# Creation of Knowledge in Colonial Indian Society: Negotiation between Majestic Agencies and Indigenous Knowledge System

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#### Abstract

Research Backgrounds: The presence of British colonial administration, enriched indigenous knowledge systems, relationships between colonizers and colonized, and various other factors played significant role in the complex and varied nature of knowledge creation in colonial Indian society. They composed literature, poetry, plays, and treatises, exploring diverse themes, including religion, philosophy, social issues, and nationalism. This indigenous knowledge production helped preserve and develop traditional knowledge systems, including medicine, Ayurveda, yoga, astrology, and various forms of art and craftsmanship. Imperial agencies and native undercurrents interacted, sometimes collaborating and at other times in conflict, shaping the knowledge landscape of colonial India. *Objective:* The primary goal of the current study is to identify how knowledge creation process was influenced by various agencies of Colonial Indian Society. Research design and Methodology: This study is an overview with in-depth analysis, a qualitative research approach together with secondary information collected from electronic resources such as book chapters, journals, articles, research, the internet, and the Google search engine. Major findings and Conclusion: The literature review was conducted using analytical techniques, and an outcome was reached after carefully examining all the information. According to this study, the process of knowledge development during colonial control was complicated and not equally experienced by all social classes. It involved negotiations between the colonizers and the colonized, with the outcomes being influenced by power dynamics, cultural conflicts, and adaptations. The intellectual environment in modern India is still being shaped by this era. The British administration and its emphasis on Western knowledge systems, as well as the vernacular significance, which included indigenous languages, traditional wisdom, and the intellectual resistance against colonial rule, had an impact on the creation of knowledge in colonial Indian society.

**Keywords:** Creation of knowledge, Colonial Indian society, Indigenous knowledge system, Majestic agencies and Negotiation.

#### **Introduction:**

The presence of British colonial administration, indigenous knowledge systems and the relationships between colonizers and colonized played a role in the complex and shifting nature of generating knowledge in colonial Indian society (Said, 1978). In order to educate Indian elites in Western ideas and beliefs, the British erected

schools of learning in India (Baba, 2015). The dissemination of Western knowledge, including the sciences, humanities, and social sciences, was greatly aided by these institutions, including universities and schools. These schools' curricula frequently emphasized Western concepts, languages, and cultural values, which posed a threat to conventional Indian knowledge systems (Anderson, 2012).

Ayurveda, yoga, mathematics, astronomy, and philosophy are examples of traditional Indian knowledge systems that have survived and thrived despite the influence of the British (Atkinson, 1902). Traditional educational institutions, such as teacher-disciple relationships and oral transmissions, were used by indigenous scholars and educators to preserve and transmit their knowledge (Alan, 2006). The arrival of Western knowledge merged with this knowing, resulting in a dynamic interaction between colonizers and colonized.

Indian philosophers contributed significantly to the dissemination of Western concepts by translating philosophical, literary, and scientific works into their native languages. As a result, a broader portion of the Indian population was exposed to Western ideas, and a vernacular intellectual tradition was encouraged to form (New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India, 2001). The vernacular press was crucial for disseminating news about technological developments, social shifts, and political developments (Jodhka and Prakash, 2011).

It is possible to observe the expansion of intellectual organizations and reform groups in India across the colonial era. The study of Indian history, culture, and languages has advanced significantly thanks to these organizations, particularly the Asiatic Society of Bengal (said, 1978). They exhorted indigenous scholars to conduct research, gather and maintain manuscripts, work with Western scholars, and develop knowledge that mixed Indian and Western perspectives (Baba, 2015). Resistance to slavery takes many diverse forms, much like counter knowledge. Indian intellectuals and activists created different views on history, society, and culture to challenge the dominant colonial paradigms. Researchers are pushing for the necessity and applicability of reclaiming and revising indigenous knowledge systems in reaction to Western dominance (New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India, 2001).

In India during the time of colonization, the British Raj had a significant impact on knowledge generation and the country's educational system (Alavi, 1975). They created organizations like universities, colleges, and schools to train a native wealthy class to assist in managing the colonial government. By focusing a significant focus on subjects like English literature, science, law, and administration, these organizations propagate Western knowledge systems. The British adapted ancient Indian works, particularly religious and philosophical articles, to better understand Indian society and to aid in their rule. The British government contributed to the preservation of information and opened it to a larger audience by editing and conserving books.

