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APPENDIX I

1. *The Great Mogul's Diamond and the true History of the Koh-i-nur*

ALTHOUGH the writers on this subject are very numerous, still it is believed that almost every one of them who has contributed to its elucidation has been consulted in the preparation of this account; and it is certain that many, whose writings have also been consulted, are chiefly noteworthy for the amount of confusion which they have unfortunately introduced into it. The principal authorities are enumerated in the note below.¹ It would only prove puzzling to the reader and cloud the main issue were any considerable space

¹ It will be convenient to classify the principal authorities according to the theories which they have respectively adopted, as follows:—

FIRST, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BĀBAR'S DIAMOND:—

Erskine, *Life of Bāber*, p. 308; Rev. C. W. King, *Natural History of Precious Stones*, Bohn's Ed., 1870, p. 70; E. W. Streeter, *The Great Diamonds of the World*, p. 116.

SECOND, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH THE GREAT MOGUL'S DIAMOND, AND WHO EITHER TREAT BĀBAR'S DIAMOND AS DISTINCT OR MAKE NO SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IT:—

James Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*, 1834, vol. ii, p. 175; Major-General Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections*, 1844, vol. i, p. 361; James Tennant, *Lecture on Gems and Precious Stones*, 1852, p. 84; V. Ball, *Jour. As. Socy. of Bengal*, 1880, vol. 1, Pt. ii, p. 31, and *Economic Geology of India*, 1881, p. 19.

THIRD, THOSE WHO MAINTAIN THE IDENTITY OF THE KOH-I-NUR WITH BOTH BĀBAR'S AND THE GREAT MOGUL'S DIAMONDS:—

Official descriptive Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of 1851, Pt. iii, p. 695; Kluge, *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 240; Professor N. S. Maskelyne, Roy. Inst. of Great Britain, March 1860, and *Edb. Rev.*, 1866, pp. 247-8; Genl. Cunningham, *Arch. Reports*, vol. ii, p. 390; Professor Nicol, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. "Diamond."

It would not be difficult to add to the above a score of names of writers who have supported one or other of these theories.

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devoted to refuting the errors and correcting the misquotations regarding it, which are so common in works on precious stones. It seems to be a better course to endeavour to secure close attention to the facts of the case, supported by well-verified references, so that the reader may be in a position to pronounce for himself a verdict on definite evidence alone, and accept or reject the conclusions which are here suggested.

In order, so to speak, to clear the way for the discussion, it will be necessary, as a preliminary, to give short accounts of all the large diamonds with which authors have sought to identify the *Koh-i-nur*.

Firstly, there is the diamond of Sultan Bábar, which his son Humáyun received in the year A.D. 1526 from the family of Rájá Bikermajit, when he took possession of Agra. It had already then a recorded history, having been acquired from the Rájá of Málwá by Alá-ud-din in the year 1304.¹ Regarding its traditional history, which extends 5000 years further back, nothing need be said here; though it has afforded sundry imaginative writers a subject for highly characteristic paragraphs.

According to Sultan Bábar the diamond was equal in value to one day's food of all the people in the world. Its estimated weight was about 8 *mishkals*, and as he gives a value of 40 *ratis* to the *mishkal*—it weighed, in other words, about 320 *ratis*. Ferishta² states that Bábar accepted the diamond in lieu of any other ransom, for the private property of individuals, and that it weighed 8 *mishkals* or 224 *ratis*. Hence 1 *mishkal* = 28 *ratis*, from which we may deduce that the *ratis* Ferishta referred to were to those of Bábar, of which 40 went to the *mishkal*, as 28:40; and this, on the supposition that the smaller *rati* was equal to 1.842 troy grs., gives a value of 2.63 troy grs. for the larger, which closely approximates to the value of the pearl *rati* of Tavernier. If on the other hand we deduce the smaller from the larger (at 2.66 grs. for the pearl *rati*) we obtain for it a value of 1.86. So far as I am aware, this explanation of Ferishta's figures³ has not been published before. The value of the *mishkal* in Bábar's time, as being a more tangible weight than the variable *rati*, has been investigated by Prof. Maskelyne,⁴ and he concludes that it was equal to about 74 grs. troy, and that if taken at 73.69

¹ See Erskine's *Memoirs of Sultan Bábar*, p. 308.

² *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India*, etc., trans. by J. Briggs, London, 1829, vol. ii, p. 46.

³ See also Dow, *History of Hindostan*, 1812, vol. ii, p. 105.

⁴ *Lecture at the Royal Institution*, March 1860.



grs. troy, and multiplied by 8, it would yield a weight exactly corresponding to that of the *Koh-i-nur* when brought to England, namely 186.06 carats. Accepting the second estimate for the value of the *mishkal*, that of Bābar's *rati* would be 1.842 gr. troy, and the value of his diamond in carats might be expressed by the following equation.

$$\frac{320 \times 1.842}{3.168 \text{ (troy grs. in a carat)}} = 186.06 \text{ carats.}$$

In such a calculation it is well to bear in mind that a very slight variation in the *rati*, as a unit, would, when multiplied, produce a considerable difference in the result. Thus, if 1.86 were put instead of 1.842, the resultant would be enhanced *above* the desired figure, namely the weight of the *Koh-i-nur*.

Here I must leave Bābar's diamond for the present, without expressing any more decided opinion as to the absolute accuracy of the *data* which make its weight appear to be actually identical with that of the *Koh-i-nur*, being, however, as will be seen in the sequel, quite content not to dispute their general correctness, though my deduction therefrom does not accord with Professor Maskelyne's.

In the year 1563 Garcia de Orta, in his famous work on the Simples and Drugs of India,¹ mentioned four large diamonds, one of which he was told had been seen at Bishnager, *i.e.* Vyāyanagar, and was the size of a small hen's egg. The others weighed respectively—

$$120 \text{ mangelis} = 200 \text{ ratis} = 150 \text{ carats.}^2$$

$$148 \quad \text{,,} \quad = 233\frac{1}{2} \quad \text{,,} \quad = 175 \quad \text{,,}$$

$$250 \quad \text{,,} \quad = 416\frac{2}{3} \quad \text{,,} \quad = 312\frac{1}{2} \quad \text{,,}$$

None of these three last can be identified with the Great Mogul's diamond, because, even supposing it had been already discovered at so early a date as 1563, it must then, as will be seen hereafter, have been uncut, and had a weight of $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats, or more than double the weight of the largest of them; but it might have been the one spoken of as being of the size of a small hen's egg, as that was probably its form in its early condition when acquired by Mir Jumlá. As to whether any of the stones mentioned by Garcia could have been the same as Bābar's diamond, it is quite useless to speculate; but, as none of them are said to have belonged to the Mogul, it seems to be most improbable.

In the year 1609, De Boot, in his work on gems, etc., referred to

¹ *Colloquios dos Simples e drogas e cousas medicinaes da India*, p. 159.

² He says the *mangeli* = 5 grs., the carat 4 grs., and the *rati* 3 grs. (of wheat).



all these diamonds mentioned by Garcia, but when doing so, was guilty of three serious blunders, which have hitherto been undetected, except by his editor, Adrian Toll; they have misled many subsequent authors, who have overlooked the editorial comments, including the Rev. Mr. King and Professor Maskelyne. The first was in giving Monardes instead of Garcia as his authority; the second in treating the *mangeli* as though it were the equivalent of the carat; and thirdly, in making, on the supposed authority of Monardes, a statement to the effect that the largest known diamond weighed $187\frac{1}{2}$ carats.¹

The explanation of De Boot's confusion between the names of Monardes and Garcia is that Ecluze (Clusius), published a work in 1574, in which he incorporated in the same volume the writings of these two authors; and, as pointed out by Adrian Toll, Monardes does not even allude to diamonds, his work being on the drugs of the West Indies.²

The question remains—Where did De Boot obtain the figure $187\frac{1}{2}$, which approximates to the weight of the *Koh-i-nur*, when brought to England, and the weight of Bábar's diamond as estimated above? It has been seized upon by Professor Maskelyne, who quotes it from King, as a link in the chain connecting the two first-mentioned diamonds. It is a worthless link, however. It originated in a further manifestation of De Boot's carelessness.³ What he really quoted from was not a passage in Monardes's work, as he says, nor in that of Garcia this time, but it was a commentary or note on the latter's statement about Indian diamonds, by the editor Ecluze; and, as will be seen in the note itself, which is of sufficient importance to be given in the original Latin, it refers to the largest diamond ever seen in Belgium!⁴ its weight being $47\frac{1}{2}$ carats, or 190 grs. There can be no doubt that the statement by De Boot regarding a diamond weighing $187\frac{1}{2}$ carats was, as pointed out by Adrian Toll and De Laet, utterly spurious. It was therefore quite unworthy of the notice it has received from the above-named authors, and is of no value whatever for the purposes of this history.

¹ *Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*, 3d ed., by De Laet, 1647, p. 29.

² It was first printed at Seville in 1565.

³ Rosnel, in *Le Mercure Indien*, Paris 1667, evidently quoting from De Boot, makes the same mistake.

⁴ *Majorem vero Adamantem in Belgio conspectum haud puto, quam Philippus II. Hispaniarum Rex ducturus Elizabetham, Henr. II. Gall. Regis filiam majorem natu emit de Carolo Assetato Antwerpia, Anno 1559, Octogies Millenis Cronatis; pendebat autem Car. xlvii, cum semine (= $47\frac{1}{2}$), id est grana 190.*—*De Gemmis et Lapidibus*, Lib. II., J. de Laet, *Lug. Bat.* 1647, p. 9.



No attention has hitherto been given by writers to a large diamond which, as pointed out in a footnote,¹ was obtained by a Portuguese who worked the mine at Wajra Karur in Bellary about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It weighed, apparently, 434.7 carats. Nothing of its subsequent history is known; but it cannot have been the one presented by Mir Jumlá to Sháh Jahán. It may, however, have been the Pitt diamond, which, when offered to Pitt in 1701, weighed 426 carats; but if so, it remained uncut for nearly a century, and the generally accepted story of the Pitt diamond is that it was obtained at the mine at Partial.

We may now pass to a brief summary of the facts contained in Tavernier's several independent references to the Great Mogul's diamond—

First, In order of sequence, after describing the Mogul's jewels, he mentions (vol. i, Book II, chap. x, p. 395) its weight as being $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, or 280 carats, the *rati* being $\frac{8}{9}$ th of a carat. When first presented to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá it weighed, he says, 900 *ratis* or $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats, and had several flaws, but when he saw it it was round, rose cut, very steep at one side, with a notch on the basal margin, and an internal flaw; its water was beautiful.

Secondly, When describing (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xvi, p. 74) the mine of Kollúr (Gani or Coulour) he says that there was found in it the great diamond which weighed 900 carats (?) before cutting, and was presented to Aurangzeb (?) by Mir Jumlá. This account, as already pointed out, contains several mistakes. Tavernier adds that the mine had been opened 100 years previously.

Thirdly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xviii, p. 97), he states that the Great Mogul's diamond was of perfect water and good form, and weighed $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats. Its value he estimated as amounting to 11,723,278 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*, or £879,245 : 18 : $1\frac{1}{2}$. If it had weighed 279 carats only it would have been worth 11,676,150 *livres*, and consequently the value of the $\frac{9}{16}$ th of a carat, owing to the geometrical method of calculation, amounted to 47,128 *livres*, 14 *sols*, 3 *liards*, or £3534 : 13 : $1\frac{1}{2}$.

Fourthly (vol. ii, Book II, chap. xxii, p. 123), he states that he was permitted to weigh the diamond, and ascertained its weight to be $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, or $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats, and adds, "when in the rough it weighed, as I have elsewhere said, 907 *ratis*, or $793\frac{1}{8}$ carats." Its form was as of an egg cut in two.

¹ See p. 54.



Tavernier's figure of the diamond (see Plate II) has been referred to by Mr. King as being 'carefully drawn'. It is true that very neat representations of it have appeared in works on mineralogy and precious stones, and glass models have been made on the same lines, but the original figure can only be correctly described as a very rude unprojected diagram, in which the facets are bounded by three transverse series of parallel lines which intersect one another irregularly.

The only other early mention of this diamond is by Bernier, who calls it "matchless," and states that it was presented to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá when he advised him to despatch an army for the conquest of Golconda.¹

Let us now endeavour to reduce these statements to a common denomination. First, it must be stated that Tavernier and Bernier, both of whom refer expressly to the famous topaz belonging to Aurangzeb, are not likely to have been mistaken as to the nature of the stone examined; that it was a diamond may be safely accepted, in spite of any suggestions which have been made by authors to the contrary.

