B.N. HAYTER

## Historical Summary

After the Chin or Golden Tartars had overthrown Hui Tsung the last emperor of the Northern Sung dynasty, they took over Pien Liang, the capital, and appointed Chang Pang-ch'ang as emperor. However, a son of Hui Tsung, known as Kao Tsung escaped to the South with the Sung Court and as the house of Sung still retained the "Mandate of Heaven", he was raised to the throne with the assistance of Chang Pang-ch'ang who deserted his Tartar masters and supported the Sung, receiving office under the new regime. The Sung Court migrated to the South and the capital, after being moved a number of times, was eventually established at Lin-an (the present Hanchow) in 1129 A.D.

Changing the capital did not mean peace with the Chin. The Sung would not relinquish the territory north of the Yangtze, and the Chin seemed determined to annex the whole of the Empire. A prolonged war was the result with territories changing hands, but neither side was strong enough to defeat the other, although Mao Tsung did cede to the Chin a larger part of the North, making the Huai River the boundary between the two states. The Chin gradually increased in strength, and about 1153 moved their capital from Manchuria to Peking (Yenching).

An uneasy stalemate continued until the Mongols under Genghis Khan attacked the Chin, who however, offered stubborn resistance. The Sung, lured by the promise of some of the Chin territory, made an alliance with the Mongols and as a result in 1234 the Chin Dynasty came to an end. As was to be expected, the Mongols did not keep faith with the effete Sung over the division of territory, with the result that the Sung seized some of the former Chin territory that they claimed. This was the excuse that the Mongols were waiting for and they attacked the Sung who, however, were nevertheless able to hold them off for another forty-five years.

The capital (the prese it Hangchow), was taken in 1276 and the infant Emperor captured and sent North. Some of the generals and officials declared another infant son "Emperor" and took refuge in the fleet and sailed South, making Canton their headquarters. This city fell in 1277 and the boy ruler died in 1278, but it was not until 1279 that the Sung commander, after bidding his wife and children throw themselves into the sea, took the last boy-Emperor on his back and did likewise. The Sung Dynasties had come to an end and for the first time in recorded history, the whole of, China was in the hands of non-Chinese conquerors and the Mongol, Kublai Khan (a grandson of Genghiz Khan), became Emperor of a new Dynasty, the Yuan.

The era of the Sung was one in which great achievements in Literature and Art took place - printing with movable type was introduced and true porcelain made. Trade achieved larger proportions than ever before and the Chinese controlled the sea routes to the southeast and India. This became necessary as the northern overland routes were denied them firstly by the Tartars, and later the Mongols. Trade with the Japanese also flourished but the Sung, strong at first, followed the inevitable pattern of Chinese dynasties, and gradually became weak and effete and finally succumbed to their more virile conquerors.


Following the pattern set by preceding dynasties, and in particular the Northern Sung, Southern Sung coins were issued in one, two or three cash pieces, value depending on size and weight. (There are a few cases where the value was five, ten and in one case even one hundred cash, but these particular coins are the exception rather than the rule).

The cash were usually made of copper or copper alloy, or of iron. An alloy of tin or lead was sometimes used in order that they could not be melted down and used as weapons of war. For larger transactions the one cash coins were used in strings of (theoretically) one thousand - the number actually varied with the locality in which they were used!

With the closing of the overland trade routes by the Tartars, the Sung resorted to the sea routes to South East Asia, and foreign commodities thus became readily available. As a direct result of this however the Government faced an adverse balance of trade, (apparently this is not a monopoly of modern living!) and Chinese copper coins were exported in such huge quantities that the Government was embarassed and tried to stop this dranage of coin by forbidding the use of luxuries to which this loss was attributed. Sung coins have, in fact, been unearthed in Java, Singapore and as far afield as Zanzibar and the Somali coast of Africa, while in Japan they were the principal currency during this period. This is the explanation for the rarity of one cash Southern Sung coins in early collections. They were scarce on the mainland itself, and it was not until comparatively recent years that they have been unearthed in quantity in Indonesia.

