

# THE *TOZAI SENPU* COIN RUBBINGS AND KUTSUKI MASATSUNA'S VIETNAMESE COINS

J. Mark Ritchie

## Summary

The *Tozai Senpu* (東西錢譜) ['Eastern and Western Coin Book'] is an anonymous manuscript album of 413 coin rubbings of European, Islamic and East Asian coins and amulets now held in the library of Waseda University, Japan. It has been proposed that the album belonged to Japanese numismatist Kutsuki Masatsuna (朽木 昌綱) (referred to in the British Museum archives as Prince Tamba) and documented part of his collection, substantial portions of which are now divided between the British Museum and the Heberden Coin Room (HCR) of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. This paper briefly reviews the history of the Kutsuki (Tamba) collection, parts of which may have a documented history as far back as the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. It reports the results of a survey of the Vietnamese coin rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu* and their comparison with the c. 746 Vietnamese coin images in the HCR collection database. The album is likely to have reached its present form around 1783-1787, when the Western coin rubbings would have been added. The inscriptions of the 16 Vietnamese coin rubbings in *Tozai Senpu* have been identified, including three rubbings which can be matched with confidence to specific *Trần* Dynasty coins of the *Thiệu Phong* era (1341-1357) in the HCR's portion of the Kutsuki collection (HCR 58269, 58266 and 58268). The study confirms that the *Tozai Senpu* includes Vietnamese coins from Kutsuki Masatsuna's personal collection and therefore is most likely to have belonged to him or to a close associate.

## Introduction

The link between a unique Japanese album of coin rubbings, titled *Tozai Senpu* (東西錢譜), and the aristocratic Japanese numismatist Kutsuki Masatsuna (朽木 昌綱) (1750-1802), was first posited by Craig Greenbaum (2013), who demonstrated the co-occurrence of particular coin types among the *Tozai Senpu* rubbings and the woodblock illustrations in several of Kutsuki's numismatic publications.<sup>1</sup> Greenbaum concluded that the notebook probably belonged to Kutsuki and contained rubbings of coins from his personal collection. However, until now no definite examples have been presented of specific coins that are known to have belonged to Kutsuki and are represented among these rubbings. This paper identifies three Vietnamese coins from the collection of Kutsuki Masatsuna, now located in the collection of the Heberden Coin Room of the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, which can be convincingly matched to their rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu*.

## The *Tozai Senpu*

The *Tozai Senpu* ('Eastern and Western Coin Book') is an anonymous and undated album of coin rubbings now held in the library of Waseda University, Japan.<sup>2</sup> It consists of 31 double-sided pages bound in landscape with printed cardboard covers, measuring approximately 174 x 242 mm and reading from right to left, with the binding on the right side. It contains 413 rubbings of coins, medals, and amulets. The rubbings have been cut out and pasted onto the pages, carefully positioned in rows according to the size of the coins, mostly with the obverse above the reverse. The album has a designed layout, with endpapers left blank at both ends of the album. The reverse of the opening flyleaf carries the four-character handwritten title on a vertical strip of paper pasted close to the outer margin. The reverse of the closing flyleaf is left blank. One page has been left blank between the Chinese coins and the amulets. All but two of the pages of rubbings, including the first and last pages, were completely filled with rubbings without gaps, though one

rubbing has since been lost.<sup>3</sup> It is likely that the album was conceived as a complete assemblage over a short period of time, rather than being a haphazard compilation over an extended period.

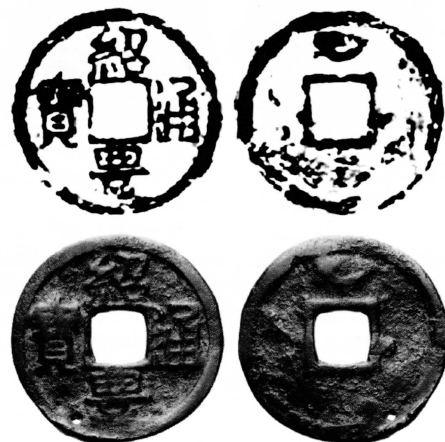


Fig. 1. *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* (紹豐通寶) (read TBRL). Reverse: crescent moon above hole. Above: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings. Below: HCR 58269. Vietnam, *Trần* Dynasty (Barker, p. 73, cf Fig. 19.2). Weight: 3.63 g

