

A
S P E C I M E N
O F T H E
C I V I L A N D M I L I T A R Y I N S T I T U T E S
O F
T I M O U R , O R T A M E R L A N E :

A Work written originally by that celebrated Con-
queror in the MOGUL Language,

AND SINCE TRANSLATED INTO PERSIAN.

Now first rendered from the PERSIAN INTO ENGLISH, from a MS. in the
Possession of WILLIAM HUNTER, M. D. F. R. S. PHYSICIAN EX-
TRAORDINARY to the QUEEN.

WITH OTHER PIECES.

BY JOSEPH WHITE, B. D.

FELLOW of WADHAM COLLEGE, LAUDIAN PROFESSOR of ARABIC, One of His
MAJESTY'S PHYSICIANS at WHITEHALL, and EDITOR and TRANSLATOR of the
SYRIAC PHILOXENIAN VERSION of the GOSPELS.

O X F O R D :

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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
The VISCOUNT STORMONT,
THE FRIEND OF LITERATURE,
AND THE ENCOURAGER OF EVERY ATTEMPT
TO DIFFUSE ITS STUDIES AND TO SUPPORT ITS CREDIT,
WHO, AFTER ADORNING THE CHARACTER OF HIS NATION
IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES,
BY THE DISPLAY
OF ELEGANT KNOWLEDGE AND A REFINED FANCY,
IS HAPPILY CALLED TO ASSIST ITS COUNCILS AT HOME,
BY THE SUGGESTIONS
OF A MATURE EXPERIENCE AND A SINCERE PATRIOTISM,
THIS PROSPECTUS
OF AN INTENDED TRANSLATION
OF THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR
IS PRESENTED,
WITH THE MOST PROFOUND SENTIMENTS OF RESPECT,

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S DEVOTED SERVANT,

J WHITE.

P R E F A C E.

THE Language of Persia is copious in its vocabulary, regular and elegant in its formation, curious and interesting in the subjects of its Compositions, and always abounding in the characteristic beauties of the Eastern Idiom. This language and the literature of Persia were not left behind at the introduction of Oriental Learning into Europe; and they have since insinuated themselves into our libraries in company with, and under the sanction of, the sister Dialect of Arabia. Whether the larger portion of curious, useful, and interesting information be contained in the Arabic, or Persian authors, I shall not here venture to determine. Yet I will not scruple to assert, that much elegant amusement, and what is of more importance, much valuable knowledge, and such as the Public would receive with avidity, remains buried in the untranslated Manuscripts of the latter of these languages.

THE Persian Poetry possesses a native Genius, and an elegance of Fancy peculiar to itself. It always produces the *beautiful*, and is not unsuccessful when it aims at the *sublime*: of which the Heroic Composition of *Firdousi* is a shining instance. This extraordinary work is stiled *Sbaah Naumeh*, or the History

of Kings, and consists of sixty thousand Distichs. It is written with the utmost purity of the Persian language; and such is the elegance, energy, and spirit, of this beautiful Poem, that if it may not be ranked with the Compositions of Homer, of Virgil, and of Milton, it is still superior to the Works of any other Heroic Poet of any age, or country whatever. This writer, however, claims no precedence of the moral *Saadi* in elegance and purity of language. The Works of this Poet are comprized in sixteen books, making one large volume in *folio*, and are universally admired throughout the East. Two only of these excellent Compositions, the *Bosetaun* and the *Gulistaun*, are known to Europeans; and, excepting a beautiful MS. containing the whole of his Works, now in the possession of WILLIAM DAVY, Esq; (of Gloucester) I believe the remaining books are not to be found in Europe. Among the celebrated Poetical Compositions of the Persians, may also be numbered the works of *Kbaukauni*, *Jaumi* *, *Arrusi*, *Haufiz*, and *Nizzaumi*. There are many others not inferior to the preceding: yet whatever be the acknowledged merits of these Persian Poets, they are fully equalled by those of the Persian Historians; whose works in point of Authenticity may vie with the most admired narratives of Western History; and which, if translated into the languages of Europe, would open *new* sources of Information, and probably remove some obstructions from the *old*.

IT is further to be observed, that in the Persian there are to be found many valuable Translations from the *Tartarian*, and other Oriental languages, highly worthy the attention of the Learned in Europe. The following Specimen, if I am not misled by the prejudices of a Translator, will tend to establish the above assertion. The inestimable work, from which it is taken, has not hitherto made its appearance in an European

* See a short Specimen of this Poet at the conclusion of the Specimen of the Institutes.

drefs. The illustrious name of TIMOUR (or TAMERLANE) is well known to the inhabitants of Europe. The History of his extraordinary actions has employed the pens of many celebrated Oriental writers; and the production of one of them * has been translated into the French language: but the History of Timour, as written by himself, is still unknown to the inhabitants of the West. To this History the Royal Author added a Code of Institutes; a copy of which, and, I believe, the only one in Europe, is now in the possession of Dr. HUNTER, Physician extraordinary to the QUEEN; who, in granting me the perusal of it at Oxford, has given one more proof of that ardent love for the interest of Letters, which He has displayed in many more important instances, by the unremitting studies of His whole life, and by the munificent application of an ample fortune.

It would be an act of injustice to the Work not to mention, that the Specimen here exhibited, begins with the first page, and ends at the seventh, without omission, addition, or alteration; and is by no means selected with any disingenuous design of impressing the Reader with a more favourable idea, than what its whole contexture will support. I think I may venture to affirm, that nothing is wanting to render it the object of admiration to the curious and the learned, but the positive conviction of its authenticity; for the defence of which, I shall subjoin a Letter I have lately received from my worthy Friend, Mr. DAVY. His perfect knowledge of the Language, intimacy with Oriental authors, and former acquaintance with many of the Learned in Hindostan, render him a very competent judge of the subject; and the arguments which he has adduced will, I presume, be considered as highly satisfactory by the European Critic. I shall conclude with observing, that the Version is strictly literal; and that it is proposed to finish the whole Translation hereafter, if the present Specimen should meet with approbation.

Wadham Coll. Nov. 16. 1779.

J. W.

* Alli Yezxudj.

THE
LETTER
IN SUPPORT OF THE
AUTHENTICITY
OF THE
INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

B

Gloucester, Oct. 24. 1779.

“MY GOOD FRIEND,

I HAVE received your favour of the 20th instant, and wish most heartily that my ability to comply with your request was equal to my inclination.

“YOU apply to me for *external* evidence to establish the Authenticity of TIMOUR’S Institutes: it is by no means an easy task to perform; such reasons, however, as have led me to believe them genuine, I shall freely communicate. How far they may tend to remove the doubts of unbelieving Critics, I cannot pretend to say; possibly, in the opinions of such Gentlemen, they may only serve to establish my own credulity: be that as it may, I shall set out with declaring to you, that I cannot produce any *historical* proofs of the Authenticity of these Institutes.

