas R. *Ideologies of the Raj*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Minault, Gail. *The Khilafat Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1982.

Minkowski, Christopher. "The Pandit as Public Intellectual: The Controversy over *Virodha* or Inconsistency in the Astronomical Sciences." In *The Pandit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, edited by Axel Michaels. New Delhi: Manohar, 2001: 495-514.

Minkowski, Christopher. "Astronomers and their Reasons: Working paper on Jyotiḥśāstra." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 30 (2002): 495-514.

Mohan, Jyoti. "The Glory of Ancient India Stems from her Aryan Blood: French Anthropologists 'construct' the racial theory of India for the world." *Modern Asian Studies* 50, no. 5 (2016): 1576-1678.

Molendijk, Arie L. *Friedrich Max Müller and the Sacred Books of the East*. Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Moore, Robin James. *Liberalism and Indian Politics: 1872-1922*. London: Edward Arnold, 1966.

More, Sadanand. *Gītā Rahasyācī nirmīti-mimāṃsā*. Pune: Kesari Maratha Sanstha, 2005.

More, Sadanand. *Karmayogī Lokamānya: Cikitsaka ākalana*. Pune: Gandharvaved Prakashan, 2014.

Mukherjee, Mithi. *India in the Shadows of Empire: A Legal and Political History, 1774-1950*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Murthy, Viren and Schneider, Axel (ed.) *The Challenge of Linear Time: Nationhood and Politics of History in East Asia*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

Naik, J V. "Early anti-caste movements in western India: The Paramahansa Sabha." *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* 49-51, (1974-76): 136-161.

Naik, J V. "Lokmanya Tilak on Karl Marx and Class Conflict." *Economic and Political Weekly* 34, no. 18 (May 1, 1999): 1023-1025.

Naik, J V. "The Seed Period of Bombay's Intellectual Life: 1822-1857." In *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*. Edited by Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995: 61-75.

Naik, J V. *British Secret Official View Regarding Lokmanya Tilak and Gita-Rahasya*. Pune: Tilak Smarak Trust, 2005.

- Naik, V N. *Indian Liberalism: A Study*. Bombay: Padma Publications, 1945.
- Nanda, B R. *Gokhale: The Indian Moderates and the British Raj*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1977.
- Nandy, Ashis. *At the Edge of Psychology: Essays in Politics and Culture*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Illegitimacy of Nationalism: Rabindranath Tagore and the Politics of Self*. Delhi [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Nandy, Ashis. *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*. Delhi [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Naregal, Veena. "Figuring the Political as Pedagogy: Colonial Intellectuals, Mediation and Modernity in Western India." *Studies in History* 17, no. 1 (2001): 17-55.
- Naregal, Veena (a). *Language Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere: Western India Under Colonialism*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2001.
- Natarajan, J. *History of Indian Journalism*. (1955). 3rd reprint. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 2017.
- Navare, S S. "Nibaṇḍha Pācavā" In *Lokamānya Ṭīlākāncī Dharma-viśayaka mate*. Edited by N. C. Kelkar, Poona: Tilak Smarak Trust, 1925: 176-202.
- Nemade Bhalchandra. *Soḷā Bhāṣaṇe*, (2009), 2nd edition, Mumbai: Lokvangmay Griha, 2011.
- Nemade, Bhalchandra. *Nativism*. Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 2009.
- Nemade, Bhalchandra. *The Influence of English on Marathi: A Sociolinguistic and Stylistic Study* (1990). Reprint. Mumbai: Popular Prakashan, 2014.
- Nemade, Bhalchandra. *Tikā Swayamwara* (1990). Aurangabad: Saket Prakashan, 2001.
- Nicholson, Andrew J. *Unifying Hinduism: Philosophy and Identity in Indian Intellectual History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2010.
- Noorani A G. *Indian Political Trials*. New Delhi: Sterling Publishers, 1974.

Noorani, A G. *Badraddin Tyabji*. (1969) Reprint. New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. 2009.

Noorani, A G. *Jinnah and Tilak: Comrades in the Freedom Struggle*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Novetzke, Christian Lee. "Vernacularization." In *The Oxford History of Hinduism: Hindu Law*. Edited by Patrick Olivelle and Donald R Davis, Jr. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2018: 480-495.

Numark, Mitch. "Translating *Dharma*: Scottish Missionary-Orientalists and the Politics of Religious Understanding in Nineteenth-Century Bombay." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 70, no. 2, (May, 2011): 471-500.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind. *A Comparison Between Women and Men: Tarabai Shinde and the critique of gender relations in colonial India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press 1994.

O'Hanlon, Rosalind. *Caste, Conflict and Ideology: Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Low Caste Protest in Nineteenth-Century Western India*, (1985). 3rd Impression. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2014.

Omvedt, Gail. *Cultural Revolt in a Colonial Society: The Non-Brahmin Movement in Western India, 1873-1930*. Bombay: Scientific Socialist Educational Trust, 1976.

Owen, Hugh F. "Negotiating the Lucknow Pact." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1972): 561-87.

Owen, Hugh F. "Towards Nation-wide Agitation and Organization: The Home Rule Leagues, 1915-18." In *Soundings in Modern South Asian History*. Edited by D. A. Low. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968: 159-195.

Owen, Nicholas. *The British Left and India: Metropolitan Anti-imperialism, 1885-1947*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Paddayya, K. "On Some Aspects of the Early History of the Deccan College, Pune." *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute* 60/61 (Diamond Jubilee, 2000-01): 29-64.

Padhye, Prabhakar. "Prabodhanāce pahile pravakte." *Samaj Prabodhan Patrika* 68, (March-April), 1976: 71-81.

Palsetia, Jesse S. "Parsi and Hindu Traditional and Nontraditional Responses to Christian Conversion in Bombay, 1839-45." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 74, no. 3 (September, 2006): 615-645.

Palshikar, Sanjay. "Political Thought in Maharashtra (1850-1950)." In *Development of Modern Indian Thought and the Social Science*. Edited by Sabyasachi Bhattacharya of *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization, Vol. 10, Part 5*. Series edited by D. P. Chattopadhyaya, New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Oxford University Press, 2007: 293-308.

Palshikar, Sanjay. *Evil and the Philosophy of Retribution: Modern Commentaries on the Bhagavad-Gita*. Shimla and New Delhi: IAS and Routledge, 2014.

Palshikar, Suhas. "Uthaḷa ādhunikatemāge adalelā sanātanavāda: Viṣṇubāwā Brahmacārī." In *Ādhunikatā āṇi Paramparā: Ekoṇisāvyā śatakātīla Mahārāṣṭra*. Edited by Rajendra Vora, Pune: Pratima Prakashan, 2000: 154-182.

Pandey, Gyanendra. *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Pandit, Nalini. "Tilak and Indian Nationalism." In *Political Thought and Leadership of Lokmanya Tilak*. Edited by N R Inamdar. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1983: 19-33.

Pandurangi, K T (ed.). *Purvamimamsa from an Interdisciplinary Point of View*. In 'History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization' Vol. 2, Part 6. Series edited by D. P. Chattopadhyay. New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations & Motilal Banarsidass, 2000.

Pantham, Thomas. "Introduction: For the Study of Modern Indian Political Thought". In *Political Thought in Modern India*. Edited by Thomas Pantham and Kenneth L Deutsch. New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1986: 9-16.

Paranjape, Makarand R. *Debating the 'Post' Condition in India: Critical Vernaculars, Unauthorised Modernities, Postcolonial Contentions*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018.

Parekh, Bhikhu. *Debating India: Essays on Political Discourse*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Parekh, Bhikhu. *Gandhi's Political Philosophy: A Critical Examination*. London: Macmillan, 1989.

Parikh, Govardhan. *Bhāratīya rāṣṭravādāce śilpakāra: Bāḷa Gaṅgādhara Ṭīlaka*, Mumbai: Mauj Prakashan Gruha, 1969.

Parvate, T V. *Bal Gangadhar Tilak: A Narrative and Interpretative Review of His Life, Career and Contemporary Events*. Ahmedabad, 1958.

Patton, Laurie L (ed). *Jewels of Authority: Women and Textual Tradition in Hindu India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Patton, Laurie L. "Introduction." In *Authority, Anxiety and Canon: Essays in Vedic Interpretation*. Edited by Laurie L. Patton, Albany: SUNY Press, 1994: 1–18.

Phadke, Yashwant Dinkar. "Lokamānya Ṭīlakāñce Congress-madhīla va bāherīla rājakāraṇa." *Navabharat: Congress Shataabdi Visheshank* 39, nos. 3-5 (December-February, 1985-86): 62-78.

Phadke, Yashwant Dinkar. *Āgarakara*. (1995). 2nd edition. Mumbai: Mauj Prakashan. 2002.

Phadke, Yashwant Dinkar. *Lokamānya Ṭīlak āṇi Krāntikāraka* (1985). 2nd edition. Pune: Shrividya Prakashan, 2000.

Phadke, Yashwant Dinkar. *Śodha: Bāḷā-Gopālāñca* (1977), 2nd edition, Pune: Shrividya Prakashan, 2000.

Phadke, Yashwant Dinkar. *Visāvyā śatakātīla Mahārāṣṭra: 1901-1914*. Pune: Shrividya Prakashan, 1989.

Phadkule, Nirmal Kumar. *Nibandhamāletīla tīna nibandha*. Pune: Continental Prakashan, 1975.

Phatak, Narhar R. *Lokamānya* (1972). 3rd edition. Mumbai: Mauj Prakashan Griha, 2006.

Phatak, Narhar R. *Nyāyamūrtī Mahādeva Govinda Rānaḍe yāñce caritra*, 1st edition, Mumbai: N. R. Phatak, 1924.