With regard to Tavernier's second statement, it is clearly wrong in two particulars, both of which may be attributed to the errors of a copyist, who wrote Aurangzeb for Sháh Jahán, and 900 carats in mistake for 900 *ratis*. This statement, therefore, being put aside from consideration, we have then left for comparison the following,

Original weight 900 *ratis* = $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats; after cutting $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis* = 280 carats.

Original weight 907 *ratis* = $793\frac{5}{8}$ carats; after cutting $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis* = $279\frac{1}{8}$ carats.

Calculated according to Tavernier's own statement that the *rati* was equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ of the carat, the equivalents would more correctly be stated as follows:—

$$\begin{array}{l} 900 \text{ ratis} = 788\frac{1}{2} \text{ carats}^2 \\ 907 \text{ „} = 793\frac{5}{8} \text{ „} \end{array} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 319\frac{1}{2} \text{ ratis} = 279\frac{1}{8} \text{ carats.} \end{array} \right.$$

We have then, at first sight, the remarkable apparent coincidence in weights between this diamond, when cut, of $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, and Bábar's of about 8 *mishkals* (i.e. about 320 *ratis*); but the *ratis* were of very

¹ *History of the late Revolution*, Eng. Trans., vol. i, p. 44.

² The discrepancy between these two accounts of the original weight of the stone, which Tavernier probably obtained from native reports, one being 900 *ratis* and the other 907 *ratis*, does not in the least affect the question here discussed, as it is only the weight of the stone after cutting that we have to do with.



different values, the former being equal to 2.66^1 troy grs., and the latter to about 1.842 (or 1.86?) grs., hence the respective weights, in carats, as already shown, are $186\frac{1}{10}$ and $279\frac{9}{10}$, the difference in weights of the two stones being therefore, apparently, $93\frac{1}{2}$ carats. But in anticipation of the discussion to be found on page 447 as to the reasons which have led to the conclusion that Tavernier used the light Florentine carat, it should be stated here that the weight of the Mogul's diamond, in English carats, was 4 per cent less than Tavernier's figures, in terms of Florentine carats; hence its weight, in order to be compared with other diamonds given in terms of English carats, should be $268\frac{1}{10}$, from which, if we subtract $186\frac{1}{10}$, the difference would be $82\frac{1}{2}$ carats, nearly. The similarity between the weight of Bábar's diamond at 320 *ratis*, and the Mogul's at $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, is delusive, as in *ratis* of the same denomination the former figure should be given at about 224 *ratis*, which is Ferishta's equivalent for 8 *mishkals*. So that the real difference amounts to $319\frac{1}{2} - 224 = 95\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, or, expressed in carats, at $\frac{1}{4}$ ths of a carat = 1 *rati*, $83\frac{1}{2}$ carats. This is sufficiently close to the $82\frac{1}{2}$ carats, independently deduced, to justify the conclusion that the weight of Bábar's diamond was about 83 carats less than that of the Mogul's.

There is, I believe, no direct record of the size and weights of the diamonds carried away from Delhi by Nadir Sháh, but before dealing with that portion of the history, it will be convenient to refer here to an interesting statement by Forbes² which has been overlooked by most writers on the subject. He states that a Persian nobleman, who possessed a diamond weighing 117 carats, which was subsequently lost at sea, informed him when at Cambay in the year 1781, that there had been two diamonds in the Royal Treasury at Ispahan, one of which, called *Kooi toor* (*Koh-i-nur?*), "The Hill of Lustre," weighed 264 carats, and its value was estimated at £500,000. The other, called *Dorriainoor* (*Dariya-i-nur*), "The Ocean of Lustre," was of a flat surface. Both formed a portion of the treasure, amounting in value to from 70 to 80 millions sterling, which Nadir Sháh carried away from Delhi in 1739.

Forbes suggests that the first was the Mogul's diamond, described by Tavernier, remarking that the difference between the weights 264 and $279\frac{9}{10}$ carats may easily be allowed between the accounts given

¹ On page 448 my reasons for modifying the first conclusion, stated in vol. i, Appendix, as to the value of the pearl *rati* will be explained.

² *Oriental Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 175.



by a Persian and a European traveller. (If, as above suggested, the weight of the latter was $268\frac{2}{3}$ English carats, the approximation is still closer.) The *Dariyá-i-nur*, as we shall presently see, still belongs to Persia, and as it weighs 186 carats, there is no known fact which in the slightest degree affects the possibility of its being identical with Bábar's diamond.

Several writers, among them Professor Schrauf of Vienna,¹ have suggested that the Mogul's diamond is to be identified with the similarly shaped Orloff, now belonging to Russia. Apart from the discrepancy in the weights and in the size, as shown by Tavernier's drawing, which was intended to represent the natural size of the former, it is tolerably certain that the Orloff was obtained from the temple of *Sri ranga*, on an island in the Cauvery river, in Mysore. It was therefore a possession of the Hindus, and it is most improbable that it ever belonged to the Moguls.

Reference has been made by some authors to the long historical chain which, they say, connects Bábar's diamond with the *Koh-i-nur*. As to the length of the supposed chain, it would extend over a period of 500 years at the least; but as to the links composing it, there is this to be said—they are all utterly unsound. In making so emphatic a statement I feel the necessity of being very sure of the grounds of my argument, especially as it is opposed to the views of many authorities, who, however, do not agree with one another as to details.

In deference to the opinions of Erskine, Professor Maskelyne, and General Cunningham, it may no doubt with perfect safety be admitted that the weight of Bábar's diamond in 1526 was, as stated above, about 8 *mishkals* or 320 *ratís*, and that these were equivalent to about 186 or 187 modern English carats. But it must be at once plainly stated that there is no direct evidence that any diamond of that weight was in the possession of the Mogul emperors at any subsequent period, up to the time of Nadir Sháh's invasion. We know nothing as to the weight of the *Koh-i-nur*, as such, till about the time it was brought to England, namely, the year 1850; and then, although its weight was $186\frac{1}{8}$ carats, the evidence, as will be seen, is to the effect that it was not identical with Bábar's diamond.

In order to put this clearly it is necessary to summarise what has already been stated about other diamonds. Those mentioned by Garcia de Orta were not apparently in the possession of the Mogul, and their weights do not correspond to those of either the

¹ *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Vienna, 1869, p. 103.



Mogul's or Bábar's diamonds. The diamond of 187½ carats referred to by De Boot has been shown to be mythical. Again, Tavernier did not see any stone of the weight above attributed to Bábar's diamond in the possession of the Great Mogul, Aurangzeb, nor can we suppose that he heard of any such diamond being in the possession of Sháh Jahán, who was then confined in prison, where he retained a number of jewels in his own possession.¹ If either he or Bernier had heard of such a stone he would surely have mentioned it. It is probable, however, that Bábar's diamond was really in Sháh Jahán's possession when Tavernier saw Aurangzeb's jewels, and that the latter obtained possession of it when Sháh Jahán died.²

Tavernier's statements, in so far as they relate to this history, are—I. That the Great Mogul's diamond was found in the mine at Kollúr, when, we cannot say, though Murray, Streeter, and other writers have ventured to assign precise dates. II. It was acquired by Mir Jumlá, and presented by him to Sháh Jahán about the year 1656. III. It originally weighed 900 *ratis* or 787½ carats; but having been placed in the hands of Hortensio Borgio, it was so much reduced by grinding, distinctly not by cleavage, that, when seen by Tavernier, he personally ascertained that it only weighed 319½ *ratis* or 279⅞ carats. IV. The figure given by Tavernier, though very rudely drawn, is of a stone which must have weighed full 279⅞ carats (Florentine), and it corresponds fairly with his description. V. This description mentions a steepness on one side and certain flaws, etc.

In order to identify the Mogul's diamond with Bábar's, certain authorities, notably Professor Maskelyne, have suggested that Tavernier's description did not really apply to the diamond presented by Mir Jumlá to Sháh Jahán; that the stone he describes had therefore not been found at Kollúr; that he was mistaken as to the particular kind of *ratis* which he mentions, and that consequently his equivalent in carats—calculated on the supposition that they were pearl *ratis*—was incorrect; finally, Professor Maskelyne maintains that Tavernier's drawing of the stone differs from his description of it, and was wholly incorrect and exaggerated in size.

Thus, in order to establish this supposed link of the chain, we are invited to whittle down Tavernier's account until it amounts to a bare statement that he saw a large diamond, about which all that he records as to its weight and history is incorrect.

¹ See vol. i, p. 371.

² See vol. i, p. 344.



If I were not prepared to maintain that a jeweller of Tavernier's large experience could not possibly have made the mistakes which have thus been suggested, I should feel that I had rendered a very ill service in editing these volumes. It is incredible that having actually handled and weighed the stone, at his leisure, he could have made so great a mistake as to believe that it weighed $279\frac{1}{8}$, or in round numbers 280 carats (Florentine), while it was really one of only 186 carats (English).

The custom, which has been followed by many authors, of adopting or rejecting Tavernier's statements according as they agree or disagree with their independently conceived hypotheses, is one against which we are bound to protest. It is a kind of treatment which no author should receive. If supposed to be guilty of so many blunders and inaccuracies of statement, the proper course would be to leave all that such an author states severely alone.

Judging from Tavernier's drawing and description, the stone had been ground by Hortensio Borgio to a fairly symmetrical shape as a round rose, one side being, however, steeper than the other, which feature, though indicated to some extent in the original drawing, is not generally faithfully reproduced in the copies in various works on diamonds, and some of the glass models which have been made are not only defective in this respect, but are altogether too small. This is mentioned here because these models are sometimes referred to as though they afforded authentic evidence of the true form of the stone.

We have now arrived at a stage when we can agree with those authorities who have maintained that Bábar's diamond and the Mogul's were distinct; but with most, if not all of them, we must part company, as they maintain that the Mogul's diamond no longer exists, and that it was upon Bábar's diamond that Nadir Sháh conferred the title *Koh-i-nur* in the year 1739. But the Mogul's diamond has a stronger and more immediate claim to be regarded as *the* diamond, so denominated, which was taken from Muhammad Sháh, Aurangzeb's feeble descendant. The name was an eminently suitable one to apply to the Mogul's stone as it was when seen by Tavernier, but by no means so applicable to it in its subsequent mutilated condition, in which it has been so confidently recognised as Bábar's diamond.

The stone which now bears the title *Koh-i-nur* was taken by Nadir to Persia, and from thence we have rumours of its having been cleaved into several pieces, when or by whom is doubtful. Accept-



ance of these stories has been rendered difficult by some authors having attempted to assign names and weights to these pieces, the sum of the latter being greater than the total weight of the Mogul's stone, as it was when seen by Tavernier. Thus the Orloff, the Great Mogul itself, and the *Koh-i-nur* have been spoken of as having formed parts of the same stone.¹ This hypothesis is in opposition to everything connected with the histories of these stones which can be relied on; but as regards the possibility of the *Koh-i-nur* alone having been carved out of the Great Mogul's diamond, it is not argument—but is simply begging the whole question—to assert that the *Koh-i-nur* existed 120 years before Borgio handled the Mogul's diamond. This Mr. Streeter has done,² and in his accounts of these diamonds he several times repeats that "all are agreed" that Bábar's diamond and the *Koh-i-nur* are identical, and the Mogul's distinct, which are precisely the points at issue. Indeed he might be reminded that in his own previously published work³ he states that "any doubt as to the Mogul and *Koh-i-nur* being identical is but rarely entertained"; this, I venture to believe, was the sounder opinion than the one more recently advocated by him.

At the meeting of the British Association in 1851⁴ Dr. Beke referred to a diamond found among the jewels of Reeza Kuli Khán at the conquest of Khorassan by Abbas Mirza in 1832. It weighed 130 carats, and showed marks of cutting on the flat or largest face. It was presented to the Sháh, and the jewellers of Teheran asked £16,000 for recutting it. Dr. Beke suggests that it was a part of the *Koh-i-nur*, meaning thereby the Mogul's diamond. This could not have been the case, because, as we have seen, the Mogul's diamond, if identical with the *Koh-i-nur*, had only a margin of about 82½ carats to lose, while if the latter be identical with Bábar's diamond it could have lost nothing. At the subsequent meeting of the Association⁵ Professor Tennant improved on this by suggesting that the Russian diamond, *i.e.* the Orloff, formed a part of the same. Another suggestion about the Orloff has already been dealt with on a previous page.

A host of other writers have taken up this story, and lastly, Professor Nicol in his article on the diamond in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* has unfortunately suggested that these three stones formed

¹ Quenstedt, *Klar and Wahr*, Tübingen, p. 79.

² *Great Diamonds of the World*.

³ *Precious Stones*, Ed. p. 126.

⁴ See *Athenæum*, July 5, 1851.