The resort to paper money with its attendant evils was a direct result of this shortage, as was also the minting of iron coins, which were issued during both the Northern and Southern Sung dynasties in, one suspects, considerable quantities. These latter have not withstood the passage of time as well as the copper/copper alloy coins and are, as a result, comparatively scarce in Western Collections. They appear to have cirćulated side by side with the copper coins and unlike these pieces generally bear mint-marks as well as the year of issue.

The inclusion of the year of issue, or date, began in the reign of Hsiao Tsung (nien hao Ch'un Hsi) in 1180 A.D. supposedly to deter the illicit casting of coins, and continued until the end of the Southern Sung dynasty in 1274 (when the last coins were issued), This is the only period in history during which Chinese cast coins were "dated" systematically.

No gold or silver coins are recorded as having been officially issmed during this period.

## Acknowledgements

I am indebted to Mr. David Cridland of Singapore for rubbings of this section of his extensive collection - these have greatly assisted me in authenticating some of the coins listed. Some of these appear in Lockhart, but it is reassuring to have confirmation from a contemporary collection.

I have also had to impose on Dr. F.A. Turk of Cornwall, England, for the production of the map, as my reference works are not sufficiently sophisticated to cope with this adequately. I must also acknowledge his helpful advice on some aspects of the production of this list, where his extensive experience has been of considerable assistance.

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APPENDIX 1
Notes on the Mints of the Southern Sung Dynasty.
(by the General Editor for the Ancient Chinese Series)
A number of problems are encountered in trying to locate the mints of the Southern Sung. Firstly, the Chinese provinces and their boundaries were often very different in this period from those of today - even as to the names; secondly, some of the mints have been wrongly identified both by some Chinese and Western scholars; thirdly, some mints seem to have been set up to meet only temporary expedients and have left no identifiable trace in numismatic evidence; fourthly, the areas and names of prefectures and similar land divisions seem occasionally to have changed during the period, and fifthly, to my knowledge we have almost no previous studies to guide us, statements being copied by one author from another and usually originating in some late 18 th or early 19th century native numismatist.

The accompanying map shows very approximately, the various territorial areas that, at one time or another during the Southern Sung, were granted the right of coinage and have left behind evidence of this in the coins themselves. The outlines and names of the provinces are taken from Herrmann (1966) and Playfair (1965) and the Sung Shih have been the chief sources for indentifying the locations of departments, prefectures and other divisions. The problems of Chinese historical geography are many and intricate and, in no case, is the extent or situation of these areas as definite as they must appear on a map; they are approximate only.

The results of the labour of constructing such a map are not without interest. One can see immediately that those mints, the names of which are recorded on the coins, are all situated in one or other of three areas; along the souther:i seaboard, in the far north west or along the major river and lake systems. These are the major trade areas of the time. The maritime trade of the Southern Sung was enourmous and, as Mr. Hayter says, their coins even reached East Africa. Indeed, all the known Sung coins from that continent appear to be from mints along the coast (see G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, U.M. de Villard, V.L.Grottanelli and J.S. Kirkman) and, although such evidence is difficult to interpret, it would be most likely that the coins came to Africa by direct trade with southern Chinese ports because there is additional supporting evidence to be found in ceramics, certain introduced domestic plants and, perhaps, some motifs of wall decoration.

The northwestern area was probably the most extensive area for producing cash during the Southern Sung. It was the district where a branch of the great central Asian Silk Road ended; it was the centre of a vast trade with the Chin kingdom and, from time to time, supplied the Chin Tartars with coins; thirdly, there was a huge military garrison kept in this border region and much of the currency used to pay the soldiers was cast in the fortress of Hui-min.
"Copper famines" are a recurrent theme of Chinese history and a major determinant of Chinese coinage. The map shows the distribution of the copper producing areas of the Southern Sung, and it was upon these that the bronze coinage was dependent. Although the northern-most part of the Liu Chiu produced great amounts of copper in later dynasties I am not certain how far the Sung were able to draw supplies from that region nor whether the mines there were operating in that dynasty. Much of the variation in the coins of the Southern Sung stems from the fluctuations in the supply of copper. Officially the coinage, according to the officers of the College of the Mint, had to consist of 6 parts copper, 3 parts lead and tin, with 1 part allowed for a variable overplus.