Pingree, David. "Jyotiḥśāstra: Astral and Mathematical Literature". In *A History of Indian Literature, Vol. VI*. Edited by Jan Gonda. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981.

Pirzada, Syed Sharifuddin (ed.). *Foundations of Pakistan: All-India Muslim League Documents, Vol. 1 (1906-24)*. Karachi: National Publishing House Limited, 1969.

Pitts, Jennifer. "Hobson and the Critique of Liberal Empire." *Raritan* 29, no. 3 (2010): 8-22.

Pitts, Jennifer. "Legislator of the World? A Rereading of Bentham on Colonies." *Political Theory* 31, no. 2 (April, 2003): 200-234.

Pitts, Jennifer. *A Turn to Empire: The Rise of Imperial Liberalism in Britain and France*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005.

Poliakov, Leon. *The Aryan Myth- A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1996.

Pollock, Sheldon. "The Death of Sanskrit." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 43, no. 2 (2001): 392-426.

Potts, Daniel E. *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793-1837: The History of Serampore and Its Missions*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Prakash, Gyan. *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999.

Quack, Johannes. *Disenchanted India: Organized Rationalism and Criticism of Religion in India*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Rabault, Pascal. "From Language to Man? German Indology and Ethnology in the Epistemological Battlefield of the Nineteenth Century." In *Sanskrit and Orientalism: Indology and Comparative Linguistics in Germany, 1750-1958*. Edited by Douglas T McGetchin, Peter K. J. Park and Damodar SarDesai. New Delhi: Manohar, 2004: 337-360.

Radhakrishnan, S. *The Bhagavadgita* (1948). 2nd edition, 9th impression, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1971.

Ramanna, Mridula. "Profiles of English Educated Indians: Early Nineteenth Century Bombay City." *Economic and Political Weekly* 27, no. 4 (April 4-10, 1992): 716-721+723-24.

Ramaswamy, Sumathi. *The Goddess and the Nation: Mapping Mother India*. Durham, NC [etc.]: Duke University Press, 2010.

Ranade, Pratibha. *Strī-praṣṇācī carcā- Ekoṇisāwe śataka*. Pune: Padmagandha Prakashan, 2005.

Ranade, Sadashiv Rajaram. *Svātāntryavīra Vināyakarāva Sāvarakara hyānce saṅkṣipta caritra*. Mumbai: S R Ranade, 1924.

Rankin, Sir George Claus. *Background to Indian Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1946.

Rao, Anupama. *The Caste Question: Dalits and the Politics of Modern India*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2010.

Rao, Parimala V. "Nationalism and the Visibility of Women in Public Space: Tilak's Criticism of Rakhmabai and Ramabai." *Indian Historical Review* 35, no. 2 (2008): 155-77.

Rao, Parimala V. *Foundations of Tilak's Nationalism: Discrimination, Education and Hindutva*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2010.

Raychaudhuri, Tapan. "Indian Nationalism as Animal Politics." *The Historical Journal* 22, no. 3 (1979): 747-63.

Rege, Meghashyam Pundalik. "Āgarakarānce sāmājika tatvajñāna." *Navabharat* 53, no. 1, (October, 1999): 1-14.

Rocher, Ludo. *Studies in Hindu Law and Dharmashastra*. Edited with an Introduction by Donald R Davis, Jr. London and New York: Anthem Press, 2012.

Rocher, Rosane and Rocher, Ludo. *The Making of Western Indology: Henry Thomas Colebrook and the East India Company*. London: Routledge, 2012.

Rocher, Rosane. "The creation of Anglo-Hindu law." In *Hinduism and Law: An Introduction*. Edited by Timothy Lubin, Donald R. Davis, Jr, and Jayanth K. Krishnan. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010: 78-88.

Rothermund, Dietmar. "Constitutional Reforms versus National Agitation in India, 1900-1950." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 21, no. 4 (1962): 505-22.

Rudolph Susanne Hoeber and Rudolph Lloyd L. "Living with Difference in India: Legal Pluralism and Legal Universalism in Historical Context." In *Religion and Personal Law in Secular India: A Call to Judgment*. Edited by Gerlad James Larson, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001: 36-68.

Sarang, Vilas. "Nemāde va kathā-kādambarī". In *Āṇika Tikāswayamvara*. Edited by Keshav Sadre and Sushama Karogal. Shrirampur: Shabdaalay Prakashan, 2009: 176-194.

Sardar, Gangadhar Balkrishna. *Mahārāṣṭrāce upekṣita mānakarī*. Pune: G B Sardar, 1941.

Sarkar, Aditya. "The Tie That Snapped: Bubonic Plague and Mill Labour in Bombay, 1896-1898." *International Review of Social History* 59, no. 2 (August, 2014): 181-214.

Sarkar, Sumit. *Modern India: 1857-1947*. 1st Edition. Delhi: Macmillan, 1983.

Sarkar, Sumit. *Swadeshi Movement in Bengal, 1903-1908*. New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1973.

Sarkar, Tanika. "The Hindu Wife and the Hindu Nation: Domesticity and Nationalism in Nineteenth Century Bengal." *Studies in History* 8, no. 2 (1992): 213- 235.

Sarkar, Tanika. *The Hindu Wife and the Hindu Nation: Community, Religion, and Cultural Nationalism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2001.

Sartori, Andrew. "The Transfiguration of Duty in Aurobindo's Essays." In *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavadgita and Modern India*. Edited by Shruti Kapila and Faisal Devji. Delhi and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013: 48-65.

Sartori, Andrew. *Liberalism in Empire: An Alternative History*. California: University of California Press, 2014.

Sawhney, Simona. *The Modernity of Sanskrit*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009.

Schmidt, Hans-Peter. *Some Women's Rites and Rights in the Vedas*. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1987.

Seal, Anil. *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism: Competition and Collaboration in the Later Nineteenth Century*. (1968). Reprint. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Searle, G R. *The Liberal Party: Triumph and Disintegration, 1886-1929*. New York: Macmillan and St Martin's Press, 1992.

Sen, Amiya. *Hindu Revivalism in Bengal, 1872- 1905: Some Essays in Interpretation*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Sen, Arpita. "Representations of Ireland in the Political Thinking of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh." *Studies in History* 23, no. 1 (2007): 93-133.

Sen, Joydeep. *Astronomy in India, 1784-1876*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

Seth, Sanjay. "Rewriting Histories of Nationalism: The Politics of "Moderate Nationalism" in India, 1870-1905." *The American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (1999): 95-111.

Seth, Sanjay. "The Critique of Renunciation: Bal Gangadhar Tilak's Hindu Nationalism." *Postcolonial Studies* 9, no. 2 (2006): 137-150.

Shapiro, Ian. *The Moral Foundations of Politics*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003.

Shay, Theodore L. *The Legacy of the Lokamanya: The Political Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak*. London: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Shirsat, K R. *Kaka Joseph Baptista: Father of Home Rule Movement in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1974.

Singh, Hulas. *Rise of Reason: Intellectual History of 19th Century Maharashtra*. New Delhi and London: Routledge, 2016.

Sinha, Mishka. "The Transnational Gita." In *Political Thought in Action: The Bhagavadgita and Modern India*. Edited by Shruti Kapila and Faisal Devji. Delhi and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013: 25-47.

Sitaramayya, Pattabhi. *History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. 1 (1885-1935)*. (1935). Reprint. Bombay: Padma Publications, 1946.

Smith, Brian K. "Canonical Authority and Social Stratification: Veda and "Varṇa" in Ancient Indian Texts." *History of Religions*, 32, No. 2 (November, 1992): 103-25.

Spodek, Howard. "Pluralist Politics in British India: The Cambridge Cluster of Historians of Modern India." *The American Historical Review* 84, no. 3, 1979: 688-707.

Stevenson, Robert W. "Tilak and the *Bhagavadgita's* Doctrine of Karmayoga." In *Modern Indian Interpreters of the Bhagavadgita*. Edited by Robert N Minor. Albany: SUNY Press, 1986: 44-60.

Stewart, William. *J. Keir Hardie: A Biography*. With an Introduction by J. Ramsay MacDonald. London [etc.]: Cassel and Company Ltd., 1921.

Stokes, Eric. *The English Utilitarians and India*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959.

Subbarayappa, B V. *The Tradition of Astronomy in India: Jyotihsastra*. In *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization* series Vol. 4, Part 4. Series edited by D P Chattopadhyaya. New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations and Munshiram Manoharlal, 2008.

Sumant, Yashwant. "Āgarakara praṇita Dharmacikitsecā āśaya." In *Ādhunikatā āṇi Paramparā: Ekoṇisāvya śatakātīla Mahārāṣṭra*. Edited by Rajendra Vora, Pune: Pratima Prakashan, 2000: 95-110.

Sunthankar, B R. *Maharashtra: 1858-1920*. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1993.

Talghatti, S R. "Advaita in Marathi." In *Advaita Vedanta*. Edited by R Balasubramaniam. In *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization, Volume 2, Part 3*. Series edited by D. P. Chattopadhyay. New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations & Motilal Banarsidass, 2000: 544-568.

Talwalkar, Govind. *Bāḷa Gaṅgādhara Ṭīlaka* (1977). 3rd edition, Mumbai: Majestic Prakashan, 2003.

Tam, Henry. *The Evolution of Communitarian Ideas: History, Theory and Practice*. London: Palgrave-MacMillan, 2019.

Tamhankar, D V. *Lokamanya Tilak: Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India*. London: John Murray, 1956.

Taylor, Charles. *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modernity Identity*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989

Tejani, Shabnum. *Indian Secularism: A Social and Intellectual History, 1890-1950*. Ranikhet Cantt.: Permanent Black, 2007.

