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Chinese Money Matters – So why Does it Have Such a Low Profile?

Introduction

My presentation at the conference *Art, Materiality and Representation* (London, 2018) began with a request for curators and academics to think twice before using the word “art” when organising events and publications relating to East Asian collections especially in settings outside Asia. I then continued by illustrating the difficult liminal position of collections of East Asian non-art objects in various contexts.

Many pieces from East Asia are indeed works of “art”, but there are many collections of East Asian objects and materials that are not considered in this way. The late Michael Sullivan and Jerome Silbergeld defined Chinese art as “the painting, calligraphy, architecture, pottery, sculpture, bronzes, jade carving, and other fine or decorative forms produced in China over the centuries.”¹ Such definitions of Chinese art are apparent in the locations of Chinese collections: for example, at the British Museum, until recently, the Chinese collections were housed in three departments: Asia (art and archaeology), Coins and Medals (money), and Ethnography (other). The relocation of the Chinese collections from Ethnography to Asia is also reflected to some extent in popular publications about the Chinese collections: from *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art* (1992, updated 2007), *Chinese Art Close Up* (2014) to the more inclusive *China: A History in Objects* (2017).²

Referring to “art” in a broad sense brings with it, intentionally or otherwise, some kind of hierarchy, with the result that these non-art objects and materials – often anonymously handcrafted, ephemeral, or mass-produced – are relegated to some point down the hierarchy. Thus, even when the intention is to be inclusive, the effect is often exclusive, and these objects and materials end up being overlooked.

This situation occurs not only when considering the contents within East Asian collections. The same phenomenon can also happen when taking into

account the provenance of the objects in collections defined in other ways – for example, ethnography, numismatics, philately, arms and armour, musical instruments, to name but a few. In these cases, the skill-set of the curators, librarians and archivists often better reflects the geographically more mainstream parts of those collections, and can be limited when it comes to the East Asian parts. Again, the effect is that the East Asian non-art collections can end up being overlooked, uncatalogued, obscured (because they are not catalogued or published, or are catalogued in a non-standard way) and ultimately unstudied. The status quo is perpetuated until some sort of action is taken. In extreme cases, the lack of exposure and interest in marginalised collections can lead to decay or de-accessioning.

Similarly, when papers on non-art objects are accepted in conferences and symposia that specify “art” in their title, they tend to be scheduled at the end of the day or the end of the whole event. This choice in the programming also contributes to the perception that these materials are less important.

The rest of my presentation at the conference was a power-point packed with images delivered at speed with the intention of opening participants’ eyes to the richness of the field of one specific category of East Asian non-art objects, namely Chinese money. Since the particular format of my talk does not transform easily into a written paper, my aim here is to offer some observations, pointers and useful resources.³ For convenience and word count limitations, I refer to projects and colleagues closest to home, in the UK and Europe, and in European languages. This paper does not attempt to be comprehensive, rather to allow a glimpse at the field and to highlight the main problematic issues. Fuller details of publications and projects on Chinese money worldwide will be published in the *Survey of Numismatic Research, 2014-2019*, and launched at the International Numismatic Congress, in Warsaw, September 2021.⁴

Chinese money collections are surprisingly large!

There are many forms of Chinese money and money-related objects: for example, cowries, spade-money, knife-money, coins, ingots, tokens, paper money, gold, silver, copper, coin-shaped charms, contracts, receipts, red money envelopes, and (the unfortunately-named) hell money.⁵

The size of collections can be surprisingly large. In 2017 a quick search on the British Museum Collection Online database in 2017 for “China + coin” yielded over 13,000 objects.⁶ This is not the total number of Chinese coins in the British Museum collection, as data entry is not yet complete. But even this incomplete figure is revealing when compared with other very basic searches made on the same database on the same day. For convenience, I’ve rounded the numbers and put them in size order:

- China + coin – over 13,000 objects
- China + banknote – about 2000 objects
- China + Percival David – over 1600 objects (ceramic collection)
- China + Mao badge – over 400 objects
- China + painting – about 400 objects
- China + ingot – over 370 objects
- China + jade – over 350 objects
- China + ration ticket – about 240 objects
- China + calligraphy – about 150 objects
- China + seal – over 60 objects
- China + poster – about 40 objects

Adding together the money objects (coins, banknotes, ingots and ration tickets) in this incomplete list gives a total of over 15,000 objects in this one collection. There are also significant collections of Chinese coins in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (over 20,000 coins),⁷ and in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (over 7,000 coins).⁸ There are more than 1500 museums in the UK,⁹ and some of these will have one or two East Asian coins (and possibly hundreds or thousands).

