

## ISSUES IN THE STUDY OF VIETNAMESE COINS: A STUDY OF THE HOARDS DISCOVERED IN HÀ TĨNH PROVINCE

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### Abstract

Vietnam's history of coinage, following its liberation from a millennium of Chinese rule, is characterized by the production of national coins. The inaugural coin, the Thái Bình Hưng Bảo of the Đinh Dynasty (968-980), marked the beginning of this tradition. Subsequently, each ruling authority, up to the Bảo Đại Empire of the Nguyễn Dynasty—the final Vietnamese dynasty—minted and utilized their distinct round coins featuring a square hole. Concurrently, Chinese ancient coins, spanning from Wu Zhu (五銖) coins to those from the Qing Dynasty, continued to be in circulation. Additionally, starting from the 16th century, an influx of Japanese coins made their way to Vietnam. These included Chinese coins that had circulated in Japan, imitation Chinese coins produced in Japan, as well as Japanese Kanei Tsuho 寛永通寶 and Nagasaki trade coins. Consequently, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Japanese coins have historically coexisted in Vietnam. This paper presents an overview of recent archaeological surveys conducted on the coin hoard within the Hà Tĩnh Museum collection. Additionally, it explores the future prospects for the study of Vietnamese coins.

**Keywords:** coins, coin exchange, cultural exchange, Vietnam, Ha Tinh Museum

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### 1. Introduction

Since freeing itself from one thousand years of Chinese rule, Vietnam has had a history of minting its own national coins. The first minted coin was the Thái Bình Hưng Bảo of the

Đinh Dynasty (968-980). Subsequently, each court up to the Bảo Đại Empire of the Nguyễn Dynasty, the last Vietnamese dynasty, minted and used its own round coins with a square hole. At the same time, Chinese ancient coins, from Wu Zhu (五銖) coins<sup>†</sup> (Fig. 1) to

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<sup>†</sup> Representative sites where the Wu Zhu [五銖] coins and Hugo Quan [貨泉] coins were discovered are the Han Dynasty tombs on the island of Trà Bần, which is located in Vân Đồn, Quảng Ninh, in the north (Đỗ Văn

those of the Qing Dynasty, also remained in use. From the 16th century, large numbers of coins from Japan were also brought to Vietnam. These were Chinese coins that had been circulating in Japan, imitation Chinese coins that had been produced in Japan, and Japanese Kanei Tsuho 寛永通寶 and Nagasaki trade coins that had been brought by Dutch and Chinese trading ships after the isolation policy was imposed by the Edo Shogunate (the government of Japan at the time). Therefore, Vietnamese, Chinese, and Japanese coins have historically circulated throughout Vietnam (Kikuchi Yuriko 2021: 217-237)\*.

In this paper, I present a description of the results of archaeological surveys that have been carried out in recent years of the coin hoard<sup>†</sup> in the Hà Tĩnh Museum collection, as well as a discussion of the future prospects for the study of Vietnamese coins.

## **2. Survey of Vietnamese coin hoards**

The history of the study of coins in Vietnam can be traced back to the Nguyễn Dynasty and was first pursued by French researchers. Research on

coins by Vietnamese researchers became more active after the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 (Kikuchi Yuriko 2021: 14-19). As archaeology in Vietnam has advanced, information on unearthed coins has increased annually. In particular, information about discoveries of hoards is publicized in the annual summary of archaeological surveys known as the *Những phát hiện mới về Khảo cổ học hàng năm*, and the archaeological journal *Tạp chí Khảo cổ học*. Considered collectively, these data indicate that large numbers of coin hoards have been found from north to south Vietnam (Kikuchi Yuriko 2021: 218-223).

In 2006, a Japanese research team consisting of Kikuchi Seiichi, Sakuraki Shinichi, Miyake Toshihiko, and Kikuchi Yuriko started archaeological research on hoards in Vietnam. This effort takes coins as archaeological artifacts, investigating them following the general research methodology in Japanese archaeology of investigating the coins in hoards one by one in detail: classifying them by coin legend, style of inscriptions, and materials; recording their numbers, sizes, thicknesses, and

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Ninh 1997: 117). Moreover, the jar coffin tombs at the Hậu Xá site in a suburb of the city of Hội An, Quảng Nam, included the Wu Zhu coins and Huo Quan coins.