Thapar, Romila. "Historiography of the Concept of 'Aryan'." In *India: Historical Beginnings and the Concept of the Aryan* (2006). Edited by Romila Thapar, Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, Madhav M Deshpande and Shereen Ratnagar. 2nd edition, 2nd reprint. New Delhi: National Book Trust, 2007: 1-40.

Thapar, Romila. *Interpreting Early India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Trautmann, Thomas R. *Aryans and British India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Tripathi, Amale. *Indian National Congress and the Struggle for Freedom, 1885-1947*. (2014). Translated from Bengali by Amitava Tripathi. Second impression. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Tripathi, Amale. *The Extremist Challenge: India Between 1890 and 1910*. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1967.

Tucker, Richard P. "The Proper Limits of Agitation: The Crisis of 1879-80 in Bombay Presidency." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28, no. 2 (February, 1969): 339-355.

Tucker, Richard. *Ranade and the Roots of Indian Nationalism*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972.

Tumblin, Jesse. *The Quest for Security: Sovereignty, Race, and the Defense of the British Empire, 1898-1931*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Turner, James. *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014.

Ujgare, Anupama. *Viṣṇuśāstrī Cipaḷuṇakara*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2010.

Upadhyay, Shashi Bhushan. "Communalism and Working Class: Riot of 1893 in Bombay City." *Economic and Political Weekly* 24, no. 30 (July, 29, 1989): PE 69-PE 75.

Vajpeyi, Ananya. *Righteous Republic: The Political Foundations of Modern India*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2012.

Van der Veer, Peter. *Imperial Encounters: Religion and Modernity in India and Britain*. Ranikhet: Permanent Black, 2006.

Verma, V P. "Tilak's Spiritual Nationalism." In *Political Thought and Leadership of Lokmanya Tilak*, edited by N R Inamdar, New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1983: 1-18.

Verpoorten, Jean-Marie. "Mimamsa Literature." In *A History of Indian Literature, Vol. 6, Fasc.5*. Edited by Jan Gonda. Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1987.

Visana, Vikram. "Vernacular Liberalism, Capitalism and anti-Imperialism in the Political Thought of Dadabhai Naoroji." *The Historical Journal* 59, no. 3 (2016): 775-797.

Wagle, Narendra K. "The government, the *jāti* and the individual: Rights, discipline and control in the Pune Kotwal Papers, 1766-94." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 34, no. 3 (2000): 321-360.

Walsh, Judith E. *Domesticity in Colonial India: What Women Learned, When Men Gave Them Advice*. Lanham, MD [etc.]: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2004.

Ward, John Manning. *Colonial Self-Government: The British Experience, 1759-1856*. London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1976.

Wasti, Syed Razi. *Lord Minto and the Indian National Movement, 1905- 1910*. With a Forward by Lord Attlee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Wells, Ian Bryant. *Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity: Jinnah's Early Politics*. New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005.

Wolpert, Stanley. *Jinnah of Pakistan*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Wolpert, Stanley. *Morley and India, 1906-1910*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Wolpert, Stanley. *Tilak and Gokhale: Revolution and Reform in the Making of Modern India*, (1961), Reprint, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Wood, Philip Graham. *The Politics of Moderation: Britain and the Indian Liberal Party, 1917-1923*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, SOAS, University of London, 1993.

Worley, Matthew. *Labour Inside the Gate: A History of the British Labour Party between the Wars*. London and New York: I B Tauris. 2005.

Zastoupil, Lynn. *John Stuart Mill and India*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994.

Zelliot, Eleanor and Bernstein, Maxine (ed.). *The Experience of Hinduism: Essays on Religion in Maharashtra*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988.

Zimmer, Oliver. "Towards the Mass Nation: Nationalism, Commemoration and Regionalism." In *Nationalism in Europe, 1890-1940*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Notes

¹ The epithet 'Lokmanya' or 'People's Leader' conferred upon Tilak has conflicting genesis. It is commonly believed that during his Jubilee celebration in 1916 Annasaheb Patwardhan called him 'Lokmanya'. But Datto Appaji Tuljapurkar in his reminiscence states otherwise (Tuljapurkar in Bapat 1923: 161-62). A wealthy lady from Pune named Durgabai Joshi had arranged for Tilak to distribute copies of Bhagavad Gītā to students on the occasion of Dussera festival in 1905. Mahadev-śāstrī Oak, a Sanskrit teacher at the New English School in Pune, had composed a Sanskrit verse to commemorate the occasion in which he referred to Tilak as Lokmanya. However, S. M. Paranjape in one of his editorials for *Kaal* (1900) referred to Tilak as 'Lokmanya' (Phatak 2006: 469).

² The term Mahārāj means the 'Great King', derived from the original Sanskrit term Rājan (King). One finds resemblance between Mahārāj and the Socratic-Platonic description of the 'philosopher-king.' However, ancient post-Vedic scriptures and Epics describe additional qualities of a 'King', namely, sacrifice, honour, wisdom of differentiating between the righteous and the sinful, benevolence and compassion, protector of the subjects, courageous and upholder of dharma (moral-religious duty). The Epics, especially the Mahābhārata, reveal different facets of a 'righteous king' and public expectations from him (Gonda 1969). Moreover, in Western India, the term Mahārāj was also associated with medieval Bhakti-saint poets such as Jnaneshwar, Tukaram, Eknath, Namdeo and others, who were considered Divine Beings, sanctioned by God, to Liberate people from material sufferings. Interestingly, Tilak came to be called Mahārāj after his first incarceration (1897) amongst some sections of Maharashtra. However, the epithet was popularised after the publication of his treatise 'Gītā Rahasya' [1915].

³ Tilak turned down the post of President for the 1918 Congress since he was scheduled to travel to England. He was elected again for the Nagpur session in December, 1920 but Tilak died on 1st August, 1920.

⁴ Anant J. Karandikar was the son of a former editor of *Kesari* Janardan Sakharam Karandikar. Anant was acquainted with numerous European languages and was extensively well-read in classical Sanskrit and Persian literature. He translated few French and Urdu texts into Marathi. His more famous texts included 'Deśrājña-yuddha' [1946], 'Vedika āryānce jyotir-vijñāna āṇi vaidika devatānce

punardarśana' [1963] and 'Aśoka te kālidāsa' [1963]. An ardent critique of Gandhi he defended Nathuram Godse's actions and defended his assassination of Gandhi. For writing provocative articles Karandikar was incarcerated in 1965. The preliminary work of his book on Tilak was completed during his incarceration (Karandikar 1969: 7-13).

⁵ In the preface to the book, which she calls 'Encountering the Myth' Rao writes, "I was dumbstruck as I read issue after issue of the *Mahratta* in which Tilak was pleading with the colonial rulers to reintroduce imprisonment for non-payment of debt by the peasants. I wondered how any Indian, that too acclaimed nationalist leader would want his compatriots, that too impoverished peasants, to be imprisoned by the colonial state [...] I was prepared for Tilak's conservatism and orthodoxy (but) (h)is way of ridiculing Bhakti and his insistence on stopping women and non-Brahmins from receiving English education went beyond the conventional definition of conservatism and orthodoxy. It was then that I realised the defence of caste and gender disabilities were central to the nationalism of Tilak" (Rao 2010: ix, italics in the original).

⁶ However, the Tilak-biography also attracted major criticism from Marathi vernacular press. It was accused of lacking philosophical- political depth, meant to serve as a hagiographical description and accosted for portraying Tilak's political opponents in bad light. N. R. Phatak (in a long review article published in *Vividh-Dyan-Vistaar*) lamented that Kelkar had inadequately and sparingly used the *Kesari* and *Mahratta* archives and contributed to many factual errors. Kelkar had failed to distance himself from his subject, and thus, lost objectivity. Kelkar responded to these charges in a long article (Kelkar 1938: 305-346).

⁷ The All- India Congress Committee had set up a prize of Rs. 10,000 in March 1955 for the best biography produced in English language to commemorate the birth centenary year of Tilak. There were 31 biographies submitted for consideration.

⁸ The astute Marathi journalist Govind Talwalkar had famously remarked that since most of Tilak's life had been documented so well 'there was no need of a new biography' on him (Talwalkar 2003). Y. D. Phadke refuted this claim by observing that new archival data offers a biographer an opportunity to shed new light on its subject and in turn helps in reassigning the role played by the actor in history (Phadke 2000: 9-16).

⁹ These included *Digdarshan* [1837], *Prabhakar* [1840], *Dynanoday* [1842], *Dynansindhu* [1842], *Upadeshchandrika* [1843], *Samachar Durpan* [1844], *Dynan Prakash* [1849], *Dynan Prasarak* [1851], *Vichar Lahari* [1852], *Vartamaan Dipika* [1853], *Dhooma-Ketu* [1853], *Dynan Darshan* [1854], *Hindu Hitecchu* [1855] and *Sandarbh Dipika* [1855] (Padhye 1976). A cursory glance at the titles of the newspapers suggests the editors/proprietors regarded the primary function of the new print media as dissemination of Knowledge amongst the general educated population.

¹⁰ Southern and eastern parts of India were on the radar of Protestant and Roman Catholic missionaries during the 18th century (Potts 1967; Bayly 1989).

¹¹ The topics for his lectures included 'The Promotion of Theism among the Hindoos', 'The Rise and Progress of Brahmo Samaj' and 'The Vanities of Riches and the Necessity of Regular Worship' (Ganachari 2008).

¹² The lineage of socio-religious reform movement in Bombay city began in the 1840's with the establishment of Manav Dharma Sabha. It was followed by the radical organization called 'Paramhansa Mandaḷī' established by Dadoba Pandurang in 1848. The members of the society rejected any religion which claimed infallibility of Theology and its Revelation to Man and indulged into activities such as eating food forbidden by caste-norms. It also rejected Brahminical authority over scriptures, idol worship, caste system and religious rituals. Unsurprisingly the Mandaḷī would meet in secret. By the late 1850's, due to internal bickering, the Mandaḷī collapsed (Naik 1974-76).