“THE only Histories of Timour, which I have read (that written by himself excepted,) are those of *Shurruf u’deen Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkhond*: the latter is in the *Rouzut ul Suffau*. True it is that neither of these authors, to the best of my remembrance, take any notice of the Institutes, or of the History (or Commentaries) of Timour, said to be written by himself. (*Alli Yezzudi* says, that Timour was always attended by several learned and able men, whose sole employment was to keep a sort of historical Journals of all Transactions as they occurred, both military and civil; that they were directed to

adhere minutely to the truth in their relations of the most trifling facts, and that they were still more particularly enjoined to observe the strictest impartiality in their narratives of the conduct and actions of the Emperor himself. These historical Journals, if they may be so called, were, from time to time, read in his presence, in the presence of his Ministers and Officers, and of the learned: they were compared with and corrected by each other, by the Emperor himself, and by such of his people as had a personal knowledge of the Transactions therein related. It must be allowed, that this was no bad way of collecting authentic materials for the history of a mighty Emperor, governing a mighty Empire; if he took care to enforce his commands by proving himself superior to flattery, and by an encouragement of that truth and impartiality, which he so strictly enjoined. From these materials, some of which were in prose, some in verse, some in the Turki (or Mogul) language, some in the Persian, *Alli Yezzudi* afterwards compiled the History of the Reign and Conquests of Timour, as he himself declares: and with the assistance of these very materials, it is concluded that Timour wrote that voluminous and valuable History of his own Life, to which he added his Institutes.) How it came to pass that that History and those Institutes were not taken notice of either by *Alli Yezzudi*, or *Mirkbond*, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to tell; but though the cause cannot with certainty be pointed out, there is room for many plausible conjectures. The historical Journals before mentioned were numerous, and they were public also; the great and the learned had free access to them; many copies of them were taken, and, with the originals, handed down to posterity: (the Life of Timour, and his Institutes, on the contrary, was a private work, composed by himself, with the assistance which those materials afforded him. This work the Conqueror was led to engage in from motives to us unknown: amusement or ambition, or both, might urge him to the arduous undertaking. Whether it was written with his own hand,

hand,

hand, or by a favourite and trusty amanuensis, is uncertain ; but which ever was the case, it is most probable, that one copy only existed during his life-time, and possibly for many years afterwards : what became of that copy, during the confusions that followed his death, is equally uncertain and open to conjecture. But after all, it is no unreasonable supposition, that such a work in manuscript might have existed, though *Alli Yezxudi* and *Mirkbond* knew nothing of the matter.) That they were not acquainted with it, is evident : for if they had, and thought it authentic, they would have bestowed upon it all the applause which is due to the intrinsic merit of the work ; if they had known and thought it spurious, they would have refuted its authenticity. But they have done neither ; they are totally silent on the subject : from whence we may conclude, that they were strangers to the work. But it by no means follows, that such a work could not exist, because they, or even cotemporary authors, knew nothing about it.

✓ “ THE History of Timour, written by himself, carries with it the strongest proofs that he wrote for posterity only ; and that he could not, in prudence, or in policy, make his work public during his life : for it contains not only the same accurate detail of the Facts and Occurrences of his reign, as are found in other Authors, but it goes much farther. He gives you that which he only had the power to give, the secret Springs and Motives which influenced his conduct in the various political and military transactions of his life, the arts by which he governed, as well as the power by which conquered. He acknowledges his weaknesses, honestly owns his errors, describes the difficulties in which he was occasionally involved by those errors, and the policy by which he surmounted and overcame those difficulties. In a word, it is a complete Index to his head and his heart ; and though, take it all in all, it redounds to the honour of both the one and the other, yet it was a work by no means calculated for the perusal of his enemies,

or

or even his subjects during his life; since it would have enabled those who chose it, to combat him with his own weapons, or, in other words, to have turned his arts and his policy against himself. Hence it is reasonable to suppose, that the Work in question was entirely unknown during his life, and its subsequent temporary obscurity may, I think, be plausibly accounted for, by the probability of one copy only existing at the time of his death, by the uncertainty into whose hands that copy fell, and by the divisions which followed in his family after the death of *Shaahroch*.

“ *Abu Taulib ul Housseini*, in the Dedication of his Translation to *Sultaun ul Audil*, says, that in the Library of *Jafir, Halkin* of *Yemmun*, he met with a manuscript in the Turki, or Mogul language, which, on inspection, proved to be the History of Timour, written by himself; containing an account of his Life and Actions from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age, &c. &c. He then proceeds to give the Translation of the said History, in which are included the Institutes.

“ It may appear remarkable that the Translator should say so little, or in fact nothing, to prove the authenticity of the valuable work, which he was about to translate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow; but, I think, the following inferences only can be drawn from it: either that he thought the work itself contained sufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he translated it, it was so well known, as not to admit of doubt, or dispute. For my part, I think his inattention to this point is a very strong, if not the strongest possible proof, that the History and Institutes of Timour are genuine.

“ AN European Critic may say, that this same *Abu Taulib* might have wrote the work himself in the Persian language, and have imposed it upon the world as a Translation from the
 Royal

Royal Mogul author. This I take to be impossible. Authors in the East neither sold their works to bookfellers, nor published by subscription, nor depended for support on the applause, the generosity, or the credulity of the public: they were patronized by Princes, who rewarded their labours in proportion to the value of their works. And therefore, if *Abu Taulib* had been capable of writing such a work, he never would have been guilty of so dangerous and foolish an artifice, which could tend only to diminish both his fame and his profit. The applause and the reward due to the Translator of an excellent work, must, whatever his merit, be inferior to those which are due to the author of such a work; if therefore he had been master of abilities to write the Life and Institutes of Timour, as there written, he would have spoke in the third person instead of the first (no other alteration being necessary,) and have stood forth as the author of the first and best History of the Life of Timour, that ever was wrote; for which he must have obtained both applause and profit tenfold. The same mode of reasoning will hold good to prove that the *Turki* copy could not be wrote by any *Mogul* author, but him to whom it is ascribed, TIMOUR HIMSELF.

✓ “THE noble simplicity of Diction, the plain and unadorned Egotism that runs through the whole of the Institutes and History of Timour, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity also.) The Orientals, for some centuries past, have adopted a very different mode of writing; the best of their historical works are filled with poetical and hyperbolical Flowers and Flourishes, which are so numerous, and occur so frequently, that many a *folio* volume, weeded and pruned of these superfluities, would be reduced to a very moderate *octavo*.

“THE only work bearing the least resemblance to the Life and Institutes of Timour, which has fallen under my observation, is the History (or Commentaries) of *Sultaun Babour*, written

written by himself. Babour was descended from Timour in the fifth degree; he was the son of Omer, the son of Abu Saeed, the son of Mahummud, the son of Meraun Shaah, the son of Timour. About eighty years elapsed between the death of Timour and the birth of Babour. Babour in the twelfth year of his age, and the 899th year of the *Hejra*, sat upon the throne of his father, in the kingdom of *Furgauneh*. The earlier part of his life very much resembled that of his great predecessor, Timour: and his abilities in the Field and in the Cabinet, his fortitude in distress, his activity and courage when surrounded with difficulties and danger, and the glory and success with which his Enterprizes were finally crowned, make the resemblance between these two Princes still more striking. Like Timour, Babour wrote an accurate History of his own Life and Actions in the *Turki* language; which though by no means equal to the admirable composition of his renowned ancestor, is a work of infinite merit. Yet this history, great as the Royal Author was, remained in obscurity till the middle of the reign of his grandson *Acbur*, when it was translated into the Persian language by one of his Omrahs, *Kbaun a Kbaunaun*. It is more difficult to account for the temporary obscurity of this valuable work, than for that of Timour; for at the death of Babour it must have fallen into the hands of his son *Humaioon*, and on his death, into those of *Acbur*. Yet till the middle of his reign it remained unknown and untranslated: and if *Acbur* had, in the early part of his life, been driven from his throne, if Divisions had taken place in his family, and his posterity had been scattered abroad, this valuable Manuscript might have fallen into private hands, and have remained unknown for a century longer; possibly, have been totally lost. No Critic, either Oriental or European, pretends to dispute the authenticity of Babour's History; and, as far as I have been able to discover, the Learned of the East consider the Institutes and History of Timour as equally genuine.