⁵ *Ibid.* September 25, 1852.



portions of the Mogul's stone seen by Tavernier, which amounts to saying that these three, weighing respectively 193 , $186\frac{1}{8}$ and 130 carats,¹ or in all $509\frac{1}{8}$ carats, were portions of one which weighed only between 279 and 280 (Florentine) carats. His statement that "the three united would have nearly the form and size given by Tavernier" is simply incomprehensible.

If, however, we merely suppose that the Mogul's stone, while in the hands of one or other of its necessitous owners, after it was taken to Persia by Nadir, had pieces removed from it by cleavage, which altogether (there were at least three of them) amounted to the difference between its weight and that of the *Koh-i-nur* as it was when brought from India, namely, $279\frac{9}{16}$ Florentine carats = $268\frac{1}{8}$ English carats - $186\frac{1}{8}$ = $82\frac{1}{2}$ carats, we at once arrive at a simple explanation of the cause of the difference in weight between the stones, and are, moreover, thus enabled to show that Tavernier's account requires no whittling down, though the stone itself, after he saw it, appears to have been subjected to that process.

This would be but an hypothesis based on the rumours above referred to, were it not so strongly corroborated by the appearance presented by the *Koh-i-nur* itself when taken by the British from the Treasury at Lahore. Mr. Tennant² describes it as exhibiting, when brought to England, two large cleavage planes, *one of which had not even been polished, and had been distinctly produced by fracture.*

No one can examine the authentic sketches and models of the *Koh-i-nur* without feeling a strong presumption that it must have been mutilated, after cutting, and that it cannot have been left in such an incomplete condition by the jeweller who cut and polished it. In addition to its possessing defects similar to some of those described by Tavernier as having been in the Mogul's diamond, Mr. Tennant records that the *Koh-i-nur* had a flaw near the summit which, being on a line of cleavage parallel to the upper surface, may very possibly have been produced when the upper portion was removed—the weight of which, together with that of two portions removed from the sides, and the loss occasioned by the regrinding of four facets on the upper surface, may very easily have represented the difference in the weights of the two stones, namely $82\frac{1}{2}$ carats.

This too, in a measure, explains the discrepancies between

¹ Professor Nicol gives the weights at $194\frac{3}{4}$, $186\frac{1}{8}$, and 132 , the sum being $512\frac{1}{8}$.

² *Lecture on Gems and Precious Stones*, London 1852, p. 83.

NAMED *Koh-i-nur* BY NÁDIR SHÁH IN 1739.

Fig II.



Fig III

FIG. II. The *Koh-i-nur*, showing the surfaces from whence portions had been removed by cleavage. A, Flaw parallel to cleavage plane H; B and C, Notches cut to hold the stone in its setting; D, Flaw parallel to plane G, produced by fracture at E; F, Fracture produced by a blow; G, Unpolished cleavage plane produced by fracture—it was inclined at an angle of $109^{\circ} 28'$ to the basal plane H. From Mr. Tennant's figure.

FIG. III. The opposite aspect of the *Koh-i-nur* from a glass model.



Tavernier's description, which, as Prof. Maskelyne¹ admits, very fairly characterises the *Koh-i-nur* (i.e. certain flaws and defects in it, which happened to be in the portion preserved), and the figure, which, as it represents the whole stone, does not, at first sight, seem to resemble the *Koh-i-nur*. The accompanying illustration (Plate VI) and descriptive notes prove not only the possibility of the *Koh-i-nur* having been thus carved out of the Mogul's diamond, but they represent graphically the extreme probability of the truth of that suggestion.

Tavernier's account of the Mogul's diamond has, I think, been fully proved in the preceding pages to be quite inapplicable to Bábar's diamond, while all his facts and the balance of probability favour the view that in the *Koh-i-nur* we are justified in recognising the mutilated Mogul's diamond. Thus, while this theory, which has been built up on the basis of Tavernier's statements, is consistent with the literal acceptance of all of them, and with the physical condition of the *Koh-i-nur* when it came to Europe, of none of the other theories can the same be said; but, on the contrary, to suit their respective exigencies, they require the total rejection of one or more of the carefully recorded observations on the condition of the Mogul's stone when placed in the hands of this experienced jeweller for examination.²

The necessary conclusion is that it is not the Mogul's diamond which, through failure of being historically traced, as some authors assert, has disappeared, but it is Bábar's diamond of the history of which we are really left in doubt. The fixing of the weight of Bábar's diamond at a figure identical, or nearly so, with that of the *Koh-i-nur* when brought to England, though used as a link in the chain, has, as I think I have shown, effectively disposed of its claim to be identified with the Mogul's diamond in the first place, and secondly with the *Koh-i-nur*.

It has already been intimated that the *Dariyá-i-nur*, a flat stone, which weighs 186 carats, and is now in the Sháh's treasury,³ may very possibly be Bábar's diamond, with regard to which I can only say that I have in vain sought for any well authenticated fact which in the slightest degree controverts or even throws doubt upon that suggestion.

¹ *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, March 1860.

² Among other difficulties introduced into the subject are such as follow from misquotation. Thus Kluge says that Tavernier himself described the stone as weighing $319\frac{1}{2}$ *ratís* = 186 carats! For this unfortunate and mischievous error there can be no excuse, as he goes on to say quite correctly that the earlier weight was 793 $\frac{3}{4}$ carats. *Handbuch der Edelsteinkunde*, Leipsig, 1860, p. 341.

³ See Benjamin, *Persia*, p. 74.



2. Summary History of the Koh-i-nur

This diamond, as related by Tavernier, was obtained in the mine of Kollúr on the Kistná (see vol. ii, p. 74). The precise date of its discovery is mere matter of conjecture; but about the year 1656 or 1657 it was presented, while still uncut, to Sháh Jahán by Mir Jumlá, who had previously farmed the mines at Kollúr and elsewhere. The stone then weighed 900 *ratis* or $787\frac{1}{2}$ carats (these, if Florentine carats, were equal to about 756 English carats).

In the year 1665 this diamond was seen by Tavernier in Aurangzeb's treasury, and it then weighed, as ascertained by himself, only 319 $\frac{1}{2}$ *ratis*, or $279\frac{9}{16}$ carats (which, if Florentine carats, equalled 268 $\frac{1}{8}$ English carats). It had been reduced to this size by the wasteful grinding treatment to which it had been subjected by a Venetian named Hortensio Borgio.

In the year 1739 it was taken from Aurangzeb's feeble descendant, Muhammad Sháh, by Nadir Sháh, when he sacked Delhi and carried away to Persia, it is said, £70,000,000 or £80,000,000 worth of treasure.¹ On first beholding it he is reported to have conferred upon it the title *Koh-i-nur* or Mountain of Light, a most suitable name for the stone described by Tavernier.

On the murder of Nadir Sháh at Kelat, in Khorassan, in 1747, it passed with the throne to his grandson Sháh Rukh, who resided at Meshed, where he was made a prisoner and cruelly tortured by Agá Muhammad (Mir Allum Khán), who in vain sought to obtain the *Koh-i-nur* from him. In the year 1751 Sháh Rukh gave it, as a reward for his assistance, to Ahmad Sháh, the founder of the Duráni dynasty at Kábul, and by him it was bequeathed to his son Táimur, who went to reside at Kábul. From him, in 1793, it passed by descent to his eldest son Sháh Zamán, who, when deposed by his brother Muhammad, and deprived of his eyes, still contrived to keep possession of the diamond in his prison, and two years afterwards it passed into the hands of his third brother Sultan Shujá. According to Elphinstone,² it was found secreted, together with some other jewels, in the walls of the cell which Sháh Zamán had occupied. After Shujá's accession to the throne of Kábul, on the dethronement and imprisonment of Muhammad, he was visited at Pesháwar by Elphinstone in 1809, who describes how he saw the diamond in a bracelet worn by

¹ According to the *Imperial Gazetteer* only £32,000,000. See vol. vi, p. 314.

² *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*, vol. ii, p. 325 n.



Shujá, and he refers to it in a footnote as the diamond figured by Tavernier. Shujá was subsequently dethroned by his eldest brother Muhammad, who had escaped from the prison where he had been confined.

In 1812 the families of Zamán and Shujá went to Lahore, and Ranjit Singh, the ruler of the Punjab, promised the wife of the latter that he would release her husband and confer upon him the kingdom of Kashmir, for which service he expected to receive the *Koh-i-nur*.¹

When Sháh Shujá reached Lahore, soon afterwards, he was detained there by Ranjit, who wished to secure both his person and the diamond; but the Sháh for a time evaded compliance with his demand for the stone, and refused offers of moderate sums of money for it. At length "the Máharájá visited the Sháh in person, mutual friendship was declared, an exchange of turbans took place, the diamond was surrendered, and the Sháh received the assignment of a *jaghír* in the Punjab for his maintenance, and a promise of aid in recovering Kábul."² This was in 1813: the Sháh then escaped from Lahore to Rájáuri, in the hills, and from thence to Ludíána, after suffering great privations.³ Here he and his brother Sháh Zamán were well received by the Honourable East India Company, and a liberal pension was assigned by the Government for their maintenance. The above statements, except where other authorities are quoted, are taken from General Sleeman's⁴ account, which was founded on a narrative by Sháh Zamán, the blind old king himself, who communicated it to General Smith, he being at the time in command of the troops at Ludíána.

In the year 1839 Sháh Shujá, under Lord Auckland's Government, was set up on the throne of Kábul by a British force, which two years later was annihilated during its retreat.

The testimony of all the writers up to this period, and, it is said, the opinions of the jewellers of Delhi and Kábul also, concur in the view that the diamond which Ranjit thus acquired was the Mogul's, i.e. the one described by Tavernier. It seems probable that the mutilation and diminution in weight by about 83 carats, to which, as we have shown, it was subjected (see p. 442), took place while it was

¹ Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1849, p. 161.

² *Ibid.* p. 163. The Sháh's own account (*Autobiography*, chap. xxv) of Ranjit's methods to get possession of the diamond is more favourable to the latter than Captain Murray's. (See his *Rangéet Singh*, p. 96.)

³ Dr. W. L. M'Gregor, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 170.

⁴ *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. i, p. 473.

in the possession of Sháh Rukh, Sháh Zamán, or Sháh Shujá, whose necessities may have caused one of them to have pieces removed to furnish him with money.

Ranjit during his lifetime often wore the diamond on state occasions, and it is referred to by many English visitors to Lahore, who saw it during this period,¹ and is said to have then been dull and deficient in lustre.

In 1839 Ranjit died, and on his deathbed expressed a wish that the diamond, then valued at one million sterling, should be sent to Juggannath,² but this intention was not carried out,³ and the stone was placed in the jewel chamber till the infant Rájá Dhulip Singh was acknowledged as Ranjit's successor.

When the Punjab was annexed, in the year 1849, the diamond was formally handed to the new Board of Government at one of its earliest meetings—and it was then personally entrusted by his colleagues to the care of John Lawrence, afterwards Lord Lawrence, who, on receiving it, placed the small tin box containing it in his waistcoat pocket, and then forgot all about it till he was called upon to produce it six weeks later, in order that it might be sent to Her Majesty the Queen.

Recalling the circumstances when thus reminded of them, he hurried home and, with his heart in his mouth, asked his bearer whether he had got the box which had been in his pocket some time previously. Careful about trifles, like most Indian servants, the bearer had preserved it, though he thought it only contained a useless piece of glass. This strange vicissitude in the history of the stone is related by Bosworth Smith in his life of Lord Lawrence.⁴ He adds that he had been told on good authority that it had passed through other dangers, on the way home, before it was safe in the possession of the Queen.

In 1851 the *Koh-i-nur* was exhibited in the first great Exhibition, and in 1852 the recutting of the stone was entrusted by Her Majesty to Messrs. Garrards, who employed Voorsanger, a diamond cutter from M. Coster's *atelier* at Amsterdam. The actual cutting lasted thirty-eight days, and by it the weight was reduced to 106 $\frac{1}{8}$ carats. The cost of the cutting amounted to £8000.

¹ Dr. McGregor, *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1847, vol. i, p. 216.

² Lieut.-Colonel Steinbach, *The Punjab*, London, 1846, p. 16.

³ Miss Eden, *Up the Country*, vol. ii, p. 130, says that the Máharájá ultimately consented to its not being sent.

⁴ *Life of Lord Lawrence*, vol. i, p. 327.