\* See my book for details on the history of coins in Vietnam: Kikuchi Yuriko 2021: 217-237.

<sup>†</sup> In this paper “hoard”—meaning ancient coins unearthed together in large numbers at a single site—is not meant to suggest “saved” or “interred” and does not refer to any “evaluation” of the characteristics or quality of the coins, nor does it refer to the reason why the coins were buried. It refers only to a large number of coins unearthed at a single location.

weights; making rubbings of the coins; and photographing them (Kikuchi Seiichi 2009: 14-48; Kikuchi Seiichi 2013: 8-125). In Japanese archaeology, this is a standard method, but it was the first of its kind in Vietnam. This survey was expanded to the central and southern regions of Vietnam, with the author of this paper playing a central role.

The results of this series of surveys include the following: In northern Vietnam, ① there were large numbers of coins from the Northern Song Dynasty, and their kinds and compositions of coins were the same as those from China and Japan. This suggests that the coinage that was in circulation in East Asia was extremely homogeneous; ② in the latter half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there was also a twofold circulation of official coins and privately minted coins; ③ even after the 18<sup>th</sup> century Japanese coins were exported to and used in Vietnam; ④ based on the existence of Chinese coins produced in Yunnan, there was economic circulation via the Hồng River; and ⑤ scientific analysis indicated that Đại Việt coins of the 18<sup>th</sup> century were zinc-plated (Miyake Toshihiko 2009).

Based on the results of surveys of hoards discovered in the central Vietnamese locations of Hội An and Quảng Ngãi, we found that in central Vietnam as well: ① hoards dating to

the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were extremely similar to medieval hoards discovered in northern Vietnam, China, and Japan; ② crude coinage in hoards dating to the 18<sup>th</sup> century indicates that these coins were the target of stockpiling, which indicates that there was no difference in how official coins and crude coins were utilized in central Vietnam; ③ in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, An Pháp Nguyên Bảo [安法元寶] and other coinage produced by the Mạc [莫] clan, who were ethnic Chinese from Canton settled in southern Vietnam, were in circulation in large numbers; and ④ there were crudely made coins bearing a typeface that mimicked that of Nagasaki trade coins (Abe Yuriko 2013).

Based on the surveys of hoards discovered in Bến Tre Province, in southern Vietnam, I confirmed, for example, that ① both copper and lead coins were found in a storage in the same jars, indicating that lead coins were both in circulation and stockpile; and ② as the case of An Pháp Nguyên Bảo [安法元寶], many kinds of coins were confirmed to use seal script only for the character “Nguyên” suggesting that the Mạc [莫] clan or other Chinese exile groups that settled in southern Vietnam minted a wide variety of coins.

To expand on these surveys, we have conducted archaeological surveys of hoards in Hà Tĩnh Province in north-central Vietnam. The results of these surveys are described below.



### **3. Survey of hoards of coins in the collection of the Hà Tĩnh Museum**

Hà Tĩnh Province is located in the north central region of Vietnam. Together with neighboring Nghệ An, it makes up the Nghệ Tĩnh region\*. The section for the year 1349 in the *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* [大越史記全書] indicates that from around the time of the Lý Dynasty (1009-1225), non-Vietnamese entered the country from ports such as “Vân Đồn” [雲屯] and “Diễn Châu” [濱州] (Chen Ching-ho ed., 1984, 424). In *Ức Trai Thi Tập* [抑齋詩集] written by Nguyễn Trãi in the early Lê Dynasty in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, non-Vietnamese were recorded to enter the country from the coastal regions called “Cần Hải” 乾海, “Hội Thống” 會統, and “Hội Triều” 會朝 in addition to “Vân Đồn” 雲屯 (Nguyễn Trãi, 1994, 844). Of these, “Hội Thống” is Cửa Hội at the mouth of the Lam River, which originates from the Trường Sơn Mountains on the border with Laos and flows along the border between Nghệ An and Hà Tĩnh Provinces. This indicates that the Nghệ Tĩnh region was one where non-Vietnamese arrived by ship and engaged in trade.

