

1-1-2017

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CHAPTER THREE

THE “NEW CONQUERING EMPIRE OF LIGHT AND REASON”: *THE CIVILIZING MISSION OF WILLIAM JONES*

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But now all is to be changed. All the pleasing illusions, which made power gentle and obedience liberal, which harmonized the different shades of life, and which, by a bland assimilation, incorporated into politics the sentiments which beautify and soften private society, are to be dissolved by this new conquering empire of light and reason. All the decent drapery of life is to be rudely torn off. All the superadded ideas, furnished from the wardrobe of a moral imagination, which the heart owns, and the understanding ratifies, as necessary to cover the defects of our naked, shivering nature, and to raise it to dignity in our own estimation, are to be exploded as a ridiculous, absurd, and antiquated fashion.

—Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France: And on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to that event. In a Letter Intended to Have Been Sent to a Gentleman in Paris*

Written in the wake of the fall of the Bastille in France in 1789, Edmund Burke’s politically charged pamphlet, *Reflections on the Revolution in France: And on the Proceedings in Certain Societies in London Relative to that event. In a Letter Intended to Have Been Sent to a Gentleman in Paris*, expressed his misgivings regarding the turn of events that had seen the French monarchy displaced and violent passions unleashed. It is, on the one hand, a lament for the “decent drapery” of a bygone era, but it saves its invective for the “barbarous philosophy” born of “cold hearts and muddy understandings” that functioned as a cabal and influenced opinion. While Burke directed his ire against this wider intellectual culture, his reference to the “new conquering empire of light and reason” was aimed at the central metaphor of Enlightenment thought, the empire of light and reason, and its vision of a naked truth.

What is interesting in Burke's characterization of light as a new conquering empire aligned with reason is that the intellectual foundation of Enlightenment thought is imagined not only in an enlightened discourse between philosophers that had broad public and historical resonance, but also includes a powerful visual dimension. Burke's protean phrase nods, on the one hand, towards the empire of light formed with the developments in artificial illumination that accompanied the industrialization of light, its instrumentalisation through an industry of representation (photography, film, magic lanterns, theatrical lighting, and so on), its new role in economic and industrial activity, its place in urban public life and spectacle, and its transformation of the home and individual interiors. Wolfgang Schivelbusch has described how the modern consciousness was forged amidst these dramatic transformations that sought to banish the night, so much so that according to Jonathan Crary, late capitalism ushers in an era of permanent illumination, a 24/7 where the distinction between night and day has been rendered irrelevant.¹ Sean Cubitt extends this notion to include a wider "practice of light" in modernity where visual media and its production of an aesthetics of dominance are seen as the latest episode in humanity's struggle to control light.²

On the other hand, Burke's conquering empire of light and reason also points to the political fact of empire, and of relationships between empire and colony. Through the course of the nineteenth century, light and darkness evolved into persistent metaphors that endorsed an ideology of progress between an imperial centre that dazzled with the lights of civilization and the primitive darkness of the peripheral colony. Tasked with bringing light into the benighted corners of the world, the civilizing mission of the British Empire cast its glare upon Indian epistemology, denouncing indigenous knowledge as superstitious darkness. Gayatri Spivak's 'notion of an epistemic violence cast this problem in the register of language and speech, where the erasure of local knowledge was viewed as an archival silencing of the subaltern voice.³ Burke's reference to an empire of light and reason draws attention to the visual model at the heart of Enlightenment thought where light, truth, and reason are bound together in a powerful matrix with its promises of freedom. Tied to empire, it postulates a visual regime garnered around light and reason that emerged as a potent instrument of subjection in the colony.⁴

If the technologies, institutions, and practices that accompanied the industrialization of light granted a new texture to light, forming one crucial cog in an imperial vision machine, the veil functioned as another visual device that controlled light in an imperial optics. Although the iconography of unveiling had a long, hallowed tradition, it acquired new

valence in its exposures of Oriental worlds that claimed to illuminate the darkness that lay behind the veil to offer a view into its hidden secrets, often aided by torches that marked a passage into the light. I propose that the unveiling of Oriental worlds should be viewed in conjunction with the simultaneous expansion of visual horizons that accompanied the scientific revolution, which presented optical technologies where the visible acquired a new legitimacy, bolstered by the extended invasive vision of these technologies.⁵