The British also introduced cutting-edge methods for producing knowledge, such as polls counts, and the documentation of natural resources. These initiatives aimed to gather information about India's layout, population, ecosystems, and resources (Alvaredo et al. 2017). This scientific approach to knowledge creation had an impact on a number of fields, including geography, anthropology, botany, and archaeology. Majestic agencies played a significant role in shaping how learning was created in colonial India, typically with a concentration on Western knowledge systems and British Empire laws.

The local languages and indigenous ways of knowing persisted in importance in colonial Indian society despite the British Raj's backing for Western knowledge systems (Alavi, 1975). Many regional languages are still used for literary and cultural expression, notably Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, and Urdu. Even if English was the language of instruction in official educational settings, native study participants, artists, and thinkers continued to study in their mother tongues. They wrote poetry, prose, plays, and treatises that addressed a variety of issues, including as nationalism, social problems, and philosophy. Indigenous knowledge production helped to conserve and advance many traditional knowledge systems, including astrology, yoga, medicine, and a variety of arts and crafts (Atkinson, 1902).

Newspapers, periodicals, and literary journals are examples of popular works that have evolved into important forums for scholarly discourse and knowledge exchange. These magazines fostered scholarly debate, criticism of colonial methods, and the emergence of a nationalist outlook. Popular vernacular authors and philosophers challenged the dominant British narrative and influenced public sentiment. In order to preserve indigenous knowledge systems, a sense of culture, and to foster scientific resistance to colonial rule, the use of vernacular was crucial (New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India, 2001).

In conclusion, it is crucial to keep in mind that the method through which knowledge was generated under colonial rule was complex and not fairly distributed across all elements of society. It involved talks between colonizers and colonized, with the outcomes influenced by power relations, cultural disputes, and adaptations. According to New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India (2001), today is still influencing the intellectual climate in contemporary India. Both majestic agencies, symbolized by the British government and their emphasis on Western knowledge systems, and vernacular significance, that involved indigenous languages, related wisdom, and imaginative opposition to slavery, had an impact on the creation of knowledge in colonial Indian society. In order to construct the insight into the environment of the past in India, these two forces worked together, frequently collaborating as well as other times competing.

## Objective of the present study:

The primary goal of the current study is to focus on how knowledge creation process was influenced by various agencies and vernacular significant of Colonial Indian Society.

## **Research Questions:**

- RQ1. What were the roles played by learned Indian society in knowledge creation?
- RQ2. What were the strategies of creation and dissemination of colonial knowledge in India?
- RQ3. How was alternative forms of knowledge spreaded?
- RQ4. What were the vernacular mediums of communication in Colonial Indian society?
- RQ5. How was social and religious movement associated with knowledge creation in Colonial Indian society?
- RQ6. How did majestic agencies exercise control over the colonial knowledge?

## Rationale of the present study:

The presence of British colonial administration, indigenous knowledge systems and the relationships between colonizers and colonized played a role in the complex and shifting nature of generating knowledge in colonial Indian society. In India during the time of colonization, the British Raj had a significant impact on knowledge

generation and the country's educational system. They created organizations like universities, colleges, and schools to train a native wealthy class to assist in managing the colonial government. By assigning a significant focus on subjects like English literature, science, law, and administration, these organizations propagate Western knowledge systems. The British translated ancient Indian works, mostly religious and philosophical documents, to aid in their understanding of Indian civilization and to aid in their rule. Vernacular languages and indigenous knowledge systems remained to be significant in colonial Indian society even as the British Raj sponsored Western knowledge systems. Many regional languages are still used for literary and cultural expression, including Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, and Urdu. Despite English's dominance in official institutions, native thinkers, researchers, and writers continued to advance knowledge in their respective original languages. They wrote poetry, prose, plays, and treatises that addressed a variety of issues, including as nationalism, social problems, and philosophy. Countless older belief systems, including as astrology, yoga, Ayurveda, medicine, and various arts and crafts, have benefited from indigenous knowledge generation. Therefore, this subject is crucial in the modern day.