The rubbings are arranged sequentially in three categories. Firstly, there is a selection of 260 mainly Chinese cash and other oriental coins. Sprinkled among these are 16 Vietnamese cash and one Cambodian coin, one Nagasaki trade coin,<sup>4</sup> and three cash coins produced in Japan for the rebel Koxinga in Taiwan.<sup>5</sup> Next are a selection of 44 amulets, and finally 109 Western and Islamic coins.<sup>6</sup> The last-dated European coin in the album appears to be from 1783. The implication is that the album could not have been prepared before 1783. The latest Chinese coins are of the Southern Ming and Qing Rebels. No rubbings of Qing Dynasty coins are represented, beyond a single coin from the reign of the Manchu Nurhachi (1616-1626).<sup>7</sup> The apparent absence of domestic Japanese cash coins from the album is notable.<sup>8</sup> The quality of the rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu* varies, being generally better for the larger coins and worst for the very smallest, which include the Vietnamese issues. Despite this and the limitations of scanning technology, only one rubbing in the album has proved impossible to read, even in part, owing to its indistinctness, occasioned by the small size and presumably poor casting or condition of the coin.

## Kutsuki Masatsuna's publications and the significance of coin rubbings

Among his voluminous numismatic output,<sup>9</sup> Kutsuki published several woodblock printed books based on rubbings, including *Zōho kaisei kōhō zukan* (改正孔方圖鑑) ['Enlarged and revised illustrations of coins'] in 1784, and *Zōho kaisei chinka kōhō zukan* ['Enlarged and revised illustrations of rare coins'] in 1785.<sup>10</sup> In 1787 Kutsuki published his first work on European coins, *Seiyō senpu* (西洋錢譜) ['Account of Western coins'], which is assumed to be based on coins he received from Isaac Titsingh (1745-1812), Chief of the Dutch East India Company's factory at Deshima,<sup>11</sup> whom he may have met at Edo in 1780 and certainly met there in 1782, and with whom he exchanged coins and correspondence for the rest of his life.<sup>12</sup> The rubbings of Western coins in the *Tozai Senpu* appear likely to have been part of Kutsuki's preliminary work for the production of the *Seiyō senpu*. It would therefore be reasonable to propose a date of 1783-1787 for their creation.

In 1788, the first edition appeared of Kutsuki's comprehensive (*Wakan*) *kokon senka kan* (or *kagami*) (和漢古今泉貨鑑) ['Mirror of (Chinese and Japanese) ancient and modern coinage'] in 20 volumes, which was to be reprinted five times between 1790 and 1804. Greenbaum (2013: 55-56) matched 14

Vietnamese coin rubbings from the *Tozai Senpu* to illustrations in the *Wakan kokon senka kagami*, including a rare *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* (紹豐通寶) with a crescent moon on the reverse. The *Tozai Senpu* includes rubbings of only a small number of Chinese and Vietnamese coins, compared to the much larger range of these coins in the portion of Kutsuki's collection presently housed in the HCR. There would therefore have been better examples of some of the coin types used for these rubbings, so presumably either these were not to hand when the rubbings in *Tozai Senpu* were made, or else these specific coins were considered to be of special interest. It might be expected that some of Kutsuki's large and important collection of Japanese coins would also have been recorded as rubbings but if so they are not presented in the *Tozai Senpu*. There is therefore a possibility that other albums of rubbings based on Kutsuki's collection might still remain to be discovered.<sup>13</sup>

### Kutsuki Masatsuna's coin collection

Kutsuki Masatsuna was referred to in Europe as 'Lord of Tamba'<sup>14</sup> or 'Prince Tamba'<sup>15</sup> after one of his feudal possessions. After the arrival of a major part of his collection in England, it was initially known (both at the British Museum (BM) and at the Ashmolean) as the Tamba collection. His own published catalogue of his collection, *Saiundō zōsen mokuroku-sen* (彩雲堂藏泉目録) ['Catalogue of the Coin Collection of the Hall of Coloured Clouds'], which was not issued until 1788 and only exists today in two copies,<sup>16</sup> stated that he had acquired the collection of the great Japanese numismatist and collector of the previous generation, Uno Muneaki (宇野宗明) (1702-1773).<sup>17</sup> Recently, Greenbaum (2017)<sup>18</sup> has advanced the view that many of the coins in Kutsuki's collection would have come, via Uno Muneaki, from the collections of earlier Japanese numismatists, in particular that of Tennoji-ya Chobee (天王寺屋, 長兵衛) (fl. 1680-1714).<sup>19</sup> Greenbaum demonstrated that many of the same coin types had been illustrated repeatedly by earlier authors before Kutsuki used them in his own books, but the accuracy of his images indicates that they are based on rubbings. This hypothesis is based on the two extant copies of a now lost original manuscript, *Kecho Ruishu* (化蝶類集), compiled by Tennoji-ya from his own collection between 1683 and 1714. As evidence of this long chain of custody, Greenbaum (2017: 49, Chart 1) cites a sequence of images of rare Japanese *Shima Sen* coins from Tennoji-ya's collection which correspond with those that are now in the British Museum component of Kutsuki's collection. Kutsuki's rare Vietnamese coin, HCR 58268, *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* (紹豐元寶) (Fig. 3) is another possible candidate to have been one of Tennoji-ya's coins, since a coin with this inscription features on page 9 of *Kecho Ruishu* (化蝶類聚), an undated facsimile copy of Tennoji-ya's lost *Kecho Ruishu*, held at the National Diet Library of Japan.<sup>20</sup>

