

THE VIETNAMESE COIN COLLECTION IN THE HEBERDEN COIN ROOM, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD

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In 2011, thanks to the Robinson Visiting Scholar Fellowship Award granted jointly by the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum and Wolfson College, I had the opportunity to study the collection of Vietnamese coins in Oxford.¹ The majority of the Vietnamese coins are housed in two small cabinets made of grey plastic, in which each tray can hold 49 coins (seven rows of seven recesses). There are more Vietnamese coins housed in other cabinets labelled 'Surplus Chinese', in which each tray can hold 64 coins (eight rows of eight recesses). The identification of the coins was largely done following Toda's catalogue,² which is now obsolete. The collection is thus in need of attention and correction. The Vietnamese coin collection at the Ashmolean Museum includes a great variety of coins from all the official dynasties, rebel powers, as well as unofficial coinages, from the early times to the nineteenth century. There is also a series of very interesting struck patterns. However, not all the coins housed in the so-called Annam trays are from Vietnam: there are many unofficial coins of Japan, such as *boekisen* 'trade currency', *mochūsen* 'copied coins', and *shimasan* 'island coins'.³ Given this confusion, we might expect to find that some Vietnamese coins have been misidentified and housed in the Chinese cabinets.

In terms of the provenance of the collection, the principle is that each coin should sit on its own unique ticket in a recess in a tray in a cabinet, and that the details pertaining to that coin are written on the ticket. In the case of the Vietnamese coins that I studied, most (but not all) coins had tickets. In several recesses, there were two coins with a single ticket marked 'xxx a b', but with no indication as to which coin was 'a' and which was 'b'. Some tickets were left blank, without a registration number or indication of provenance (hereafter referred to as **no number**). I noted seven types of tickets that were marked: old rectangular tag-like tickets with a yellow thread tied to the coin, hereafter referred to as **rt1**; round tickets marked 'Laird Gift (C.T. Gardner coll) 1947 xx', hereafter **Gardner xx**;⁴ round tickets marked 'bought fr. Tregaskis The Caxton Head London Feb. 5, 1902 00', hereafter **Tregaskis xx**;⁵ round tickets marked 'Uvedale prior 1903 xx', hereafter **Uvedale xx**;⁶ round tickets marked 'Howel Wills Collection', hereafter **Wills**;⁷ and some tickets marked 'Leeds' both with and without a number, hereafter **Leeds**.⁸ There are also tickets that are marked with an unclear identification code – for example, '1.a⁴ 1', '1.a¹ xiii' and '11.G²i'. Dr Shailendra Bandare suggested a system noting the tray number and the coin's position in the tray. In this way, **Annam-I-4** is the coin placed in the fourth recess of the first tray of the Annam collection.⁹

The first national dynasty is represented by a group of *Đại Bình hưng bảo* 大平興寶 of Đinh Bộ Lĩnh (970-980), *Đại Bình* era (970-980); on different coins, the inscription is clearly 大 or 太. There are several types of *Thiên Phúc trấn bảo* 天福鎮寶 of Emperor Đại Hành (981-1005) of the Former Lê 黎 Dynasty. There are no coins of the Lý Dynasty: the three *Càn Phù nguyên bảo* 乾符元寶 (Annam-I-29, rt32; Annam-I-30, Uvedale 1242a and b), are erroneously attributed to Lý Thái Tông, for his Càn Phù era (1039-1041) on the ticket, but are in fact small coins from an unofficial mint; the *bảo* 寶 character is typical of the late small currency known as *tiền gián* 'diminutive coins'.¹⁰ Other coins that