¹³ Seeking inspiration from the Bengali Brahmo Samaj the Prārthanā Samāja was conceptualised on 30th December, 1866 under the leadership of Atmaram Pandurang. The first formal congregation (upāsana) took place on 31st March, 1867, which is commemorated as its founding day (Vaidya 1927: 31-37).

¹⁴ There is some disagreement between Tilak biographers and later scholars over his actual contribution to *Kesari* between 1881 and 1887. During this period the chief editor of the *Kesari* was Agarkar while Tilak controlled the *Mahratta*. The older generation of Tilak biographers- N. C. Kelkar, Dhanajay Keer and N. R. Phatak- believe that Tilak wrote copiously in the *Kesari*, a notion, disagreeable to later scholars such as Y. D. Phadke (2000: 17-45).

¹⁵ Sitramayya suggests that the idea and structure of INC may have been borrowed from the British India Association started in Calcutta (1851), the Sārvaajanika Sabhā, the great Durbar of 1877 or the

International Exhibition held in Calcutta (Sitaramayya 1946: 9-11). Opposing the traditional view that the INC was the brain-child of Allan Octavian Hume, the retired British civil servant, Amales Tripathi suggests that Dadabhai Naoroji, S. H. Chiplonkar, Phirozeshah Mehta and M. G. Ranade laid the foundation of the Party (Tripathi 2015: 20-25). However, in an interview by Ranade given to N. C. Kelkar in 1896 the former admitted that the INC was the brain-child of A. O. Hume and Sir William Wedderburn who sought active support from Lord Dufferin, the Indian Viceroy from 1884 to 1888 (Quoted in *Source Material* 1958 :5-6).

¹⁶ Shinde, the leader of the Depressed Class Mission and the convener of the Conference, explained that the pressure built upon him by his conservative associates such as Janardan Sakharan Karandikar did not allow Tilak to sign the petition (Shinde in Bapat 1925: 200-206).

¹⁷ Joseph Baptista narrates an incident when Tilak requested Baptista, a Jesuit Christian, to join him in sharing prasād at a temple in Belgaum. When asked by Baptista about the supposed blasphemy in his action Tilak retorted, “I put an extra inch between you and me than between Brahmin and Brahmin [when they sat for public consumption of prasād]; but I put two inches nearer my heart than any Brahmin who ever got there.” Baptista later added, “In London we lived together in the same house and dined together at the same hotel at the same table.” (Baptista in Bapat 1925: 549).

¹⁸ The authorship of these articles was subsequently challenged by Y. D. Phadke (Phadke 2000: 17-47) who suggested that the Utilitarian-humanist approach found in these articles points towards Agarkar’s penmanship. Phadke believed that while Agarkar ran *Kesari* between 1880 and 1887 Tilak rarely contributed to it (Phadke 2000: 40). Thus, Phadke challenged the dominant belief espoused by some scholars (Parikh 1969) that Tilak possessed progressive, if not radical, outlook towards ‘gender reform.’

¹⁹ In fact, *Jnanodaya* and *Indu-Prakash* carried numerous articles on female emancipation one of which carried empirical data. The article, published in *Jnanodaya* on 24th March, 1887 stated that of the 9,19,29,123 women in India 2,09,38,629 were widows. Of these 1,61,19, 135 were Hindus, and the remaining belonged to Muslim, Christian and Jewish communities and 2,38,081 belonged to the age-group of 5 to 15 years (quoted in Ranade 2005: 190).

²⁰ The ‘Child Marriage Restraint Act’ was passed in 1929. It criminalized the practice of marriage for girls below the age of 16 and for boys below the age of 18.

²¹ The Calcutta Sessions court convicted Hari Mohan Maiti on July 6, 1890 under Section 375 of Indian Penal Code for abetting the death of his 10 years old wife Phulmoni Dasi while having sexual intercourse. However, since Phulmoni was of legal age he could not be tried for marital rape or rape with a minor. He was sentenced to 12 months of hard labor. The verdict added pressure on the Legislative Council to pass the Bill (Sarkar 2001: 191–225).

²² However, some scriptures suggested that a Brahmin should forfeit his desire for marriage once he reached the age of 45.

²³ Many girls and boys adopted Buddhist monastic life.

²⁴ Ranade was a judge in the Bombay High Court and Tilak had studied law at the premier Deccan College of Pune and conducted private tuitions for young legal aspirants.

²⁵ The chapter in the compilation does to carry a title. The chapter was written as an 'Introduction' for Pandit Narayan Keshav Vaidya's collection of the proceedings which resulted into the passing of Act XIV of 1856 permitting Widows' Remarriage. Vaidya's collection was published in 1885. Ranade's biographer N. R. Phatak suggests that Ranade's 'Introduction' was titled 'Rise and Decay of Female Rights in India' (Phatak 1924: 377).

²⁶ The essay was written for Dayaram Gidumal's book *The Status of Women in India: Or A Handbook for Hindu Social Reformers* (1889) and added as an Appendix VI. However, before the book was published, Ranade sent the essay to be published in the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha* (Ranade 1888).

²⁷ The authority of *Parāśara-Smṛti* is exacerbated by its author, *Parāśara*, who was purportedly the grandson of the Vedic seer Vasiṣṭha. Max Muller's 'Sacred Books of the East Series' carrying the translations of principal Smṛti texts such as *Āpastamba*, *Gautama*, *Baudhāyana*, *Vasiṣṭha* and *Manu* prepared by Buhler did not include *Parāśara-Smṛti*, which may have prompted scholars such as Bhandarkar to regard it of recent origin.

²⁸ Ludo Rocher points out that the Sūtra and Dharmaśāstra texts (Smṛti-texts) carry the names of the same authors. However, the sutras were "older, and composed in the succinct and often enigmatic prose style used in many other branches of Hindu learning (such as *Yogasūtras*, *Vedāntasūtras*, and Pāṇini's grammatical *sutras*)." (Rocher 2012: 45). Similarly, Donald R Davis, Jr writes that the "early texts (c. 300 BCE-100 BCE), known as Dharmasūtras, were prose texts consisting of aphoristic rules linked according to themes that were elaborated in later texts." The Dharmasūtras were "ascribed to, and in some cases originated within, one of the Vedic lineages" and the Manu-Smṛti was perhaps the first Dharmaśāstra text to present a combined form of ritual text, comprising of both "versified rules" into a prose format (Davis Jr 2010: 15. The period when Dharmasūtras were written remains debatable. Unlike Davis, Jr. Rocher prefers an older date, that is, between, 600 and 300 BCE (Rocher 2012: 45).

²⁹ M. P. Rege (1999) finds Agarkar's explanation deeply problematic. If one accepts an inevitability in the laws of natural progression, as expounded by Spencer and glorified by Agarkar, then how could one section of the society resist them? Does natural progression allow free-will to humans? If not, then how can humans conceptualize and/or choose what is good and/or bad for them and act accordingly? Finally, if progress is always desirable and carries inherent goodness, should one search for 'desirable and utilitarian' components of progress in its 'natural' genesis? Rege argues that Agarkar did not pay adequate attention to such paradoxes and simply took the ideas of natural progression as an explanation for social reform at its face value.

³⁰ The debate had acquired acrimonious overtones. In his final reply published in *Sudharak* (February 23, 1891) Bhandarkar wrote, "I have been carrying on literary controversies since 1864; but never did I hitherto meet with an opponent who treated me with such studied discourtesy as Mr Tilak has been doing" (Quoted in Kosambi 1991: 1867, note 12).

³¹ Tilak married off his daughter after she turned sixteen.

³² His views on the Muslim question, especially during the period under consideration, have puzzled his biographers and scholars. Commenting on his ambiguity towards those articles published in *Kesari* and *Mahratta* which pandered to Hindu chauvinism Cashman argues that "[...] he [Tilak] did so in order to secure broader support for his cause and to confuse the British, or to make concessions to the opinions of his more orthodox followers" (Cashman 1975: 108).

³³ For the communal violence in Bengal in 1890s, see Chakrabarty (1981) and for United Provinces, see Pandey (1990).

³⁴ It was the third major communal riot in Bombay during the 19th century. The first had taken place in 1851 when a Parsi journalist named Byramjee Ghandi had published a portrait of Prophet Mohammed leading to a conflict between Muslims and Parsis. The second major riot- once again between Muslims and Parsis- took place in 1874 when Rustomjee Jalbhoy referred to Prophet Mohammed in his translations of Irving Washington's writings (Upadhyay 1989: PE 72).

³⁵ See also- 'Rā.ba. Rānade va tyāñce anuyāyī', *Kesari*, 26th September, 1893, (Tilak 1976b: 403-408).

³⁶ Justice Telang was the original author of the book. Following his death Ranade decided to complete his friend's project. The manuscript was completed in 1901, few weeks short of Ranade's death.

³⁷ Laxman Raghunath Gokhale, a Pune-based lawyer who taught at Tilak's 'Law Classes', notes in his reminiscences that Tilak was hopeful of Muslims' involvement in the Ganapati festival. When Gokhale asked Tilak about the potential communal character of the festival which might antagonize the Muslims Tilak is reported to have said, "My dear fellow, mutual distrust is a temporary event. I am sure that the misunderstanding brewing in the minds of Muslims regarding Ganapati festival would dissipate in near future. However, if we lose this golden opportunity of uniting all Hindus we shall be repenting for many years" (Bapat 1925: 262).

³⁸ See also 'Sāmajik pariśad', *Kesari*, 5th January, 1905, (Tilak 1976c: 170-72) for similar views.

³⁹ A Tilak supporter named Shridhar Vitthal Date threatened to burn down the canopy hosting a joint session of Congress and Social Conference and reportedly made sure that the threat reached Ranade and other social reform leaders (Phatak 1924: 526-27).