After the death of Kutsuki Masatsuna in 1802, his oriental coin collection appears to have remained largely intact, but its history is unknown until 1881 when about 9,000 coins were offered to Reginald Poole, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the BM by a London-based general dealer and commission agent, Rudolph Frenzel (1835-1915), who was himself a coin collector, though with no holdings of oriental coins.<sup>21</sup> It appears likely that Frenzel was only acting as agent for the real owner of the collection, since in Poole's submission to the Trustees in 1881, he described Frenzel as being the person "in whose hands the Tamba Collection is placed for disposal".<sup>22</sup>

Albert Terrien de Lacouperie (1844-1894) was employed by the BM to make a survey and selection from the Tamba collection and in 1884, 2,524 coins, mainly said to be Japanese and Korean, were finally purchased.<sup>23</sup> By then Frenzel had already sold the whole collection on to Howel Wills (1854-1901), a barrister and book collector (and also a friend of de Lacouperie), who duly completed the sale to the BM, retaining the residue of the collection himself, although he appears to have

had no personal interest in coins.<sup>24</sup> This is significant because it makes it unlikely that the collection received any additions during his tenure of it.

In Poole's 1881 memorandum to the BM Trustees, he stated that Kutsuki's collection was already complete by 1783, the supposed date of a 16-volume catalogue of the collection which Poole said he had seen.<sup>25</sup> Presumably this "catalogue" was not a copy of the very rare *Saiun-dō zōsen mokuroku-sen* of 1788, but more likely consisted of parts of the *Wakan kokon senka kan*. In any event, it seems that no catalogue relating to Kutsuki's collection is present in the BM today. It is possible that Wills, a bibliophile, may have retained it in his own extensive library.

It seems likely that Wills donated the remaining 6,500 or more coins of Kutsuki's collection to the newly established (1883) Indian Institute of Oxford University, soon after he acquired them. There they remained until 1922 when they were transferred to the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>26</sup> In the HCR, Kutsuki's coins are mostly identified only by their oblong card tickets, presumably written by Terrien de Lacouperie, bearing suggested transliterations of their inscriptions.<sup>27</sup> The tickets were originally attached to the coins by yellow or red silken thread.<sup>28</sup> No overall unified inventory has been made of the HCR's Kutsuki collection, which is now divided up by countries in different parts of the main collection. However, E.T. Leeds (1877-1955), Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum (1928-1945), made four manuscript catalogues of parts of the Kutsuki collection between the 1930s and the early 1950s, adding his own catalogue numbers in pencil to the reverse of many of the tickets.<sup>29</sup> His catalogues covered the Chinese, Vietnamese and Korean coins, omitting only the Japanese coins. Leeds estimated that there were 6,037 Chinese coins in Kutsuki's collection. From 2014 to 2017, during her tenure of a Sackler Fellowship, Lyce Jankowski, with the help of volunteers, identified and ticketed many of Kutsuki's coins from the "Surplus Chinese" collection and elsewhere, assigning them to the Chinese, Japanese, Korean and Vietnamese sections of the main HCR collection, as appropriate.

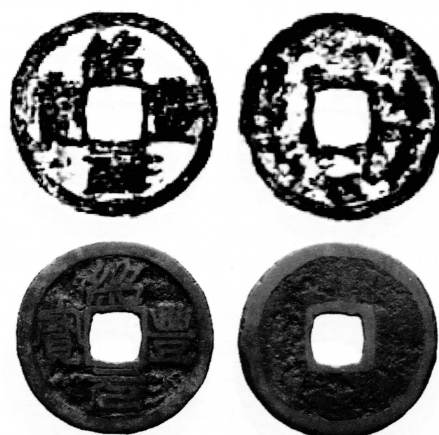


Fig. 2. *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* (紹豐元寶)

(read clockwise, seal script). Reverse: plain.