have been identified as from the Lý dynasty are also small unofficial coins with Chinese or mixed inscriptions, such as *Tian Xi yuanbao* 天禧元寶, *Thiên Phù nguyên bảo* 天符元寶, and *Da Ding tongbao* 大定通寶. For the Trần 陳 Dynasty, there are two rare *Thiệu Phong nguyên bảo* 紹豐元寶 (Annam-II-17, rt45 and rt46) and a nice group of three *Đại Trị nguyên bảo* 大治元寶 and eight *Đại Trị thông bảo* 大治通寶 in various scripts (**figs 1 and 2**), cast during the Thiệu Phong era (1341-1357) and the Đại Trị era (1358-1369) of Emperor Dụ Tông 裕宗 (1341-1369).¹¹ There are three *Thiên Khánh thông bảo* 天慶通寶 of Trần Cao 陳高¹², puppet emperor of Lê Lợi between 1426 and 1428, one of which bears a crescent on the reverse (C18-1-17, B.G ii); these are housed in the 'Surplus Chinese' cabinets.

The collection comprises all the different types of coins of each emperor of the Lê sơ period,¹³ and there are rare varieties such as the *Đại Bảo thông bảo* 大寶通寶 of Lê Thái Tông (1433-1442) with large characters (Annam-II-48, rt83, **fig. 3**); the *Diên Ninh thông bảo* 延寧通寶 of Lê Nhân Tông (1442-1459), with the 'double bar' Ninh 寧 character (Annam-III-33, rt116)¹⁴, and two *Quang Thiệu thông bảo* 光紹通寶 of Lê Chiêu Tông (1516-1526) (Annam-IV-21, rt165a and 166a).¹⁵ But because the coins have been arranged according to Toda's classification, there are also a lot of small unofficial coins, Chinese coins and Japanese imitations mixed in with the official Lê coinage. For example, in the *Thiệu Bình thông bảo* 紹平通寶 of Lê Thái Tông (1433-1442) series we find small *Thiệu Bình thánh bảo* 紹平聖寶 and *Thiệu Bình phong bảo* 紹平豐寶 unofficial coins, a Chinese *Zhi Ping yuanbao* 治平元寶 in seal script. Similarly, among the official *Đại Hòa thông bảo* 大和通寶 coins of Lê Nhân Tông (1442-1459) we find several small unofficial issues: a zinc cash of the Southern Nguyễn Kingdom of eighteenth century date (Annam-III-16, rt105) and a Japanese *boekisen* of the seventeenth century (Annam-III-9, rt97, **fig. 21**).¹⁶ The first three emperors of the Mạc 莫 Dynasty are well represented by their coins: *Minh Đức thông bảo* 明德通寶 of Thái Tổ (1527-1530), *Đại Chính thông bảo* 大正通寶 of Thái Tông (1530-1540) and *Quảng Hòa thông bảo* 廣和通寶 of Hiến Tông (1540-1546). Of the coins of Hiến Tông there is only one coin that belongs to the official coinage: a large cash (Annam-IV-37, rt183a, **fig. 5**). The other coins bearing the same inscription but in seal script are small diminutive coins of later date.¹⁷ The collection also includes two small *Vĩnh Định thông bảo* 永定通寶 (Annam-IV-41, Uvedale 1334a and b), that have been wrongly attributed to Mạc Phúc Nguyên for his Vĩnh Định era,¹⁸ which corresponds only with the lunar year *đinh-mui* 丁未 (22th January 1547/9th February 1548).

The traditional classification devised by Toda was not chronological, but political. For these reasons, he placed the so-called 'rebel coinages' after the end of the 'official' series. This non chronological arrangement is reflected in the cabinets, thus, we find a very interesting coin of the late Lê Sơ period in the last trays of the cabinet, although we would expect to find it among coins of the early sixteenth century: it is a very rare *Trần Công tân bảo* 陳公新寶 (Annam-XIV-18, rt184, **fig. 4**) cast by Trần Tuấn

or by Trần Công Ninh during the Hồng Thuận 洪順 era of Trương Dực Đế (1509-1516).¹⁹