#### **Review of the related literature:**

The concept of "colonial knowledge" refers to the style and nature of knowledge that emerged from and aided in the process of colonization. Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India is an interesting read for imperial historians whether they approach it from the perspective of the motivations for knowledge production, the function of local players in the process, or the educational process of its transmission (Baba, 2015). Roy (2018) studied an article on colonial Indian society with the dissemination of different forms of knowledge and demonstrated that the evidence to support the conjecture is inadequate. The lack of information on peasant income makes it difficult to draw broad conclusions about global trends in inequality. The findings do, however, cast doubt on the contribution of state policy to developments in inequality. An alternate explanation begins with the dichotomy between jobs that depend on land and jobs that depend on trade. Kumar (2021) did research and discovered the evolution of India's response to the impact of Europe, as well as how Indian intellectuals started to adopt modern principles while maintaining their own cultural heritage. The analysis revealed that colonialist reforms were ineffective since they failed to embrace a comprehensive shift and instead chose to complicate matters, even though we saw some encouraging developments in such domains (Bouzerouata and Sayeh, 2015). By examining the interactions of British feminists and activists in law reform movements, which are typically solely researched from the perspectives of colonial male rulers and native male the ruling class, Chitnis and Wright (2007) discovered that this paper offers new insights. This article demonstrates a number of ways colonial women undercut the reforms of their Indian counterparts by concentrating on the predicament of Indian women and adding the viewpoint of British feminists.

## Research Design and Methodology of the present study:

This is an in-depth study based on qualitative research methodology and working with secondary data acquired from electronic resources, including book chapters, journals, articles, research thesis etc. After reviewing carefully all the studies and analyzing relevant findings, outcomes have been explored through discussion.

#### **DISCUSSION:**

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The process for creating knowledge during the era of colonial power was complicated and not shared evenly by all society groups. It included a negotiation between the colonizers and the colonized, and the outcomes were influenced by power dynamics, cultural tensions, and adaptations. The effects of this era's legacy are still influencing the intellectual milieu in contemporary India. Majestic agencies and their concentrate on rustic significance, which included indigenous languages, traditional knowledge, and the intellectual battle against colonial power, had an impact on the production of knowledge in colonial Indian society. The discussion that follows is based on the research question.

#### 1. Role of the learned societies of creating knowledge in colonial Indian society?

Learned societies played a significant role in creating knowledge in colonial Indian society. When India was ruled by the British from the colonial era, a number of learned societies formed as significant cultures for the creation and dissemination of facts. These societies produced professionals, academics, and intellectuals who made contributions to a variety of disciplines, including science, history, archaeology, literature, and the social sciences. Here are a few examples of how important learned societies were in the creation of knowledge in colonial Indian society.

Advancement of Indigenous knowledge systems were preserved in large part because to the efforts of learned societies. They made it easier to record, research, and disseminate ancient Indian ways of life, such as in agriculture, medicine, and culture.

Numerous learned societies actively promoted **scientific investigation and study**. They made it easier to study astronomy, geology, botany, zoology, and other scientific disciplines. The Asiatic Society of Bengal is one such example, which funded studies on Indian flora, wildlife, and archaeology.

**Historical and archaeological studies** into Indian history has been a priority for learned societies. They documented historical monuments, artefacts, and plaques and made in-depth investigation. India's rich historical past was preserved and explored thanks in large part to the Archaeological Survey of India, which was founded in 1861.

**Studies in literature and linguistics** have benefited from the work of organizations notably the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Bombay Historical the Community. The translation of old texts as well as study on classical Indian literature, epigraphy, and spoken languages was promoted.

Learned societies fostered modern education, founded universities, and encouraged the study of the arts, social sciences, and sciences. These groups released publications such as journals, books, and articles that **spread knowledge** to a broader demographic. They promoted intellectual dialogue, discussion, and debate, which promoted critical thinking and cognitive growth.

Numerous learned societies contributed to the rise of anti-colonial and **nationalist movements**. They gave thinkers and separatists a place to talk politics, articulate their opinions, and come up with plans for independence from Britain.

The creation, preservation, and dissemination of knowledge were all greatly aided by learned societies in colonial India. They created the groundwork for contemporary learning, scientific inquiry, and knowledge of Indian

history. Their work had a profound impact on the cognitive and aesthetic renaissance of the time and continues to influence India's knowledge landscape today.