In Hà Tĩnh Province, the existence of approximately 30 coin hoards has been confirmed by the Hà Tĩnh Museum surveys. Ten of these hoards

are in the collection of the Hà Tĩnh Museum. They were discovered by residents while plowing farmland or constructing houses, and then donated to the Museum’s collection, and were distributed over a wide area stretching from the coast to the mountains.

Some of these coins were cleaned, classified, and organized by museum staff, and large numbers of Japanese coins dating to the Edo period (1603-1867) were identified. Since 2016, Đậu Khoa Toàn, Trần Phi Công, Nguyễn Thị Thương Hiền from the Hà Tĩnh Museum, Hoàng Văn Khoán, Đặng Hồng Sơn from the University of Social Sciences and Humanities at the Vietnam National University, Hà Nội, and a group of Japanese researchers consisting of Miyake T., Sakuraki S., and Kikuchi Y. have conducted a joint survey of the hoards stored in the Hà Tĩnh Museum. This joint project has so far conducted detailed research on the hoards of Cẩm Duệ, Kỳ Anh, Hương Xuân, and Thạch Tân. This paper introduces the research results of the Cẩm Duệ Hoard.

### **4. Results of the survey of the Cẩm Duệ Hoard**

The Cẩm Duệ Hoard was discovered in the village of Trần Phú, in Cẩm Duệ, Cẩm Xuyên District. The entire coin hoard was donated to the Hà Tĩnh Museum. The survey began in

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\* Hà Tĩnh and Nghệ An were a single province known as Nghệ Tĩnh prior to 1991. For this reason, 24

the region of the two provinces is collectively referred to the “Nghệ Tĩnh region”.



February 2018 and involved cleaning the coins as well as classifying, counting, making rubbings and scanning, weighing, and measuring, per kind and typeface of the coins.

The survey results indicated that there were 3,763 coins of 59 coin legends (Fig. 2). The newest coin is Minh Mạng Thông Bảo [明命通寶] (first minted in 1820) of the Vietnamese Nguyễn Dynasty. Specifically, there were 2,676 (71%) Chinese, 866 (23%) Vietnamese, 181 (5%) Japanese, and 40 (1%) unknown coins (Fig. 3). The most numerous kind of coin was the Kang Xi Tong Bao 康熙通寶, at 33% of the total. In particular, 839 coins (22% of the total) were minted in Canton. This kind of coin was followed by the Vietnamese Cảnh Hưng [景興], which accounted for 22% of the total at 828 coins. There are two kinds of Japanese coins: the Kanei Tsuho [寛永通寶] coin (3 coins, including 2 older Kanei and 1 newer Kanei) and the Nagasaki trade coin known as Genpou Tsuho [元豊通寶] (178 coins) (Fig. 4-1, 2, 3).

## 5. Regional characteristics of coin circulation in the Hà Tĩnh Province based on the Cẩm Duệ Hoard

Below is a description of the characteristics through comparing the Cẩm Duệ Hoard with the “Central No. 2 Hoard” and the “Northern No. 1 Hoard”.

In the Northern No. 1 Hoard, discovered in northern Vietnam, the

newest coin was Gia Long Thông Bảo [嘉隆通寶] (first minted in 1804). It contains 29,018 coins, approximately eight times the size of the Cẩm Duệ Hoard (Kikuchi Seiichi 2009: 14-83). In the Central No. 2 Hoard, discovered in central Vietnam, the newest coin was the Cảnh Hưng (first minted in 1740). It contains 1,205 coins, approximately one-third the size of the Cẩm Duệ Hoard (Abe Yuriko 2013: 148).

### 5.1. Coinage of anti-Qing forces

The Li Yong Tong Bao [利用通寶], Zhao Wu Tong Bao [昭武通寶], and Hong Hua Tong Bao [洪化通寶] coins number 792, making up 21% of the Cẩm Duệ Hoard. These coins were produced by anti-Qing forces involved in the revolts that occurred in the wake of the conquest of Ming China by the Qing Dynasty. The coins were produced by the anti-Qing forces included in the Northern No. 1 Hoard number 312, making up 1% of the total number of coins in the hoard and 9% of the Chinese coins. There are only two coins of this kind of coin in the Central No. 2 Hoard. This suggests that there was a period during which large numbers of coins made by anti-Qing forces were present in the Hà Tĩnh region.

