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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 (upāsanā) 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 Sārvajanika 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 Sakharam 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." Baptatisa 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 Sarvajanik Sabha* (Ranade 1888).

[27] The authority of *Parāśara-Smṛti* is exacerbated by its author, *Parāśara*, who was purportedly the grandson of the Vedic seer Vasiśṭha. 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 (Charleswoth 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], Siśka [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' ("rāśṭriya 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 1891which 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 (Banerjea 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, 1011, 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-śastri 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 Sāṁkhya 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 (prakruti). The Sāṁkhya 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, clapsed 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- Mimāṁsā divides injunctions (vidhī) into imperative (pramāṇa) and prohibitory (niṣiddha) articulated through words (śabda). The exegetical method adopted by the Pūrva- Mimāṁsākas 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 saraḷa marāthi rupāntara* [1927] by the historian C. V. Vaidya, *Lokmānya Bāḷa Gangādhara Tiḷaka yanī lihilelyā Gītā-Rahasyāvara tīkātmaka 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 dṛṣṭyā Gītārtha vivaraṇa* [1916] by the sanātanī 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 Prājñapāṭhaśāḷā (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 trail. 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 Reflief 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 "commense 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 refence 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).