## APPENDIX 1 (Continued)

Throughout the whole of Sung times such a provision intermittently lapsed. The size of the problem may be glimpsed from some of the mint figures; the estimated coinage was, in 1050, in all 5,500,000,000 cash; in 1075 the VicePresident of the Ministry of Finance gave the annual production as about $1,000,000,000$ but by 1130 about $4,000,000,000$ cash were being produced each year.

During the wars with the Chin the western mints were closed down but the mint officials continued to be paid so that, in the early part of the Southern Sung the production of each string of 1,000 cash was costing the government 2,400! In all copper producing districts iron was more plentiful than copper and magistrates of the far western provinces songht permission from the Central Currency Board to cast iron coins and, periodically, such permission was granted. Thus a double currency standard was created anc, at first, it was decreed that 10 iron cash were to rank as one copper one. Later, violent variations of the comparative values occurred at different times and places. Various expedients were tried and earlier, an experimental coinage of 3 parts copper and 6 parts iron was introduced by the chief assayer of the Board of Currency. All such remedies were rejected on one ground or another. In the second half of the 12th century the copper famine became extremely severe and an order was made for the sequestration of copper vessels, the Emperor himself it is said setting an example by having 1500 of his collection of copper articles melted down. At this time too, attempts were made to obtain copper from caves and wells such copper being termed tan t'ung from the hydrated copper sulphate (chalcanthite), tan-shui, used in the process. It seems too that attempts were made to win copper by causing it to be deposited from cuprous waters on iron - a process known to the Chinese at least as early as the mid 11th century. In northern Sung times copper production was so great that the restrictions on the export of the metal could be lifted but this does not seem to have been so during the Southern Sung. In that dynasty the drain by foreign trade, the demands of the Chin tartars and the slow political decline made both production and importation (from Korea, Japan, Riu-kiu??) increasingly inadequate.
In the 12th century the production of iron coins was greatly increased but they were largely confined to the far western region. For a time the government attempted to form a barrier to their spread eastwards by creating an intermediate zone along the Huai valley where both copper and iron currencies were legal tender. The use of iron coins in the western regions also had the effect of reducing the demand for cash from the Chin; indeed, the Chin were later to abolish the use of iron cash but continued to take them for export to the Mongols who melted them down to make weapons, a matter which is thought to have played no inconsiderable part in the rise of the mongol power and the eventual overthrow of the Sung.

Throughout the Southern Sung period forgeries of all kinds increased in circulation and added to the general confusion with regard to currency values. The detection of these contemporary forgeries would seem to be one of the taks of the numismatist in the near future. Possibly in connection with these problems there is some evidence that, from time to time, mints specialised in the production of certain sizes of coin. Thus for some years, the Ting Chou mint produced small copper coins only whilst the Chi ch'un mint (see below) made large (value 10) pieces, the whole output of both being exported to Komantung: one assumes that the Ting Cheng mint must have run into difficulties.

## APPENDIX 1 (Continued)

The largest mint, of course, was in the capital, Lin-An but the coins emanating from there were not usually designated as such on the reverse. However, Lockhart (No. 1003) records a seemingly rare piece with an obverse inscription reading Lin An fu hsing yung, "Current thro ghout the prefecture of Lin An" and with reverse reading Chun wu pai wen shêng "Reduced value equal to 500 cash".

A few other matters relating to the identification and siting of mints should perhaps be commented upon here. It will be noticed that there were no mints in Kuanghsi. This was because, in this region bordering on Annam, silver was currently the medium of exchange and the need for a copper coinage was much reduced. Mr. Hayter rightly records the reverse "ch'üan" and Lockhart (Nos. 853-4) says that this refers to the name of a mint in Yen Chou fu in Chekiang. I believe Mr. Hayter is correct in not overtly identifying this character with the mint which undoubtedly existed with that name for it is not usual to specify a mint with the second character of its name and it may simply imply that it is the production of the Board of Currency. Equally too a prefecture of the same name as that in Chekiang, namely Yenchou, contained the T'ai-ning district which is correctly located in the extreme south of Chiang Hsi. This is typical of the uncertainty which surrounds many such questions.