At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese people who opposed Qing rule traveled by ship to the coastal regions of central and southern Vietnam in large numbers. It is likely that this massive influx of people into these

regions explains why there are such large numbers of anti-Qing coins in the Hà Tĩnh region.

### **5.2. Japanese coins**

There are 181 Japanese coins (5% of the total) produced in the Edo period, such as the Kanei Tsuho and Genpou Tsuho. The Northern No. 1 Hoard contains 244 Japanese coins, but these coins represent less than 1% of the total 29,018 coins in this hoard. There were 35 Japanese coins in the Central No. 2 Hoard (3%). In contrast to these small numbers, the Japanese coins contained in the Cẩm Duệ Hoard tend to make up a higher percentage of the total. This same trend is seen in the Kỳ Anh Hoard discovered in Hà Tĩnh Province. A relatively higher percentage of Japanese coins seems to have circulated in the Hà Tĩnh region.

### **5.3. Imitation Nagasaki trade coins**

Thirteen of the 40 coins of unknown origin are crude coins that copy the typeface of Nagasaki trade coins (Fig. 4-4). The same type of coin was identified by the survey of the Central No. 2 Hoard. Further study is required to identify who made these coins.

## **6. Interactions between Japan and the Nghệ Tĩnh region**

During the late Lê Dynasty in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, northern Vietnam was known as “Tonkin”. In addition to Chinese and Southeast Asian merchants, Japanese and European trading ships also frequently visited

ports in this region to engage in trade. According to data compiled by Iwao Seiichi, during the age of the Red seal ship (châu ấn thuyền 朱印船) trade between 1604 and 1635, approximately 365 red seal letters (châu ấn trạng 朱印状) were issued, 37 of which were issued for northern Vietnam (Iwao Seiichi 1985: 127). These ships brought silver, copper, and coins from Japan and transported aromatic wood, raw silk, and silk fabrics back to Japan from Vietnam. It was during this era that trading activities between Nghệ Tĩnh region and Japan began to flourish.

Ships that departed from the port of Nagasaki bound for the major trading centers in Asia found it easy to access the South China Sea by passing the eastern side of Hainan Island. When taking this route, the first location they encountered in Vietnam was the Nghệ Tĩnh region. A route that starts at the coastline of Hà Tĩnh heading west transverses the mountains and eventually reaches northeastern Thailand and southern Laos. This route was first established during the Tang Dynasty. This route was considered an important access route for Chenla to engage in trade in the South China Sea. Also, in these mountains, commodities in great demand among the Japanese, such as aromatic wood and musk, were produced. There was a great demand in the Nghệ Tĩnh region for forest



products from Laos that were transported along the Lam River, and as a center of commodity distribution linking inland regions with coastal regions, it acted as a magnet for merchants and commodities.

The Chaya 茶屋, Suetsugu 末次, and Suminokura 角倉 were well-known merchant families of the Japanese Red seal ship (Châu ấn thuyền) trade, most of whom dealt with the Nguyễn lords and traded at the central Vietnamese port of Hội An. However, in the “Ikoku Nikki” 異国日記, a compilation of documents related to foreign relations in the Edo period, there are some records that the Suminokura family’s ships visited “xứ Nghệ An huyện Hưng Nguyên xã Phước Lễ” 又安處興元縣福礼社 and “xã Hoa Viên” 花園 in “Tonkin” to conduct trade. These locations were in the Nghệ Tĩnh region.

The Suminokura [角倉] were a wealthy merchant family in Kyoto that built a fortune through success in the Red seal ship (châu ấn thuyền [朱印船]) trade as a result of the efforts of Suminokura Soan [角倉素庵] during the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Once the Red seal ship (Châu ấn thuyền) trade began in 1603, Suminokura Soan [角倉素庵] immediately wrote a letter indicating his desire to trade for new books and medicines. Suminokura ships consistently engaged in trade with the Nghệ Tĩnh region; thus, it is assumed that this letter was also

delivered by ships headed for the Nghệ Tĩnh region. Subsequently, Suminokura family repeatedly sent Read Seal Ships to this region (Iwao Seiichi 1985: 150-151).