“ I WAS acquainted with several great and learned Men in India, both Natives and Persians : on perusing the works of Timour, I was led to make the same enquiry which you have made, Whether they were, or were not authentic? The answers I received were always in the affirmative, and attended with some tokens and expressions of surprise, that I should, or could, doubt their being genuine. SHAAH AULUM, the present Mogul, has a beautiful copy of the History and Institutes of Timour ; which he holds in such esteem, and of which he is so exceedingly careful, that though he granted me the use of any other book in his possession, this he positively excepted by name, as a work so rare and valuable, that he could not trust it to the care of any person whatever.

“ UPON the whole, if the learned of the East, for several generations, have been induced to give implicit credit to the Institutes and History of Timour, which is certainly the case, I do not see how Europeans can, with any degree of propriety, doubt their authenticity. The Oriental Critics have the very best materials on which to form their opinions; our small stock of knowledge in the language, and still smaller stock of Asiatic Historians, render us very incompetent judges of the point in question. There are a great number of Oriental Manuscripts in the libraries of the Learned ; but I am convinced, that there are still many, very many, which never have found, and possibly never will find, their way into Europe ; and therefore, though no *historical* evidence can be produced to prove the authenticity of the Works of Timour, yet no one can pretend to say, that such *historical* Proofs do not exist. The learned of the East must be the best judges whether they do, or do not merit their belief and veneration ; and they have thought proper to bestow upon them both the one and the other. It is much to be regretted, that the Life of Timour, written by himself, is not to be found in Europe : if that, and the Insti-

tutes could be translated and published together, such is the accuracy of the narrative, such the importance of the matter, and such the lights that they would mutually reflect on each other, that it would, I conceive, be impossible for any one to read them, without acquiescing in their Authenticity from the *internal* Evidence alone.

Yours, most assuredly,

WILLIAM DAVY."

A
S P E C I M E N

O F T H E

Civil and Military Institutes of TIMOUR.

A S P E C I M E N, &c.

BE it known to You, my fortunate Sons, the conquerors of kingdoms; to You, my mighty descendants, the lords of the earth; that, trusting in Almighty God that many of my children, descendants, and posterity, shall sit upon the throne of regal authority; upon this account, having established Laws and Regulations for the well-governing of my dominions, I have collected together those Regulations and Laws as a model *for others*: to the end, that every one of my children, descendants, and posterity, acting agreeably thereto, my power and empire, which I acquired through dangers, difficulties, and bloodshed; by the Divine favour, by the influence of the Holy Religion of Mahummud* (God's peace be upon him,) and with the assistance of the powerful descendants and illustrious followers of that Prophet, may be by them preserved. That they may act conformably to these Regulations in the government of their Empire, and by so doing, that the glory and power which shall descend from me to them, may be secured from discord and dissolution.

* In writing the name of the Arabian Law-giver (as well as all other names of Persons and Places introduced in this Publication) I have adopted the Orthography of Mr. Davy; whose accuracy of pronounciation was well known in the East.

Now

Now therefore be it known to my sons, the fortunate, the most illustrious conquerors, the mighty subduers of kingdoms; that in like manner as I by twelve Maxims *, which I established as the rules of my conduct, attained to regal dignity; and with the assistance of these Maxims conquered and governed kingdoms, and decorated and adorned the throne of my Empire; so they by the practice of these Instructions, may preserve the splendor of mine and their dominions.

AMONG the various rules which I established for the support of my glory and empire, the FIRST was this---That I promoted the Worship of Almighty God, and propagated the Religion of the sacred Mahumud throughout the world; and at all times, and in all places, supported the true Faith.

SECONDLY, With the assistance of twelve classes of men I conquered and governed kingdoms; with them I strengthened the pillars of my fortune, and from them I selected my counsellors †.

THIRDLY, By consultation, deliberation, and provident measures; by caution, and by vigilance I vanquished armies, and reduced kingdoms to my authority. I carried on the business of my Empire by complying with times and occasions, by generosity, by patience, and by ‡ policy; and demeaned myself with affability both to my Friends and to my Enemies.

* The Maxims here mentioned are not the twelve following Rules, but those given at length in the 17th, 18th, and 19th pages of the MS.

† The twelve Classes of Men here alluded to, are fully described in a subsequent part of the Institutes.

‡ The word which I have rendered *policy*, cannot be translated into the English language with any degree of force or energy. It signifies *political inattention or negligence*, or *pretending* not to see or discover such things as it would be improper or impolitical to take notice of.

FOURTHLY,

FOURTHLY, By order and by discipline I regulated the concerns of my government; and by discipline and order I so firmly established my authority, that the Emirs, the Vizirs, the Soldiers, and the Subjects, could not aspire beyond their respective stations; but *on the contrary*, every one was content and satisfied with the rank allotted him.

FIFTHLY, With donations of money and of jewels I rejoiced the hearts of my Officers and Soldiers; I permitted them to participate in the banquet; and in the field of blood they hazarded their lives *in support of my power*. I withheld not from them my gold nor my silver. I educated and trained them to Arms; and to alleviate their sufferings, I myself shared in all their labours, and in all their hardships; until, with the arm of fortitude and resolution, and with the unanimity of my Chiefs, my Generals, and my Warriors, by the edge of the sword I obtained possession of the thrones of seven and twenty kings; and became the firm and established Lord of the kingdoms of *Eraun* and of *Tooraun*; of *Room*, of *Muggrib*, and of *Sbaum*; of *Missur*, of *Erauk-a-Arab*, and of *Ajum*; of *Mauzinderaun*, and of *Kylaunaut*; of *Sburvaunaut*, and of *Azurbaëjaun*; of *Fauris*, and of *Kborasaun*; of the *Dusht* of *Jitteb*, and the *Dusht* of *Kypcbauk*; of *Kbauruzm*, of *Kbuttun*, and of *Cabzlistsaun*; of *Hindostaun*, and of *Baukhterzemeen*.

FROM the moment that I cloathed myself in the robe of Empire, I shut my eyes to the soft repose which is found in the bed of ease, and to that health *which follows tranquillity*. From the twelfth year of my age I suffered distresses, combated difficulties, formed enterprizes, and vanquished armies; experienced mutinies amongst my Officers and my Soldiers, was familiarized to the language of disobedience (which I opposed with policy and with fortitude,) and hazarded my person in the hour of danger; until

until in the end I vanquished kingdoms and empires, and established the glory of my name.