#### 2. Strategies of creation and dissemination of colonial knowledge

Colonial powers used a variety of tactics in the development and dissemination of colonial knowledge to establish their authority, manage native populations, and defend their colonial endeavors. These tactics frequently have the goals of enhancing authority, taking advantage of resources, and preserving social, economic, and political dominance over colonized areas. Here are a few typical tactics:

**Systematic Investigation and Records:** Explorers, investigators, and ecologists were dispatched by colonial powers to investigate and record the native flora, wildlife, topography, and cultures. As a result of these expeditions, scientific knowledge formed that was utilized to support colonization and claim supremacy over native peoples.

**Cultural based Research:** To investigate and categorize indigenous cultures, rituals, and social systems, anthropological and ethnographers were used. The research was intended to present indigenous communities as being undeveloped, needing European enforcement, and in need of civilizing efforts.

Language and Educational Organization: Language research was done by colonial rulers to catalogue and categorize native languages. Native cultures were further stigmatized as a result of the suppression of indigenous languages or their replacement with the colonizer's language. It created educational establishments including colleges and schools that spread colonial knowledge and beliefs. It was created to denigrate native languages and legacies while promoting European values, historical events, and culture.

Colonial Literature and Media: The literature created by European scholars of history, writers, and philosophers depicted annexation as a heroic act and colonizers as compassionate agents of enlightenment and knowledge. Newspapers, magazines, and subsequently radio and film were utilized by colonial powers to communicate colonial memoirs, images, and rhetoric in order to further the notion of the civilizing vocation.

**Galleries and Expositions:** Galleries and Expositions featuring indigenous artefacts, works of art, and cultural displays were founded by colonial rulers. These framed indigenous civilizations as being primitive or strange and served to support the plot of European authority and colonial accomplishments.

**Knowledge Reforms, Expurgation and Resistor:** Indigenous knowledge systems in colonized regions were frequently disturbed by colonial forces. They imposed Western scientific, acceptable, and bureaucratic structures that favored the interests of the colonizers and exercised expurgation and resistor over the development of indigenous knowledge, replacing traditional knowledge with European systems. They inhibited the spread of indigenous knowledge, censored dissenting voices, and restricted access to some literature.

It is crucial to remember that these tactics were not utilized equally by all colonial regimes or areas. According on the colonial setting, the make-up of the colonized society, and the objectives and ideologies of the relevant colonial authority, several tactics were used.

## 3. How did alternative forms of knowledge in colonial Indian society spread?

Several circumstances and tactics contributed to the circulation of alternative knowledge in colonial Indian

society. Alternative forms of knowledge were communicated at that moment in time in the following ways:

**Dialect Publications:** Rendering texts available to the general people by converting and publishing them in local tongues was one successful strategy. This made it possible for different viewpoints, philosophies, and scientific theories to be shared with people of all ages.

Educational Bodies and Cerebral Groups: Spreading alternative knowledge required the establishment of alternative learning spaces, such as indigenous schools and colleges. These organizations intended to undermine the absolute power of colonial educational systems by promoting regional customs, languages, and various types of knowledge. In order to discuss and spread alternative knowledge, thinkers, investigators, and democrats established networks and groups. These gatherings offered venues for discussing many topics, questioning conventional wisdom, and investigating opposing viewpoints, addressing societal, governmental, and cultural challenges.

**Social, Political and Cultural Actions:** In the aforementioned period, a number of social, political, and cultural movements that supported alternative knowledge systems formed. These movements addressed issues like religious reform, social equality, and indigenous knowledge; they also provided a venue for alternate views to be acknowledged in political uprisings like the Indian freedom drive. They scheduled public forums, debates, and presentations to raise consciousness and refute colonial myths.

**Print Media:** The growth of journals, periodicals, and newspapers was crucial to the dissemination of alternative knowledge. These mediums were utilized by authors, intellectuals, and activists to release books, articles, and creative pieces that advocated different viewpoints and refuted colonial ideas.