The archaeological survey of the Hội Thống area, the remains of a port at the mouth of the Lam River, that was begun by the author in 2016, confirmed the existence there of blue and white porcelain produced at the Jingdezhen and Zhangzhou Kilns in China from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Kikuchi Yuriko 2018). It was thus confirmed that this port was also used during the age of the Red seal ship (Châu ấn thuyền) trade, before the ban on maritime activities during the transition of power from the Ming to the Qing dynasty in China.

In addition, as Japanese Hizen porcelain from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century—after the Red seal ship (Châu ấn thuyền) trade had been brought to an end—was also found at the site, these items must have been brought from Japan on merchant ships from China and elsewhere that inherited the trade of Japanese merchants. Large numbers of ceramic pieces, including Vietnamese unglazed stoneware, blue and white porcelain, and dishes decorated with a transfer-printed chrysanthemum floral motif, have been unearthed at this site, and commodities that are the same as these porcelain pieces have been unearthed at sites in Nagasaki and Osaka. This indicates that



after being transported to Hội Thống on domestic transport ships leaving from the north Vietnamese pottery center of Hải Dương, they may have been carried to Japan.

The above data suggest that Hội Thống was not only a thriving center of international trade during the age of the Red seal ship (Châu ấn thuyền) trade but that its status as an international trade center extended through the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

The export of copper coins from Japan to Vietnam in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was performed by Red seal ship (Châu ấn thuyền) merchants, Chinese merchants, and the Dutch East India Company (VOC). Although the number of copper coins exported by Red seal ship (châu ấn thuyền) merchants and Chinese merchants remains unknown, the number of copper coins exported by the VOC is known to have been approximately 100 million between 1633 and 1637 and approximately 250 million to 300 million between 1660 and 1683, for a total of approximately 350 million to 400 million. If one includes the number of smuggled for which no records exist, the number of coins exported during the 17<sup>th</sup> century can be conservatively estimated as no less than 1 billion (Koga Yasushi 2013).

Many Japanese arrived by ship in Vietnam during the age of Red seal ship (châu ấn thuyền) trade at Hà Nội, Hội An, and the Nghệ Tĩnh region. After the

Red seal ship (châu ấn thuyền) trade ended, many Japanese remained in Vietnam. It has been confirmed that numerous Japanese remained in the Nghệ Tĩnh region. For example, the genealogy of the Nguyễn family of Can Lộc District in the Hà Tĩnh Province contains a record of a Japanese woman—by the name of Mệ Bà—who was married to Nguyễn Như Thạch as his second wife (Kikuchi Yuriko 2018; Nguyễn Thanh Tùng 2007). In addition, entries for 1637 and 1638 in the diary of the director of the VOC factory in Hirado indicate that there were Japanese by the names of Emen and Guan in Nghệ Tĩnh working as interpreters (Historiographical Institute the University of Tokyo ed. 1975; 1978).

As seen in the case of Mệ Bà, Japanese people who had strong ties with the local Vietnamese through marriage and those who as Christians were unable to return to Japan after the ban on Christianity in their home country remained in Vietnam and acted as local trade brokers for foreign merchant ships from Europe and elsewhere. In the latter half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Nghệ Tĩnh region continued to thrive as an international trading port, and the Japanese who remained in Vietnam were involved in the trade of copper coins as commodities as well. It is assumed that these circumstances led to the high

percentages of Japanese coins in circulation in the Nghệ Tĩnh region.

## **7. Potential for studies of coins in Vietnam**

Vietnam, which extends along the eastern coast of the Indochinese Peninsula, has a long coastline that stretches from east to south. The Biển Đông Sea along this coastline has been the site of commercial activities in Maritime Asia since the Chinese Qin Dynasty, and it has served as a strategic location for east-west trade (i.e., the Maritime Silk Road). Many of the ports along Vietnam's coast were visited by merchants with goods in search of the products of Maritime Asia. As part of these activities, copper coins flowed into and were used in Vietnam as either currency or commodities.