SIXTHLY, By justice and equity I gained the affections of mankind; my clemency extended to the guilty as well as to the innocent; I passed that sentence which truth required: by benevolence I gained a place in the hearts of men; and by rewards and punishments I kept both my troops and my subjects divided between hope and fear. I compassionated the lower ranks of my people, and all those who were distressed. The Soldiers experienced my generosity. I delivered the oppressed from the hand of the oppressor; and after proof of the oppression, whether on the property or the person, the Decision which I passed between them was agreeable to the Sacred Law; nor did I ever cause any one person to suffer for the guilt of another*. Those who had done me injuries, who had attacked my person in battle, and had counteracted my schemes and enterprizes, when they threw themselves on my mercy, I received them with kindness; conferred on them additional honours, drew the pen of oblivion over their evil actions, and treated them with such a degree of confidence, that if the least vestige of apprehension remained in their hearts, it was entirely eradicated.

SEVENTHLY, I attached to myself, and treated with esteem and veneration, the posterity of the Prophet, Theologians, Teachers of the true Faith, Philosophers and Historians. I was the friend of men of courage and intrepidity; because the brave are beloved by Almighty God. I associated with good and learned men; I gained their affections, entreated their support, and hoped for victory from their holy prayers. I loved the Dervishes and the Poor; I neither oppressed them, nor ex-

* In this observation he alludes to a too frequent custom of the East, of involving the whole family and connections of an attainted person in the same punishment with the guilty subject.

cluded

cluded them from my favour. The evil and the malevolent I permitted not to enter into my council; I acted not by their advice, nor did I listen to their insinuations to the prejudice of others.

EIGHTHLY, I ever acted on deliberation; and whatever enterprize I undertook, that enterprize engaged my whole attention: nor did I ever relinquish it, till I had brought it to a conclusion. I adhered to my promises. I never dealt with severity towards any one, nor was I oppressive in any of my actions; that God Almighty might not deal severely towards me, nor render my own actions oppressive unto me. I enquired of learned men into the Laws and Regulations of antient Princes, from the days of Adam to those of the Prophet, and from that time to the present period. I weighed their institutions, their manners, their actions, and their opinions, one by one; I selected models for my own conduct from their excellent qualities and approved virtues. I enquired into the causes of the subversion of their power, and avoided those actions which tended to the destruction and overthrow of regal authority. Cruelty and oppression, which are the destroyers of posterity, and the parents of famine and of plagues, I cautiously shunned.

NINTHLY, The situation of my subjects was known unto me. Those of them who were of a superior rank, I considered as my brethren; and as my children those of the inferior class. I made myself acquainted with the tempers and dispositions of the inhabitants of each country and city; contracted intimacies with the Citizens, the Chiefs, and the Nobles; and appointed over them Governors adapted to their manners, dispositions, and wishes. I knew the circumstances of the inhabitants of every province; throughout each of my kingdoms I appointed writers of intelligence, men of probity and integrity, to send me information of the conduct and behaviour of the troops and inhabitants, and of every particular that might happen amongst

them. If I discovered circumstances contrary to their information, I inflicted punishment on the intelligencer; and every article of cruelty or oppression in the governors, troops, or inhabitants, which reached my ear, I chastised agreeably to justice.

TENTHLY, Whatever Tribes, either Turks or Tartars, Arabs or Persians, enrolled themselves in my service, I received their Chiefs with distinction and respect, and their followers I honoured in proportion to their rank and abilities. The good obtained good from my hands, and the evil I delivered over to their evil actions. Whoever attached himself unto me, I overlooked not the merit of his attachment; I acted towards him with kindness and generosity: and whoever had rendered me services, I repaid the value of those services unto him. Whoever had been my enemy, and was ashamed thereof, and flying to me for protection, humbled himself before me, I forgot his enmity; and by my liberality and courtesy became a bidder for his friendship. In such manner *Share Bebraum*, the Chief of a tribe, was in my service. He quitted me in the hour of action, united with the enemy, and fought against me. At length my salt, *which he had eaten*, overwhelmed him with remorse; he again threw himself on my mercy, and humbled himself before me. As he was a man of illustrious descent, of bravery and of experience, I covered my eyes from his faults; I raised him to a superior rank; and I pardoned his disloyalty in consideration of his valour.

ELEVENTHLY, My children, my relations, my associates, my neighbours, and such as had been connected with me *, all these I distinguished in the days of my prosperity, and was liberal to them in proportion to their merit. With respect to my family, I rent not asunder the bands of consanguinity and

* Timour appears to allude to those persons whom he knew in the days of his obscurity.

of mercy, nor on them did I presume to inflict imprisonment and death *. I dealt with every man, whatever the opinion I had formed of him, agreeably to my own ideas of his worth. As I had seen much of prosperity and adversity, and had acquired knowledge and experience, I conducted myself with caution, and with policy, towards both my friends and my enemies.

TWELFTHLY, Soldiers, whether associates or adversaries, I held in esteem; those who sell their permanent happiness to perishable honour, who rush into the field of battle and of slaughter, and hazard their lives *in the hour of danger*. The man, who preserving his fidelity to his master untainted, drew his sword on the side of my enemy, and committed hostilities against me, him I highly honoured; and when such a man offered me his services, knowing his worth, I classed him with the most faithful of my associates; and respected and valued his fidelity and attachment. That soldier who forgot his duty and his honour, and in the hour of action deserting his master, joined the standard of his adversary, I considered as the most detestable of men. In the war with *Touktumish Khaun*, his superior officers, forgetful of their duty to him who was their legal master and my confirmed foe, sent proposals and made applications unto me. I held their treachery in abhorrence; because, unmindful of that which they owed to the hand that fed them, they had thrown aside their honour and their duty, and offered their services to the enemy of their prince. Thus I reflected with myself, What fidelity have they observed to their liege Lord? What fidelity will they shew unto me?

By experience it was known unto me, that from every empire, which is not established in Morality and Religion, nor strength-

* This observation is strictly consistent with his conduct: for though several of his relations, and some of his own children, at different times rebelled against him, he ever substituted *pardon* in the place of *punishment*.

ened by Regulations and Laws, all order, grandeur, and power shall pass away. It may be likened unto a naked man, who, when exposed to view, commands the eye of modesty to be covered : it is like unto a palace, which hath neither roof, nor gates, nor defences ; into which, whoever willeth, may enter unmolested.

THEREFORE, I established the foundation of my Empire in Morality and Religion ; and by Regulations and Laws I gave it stability. By those Laws and by those Regulations, I executed every business that came before me in the course of my government.