A quick search of the Money and Medals Network’s excellent Collections Mapping page, which provides “summary collections information on all our partner institutions’ holdings, from the national museums down to smaller, local collections” indicates that there are Asian coins in a large number of collections around the UK.¹⁰ However, “Asian” does not necessarily specify East Asian – and the

information is not detailed. A preliminary list of almost 30 UK collections with East Asian coins is given in the Appendix. It is very likely that this list will expand. There are collections of Chinese money and money-related objects in museums, libraries and archives across the world, and preliminary collection-mapping of those is also in progress.¹¹

In collections of East Asian money, Chinese coins tend to dominate.¹² Thus, we can safely estimate that there are several tens of thousands of pieces of Chinese money and money-related objects in UK collections – possibly more than any other kind of Chinese object?

Thinking about money – definitions

We can say in almost any language “I have money” and “I have no money”, yet, it is surprisingly difficult to find a common definition of money.¹³ The equivalent words for money in a contemporary everyday context (“I have [no] money” / “我[没]有钱”) have different origins: for example, the English word “money” derives from the Latin *moneta*, the name of the goddess in whose temple at Rome money was coined, while the Chinese word *qian* 钱 derives from a farming tool in ancient times. There are several terms in Chinese that are used to refer to money: for example, *qian* 钱 usually refers to coins/cash, *huo* 货 to goods/commodities, and *bi* 币 is used as a suffix (-money), as in *qianbi* 钱币 (coin-money), *zhibi* 纸币 (paper-money), *bubi* 布币 (cloth-money). The most inclusive term is *huobi* 货币 (goods-money; currency).

Definitions of money and its attributes also vary significantly.¹⁴ For economists and bankers, money is defined by four attributes: as a medium of exchange, a standard of value (sometimes substituted with unit of account), a store of wealth, and as a standard of deferred payment. These attributes were formulated to describe European capitalist and market contexts.

By the 1940s, economists seeking to understand non-Western societies looked at “primitive societies” (a derogative term) and categorised non-Western money (i.e. money-objects that were not coins or paper money) as “primitive money” (also derogative). Today, anthropologists generally accept the economists’ and bankers’ four attributes of money, and add a fifth: payment. They also draw attention to cultural and symbolic aspects of money. Paul Einzig’s

Primitive Money (1948) identifies eight critical aspects of money: (1) utility, (2) portability, (3) indestructibility, (4) homogeneity, (5) divisibility, (6) stability of value, (7) cognizability, and (8) liquidity.

Andrew Burnett and Joe Cribb, numismatists at the British Museum, specialising in Roman and Asian numismatics, respectively, have highlighted the importance of authority, convention, recognition, and regularity. On the question of authority, Burnett points to the political authority of the issuer,¹⁵ while Cribb focusses on payment, defining money as “a convention established in relation to payments which dictates that particular objects with agreed measures of value are recognised as the regular means of discharging the obligation to pay.”¹⁶ In other words, Burnett refers explicitly to the issuer, and Cribb refers implicitly to the controller. Economists address similar issues when referring to credibility and trustworthiness.

Among the most useful accounts in English and French for understanding Chinese money are:

- *Money and Credit in China*, by Yang Lien-sheng, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monography Series 12 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952)
- *Fountain of Fortune: Money and Monetary Policy in China, 1000-1700*, by Richard von Glahn (University of California Press, 1996)
- *The Economic History of China – From Antiquity to the Nineteenth Century*, by Richard von Glahn (Cambridge University Press, 2016)
- *Les monnaies de la Chine ancienne. Des origines à la fin de l'Empire*, by François Thierry (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2017)
- *Money in the Bank: An Illustrated Introduction to the Money Collection of the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation*, by Joe Cribb (Spink & Son Ltd, 1987)
- “Money Making Nation: Picturing Political Economy in Banknotes of the Qing-Republican Transition”, by Jennifer Purtle, in Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (eds.), *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II* (Chicago: Center for the Art of East Asia, University of Chicago, and Art Media Resources, 2009).