Historically, Vietnam consists of three separate regions: the north, the central region, and the south, whose different histories and cultures must be taken into account in any discussion of currency. Archaeological surveys have been conducted of hoards found from the north to the south that have yielded much data for the field of coin research in Vietnam, but as much remains issues to construct a history of coin circulation in Vietnam.

### **7.1. Elucidation of the distribution of Japanese coins**

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, northern Vietnam was under the rule of the Trịnh lords. Copper mines were seized by the Qing dynasty. The Trịnh lords worked to resolve the coin shortage by using a wide variety of coins, such as Northern Song Dynasty and Đại Việt coins, Japanese coins, and privately minted coins that were produced in Macao\*.

In the latter half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Nguyễn lords from the north settled in central Vietnam and set up a government opposed to the Trịnh lords in the north. The Nguyễn lords encouraged foreign trade, and as a result, large numbers of red seal ship (châu ấn thuyền) headed for the port of Hội An from Japan. There is no copper ore in the Thuận Hóa [順化]- Quảng Nam [廣南] region of central Vietnam. The items exported from Japan included copper and copper coins. The series of surveys conducted at Hội An [會安] and the survey of coin hoards by the author of this paper show that both Kanei Tsuho and Nagasaki trade coins were unearthed, which in turn indicates that a certain amount of coins exported from Japan were in circulation.

Japanese coins account for 5% of the Cẩm Duệ Hoard discussed in

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\* In the 1650s and 60s the Portuguese made coins in Macao and brought them to Vietnam (Souza 1986: 116).

Section 3 of the present paper, a higher percentage than in other regions. Thus, it is conceivable that there was a greater influx of Japanese coins in this region than elsewhere or that there were differences in the use of Japanese coins between this region and others. There were mints in Hà Nội and in nearby Huế, and it has been pointed out that copper coins imported from Japan might have been re-forged into other kinds of coins or copper products. Thus, there is a need to conduct scientific analyses in the future to further consider these issues based on empirical data.

### ***7.2. Elucidation of the circulation of low-quality coins in central and southern Vietnam***

From the first half of the 17th century, Nguyễn lords produced small Thái Bình [太平通] coins. Surveys of central and southern Vietnam also show some An Pháp Nguyên Bảo and other small coins in the findings. In addition to producing small coins, in 1746 the Nguyễn lords began minting zinc coins using lead from the Netherlands.

As a result of the rebellion in Vietnam in the late 18th century, the Lê Dynasty and the Mạc clan disappeared, and in 1802 the Nguyễn Dynasty united the entire country under its rule. The Nguyễn Dynasty produced a large number of coins, including lead coins. A survey of the hoards discovered at Bến

Tre found large numbers of lead coins in jars, indicating that a certain number of these coins were in circulation.

However, no lead coins were included in hoards found in the north or in the Cẩm Duệ Hoard, and no small coins were included in the hoards discovered in Hà Tĩnh. The use of coins in the central and southern regions is more complex than in the north. The extent of the region within which these small coins and low-quality coins were accepted and the different ways in which official coins and imported coins were used remain unknown.

In the future, more empirical research in the form of larger numbers of surveys that cover more expansive areas will allow a more nuanced understanding of the complex history of coin circulation in Vietnam.

### ***7.3. Elucidation of Mạc clan coins and their circulation***

At the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Mạc clan settled in the south and began developing the region. The Nguyễn lords, who were the de facto rulers of central and southern Vietnam at the time, viewed the Mạc clan as vassals and gave them the post of ruling the Hà Tiên region. However, the Mạc clan referred to themselves as “Cancao” and “Pontomeas” when dealing with the countries of the West, as the “Kingdom of Càng Khẩu” when dealing with the Qing, and as the “Kingdom of Cambodia” when dealing



with the Edo Shogunate (Kitagawa 2001). In 1736, they began minting their own unique crude coins and supplying them to the government of the Nguyễn lords.