Above: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings. Below: HCR 58266. Vietnam, Trần Dynasty (Barker, p. 71, Fig. 18.1). Weight: 2.17 g

### Vietnamese coins in *Tozai Senpu* and the Kutsuki collection

In this study, all 16 of the Vietnamese coins rubbings recognised in the *Tozai Senpu* have been identified and the position of each of them in the album has been documented (Table A).<sup>30</sup> These rubbings include one coin of the Đinh Dynasty, four of Trần Dụ Tông of the Trần Dynasty, one of Trần Cảo from the period of the War of Independence against the Ming, three each of the Later Lê and the Mạc Dynasties, one of the Later Lê Restored, and three unattributed coins. Two of the latter are of the type assigned by Hartill to his category 'Large Copper – Distinct Calligraphy, Group 2 (Hi Nguyen Type)'. The third unattributed

Vietnamese coin in the *Tozai Senpu* is a *Khai Định Thông Bảo* (開定通寶), which has not been seen since at least 1817, when an accurate drawing of it appeared in *Chinsen kihin zuroku* (珍錢奇品図録) by Ōmura Shigetomi.<sup>31</sup>

In the last few years there has been a major effort to make parts of the HCR's coin collection available online. This has included parts of the East Asian collections, thanks to Lyce Jankowski and volunteers.<sup>32</sup> In March 2020, digital photographic images of coins and tickets for most of the Vietnam collection were uploaded to the database and these are now being documented. The 16 Vietnamese rubbings recognized in the present study (Table A) have been checked against all 746 Vietnamese coin images currently in the HCR database. This exercise has produced just three exact matches, which are shown in Figs. 1-3. Matching is complicated by the fact that inked rubbings do not always precisely map the raised areas of a coin. The ink may go beyond or lag behind the edges of the raised design at any point, depending on the skill and intentions of the person making the rubbing. Where a common cast coin lacks unique features that will be reproduced in the rubbing, particularly areas of missing or excess metal, it may be difficult to confirm the identity of the rubbed coin. Each of the coins matched did have such unique features.

All three of the coins matched to rubbings in this study are of the *Thiệu Phong* era (1341-1357) of *Trần Dụ Tông* of the *Trần* Dynasty. Fig. 1 shows HCR 58269, a *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* (紹豐通寶) classed by Barker as rare.<sup>33</sup> The rubbing of this coin from the *Tozai Senpu* was illustrated by Greenbaum (2013: Fig. 7) and matched by him to the woodblock illustration in Kutsuki's book *Wakan Kokon Senka Kagami*. Figs. 2 and 3 show two *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* (紹豐元寶) coins, one in seal script and the other with the 元 written in regular script. This last coin is also regarded by Barker as rare,<sup>34</sup> and both it and the *Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo* coin are the only examples of their type within both the HCR's Kutsuki collection and the HCR collection as a whole.



Fig. 3. *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* 紹豐元寶 (read clockwise, normal script 元). Reverse, plain. Above: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings; Below: HCR 58268. Vietnam, *Trần* Dynasty (Barker, p. 71, cf Fig. 18.3). Weight: 2.58 g

The matching features between the rubbings and coins are outlined as follows:

- HCR 58269, Fig. 1: Apart from the fact that this is the only coin of its type in the collection, the reverse shows several matching areas of excess or insufficient metal, including an obvious blob on the left-hand end of the crescent moon and also on the right side of the centre hole. The pattern of damage on the outer rim between 3 and 6 o'clock also matches.
- HCR 58266, Fig. 2: The obverse shows an obvious pattern of excess metal to left and right of the bottom character 元, which is faithfully reproduced by the rubbing. The reverse of the coin is almost flat, hence the large amount of ink deposited across the flan of the coin in the rubbing.
- HCR 58268, Fig. 3: This is also the only example of its type in the HCR. Its obverse shows a malformed top character 紹 which is reproduced in the rubbing. However, the most obvious feature visible on both obverse and reverse faces of the coin is the missing metal to the lower left corner of the central hole, which is also reproduced in the rubbing.