The second period of the Lê Dynasty, known as *Lê Trung Hưng* 黎中興, the Restoration of the Lê (1592-1789), is well represented: there is a unique *Thịnh Đức thông bảo* 盛德通寶 (Annam-IV-43, r189, fig. 6)²⁰ cast between 1653 and 1658 during the second reign of Lê Thần Tông 神宗 (1649-1662); a large variety of *Vĩnh Thọ thông bảo* 永壽通寶 coins of the same Emperor during his Vĩnh Thọ era (1658-1661); some *Vĩnh Thịnh thông bảo* 永盛通寶 and *Bảo Thái thông bảo* 保泰通寶 coins of Lê Dụ Tông (1705-1729), and, as we might expect, a large quantity of over a hundred different types of official, semi-official and unofficial *Cánh Hưng* 景興 coins of the time of Lê Hiến Tông (1740-1786). Of particular note are a rare *Cánh Hưng thông bảo* 景興通寶 with the date *canh tân* 庚申 (1740) on the reverse (Annam-VII-35, Gardner 93), another with *Bach* 帛 below the hole on the reverse (Annam-VII-48, Gardner 137a), and two others with *Thái* 太 to the left of the hole on the reverse (Annam-VIII-1, Gardner 88¹ and 88²). The official types of *Cánh Hưng* coins are fairly well known and I will not go into detail here,²¹ other than to note the conspicuous absence of large *Cánh Hưng* coins. These are not rare coins, and I suspect that there may be some large *Cánh Hưng* coins housed among the Chinese charms and amulets, but did not have time to investigate this further. The most interesting coins in the *Cánh Hưng* series in the Ashmolean collection are the unofficial or semi-official issues, which include several rare coins, including some that have not been seen before, such as the *Cánh Hưng thông bảo* with reverse *nhất cung* 一工 (Annam-VII-28, Gardner 141); the *Cánh Hưng thông bảo* with the same *Cánh Hưng thông bảo* inscription on the reverse (Annam-VIII-3, Gardner 144); the *Cánh Hưng cự bảo* 景興巨寶 in brass (Annam-VIII-16, Gardner 132a); the *Cánh Hưng đồng bảo* 景興同寶 in brass (Annam-VIII-40, Gardner 119, fig. 7); the *Cánh Hưng vĩnh bảo* 景興永寶 in brass, bearing the inscription *Yuan Fu tongbao* 元符通寶 on the reverse (Annam-VIII-46, Gardner 143, fig. 8), and many other types. There are no rare coins among those of Mãn Đế, the last Emperor of the Lê Dynasty, the *Chiêu Thống thông bảo* 昭統通寶, but all the ordinary varieties are present.

There are several coins of the Nguyễn Lords of Southern Vietnam. These include a rare bronze *Thái Bình thông bảo* 太平通寶, with crescent and dot on the reverse (Annam-XIV-12, Gardner 166*a, fig. 9), and a series of zinc coins with Chinese, Vietnamese or uncertain inscription, unofficially cast in the middle of the eighteenth century and wrongly associated with a particular emperor, prince or rebel: *Zheng He tongbao* 政和通寶 (Annam-V-16, r85), *Zheng Yuan tongbao* 正元通寶 (Annam-XII-32, r364), *Dại Hòa thông bảo* 大和通寶 (Annam-III-16, r105), *Thiệu Phù nguyên bảo* 紹符元寶 (Annam-XV-40, r353), *Tường Tống nguyên bảo* 祥宋元寶 (Annam-XV 47, without number), *Tường Trị thông bảo* 祥治元寶 (Annam-XVI-2, r360), and *Hoàng Nguyên thông bảo* 皇元通寶 (Annam-XVI-24, r379).

The coins of the Tây Sơn 西山 Dynasty are found in the last trays (trays 17-18) with the 'rebel coinages': all the kings' coins are represented except *Bao Hưng thông bảo* 寶興通寶 (1801-1802).²² Of particular interest are the two *Quang Trung thông bảo* 光中通寶 of Nguyễn Văn Huệ 阮文惠 (1789-1792) with the inscription *Annan* 安南 in seal script on the reverse (Annam-XVIII-25, Gardner 200, fig. 10, and Annam-XVIII-26, without number), seven others with *Quang Trung thông bảo* on both obverse and reverse, and a *Cánh Thịnh thông bảo* 景盛通寶 of Nguyễn Quang Toản (1792-1802), bearing *Quang Trung thông bảo* on the reverse (Annam-XVIII-36, Gardner 231, fig. 12).