**Articulated Ritual and Storytelling:** Folktales, myths, and oral histories are examples of age-old oral forms of expression that were important in conserving and transmitting alternative knowledge. These stories provided people of all ages with alternative social to cultural, spiritual in nature, and historical viewpoints.

**Distinct Struggles:** Distinct academics, those who think, and activists made a significant contribution to the dissemination of alternative knowledge. They contributed to scientific and social shifts through participating in discussions, writing books, giving instruction, as well as other activities that had an impact on others.

It's crucial to remember that those endeavors weren't always readily apparent because of the obstacles and limitations the colonial administration imposed. But taken as a whole, these tactics helped colonial Indian civilization preserve and disseminate alternate kinds of knowledge.

#### 4. What are the vernacular mediums of communication in Colonial Indian society?

There were multiple vernacular forms of communication that were used extensively by many different groups and domains in India over the time of colonialism. These channels were essential for disseminating knowledge, expressing ideas, and promoting cross-cultural interaction. Some of the most common vernacular means of communication in colonial Indian society are listed below:

**Linguistic diversity:** As a result of India's well-known linguistic variety, several different languages were employed as means of communication. Among the most frequently spoken languages in various areas are "Hindi, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Gujarati, Punjabi, Urdu, Kannada, and Malayalam". These languages, which had their own scripts, were utilized for daily conversation as well as for writing and media.

**Printing Journalism:** Language underwent a dramatic change after the printing press was developed in the 18th century. Languages from the region were used to create vernacular newspapers, periodicals, and booklets that allowed for the distribution of information. Prominent publications include the "Bengali Samachar Darpan", "the Gujarati Bombay Samachar", "the Marathi Kesari" and "the Hindi Amrit Bazaar Patrika".

**Mythological Workings:** Mythological work was essential to human interaction and the conveying of culture. Its facets of Indian society were reflected in the activities of prominent writers and poets written in the local dialects. These mythological works were frequently shared via manuscripts, spectacles, and recitals.

**Folk Traditions:** The colonial country of India was home to several successful traditional modes of interaction. Indigenous memoirs, mythologies, and past occurrences were communicated through telling stories, folk songs, and laments. Folk theatre genres like "jatra (in Bengali)", "nautanki (in Hindi)", and "yakshagana (in Kannada)" were well-liked sources of amusement and discourse.

**Verbal Message:** Indian civilization included a significant amount of verbal message. It took place during community occasions, and occasions for socializing where folklore, proverbs, and wisdom were exchanged. Music as bases, choreography, and other physical aspects were frequently used to amplify verbal message. It is significant to highlight that throughout colonial India, different areas and villages used different vernacular forms of communication. The country's linguistic and cultural variety produced a diverse range of communication styles, each of which contributed to the lively exchange of ideas and expression.

## 5. Role played by the social and religious movements in Colonial Indian society in knowledge creation

In India, a number of important social and religious movements evolved within the colonial era. These movements were vital in forming Indian society, resisting colonial authority, and promoting social and religious transformations. The following motions are noteworthy:

**Nationalism:** An effort to free India from British domination was made by the Indian Nationalist which also had social and political goals. It was led by individuals like "Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Subhas Chandra Bose" and used civil disobedience, which was nonviolent, large-scale protests, and calls for self-rule to mobilize people throughout India.

**Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj:** Brahmo Samaj was a socio-religious revolution that Raja Ram Mohan Roy started in the early 19th century with the goal of promoting oneness and purifying Hinduism. Additionally, Swami Dayananda Saraswati formed the Arya Samaj in 1875 with the intention of bringing back Vedic customs and enacting social reforms.

**Aligarh Movement:** The Aligarh Movement, which was founded in the latter part of the 19th century and was led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, concentrated on Muslim educational and social reform. To advance advances in learning and try to close the divide between Muslims and the British government, it founded the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College (later Aligarh Muslim University).

**Theosophical Society:** The Theosophical Society was established in 1875 by Helena Blavatsky and Henry Steel Olcott with the goals of advancing global brotherhood, researching compare religion, and looking into paranormal occurrences. It greatly impacted the resurgence of Hinduism and the Indian patriotic sentiment.

**Swadeshi Movement:** The Swadeshi Movement, which was a subset of the Indian nationalist movement, promoted the use of locally produced items and the rejection of British imports. It aimed to encourage monetary autonomy and independent thought.