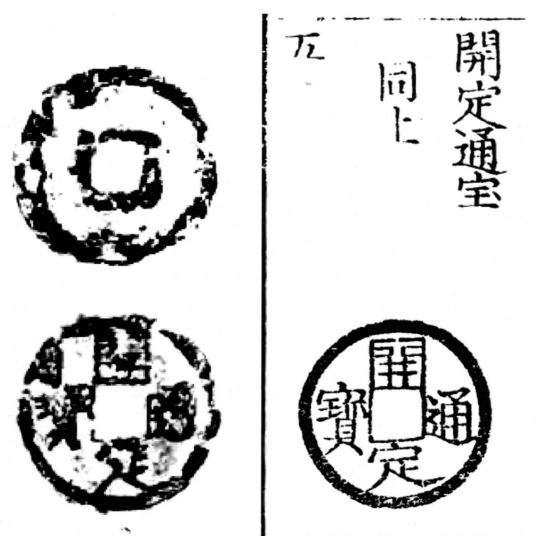


Fig. 4. *Khai Định Thông Bảo* (開定通寶). Reverse plain. Left: *Tozai Senpu* rubbings; Right: woodblock illustration from *Chinsen kihin zuroku* (珍錢奇品図録) ['Illustrated record of rare coins'] by Ōmura Shigetomi (大村成富), 1817

Because of its extreme rarity and its absence from internet databases and recent numismatic literature, the *Khai Định Thông Bảo* (開定通寶) coin rubbing mentioned above is illustrated in Fig. 4, together with the high-quality woodblock illustration from *Chinsen kihin zuroku* (珍錢奇品図録) by Ōmura Shigetomi in 1817. In Fig. 5, the textual listing and an illustration of what is presumed to be the same coin are reproduced from the pdf file of the unique copy of *Kecho Ruiju* (化蝶類聚) held in the National Diet Library, Japan. This is a later (but undated) copy of the lost *Kecho Ruishu* (化蝶類集) which was compiled by Tennoji-ya Chobee from 1680 to 1714. It is likely that this coin was in Tennoji-ya's own collection and eventually passed to Kutsuki.<sup>35</sup>

The question naturally arises as to where the remaining Vietnamese coins used for rubbings may be, if they have not simply been overlooked during this survey. There are several possibilities: some of them may be in the BM collection, while others may have been gifted or exchanged by Kutsuki himself, or dispersed after his death. There is also the possibility that some are presently lying unrecognised elsewhere in the HCR collection. It is likely that more of them will come to light in the future.



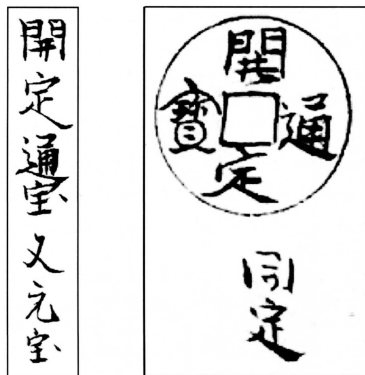


Fig. 5. Khai Định Thông Bảo (開定通寶), reproduced from the *Kecho Ruiju* (Date?), by Tennoji-ya, Chobee (pdf file of the unique copy in the National Diet Library, Japan). Left: listing in the text of Volume 1 of *Kecho Ruiju*. Tennoji-ya here uses the abbreviated form of bao; Right: illustration from Volume 3 of *Kecho Ruiju*

### Conclusion

The discovery of three of the 16 Vietnamese coins used to make rubbings in the *Tozai Senpu* confirms that the album was indeed at least partly based on Kutsuki Masatsuna's personal collection, and was therefore in all probability either his own record or made by a close associate with access to his collection. It also helps to place a part of his collection in his hands as early as the mid-1780s. As the digitising of the Kutsuki collection proceeds, it will eventually become possible for interested numismatists to link more of the coin and amulet rubbings in *Tozai Senpu* to his collection. It will also permit more detailed comparisons between the pattern of coin types present in the collection and those illustrated in early Japanese numismatic books, building on the work of Craig Greenbaum. This in turn will shed further light on early Japanese coin collecting patterns and coin availability, and will improve dating estimates for some currently unattributed coins and amulets.

### Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the Keeper of the Heberden Coin Room, Professor Chris Howgego, and to Shailendra Bandare for access to the East Asian coin collection of the HCR and for the opportunity to participate in documenting and making available online and in print information about this important collection. I am particularly indebted to Lyce Jankowski for mentoring me during my first two years working as a volunteer with the Chinese and Vietnamese collections of the HCR and for reviewing this text. I thank Craig Greenbaum for facilitating access to literature and for helpful email exchanges. The reproductions of rubbings are taken from the online pdf file of the *Tozai Senpu* (copyright, Waseda University) and the photographic reproductions of coins are courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, the copyright holder.