Almost all the ordinary coins of the four first emperors of the Nguyễn Dynasty (Gia Long 嘉隆 era 1802-1819, Minh Mạng 明命 era, 1820-1840, Thiệu Trị 紹治 era, 1841-1847, and Tự Đức 嗣德 era, 1848-1883) are represented (trays 10 and 17). In trays 11, 12 and 13, among several Vietnamese unofficial cash of different types (imitations of Chinese or Vietnamese coins, and cash with wrong inscriptions that have been miscopied from Chinese types, etc.), we also find some Japanese *shimaseu* and *boekisen*. This part of the collection is probably the most interesting because it includes many unknown coins and coins known only from rubbings published by Miura Gosen.²³ I have included images of those pieces I consider to be the most characteristic of this coinage (fig. 13 to 20). The two cabinets labelled 'Surplus Chinese'²⁴ also contain some Japanese and Vietnamese coins, including a group of *Qian Long tongbao* 乾隆通寶 coins with *Annan* 安南 on the reverse, which were cast during the Qing occupation of the Tonkin (1789); and several copies of Chinese coins, mostly Northern Song types, that were cast during different periods and sometimes modified in terms of the script or the type of reverse (fig. 13, 14, 20).

I was very pleased to find in the Ashmolean collection a group of struck patterns of the nineteenth century. There were clearly struck with dies engraved by foreigners (probably French) living in Vietnam, because the calligraphy is crude and contains errors.²⁵ There are both Chinese and Vietnamese patterns. The Vietnamese patterns are of Tây Sơn coins: two *Tian Sheng yuanbao* 天聖元寶 (Annam-XIII-21, Gardner i29*, fig. 22, and Annam XVI-10, Gardner 144), four *Quang Trung thông bảo* 光中通寶 (Annam-XVII 35/36, Gardner 220a and b, fig. 23, Annam-XVII-37/38, Gardner 221 and without number), and two *Cánh Thịnh thông bảo* 景盛通寶 (Annam-XIX-6/7, Gardner 226, fig. 24, and without number). The first two *Quang Trung* are die-linked, a feature that can also be observed on the two later *Quang Trung*, and on the two *Cánh Thịnh*.

The Vietnamese coin collection of the Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum is very interesting not only on account of the coins it contains, but also because of the provenance of these coins. The majority are from 'Prince Tamba' and nineteenth century European collectors who were living in China. Further research on the entire collection and on the inventories should throw more light on the official and unofficial coinage of Vietnam.

Notes

I would like to thank Prof. Christopher Howgego, Director of the Heberden Coin Room, Prof. Hermione Lee, President of Wolfson College, and Dr Shailendra Bandare, Keeper of the Oriental Coins in the Heberden Coin Room, for their kind invitation and warm welcome in July 2011. I would also like to thank Helen Wang of the British Museum for her help,