The Mạc clan is said to have produced 50 kinds of coins. Although it is assumed that these were small, thin coins similar to the An Pháp Nguyễn Bảo, it is not yet known exactly what kinds of coins these were. In previous surveys, I identified a group of Nguyễn Phong Thông Bảo [元豐通寶] that used the seal script only for the character “Nguyễn” [元], a characteristic shared by An Pháp Nguyễn Bảo. It can be assumed that they are the coins produced by the Mạc clan.

The An Pháp Nguyễn Bảo have been discovered throughout Vietnam as well as in Japan and Indonesia (Sakai Takashi 2013). Further study of these coins will elucidate the international trade practices of the Mạc clan, which actively engaged in foreign diplomacy, broadening our knowledge of the history of exchanges in Maritime Asian trade in the 18th century.

## **8. Conclusion**

Coin hoards, which result from the practice of burying large amounts of coins that were used in the region, are considered first-class research artifacts that allow us to discover the details of coin circulation in the region. Surveys of coin hoards in Vietnam are still underway. The accumulation of

detailed survey data affords us the opportunity to elucidate how coins were used and circulated throughout Vietnam. Such survey results represent the first step in research into the links of coin circulation between the East Asian and Southeast Asian regions. At the same time, this research is the start of comparative research from a global perspective into not only the movement of goods in Maritime Asia but also concepts of standards of value.

## **Declaration**

The present paper is an English translation of my original work in Japanese: Kikuchi Yuriko. 2021. “Betonamu ni okeru senka kenkyu no chihei (On the horizons of coin research in Vietnam).” In Koushi • Kouryu • Toujiki: Tounanajia Koukogaku Kenkyu: Kikuchi Seiichi Sensei Sakai Takashi Sensei Taisyoku Kinen Ronbunshu (Port Cities, Exchange, and Pottery: East Asian archaeological research: Collection of papers in honor of the retirement of Professor Kikuchi Seiichi and Professor Sakai Takashi), 125-134. Tokyo: Yuzankaku.

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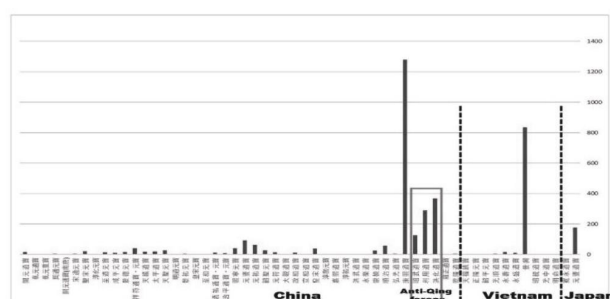
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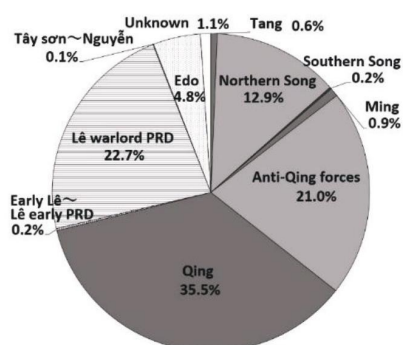
JP17K03229,



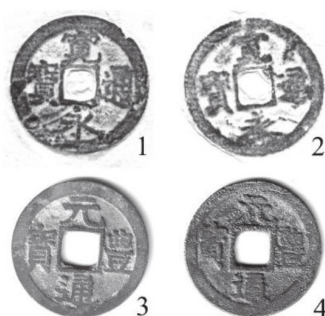
**Fig. 1. Wu Zhu coin (left) and Huo Quan coin (right), excavated from the Hậu Xá site, Hội An. The Sa Huỳnh Culture Museum**



**Fig. 2. Coin quantity per coin legend contained in the Cẩm Duệ Hoard**



**Fig. 3. Coin composition of the Cẩm Duệ Hoard by casted Era**



**Fig. 4. Japanese coins found from Cẩm Duệ Hoard**

1: Older Kanei coin; 2: Newer Kanei coin; 3: Nagasaki trade coin, Genpou Tsuho (D: 24.3mm); 4: Imitation Nagasaki trade coin (D: 23.7mm).

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