Thinking about money – approaches

As the different definitions of money show, there are different approaches to studying money. There are a few basic things that it's helpful to keep in mind when thinking about money. First, it is important to distinguish between a physical money-object and a unit of account (as written down). A payment might be made using one kind of money-object, yet recorded in another. For example, in the Tang dynasty there was “a ‘catch-all’ unit of account, constructed by simply stringing all the measure-words together: silk bolts, hemp bolts, hanks of silk, strings of coins and piculs of grain.”¹⁷ Second, it is essential to consider the context – for example, today, we pay for things in different ways (coins, notes of higher and lower denomination, cheques, debit card, credit card, electronic payment) in different contexts. Third, there is general purpose money and special purpose money (which may be associated with specific cultural/social rituals or customs).¹⁸

A range of different approaches are given below, each of which will have its own methodologies and standard references.

Object-based approaches include numismatics (the study of coins and other money-objects), antiquarianism (an object-oriented approach to the past), archaeology (the study of human activity through the recovery and analysis of material culture), epigraphy (the study of inscriptions as writing) and metallurgy (the technology of metals).

Text-based approaches include history (the study of the past), the history of money (the history of the use of coins and other money-objects), economic history (the study of economics or economic phenomena of the past), financial history (the history of the management of revenues), banking history (the history of banks and banking), monetary history (the history of monetary policy), and money in literature. For up-to-date resources on China, see Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A New Manual* (currently in its 8th edition, 2018).

Theoretical and practice-based research include economics (the social science that describes the factors that determine the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services), finance (the management of finances, usually by a government), monetary policy (the process by which the monetary

authority of a country controls the supply of money), economic anthropology (the study of human economic behaviour), and the anthropology of money (the study of money's social roles and meanings).

Bibliographies and resources for Chinese numismatics

Since the 1960s the field of Chinese numismatics has been documented in regular bibliographies and surveys. We are indebted to Arthur Braddon Coole for his bibliography, *Encyclopedia of Chinese Coins, vol. 1, Bibliography of Far Eastern Numismatology and a Coin Index* (1967),¹⁹ which remains an essential reference, and to Joe Cribb and François Thierry in Europe, and Dai Zhiqiang and Zhou Weirong in China for compiling the *Surveys of Numismatic Research*. Their own research publications are essential reading.²⁰

The Survey of Numismatic Research, published in the International Association of Professional Numismatists Special Publication series, and launched at the International Numismatic Congress, which takes place every six years:

- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1960-1965* (Copenhagen, 1965)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1966-1971* (New York, 1973)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1972-1977* (Berne, 1979)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1978-1984* (London, 1986)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1985-1990* (Brussels, 1991)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1990-1995* (Berlin, 1997)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 1996-2003* (Madrid, 2003)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 2008-2013* (Rome, 2015)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 2002-2007* (Glasgow, 2009)
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 2008-2013* (Taormina, 2013)²¹
- *A Survey of Numismatic Research, 2014-2019* (Warsaw, 2021 – forthcoming)²²

Journals featuring Chinese numismatics in European languages include *Journal of the Oriental*

Numismatic Society (in English),²³ *Numismatique Asiatique* (in French or English),²⁴ *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* (in French),²⁵ *Numismatic Chronicle*,²⁶ *The E-sylum*,²⁷ *Coins Weekly* (in German and English)²⁸ and the *International Banknote Society Journal*.²⁹ The China Numismatic Society 中国钱币学会, established in 1982, publishes an annual summary of research in its journal *China Numismatics* 中国钱币 (in Chinese), and these form the basis of the INC Surveys of Numismatic Research.³⁰

For quick identification of Chinese coins using English resources, the catalogues compiled by David Hartill are the most useful and up-to-date: *Cast Chinese Coins*,³¹ and *Qing Cash*.³² Qin Cao's "Guide to Identifying Qing Coins" a handy pdf guide for beginners, is used by colleagues in the Portable Antiquities Scheme to identify Chinese coins unearthed in the UK.³³ Useful online resources include Primal Trek³⁴, Zeno-ru,³⁵ and Chinese Money Matters.³⁶

Recent research projects relating to Chinese money

The following is a selection of recent or current projects and publications. It is by no means comprehensive, and aims merely to give an overview of the kinds of research that have been taking place recently. It is significant that several of these volumes are the result of doctoral or post-doctoral research. Two multi-volume projects are given first.