3. *On the Grand Duke of Tuscany's Diamond, otherwise known as the Austrian Yellow or the Florentine; and on the absolute weights of the carat and rati as known to Tavernier*

When writing of the carat (see vol. i, Appendix, p. 416), and when making the several references to the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, I had not seen Dr. Schrauf's original paper¹ on the weighment of the stone, and, having obtained my information of it indirectly, I was misled as to its precise purport, which does not prove that the absolute weight of the stone is less than Tavernier gave it, but demonstrates that the difference in weight is only apparent. The absolute weight is 27.454 grams, which, converted into carats, gives

Florentine (= 197.2 milligrams)	.	.	.	139 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats.
Paris (= 205.5 ")	.	.	.	133 $\frac{3}{4}$ "
Vienna (= 206.13 ")	.	.	.	133 $\frac{1}{2}$ "

In English carats (= 205.4 milligrams) the weight would be 133 $\frac{3}{4}$ carats nearly. The conclusions to be drawn, therefore, are, that, in the first place, the stone has not had any additional facets cut upon it, and that it is, in fact, in the same condition as when Tavernier gave its weight at 139 $\frac{1}{2}$ carats; the difference between that weight and the 139 $\frac{1}{2}$ Florentine carats is so small, amounting to only $\frac{3}{10}$ ths of a carat, that it may be fairly attributed to difference in the accuracy of the methods of weighment employed by Tavernier and Schrauf respectively.

Hence we may fairly conclude that in this instance, at least, the carat used by Tavernier was the "Florentine"; and that being so, it is hardly conceivable that, when mentioning Indian stones on the very same pages as those where he describes the Grand Duke of Tuscany's diamond, he had other carats in view. Consequently, with greater confidence than I could venture to assume when the Appendix of vol. i. was written, I now suggest the hypothesis that Tavernier's carats were the light Florentine carats, which are exactly 4 per cent lighter than modern English carats. Thus the English carat of .2054 grams less 4 per cent (.0082) = .1972 grams, which is the precise value of the Florentine carat.

¹ *Sitz. der K. Akad. der Wissen., Wien, Math.-Nat. Classe. Bd. liv. Abth. i. p. 479, 1866.*



The conclusion thus arrived at as to the carat of Tavernier having been the light Florentine, involves a reduction in the value of the *rati*, which has been calculated in the earlier part of this work on the supposition that it was equal to $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of the modern French and English carat. It must therefore be reduced by 4 per cent likewise, so that instead of 2.77 troy grs., it must stand at 2.66 troy grs. This value, it should be added, is identical with that derived from Tavernier's own statement, that 6 *melsca* or $181\frac{1}{8}$ *ratis* = 1 French ounce (i.e. 482.312 grs. troy), since $482.312 \div 181\frac{1}{8} = 2.66$. I am accordingly compelled to accept this value finally as being that of Tavernier's pearl *rati*; and I must ask readers to accept this conclusion, which was given as an alternative to 2.77, in the Appendix to vol. i,¹ instead of the latter, which was adopted in the text.

In the following table the weights in carats of the principal stones mentioned by Tavernier are enumerated, and in the last column these weights, reduced by 4 per cent, show the equivalent values in English carats.

4. *On the weights of some of the Diamonds, other Precious Stones, and Pearls, mentioned and figured by Tavernier*

Assuming that our argument is well founded as to the carats mentioned in the text having been Florentine carats, it is necessary, in order to reduce them to English carats, to subtract 4 per cent from them, as in the following table:—

DIAMONDS.

	Tavernier's Carats (Florentine).	English Carats.
1a. Great Mogul's (uncut)	787 $\frac{1}{2}$	756
1b. Great Mogul's (cut)	279 $\frac{9}{16}$	268 $\frac{19}{32}$
2. Golconda	242 $\frac{1}{16}$	232 $\frac{13}{32}$
3a. Ahmadabad (uncut)	157 $\frac{1}{4}$	150 $\frac{3}{8}$
3b. Ahmadabad (cut)	94 $\frac{1}{2}$	90 $\frac{11}{16}$
4. Grand Duke of Tuscany's (139 $\frac{1}{2}$)	139 $\frac{3}{8}$	133 $\frac{3}{8}$
5. Blue	112 $\frac{3}{16}$	107 $\frac{7}{16}$
6. Bazz	104	99 $\frac{1}{2}$
7. Mascarenha	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	64 $\frac{1}{4}$
8. Kollur	63 $\frac{3}{8}$	60 $\frac{1}{2}$

¹ See vol. i, pp. 416, 417, and 418.



RUBIES.

	Tavernier's Carats (Florentine).	English Carats.
1. King of Persia's (192 ratis?)	168	$161\frac{7}{5}$
2. Banian	$50\frac{3}{4}$	$48\frac{1}{2}$
3. Bijapur (Visapour)	$17\frac{1}{2}$	$16\frac{4}{5}$

TOPAZ.

1. Aurangzeb's	$157\frac{3}{4}$ should be $158\frac{1}{2}$	$152\frac{4}{5}$
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PEARL.

1. American, sold to Sháístá Khán ¹	55	$52\frac{4}{5}$
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¹ Several other pearls of about this size and smaller, were in the Mogul's Treasury. See vol. i, p. 397.



APPENDIX II

List of all the Diamond Mines in India of which there are authentic Records, arranged in Districts

SINCE this list was first published¹ it has been repeatedly checked, and it contains several additions. Although in various works on precious stones, etc., names are given as being those of diamond mines in India which are not to be found here, they are for the most part either synonymes of names that are, or are spurious. Want of space prevents such synonymes being dealt with, which is to be regretted, as the confusion in the nomenclature cannot be easily described without recourse to details. Names of villages, towns, rivers, provinces, etc., are misplaced and jumbled together in almost inextricable confusion. One author gives Pegu as a diamond mine in Southern India; in the Mount Catti of another we trace a reference to the *Ghâts* of Southern India; and in the Malacca of many authors we must recognise, not as they do, either a place supposed to be in Southern India or the true Malacca, but Borneo, which used to be so called by the Portuguese in the fifteenth century. (See Appendix IV.) For some time I was unable to identify a certain Mr. Cullinger, who was quoted by one writer in connection with diamonds. Will it be believed that this *gentleman* ultimately proved on investigation to be the *fort* of Kálinjar?

MADRAS

KADAPA (OR CUDDAPAH) DISTRICT

Chennur on the Pennair River, Lat. $14^{\circ} 34'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 51' 30''$.

Condapetta (or Kanuparti), opposite Chennur.

Gandikot? mentioned by some authors. Lat. $14^{\circ} 49'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 20' 30''$.

Goorapur? close to Chennur. Not identified.

Goulagoonta (close to Jamalnadugu), Lat. $14^{\circ} 51'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 26'$.

¹ See *Economic Geology of India*, chap. i. The Madras lists were founded originally on Dr. King's in *Mem. Geol. Surv. India*, vol. viii.



(Jamalnadugu close to Goulagoonta, which see.)
(Kanuparti or Condapetta, which see.)
Lamdur? Not identified, mentioned by Heyne.
Ovalumpally (or Woblapully), Lat. $14^{\circ} 34'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 51' 35''$.
Pinchetgapadu? Not identified, mentioned by Heyne.
(Woblapully or Ovalumpally, which see.)

BELLARY DISTRICT¹

Gunjeegoonta, 2 miles south of Wajra Karur.
Gutidrug? Lat. $15^{\circ} 7'$; Long. $77^{\circ} 42'$.
Hotoor? 6 miles W.S.W. of Wajra Karur.
Wajra Karur, Lat. $15^{\circ} 2'$; Long. $77^{\circ} 27'$.

KARNUL (OR KURNOOL) DISTRICT

Banganapalle, Lat. $15^{\circ} 18'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 16'$; 37 miles S.E. of Karnul (see A.S. No. 76). Mines.
Bannur, close to Gudipaud; in Nandikotkur Taluk.
Baswapur, Lat. $15^{\circ} 25'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 43' 30''$; in Nallamullay Hills; mines and alluvial washings.
Byanpalle, Lat. $15^{\circ} 32'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 14' 15''$; 24 miles S.S.E. of Karnul.
Coomroly (close to Gooramankonda, which see); Nandial Taluk.
Deomurru, Lat. $15^{\circ} 49' 30''$; Long. $78^{\circ} 11'$. Left bank of Tungbhadra.
Devanur, Lat. $15^{\circ} 44'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 19'$. Diamonds found in banks of Kundur river; in Nandikotkur Taluk.
Dhone, Lat. $15^{\circ} 23' 30''$; Long. $77^{\circ} 56'$.
(Gazerpalle close to Baswapur, which see.)
Gooramankonda, Lat. $15^{\circ} 32'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 14' 15''$; 24 miles S.S.E. of Karnul. Rock workings.
Gudipaud, 2 miles W. of Devanur; in Nandikotkur Taluk.
Hassanapur in Doopaud. Not identified.
Jorapur. A diamond of 44 carats found in debris of irrigation works, near Karnul.
Kannamadakalu, Lat. $15^{\circ} 42'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 14' 30''$. Alluvial.
Lanjapoleur, Lat. $15^{\circ} 45' 30''$; Long. $78^{\circ} 4'$; 7 miles S.S.W. of Karnul; Ramulkota Taluk.
Muddavaram, Lat. $78^{\circ} 9' 30''$; Long. $78^{\circ} 30'$. 7 miles E.S.E. of Ramulkota; Nandial Taluk.
Munimadagu, Lat. $15^{\circ} 15'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 2' 10''$; in Pattikonda Taluk, 16 miles W. by S. of Banaganapalle (formerly included in Bellary District).
Muravakonda, Lat. $16^{\circ} 1'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 19'$; on the Kistna. Diamonds found below the ford, according to Ferishta and Newbold.
Oruvakal (or Woraykal of A.S.), Lat. $15^{\circ} 41'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 14'$; 14 miles S.E. of Karnul; Nandial Taluk.
Panchalingala, left bank of Tungbhadra; Ramulkota Taluk.

¹ A locality called Nizam in Bellary is mentioned by M. Chaper. See *Engineering*, 1884, 29th February.



Pendekallu, 5 miles S.E. of Ramulkota; Ramulkota *Taluk*.
Polúr? Lat. $15^{\circ} 31' 30''$; Long. $78^{\circ} 19'$; 4 miles N.W. of Nandial;
in Nandial *Taluk*.

Pyapali; Palikonda *Taluk*.

Ramulkota, Lat. $15^{\circ} 34'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 3' 15''$; 18 miles W. by S. of
Karnul. Rock and alluvial.

Saitankota, right bank of Tunghabhadra, E.N.E. of Karnul.

Tandrapad, Lat. $15^{\circ} 51'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 71'$; left bank of Tunghab-
hadra, opposite Karnul. Alluvial.

Timmapuram; Lat. $15^{\circ} 32' 30''$; Long. $78^{\circ} 6' 30''$; 6 miles E.S.E.
of Ramulkota. Rock workings.

Yembye, Lat. $15^{\circ} 32'$; Long. $78^{\circ} 14' 15''$; 24 miles E.S.E. of
Karnul.

KISTNÁ AND GODAVARI DISTRICTS

Atkur, Lat. $16^{\circ} 38'$; Long. $80^{\circ} 23' 30''$.

Barthenypadu, Lat. $16^{\circ} 38'$; Long. $80^{\circ} 23' 30''$.

Bhadrachalum (doubtful; a diamond said by Newbold to have been
found there), on the Godavari.

Damarapad, Lat. $16^{\circ} 35' 3''$; Long. $79^{\circ} 30'$.

Golapalle (or Golapilly), Lat. $16^{\circ} 43' 30''$; Long. $80^{\circ} 57'$.

*Kodavatakullu, Lat. $16^{\circ} 40'$; Long. $80^{\circ} 23' 30''$ (A.S. 75).

Kollúr (the Gani or Coulour of Tavernier), Lat. $16^{\circ} 42' 30''$; Long.
 $80^{\circ} 5'$; right bank of Kistná.

Madagalu? (in Palnad *Taluk*), 8 miles from the Kistná.

Malawaram, Lat. $16^{\circ} 35' 3''$; Long. $79^{\circ} 30'$.

Moonaloor (or Moogaloor), Lat. $16^{\circ} 38'$; Long. $80^{\circ} 23' 20''$.

Muléle (or Mullavilly), Lat. $16^{\circ} 41'$; Long. $80^{\circ} 56'$.

*Oostapully (or Ustapalle), Lat. $16^{\circ} 40'$; Long. $80^{\circ} 23' 30''$.

*Partial, Lat. $16^{\circ} 39'$; Long. $80^{\circ} 27'$ (A.S. 75).

(Ustapalle or Oostapully, which see.)

CENTRAL PROVINCES

SAMBALPUR DISTRICT

Sambalpur, town on the Mahánadi River, and some of the tribu-
taries above the town. (The country of the Sabarai of Ptolemy.)