THE first Regulation which my heart dictated unto me, was the promulgation of the true Faith, and the support of the Sacred Tenets of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him). Therefore I encouraged the progress of those Holy Laws and the Religion of Islâm through all the cities, provinces, and kingdoms of the earth ; and thereby added to the lustre of my throne. Thus I regulated the promulgation of the true Faith. I appointed a man of holiness*, and of illustrious dignity, to superintend the conduct of the faithful, to regulate the manners of the times, and to appoint superiors in Holy Offices ; to establish in every city and town Judges of penetration, and Doctors learned in the Sacred Law, and to appoint Supervisors of the markets and places of traffic, of the weights and of the measures. It was his province also to ordain pensions and salaries for the descendants of the Prophet, for superior Ecclesiastics, pastors, and for men of distinguished abilities. I established a Judge for the Army, and a Judge for the Subjects ; and I sent into every province and kingdom instructors in the Law, to

* The man appointed to fill the station mentioned in the original, is called *Sadr*. He is a person of great authority in the empire, who has the absolute management of church lands, and what revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public schools, salaries to learned men, and other pious uses.

deter the faithful from those things which are forbidden, and to lead them in the truth. I commanded that they should build temples of worship and monasteries in every city, and that they should erect structures for the reception of travellers on the high roads, and bridges across the rivers. I appointed ecclesiastics and religious teachers in those cities, to instruct the followers of Islâm in the abstruse and fundamental principles of our Holy Law; to preach to them with truth and perspicuity the doctrines of religion, with the holy traditions, and the sacred commentaries upon them.

I ORDERED the Governors and Judges, *from time to time*, to lay before me all circumstances and transactions that occurred throughout my empire; and I appointed a Judge in Equity, whose business it was to transmit to me all extraordinary matters of litigation, that happened amongst my troops and my subjects.

HAVING thus regulated all religious concerns, and promoted the progress of the Sacred Tenets throughout the cities of Islâm; and the rumour of the promulgation of the true Faith having reached the ears of all ranks of the faithful; The Doctors of our Holy Law published an ecclesiastical ordinance,---That as Almighty God in each century had sent a promoter and propagator of the Faith, for the promulgation and restoration of the Religion of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him); and as in this the eighth century AMEER * SAHIBA KURRAUN has restored *the purity* of the Holy Laws, he therefore shall be stiled the RESTORER OF THE RELIGION OF MAHUMMUD.

* *Sabiba Kurraun* is a royal title first assumed by Timour. It literally signifies *Lord of the Conjunction*; it being said, that there was a fortunate conjunction of planets at his birth.

Meer Siud Shareef, the most respectable of the Doctors of the Doctors of the age, addressed the following letter to me upon this occasion *.

* The letter alluded to is of such a length, as to render it inadmissible in this short Specimen.

A
S P E C I M E N

O F

P E R S I A N P O E T R Y ;

Faithfully translated from the Beginning of JAUMI'S
Poem, entitled, *Eusoof and Zoollekba*.

A S P E C I M E N, &c.

IN the name of him whose name is the refuge of the Souls
of the faithful;

Whose praise is the ornament of eloquent tongues.

The most high, the only God, the eternal, the omniscient;

He who bestoweth strength and *power* on the feeble and the
helpless.

The heavens he illumines with multitudes of constellations;

And with the human race he decorateth the earth, as with stars.

He who prepared the vaulted roof of the revolving sphere,

Who raised up the quadruple fold of the elements.

He who gives fragrance to the bosom of the rose-bud,

And ornamenteth the parent-shrub with wreaths of flowers.

He weaveth the garment for the brides of the spring,

And teacheth the graceful cypress to erect his head on the border
of the lake.

He crowneth with success the virtuous intention,

And humbleth the pride of the self-conceited.

He accompanies the solitude of those who watch the midnight
taper;

He passeth the day with the children of affliction.

From the sea of his bounty issues the vernal cloud,

E

Which

Which waters alike the thorn and the jessamine.
 From the repository of his beneficence proceeds the autumnal
 gale,

Which bespangles with gold the carpet of the garden.

It is his presence that enflameth the orb of day,

From whence every atom derives its light.

Should he hide his countenance from the two great luminaries
 of the world,

Their *mighty* spheres would descend quick into the area of
 annihilation.

From the vault of heaven to the centre of the earth,

Which ever way we direct our thought and imagination ;

Whether we descend, or hasten upwards,

We shall not discover one atom uninfluenced by his power.

Wisdom is confounded in the contemplation of his essence ;

The investigation of his ways exceeds the powers of man.

The angels blush at their want of comprehension ;

And the heavens are astonished at their own motion.

THE foregoing Specimens I intended to have introduced by an Essay of some extent on the great importance and utility of the Persian Language, and by a Proposal for establishing a Persian Professorship in the University of Oxford. But having since met with a pamphlet of much merit, written some years ago by Governor HASTINGS, directed to the same object, I have thought it unnecessary to prosecute my design.

During the time that I was engaged in writing the intended Essay and Proposal, I received from Mr. Davy, in answer to my repeated enquiries, the following LETTER: which places the importance of the Persian Language for transacting the Company's affairs in India, in so clear and just a light; is founded throughout on such striking facts; and supported and illustrated with so many judicious observations and remarks; that I conceived it to be highly worthy the attention of the East India Company, and of the gentlemen in their service. Impressed with this idea, notwithstanding I afterwards relinquished my original design, I determined, if possible, to lay the Letter before the Public: but as it was communicated for my private use only, Mr. Davy's approbation was necessary for the purpose; which, at my particular solicitation, he has been pleased to grant. And I take this opportunity of testifying my acknowledgements to him, both for that, and the preceding Letter in support of the authenticity of the Institutes of TIMOUR.

Gloucester, Sept. 24. 1779.

“ MY GOOD FRIEND,

IN compliance with your repeated applications, I have at length taken up my pen, with a determination to reply as fully as possible to all your Enquiries.

“ I CANNOT communicate any “ important facts of times or places, when and where a want of knowledge of the Persian in the servants of the Company has been attended with particular disadvantage to their affairs *in a political point of view* :” one only, supported by proof, occurs to my memory, of which I shall shortly take notice. Such facts, in their full extent at least, have not lately existed; because, for some years past, a few gentlemen have been found tolerably well qualified to act as Persian interpreters in the transaction of the Company’s more important concerns with the native Powers. That such facts did formerly exist, is certain; and that the want of such knowledge now would be attended with still worse effects is as certain. To prove which, I think, you will meet with little difficulty. The same reasons which will establish the authority of the fore-going observations, will moreover be sufficient to prove the positive necessity of a still more extensive and general knowledge of the Persian, than has hitherto been acquired by the gentlemen in India.

W^R

“ WE are to consider, that the territories now under the dominion of the East India Company, the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar*, with part of *Orissa*, the coast of *Coromandel*, and the settlements on that of *Malabar*, are together twice as extensive as Great Britain and Ireland. In a word, such is their extent, and such their importance, that it has been deemed necessary to keep on foot an army of fifty thousand disciplined men for their defence and protection : for that is the amount of the forces of the three establishments, *Bengal*, *Madras*, and *Bombay*. These rich and fertile territories, except where embraced by the ocean, are separated and surrounded by native independent Princes and Powers, some of them exceedingly formidable. It follows, that dominions so extensive and so situated, must be secured and protected as much by policy as by arms : a vast political system must be established ; an exact and perfect balance of power must be preserved ; the weak must be supported, the too powerful must be circumscribed and depressed. For these purposes Friendships, Alliances, and Treaties, must be formed with some in opposition to others ; and these Alliances, Treaties, and Friendships, must again be dissolved, and give way to others, as the strength, influence, and resources of the different independent Princes of the Empire may be diminished or increased. Hence the everlasting train of conferences, correspondences, and negotiations, with the native Powers. Hence the necessity of watching their motions, discovering their hidden strength and resources, and diving into their secret councils, connections, and alliances. These are all businesses of the first importance ; they require the strictest integrity, and the most profound secrecy in the negotiators : and finally, these businesses are all to be transacted in, and by the assistance of, the Persian tongue.