Pierre Hadot has identified the motif of unveiling nature as an antique trope with roots in the pre-Socratic idea that “nature loves to hide,” proposing that it found renewed popularity in Enlightenment Europe as the “veil of Isis” and expressed the promises of science to expose the secrets of nature.⁶ It was widely adopted by figures of the German Romantic tradition such as Schiller (*Das verschleierte Bild zu Sais*, 1795) and Novalis (*Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, 1798–1799) and by artists, including William Hogarth in his *Boys Peeping at Nature* (1731) and Benjamin West in his *The Graces Unveiling Nature* (1779).

The veiled Isis figures as a prototype for a mysterious feminized Orient conflated with nature and the iconography of unveiling enacts the drama of sight in its quest to illuminate her secret interiorities. Remarking upon the currency of this feminized unveiling of Oriental mystique, Edward Said noted how “[t]he cultural, temporal and geographic distance [between the Occident and the Orient] was expressed in metaphors of depth, secrecy, and sexual promise: phrases like ‘the veil of an Eastern Bride’ or the ‘inscrutable Orient’ passed into the common language.” The secrets of a feminized Orient organized a visual economy of knowledge and concealment, where acts of unveiling mobilized a desire to see and to know, promising the disclosure of hidden secrets. *The Oriental Portfolio* (1839) for example, a lavishly produced travel portfolio featuring lithographs of India, featured a frontispiece of the graces unveiling an image of the Indian landscape, with subsequent pages leading the eye into the heartland and culminating in veiled interior spaces such as the harem, typically closed off to the outside eye. Such technologies of illuminating the darkness of the Indian landscape colluded with tropes of the civilizing mission, which sought to introduce the light of civilization into the “benighted darkness.”

A marble commemorative statue of the Orientalist scholar William Jones (1799) by the sculptor John Bacon at St. Paul’s Cathedral in London (fig. 3.1) presents an example of the how such iconographies of unveiling were conjoined with the civilizing mission. If the *Oriental Portfolio* had promised to uncover the darkness within which the Indian landscape had

remained hidden to Western viewers and make visible its hidden interiorities, Bacon's sculpture heralded a triumphant moment that sought to introduce light into a benighted land. Jones stands in confident *contrapposto* wearing a toga that emphasizes his classical learning and holding in his hand a scroll, while leaning against a volume of *The Institutes of Manu*, an orthodox text on Hindu law that he had translated from the Sanskrit. On the pillar below, a set of books mark him out for his learning, callipers attest to his scientific spirit, a pair of scales recall his role as a judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and a Ptolemaic globe and a lyre underline his aesthetic commitments and universal knowledge. Gazing out into the distance, he towers over a plaque at the base that describes his heroic conquest of Oriental knowledge.

On the base of the statue is a plaque with two allegorical male figures drawing back a drape on a roundel between them (fig. 3.2). The figure on the left holds aloft a torch in a gesture of triumph, the second figure leans over against the roundel with a lamp, and the metaphor of leading from darkness unto light is doubly articulated through devices of illumination as well as the drawing back of the curtain. Drawing back the drapes here specifically introduces light into a world of darkness. The Enlightenment trope of the light of reason dispelling the ignorance of darkness is appended to the liberatory rhetoric of the colonial civilizing mission here as the guardian figures holding the curtain perform a heroic act of rescue, ushering the pagan idolatry into the light. It is not accidental that the Indian figures in this image stand out sharply as "the much maligned monsters" characterized by Partha Mitter, set against the heroic Greco-Roman body of the colonizer.⁸ The profusion of animal figures along with the zodiac ring and the "unnatural" image of the *trimurti* stand in for the arbitrary character of Indian belief sought to be "enlightened" by the towering figure of William Jones standing authoritatively above. Despite the centrality of the sculpture in the largest church in London, it has confounded art historians, with even contemporary sources deeming it fraught with cryptic symbolism.⁹