⁴⁰ According to government-estimates the great famine of 1899-1900 claimed the lives of 128 persons per 1000 in Gujarat. The corresponding number for the Deccan stood at 64 per 1000 (Charlesworth 1985: 155, note, 128).

⁴¹ Bombay, with a teeming population of over a million comprised of over 73,000 mill-workers living in shanty housing complexes called chawls. Poor quality of water and sanitation and overcrowding rendered the chawls particularly inhospitable. The city was also affected by water and air-borne pollutants- partly a result of industrialization and government neglect- which rendered it particularly susceptible to diseases (Kidambi 2016). *Mahratta* on 20th December, 1896 stated - “It is indeed hard to believe that Bombay the beautiful can really be so unclean and unhealthy.” The reference to ‘Bombay the beautiful’ may have been borrowed from Lieutenant- Colonel George Waters’ lecture delivered at the Sassoon Mechanics’ Institute (Bombay) on 14th April, 1896 titled *Bombay the Beautiful* in which he had described the city as extremely hospitable and pleasant (Waters 1896).

⁴² The other two prominent social reformers Mahatma Jotirao Phule and Justice K. T. Telang had passed away in November, 1890 and September, 1893 respectively.

⁴³ Philology in the 19th century encompasses textual philology (study of Biblical texts along with texts from the ‘Orient’, theories about the origin and development of languages (generally by comparing two or more ancient languages) and comparisons between the structures, semantics and historical evolution of two or more languages (Turner 2014: x).

⁴⁴ For the British contribution to the Aryan race theory the most useful account can be found in Trautmann (2004) along with Leopold (1974). For the French contribution to the Aryan race theory in the colonial context see Mohan (2016).

⁴⁵ Swami Vivekanand was extremely impressed by Max Müller’s deep learning of the Vedic literature. He wrote, “My impression is that it is Sayana who is born again as Max Mueller to revive his own commentary on the Vedas. I have had this notion for long. It became confirmed in mind, it seems, after I have seen Max Mueller” (Vivekanand 1956: 495).

⁴⁶ Nirad C. Chaudhuri in his biography of Max Müller states that the Bengali magazines of the 19th century also referred to him as Moksha Mullar (Chaudhuri 1974). However, it is not a creation of the Indians. Müller himself transformed his name to Moksha Mullara in the first edition of the *Rgveda* and on many other occasions would sign off with the same name.

⁴⁷ In her biography of Max Müller his wife Georgina refers to an incident, reported by Martin Haug to Max Müller through a letter, that the Pundits of Pune used the Max Müller edition of the *Rgveda* to study and make changes to the manuscript of *Rgveda* in their possession. Accordingly, the Rigvedic oral recitation, too, was reorganized (Max Müller 1902: 267).

⁴⁸ Telang and a Japanese Buddhist scholar Junjiro Takakasu were the only two scholars from Asia selected by Müller for his Sacred Books series. Telang was recommended to Max Müller by Johann Georg Bühler when the latter met Telang while teaching Sanskrit at the Elphinstone College in Bombay (Molendijk 2016: 76).

⁴⁹ The other auxiliaries include Vyākaraṇa [grammar], Nirukta [etymology], Kalpa [performance], Śiśka [translation] and Chanda [meter].

⁵⁰ Apart from this there was an additional, scholastic, impetus for Tilak. Being a professor of mathematics at Fergusson College for few years and a rising Sanskrit scholar such scholarly exercises were of personal interest to him. One finds many references to Tilak stating to his colleagues bluntly that it was Providence which had pulled him into ‘nationalist work’ (“rāṣṭriya kārya”) or else he would

have loved to spend his life teaching and writing academic books. For instance, barrister Ramchandra V Patwardhan reported the following statement made to him by Tilak- “Look, you must understand that I do not have a particular liking towards political activism. But the condition of our people and nation is extremely bad and so I am forced to set my personal scholarly interests aside and work for their emancipation. If I had a choice I would have gladly spent my entire life teaching and writing books” (Patwardhan in Bapat 1923: 67, my translation).

⁵¹ Some European scholars like Albrecht Weber and Dr. Schrader doubted ancient Aryans’ capability to device such complex mathematical computations. To such charges Tilak responded- “I am not disposed to [...] think that people, who knew and worked in metals, made clothing of wool, constructed boats, built houses and chariots, performed sacrifices, and had made some advance in agriculture were incapable of ascertaining the solar and lunar year” (Tilak 1999: 13).

⁵² Tilak, here, referred to the investigations of Krishna-śāstrī Godbole (1882) who placed the solstitial colure between 1269-1181 BCE.

⁵³ Bühler had sent a copy of the manuscript of *Orion* [1892] to Jacobi in October 1893 for his perusal (Bühler 1894: 239).

⁵⁴ This book seems to have been studied by Tilak while writing his text on the Aryan home-land. I found a copy of this book in his personal ‘Vedic Studies Collection’ which is now preserved at the Library of the Deccan College, Pune.

⁵⁵ In an interview published after his release Tilak remarks on his scholarly pursuits during the incarceration: “I spent my time mostly reading the Rigveda, assisted by the commentaries. From this study I have come to conclude that the ancestors of the Aryan people must have lived near the North Pole where the night was of two months duration. But later they slowly moved southward. What I say has the support of the discoveries of the geologists. However, I did not have sufficient resources in the jail. I have yet to see the books I need to consult. After I get an opportunity to see those books, it is possible that my views might change. However, at present I am fairly certain about this question” (quoted in Bapat 1928b: 223-24).

⁵⁶ The diaries written by G. S. Khaparde are an invaluable source for tracing the writing period of *The Arctic Home* [1903]. When Khaparde met him on 18th May, 1899 Tilak informed him that he had completed most of the research and would soon embark on writing the book. During their next meeting on 30th April 1901, Tilak had proceeded to complete the 7th chapter of the book and by 18th May, 1901 he was in the middle of the 9th chapter. The entry in Khaparde’s diary for 26th April, 1901 reads: “He [Tilak] is busy with his new book. He can dictate sheets after sheets and does all his writing that way” (Khaparde 1978: 322). By 9th June, 1901 the book was almost complete. Khaparde wrote, “He is now writing the last chapter of his book proving that we had our original home in the Arctic regions” (Khaparde 1978: 323). And the entry for the next day announces, “We have found him busy dictating the last sentence of Chapter XI. He [Tilak] said, each chapter involved the reading and consideration of a whole library of books on a different topic” (Khaparde 1978: 323).

⁵⁷ An exception was F. W. Warren who praised *The Arctic Home* [1903] in a review article (Warren 1905).

⁵⁸ The essay was not a new writing for the occasion but was a revised version of the draft of a speech on the topic which Tilak had delivered on 6th December, 1904 before an audience in the hall of the Bombay Presidency Association Rooms at Apollo Bunder in Bombay as a part of the Graduates’ Association Lecture Series. The Speech was chaired by the renowned Parsee intellectual K. R. Cama.

⁵⁹ Belvalkar further adds, “The pieces of bricks which have been recently discovered in the Punjab region may corroborate the second idea proposed by him [Tilak]” (Belvalkar in Bapat 1925: 68, my translation). Belvalkar was of course referring to the excavations at the Indus Valley!

⁶⁰ Writing in 1942, R. N. Dandekar ruefully acknowledged that the astronomical method propounded by Tilak (and Jacobi) had fallen out of favour in Indological circles of India and the wider world (Dandekar 1942).

⁶¹ Lenin, in an editorial, lambasted the British colonial state for crushing popular uprising in India. Describing the British colonial system in India he wrote, “There is no end to the acts of violence and plunder which goes under the name of the British system of government in India. Nowhere in the world- with the exception, of course, of Russia- will you find such abject mass poverty, such chronic starvation among the people. The most Liberal and Radical personalities of free Britain, men like John Morley [...] become regular Genghis Khans when appointed to govern India, and are capable of sanctioning every means of “pacifying” the population in their charge, even to the extent of *flogging* political protestors!” (Lenin 1973: 184, italics in the original). He criticised the “British jackals” for pronouncing the “[...] infamous sentence [...]” on “the Indian democrat Tilak” a prime example of British exploitation of popular demands from colonised Indian proletariat (Lenin 1973: 184).

⁶² The term ‘Irish Extremists’, fashionable in England, referred to the Irish anarchists who demanded cessation for Ireland from the British Union in the form of Home Rule.

⁶³ Tilak preferred the term ‘Nationalists’ rather than Extremists. The latter denoted political anarchy which the Tilak faction was far from propounding.

⁶⁴ Prior to his appointment as the Viceroy of India Lord Curzon had travelled extensively through various Asian countries on official and semi-official delegations. He had published his recollections and reflections on Asiatic countries through three books- *Russia in Central Asia in 1889 and the Anglo-Russian Question* [1889], *Persia and the Persian Question* (in two volumes) [1892] and *Problems of the Far East* [1894].

⁶⁵ Resolution XIV about the proposed Partition of Bengal read as follows: “That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government of India, for the partition of Bengal in any manner whatsoever. That the proposals are viewed with great alarm by the people, as the division of the Bengali nation into separate units will seriously interfere with its social, intellectual and material progress, involving the loss of various constitutional, and other rights and privileges which the Province has so long enjoyed and will burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian tax-payers cannot at all afford” (INC Report 1905: xxxiv). The resolution advised the British government to convert the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council, similar to the system adopted to rule over Bombay and Madras Presidencies.

⁶⁶ Tilak did not participate in the 1904 Congress session since he was caught with the Tai Maharaj case trial.