- particularly on the biographies of the collectors. This preliminary report is a résumé of the survey I made of the collection; I have followed *grosso modo* the present organisation of the collection. However, this is not ideal, and if the East Asian coin collections at the Ashmolean Museum were to be published (as Helen Wang and I would wish), then it should be completely reorganised.
- 2 Edward Toda, 'Annam and its minor currency', *Journal of the North-China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Shanghai), vol. 17, part I (1882).
 - 3 See Sakuraki Shin'ichi, Helen Wang and Peter Komicki, with Furuta Nobuhisa, Timon Screech and Joe Cribb, *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum with special reference to Kutsuki Masatsuna*, British Museum Research Publication 174 (2010).
 - 4 Christopher Thomas Gardner (1842-1914), British consul at Yichang, and a great collector of East Asian coins; in 1883, who sold his collection of over 3500 East Asian coins to the British Museum (*Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection*, p. 2).
 - 5 James Tregaskis (c.1851-1926) was a book and art dealer, with his business address as Caxton Head, 232 High Holborn, London. In 1900 the company was renamed James Tregaskis and in 1915 he moved the business to Great Russell Street.
 - 6 It is likely that G. Uvedale Price refers to George Uvedale Price, who travelled and took photographs in China in the 1890s, and authored several books including *Rambles with a camera: Or a series of photographs with descriptive text illustrating the physical features, scenery, temples, types of native life ... of the island of Amoy and its immediate neighbourhood* (Kelly and Walsh, c. 1893).
 - 7 Howel Wills (ca 1856-1901), collector and antiquarian bookseller. He bought the collection of Kutsuki Masatsuna (Prince of Tamba) and sold a part (2500 coins out of a total of 9000) to the British Museum; he gave the remaining coins to the Oxford Indian Institute, which later transferred these coins to the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum.
 - 8 Edward Thurlow Leeds (1877-1955) was Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum from 1929 to 1945. Notes relating to his work to catalogue the East Asian coin collection are in the Ashmolean archives labelled Arch.Ash.12, 16, 17 (see *Catalogue of Japanese coins at the British Museum*, pp. 14-15).
 - 9 In the Heberden Coin Room, the colonial word 'Annam' is used instead of Vietnam. A coded system helps to keep track of the coins, thus C17-X-25 refers to the coin in the 25th recess of the 10th tray of the 17th cabinet in the Chinese coin collection ('Surplus Chinese').
 - 10 This attribution comes from Toda (Toda, 'Annam and its minor currency', pp. 79-80, no. 6), see Thierry François, Review of Allan Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam, I-Official and semi-official coins*, *Revue Numismatique* 2007, pp. 361-371, esp. p. 363.
 - 11 There are a lot of Vietnamese imitations of Chinese *Yuan Feng tongbao* 元豐通寶 wrongly identified as Trần Thái Tông (1225-1258) coins.
 - 12 This rebel should not be confused with the Trần Cao 陳曩 (1516-1517) who cast *Thiên Ứng* 天應 coins (Allan Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam, I-Official and semi-official coins*, Singapore 2004, no. 42).
 - 13 In Vietnamese historiography, *Lê Sơ* 黎初, meaning 'beginning of the Lê', is the name of the first and glorious part of the Later Lê Dynasty, from the end of the Chinese Occupation (1428) to the rise of the Mạc Usurpers in 1527. For these coins, see Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam*, pp. 101-137.
 - 14 See Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam*, No. 33-1.
 - 15 See Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam*, No. 40.
 - 16 Kutsuki Ryukyo (Masatsuna) 朽木龍橋. *Wakan kokon senkakan* 和漢古今泉貨鑑. 12 vol., Osaka-Tokyo 1798, vol. 7, p. 5ab.
 - 17 See Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam*, No. 48-3.
 - 18 Toda, 'Annam and its minor currency', nos 175-176. Although Barker repeats this attribution, many scholars have contested it with reliable argument (Miura Gosen 三浦吾泉, *Annan senpu* 安南錢譜. 3 vol. Tokyo 1965-1971, vol. II, p. 41, Tạ Chí Đại Truong, 'Tiền đúc ở Dàng Trong: Phương diện loại hình và Tương quan lịch sử', in Tạ Chí Đại Truong, *Những bài dã sử Việt*, Westminster (California) 1996, pp. 267-355, pp. 289-290; Thierry François, *Catalogue des monnaies vietnamiennes, Supplément*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris 2002, p. 17; Phạm Quốc Quân, Nguyễn Đình Chiểu, Nguyễn Quốc Bình et Xiong Baokang, *Tiền kim loại Việt Nam* 越南錢幣 Vietnamese Coins, Bảo tàng lịch sử Việt Nam, Hanoi 2005, p. 261, nos 473-474, and p. 301; François Thierry, 'La monnaie Thịnh Đức thông bao dans la crise monétaire au Vietnam (1546-1658)', forthcoming in the *Revue Belge de Numismatique*.
 - 19 Numismatists are still not in agreement about the origin of these coins: Trần Tuấn 陳珣 rebelled in Sơn Tây Province in the 3rd year of Hồng Thuận (1511) and Trần Công Ninh 陳公寧 in the 8th year (1516) (Ngô Sĩ Liên 吳士連, *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, 大越史記全書, Chen Jinghe 陳荊和 ed., Toyo bunka kenkyujo, Toda University, 3 vols, Tokyo 1984-1986, XV, pp. 800-801 and 808-810).
 - 20 This coin was already mentionned, without illustration, by Kutsuki Ryukyo, Schroeder and Okudaira: the first illustration is given by Zhang Chongyi in 1831. The first rubbing appears in the 1930s, in Dao Baoting's catalogue of rubbings; for details see Thierry, 'La monnaie Thịnh Đức thông bao ...'.
 - 21 See Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam*, pp. 168-189.
 - 22 See Barker, *The Historical cash coins of Việt Nam*, no. 97.
 - 23 Miura Gosen, *Annan senpu*, vol. 2, see note 14.
 - 24 Cabinets 17 and 18.
 - 25 Some of these coins have were mentioned by Miura Gosen who called them *pen shote* ペン書手, 'pen style'. See Miura Gosen, *Annan senpu*, vol. 2, p. 55; and François Thierry, 'Nouveaux documents sur les essais de frappe de sapèques au Vietnam', forthcoming in the *Revue Numismatique*.