**Khilafat Movement:** From the beginning in the 20th century, the Khilafat Movement was founded under the direction of prominent Muslim figures including Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali. It sought to rally Indian Muslims in support of the Ottoman Caliphate, which the Western powers were threatening. Hindus and Muslims were encouraged to join forces in the independence effort by it.

These movements significantly influenced Indian society's development and the fight for freedom from British colonial authority. Additionally, they cleared the ground for a number of religious and social revolutions that still have an effect on Indian culture today.

### 6. How did majestic agencies exercise control over the colonial knowledge

Someone appear to be requesting information on how to confront or overthrow colonial knowledge control structures. Tackling and correcting these structures can be a difficult undertaking with many facets. The following actions can be chosen:

**Learning and alertness:** Encourage learning and alertness of colonialism's heritage and effects. Encourage critical thinking and a thorough comprehension of colonial knowledge and how it affected societies. This can be done by include different viewpoints and voices in school courses, hosting workshops, and funding studies and publications that contradict popular perceptions.

**Decolonizing exploration and academy:** Facilitate the decolonization of academic fields as well as study methods. This entails challenging and dismantling Eurocentric paradigms while fostering the participation of underrepresented and indigenous knowledge systems. Create platforms for the voices of researchers and academics from colonized or excluded communities by assisting them in their work.

Associate between indigenous and disadvantaged group: Giving disadvantaged and indigenous populations a forum to be heard will help to strengthen the communities they represent. This can entail promoting efforts led by the community, standing up for their rights, and valuing their knowledge and experience. Support relationships and collaborations that honor and value their cultural history and modes of acquiring knowledge.

**Inspiring power assemblies:** Consider the assemblies of power that support colonial knowledge. This can entail actively opposing discriminatory practices, assisting social movements, and promoting policy changes. Encourage interaction and conversation across other populations in order to promote a respectable, empathetic, and united society.

Connectional between various oppressive and privileged practices: Recognize the connections between various oppressive and privileged practices. Numerous systems of power, including racism, patriarchy, and capitalism, connect with colonialism. Recognizing these connections can aid in the creation of thorough strategies for tackling colonial knowledge and its effects.

Value of various view and culture: Insist on the value of various viewpoints, views, and experiences. Promote equal treatment in the arts, literature, and other forms of cultural production. While opposing the exploitation and monetization of native traditions, celebrate and encourage cultural diversity.

**Participate in self-reflection:** Consider your own rights and prejudice and confront them. To continue learning and improving your comprehension of colonial knowledge and its repercussions, participate in continuing self-education and reflection.

It's crucial to remember that the work to challenge colonial knowledge is ongoing and continual efforts are necessary. To bring about significant change, it takes the cooperation and involvement of people, neighborhoods, structures, and government agencies.

#### **Conclusion:**

Overall, educational institutions in colonial India played a significant role in the creation, transmission, and preservation of knowledge. It's important to keep in mind that these attempts weren't always straightforward or simple due to the constraints and challenges the colonial authority imposed. However, when viewed as a whole, these strategies promoted the goals and ideology of the relevant colonial power in addition to the spread and upkeep of other types of knowledge in colonial Indian society. The various communities and regions in colonial India had different vernacular ways of communicating, and these methods paved the path for social and religious reforms that continue to have an impact on Indian culture today. To confront colonial knowledge, which is an undertaking that is still ongoing, requires persistent work. To continue learning and improving your comprehension of colonial knowledge and its repercussions, participate in continuing self-education and reflection.

It is important to keep in mind that the manner of knowledge creation under colonial rule was challenging and not equitably distributed across all parts of society. There were talks between the colonizers and the colonized, and conflicts over power, cultural tensions, and adaptations all had an impact on the final results. This period is still having an impact on the intellectual climate in contemporary India. The British administration's commitment to occidental educational platforms, along with the vernacular worth for indigenous languages, traditional knowledge, and cerebral rebellion against colonial rule, all had an effect on the development of expertise in colonial Indian society (New Intellectuals in Seventeenth-Century India, 2001). The relationships between these two forces, which occasionally cooperated and other sometimes encountered disagreements, helped to define the knowledge architecture of colonial India.

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