Monies, Markets, and Finance in East Asia, 1600-1900

This historical and numismatic project led by Hans Ulrich Vogel at the University of Tübingen,³⁷ set out to "concentrate on the copper-based monies of Qing China, Tokugawa Japan, and late Choseon Korea. The focus is on the concrete conditions of coin production, starting from the mining and smelting of mint metals, their transport to the mints, to the casting of coins on the one hand, and on problems related to the functions and exchange rates of different means of payment, the structures of the financial systems as well as the cultural meanings of money on the other. On the basis of selected case studies these topics will be highlighted in their local, regional, national and international dimensions and

interdependencies.”³⁸

The project has yielded an impressive series of publications published by Brill. The *Monies, Markets, and Finance in East Asia, 1600-1900* series comprises 13 volumes so far, the titles of which show the comprehensive, interdisciplinary scope of the project:

1. *Economic Thought in Early Modern Japan* – Bettina Gramlich-Oka and Gregory J. Smits (eds.), 2010

2. *Marco Polo Was in China. New Evidence from Currencies, Salts and Revenues* – Hans Ulrich Vogel, 2013

3. *Gold and Jade Filled Halls: A Cognitive Linguistic Study of Financial and Economic Expressions in Chinese and German* – Shelley Ching-yu Hsieh, 2013

4. *Mining, Monies, and Culture in Early Modern Societies. East Asian and Global Perspectives* – Nanny Kim and Keiko Nagase-Reimer (eds.), 2013

5. *War Finance and Logistics in Late Imperial China. A Study of the Second Jinchuan Campaign (1771-1776)* – Ulrich Theobald, 2013

6. *Money in Asia (1200-1900): Small Currencies in Social and Political Contexts* – Jane Kate Leonard and Ulrich Theobald (eds.), 2015

7. *Copper in the Early Modern Sino-Japanese Trade* – Keiko Nagase-Reimer (ed.), 2015

8. *The Rise and Fall of a Public Debt Market in 16th-Century China. The Story of the Ming Salt Certificate* – Wing-kin Puk, 2015

9. *Southwest China in a Regional and Global Perspective (c. 1600-1911). Metals, Transport, Trade and Society* – Ulrich Theobald and Jin Cao, 2018

10. *Reshaping the Frontier Landscape: Dongchuan in Eighteenth-century Southwest China* – Fei Huang, 2018

11. *Zinc for Coin and Brass. Bureaucrats, Merchants, Artisans, and Mining Laborers in Qing China, ca. 1680s-1830s* – Hailian Chen, 2018

12. *Stretching the Qing Bureaucracy in the 1826 Sea-Transport Experiment* – Jane Kate Leonard, 2018

13. *Mountain Rivers, Mountain Roads: Transport in Southwest China, 1700-1850* – Nanny Kim, 2020

In addition to these volumes, Werner Burger, has published his monumental bilingual catalogue *Ch'ing Cash*.³⁹

Chinese Export Silver – Silver of the Qing Dynasty – The Ultimate Guide

This project, by Adrien von Ferscht and Chao Huang, is a comprehensive examination of Chinese silver of the Qing dynasty and the Republic, which is commonly known as “Chinese export silver”.⁴⁰ However, this label, coined by American researchers in the 1960s, distorts the historical reality. The decade-long project reveals that while “some of the silver created in China during the late eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century was made for export, research now shows that the vast majority of Chinese silver during this period was made for the domestic market. [...] decorative silverwares from the Qing dynasty and Chinese Republic era needs to urgently be rehabilitated back into the wider family of Chinese silver-making.”

This has significant implications for the study of silver money and silver industry and services in China. Silver (by weight, in the form of ingots or foreign silver coins) was used as money in China, but was not coined in China until the introduction of minting machinery in the late nineteenth century. Silver money during the Qing dynasty and the Republic included silver ingots, foreign silver coins (most famously, the Mexican dollar), silver coins struck in China, and paper money where the unit of account was a specific quantity and quality of silver (sometimes by weight, sometimes in coin). The silver industry and services include silversmiths, assayers, shroffs, banks, pawn shops, and jewellers. The resulting website – aimed at collectors as well as academics – has become the richest source for information about Chinese silver, and several volumes are in preparation.⁴¹ These include:

1. *Chinese Export Silver – Silver of the Qing Dynasty: The Ultimate Guide* – as mentioned above, recording the Chinese stamped marks of over 1000 silver organisations (retail silversmiths, artisan workshop, individual artisan silversmiths)
2. *From Han to Eternity* – 3000 years of Chinese silver production, and how the Qing dynasty heralded a new age of silver-making in China
3. A third volume which will focus on a single important private Beijing-based collection of Qing silver and Republic era silver, using carefully

chosen individual items from the collection to demonstrate their relevance to Chinese silver-making as a whole and how the vast majority of traditional Chinese decorative motifs used on silver wares have profound allegorical meanings.