Additionally there are several mints to which no cash can be assigned: thus, literary records tell us that the small township of I in Huai hsi had, for a short time during this period, a mint with the name "Universal Benev olence" solely given over to the casting of large cash. Nothing seems to distinguish its productions. Indeed many mints in both the Northern and Southern Sung times seem to have had poetic names bestowed on them, such as "Everlasting Peace" and "Uneriding Prosperity". Alas, not only did they not live up to the promise of their names but they left behind no coins which can be attributed to them.

Chi-ch'un appears to be a somewhat special case calling for comment. Mr.Heyter has followed Schjbth in his belief that the character ch'un (Spring) signifies this mint. However, mints are seldom designated by their second character and the district, ch'Un is a different word and character to ch'un (Spring). In addition there is an older interpretive tradition which seems to me more likely to be correct. This last, presumably basing itself on the fact that the word seems to occur only on coins with a numeral, merely reads it as "the Spring of the 3rd year of the regnal period" or according to the numeral. Nothing is known for certain as to why this season alone should appear on the reverses but it may not be unconnected in origin with the fact that, around 1095, Wang Nan-hsi proposed that the government, each Spring should advance seed to the poor in its provinces, the same being returned with a percentage profit each Autumn. It seems that cash advances were occasionally made although the circumstances determining this are obscure but, in any case, it is pos ible that the custom may have continued in the $S_{\text {outhern }}$ Sung with a token distribution of such coins.

Mr . Hayter has listed all the numerals used to designate regnal years on the Southern Sung coinage but two other rarer characters are also to be found. The first is Shen for the Wu shen year 1188 and the second Yu for the Chi yu year 1189. Lastly, as a small matter of interest the paraph of the reverse of Mr . Hayter's No. 41 appears to be formed from the middle strokes of the radical of the last character of the name of Liu Kuang-shih who issued it and also forms a kind of visual pun on "shih", allegiance.

## APPENDIX 1 (Continued)

A useful source of information is that contained in $V_{o l s} .8$ and 9 of
$M_{a}$ Tuan-lin's great work which is partially translated by W.Vissering (1877) but there is also much other scattered literature perhaps the most important being certain Japanese works not easy of access.

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F.A. TURK。

## NOTES ON THE TABL ES

There are in existence many works both European, Chinese and Japanese which cover, in varying degrees, the coinage of the Southern Sung Dynasty, and to submit something new on this subject has presented some problems.

Publications such as Dr. Ting Fu-pao's "A Catalog of Ancient Chinese Coins", although very complete and excellent for reference purposes, are limited in their usefulness in that the illustrations themselves bear no reference numbers, and, unless one has some knowledge of the Chinese language, their use is somewhat restricted.
The work of Fredrik Schjbth "Chinese Currency (Currency of the Far East)", as revised and edited by Virgil Hancock in 1965, seems to be generally accepted these days as the best text book in English on this subject, covering as it does the collection made by Mr. Schj户' th, which is now in the University of Oslo. Stewart Lockhart's'Collection of Chinese Copper Coins' produced by the Koyal Asiatic Society - North China Branch as "Extra Volume 1" in 1915 is far superior in illustration, although somewhat lacking in content, but this work has not, unfortunately, be॰n reprinted and consequently is unavailable to a large number of collectors . (This work is now (1972) being reprinted. Ed.)