### References

- Greenbaum, C., 2013, 'The book *Tozai Senpu* and the Kutsuki Masatsuna's Coin Collection', *Numismatique Asiatique*, 8, pp. 51-56.
- Waseda University has made scanned images of the *Tozai Senpu* available for study online at: [https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ne04/ne04\\_02183](https://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/ne04/ne04_02183). This article is based on these online images and quoted pagination follows the arrangement of the numbered pdf images, which begins and ends with the covers. The remaining images each cover two pages, verso and recto.
- Page 17 verso is blank and the preceding page of Chinese cash coins ends with just an upper sequence; page 5 recto has a gap in the upper sequence which may have been intended to illustrate a further pair of spade coins; page 15 recto has a gap in the lower sequence of cash coins, perhaps intended for one more pair of rubbings (obverse and reverse); on page 25 verso, one obverse rubbing of a European coin has become detached and has been lost.
- Gen Ho Tsu Ho* (copy of a *Yuan Feng Tong Bao*). See Hartill, D., 2011, *Early Japanese Coins*, p. 36.

- Yong Li Tong Bao* (*Ei Ryaku Tsu Ho* in Japanese) possibly produced at Nagasaki for the Chinese Rebel Koxinga in Taiwan. cf Hartill, D., 2005, *Cast Chinese Coins*, p. 270, #21.81-#21.82. One of these coins seems to be a distinct undescribed variety.
- Greenbaum (2013: 53) counted 247 Chinese coins, 108 Western coins and medals, and 50 amulets. He recognised only 14 Vietnamese coins and did not mention the four Japanese-made coins.
- Abkai fulingga han jiha* (1616-1625). See Hartill (2005), p. 280, #22.1.
- One partly illegible coin rubbing may have the legend *Khai Định ?Thánh Bảo* (or in Japanese *Kaize seiho*). A *Shima Sen* with this inscription was noted by Greenbaum (2017) in the catalogue of the Japanese coins in the BM (Sakuraki et al., 2010). He illustrated this in his Chart #1.
- According to Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in Sakuraki et al., 2010. Kutsuki Masatsuna authored or co-authored at least eight books.
- Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in Sakuraki et al., 2010. This work, a revision of Nakatani Kōzan's coin book, *Kaisei kōhō zukan*, was actually authored by Kutsuki Masatsuna's employee, Ozawa Tatsumoto, at Kutsuki's direction (Screech, T., in Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 37). Screech states that Tatsumoto was also Kutsuki's Keeper of Coins.
- Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Screech, T., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna – A Life', in: Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 37.
- Lyce Jankowski (personal communication) has pointed out that in 19<sup>th</sup> century China, rubbings were sometimes commissioned from skilled rubbing makers and might also be gifted by collectors to their friends. See Jankowski, L., 'Le faussaire et le numismate: Li Baotai et Bao Kang', in Bianchi, Alice, Durand-Dastès, Vincent & Jankowski, Lyce (eds.), 'La vie des objets en Chine', *Etudes Chinoises*, Vol. XXXVII-2 (2018), December 2019, pp. 139-166. On this basis, an album such as the *Tozai Senpu* might have been assembled much later from multiple sources. Such an origin seems less likely in the present case owing both to the consistently amateurish style of the rubbings, combined with the precision with which they have been collated, and their specific subject matter which relates closely to Kutsuki's published books. This looks more like a private aide-mémoire, made either made by Kutsuki or by his Keeper of Coins, Ozawa Tatsumoto, for their own use.
- Screech, T., in Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 40. The more correct rendering of this feudal possession is *Tanba*.
- Wang, H., in Sakuraki et al., 2010, p. 9.
- Screech, T., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna – A Life', pp. 41-42, in Sakuraki et al., (2010). Screech suggests that *Saiun-dō* ('Hall of Coloured Clouds') was Masatsuna's name for his numismatic strong-room.
- Sakuraki, S. and Furuta, N., 'Kutsuki Masatsuna as Collector and Numismatist', p. 49, in: Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Greenbaum, C., 2017, 'Tennojiya, Chobei: Japan's Overlooked Early Edo Era Numismatist', *Numismatique Asiatique*, 22, pp. 15-46.
- Lyce Jankowski, personal communication.
- This three-volume work is not available on the internet. Volume 2, p. 9 includes an image of a *Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo* 紹豐元寶 with the 元 shown in normal script. This rare coin is in the Masatsuna collection (HCR 58268) and was included in *Tozai Senpu*.
- Wang, H., 'How did Kutsuki Masatsuna's Coins Come to the British Museum?' pp. 13-16, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Wang, H., 'Archives relating to the collection of Japanese coins at the British Museum, the acquisition of important collections in the 1880s, the employment of Terrien de Lacouperie, and the plans for a catalogue of Japanese coins', p. 7, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Wang, H., 'A History of the Japanese Coin Collection at the British Museum', pp. 10-12, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
- Wang, H., 'How did Kutsuki Masatsuna's Coins Come to the British Museum?', pp. 13-16, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.