Other significant publications include the following titles. Again, this is a selection, simply to give an idea of the range of research being undertaken.

On the history of Chinese numismatics

- “A Short History of Chinese Numismatics in European Languages”, by Helen Wang, *Early China* 35-36 (2012-2013), p. 395-429 – a decade by decade survey of publications on Chinese money, considering the authors’ occupations and themes of the publications
- *Les amis des monnaies – La sociabilité savante des collectionneurs et numismates chinois de la fin des Qing*, by Lyce Jankowski (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, Hémisphères, 2019) – on the scholarly social networks of Chinese collectors and numismatists in the late Qing dynasty (PhD, book)
- *Les monnaies de la Chine ancienne. Des origines à la fin de l’Empire*, by François Thierry (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2017) – a history of the Chinese coins and other money objects, by the former curator of Asian coins at the Bibliothèque nationale de France. This book won the Prix Hirayama in 2018 (awarded by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres).

The BnF series of Chinese coin catalogues

- *Monnaies chinoises, I, L’Antiquité préimpériale, Catalogue*, by François Thierry (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997) – a ground-breaking study of the spade-, knife- and round-money of the pre-Qin period, based on archaeological data from China and the collection at the BnF in Paris, which set the standard for future volumes in the series
- *Monnaies chinoises, II, Des Qin aux Cinq Dynasties, Catalogue*, by François Thierry

(Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003)

- *Monnaies chinoises, III, Les Song, Catalogue*, by Emmanuel Poisson (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2003)
- *Monnaies chinoises, IV, Des Liao aux Ming du Sud, Catalogue*, by François Thierry (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2014).

On Silk Road money

- *Money on the Silk Road, the Evidence from Eastern Central Asia to c. AD 800*, by Helen Wang (British Museum Press, 2004) – an examination of the coins and the contemporary documents found at sites in northwest China over the last 100 years, reframing the study of money on the Silk Road (PhD thesis, book)
- *Textiles as Money on the Silk Road*, special issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. 23, issue 2, April 2013, edited by Valerie Hansen and Helen Wang – the results of an international interdisciplinary project determining the system by which textiles functioned as money in the Tang dynasty.

On coin-shaped charms

- *Amulettes de Chine. Catalogue*, by François Thierry (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2008) – a masterly study of Chinese coin-shaped charms (in French)
- *Chinese Charms, Art, Religion and Folk Belief*, by Alex Chengyu Fang (Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2008) – another masterly study of Chinese coin-shaped charms (in Chinese, with summaries in English)
- *The Language and Iconography of Chinese Coin Charms: Deciphering a Past Belief System*, edited by Alex Chengyu Fang and François Thierry (Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer, 2016) – a volume of papers edited by the experts on Chinese charms.

On scientific research

- *Metallurgical Analyses of Chinese Coins at*

the British Museum, by Helen Wang, Mike Cowell, Joe Cribb and Sheridan Bowman (London: British Museum Research Publication, 152, 2005) – a collection of papers resulting from scientific research on Chinese coins at the British Museum, including an important article giving details of the alloy composition of Chinese coins over 2000 years

- *Chinese Coins in Copper-based Alloys: Elemental and Microstructural Characterization*, by Maria João Furtado (PhD thesis, Faculdade de Ciências e Tecnologia da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2013)⁴²
- “Microscopical examination of fibres used in Ming dynasty paper money”, by Caroline R. Cartwright, Christina M. Duffy and Helen Wang, *British Museum Technical Research Bulletin*, vol. 8, 2014, p. 105-116 – a pioneering work looking at the composition of the paper used to make Ming dynasty notes in the British Museum and British Library collections.