CHANDA DISTRICT

Wairágarh (the Beiragurh of the Ain-i-Akbari), Lat. $20^{\circ} 26'$; Long.
 $80^{\circ} 10'$ (A.S. 73). Probably the Kossala of the Chinese pilgrims.

WESTERN BENGAL

LOHARDUGGA DISTRICT

Sank River, a tributary of the Bráhmīni.

* The three villages, so marked, were reserved by the Nizám on account of
their diamond mines when the Kondupalle Circar was ceded to the East India
Company in 1766.



Semah, on the Koel (the Soumelpour on the Gouel of Tavernier), Lat. $23^{\circ} 35'$; Long. $84^{\circ} 21'$. This was probably the Sambalaka, in the country of the Mandalai, of Ptolomey.

BANDELKHAND

PANNA

BAGHIN, Bargari, Brijpur, Etwa, Kamariya, Majgoha, Myra, Panna, Sakeriya, Saya-Luchmanpur, Udesna, and many others around Panna town. It is not known when these mines were first discovered. So far as I can ascertain, Tieffenthaler was the earliest European visitor to them who has left any record of them; he appears to have been at Panna in 1765. He says the diamonds found there could not compare either in hardness or fire with those of Orissa (Soumelpour?) or of Raoulcound (*i.e.* Ramulkota). There is no record of any exceptionally large diamonds having been found at Panna. Though it is believed by some that the mines are of very great antiquity, the history of them is defective. However, the *Ain-i-Akbari*, by Abdul Fazl (1590),¹ refers to diamonds having been found at 20 *cos* distance from the fort of Kálinjar, and that Raja Keerut Singh, a former Governor of that fort, had six valuable stones. It seems probable that these mines were worked in Tavernier's time, though he was not aware of the fact.

NORTH-WEST PROVINCES

SIMLA? This is a very doubtful locality, but there are several diamonds in the Calcutta Museum which were said to have been found in a stream near Simla.

NOTE ON THE GOLCONDA AND BIJAPUR DIAMOND MINES

There is a very important early description of the diamond mines of these regions, which is of special interest, as it gives a clue to the original source of many names of diamond sites which are to be found in the modern literature of the subject. It was published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xii, 1677, p. 907, having been *presented* to the Royal Society by the Earl Marshal of England, who was then Henry Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk. His term of office as Earl Marshal lasted from 1672-1683. I am inclined to think it may have been written by Mr. Cholmley, who is described by Mr. Streynsham Master² as having been engaged for several years

¹ Gladwin's Ed., vol. i, p. 29.

² *Kistná Manual*, p. 147.



before 1679 in making the annual purchases of diamonds for the Company, especially at the mines of Gollapalle (or Golapilly) and Malavalle (Muléli or Mullavilly).

The diamond mines of the Kistná District belonged to the Kings of Golconda, Kutab Sháh dynasty, from the downfall of the Báhmání Kings of Deccan (*circa* 1500) until their defeat and extinction in 1686. The mines in the Karnul District also belonged to them after the Rájás of Vijáyanagar were driven to the south in 1564. (See *Kistná Manual*, p. 244.)

It is curious to note that while Tavernier only mentions three localities in these regions by name, namely, Ramulkota (his Raolconda), Kollúr (his Coulour), and Gandikot, together with another unnamed locality (which was Gazerpalle, see p. 476), this paper, published only a year after Tavernier's first edition appeared, enumerates 23 mines in the Kingdom of Golconda, and 15 in the Kingdom of Bijapur—in all 38.

As will be seen, some of these names correspond with names in the preceding list, others seem to be identical with names of villages in the region, about which there is no independent evidence of their having been diamond producing. The remaining names I have failed to identify. As I hope on some future occasion to republish this paper of the Earl Marshal's, *in extenso*, with annotations, I shall at present limit myself to a brief enumeration of the localities, their proper modern names being given in brackets.

The Golconda Mines are—1. *Quolure*; this is Tavernier's Coulour or Gani [KOLLÚR]. This is said to have been the first mine worked in Golconda, but was then, 1677, almost exhausted. 2. *Codawillicul* [KODAVATAKULLU], 3. *Malabar* [MALAWARAM], 4. *Butt-phalem* [BARTHENYPADU, near PARTIAL], 5. *Ramiah* [?], 6. *Gurem* [?], 7. *Muttampellee* [near Kurur?]. These five (? six) were under the same government as that of *Melwillie* [MALAVALLE or MULÉLI], see below. 8. *Currure* [WAJRA- or VAJRA-KARUR, in the Guty Taluk of the Bellary District]. This identification is confirmed by the statement that it, the most famous and most ancient of all the mines, was taken some years previously, with the Carnatic, by Mir Jumlá from the Hindu Rájás. It is said that diamonds up to "a *seize* (? seer) weight, which was equal to about 9 ounces troy, or 81½ *pagodas*, had been found there; the mine was privately worked by the King, and the stones produced from it were large and well spread," etc. I have elsewhere quoted, see vol. ii, p. 54, the account of this mine having been worked by a Portuguese gentleman. 9. *Ganjee*.

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conda [GUNJEEGONTA], 10. *Lattawar*¹ [LATTWARA]. These two last are respectively 1 and 10 miles S.W. of WAJRA-KARUR. 11. *Jona-gerre* [?], 12. *Pirai* [?], 13. *Dugulle* [?], 14. *Purwillce* [?]. These four last I cannot identify. 15. *Anuntapellee* [ANANTAPUR? is 20 miles from WAJRA-KARUR. Dr. King (*Mem. Geol. Surv. India*, vol. viii, p. 101) alludes to a diamond being found there]. 16. *Girregeta* [GOULAGOONTA], 17. *Maarmood* [?], 18. *Wazzergerre* [WAJIRABAD?]. 19. *Munnemurg* [MUNIMADAGU in Karnul]. The two last are said to have been the deepest mines; they were carried to depths of 40 to 50 fathoms. Some interesting details are given as to the process of mining. 20. *Langumboot* [?]; process of mining as in the preceding. 21. *Whootoor* [HOTOOR?] near KARUR. 22. *Muddemurg* [MADAGULA? in centre of Palnad Taluk, Kistná District. This identification is founded on the statement that the locality was about 9 miles from the Kistná river]. 23. *Melwillee*, or new mine [MALAVALLE or MULÉLI], worked first from 1670-71, then closed, but reopened in 1673 by the King's licence, owing to the Kollúr mine becoming exhausted.

In BIJAPUR there were 15 mines, of which only those yielding the smallest stones were allowed by the King to be worked, partly to prevent large stones becoming too common, and partly to avoid exciting Aurangzeb's cupidity. The mines were—1. *Ramulconeta* [RAMULKOTA, i.e. Tavernier's Raolconda]; diamonds of a *mangelin* weight were seldom found there, generally they were much smaller. Broken diamonds, called *shemboes*, were found there. 2. *Banugunapellee* [BANAGANAPALLE, 37 miles S.E. of Karnul], 3. *Pendekull* [PENDEKALLU], 4. *Moodawaram* [? MUDDAVARAM, 7 miles E.S.E. of Ramulkota], 5. *Cumerwille* [COOMROLY of A.S. close to GOORAMAN-KONDA], 6. *Paulkull* [?], 7. *Workull* [? ORUVAKAL], 8. *Lungeepoleur* [LANGAPOLEUR, 5 miles S. of Karnul], 9. *Pootloor* [POLUR], 10. *Punchelingull* [PANCHALINGALA, left bank of Tunghabhadra], 11. *Shingarrampent* [?], 12. *Tondarpaar* [TANDRAPAD, left bank of Tunghabhadra], 13. *Gundepelle* [?], 14. *Donee* [DHONE], 15. *Gazerpellee* [this is close to BASWAPUR].

I would venture to commend the identification of those mines which are unplaced in the above list to some one with local knowledge.

We are told in the Earl Marshal's paper that in Golconda the

¹ This, as also some of the other localities, are given by Dutens and Castellani as being in Asia!—a rather wide geographical expression; they have long been objects of search to me, till traced by means of this paper.



miners and merchants were much oppressed, and in a miserable state of poverty, from having to submit to tyrannical squeezing and heavy duties on provisions, tobacco, and *betel*. With extraordinary inconsistency, although the King of Golconda, Abdul Kutab Sháh, and the King of Bijapur, Adil Sháh, had agreements with the miners that all diamonds above a certain weight were to be reserved for them, still they would not only pay highly for large stones conveyed to their capitals secretly by the merchants, but would bestow dresses of honour upon the merchants who brought such stones to them for sale.



APPENDIX III

The Diamond Mines of Bengal

ALTHOUGH it is possible that many persons in India may be surprised at the statement that there were formerly diamond mines of considerable importance and value in the region of Bengal, which is about to be described ; and although it is probably the case that many who have resided for long periods in the very District itself have never heard of the fact, all local traces of the industry being now extinct, still the cumulative evidence which can be brought forward is such that I do not anticipate that any serious objections can be urged to the natural conclusions derivable from that evidence.

Gibbon, in the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, for some reason which he does not give, arrived at the conclusion that it was the mines described by Tavernier at Soumelpour¹ on the Gouel (*i.e.* Semah or Semulpur on the Koel, in the Sub-Division of Palámau), rather than any of the localities in Southern India, which supplied Rome with diamonds.

Ptolomey mentions Sambalaka² as a city in the country of the Mandalai which produced the finest diamonds in the world. Now, although it is possible that he may have referred to Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, where diamonds are known to occur, I prefer to identify it with Tavernier's Soumelpour, as above, because it was situated in the country generally recognised as that of the Mandali or Mundas, while Sambalpur is beyond its limits.

Further, it may be conveniently remarked here that Ptolomey's Adamas river, although he clearly indicates its origin in Chutiá Nágpur (Kokkonage or Kokrah), has by some authors been identified with the Mahánadi, while others have with greater probability

¹ By a misprint given as Jumelpur, in Bengal, *Decline and Fall*, vol. ii, p. 281, note.

² See *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiii, 1884, p. 364, where it is identified with Sambalpur.



identified it with one or other of the rivers rising in Chutiá Nágpur, namely, the Dámuda, Subanrikhá or Bráhmāni, with its tributaries the Sank and Southern Koel, to which we shall presently again refer. The Mahánadi is probably Ptolomey's Manada, rising in the country of the Sabaræ or Savaras, where diamonds were also obtained.

Our next reference to this locality is a very definite and explicit one; it is separated by a long period of time from Ptolomey. In Prof. Blochman's translation¹ of the *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, we find that "On the 3d Isfandiārmuz of the 10th year of my reign (A.D. 1616) it was reported to me (Jahāngir) that Ibráhim Khān (governor of Bihār) had overrun Kokrah and taken possession of its diamond washings. This District belongs to *Subah* Bihār, and the river which flows through it yields the diamonds." Then follow accounts of the mines and Ibráhim Khān's operations, all of which will be found quoted in the *Economic Geology of India*, p. 25. The account goes on to say, "The District is now subject to me. All diamonds found in the river are forwarded to court. Only a few days ago a diamond arrived which had a value of Rs.50,000, and I hope many more will be added to my store of jewels." Among those received from Ibráhim Khān was one which was coloured like a sapphire, it weighed several *ratis*, and the lapidaries valued it at Rs.3000, though they would have given 20,000 had it been white and stood the test. Prof. Blochman gives a quotation from a MS. history of the Mahārājas of Chutiá Nágpur, in which a method of testing diamonds for flaws is described as consisting in fixing them on the horns of fighting rams.

General Dalton recorded that the family of the Rájá of Chutiá Nágpur possessed a diamond from these mines valued at Rs.40,000.² A large picture, representing the attack on the Palámau fort in 1660 by Dáud Khān, contains a figure of the *Zamindár-i-kán-i-álmás* or Lord of the Diamond Mine. General Dalton was, I believe, rather inclined to think these mines somewhat mythical, while Prof. Blochman³ identified the river with the Sank. As I had conversations with both of them on the subject, I am satisfied that neither of them knew of Tavernier's references to this region, nor did I know of them then, and it was not till some time after I became aware of them, that I was able to show that his Soumelpour was quite a

¹ *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xl, p. 113.

² *Ethnology of Bengal*, 163, n.

³ *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. xliii, pt. i, p. 240.