Contd. on Page 23



Table A. Vietnamese coins in the Tozai Senpu rubbings album located in the HCR collection

Coin Legend	Position in <i>Tozai Senpu</i>	Dynasty	Dynastic Title	Reign Title	Years of issue (CE)	Reference	This coin in HCR?	Any other example in HCR?
<i>Thái Bình Hưng Bảo</i> 太平興寶 (written as <i>Đại Bình Hưng Bảo</i> 太平興寶)	Page 5, verso, row 2, column 3	<i>Đinh</i> (丁)	<i>Đinh Tiên Hoàng</i>	<i>Thái Bình</i> (太平)	968 - 979	Barker, p. 52, cf Fig. 1.12	Not found	Yes
<i>Thiệu Phong Thông Bảo</i> 紹豐通寶 Reverse: moon above	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 4	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Thiệu Phong</i> (紹豐)	1341 - 1357	Barker, Page 73, cf Fig. 19.2	Yes, 58269	HCR Unique
<i>Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo</i> 紹豐元寶 (seal script)	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 5	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Thiệu Phong</i> (紹豐)	1341 - 1357	Barker, p. 71, Fig. 18.1	Yes, 58266	HCR Yes, one other
<i>Thiệu Phong Nguyên Bảo</i> 紹豐元寶 (normal script 元)	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 6	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Thiệu Phong</i> (紹豐)	1341 - 1357	Barker, p. 71, cf Fig. 18.3	Yes, 58268	HCR Unique
<i>Đại Trị Nguyên Bảo</i> 大治元寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 3	<i>Trần</i> (陳)	<i>Trần Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Đại Trị</i> (大治)	1358 - 1369	Barker, p. 76, cf Fig. 20.5	Not found	Yes
<i>Thiên Khánh Thông Bảo</i> 天慶通寶	Page 7, verso, row 2, column 5	Ming Occupation, War of Independence (明占領期之獨立戰爭)	N/A	<i>Thiên Khánh</i> (天慶)	1426 - 1428	Barker, p. 97, Figs. 28.1-2	Not found	No
<i>Thiên Hưng Thông Bảo</i> 天興通寶	Page 8, recto, row 2, column 7	Later Lê (後黎)	N/A	<i>Thiên Hưng</i> (天興)	1459-1460	Barker, p. 118, Fig. 34.1	Not found	No
<i>Đoan Khanh Thông Bảo</i> 端慶通寶	Page 8, recto, row 2, column 6	Later Lê (後黎)	<i>Lê Uy Mục</i>	<i>Đoan Khanh</i> (端慶)	1505-1509	Barker, p. 130, cf Fig. 38.3	Not found	No
<i>Quang Thiệu Thông Bảo</i> 光紹通寶	Page 5, recto, row 2, column 3	Later Lê (黎朝)	<i>Lê Chiêu Tông</i>	<i>Quang Thiệu</i> (光紹)	1516 - 1522	Barker p. 137, cf Fig. 40.4	Not found	Yes
<i>Minh Đức Thông Bảo</i> 明德通寶	Page 7, verso, row 2, column 2	<i>Mạc</i> (莫朝)	<i>Mạc Thái Tổ</i>	<i>Minh Đức</i> (明德)	1527 - 1529	Barker, p. 142, Fig. 45.2	Not found	Yes
<i>Đại Chính Thông Bảo</i> 大正通寶	Page 8, right leaf, row 2, column 5	<i>Mạc</i> (莫朝)	<i>Mạc Thái Tông</i>	<i>Đại Chính</i> (大正)	1530 -1540	Barker, p. 144, Figs. 47.1-2	Not found	Yes
<i>Quảng Hòa Thông Bảo</i> 廣和通寶	Page 7, verso, row 2, column 1	<i>Mạc</i> (莫朝)	<i>Mạc Hiến Tông</i>	<i>Quảng Hòa</i> (廣和)	1541 - 1546	Barker, p. 145, Fig. 48.1	Not found	Yes
<i>Vĩnh Thịnh Thông Bảo</i> 永盛通寶	Page 8, recto, row 2, column 4	Later Lê Restored (後黎)	<i>Lê Dụ Tông</i>	<i>Vĩnh Thịnh</i> (永盛)	1709	Barker, pp. 165-166, cf Fig. 66.2; Thierry, CMVS, p. 51, Fig. 162	Not found	Yes
<i>Hi Nguyên Thông Bảo</i> 熙元通寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 2	unattributed	N/A	N/A	?	Hartill GCC, p. 102, Fig. 2.21 "Large Copper – Distinct Calligraphy, Group 2 (Hi Nguyen Type)"	Not found	No
<i>Cảnh Nguyên Thông Bảo</i> 景元通寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 1	unattributed	N/A	N/A	?	Hartill, GCC, p. 102, Fig. 2.23 "Large Copper – Distinct Calligraphy, Group 2 (Hi Nguyen Type)"	Not found	No
<i>Khai Định Thông Bảo</i> 開定通寶	Page 8, verso, row 2, column 7	unattributed	N/A	N/A	?	Ômura Shigetomi, 1817 (reprinted 1900). <i>Chinsen kihin zuroku</i> 珍銭奇品図録, p. 28	Not found	No