On archival work

- *The Modern Coinage of China 1866-1949. The Evidence in Western Archives*, by Richard Wright (London: Spink, 2012) – this volume brings together all of Wright’s articles on the machine-struck coinage of China, resulting from his numismatic work and archives in the UK
- “Zhou Xicheng’s ‘Guizhou Auto Dollar’: Commemorating the Building of Roads for Famine Relief”, by Paul Bevan, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* vol. 29, issue 2, February 2019, p. 1-15.

On Red money envelopes

- *Les enveloppes rouges: évolution et permanence des thèmes d’une image populaire chinoise*, by Chengang Sun (Paris: Le Moulin de l’Etoile, 2011) – the first in-depth study of red money envelopes, their

history and use, in China and overseas (PhD thesis/book).

Conclusion

In my presentation at the conference, my aim was to draw attention to the collections of Chinese coins that exist outside of Asia, and to the work that is being done on them by a small number of specialists. I noted the shortage of curators – Joe Cribb and François Thierry, both of whom transformed the field, have retired. Lyce Jankowski, during her three-year Sackler Fellowship at the Ashmolean Museum, transformed the collection of East Asian coins there, and her activity – including displays (A Scholar’s Study, and Pax Mongolica), lectures, publications and teaching, raised awareness of the collection and the field in Oxford. In recent years, I have also organised a number of specialist workshops at the British Museum, bringing together experts from different fields who share some common interest (Han Dynasty Money, Ming Dynasty Paper Money, Manchu Money, Textiles (as money), Chinese Paper Money pre-nineteenth century, Chinese Paper Money 1850 onwards). For convenience and word count limitations, I have focussed in this paper on projects, publications and activities in the UK and Europe, but I should stress that this work is not done in isolation. We work with colleagues across the world, particularly in East Asia, to keep abreast of current research, including the latest archaeological work, and, where possible, work collaboratively.

Appendix – Collection-mapping Chinese coins around the World (a preliminary list)

This list is taken from the website Chinese Money Matters. As it is constantly being updated, suggestions of new additions are welcome.

Austria – Vienna: Historische Kunstmuseum

Belgium – Brussels: Royal Collection

Canada – Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum

Denmark – Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark

China

- Beijing: China Numismatic Museum 中国钱币博物馆
- Beijing: National Museum of China 国家博物馆钱币馆

- Beijing: Capital Museum 首都博物馆
- Beijing: Beijing Ancient Coin Museum 北京古代钱币展览馆
- Beijing: Beijing Tax Museum 北京税务博物馆
- Beijing: Museum of International Finance 国际金融博物馆
- Beijing: China Banknote-printing and Coin-casting Museum 中国印钞造币博物馆
- Changsha: Hunan Provincial Museum 湖南省博物馆
- Dalian: Lushun Museum 旅顺博物馆
- Dongguan: Dongguan Numismatic Museum 东莞钱币博物馆
- Dongguan: Numismatic Charms Museum 民俗钱币博物馆
- Huizhou: Huizhou Tax Museum 徽州税文化博物馆
- Jinan: Qilu Coin Museum 齐鲁钱币博物馆
- Lanzhou: Gansu Numismatic Museum
- Nanchang: China Tax Receipt Museum 中国税收票证博物馆
- Nanjing: Nanjing Tax Museum 南京税收博物馆
- Nanjing: Taiping Heavenly Kingdom History Museum 太平天国历史博物馆
- Nanning: Guangxi Numismatic Museum 广西钱币博物馆
- Ningbo Numismatic Museum 宁波钱币博物馆
- Pingyao: Pingyao Historical City
- Shanghai: Shanghai Museum 上海博物馆
- Shanghai: China Accounting Museum 中国会计博物馆
- Shanghai: Shanghai Bank Museum 上海金融博物馆
- Shanghai: Shanghai Mint Museum 上海造币博物馆
- Shenyang: Shenyang Financial Museum 沈阳金融博物馆
- Shijiazhuang: China Invoice Museum 中国发票博物馆
- Shijiazhuang: Hebei Numismatic Museum 河北钱币博物馆
- Suzhou: Chinese Museum of Funds 中国基金博物馆

- Tianjin: Chinese Museum of Finance 中国金融博物馆
- Wuchang: Hubei Numismatic Museum 湖北钱币博物馆
- Wuhan: Wuhan Tax Museum 武汉税收博物馆
- Wulumuqi (Urumqi): Xinjiang Numismatic Museum 新疆钱币博物馆
- Xi'an: Shaanxi Numismatic Museum 陕西钱币博物馆
- Xi'an: Tang West Market Museum 大唐西市博物馆