Like the *Oriental Portfolio* and its imagining of the nation as a two-dimensional image held aloft by allegorical figures in high relief, here too the Indian world is framed as picture in a roundel, long a symbol of possessive ownership (fig. 3.3). Bounded within the frame is a gamut of objects that claim to represent the nation – a sari-clad woman that one author has vaguely identified as Ganga, the "much maligned monstrous gods" that have been identified with Hinduism and zodiac imagery – a subject of much discussion in *Asiatick Research* (the journal of the Asiatic Society founded by Jones) as representative of Hindu chronology.¹⁰ The

imagery is culled from the *Puranas*, a body of literature that purports to represent the Indian historiographical tradition and would later come under attack by figures such as James Mill for its mythological character and irrational content. Bacon’s sculpture, however, belongs to an earlier moment when an enthusiasm for Indology sought to recoup the Pauranik tales as independent corroboration of the biblical narrative.



Fig. 3.1: John Bacon, Memorial to William Jones, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1799.



Fig. 3.2: John Bacon, base of the memorial to William Jones, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1799



Fig. 3.3: John Bacon, detail of the base of the memorial to William Jones, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1799

An inscription above the roundel labels it “COURMA AVATAR,” identifying the scene as that of the tortoise avatar of Vishnu. Here Vishnu in his tortoise guise intervened in the battle between the warring *devatas* (gods) and *asuras* (demons) as they churned the ocean in search of the nectar of immortality. During the course of the churning, using the serpent Vasuki as the rope and Mount Mandara as the staff, the mountain began to sink. Vishnu, in his tortoise avatar, performed a heroic act of rescue as he held up the mountain upon his carapace. The churning oceans threw up fourteen treasures, including the sun and the moon, Indra’s elephant, the horse that draws the chariot of the sun god, and the bull, all of which are represented around the central four-armed figure of Vishnu atop the churning staff. In his essay “The Gods of Greece, Italy and India,” William Jones interpreted the cosmic floods of the tortoise avatar of Vishnu as an allegorical rendering of the deluge described in the Old Testament, and hence the Pauranik narrative served as an affirmation of the biblical narrative.¹¹ Thomas Maurice (1754–1824), Oriental scholar and keeper of manuscripts at the British Museum, corroborated this reading of the tortoise avatar. He found in the rainbow, one of the treasures thrown up by the churning ocean, a similarity with Noah’s story where the rainbow appears at the end of the Flood.¹²

Bacon’s source for the roundel appears to be an engraving from Thomas Maurice’s *The History of Hindostan* (1795), which included a representation of Vishnu in the guise of a tortoise, with the inscription noting his act of rescue from the deluge (fig. 3.4).¹³ Maurice himself claimed that he had copied the illustration from a volume in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries that listed the nine avatars of Vishnu. Bacon’s copy is almost identical to Maurice’s, with the horned *asuras*, the placement of the elephant and the horse, and even the churning staff itself. In *The History of Hindostan*, Maurice had set himself the task of writing an antediluvian history that contained, (in the extended title of the book) “Indian and other Oriental Accounts of the General Deluge,” while also discussing Indian cosmogony, astronomy, and the solar and lunar zodiacs of Asia, among others. His account of the “Courma Avatar” is followed by an analysis of its astronomical allusions that relies largely on William Jones’s proposition that the tortoise avatar related to Hindu astronomy. In each case, the goal was to seek a convergence between Hindu and Mosaic mythologies that recent scholarship has interpreted as a means of assimilating the strangeness of Hinduism in the late eighteenth century, so much so that pagan idolatry has found a way into the central dome of the most significant church in London.¹⁴



Fig. 3.4: "Courma Avatar", plate 9 from Thomas Maurice, *History of Hindostan*, Vol. 1 (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1795)

One of the most predominant myths about the convergence between Hindu and Mosaic ideologies related to the *trimurti*. In Bacon's roundel, the *trimurti* that stands to the left of the sari-clad figure undoubtedly recalls the colossal three-faced figure of Siva from Elephanta, given the amount of attention the sculpture had received in antiquarian circles.