25. Poole informed his superiors in 1881 that “the Tamba Collection was completed before 1783 at which date the Catalogue was printed in Japan”, and that “it is necessary to examine the Japanese Catalogue in sixteen volumes” [BM Central Archives, Special Papers 4317, 5 October 1881], reproduced in Wang, H., ‘A History of the Japanese Coin Collection at the British Museum’, p. 9, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
26. The Indian Institute could not subsequently explain how or when they received the collection and had no record of a donation by Howel Wills. See the text of a letter from E.H. Johnston [Edward Hamilton Johnston, Keeper of the Indian Institute] to E.T. Leeds, 17 March 1941, reproduced in Wang, H., ‘How did Kutsuki Masatsuna’s Coins Come to the British Museum?’, p. 14, in Sakuraki et al., 2010.
27. Many of these bear numbers pencilled on the reverse by E.T. Leeds, corresponding to his manuscript catalogues.
28. Red thread for pre-Tang coins and yellow for Tang and after, plus Vietnam and Japan (Lyce Jankowski, personal communication).
29. The four manuscript notebooks by E.T. Leeds in the archives of the Ashmolean Museum are: Arch. Ash. 12: ‘The G. Uvedale Price Collection of Chinese Coins collated with those in the Howel Wills Collection’; Arch. Ash. 16: ‘Notes on the Coinage of Annam with a summary catalogue of the Howel Wills Collection’; Arch. Ash. 17: ‘Catalogue of the Howel Wills Collection of Chinese Coins.’ and Arch. Ash. 18: ‘A Catalogue of Coins of Korea in the Howel Wills and C.T. Gardner Collections’. See Wang, H., ‘How did Kutsuki Masatsuna’s Coins Come to the British Museum?’, p. 14, in Sakuraki et al., 2010. A loose sheet in Arch. Ash. 17 indicates that the Chinese coins were catalogued in 1940-41.
30. The position of rubbings on the numbered double page scans is given as left (verso) or right (recto) page, then by row and column, counting from top left.
31. Craig Greenbaum (personal communication) believes that this was recognised as a Vietnamese coin by Miura Gosen in his book *Annam senpu*, Volume 3, *Teruisen-nobu* (‘Unofficial coins’), 1965, p. 110.
32. For the East Asian coins in the database, see: <http://hcr.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/collection/8?page=5>.
33. Barker, R.A., 2004, *The Historical Cash Coins of Viet Nam*, p. 73, Fig. 19.2 (“rare +”).
34. Ibid., p. 71, Figs. 18.1 (“extremely scarce”) and 18.3 (“rare”).
35. Page 22 of Volume 3 of the pdf version of *Kecho Ruiju*, a facsimile of the lost manuscript *Kecho Ruishu*, by Tennoji-ya from the National Diet Library, Japan, shows a crude drawing of the *Khai Định Thông Bảo* coin, with the *bao* rendered in a seal script style that is very different from that of the rubbing (Fig. 5). This is puzzling since Tennoji-ya was well able to illustrate different styles of *bao* accurately. However, it seems unlikely that he owned another coin with this inscription. The difference may be the result of errors introduced by a copyist.