My solution to the problem mentioned earlier has beon to produce a list combining coins from these two published collections, and adding thereto coins from two other unpublished collections, viz the extensive collection of Mr. David Cridland of Singapore, and my own collection in both of which coins of this Dynasty are fairly well represented. It is appreciated that varieties must exist in other collections or text books, some of which I have knowledge of and other of which I have not, but the salient point is that all the coins included in this list should be available for references, and this has been my criterion in their selection. I have identified these coins in Table 3 with the prefix "S" for Schjbth, the prefix "L" for Lockhart, "C" for Mr. Cridland and "H" for my own. I have in most cases included my own coins together with those of Schj甘th. firstly because I think that Schjyth's reference numbers will be of use to those who wish to consult his text, and my own because I am able to give the weight and size of the coins which form a comparison and which may be of value as a guide or for other research purposes. I have only included coins where there is a significant difference in weight or size, or both, except as stated above.

Table 1 comprises the obverse inscriptions. The first character is in all cases the top one, the second the bottom, the third the right, while the fourth is ellways the left. The next four columns should be self-explanatory.

Table 2 comprises the reverse inscriptions (these are sometimes somewhat involved!), while Table 3 comprises the list itself.

Reference to Table 1 should indicate the obverse inscription, and the right hand column thereof should indicate the list numbers which are concerned with this particular obverse. With the reverse number obtained from Table 2, the list (Table 3) should identify the coin with relation to the position of the reverse character( $\mathbf{a}$ ), the metal in which it is cast ("c.a." indicating copper or copper-alloy), the weight (in Grammes), the size or diameter (in millimeters), the value (in cash), and the source from which this particular specimen originates. All this information is not, in every case, available.

I have appended a list of the Sung "tallies". These, although not "coins", aprear in many references, so, for the sake of completeness, have been included. I can find nowhere reference to a 400 cash.

| $\begin{gathered} \text { Obv. } \\ \text { No. } \end{gathered}$ | $\\|^{\prime}$ Characters． | Inscription． | Read | Script | List ：0． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 2 3 4 5 |  | Chien Yen T＇ung Yao | normal | seal | $\begin{gathered} 1-2 \\ 3-6 \\ 7 \\ 8 \\ 9-14 \end{gathered}$ |
| 6 |  | F＇u Ch＇ang Chung Pao | normal | seal | 15 |
| 7 8 9 10 |  | Shao Hsing Yuan Pao | t r bla <br> normal <br> trbla | orthodox$"$ <br> $"$ <br> seal | $\begin{aligned} & 16-18 \\ & 19-23 \\ & 24-32 \\ & 33-40 \end{aligned}$ |
| 11 | 才刀信納鲖 | Chao iva Hsin Pao | normal | orthodox | 41 |
| 12 13 |  | Lung Hsing Yuan Pao | $t r b l$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Orthodox } \\ \text { seal } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 42-45 \\ & 46-47 \end{aligned}$ |
| $\begin{aligned} & 14 \\ & 15 \end{aligned}$ |  | Chien Tao Yuan Pao | $\mathrm{trbl}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { orthodox } \\ \text { seal } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 43-53 \\ & 54-60 \end{aligned}$ |
| 16 17 |  | Ch＇un lisi Yuan Pao | $\mathrm{trbl}$ | orthouox | $) 61-127$ |
| 18 19 |  | $\begin{array}{ccc} " & " & \text { Trung " } \\ " & " & " \end{array}$ | normal |  | $\begin{gathered} 128-133 \\ 134 \end{gathered}$ |
| 20 |  | ＂＂Yuan＂ | trbl | seal | 135 |
| 21 |  |  | ＂ | ＂ | 136－138 |
| 22 | 恰畐 BS 屋 |  | ＂ | ＂ | 139 |
| 23 |  | ＂＂＂＂ | ＂ | orthodox <br> \＆seal | 140 |
| 24 25 |  | Shao Hsi Yuan Pao <br> ＂＂Trung＂ | t r bl <br> normal | $\begin{gathered} \text { orthodox } \\ \text { seal } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 141-181 \\ & 182-188 \end{aligned}$ |