⁶⁷ Accordingly, within a month following the Bengal partition Gokhale sailed for England on 16th September, 1905 on a Congress-delegation. Gokhale spent seven weeks in which he spoke at 45 meetings. During one of his meetings, arranged at the Cambridge Union, he proposed a resolution for 'self-government' for India which supported by John Maynard Keynes (Nanda 1977: 194-96). Gokhale was suggesting concrete reforms in the British administration in India which including increasing native membership in the Imperial Legislative Council to its full strength, the right to native members to amend the budget-proposal, at least native members to join the Council of the Secretary of State and allotment of six seats to native members in the British House of Commons (Nanda 1977: 199).

⁶⁸ Tilak had opposed the two factory acts of 1881 and 1891 which wanted to regularize labour force in industrial zones. The laws had proposed limitations on working hours for women and children and regulate industrial output. Tilak interpreted these laws as a means to suppress industrial aspirations of Indians and throttle competition to the Lancashire cotton mills (Cashman 1975: 172-73).

⁶⁹ Other directors included Ratanji Jamshedji Tata, Balasaheb Natu, Govardhandas Khatav Makanji, Dwarkadas Dharamsi and Manmohandas Ramji (Kelkar 2012b: 250).

⁷⁰ On 27th August, 1905 Tilak addressed a massive gathering of 3000 students in Pune condemning the Bengal Partition. V. D. Savarkar had attended this meeting. Within 2 months, on the day of Dussera, Savarkar publicly burnt foreign goods near Fergusson College. It was reported that Tilak was present at the meeting but refused to give a speech (Phadke 1989: 137-39).

⁷¹ Delivered as Chair remarks for a public lecture series organised between 23rd and 25th June, 1907 in Pune.

⁷² When Gokhale tried to persuade Morley of granting self-rule to India Morley responded that "[...] for many a day to come- long beyond the short span of time that may be left to us- this was a mere dream." He further pointed out that the Viceroy, some members of the British Parliament and Morley himself were in favour of granting more reforms to India. The "[...] perversity and unreason [...]" of the Extremist leaders and agitators were the chief impediments. Morley admonished Gokhale by stating, "If your speakers or your newspapers set to work to belittle what we do, to clamour for the impossible, then all will go wrong" (Morley 1917: 181-82).

⁷³ Mill was, in fact, an active member of the Liberal Party and represented the City of Westminster in the British Parliament from 1865 to 1868.

⁷⁴ Khaparde noted in his diary: "The President made an excellent though very brief speech last of all and said that Self-Government was the goal and the younger generation should work for it. The Moderates could not have liked it. I saw them wince" (Khaparde 1978: 353).

⁷⁵ As per Tilak's recollections ('Hā durāgraha koṇācā?', *Kesari*, 7th January, 1908 and 'Yācā doṣa koṇākade?', *Kesari*, 14th January, 1908) (Tilak 1976b: 315-323 and 324-329) the ruckus had started after Tilak stood on the podium to assert his right to speak *before* the election of Rash Behari Ghose as the President of the Surat session. However, Reception Committee Chairman Mr. Malvi declared that the President was already elected and it was the prerogative of the new President to permit Tilak to

speech. Dadasaheb Khaparde in his private diary recorded the events of 27th December, 1907 - “[...] Surendra Babu [Surendranath Banerjee] resumed his speech and was patiently heard. Then Tilak who had given notice of amendment got up to the platform to move it. The Chairman [Malvi] moved it out of the order. Tilak wished to appeal to the delegates. This, the Chairman and the Moderates would not allow. A Moderate, I think Ambalal, threw a chair at Tilak. This enraged all our party [Extremists]. A shoe thrown by a Moderate at Tilak, struck Surendra Babu on the back and Sir P[herozeshah] M. Mehta on the cheek. There arose a tremendous uproar and many young men got on the platform. There was a free fight” (Khaparde 1978: 377). Surendranath Banerjee recounts the same events (with matching brevity) in a different way- “There was a strong party in favour of the election of Mr. Tilak as President, and they would not have Sir Rash Behari Ghose to preside over the Congress. Rather than the Congress should be broken up than that Sir Rash Behari should preside. That was the feeling of this party, and the Congress was broken up. Chairs and shoes and slippers were flung at the leaders, the platform was rushed [...] Thus closed a memorable chapter in the history of the Congress, to be followed by a new departure (Banerjee 1921: 236). Many years later, Aurobindo confessed that it was he was responsible for causing the pandemonium (Aurobindo 1953: 82).

⁷⁶ According to Sumit Sarkar the Congress split at Surat has attained “[...] a somewhat exaggerated” status in the history of India’s freedom struggle. The INC in 1907 was “yet not a proper political organization” worthy of being ‘captured’ by any of the factions (Sarkar 1983: 135). Nevertheless Sarkar, puts the moral responsibility for the Congress-split on the Moderates.

⁷⁷ Interestingly, these editorials were not written by Tilak but by his associate editor K. P. Khadilkar. However, since Tilak was the proprietor of *Kesari* he owned up to them. The inspector who ransacked Tilak’s house in Pune also found a book called ‘Handbook on Modern Explosives’ and the words ‘Nitro Explosive’ scribbled on a post-card. These ‘evidences’ were found sufficient to charge him with sedition.

⁷⁸ In a letter to Clarke on July 31, 1908 Morley stated in clear terms- “I won’t go over the Tilak ground again beyond saying that, if you had done me the honour to seek my advice as well as that of your lawyers, I am clear that I should have been for leaving him alone. And I find no reason to believe that any mischief that Tilak could have done would have been so dangerous as the mischief that will be done by his sentence. Of course, the milk is now spilled and there is an end on it” (Morley quoted in Sydenham 1927: 225).

⁷⁹ Justice Davar’s undignified conclusive remarks were as follows: “It seems to me that it must be a diseased mind, a most perverted mind that could say that the articles which you have written are legitimate weapons in political agitation. They are seething with sedition [...]”. Davar wished to deliver life-imprisonment on Tilak but considering his age and other circumstance he proposed 6 years of rigorous imprisonment to be “most desirable in the interest of peace and order, and in the interest of the country which you profess to love, that you should be out of it for some time” (Trial of Tilak 1986: 229).

⁸⁰ The fourteenth edition of the Marathi original is of 835 pages. Of these the first volume consists of 532 pages. The second volume which contains Marathi translation of the Bhagavad Gītā with small comments on each verse run to 303 pages. One also needs to add 10 pages of ‘Preface’. Tilak was

provided with writing material and was allowed to read in the prison. Tilak sent his nephew Dhondopant Vidwans a list of 326 books. For a list of the books see Naik (2005: 121-25, Appendix 7). Tilak filled four notebooks. The hand-written manuscript of the first volume was made up of 1079 pages while the second volume required 425 pages (Tilak 1986: 34).

⁸¹ The first volume was written in phases. Chapters 1 to 8 were completed between November 2, 1910 and December 8, 1910. Chapters 9 to 13 and 14 to 15 (along with the Epilogue) were written between December 13, 1910 and January 19, 1911 and January 15, 1911 and January 30, 1911, with an overlap of four days. Thereafter Tilak seems to have taken a break. He resumed his work and translated the *Bhagavad Gītā* (second volume) between March 10, 1911 and March 30, 1911. (Tilak 1986: 34; Phatak 2006: 313-14).

⁸² For an alternate view about greater intolerance shown towards colonialism from Utilitarian thinkers see Pitts (2003).

⁸³ In the 26th letter of his *Śatapatre* Gopal Hari Deshmukh (Lokahitwadi) had suggested that the principal message of the *Bhagavad Gītā* was not to renounce the world but carry-on mundane activities with a desireless mind to attain Liberation. More (2014) suggests that Ranade also favored an Activist interpretation of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and had, in fact, coined the Marathi compound ‘Gītā-Rahasya’. M. M. Kunte, too, had interpreted *Jñāneśvarī* in the light of Karma-yoga. Tilak may have drawn part inspiration from these thinkers while developing his siddhānta of Karma-yoga.

⁸⁴ The books also underwent critical scrutiny by either filling up the gaps left in its explanations (Karandikar 1953) or attempts at retranslating, rectifying and adding an explanatory addendum while keeping karmayoga as the hermeneutical core of *Bhagavad Gītā* and simultaneously reducing the ‘undue’ scholasticism which had crept into *Gītā Rahasya* (Bhide-śāstri 1928).

⁸⁵ Sibaji Bandyopadhyay has argued that a differential reading of the famous verse from the *Bhagavad Gītā* (2.47) helped nationalists such as Tilak to lay the foundation of ‘desireless political action’. The pre-modern commentators read the participle ‘ma’ in the verse in negatory. Thus, the translation was- ‘in karma alone you have *adhikara*, ever in fruits you do not have any *adhikara*’. But modern nationalist thinkers associated the participle ‘ma’ with prohibition. Thus, the translation of the verse as found in the second volume of *Gītā Rahasya* reads as follows: “Your authority extends only to the performance of Action; (obtaining or not obtaining) the Fruit, is never within your authority; (therefore) do not be [the] one who performs the action with the (vicarious) motive (in the mind) that a particular fruit should be obtained (of his Action); nor do [should] you also insist on not performing Action” (Tilak 1936: 895). The prohibitory translation of the verse encapsulates the ‘Activist’ interpretation of the *Bhagavad Gītā*. It transformed the meaning of the term ‘Adhikara’ into a ‘natural right’ reminiscent of the Social Contract model of modern politics (Bandyopadhyay 2016: 74).

⁸⁶ Bhandarkar observed that in Fichte’s philosophy the pre-consciousness free Absolute Ego was limited by its origin in the Intellect and became Finite Ego. The apparent contradiction in Fichte’s system was similar to Kapila’s Sāṃkhya philosophy where the soul (Atman/Absolute Ego) was conceptualized as an Infinite in its Absolute (natural) state but was limited when it came in contact

with the World (prakṛuti). The Sāṃkhya philosophy resolved this contradiction by attributing the finite soul three qualities (guṇa) - sattva, rajas and tamas. The soul regained its Absolute Infinitude by retracting all its associations with the three *gunas* attaining a state of total freedom (Mokṣa) (Mainkar 1976).