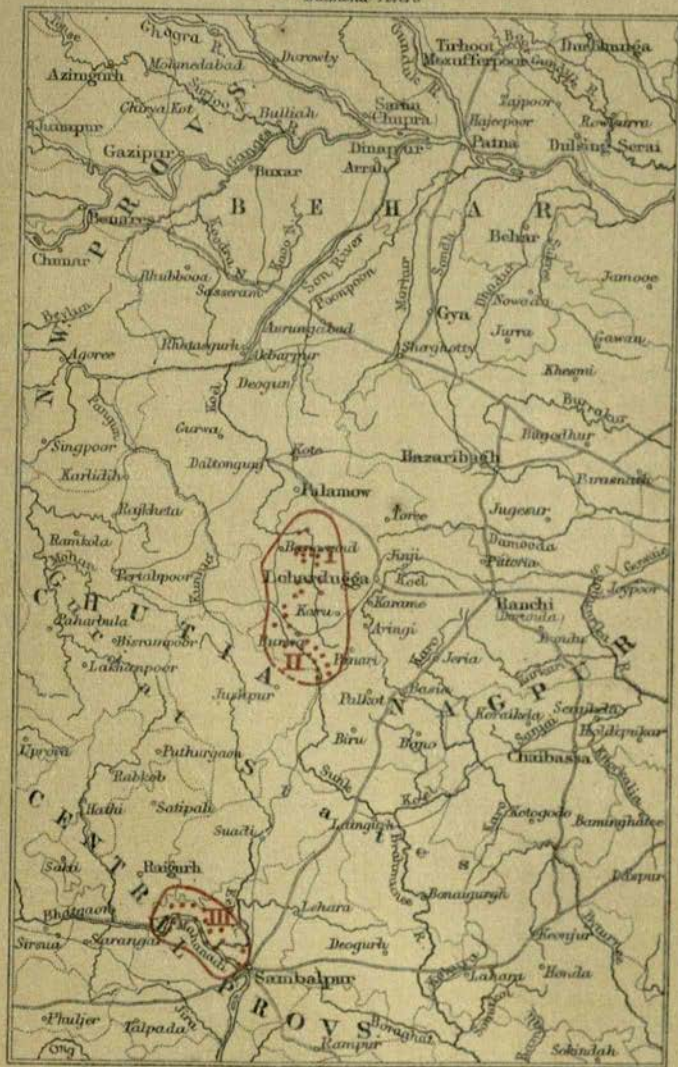


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A MAP SHEWING THE POSITION OF THE DIAMOND RIVERS OF BENGAL

- I Soumelpour on the Coast i.e. Senah on the Kool in the Palamow Subdivision.
- II An intermediate locality on the Sunk river in Burwa, Patkot & Jushpur
- III Position of the washings on the Mahanadi near Sambalpur in the Central Provinces.

♦♦♦♦♦ Diamond rivers



Scale 1 inch = 64 Miles
10 20 30 40 50

Stanford's Geog. Encl.



different locality from Sambalpur on the Mahánadi, with which most writers had identified it.

In addition to Tavernier's own direct account of this locality, there is another somewhat earlier in date, but which there is reason to believe was derived from information obtained from him. Reference will be found in Appendix VI to a work by Chappuzeau. In it there appears to be reference to the locality in Bengal which produced diamonds under the name Nage (*i.e.* Kokkonage or Chutiá Nágpur). In the year 1657 L'Escot of Orleans (see p. 304) went there to purchase a diamond of 42 carats, but he failed to get it.

Although Tavernier's locality was on the Gouel River, *i.e.* the Koel, which runs northwards to join the Sone, and so reaches the Ganges—the Sank and another Koel also take their rise close by, and running southwards they form the Bráhmāni, which joins the delta of the Mahánadi, near the coast of the Bay of Bengal. The Ebe River, a tributary of the Mahánadi also, rises in the same neighbourhood, and it is locally called the *Hira* or diamond river, and its bed is said to have yielded diamonds. Hence it is a natural deduction that the source of the diamonds found in the beds of these rivers, which pursue such different courses, is common to all, and that the diamond-bearing rocks will be found there. Unfortunately before leaving India I had no opportunity of putting this theory to the test, and I am not aware that the area has been as yet fully explored.

The accompanying map will convey a clear idea of the relative positions of the three localities, which have hitherto been much confused in the accounts by different authors. In the south there is Sambalpur, on the Mahánadi, of which I have elsewhere¹ published detailed accounts of the geology, and of the records of the yield of diamonds there in former times; farther north is the locality on the Sank river, which, as stated above, is one of the tributaries of the Bráhmāni; and lastly, on the other side of the watershed, is the site of the locality, Semah on the Koel, a tributary of the Sone, which I identify with the Soumelpour of Tavernier.

As Sambalpur is in the Central Provinces, and is therefore beyond the region of the present discussion, not being included in Bengal, we may now pass to the mention of the other two localities, as they are referred to by various authorities since Tavernier's time.

Sumelpur (*Mine de diamans*), near a tributary of the Solon (*i.e.*

¹ *Economic Geology of India*, p. 30.



Sone, called in its upper portion Riverere d'Andi, see *ante*, vol. i, p. 55), is represented on the Carte de l'Indoustan by M. Bellin, which was published in 1752 in the *Histoire Générale des Voyages*.

Tieffenthaler,¹ somewhere about the year 1766, wrote of Soumelpour as a place producing an abundance of diamonds of good quality in the river Gouel, 30 milles S.E. from Rohtas. He did not visit it himself, and perhaps he quoted from Tavernier.

Pennant,² in the year 1798, mentions that a diamond mine was then being worked on the Sank river, but he does not name his authority. He also states that Soumelpour on the Gouel was the most noted and most ancient locality for diamonds.³ Here he evidently quotes from Tavernier, as also did Buffon,⁴ who calls the locality Soonelpour on the Gouil, which Buchanan Hamilton in 1838⁵ refers to as being probably identical with a diamond mine which he had heard of on the southern Koel. Karl Ritter in 1836 detected the incompatibility of Tavernier's statements as to the position of his Soumelpour with that of Sambalpur on the Mahánadi; but his correction did not serve to mitigate the confusion which is to be found even in the most recent authors upon the subject. I may add that I was pointed out on the map a locality on the Sank by a resident in Chutiá Nágpur, where local tradition asserts that diamonds used to be found.

Having referred above to Sambalpur in the Central Provinces, it may be of interest to add that this Indian Province includes another locality which, though of importance in early times, was so forgotten even a century ago, that Rennell, and after him Karl Ritter, altogether failed to identify it. It was mentioned as being in the country conquered by Ahmed Sháh Walli Bhamini, both by Garcia de Orta and Ferishtá. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* the locality is spoken of as at Beiragurh which is now identified with Wairágarh in the Chanda District, about 80 miles from Nágpur. It was probably the Kossala of the Chinese pilgrims and perhaps the Kossa of Ptolomey.

It is just possible that a locality mentioned by Nicol Conti in the fifteenth century as a diamond mine called Albenigaras, may have also been Wairágarh. He mentions that the diamonds were obtained then by means of pieces of meat, which were flung on to the mountain, where the diamonds could not be collected owing to the number of serpents. The pieces of meat with diamonds sticking to them were

¹ Bernoulli, *Descr. de l'Inde*, Berlin, 1791, vol. i, p. 433.

² *View of Hindoostan*, vol. ii, p. 140.

³ *Id.* p. 113.

⁴ *Hist. Nat., Mineraux*, Paris, 1786, vol. iv, p. 280.

⁵ Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, vol. i, p. 535.



then carried to their nests by birds of prey, from whence they were recovered by the diamond seekers. This, with variations, is the story told by Marco Polo, and in the travels of Sindbad the Sailor. Elsewhere I have described the probable origin of this myth. It appears to be founded on the very common practice in India on the opening of a mine, to offer up cattle to propitiate the evil spirits who are supposed to guard treasures—these being represented by the serpents in the myth. At such sacrifices in India, birds of prey invariably assemble to pick up what they can, and in that fact we probably have the remainder of the foundation of the story.

It is probable, also, that the story by Pliny and other early writers of the diamond being softened by the blood of a he-goat, had its origin in such sacrifices.

As to whether these or other diamond mines in India could be profitably worked again I cannot now discuss here; but I may say that I do not believe that they can be truly described as being exhausted.



APPENDIX IV

The Diamond Mines of Borneo

IN the Colloquies of Garcia de Orta, in the Travels of Linschoten, in the works of De Boot¹ and De Laet,² and in many treatises on precious stones, up to some of those most recently published, we find, as has already been stated in the note on p. 87, that Malacca is mentioned as a locality where diamonds occur. This was for a long time a sore puzzle to me, especially as among modern writers on Malacca, with the exception of Miss Bird,³ none claimed that Malacca was known to be a diamond producing country, while some local inquiries which I made through the late Mr. W. Wynne of the Straits Civil Service confirmed an opinion, founded on the character of the geological structure, that probably none had ever been found there.

The solution of the difficulty is afforded by the fact that the name Malacca was applied by the early Portuguese writers to Borneo, and that the Taniapura which they mention was Tanjongpura in Borneo.

I am indebted to Mr. D. F. A. Hervey for the information that Tanjong pura (the Tandjong Poera of the Dutch) is situated about 30 miles up the river Pawán in the northern part of the Mátan District, adjoining Sukadana. The name, he states, is a hybrid, Tanjong being the Malay for a point (of land), and pura a Malayan version of the Sanskrit pûr, a town.

Such is the true explanation, and not that Malacca was a place situated in the Eastern Gháts! as stated by Castellani; nor that the

¹ *De Lapid. et Gemm.*, 3d ed., by De Laet, Lug. Bat. 1647, p. 121. When enumerating the localities where the diamond is obtained, he says, "Alia est rupes ad fretum Tanian in Malacca que etiam profert adamantes qui de rupe veteri vocantur." De Boot's original work was published in 1609.

² *De Gemm. et Lapid.*, Lug. Bat. 1647, p. 2, "Juxta fretum Taniapura: haud longe ab Emporio celeberrimo Malacca alia earumdem gemmarum fodina est unde vulgo Malacenses appellantur."

³ *The Golden Chersonese*, p. 261.



idea originated in some jumble about malachite, as has I think been suggested by one writer.

As it was with Pliny, so it has been with a host of other compilers; we find in the literature of precious stones the same places or the same objects called by different names, and treated as though they were distinct. It has been shown on p. 72 that *Gani* was a prefix signifying "mine of" to the name Kollúr, a diamond locality on the Kistná, though it is commonly treated as though it were a name itself; and when we find Malacca mentioned side by side with Borneo, as a diamond-producing region, we should not suspect that its appearance in the lists is simply due to a survival of an old name for Borneo. It is perhaps needless to add, therefore, that it should be expunged from all future lists.

The following facts with regard to the occurrence of the diamond in Borneo are chiefly extracted from Crawford's *Dictionary* and a paper by Dr. Posewitz.¹ The original matrix of the diamonds of Borneo is, as yet, unknown; but, as they are found in alluvial deposits in the beds of certain rivers, and in older alluvial or diluvial deposits, together with gold and platinum, it may be concluded with some probability that all come from the same sources. The platinum is not known to have been met with in the original matrix, but gold has been found *in situ* in Palæozoic rocks.

The most famous and apparently the earliest known diamond mines were situated in West Borneo, in the Districts of Landak and Sangau, while some diamonds are reported to have been obtained in Sarawak. Dr. Posewitz does not refer to their occurrence at Tanjongpura, on the Pawán river, nor in Sukadana, where earlier writers state they were found.

In Southern Borneo the most abundant mines and washings are in the neighbourhood of the Tanahlaut hills, which form the boundary between Southern and Eastern Borneo, near Martapura and Tjempaka? The produce of these localities is best known in connection with the name Banjarmasin, a territory and seaport now held by the Dutch.

It should be added that there are some minor localities in the region between Banjarmasin and Sukadana.

In Eastern Borneo the territory of Kusan, to the east of the Tanahlaut range, also includes some mines.

In British North Borneo there are believed to be some diamond

¹ *Das Diamantvorkommen in Borneo Mith a. d. Jahrò d. K. Geol. Anst.*, Bd. vii, Budapesth, 1885.



bearing localities, but as yet they have not been proved to be of any very great promise.

In connection with the subject of Borneo diamonds, mention is frequently made of a supposed diamond in the possession of the Rájá of Mátan. Its great size, 367 carats, and its reputed value, £269,378, as estimated by Crawfurd, have for many years caused it to be an object of Dutch cupidity, and many stories are told of the efforts made by them to induce the Rájá to part with it. It is stated that early in the century the Rájá was offered 150,000 dollars, two large war brigs fully equipped, besides other war material, in exchange for the diamond; but from superstitious or other reasons he refused to part with this emblem of royalty, and it has never been cut. Hugh Low states that the real diamond was not shown to visitors, but that a rock crystal was kept for the purpose. Dr. Posewitz, however, records that in 1868 the so-called diamond was itself definitely proved to be merely a piece of rock crystal, thus proving the accuracy of Von Gaffron's previous assertion that it could be scratched by corundum, and had a specific gravity of only 2.63 (namely, that of quartz).