While more recent scholarship has identified the figure as Mahesamurti, available accounts in the late eighteenth century, for example those of the German cartographer and explorer Carsten Niebuhr, explained it as a composite figure of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva. Thomas Maurice invoked both William Jones and Niebuhr to identify the figure as *trimurti* and relate it to the Christian trinity, finding further affinities between the Brahmanical religion and rites and those of the Druids in his own country. It is unclear which visual sources Bacon drew upon, given that his version features decidedly conical headgear (*karand mukut*) rather than the flattened version (*kirit mukut*) of Niebuhr. Considering the fact that the influential iconographic resource, Edward Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, was only published in 1810, James Forbes' drawings of the altarpiece at Elephanta (1775), which depict pointed headgear, probably served as a more likely source.

Maurice emerged as a keen interpreter of Jones's writings and Bacon's reliance upon him is understandable not only because of the esoteric nature of Jones's work, but also because Bacon shared his deep-seated religious beliefs and a common patron, the East India Company. Maurice was a clergyman by profession whose first writings on India were written against the backdrop of the French Revolution and "neither his conviction, the result of education and reflection, nor his profession, would permit him to publish anything respecting India without an effort at least to refute the argument and subvert the hypothesis of the atheists of the day, who had taken their stand to endeavour to root out Christianity and demoralise the world."¹⁵ He was, moreover, an ardent admirer of William Jones, whom he had met during his early days at Oxford and upon whose death he had penned an elegiac poem. In his preface to the *History of Hindostan*, he claimed "perfect co-incidence with the opinion of Sir William Jones," relying upon his authoritative scholarship for his popular histories of India. His writings were in fact widely embraced, as evidenced by the fact that Samuel Taylor Coleridge copied a passage from Maurice's accounts of the icy caves of Kashmir (probably Amarnath) from *History of Hindostan* for his definitive Romantic poem, *Kubla Khan* (1816).¹⁶

Bacon himself was a devout Christian and founding member of the Eclectic Society (later the Church Missionary Society) who likely sympathized with Maurice's views about Orientalist mythologies confirming the truth of the Bible. His biographies all underline his piety: "Religion with him was not the Sunday-coat of a formalist . . . but a change of heart and a hope full of immortality, grounded alone on the work of a Redeemer."¹⁷ Bacon's interpretation of Jones's contributions to Indian literature and culture appears to be closely aligned with official

East India Company policy. During the 1790s, Bacon developed a close relationship with the East India Company, having contributed a statue of the war hero Cornwallis, as well an allegorical sculptural frieze for the pediment outside the East India House. At this time, he also acquired three large commissions for St. Paul's Cathedral, the last one being that of William Jones. When his design for the monument of William Jones was approved in 1796, the Secretary of the East India Company noted in his letter to Bacon their agreement over the 'Ideas and Sentiment to be expressed.'¹⁸ His allegorical style, with a predilection for classical tropes, found favour with his East India patrons despite his lack of training in Rome. In his biographies, Bacon emerges as a resolute nationalist and devout Christian whose lack of Continental training is dismissed to recall pride in a home-grown education.¹⁹

The zodiac ring that crowns the roundel was testimony to the great interest in astronomy not only on the part of Oriental scholars who sought to understand Hindu cosmogony, but also by Company officials for whom astronomy was an efficient means to establish the latitude and longitude of sites for conquest by the army, and both these sets of studies were published in *Asiatick Research*, the journal of the Asiatic Society.²⁰