⁸⁷ In a short note published in *Kesari* on 20th March, 1894 Tilak (Tilak 1995: 187-88) Tilak appreciated the efforts taken by Annie Bessant in spreading ancient Indian Wisdom to the wider world. The short note was followed a detailed summary of the Besant's lectures ('Misses Annie Besant yāncī vyākhyāne', *Kesari*, 27th March, 1894) (Tilak 1995: 189-196).

⁸⁸ Tilak was clearly not perturbed by the dubious role played by Kṛṣṇa in the Mahabharata-narrative (Matilal 2002). But rather, Tilak used this opportunity to defend Kṛṣṇa's Divine stature in the face of Western Orientalist criticism.

⁸⁹ An abbreviation is different from summaries and abridged versions of older texts and is driven by "the will to encapsulate a range of ideas in such a manner so as to make it appear that the ideas were fundamentally united". In an abbreviated text all internal breaks, logical inconsistencies and shifts in perspectives within the tradition are presented in an integrated manner. The endeavor leads to the birth of a "mosaic-like single text in which, clasped together by a logic of astounding coherence and magical cohesiveness, all Wisdom is deposited. The single-mindedness fostered by this mode of contradiction is enabling, in the sense that, it permits a non-laborious accessing of whatever is counted as everlastingly valid" (Bandyopadhyay 2016: 152).

⁹⁰ After the introduction of the printing press in Maharashtra in the first decade of the 19th century a steady proliferation of Bhagavad Gītā (in its Marathi translations and commentaries) started appearing. Prior to the publication of Gītā Rahasya there were 29 translations and five expository texts (prabandha) on the Bhagavad Gītā in circulation in Maharashtra (Date 1943).

⁹¹ Tilak had expressed his desire to write a book on the Bhagavad Gītā to Dadasaheb Khaparde in 1901. See Khaparde (1978: 323).

⁹² During the draft stage subtitles such as 'the Indian System of Ethics', 'The Indian Ethical System, 'the System of Indian Ethics' were consecutively written and discarded in lieu of different titles. Realizing that the expanse of the 'Indian' system would include Muslim, Christian, Parsi and other traditions, and create misunderstandings about the purpose of the text, Tilak replaced it with the term 'Hindu'. Thus, the subtitle found today at the top of the published text reads 'The Hindu Philosophy of Life, Ethics and Religion' (Phatak 2006: 315-16).

⁹³ The other proposed topics were History of Hindu Religion- 1. Vedic, Shrouta, Upanishads, Epic, Puranic, Darshanas, Bhakti, Prehistoric, Other Religions, Conclusion; 2. Indian Nationalism: the story of or the aspects or phases of; 3. Pre-Epic History of India; 4. The Śāṅkara Darśana; 5. Provincial Administration; 6. Hindu Law; 7. Principles of Infinitesimal Calculus; 8. Life of Shivaji; 9. Chaldea and India (Naik 2005: 203-04).

⁹⁴ In a letter sent to D. V. Vidwans on 1st February, 1914 he admitted- "In the winter of 1910 I could and I did write my book on the Gītā in four months but in the last winter I could finish only two chapters

of Vedic chronology. Not that the cold in 1913 was greater but the body has become so much weaker that the cold which was once bracing has now become unbearable” (Tilak 1966: 176). During his incarceration Tilak suffered from acute diabetes. He tried to control it by making changes to his diet but lost lot of weight in the process.

⁹⁵ The debates between the orthodox Hindu polemicist Vishnubawa Brahmachari and the Christian Evangelicals in the Bombay Province during 1850’s was quite famous (Conlon 1992).

⁹⁶ Pūrva- Mīmāṃsā divides injunctions (vidhī) into imperative (pramāṇa) and prohibitory (niṣiddha) articulated through words (śabda). The exegetical method adopted by the Pūrva- Mīmāṃsākas to interpret Vedic texts is called ‘arthavāda’ (D’Sa 1980). Mīmāṃsā is not concerned with the metaphysical nature of Reality but alludes to the best form of Action (therefore the purva-Mīmāṃsā tradition is also known by the name karma-Mīmāṃsā) resulting into śreyasa (good). The correct action to attain good is described in the Purva-Mīmāṃsā tradition through prescriptive and prohibitory injunctions (codanā-lakṣaṇa-dharma). Thus, Action (karma) is classified into nitya (regular) and naimittika (obligatory) and kāmya (purposive) (Pandurangi 2000).

⁹⁷ Tilak’s has classified human social thought is predicated upon Auguste Comte’s tripartite categories. In a note (Tilak 1986: 57) Tilak alludes to Comte and writes, “[Comte] has come to the conclusion after considering numerous sciences, that whichever science is taken, the consideration of it is first Theological and then Metaphysical and that, lastly it attains the Positive form. These three systems have been respectively given by me the ancient names of ‘ādhidaivika’, ‘ādhyātmika’ and ‘ādhibhautika’ in this book (Tilak 1936: 86). The translator of *Gītā Rahasya*, B. S. Sukthankar, chose to use the term ‘Materialism’ to refer to Positivism, which, although flawed, I continue to use in my chapter for textual uniformity.

⁹⁸ Tilak argued that since the *Bhagavad Gītā* predates Patanjali the connotation of the term *yoga* used in both the text ought to be different.

⁹⁹ “There is no doubt that the religion of Forgiveness will, just like the religion of Truth, always remain permanent and without exception in the ultimate or the most perfect state of society. Nay, we even see in the imperfect condition of our present society, that results are achieved on various occasions by peace, which cannot be achieved by anger” (Tilak 1986/1936: 354/ 546).

¹⁰⁰ It would be instructive to recollect R. M. Hare’s writings on moral precepts where he argues that moral dilemmas emerge only under two circumstances: catastrophic events like a war or under the duress of higher critical thinking (Hare 1991: 50). On both accounts the moral dilemma posed by Arjuna and the response by Kṛṣṇa fits well.

¹⁰¹ Sanjay Palshikar seems to be disappointed with *Gītā Rahasya* when he calls the book “strange” (2014: 94) partly because of the size of the book, replete with thousands of citations and quite thick in its use of language which, in any case, would be at odds with the primary aim of writing the book which Tilak had set before him, namely, popularizing the central message of *Gītā* (2014: 93-95). Palshikar goes on to enquire the central purpose behind the writing of the text- “Was he [Tilak] trying to confirm his scholarly supremacy in Pune now that Justice Mahadev Govind Ranade, his intellectually formidable rival, was no more? Or were these digressions just a camouflage? Why did he choose

Shankara as his main target when it was the devotional sect which was far more popular among virtually all sections of Maharashtra?” and laments that “[I]n the absence of a full intellectual biography, we do not know [sic]” (Palshikar 2014: 95).

¹⁰² Some of these include *Srimad Bhagavad Gītā: Karmayogi saraḥa marāthi rupāntara* [1927] by the historian C. V. Vaidya, *Lokmānya Bāḷa Gangādhara Tilaka yanī lihilelyā Gītā-Rahasyāvara tikātmaka nibandha* [1915] by the non-Brahmin intellectual Valchand Ramchand Kothari, *Gītārahasyasiddhāntavivecana* [1917] by the Marathi novelist and Moderate-leader Hari Narayan Nene, *Gītābhāṣya athavā nītiśāstra va samāja-śāstra dr̥ṣṭyā Gītārtha vivaraṇa* [1916] by the sanātānī pundit Shankar Ramchandra Rajwade (Pune, n.p., 1916) and *Karmayoga athavā Śrīmad Bhagavad Gītā* [1927] by Mukund Ganesh Mirajkar amongst others.

¹⁰³ Unlike Bapat-śāstrī, Sadashiv Bhide-śāstrī firmly believed that the Bhagavad Gītā indeed propagated Karma-Yoga and that Tilak’s interpretation of the Gītā was correct. He rectified Tilak’s translation of the Bhagavad Gītā and solidified its argumentative thrust by citing numerous ancient Vedānta texts (Bhide- śāstrī 1928).

¹⁰⁴ Institutions such as the Prājñapāṭhaśālā (Wai), the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Pune) and independent scholarly works by P. V. Kane (the multi-volume *History of Dharmashastra*) and S V Ketkar (*Jñāna-kośa*) amongst others were at the forefront. Outside Maharashtra Tilak’s Gītā Rahasya seems to have influenced Sri Aurobindo (Sartori 2013) and Gandhi inspiring them to write commentaries on the Gītā.

¹⁰⁵ Delegates attending INC’s annual sessions are as follows- 1908- 617, 1909-243, 1920-636, 1911-446, 1912-212 and 1913-349. The number of delegates attending the Lucknow session (1916) was 2301 and by 1920 it rose to 14586 (Phadke 1985-86: 73-74).

¹⁰⁶ Another commentator defended Tilak’s declaration of loyalty to the British government as a “strategic move” meant to “mobilize and consolidate the scattered forces and rebuild the party structure” of the Congress (Sunthankar 1993: 552).

¹⁰⁷ These were Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Canada, New Zealand, New South Wales, Tasmania, South Australia, Victoria and Queensland. (Bell 2007: 28, note 3).

¹⁰⁸ James Mill made an audacious suggestion of sending a family member of the House of Windsor to establish a new royal lineage in India so that Indians would learn the ways of modern self-government (Pitts 2005: 126).

¹⁰⁹ The ‘language community’ argument was proposed by the esteemed British historian J. R. Seeley in his *Expansion of England* [1883].