Although diamonds weighing up to 70 and even 80 carats have been found in Borneo, for many years past stones of even 4 or 5 carats have been but rarely met with.



APPENDIX V

The Ruby Mines of Upper Burmah and the Sapphire Washings of Ceylon

Position.—The principal ruby mines of Burmah are situated in three valleys, which are known by the names of their chief villages respectively, namely Mogok (or Mogout), Kathé, and Kyatpyen. The elevated tract including these valleys is situated at a distance of about 90 miles N.N.W. from Mandalay, and is at elevations of from 4000 to 5500 feet above the sea. The mountains surrounding the Mogok valley culminate in the peaks of Chenedoung, 7362 feet, and Toungee, 7775 feet. The ruby tract, as now defined by the most recent scientific examination, occupies an area of 66 square miles, but mining is at present limited to an area of about 45 square miles. The region is described as being very beautiful, and presenting a thriving appearance; but the climate is somewhat malarious, and Europeans, although the country is so elevated, are subject to attacks of fever on first arrival there.

A totally distinct ruby tract is situated in the marble hills at Sagyin, which is only 16 miles from Mandalay. So far as is known, it is comparatively of little importance, the rubies and other gems which are found there being of inferior qualities. Other localities about 15 miles to the north and north-east of Sagyin are reported to produce rubies, but nothing certain is known about them.

History.—The ruby mines of Burmah were first made known by European writers towards the end of the fifteenth century. In the sixteenth century there are more definite references by Portuguese travellers, but they are not of much practical importance. Tavernier,¹ as we have seen, gives an account of the mines and their produce from hearsay; from which it would appear that the reputation they then bore was not very high, or he would probably have made

¹ Book II, chap. xix, vol. ii, p. 100.



an effort to visit them. The yield, he says, did not exceed 100,000 *écus* (say £22,500) per annum, and he found it profitable to carry rubies from Europe to Asia for sale.

The principal authorities of the present century previous to the conquest of Upper Burmah are Mr. Crawford¹; the Père Guiseppe d'Amato,² who visited the mines about the year 1833; Dr. Oldham,³ who visited Ava and collected information about the mines in the year 1855, when with Sir Arthur Phayre's mission; Mr. Bredmeyer, who was in the service of the King and visited the mines in the year 1868; and Mr. Spears and Capt. Strover of the British Burmah Commission, both of whom have placed on record their observations. From these authorities we learn that the rubies which were found were generally small, not averaging more than a quarter of a *rati*, and that the large stones were generally smuggled away, but few of them reaching the King. It was supposed that the Chinese and Tartar merchants who visited Mogok and Kyatpyen conveyed most of them out of Burmah. The large rubies were generally flawed, and Mr. Spears states that he never saw one exceeding half a rupee in weight, *i.e.* about 22 carats.

The King's revenue derivable from the monopoly was variously estimated by these authorities at from £12,500 to £15,000. The more recent information now available confirms these estimates. The figures stated on official authority are 90,000 to 100,000 rupees, the highest sum being 150,000 rupees paid in one year. Besides which, however, was the reservation of stones above a certain size; but it seems to be generally admitted that few large stones were found, and of these a proportion, in spite of severe punishments for concealment, never reached the King; there is no basis then for an estimate of the total revenue which he received from the mines.

If one may judge from the appearance of the rubies forming part of the treasure taken at Mandalay, and which are now exhibited at the South Kensington Museum, valuable stones were rare, as, except a few of the smaller ones, none seem to be perfect.

As is well known, recent accounts by experts have represented the prospects of the mines in a much more favourable light, and the true value will probably be ere long ascertained by the energetic operations of a Company conducted on scientific principles.

The different kinds of precious stones found in the mines.—Although

¹ "Mission to Ava," *Edinb. New Phil. Jour.*, 1827, p. 366.

² *Jour. As. Socy. Bengal*, vol. ii, p. 75.

³ *Yule's Mission to Ava*, p. 347.



the rubies have given their name to the mines, several other varieties of corundum are also found, such as sapphires, oriental emeralds, oriental amethyst, oriental topaz, and white sapphires; and besides these there are to be found spinels of various colours, hyacinth (or zircon), iolite (or dichroite, a stone resembling sapphire), and lastly the semi-precious rubellite, which is a variety of the mineral called tourmaline, of which some exceptionally fine examples have been brought from Ava, one of which has long held an honoured position in the mineral collection of the British Museum.

According to Mr. Spears, the proportion of sapphires to rubies was as 1 to 100, but the former are often of large size and fine quality.

Pegu has been mentioned by some early writers¹ as producing diamonds, but there are no real grounds for supposing that either the diamond or true emerald occur in any part of Burmah.

Mode of occurrence and source of the gems.—Although it has for some time been known that the rubies of Sagyin were derived from crystalline limestones or marble, the source of the gems in the principal region at Mogok, Kyatpyen, and Kathé was not actually ascertained till recently, when these localities were visited by Mr. Barrington Brown. It was known that they were for the most part actually obtained in derivative gravels, and it had been inferred that the so-called clefts and lodes, of a report which appeared before his examination, were really fissures in limestones, where the stones had accumulated as the result of the solution of limestone, and by gravitation into these recesses.

Mr. Brown has shown that the geological formation consists of recent deposits of hill wash and alluvium and old crystalline limestones, schists, pegmatite, and other metamorphic rocks. In order to explain the relationship which exists between these formations and the rubies, it will be convenient to describe the various systems of mining, by which the mode of occurrence will be made apparent. The mines, as worked by the natives, may be divided into four classes, as follows:—

- I. *Twinlones*, or pits sunk in the alluvium of the valleys.
- II. *Mewdawns*, or open cuttings in the hill-wash over which water is led.
- III. *Loodwins*, or workings in caves and fissures.

¹ See *Description of the Diamond Mines of India*, Phil. Trans., vol. xii, 1677, p. 907.



IV. Quarries in a bed of coarse calcspar in the limestone, which appears to be the true original matrix of the gems.

The *Twinlones* are square pits which are sunk in the alluvium of the valleys down to the gem-bearing gravels, which occur at varying depths. These pits have to be timbered to support the sides and, as far as possible, exclude water, which, however, finds access, and the first operation, every day, is to bale out the water which has accumulated during the night. The gravel is hoisted out in baskets by means of balance poles similar to those which are used in India for raising water from wells. The gravel is then washed in shallow baskets made of closely-woven bamboo, and the rubies, as they are picked out, are placed in a bamboo tube full of water and are sorted at the close of the day's work. The larger pits are generally cleared out in about ten days and the smaller in half that time; when working in one is finished, the timber is removed and another pit is started.

Mewdwins.—These are open cuttings on the slopes of the hills to which water is conducted, often from a considerable distance, and discharged with as great a head as possible on the ruby clay and sand, which is shovelled under it by the miners. The lighter portions are carried down by the stream, the boulders removed by hand, and the residue placed in the sluice and washed, where it is caught by *riffles*, from whence it is removed and washed in baskets as in the preceding process. The circumstances appear to be such as would suit a more scientific application of hydraulic methods than are known to the natives.

Loodwins.—These are natural caves and fissures in the limestone rock, in the floors and crevices of which the rubies have accumulated in consequence of the solution by water of the limestone matrix. In the ordinary sense of the term these are not mines, *i.e.* the miners do not excavate the rock, but merely scramble through the natural passages and tunnels to the spots where the loam containing the rubies is found—this they either carry to the surface in baskets or it is hoisted up by means of balance poles—and it is then washed at the surface at the nearest watercourse.

From such caves the finest rubies ever found have been obtained, and from one in the Pingü Hill, near Kyatpyen, Mr. Brown states that, after the detritus had been passed, of every basketful of the ruby clay which was raised half consisted of rubies.

A certain Royal mine of this character is said to have produced a ruby as large as a walnut, and in another the rubies were found



in association with the bones of some extinct animal of very large size.¹

This description opens up a somewhat wide vista of speculation, and one can hardly resist the temptation of prophesying as to the wonderful discoveries which *may* be made when adits and shafts are driven to afford access to these natural caves and fissures in the mass of the marble hills. In such safe receptacles it is not unreasonable to suppose that stones which have suffered but little from attrition and fracture may be found, and that there the greatest prizes will be obtained.

Quarries.—To the north of Mogok village, at a distance of about three-quarters of a mile, a bed of calcspar in the limestone, which is 20 feet wide, produces rubies, but in order to obtain them the use of powder has to be employed as well as the hammer, and when chipped out the gems are generally more or less fractured; but good stones have been obtained. Whether any method can be devised of avoiding the injury resulting from the use of explosives is at present doubtful. It is not easy to suggest how a firm rock, such as this calcspar, could be mined without recourse being had to violent methods of some kind.

The rose pink rubellite (a variety of tourmaline) is obtained on the margin of the Meo-by-choung river, 15 miles S. of Mogok and 3 miles from Mamlong. The mines in the alluvium are worked by a rude hydraulic system, and the produce is sent to China, large pieces obtaining a good price.

Under the arrangements which have been made with the New Burmah Ruby Mine Company, the rights and interests of the miners have apparently been very fully safeguarded, but whether the miners on their part will refrain from smuggling and comply with the regulations, and disclose their more valuable finds and submit them to taxation, remains to be seen. The total production of rubies in 1887, when the country was disturbed, amounted to only 42,486 rupees worth, but in the first two months of 1888 21,883 rupees worth had been obtained. Stones of from 5 to 20 carats' weight were sold during this period, and the highest price obtained for one was 500 rupees.

The mode of occurrence of the rubies in calcspar is, I believe, somewhat unusual, though spinel is known to be found in calcareous rocks. It is generally the case that the corundum minerals are

¹ The fossil remains of Mastodons and other large mammalia, allied to those found in the Sivalik hills of India, have long been known to occur in Burmah.



found in mica schists, such is stated to be the case in Zaskar in the Himalayas, and also in Ceylon; with reference to the latter it may be of interest, in addition to the remarks on p. 102, to add here some particulars as to the sapphire washings of that island.

THE SAPPHIRES OF CEYLON.—Under British rule the monopoly in precious stones, which existed under the Kandyan sovereigns, was early abolished as a source of revenue, and no licence is now required by jewel hunters. Great numbers of people are attracted annually to the washings, to the great detriment of agriculture and the demoralisation of the villagers, who are brought into contact with dissolute adventurers. Sir Emerson Tennent, from whom the above facts are quoted, estimated the annual total value of the precious stones which were found as not exceeding £10,000 *per annum*.

According to the *Handbook for Ceylon*, recently published in connection with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition, the search is conducted in a rude fashion, and, despite the advice and reports by experts, there has been no improvement in the method. It is stated in the same work that, though some returns are attempted by the Government, it is impossible to estimate the annual yield at present, and the mines have never, I believe, been successfully worked by Europeans.



APPENDIX VI

A Review or Abstract in the "Philosophical Transactions" of Chapuzeau's (sic) work, entitled "Histoire des Joyaux," published in 1665; and Note on the English edition of the same work.

THE following is a contemporary abstract published in the *Philosophical Transactions*¹ of a book which seems to be of extraordinary rarity—there being no copy of it, I believe, in any of the great libraries in Great Britain, nor even in the Bibliothèque Nationale—it is therefore of sufficient interest to justify its republication in its original quaint form. But it has in connection with Tavernier a special interest, because from the glimpse of the contents of the book which it affords, we can see that Chapuzeau (or rather Chappuzeau), by whatever means he acquired them, was in possession of many of the facts recorded in Tavernier's *Travels* at least ten years before the *Travels* were published, and while Tavernier was absent on his last journey. None of the biographies of Chappuzeau mention this work; and although I have not failed to make inquiries I have been unable as yet to find any explanation of the mystery.

In Emanuel's bibliography of works on precious stones,² the book is mentioned with its full title, and the place and date of publication are given as Geneva 1665.

An Account

Of a small Book in French, entitled

HISTOIRE DES JOYAUX

ET

*Des Principales Richesses de l'Orient et de l'Occident,
par le Sr. Chapuzeau.*

This History treats of Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds, Pearls, Coral, Bezoar, Yellow Amber, Ambergis, Indigo, &c.

¹ Vol. ii, 1667, pp. 429-436.

² *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, second ed., London, 1867, p. 246.

Of *Diamonds*, the Author shews :

I. The *Places* whence they are taken ; of which he finds but five in all the *East-Indies*, whereof *two* are *Rivers*, *vid. Saccadan* in Borneo and *Nage* in the Kingdom of *Bengala*,¹ at the bottom of both which, *he saith*, the *Diamonds* are found among the sand, after the waters, that fall as great *Torrents* from the *Mountains*, are run off ; and the three others are *Mines*, in the Kingdoms of *Decan*, *Cuncan*, and *Golconda*. In this Relation he observes, that the *Diamonds* which are found at the bottom of those *Rivers*, have the best *Water* ; but those in *Mines* have often *Flaws* (which he imputes to the violent knockings of the *Rock*) and *Blebs*, ascribed to the condition of the *Earth* or *Sand* they are found in, *vid.* when that is not pure, but fattish or black. He takes also notice, that *Diamonds* are the heaviest of precious *Stones*, as *Gold* is of *Mettals*.