A- Official and unofficial coinage



Fig.1: *Đại Trị thông bao* 大治通寶, Tang kaiyuan tongbao style, but large character *Trị*; plain reverse. Bronze, 23.3 mm, 2.58 g (Annam-II-28, Gardner 21). Trần 陳 Dynasty, Dụ Tông 裕宗 (1341-1369), Đại Trị era (1358-1369).



Fig.2: *Đại Trị thông bảo* seal script; plain reverse. Bronze, 23 mm, 2.93 g (Annam-II-31, rt61). Trần Dụ Tông (1341-1369).



Fig.3: *Đại Bảo thông bảo* 大寶通寶, large characters; plain reverse. Bronze, 24.6 mm, 4.45 g (Annam-II-48, rt83). Lê Đế Dynasty, Thái Tông 太宗 (1433-1442), Đại Bảo era (1440-1442).



Fig.4: *Trần Công tân bảo* 陳公新寶; plain reverse. Bronze, 23 mm, 2.65 g. (Annam-XIV-18, rt184). Rebel Trần Tuấn (?) 1516.



Fig.5: *Quảng Hòa thông bảo* 廣和通寶; plain reverse. Bronze, 24 mm, 3.82 g (Annam-IV-37, rt183a). Mạc 莫 Dynasty, Hiến Tông 憲宗. Quảng Hòa era (1541-1546).



Fig.6: *Thịnh Đức thông bảo* 盛德通寶; plain reverse. Bronze, 22.4 mm, 3.35 g (Annam IV 43, rt189). Lê Thần Tông 神宗 (second reign, 1649-1662), Thịnh Đức era (1653-1658).



Fig.7: *Cảnh Hưng đồng bảo* 景興同寶; plain reverse. Brass, 23 mm, 2.09 g (Annam-VIII-40, Gardner 119). Lê Hiển Tông 顯宗, Cảnh Hưng era (1740-1786). Unofficial casting.



Fig.8: *Cảnh Hưng vĩnh bảo* 景興永寶; reverse: *Yuan Fu tongbao* 元符通寶 in seal script. Brass, 21.4 mm, 1.86 g (Annam-VIII-46, Gardner 143). Lê Hiển Tông (1740-1786). Unofficial casting.



Fig.9: *Thái Bình thông bảo* 太平通寶; reverse: moon crescent right and dot left. Bronze, 21 mm, 1.85 g (Annam-XIV-12, Gardner 166*a). Southern Vietnam, Nguyễn Lords, 18th century.