“ MR. ORME, a very accurate and able historian, whose long residence in India enabled him to acquire a perfect knowledge of the subject, gives a very striking instance of the fatal consequences

quences that may ensue from employing native interpreters in our transactions with the princes of Hindostan; and judiciously points out the positive necessity of entrusting the execution of such important concerns to European gentlemen only *. Nothing indeed can be more absurd or dangerous, than for the government in India to rely on the honour and integrity of natives for the transaction of such weighty, political matters, as I have pointed out; and more especially to confide in that inferior class of them, who are content to bear the yoke of servitude under a foreign power from necessity, or pecuniary motives. Such are all the native servants to Europeans. But that natives of a superior rank are not altogether proof against the influence of gold, I have met with several instances. A very strong evidence of the above assertion I have now in my possession; namely, exact copies of all the Letters wrote by the reigning Mogul, *Sbaah Aulum*, in the years 71, 72, 73, to the several independent Princes of the Empire. These copies were regularly transmitted by one of the King's confidential secretaries, and often came into my possession, before the persons to whom they were sent could receive the originals. By this means the councils, negotiations, and intrigues of the court of Dehli, and of others, the native Powers and Princes of Hindostan, were entirely laid open to our inspection. This happened during the period that I had the honour to fill the post of Persian Secretary to SIR ROBERT BARKER, the then commander in chief of the forces of *Bengal*. The above, I think, is a strong and pointed proof: and it follows, that European gentlemen only can, in prudence and in policy, be entrusted with this important business; and that a partial knowledge of the Persian Language is by no means sufficient to qualify even them to be trusted. To be able simply to converse in the Persian, is a very inadequate degree of knowledge. A Persian interpreter should not

* Vide Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan. Vol. I. p. 350, &c.

only be able to speak fluently in the Language, but to read all such Letters as he may receive ; not only to read all such Letters, but to answer them with his own hand, if the importance of the subject, of which they treat, should render it necessary. Otherwise the secret negotiations and correspondence of government are liable to be made public through the medium of the native *Munchees*, or Writers, whom he will be obliged to employ and trust. Some natives he must have, to assist in the ordinary business, from its great multiplicity ; but even this, by a proper encouragement of the study of the Language, might be obviated. Junior servants, when qualified, might be appointed to act under their Seniors, and the natives be totally excluded. And such a Plan, I am convinced, would be productive of much advantage.

“ FROM the foregoing hints, I dare say, you will be able to prove, that the study of the Persian, in a political point of view, is highly worthy of encouragement.

“ THE general study of this valuable Language, abstracted from all political views, is a matter of very great importance to the East India Company. How it is possible that their civil servants should be able to do their duty effectually in the various posts and offices to which they are appointed, without any knowledge of it, is difficult to conceive. That by far the greater number of them do perform the businesses allotted to them without a knowledge of any of the country Languages, is certain ; but that the manner in which they perform them must be exceedingly defective, every one will be convinced, by reflecting on the nature of the offices which they fill. Servants of all ranks* are detached from the presidency, and spread abroad throughout the provinces and districts of the Company's territories, for

* By these are meant Writers, Factors, junior and senior Merchants, and in the more important departments, often members of the Council : but these last are generally assisted by European Interpreters.

the purposes of superintending the cultivation and regulation of the countries, the administration of justice in the *Kucheries*, or native courts of Judicature, and the collection of the Revenues *. Many also are appointed to the different Factories, to superintend the fabrication and making up of the Investments for the European market.

“ HAVING given this detail of the employments, to which the senior and junior civil servants of the Company are in rotation appointed, I think it will be needless to dwell on the great utility, and indeed absolute necessity of a knowledge of some language or other, understood in the country, to gentlemen so employed †; or to shew how much more effectually they would be able, with such knowledge, to do their duty, than they can now through the medium of their *Surcors*, or native Clerks ‡, to whom, from an ignorance of the language, they are obliged, in a great measure, to delegate their authority, to pay an implicit attention to their advice and opinions, and, what is still worse, from the above deficiency, to receive through them every complaint and grievance of the subject; though the complaints are frequently levelled against those very Agents, and the grievances complained of generally originate from their knavery, avarice, and extortion.

* It may be necessary to observe, that this arrangement took place but a very few years ago; and therefore the importance of the Persian in the point of view now under consideration, is to be dated from that period only.

† It is true, that in *Bengal*, but in Bengal only, an acquaintance with the dialect of that province, might be made to answer the purposes of gentlemen employed as above-mentioned: but as that dialect would be of very little use to them, even in the neighbouring province of *Bahar*, much less in any other part of *Hindoستان*; as the Persian, on the contrary, is the polite language throughout the Empire; and as it is impossible to acquire a knowledge of that, without forming, at the same time, a familiar acquaintance with the *Moors*, from the intimate connection between them; and as the *Moors* is the vulgar tongue of all the Mahumudan natives, and is as well known to the generality of the Aborigines or *Hindoos*, as to the Mahumudans themselves; for these reasons it is evident, that the Persian is most worthy the attention of Europeans.

‡ The *Surcors* are all *Hindoos*; and by some little knowledge of the English, which they are careful to acquire, are enabled to act as Interpreters to the gentlemen who employ them.

“ TRUE it is, that in *Bengal*, the Dialect bearing that name is now most frequently used in the transacting of mercantile concerns; but it does not follow, that the Persian language, and that of Hindostan (vulgarly called the *Moors*) are therefore entirely superfluous: on the contrary, I conceive it to be easy to prove, that if the Company's civil servants were generally acquainted with the Persian, they would find themselves enabled to fill every department in which they could possibly be placed, without the assistance of any medium whatever.

“ IN a *private commercial light* also, I think, much may be said in its favour. Individuals, such as could find leisure to study the language, would reap a singular advantage from the knowledge of it. In the western provinces of Hindostan, though not so universally in Bengal, the Persian is used in all mercantile transactions: and if the study of it was generally followed, and applied to practice, hundreds of *Surcors* and *Banians*, who now eat up two thirds of the merchants profits, oppress the country under the name of English *Gomashtehs*, and brand the character of their masters with infamy, might be discarded and turned adrift; or at least meet with such checks, as would, in a great measure, put a stop to their rogueries.

“ IT may be further observed, that the study of the Persian is by no means unworthy the attention of the *Military*, for this plain reason; because it is the best, and indeed the only road to a perfect acquaintance with the language of Hindostan; without which, no officer, however great his military abilities, can be esteemed properly qualified to command a battalion of our native troops. The loss of more than one detachment from that very deficiency, has proved this beyond dispute. It may be added, that an officer on a detached command, must always have occasion to correspond, sometimes to negotiate with the

F

chief

chief men of the districts and provinces, where he may be, or through which he may have occasion to pass : and these negotiations, however trifling they may at first appear, have been frequently known to lead to matters of vast importance. This is another, and, I think, no bad reason, why an officer ought to be acquainted with the Persian and Hindostan languages.