II. The *Manner*, how they are found and separated ; which is the same in substance with that described *Num. 18. p. 328.*²

III. The *Price* of them, according to the proportion of their weight ; for which he gives this Rule. Take, *saith he*, a *Diamond* of 10 *Carats* : this number is to be squared (which makes 100). Then, if the *Stone* be clean, each *Carat*, according to its perfection, may be worth 40 to 60 *Crowns* : if it have no good water, or have a *Bleb* or *Flaw*, the *Carat* will not be worth but from 10 to 30 *Crowns*. So multiplying the said 100 by the number, which each *Carat* of such or such a *Stone* may be worth, the product is the price of the *Stone*.

For *Rubies*, he discourses also of the *Places* where they are found, and of their *Price*.³ The *Places* are, the Kingdom of *Pegu*, and the Isle of *Ceylon* ; whence very few are suffered to be carried away. The *Price* is, that a good *Rubi* of the weight of 1 *Rati* (which is $\frac{7}{8}$ of a *Carat*) is esteemed at 20 old *Pagodes* in *India*, each *Pagode* being about ten shillings *English*.

(A *Rubi*) of 2 *Ratis* is valued at 100 *Pagodes*.

"	"	3	"	"	250	"
"	"	4	"	"	500	"
"	"	5	"	"	900	"
"	"	6	"	"	1500	"
"	"	7	"	"	2300	"
"	"	12	"	"	12,000	"

¹ See *ante*, p. 53 *et sq.* of *Travels*, and Appendix III, p. 459.

² This is a reference to another Review, on the *Voyage de l'Eveque de Beryte*, etc., it is in *Phil. Trans.*, vol. i, pp. 327-328.

³ See *ante*, p. 101 of *Travels*.



Concerning *Turquois*, they are found in *Persia*, in the Province *Chamaguay*, north of *Ispahan*, in two Mines, called the *Old* and the *New Rock*. These of the *New*, are of an ill, whitish Blew; but those of the *Old* are not suffered to be digged out, but by the King of *Persia* himself.¹

Emeraulds are affirmed by him, never to be found in the *East-Indies* but in *Perou*,² whence they were carried by that trading people to the *Moluccas*, even before *America* was discovered by the Europeans; and so they come from the Orient; of much less value than they were formerly, by reason of their commonness. The Author notes, that Emeraulds grow in stones, just as Chrystals, forming a Vein, in which they are by little and little refined and thickened: and that some of them are seen, half white and half green: others, all white: and others all green and perfect.

To Pearls he assigns in the *Orient* four places where they are fished: The Isle of *Baharem*, in the *Persian Gulf*: the Coast of *Arabia Felix*, near the Town of *Catif*, over against *Baharem*: the Isle of *Ceylon* about *Manar*: the Isle of *Japan*. The best at *Ceylon*, but small: the biggest at *Japan*, but uneven. In the *West-Indies* they are fished in the *North-Sea*, in the Isles of *Marguerite*, *Cubagua*, *St. Marthe*: and at *Comana*, *Comanagote*, near the Continent: and in the *South-Sea*, near *Panama*: which *American* sort, though they are much inferiour to the *Oriental*, in Lustre, yet they far excel them in bigness, amounting sometimes (saith this Author) to 42 Carats.³

In this Relation 'tis mentioned, that sometimes 5, or 6 Pearls are found in one Oyster: That *Pearl-fishers* are fed with dry and roasted meat, to give them better breathing: That Pearl-bearing Oysters are not good to eat, being flat and hard of digestion, &c.

As to the Price of good Pearls, well fashioned, he marketh it, as follows:

Such a Pearl of

Grain 1	Crowns 1	Carats 2	Crowns 64
" 2	" 4	" 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	" 81
" 3	" 9	" 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	" 100
Carats 1	" 16	" 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	" 121
" 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	" 25	" 3	" 144
" 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	" 36	" 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	" 160
" 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	" 49	" 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	" 196

¹ See ante, p. 103 of *Travels*.

² See ante, p. 104 of *Travels*.

³ See ante, pp. 107 and 116 of *Travels*.

Carats $3\frac{3}{4}$	Crowns 225	Carats 6	Crowns 576
" 4	" 256	" $6\frac{1}{4}$	" 625
" $4\frac{1}{4}$	" 289	" $6\frac{1}{2}$	" 675
" $4\frac{1}{2}$	" 324	" $6\frac{3}{4}$	" 729
" $4\frac{3}{4}$	" 361	" 7	" 784
" 5	" 400	" $7\frac{1}{4}$	" 841
" $5\frac{1}{4}$	" 441	" $7\frac{1}{2}$	" 900
" $5\frac{1}{2}$	" 484	" $7\frac{3}{4}$	" 960
" $5\frac{3}{4}$	" 529	" 8	" 1024

Of Corals, he taketh notice *where* they are fished, and *in what manner*.¹ The *Places*, he saith, to be *Eight*: *Three* upon the Coasts of *Corsica* and *Sardinia*, *vid. at Argueil* (where is the best) *Baza*, and near the *Isle of St. Peter*: one upon the Coast of *Sicily*, near *Drepanum*: *Two* upon the coast of *Africa*, near the *Bastion of France*, and at *Tabarca*: *One* more, upon the Coast of *Catalonia*, at the *Cape of Quiers*: And the last, about *Majorca*. Observing, that red Coral is not found, but in the *Mediterranean* alone, where 'tis fished from the beginning of *April* till the end of *July*, employing commonly about 200 Boats. The *manner* of fishing them, is with two big beams of wood, laid crosswise, with a good piece of Lead on the middle, to make it sink, casting about it coarse Hemp, carelessly twisted, and tying this Wood to two Ropes, whereof one hangs at the *Sterne*, the other at the fore-part of the Boat: and so letting this contrivance fall into the Current, along the Rocks, where the Hemp being turned about, and engaged in the Coral, there need sometimes many Boats to draw away the Instrument.

Bezoar, he saith, is not only found in *Golconda*, in the Province of *Renquery*, in the Maw of Goats, whereof some are at times furnisht with a dozen a piece: but also at *Macassar*, in the Isle of *Celebes*, in the body of Apes: bigger than those found in *Golconda*. He mentions, that the people in those parts, to find whether a Goat hath any of those *Bezoar-stones* in its body, do beat his belly with their hands and rub it, till all the stones in the Animal come together, and tell them as you do stones in a bag, &c.²

¹ See *ante*, p. 132 of *Travels*.

² For account of *Bezoar*, see *ante* p. 146 of *Travels*.



The English Edition of the "Histoire des Joyaux"

Since the foregoing pages were printed I have had the good fortune to obtain a copy of a small volume entitled *The History of Jewels, and of the Principal Riches of the East and West, Taken from the Relation of Divers of the most Famous Travellers of our Age; Attended with Fair Discoveries conducing to the Knowledge of the Universe and Trade*.¹ Although not stated to be a translation, the identity of its contents with those of Chappuzeau's *Histoire des Joyaux*, as shown by the above abstract, admit of no doubt that it is the same work in an English dress.

Neither Chappuzeau nor Tavernier are mentioned in it; but the internal evidence conclusively proves that it must have been largely founded on Tavernier's original memoirs. If it be the case that Chappuzeau appropriated these without acknowledgment, it would also appear that the English editor pirated Chappuzeau's book.

A general resemblance of facts alone would not prove Tavernier to have been the original author, but the *History* casually refers to certain dates in connection with places where we know Tavernier to have been in the same years. Thus on p. 26 reference is made to Mir Jumlá and his occupation at Gandikot in the year 1652, *i.e.* when Tavernier visited him (see vol. i, p. 284). On p. 23 the depreciated condition of the diamond mines at Kollur in the year 1660 is referred to, and Tavernier alludes (see *ante*, p. 75) to a falling off in the number of miners since his first visit, and we have otherwise seen that he had visited the mines in 1660 (see vol. i, Introduction, p. xxiii. On p. 123 the facts stated in reference to bezoar are substantially the same as Tavernier's own personal record (see p. 148 *ante*). Tavernier's personal stories about Bohemian rubies (see p. 103 *ante*) and a living worm in dead coral (see p. 134 *ante*) are both in the *History*, pp. 60 and 106.

Short as it is, the *History* contains some facts not given in the *Travels*, but they, for the most part, do not refer to India.

Of facts given in the *History* which are omitted accidentally or are misprinted in the *Travels*, some, as will be seen, confirm corrections and additions already made in the footnotes on preceding pages. On p. 24 of the *History* we find the name of the diamond

¹ London, printed by T. N. for Hobart Kemp, etc., 1671, small 8vo, pp. 128.



mine which Tavernier omitted to mention (*ante*, pp. 53 *n.* and 78), it was Gazerpoli (*i.e.* Gazerpalle or Baswapur, see p. 451 *ante*) two days' journey from Raolconda (*i.e.* Ramulkota). It is said to have been discovered in 1448, which is not recorded in the *Travels*. On p. 54 Ava is correctly given instead of Siren, where a mistake occurs in the *Travels* (see p. 99 *n.*) On p. 20 there is the same mistake as occurs once in the *Travels* (see p. 74) in reference to the weight of the Mogul's diamond—it being given as 900 carats instead of 900 *ratis*.

The *History* also contains some important facts about the Bengal diamond mines; these have been already noticed (see p. 459).

The value of the rupee is stated in the *History* to be 28 pence, but I venture to think that 27 pence, which has been adopted in the footnotes and in Appendix I, vol. i, is a closer approximation to the value.

The principal discrepancy to be found between the *History* and the *Travels* is in the tables of values of rubies; they are quite discordant.

The concluding paragraph of the *History*—read in the light of this identification of Tavernier as the original author of the work—is of interest. The writer says: "This is all I have at present collected of what is remarkable in the modern and faithful Relations of our Travellers upon the subject of Jewels, and other rich productions of which I have given a short Account as a platform for a greater work."



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THE END





CHAPTER XXVI

The Author renders the last duties to his brother, who died at BATAVIA, and has fresh difficulties with the General and his Council

FINDING myself without hope of being able to go to visit the King of JAPARA, I resolved to embark in a small vessel which belonged to one of the citizens of BATAVIA, and traded along the whole length of the western coast of SUMATRA. It is where the principal part of the trade of this island, which consists of very poor gold and pepper, is carried on. What induced me to go was the opportunity it afforded of disposing of some diamond rings made according to the custom of the country. For although these people have for sole garment only two or three ells of calico, they, nevertheless, always like to have some diamond rings or earrings, and they pay well for them. When at the port, about to embark, a small barque arrived from BANTAM with my brother, who was very ill with a bloody flux, which arose from the debauches he had indulged in with the King of BANTAM. The sight of him in this condition caused me to give up my voyage in order to do what I could for his cure, but all my cares and all the remedies which could be applied availed nothing, and at the end of thirty days God

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took him from this world. In order to bury him I was obliged to follow the somewhat strange customs, which the Dutch have invented to cause an expenditure of money by the heirs of a defunct¹ person. The first is to those who go to pray at the interment, for the more prayers one employs the more honourable is the interment. If one engages only one he pays him but 2 *écus*, but if he takes two he must pay 4 *écus* to each; if he takes three, each ought to receive 6; and if he employs twelve, the payment goes on increasing in the same ratio. As I wished that the thing should be done in an honourable manner, and was ignorant of this pleasant custom, I engaged six of these persons, and when it came to paying them I was astonished to find that each one asked for 12 *écus*, and that I had to pay 72 for this single item. As for the pall which is placed on the bier, it has to be hired at the hospital, and it is a right which the poor enjoy who derive profit therefrom. The commonest is of cloth, and the three others of velvet, one without fringe, another with fringe, and a third with fringe and large tassels at the four corners. This causes an expenditure of from 5 to 30 *écus*, and I paid 20 for the one which was placed on my brother's bier. A cask of Spanish wine, which was drunk at the interment, cost me 200 *piastres*.² I gave 26 for three hams and some ox tongues, and 22 for some pastry. It is also the custom to send on the following day some money to enable those who have carried the body to

¹ The foregoing lines of this chapter are in the English translation by John Phillips, compressed into the following quaintly expressed sentence:—"While I stay'd at Batavia my brother dy'd; and it was pretty to consider what the Dutch made me pay for his funeral."

² £45.