Fig.10: *Quang Trung thông bảo* 光中通寶; reverse 安南 Annam in seal script. Bronze, 24.3 mm, 3.22 g (Annam-XVIII-25, Gardner 200). Tây Sơn 西山, Nguyễn Văn Huệ 阮文惠, Quang Trung era (1789-1792).



Fig.11: *Cảnh Thịnh thông bảo* 景盛通寶; reverse 工, positioned so the coin has a 3 o'clock axis (when looking at the coin, the 工 appears as H). Brass, 23 mm, 1.59 g (Annam-XV-10, Gardner 236a). Tây Sơn Dynasty, Nguyễn Quang Toản. 阮光縝. Cảnh Thịnh era (1792-1802).



Fig.12: *Cảnh Thịnh thông bảo* 景盛通寶; reverse: *Quang Trung thông bảo*. Brass, 24 mm, 1.58 g (Annam-XVIII-36, Gardner 231). Tây Sơn, Nguyễn Quang Toản (1792-1802). Casting error.

B- Uncertain unofficial coinage



Fig.13: *Song yuan tongbao* 宋元通寶 *yuan* in Vietnamese seal style; plain reverse. Bronze, 24 mm, 2.55 g. (C18-1-8, II ii). Northern Vietnam, 15th century.



Fig.14: *Zhou yuan tongbao* 周元通寶; reverse: *mi* 米 ? Bronze, 24 mm, 2.77 g (C18-1-15, I.C i). Northern Vietnam, 16th-17th century.



Fig.20: *Yuan Feng tongbao* 元豐通寶, very crude script; plain reverse. Brass, 23.4 mm, 1.61 g. (C17-X 35, without number). Unofficial casting, 18th century.



Fig.15: *An Pháp nguyên bao* 安法元寶, geometrical script for *nguyên*; flat reverse. Brass, 22.3 mm, 1.79 g. (Annam-XIII-36, rt328). Small unofficial casting known as *tiền giân* 'diminutive coin', Northern Vietnam, 17-18th century.

C- Japanese coinage



Fig.21: *Đại Hòa thông bảo* 大和通寶, plain reverse. 24 mm, 2.31 g (Annam-III-9, rt97). Japanese *boekisen* (17th century), imitation of the *Đại Hòa thông bảo* coins of Nhân Tông 仁宗 (1442-1459) of the Lê Dynasty issued between 1443-1453.



Fig.16: *Nguyên Long thông bao* 元隆通寶; flat reverse. Brass, 21.5 mm, 1.75 g. (Annam-XV-22, Gardner 253b). Unofficial casting, 18th century.

D- Nineteenth-century struck patterns



Fig.22: *Thiên Thánh yuanbao* 天聖元寶, crude script; flat reverse. Copper, 21.7 mm, 1.63 g. (Annam-XIII-21, Gardner i29*). Struck pattern, 19th century.



Fig.17: *Đường Nguyên thông bao* 洋元通寶; flat reverse. Brass, 22.7 mm, 1.67 g. (Annam-XV-48, Tregaskis). Unofficial casting, *tiền giân*, 18th century.



Fig.23: *Quang Trung thông bảo* 光中通寶, crude script; plain reverse. Brass, 24.4 mm, 1.84 g. (Annam-XVII-36, Gardner 220b). Struck pattern, 19th century.



Fig.18: *Long Đức thánh bao* 隆德聖寶; four lines on reverse. Brass, 23.5 mm, 1.59 g (Annam-XVI-13, Gardner i29b). Unofficial casting, *tiền giân*, 18th century.



Fig.24: *Cảnh Thịnh thông bảo* 景盛通寶, crude script; plain reverse. Brass, 25 mm, 1.98 g. (Annam-XIX-6, Gardner 226). Struck pattern, 19th century.



Fig.19: *Yuan You tongbao* 元祐通寶; *shang* 上 left. Brass, 22.7 mm, 1.63 g (C17-X-14, without number). Unofficial casting, *tiền giân*, 18th century.