“ IN opposition to the foregoing it may be asserted, that the difficulties attending the study and acquisition of a copious and elegant language, differing totally from our own in phrase and idiom, and cloathed in unknown, complex, and obscure characters, would be insurmountable to many ; and that the various occupations and businesses, in which the Company's servants in India are employed, cannot afford them leisure and opportunity to engage in so troublesome and arduous an undertaking ; and therefore, as heretofore, the acquisition of this valuable knowledge must be left to those young men, who, from curiosity, ambition, or superior abilities, are inclined to devote themselves to such difficult studies. In reply to the *first* of the above objections, I can, from personal knowledge, venture to affirm, That a very moderate share of abilities and of memory, supported by a common proportion of perseverance and attention, are sufficient to overcome the ideal difficulties, arising from the copiousness of the language itself, from the difference of the idiom, and from the obscurity of the character.

“ IN answer to the *second*, I will allow that the occupations and employments of the Company's junior servants are many and various ; and that if pleasure and dissipation be admitted of the number, they have not a moment to spare. But supposing it practicable for them to curtail their attendance on the last mentioned important businesses but for two short hours in the day, I do assert, that they may with ease make themselves
masters

masters of the language, and that in a very moderate space of time.

“ THE advantages arising from a knowledge of the Persian to gentlemen in India have not, till within these few years, been perfectly understood. In fact, its *general* utility has not existed but from that period, when the Company found it necessary to place the entire administration of the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar* in the hands of their own proper servants. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that a circumstance which did not immediately strike many of the ablest of their superior officers abroad, could not suddenly engage the attention of their administration at home. And hence we must account for the little encouragement hitherto given to the study of the Persian language.

“ BUT I conceive it is now evident, that the Court of Directors, from the information which they have from time to time received, are fully convinced of its great utility; and that they are determined to promote the cultivation of it to the utmost of their power. For to this intention we must ascribe the very necessary encouragement which they have given to the learned Author of the Persian and Arabic Dictionary; the first volume of which has been already published. Of this valuable work, as appears by the printed proposals, they have engaged to take one hundred and fifty copies: which, it is reasonable to suppose, they intend to distribute among their servants abroad, and thereby to facilitate the study of the language, now rendered infinitely more easy than it was formerly, by the labours of the foregoing and another learned Author; whose Grammar, added to this Dictionary, has entirely removed every possible impediment. Indeed, all that appears wanting at present to promote a general application to the Persian in India, is a proper encouragement on the part of the East India Company, supported

by their orders and authority ; and a consequent conviction in their junior servants, that a knowledge of that language is necessary to their promotion. If they were taught to know, that an acquaintance with the Persian was the principal avenue, through which they were to expect to arrive at superior rank, and that that knowledge for the future would be so far substituted in the place of seniority, as to render seniority of no avail without it, it would then become the principal object of the junior classes of their servants ; and the language of course would be generally studied.

“ IT may be added, that the above scheme, though a partial, would be no bad scale, by which to measure the abilities of their younger servants : for though a knowledge of that language in the persons who possessed it, could not point out the extent of their abilities ; yet the want of that knowledge in those who could not acquire it, would certainly discover those who had no abilities at all. For a man who, so circumstanced, wanted talents, memory, or perseverance to form a moderate acquaintance with any language whatever ; although he might make a tolerable smith, or carpenter, or bricklayer, would certainly turn out a very bad merchant, a very indifferent inspector of a province, or military officer.

“ IN my ideas of the utility and importance of a knowledge of the Persian in the servants of the Company, I am supported by the opinions of several of the first Characters who have appeared in India ; amongst whom, Mr. HASTINGS, now President of the supreme Council in *Bengal*, and the late Governor VANSITTART, are particularly distinguished. Those gentlemen did not think the Persian unworthy their attention ; they found leisure to acquire a knowledge of that, and, consequently, of the language of Hindostan ; in which they doubtless found their advantage. And I have been credibly informed, that both Mr.

VANSITTART

VANSITTART and Mr. HASTINGS had in contemplation the establishment of an Academy in England, in order to promote the study of the Persian language; and to enable such young men, as were intended for the India service, to acquire the rudiments of that useful knowledge at home. The return of these gentlemen to India rendered their intentions abortive: but those intentions, nevertheless, tend to prove the high idea they entertained of its importance and utility.

“ IN a word, the necessity of a knowledge of the Persian, to gentlemen residing in India, may, I think, be placed in a very clear point of view, by the following concise and simple Query, or Comparison. If an inhabitant of France, a Spaniard, a Swede, or a Dane, were to visit England with a view of improving his fortunes, would it not be necessary for him to learn the language of this country, in order to render himself capable of filling any employment whatever, either Civil or Military ?

“ THE general study of the Persian language would be productive of one other advantage to the East India Company well worthy their attention. From the smallness of the number of those who have acquired a practical knowledge of the Persian language, and the still smaller number who have returned to England possessed of that knowledge, I have been led to believe, that a Department, which I should consider of much importance to the Company, has not hitherto been established. If the study of the Persian should meet with the encouragement it merits, and, in consequence thereof, the application to that study should become general, many gentlemen might return from India well qualified for the purpose, and with such moderate fortunes, as might not place them above the acceptance of the office I am about to point out. It is well known, that the Court of Directors annually receive from their settlements in India, Letters, Memorials, Treaties, and other
important

important papers, in the Persian language, transmitted to them as vouchers by their officers abroad. It is true, that translations of such Papers are usually sent with the originals. But it must be well known to gentlemen conversant in India affairs, that from *many circumstances*, accurate translations of such Letters, Memorials, and Treaties, by a gentleman unbiassed by party, faction, or interest, and under their own immediate protection, must be highly acceptable and advantageous to the India Government at home. Such a person would also be able to translate into the Persian language all such Treaties and Letters, as they might have occasion to send or write to the native Powers of Hindostan; which might be transmitted to India under their proper Seal, and consequently not be liable to an erroneous translation abroad.

“ I HAVE been informed from good authority, that several gentlemen in the Direction, a very few years ago, were sufficiently convinced of the utility of such an establishment. The arrangement and expences of a regular Persian Secretary's Office at the India House, by some who are advocates for œconomy, might be esteemed an objection: but this, I conceive, may be easily obviated. For such a person as I have pointed out, might be induced, for a moderate salary, to undertake the Office: he might reside in, or at any distance from the Capital; the necessary papers might be transmitted to him by their proper Secretary for the time being, and might be returned by him to the same Secretary, with their translations. Of course, all objections, arising from the expence and detail of a Persian Secretary's office at the India House would disappear.

“ THE foregoing Observations contain all that occurs to me on the subject, and I sincerely wish, that they may afford you some little assistance, in proving the high importance of Persian literature; and that you will be enabled to point out the propriety

priety of promoting in this country the study of a language, so necessary to the servants of the Company, so advantageous to the Company themselves; and, from the extent and wealth of their Territories and Commerce, not an unimportant object to the British Nation.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM DAVY."