Hindu cosmogony straddled a world between astronomy, mathematics, and divination and engaged with both Pauranic notions of the cosmos where the earth was considered a flat disk in an egg shaped universe as well as Siddhantic models of Earth as a fixed sphere around which the sun, moon, and planets revolved.²¹ William Jones had taken an active interest in Hindu astronomy and published three papers in *Asiatick Research* between 1790 and 1792, and was accompanied by others, including John Bentley and Samuel Davis. Thomas Maurice, for his part, made astronomy the centrepiece of his scholarship, explaining his interest as "mak[ing] that exalted science subservient to nobler purposes; to collect in one centre the blended rays shed by the heavenly orbs, and direct their powerful focal splendour to the illustration of those grand primeval truths which form the basis of the national Theology; a Theology so inseparably connected with the National Government"²²

Maurice's invocation of heavenly light to reveal the primeval truth is a particularly apt metaphor that ties together both Bacon's symbolism of the revelatory powers of light and Jones's own interpretation of its centrality in the Sanskrit text he had translated, as he notes in the preface:

The many panegyrics on the *Gayatri*, the *Mother*, as it is called, of the Veda, prove the author to have *adored* (not the visible material *Sun*, but) that *divine and incomparably greater light*, to use the words of the most venerable text in the *Indian* scripture, *which illumines all, delights all, from*

which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate (not our visual organs merely, but our souls and) our intellects.

Jones attributes to Manu a dismissal of the heavenly light of the sun for the greater light of knowledge, a metaphor that finds easy acknowledgement within Enlightenment thought. However, this does not cast the Indian lands as 'enlightened'. The laws of Manu remain in fact "a system of despotism and priestcraft, both indeed limited by law but artfully conspiring to give mutual support, though with mutual checks; it is filled with strange conceits in metaphysics and natural philosophy, with idle superstitions, and with a scheme of theology most obscurely figurative, and consequently liable to dangerous misconception . . ."

Jones therefore feels compelled to introduce light into this benighted world. The conquest of the irrationality of Hindu law by an "enlightened" Jones, bringing it within the fold of the colonial administrative machinery, marks the passage from darkness unto light. Jones's act of translating the Manu-Smriti was undertaken with the noble mission of administering justice in accordance with native laws, but it also displaced Sanskrit scholarship in legitimizing an authoritative version. The codification of the polymorphous system of legal codes into an Ur-text that could ultimately prove useful as instruments of governance allowed Jones to override internal disputes among native specialists. The alliance with the law is therefore not accidental, its aim being to establish a moral and legal code within which claims for justice are addressed.²³ Gayatri Spivak has in fact referred to the colonial codification of Hindu law (by Jones and other figures, including Charles Wilkins and Henry Colebrooke) as the very epitome of epistemic violence representing, as it did, an effective means of control.²⁴

Even as enthusiastic Indological scholars translated and made available an entire body of Sanskrit texts to a Western audience, there was an unspoken understanding that they were rescuing the literature of an ancient past that threatened to be lost forever. Implicit in this exercise was the notion that the British were bequeathing to the Indians the Indians' own history, which had remained inaccessible to them through the corrupted present, and that the "enlightened" British were recouping. Bacon's monumental sculpture of the towering Jones clad in classical garb encapsulates this relationship of knowledge and power, with the trophy-like roundel featuring Pauranic gods ushered into the light of civilization by torch-bearing Greco-Roman guardian figures. A contemporary monument to William Jones by John Flaxman at the University College Chapel at Oxford features a somewhat more subtle expression of the relationships between Jones and native knowledge. Jones is seated on an

elevated bench composing his digest on a desk facing three seated native men on a lower platform. A banana tree sits against the background, while the inscription underneath it underscores his accomplishment, "He formed a digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws." While the seated Brahmins were presumably the scholars with whose help Jones compiled his digest, the relationship is reversed, presenting Jones as a tutor schooling his pupils. More obvious examples of the paternalistic schooling of childlike Indian subjects by British guardian figures is included in the monuments of missionaries, such as the statue of Bishop Middleton at St. Paul's Cathedral (London), in which the bishop is depicted as blessing two kneeling Indian subjects, or Francis Chanterey's monument to Reverend Reginald Heber in St. George's Cathedral in Madras, which features the same iconography. The language of leading from darkness unto light takes on another set of meanings in the missionary vocabulary, but its similarity to Bacon's rendition underlines the continuities between the two.²⁵