| Obv： $\therefore$ No． | Uharacters． | Inscription． | Read | Script | List No． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 26 27 28 |  | Ch＇ing Yuan T＇ung Pao | t rbl <br> normal | prthodox | $\begin{aligned} & 189-252 \\ & 253-262 \\ & 263-267 \end{aligned}$ |
| 29 30 31 32 |  | Chia T＇ai T＇ung Pao ＂＂Yuan ＂＂Trung＂ ＂＂Yuan | normal <br> t r bl | prthodox | $\begin{gathered} 268-300 \\ 301 \\ 302 \\ 303-308 \end{gathered}$ |
| 33 34 35 |  | K＇ai Hsi T＇ung Pao ＂＂Yuan＂ Sheng sung Chung Pao | trbll <br> normal <br> 11 | orthodox <br> ＂ <br> ＂ | $\begin{aligned} & 309-333 \\ & 334-336 \\ & 337-338 \end{aligned}$ |
| 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 41 |  | Chia Ting T＇ung Pao | normal <br> t r bl <br> ＂ <br> ＂ <br> ＂ <br> normal <br> t r bla <br> ＂ <br> normal <br> ＂ <br> trbl <br> normal <br> 11 <br> 11 <br> t 1 bl <br> normal | orthodox <br> 11 <br> it <br> 11 <br> If <br> 11 <br> 11 <br> 11 <br> 11 <br> 11 <br> 11 <br> $1:$ <br> 11 <br> 11 <br> orthodox \＆seal <br> seal | $\begin{gathered} 339-428 \\ 429-431 \\ 432-438 \\ 439 \\ 440-441 \\ 442 \\ 443 \\ 444 \\ 445-446 \\ 447-449 \\ 450-454 \\ 455 \\ 456 \\ 457 \\ 458 \\ 459-460 \end{gathered}$ |
| 2 | 大 | Ta Sung Yuan Pao | tr b 1 | orthodox | 461－473 |
| 20 | 竕口正通買家 | Shao Ting T＇ung Pao | normal | orthodox | 474－503 |


| Ubv． ino． | Characters． | Inscription． | Read | Script | List Nos． |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 54 | 市耑 元 平 帯 | Tuan P＇ing Yuan Pao | tr b I | orthodox | 504－507 |
| 55 | 立耑元平 實 | ＂＂＂ |  | ＂ | 508 |
| 56 | 各耑 平通 䒠耍 | ＂＂T＇ung＂ | normal | ＂ | 509－510 |
| 57 |  | ＂＂Yuan＂ | ＂ | ＂ | 511－513 |
| 58 | 元耑平用 容氛 | ＂＂T＇ung＂ | ＂ | ＂ | 514 |
| 59 | 立耑平通 宾玺 | ＂＂＂＂ | ＂ | ＂ | 515 |
| 60 61 |  | Chia Hsi T＇ung Pao ＂＂Chung＂ | normal <br> t r bl | orthodox | $\begin{gathered} 516-533 \\ 534 \end{gathered}$ |
| 62 63 |  | Shun Yu Yuan Pao <br> ＂＂Trung＂ | t r bll <br> normal | orthodox | $\begin{aligned} & 535-583 \\ & 584-585 \end{aligned}$ |
| 64 | 玍 辰 大 耍家 | Huang Sung Yuan Pao | t r b l | orthodox | 586－613 |
| 65 |  | K＇ai Ching T＇ung Pao | normal | orthodox | 614－618 |
| 66 | 萗 正不穿気 | Ching ling Yuan Pao | normal | orthodox | 619－641 |
| 67 |  | Hsien Shun Yuan Pao | normal | orthodox | 642－673 |







These appear to have been issued by Kao Tsung (1127-1162), when Hangkow was called Lin-an Fu, and appear to have been issued in values of 100 , 200, 300 and 500 cash (with a reduction).


Obv.

$15.7 \times 56.8$ m.m.

100


200

Rev.


300

Rev.


500

ODv. Lin-an fu hsing-yung "Current in Lin-an Prefecture."
Rev. Chun . . . . pai wên shêng. "Value . . . hundred cash, with a reduction."

NOTE It seems possible that this phrase implies parity with strings of cash which normally contained less than their nominal number of coins.