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

- Page 3. l. 7. *for* to perform, *r.* which you impose on me.
4. l. 24. *r.* it is.
5. l. 23. *r.* further. Ibid. 27. *r.* he conquered.
8. l. 22. *r.* Timour's.
13. l. 12. Place a comma after *bloodshed*.
15. l. 22. *r.* *Kyrbauk*. Ibid. 25. *r.* on the, &c.

FUNERAL ORATION

FOR

LOUIS XVI.

Woe to the hands that shed this costly blood !
A curse shall light upon the limbs of men ;
Domestic fury, and fierce civil strife,
Shall cumber all the parts of Gallia's land ,
Blood and destruction shall be so in use,
And dreadful objects so familiar,
That mothers shall but smile, when they behold
Their infants quarter'd with the hands of war .
All pity choak'd with custom of fell deeds.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. EDWARDS,

NO. 77. PALL-MALL.

1794.

FUNERAL ORATION, &c.

WHEN, in the common course of things, the unrelenting hand of death has removed from this world some illustrious character, whose private virtues and public services claim of justice to be recorded ; in order to fix the multitude in attention, and awaken their feelings, the awful solemnity of the place, the funereal apparel, the note of pathetic harmony, together with the hearse containing the object of regret, and cause of the general lamentation, may be found serviceable to prepare the human mind for those useful reflections which he would wish to excite, who, moralizing on the dead, directs the wholesome stream of philosophy and religion towards the living.

On the present sad occasion, such adventitious circumstances, even on the spot, were not attainable ; nor will they, I conceive, be wanted to strike the rock, and give the flood of generous and universal pity to flow over every civilized region of the globe. Alas ! no such funeral honours could be paid to the corse of the unhappy monarch, whose sufferings I am about

to relate. The same savage and ferocious hands, that dragged him to an ignominious death, hid his mangled remains in an ignominious grave. The enemies of the great founder of our religion gave his body to the pious request of a humane stranger for interment; and Joseph of Arimathea took him down from the cross, and wrapped him in linen, and laid him in a sepulchre. The cruelty of modern times pursues, beyond the stroke of death, imitative meekness and emulative innocence. The inhabitants of the new discovered islands, in primeval savageness, kill and devour the intruders on their soil, the disturbers of their repose. The refined inhabitant of France suffers education, learning, riches, commerce, and luxury, to bend and soften every thing, excepting the adamantine covering of the human heart. To *that*, steeled in more than primeval and savage hardness, the voice of compassion pleads in vain: from *that*, reason and policy retire unheard: for *there* violence, inhumanity, capriciousness, and folly, maintain undisturbed dominion.

I am now to call your attention to one of the most lamentable events that ever occurred to disgrace the annals of a nation;—the cold and deliberate murder of a king; adjudged to death by his accusers; convicted of no positive crime, and tried under no promulgated law; called to answer before those who had but the other day sworn allegiance

to him; a sacrifice to no pretended necessity, and averting no impending national danger by his blood.

In this country, we witnessed an example of unrelenting severity; a king terminating his life under the hands of the executioner. But how great the difference, and how wide the distinction, between the cases of the two unfortunate princes! The one contending for powers which a free constitution must expire under, or resist; the other, not struggling for the maintenance of authorities or prerogatives, of which liberty, wisdom, and moderation, demanded an abridgment. The one resorting to arms, in support of pretensions which he conceived to be righteous; the other, conceding every thing, and even putting himself, naked and defenceless, into the hands of his enemies, lest the standard of civil war should be unfurled for the safety of his person, and his dominion be deluged with the blood of his ungrateful people. Strange, and unparalleled in the history of the world, that conduct so opposite should lead to the same miserable end!

That disorder and abuse had so gathered on the government of France, as much to deform its shape and impede its operations, is easy to be admitted: that the chain of strength and independance, which, in Britain, reaches from the peasant to the monarch, through the wise gradations of yco-

manry, manufacturers, gentlemen, and nobility, was there unknown, is an undeniable truth: that this chain of connection, joining every being that breathes the free atmosphere of England in one common interest, communicating to the whole mass and body of the people the electric fire of energy, emulation, and courage; that places no object of laudable pursuit in life beyond the possible attainment of ability, industry, and perseverance, was in that country not to be perceived. True it is, that the old government had many imperfections; and that some weeds rose with rankness and obscenity round the tribunals of its justice, and the altars of its religious worship; but these are not, in equity or in truth, ascribable to the error or to the design of this unhappy monarch. If the governing system was faulty, it was an inheritance of defects to which he was called. Severity itself could not have exacted the unreasonable expectation, that from him should have proceeded the spontaneous effort, and Herculean labour, of removing the foul accumulations of so many reigns; and calumny has not dared to insinuate that he was ever found interrupting the hand that would have eradicated these mischiefs; or that he obstructed those labours, which, tending to the diminution of his own privileges and prerogatives, added to the scale of the general happiness, and to the increasing bulk of public freedom.

He was called a tyrant : but his reign was a series of uninterrupted concession. He built to himself no mound, to resist the wave impelling wave that gained upon the shore of monarchical rule. Happy indeed had it been for France, had she, in her wisdom and moderation, known where to have controlled the inundation, and, for her own security, to have placed the citadel of her king upon a rock, beyond the licentious insults of the spray, or the ruinous encroachments of the ocean.

He was called a tyrant ; and yet would himself have worked at the construction of a fabric, modelled after the best, the British constitution, the nearest to perfection that ever imperfect beings enjoyed : and easily might such a building have arisen on the ruins of the ancient system, had the nobility and the church, in their justice, or their sense of danger, seen with the monarch the necessity of ample concession ; not offering, like some, every thing to purchase a fleeting popularity, nor with others, refusing every thing with unbending stubbornness. Then, indeed, might the nations of the world have stood amazed in anxious suspense, watching whether this enormous power, finding, for the first time, the use of all those glorious gifts of the Creator, of climate, soil, population, rivers, and seas, would have retained her former insufferable lust of dominion, and continued to

envy and grasp after the little enjoyed by other countries : or whether, satiated with abundance, and reaping the blessing of content from a graver and a purer philosophy than has issued from the porticoes of her novelists and romance writers, she would have dealt out peace, happiness, and security, to the neighbouring nations which surrounded her.

Were it generous to endeavour to heighten and aggravate the melancholy scenes which France has so lately exhibited, to the shame and dismay of Europe ; were not the cup of her calamity at this moment overflowing, how might her miseries be increased, by bringing back to the mind the dispersion of that golden vision which floated in the imagination not only of every sincere patriot of France, but of every lover of humanity and public freedom, when this king, this tyrant, flung open the doors of his palace, and invited his people about him, to assist in the great and divine work of ameliorating their condition, and improving the constitution of their country. But this dream is at an end ; and it were cruelty to recall it to those banished and unhappy wanderers who now crowd the shores of foreign countries, expelled from their own for their attachment to their sovereign, their religion, and their God. No sorrow is so sharp as that which stings with the recollection of error and misconduct ; and some there may be, among these unfortunate men, who