Despite the honour accorded to Jones for his pioneering work, his digest of laws ultimately had little impact upon the Indian legal code, and it fell into disuse after 1864. It has been noted that Jones's translation had a greater influence on Oriental scholarship than within the colonial administration itself.²⁶ Its triumph lay in the deciphering of Oriental mystique, an aspect uncannily grasped in Bacon's sculpture, which pitted the arcane symbolism of the Pauranik deities against the towering presence of Jones and the heroic Greco-Roman bodies of the guardian figures. Although recent accounts have expressed puzzlement over its "cryptic" symbolism, Bacon's design was not only cognizant of popular Oriental scholarship but also seemingly in step with what Edmund Burke referred to as the "new conquering empire of light and reason" in his remarks on the revolution in France.²⁷ In its evocation of key metaphors of Enlightenment ideology, Burke's reflections lamented the passing of the old order that left "all the decent drapery of life . . . rudely torn off."²⁸ This viewpoint also reflected in a series of frontispieces in seminal books by Enlightenment philosophes that invoked the metaphor of the light of reason, among them Andrew Motte's 1729 translation of Newton's *Principia*, Voltaire's *Elements of the Philosophy of Newton* (1738), and, most famously, Charles Nicholas Cochin's drawing for Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1772).²⁹ In appending the allegory of light and reason to the political circumstance of empire, Bacon did no more than make visible the visual regime, which drew empire and colony into a network of relations between vision, knowledge, and power.

Notes

¹ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Disenchanted Night: The Industrialization of Light in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Angela Davis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). See also Frances Guerin, *A Culture of Light* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); Jonathan Crary, *24/7: Late Capitalism and the Ends of Sleep* (London and New York: Verso, 2013).

² Sean Cubitt, *A Practice of Light: A Genealogy of Visual Technologies from Prints to Pixels* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014)

³ Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?," in *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*, ed. Rosalind Morris, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 21–78.

⁴ On the tyranny of imperial reason, see Gyan Prakash, *Another Reason: Science and the Imagination of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999)

⁵ Barbara Stafford presents this argument in *Body Criticism: Imaging the Unseen in Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991).

⁶ Pierre Hadot, *The Veil of Isis: An Essay on the History of the Idea of Nature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006)

⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 222.

⁸ Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977). Given the Greco-Roman characterization of the sculpture, the significance of the roundels as serving within an imperialistic metaphor of annexation and display as trophy deserves to be noted.

⁹ Barbara Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj*, p. 103.

¹⁰ Barbara Groseclose proposes the draped figure is 'mother Ganges' given its affinity with a similar figure at the base of John Bacon Jr.'s monument to James Achilles Kirkpatrick. *British Sculpture and the Company Raj*, p. 102–3.

¹¹ William Jones, "On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India" in *The Works of Sir William Jones: With the Life of the Author*, ed., Lord Teigamouth, vol. 3 (London: Printed for John Stockdale and John Walker, 1807), 338.

¹² Thomas Maurice, *Sanscreeet Fragments, or Interesting Extracts from the Sacred Books of the Brahmins, on Subjects Important to the British Isles. In two parts.* (London: Thomas Maurice, 1797), 20.

¹³ Maurice notes that the engravings of Vishnu's avatars (he includes the Varaha avatar and the Matsya avatar) were "fac similes" from painted versions in temples and hence utterly oblivious to the rules of perspective. If they found admirers it was only because of their eccentric originality, he claimed. Thomas Maurice, *History of Hindostan*, vol. 1 (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1795), 40.

¹⁴ Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2004), 74–80.