¹¹⁰ The Act, however, was suspended due to outbreak of the First World War. It was re-enacted in 1920 dividing Ireland into Northern Ireland and Southern Ireland.

¹¹¹ Tilak had been thinking about establishing a Home Rule League since his release from prison and had confided in Subbarao sometime in November, 1914. Tilak wanted a delegation of the HRL to England in order to persuade the British Parliamentarians to pass a Home Rule Bill for India (Kelkar 2012c: 38). Other evidence suggests that Joseph Baptista may have been instrumental in persuading Tilak to establish an Indian Home Rule League. Baptista, a Christian convert from Bombay (from the suburb of Mazgaon) had studied political science and appeared for the Law Tripos at University of Cambridge in the late 1890's. He had a first-hand experience of the Irish question during his Cambridge years. When Baptista met Tilak during the historic Calcutta-Congress [1906] Baptista tried to convince Tilak of the need for the Indian HRL but Tilak was reluctant considering it would hamper Congress activities (Shirsat 1974: 12-13).

¹¹² N. C. Kelkar (Bombay) was appointed its general secretary. Joseph Baptista (Bombay) as the President, D. V. Gokhale (Bombay) as the Assistant Secretary. Other members of the Managing Committee included Tilak (Bombay), G. S. Khaparde (Amravati, Berar), Dr V. R. Patwardhan (Bombay), Dr B. S. Moonje (Nagpur), C. V. Vaidya (Bombay), R. P. Karandikar (Satara) and D. V. Belvi (Belgaum), M. S. Aney (Yeotmal), G. B. Phansalkar (Satara), S. K. Altekar (Karhad) and C. M. Desai (Bombay) (Owen 1968: 191, note 59).

¹¹³ Phatak (2006: 379-80) is content in suggesting that the Lucknow Pact testifies to Tilak's secular credentials. Bhagwat and Pradhan (2011: 386-391) merely provide long excerpts from speeches made by some of the attendees and delegates at the Lucknow session. More (2014: 402-03) dismisses the entire affair with stray remarks. Kelkar (2012c: 117-127), who had accompanied Tilak on the Lucknow Special Train, recalls 'amusing' incidents and public felicitations which took place during their journey. He also summarizes the speech made by the Secretary of the Reception Committee but refrains from commenting on the significant role played by Tilak in brokering the deal.

¹¹⁴ Curtis based his calculations on the 1911 census in which India's population was estimated at 312,632,537 while the total population of citizen-subjects in Britain and the Empire comprised of 433,574,001 people (Gorman 2006: 51).

¹¹⁵ In a nefarious private correspondence with fellow Round Tabler Phillip Kerr (later Lord Lothian) Curtis compared Indians to tribes of Central Africa. The correspondence was leaked to *Bombay Chronicle* (Gorman 2006: 65).

¹¹⁶ In a letter sent to Lord Chelmsford on 21st August 1917 Montagu wrote- "For some reason which I am absolutely unable to understand people prefer "responsible Government" to "Self-Government"! I do not know the difference. If there is a difference, "Self-Government" might mean that India was to be placed under a Hindu or Parsee dictator, but "responsible Government", I should have thought, meant that the Hindu or Parsee dictator would be responsible to some form of Parliamentary institutions. So I think they have given more than your formula would have necessitated" (quoted in Mehrotra 1963: 95, note 1).

¹¹⁷ Representing the HRL-Deputation Tilak met Montagu on 27th November, 1917. Tilak, "[...] the politician who probably has the greatest influence of any person in India, and who is very extreme"

tried to convince Montagu the significance of the Congress-League Scheme. But Montagu was left unimpressed (Montagu 1930 61).

¹¹⁸ “When the final Bill would be presented to the Parliament it will face its greatest opposition from this camp and we will have to fight with them tooth and nail” (Tilak 1976b: 122, my translation).

¹¹⁹ Neither the conversation nor Khaparde himself amused Montagu much. Khaparde was, as he declared in his diary, “[...] pleasant to talk to, but not of much use.” (Montagu 1930: 163). The interview is reproduced in Khaparde’s diary (Khaparde 1978: 421-26).

¹²⁰ ‘Wrangler’ R. P. Paranjpye, the prominent Moderate leader from Bombay, had met Montagu on 24th December, 1917 and presented him with a model of proportional representation (Montagu 1930: 141).

¹²¹ Keir Hardie was involved in the second sedition case against Tilak from the very beginning. He tried to persuade Lord Morley and arranged for a Deputation to meet him and reason with him regarding the unconstitutionality of the Tilak trial. Morley denied meeting the Deputation but agreed to meet Hardie personally. On this the diary entry for 27th October, 1908 by Khaparde reads- “ In the course of it [the meeting] Lord M [Morley] said that the prosecution of Tilak was the doing of Clarke, the Governor of Bombay, and if it was interfered with, he might resign. This K [Kier] H [Hardie] told me in confidence and wished to be kept secret. Gokhale told me exactly the opposite. This is difficult to reconcile” (Khaparde 1978: 380).

¹²² Sir Valentine Chirol, the Director of the Imperial and Foreign Affairs department of the London-based newspaper the *Times*, had written a series of articles from 20th July to 17th September, 1910 describing the political movement in India. Later the articles were compiled and published in the form of a book entitled *Indian Unrest* (1910). The famous epithet ascribed to Tilak- ‘the Father of Indian Unrest’- was coined by Chirol (1910: 41). Chirol had suggested that there was “an indirect connection” between Tilak and the murders of Lieutenant Ayerst and Mr. Rand (Chirol 1910: 48). He had also accused Tilak of being “the real author of the murder” of Mr. Jackson although the prime accused was Kanhere (Chirol 1910: 61-62). The book had made lewd remarks regarding Tilak’s honesty and integrity during the Tai Maharaj estate controversy. Messrs. Downer and Johnson, acting as solicitors for Tilak, sent a legal notice sent to Chirol on 1st October, 1915 and sought a personal written apology from him. The apology was to be published in all the major Indian, Anglo-Indian and British newspapers. They also demanded complete suspension of all the sales and circulation of the book unless necessary alterations were made to it and the libellous content regarding Tilak was removed. The solicitors also expected financial contribution from Chirol to the ‘Indian War Relief Fund’ (Kelkar 2012c: 201-208). Chirol refused to relent.

¹²³ They were camped at Noonoo McNulty Apartments, 10, Howley Place, MaidaVale, W.2, London. In a letter sent to his nephew on the next day he informed him of a safe arrival and that he would “commence business from today” (Tilak 1976e: 893).

¹²⁴ Favourable reports from Lala Lajpat Rai about Woodrow Wilson and his determination to stand up for ‘the right of self-government to smaller nations’ also emboldened Tilak (Manela 2007: 89-90). Tilak wrote to Wilson, praising him the “author of the great principle of self-determination” (quoted in Manela 2007: 163) sought his mediation.

¹²⁵ The first meeting to protest against the desecration of the holy sites at the hands of the ‘infidels’ and proclaiming support to the Muslim Caliphate took place on March 19, 1919 in Bombay. About 15,000 Muslims had gathered for the protest. They formed the Bombay Khilafat Committee which later (October 17, 1919) transformed into the Central Khilafat Committee (also known as the All-India Khilafat Committee) under the leadership of Mian Muhammed Jan Muhammed Chhotani as the President and Maulana Shaukat Ali as its general Secretary. The Central Khilafat Committee [CKC], although controlled by the Muslim elites of North India by the final months of 1919 continued to treat Bombay as its headquarters. The first meeting of the Central Khilafat Committee was held at Delhi between 21st and 23rd November, 1919 (Ali 2017:195-98). Gandhi was present for the meeting.

¹²⁶ Sri Aurobindo who had retired to Pondicherry was requested by Joseph Baptista to endorse the Party. In his candid response Aurobindo wrote- “Your party, you say, is going to be a social democratic party. Now I believe in something which might be called social democracy, but not in any of the forms now current, and I am not altogether in love with the European kind, however great an improvement it may be on the past” (Tilak 1966: 281).

¹²⁷ I do not mean to treat the contribution of the non-Brahmin and Communist movement to India’s Independence any less importance. However, the ideologues of these movements rarely invoked Tilak’s memory to further their political-ideological agenda.

¹²⁸ For an opposite view-point portraying greater affinity between Tilak and Gandhi’s political vision see Javadekar (1946).

¹²⁹ Kelkar wrote a short preface to one of the earliest biographies of Savarkar (Ranade 1924) followed by an elaborate preface to another biography by the arch-Savarkarite S. L. Karandikar (Karandikar 1947).

¹³⁰ Naik’s claims that *Mahratta* introduced India to the ideas of Karl Marx stands on shallow evidence. Articles from reputed English journals, which were routinely reproduced in the *Mahratta* throughout the 1880s, provided information on nihilism and social Darwinism with cursory references to trade union movement in England. Direct references to Marx and his socialist ideology are absent. The first reference to socialism in Tilak’s writings appeared in an editorial published in *Kesari* on 20th September, 1904 (Tilak 1976b: 249-252). Naik also claims that an article published in *Kesari* on 29th January, 1918 entitled ‘Raśiyācā pudhārī Lenin’ was written by Tilak. Tilak rarely wrote in *Kesari* during his final three years. If one follows the day-to-day account of Tilak’s activities in January 1918 he was busy formulating his tour of Central Maharashtra and left for Nagpur on 26th January, 1918 (Kelkar 2012c: 159). Considering the language and temperament of the said article it could have been written by Krishnaji Prabhakar Khadilkar. Khadilkar’s flirtations with Bolshevism continued for many years and resulted into him charged with sedition in 1929 for writing an article supporting Bolshevik activities in India (Mumbaīce daṅge va Bolśevhik bil’, Navakaal, 9th February, 1929) (Khadilkar 1949: 510-15).