¹⁵ Obituary of Rev. Thomas Maurice, *Gentleman's Magazine* 94: 1, Dec.– Jun. 1824: 469. His obituary also claims he is descended from the princes of Powis in Wales. Powis Castle was the site of a major collection of Indian art and antiquities spirited away by Robert Clive after the Battle of Plassey in 1757 when he returned to Britain with a personal fortune of 234,000 pounds, making him the richest self-

made man in Europe. After Clive’s son married Lord Powis’s daughter in 1784, the estates merged in 1801.

¹⁶ Deirdre Coleman, “The ‘Dark Tide of Time’: Coleridge and William Hodges’ India” in *Coleridge, Romanticism and the Orient: Cultural Negotiations*, ed. David Vallins, Kaz Oishi, Seamus Perry (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 39–54.

¹⁷ Allan Cunningham, *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters and Sculptors*, vol. 3. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), 194.

¹⁸ Cited in Ann Cox-Johnson, *John Bacon, R. A. 1740–1799* (London: St. Marylebone Society Publication, 1961), 38.

¹⁹ See *ibid.*, and Richard Cecil, *Memoirs of John Bacon Esq. R.A* (London: F & C Rivington, 1801).

²⁰ Srabani Sen, “The Asiatic Society and the Sciences in India, 1784–1947,” in *History of Science, Philosophy and Culture in Indian Civilization*, vol. 15, part 4, *Science and Modern India: An Institutional History*, ed., Uma Das Gupta, (New Delhi: Centre for Studies in Civilizations, 2011), 27–68.

²¹ See Christophe C. Minkowski on how the two were reconciled. “The Pundit as Public Intellectual: The Controversy over *Virodh* or Inconsistency in the Astronomical Sciences” in *The Pundit: Traditional Scholarship in India*, ed. Alex Michaels (New Delhi: Manohar, 2001), 79–98.

²² Thomas Maurice, *History of Hindostan*, xxii

²³ For a closer analysis of the metaphor of light in Jones’ translation project see Jenny Sharpe, “The Violence of Light in the Land of Desire; Or, How William Jones Discovered India”, *boundary 2* 20, no. 1 (1993): 26–46.

²⁴ Gayatri Spivak, “Can the Subaltern Speak?” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 281.

²⁵ Despite his invocations of the light of knowledge, Jones posits Christianity as the only true revelation, an attitude that resonates with Maurice and Bacon. For an explicit account of Jones’ religious beliefs and their impact on intellectual history see Martin Priestman, *Romantic Atheism: Poetry and Freethought, 1780–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 44–79. In his preface to the Institutes, Jones writes: “Whatever opinion in short may be formed of MENU and his laws, in a country happily enlightened by sound philosophy and the only true revelation, it must be remembered, that those laws are actually revered, as the word of the Most High, by nations of great importance to the political and commercial interest of Europe, and particularly by many millions of Hindu subjects, whose well-directed industry would add largely to the wealth of Britain, and who ask no more in return than protection for their persons and places of abode, justice in their temporal concerns, indulgence to the prejudices of their old religion, and the benefit of those laws, which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend.”

²⁶ J. Duncan Derrett, *Religion, Law and the State in India* (New York: The Free Press, 1968) 250, cited in Jenny Sharpe, “The Violence of Light in the Land of Desire; Or, How William Jones Discovered India”, *boundary 2* 20, no. 1 (1993): 26–46.

²⁷ Recent accounts that have discussed Bacon's sculpture and expressed a baffled curiosity include Barbara Groseclose, *British Sculpture and the Company Raj* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1995), 103, Nicholas Penny, *Romantic Church Monuments* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1977), 146. Jason Edwards has pointed to the problems in deciphering the obscure imagery in "Introduction: From the East India Company to the West Indies and Beyond: The World of British Sculpture, c. 1757–1947," *Visual Culture in Britain* 11, no.2 (2010): 147–172.

²⁸ Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. J.G.A. Pocock, (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 1987), 66–67.

²⁹ See James Schmidt, "This New Conquering Empire of Light and Reason: Edmund Burke, James Gillray, and the Dangers of Enlightenment," *Diametros* 40 (2014): 126–148.