France

- Cherbourg: Musées de Cherbourg (Collection d'Aboville)
- Dijon: Musée des Beaux-Arts (Collection Trimolet)
- Gap: Musée Museum départemental des Hautes Alpes
- Lyon: Musée des Confluences
- Nantes: Musée de Nantes (Collection Dobrée)
- Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France (Cabinet des Médailles)
- Paris: Monnaie de Paris
- Paris: Musée Cernuschi
- Paris: Musée national des arts asiatiques Guimet
- Paris: Missions étrangères de Paris (Collections H. and M. de Pirey)
- Rochefort: Musée d'art et d'histoire (Collection Jules Silvestre)
- Versailles: Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles

Germany

- Berlin: Münzkabinett
- Cologne: Museum für Ost-asiatische Kunst
- Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (Münzkabinett)
- Duisberg: Kultur- und Stadthistorisches Museum Duisburg (Sammlung Köhler-Osbahr)
- Halle: Kunstmuseum Moritzburg
- Jena: Orientalisches Münzkabinett Jena
- Tübingen: Islamische Forschung

Greece – Corfu: Museum of Asian Art

Italy

- Parma: Museo d'Arte Cinese ed Etnografico
- Trieste: Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte (Civico Museo d'Arte Orientale)
- Vatican City: The Vatican Library (Numismatic Department)

Japan

- Osaka: Japan Mint and Museum 日本造幣局と博物館
- Tokyo: Bank of Japan Currency Museum, Institute for Monetary and Economic Studies 日本銀行金融研究所貨幣博物館

Korea

- Daejeon: Currency Museum of Korea, Daejeon
- Seoul: Bank of Korea Museum

The Netherlands

- Leiden: Museum Volkenkunde Museum of Ethnography)
- Rotterdam: Wereldmuseum

Poland

- Łódź: Archaeological and Ethnographic Museum (Numismatic Department)

Portugal

- Lisbon: Museu Casa da Moeda (Portuguese Mint Museum)

Russia

- St Petersburg: The State Hermitage Museum
- St Petersburg: Kunstammerer
- Vladivostock: Academy of Sciences (Far East Institute)

Sweden

- Stockholm: The Museum of Ethnography (Hedin and Amboldt Collections)
- Uppsala: Gustavianum, Uppsala universitets myntkabinett

Switzerland – Basel: Museum der Kulturen

UK

- Aberdeen: Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums and University of Aberdeen Museums
- Bath: Museum of East Asian Art
- Belfast: Special Collections & Archives of Queen's University, Belfast (Sir Robert Hart Collections)
- Brighton: Brighton Museum and Art Gallery
- Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum (Coin Room)

- Cambridge: Cambridge University Library (Chinese numismatic section)
- Durham: Oriental Museum
- Edinburgh: National Museum of Scotland
- Glasgow: Hunterian Museum
- Hastings: Hastings Museum and Art Gallery
- Leeds: The Brotherton Library, Leeds University (Special Collections)
- Llantrisant: The Royal Mint Museum
- London: Bank of England Museum
- London: British Museum (Department of Coins and Medals)
- London: Horniman Museum
- London: National Maritime Museum
- London: Old Speech Room Gallery
- London: Science Museum
- London: Victoria & Albert Museum
- Maidstone: Maidstone Museum and Bentrif Art Gallery
- Manchester: The Manchester Museum
- Newcastle: Natural History Resource Centre (John G. Watson collection)
- Oxford: Ashmolean Museum
- Oxford: Pitt Rivers Museum
- Preston: Harris Museum and Art Gallery
- Sheffield: Museums Sheffield
- St Andrews: University of St Andrews (Museums and Collections)

USA

- Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts
- Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology
- Chicago, IL: Field Museum of Natural History
- Colorado Springs, CO: American Numismatic Association
- Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University
- New Haven, CT: Yale University Art Gallery (Numismatic Department)
- New York, NY: American Numismatic Society
- New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Newark, NJ: Newark Museum
- Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania, Museum of Archaeology & Anthropology

- Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Museum of Natural History
- Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library (Numismatic collection)
- Stanford, CA: Stanford University (Hoover Institution Archives)
- Washington, DC: Smithsonian Museum (National Numismatic Collection)
- Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum

Endnotes

1. I am grateful to Iside Carbone for inviting me to the conference and for her feedback on this paper. I am also grateful to Joe Cribb, Philip Attwood and Amy Matthewson for their comments in the preparation of this paper. "Chinese art", entry by Michael Sullivan and Jerome Silbergeld, <https://www.Britannia.com/art/Chinese-art, 03-03-2020>.
2. *The British Museum Book of Chinese Art*, ed. Jessica Rawson, London, 2007 (updated and revised, 2012); Carol Michaelson and Jane Portal, *Chinese Art Close Up*, London, 2014; Jessica Harrison-Hall, *China, A History in Objects*, London, 2017. These three books were produced as part of three different series of world art and history, the "History in Objects" series inspired by the Museum's *History of the World in A Hundred Objects* exhibition, radio series, book, and CD (2010).
3. Some of this information can also be found on my website Chinese Money Matters, <https://chinesemoneymatters.wordpress.com/, 03-03-2020>.
4. International Numismatic Congress, Warsaw, 19-24 September 2021, <http://inc2021.pl/, 03-03-2020>.
5. For example Pan Weilin's paper "The 19th Century European Travelers and the Chinese 'Hell Money' Collections in Europe", presented at the Eurasian Connections Conference, NYU Shanghai, 20-22 August 2018. Her paper was based on research as a Robinson Fellow in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum in 2017, and is an extension of her work on the transformation of the paper-offering handicraft industry (tin foil making) in twentieth-century Zhejiang, <http://cga.shanghai.nyu.edu/2018-annual-conference-weilin/, 03-03-2020>.
6. British Museum Collection Online database, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx, 03-03-2020.
7. The East Asian collection in the Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum comprises over 20,000 coins, including approximately 15,000 Chinese coins – through the entire history of China from 600 BC to the twenty-first century, 3,000 Korean coins – from the Koryŏ period to Korea's first modern milled coinage (1882), 1,600 Japanese coins, and a significant collection of Vietnamese coins and Chinese amulets, <http://hcr.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/collection/8, 03-03-2020>. During her three year Sackler Fellowship at the Ashmolean, 2014-2017, Lyce Jankowski transformed this collection into a well-ordered and documented collection, hosted classes, curated displays and presented papers at conferences. For details see <https://univ-paris-diderot.academia.edu/LyceJankowski, 03-03-2020>.
8. See the web-pages for the Department of Coins and Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, <https://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/dept/coins/collection/index.html, 03-03-2020>.
9. There are many other museums in the UK: 1500 museums are represented by the Museums Association (<https://www.museumsassociation.org/about, 03-03-2020>), and 1722 museums are listed on <https://www.museums.co.uk, 03-03-2020> ("the largest independent museum listing site in UK").
10. Money and Medals Network website – collection mapping page, https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx, 03-03-2020.
11. See Chinese Money Matters – Collections, <https://chinesemoneymatters.wordpress.com/references/collecti> ons/, 03-03-2020. Cao Qin, Curator of the Chinese Collections, at the National Museum of Scotland, is also mapping the Chinese money collections in Scotland as part of the larger project *Scotland's East Asia Collections*, <https://www.nms.ac.uk/national-international/sharing-collections/national-projects/east-asia-collections/, 03-03-2020>. See also the 5th Conference of the Société de Numismatique Asiatique, which focused on collections in France: "Cinquième Rencontres de Numismatique Asiatique: Les monnaies asiatiques dans les collections publiques françaises", at the Monnaie de Paris, 23 November 2019, <https://sites.google.com/site/societedenumismatiqueasiatique/04---colloques-conferences, 03-03-2020>.
12. On the Japanese and Korean money and money-related collections in the British Museum, see the online database Collection Online. Shin'ichi Sakuraki et al., *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection (pre-Meiji) at the British Museum*, London, 2010. Helen Wang, *Korean Money*, Appendix 2, in: Jane Portal, *Korea, Art and Archaeology*, London, 2000, p. 229-236. See also *The Korean Collection in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum*, Appendix, ed. National Research Institute of Cultural Heritage (NRICH), in: *Korean Collections at the British Museum, Korea, 2016*.
13. See, for example, Jacques Melitz, *The Polanyi School of Anthropology on Money: an Economist's View*, in: *American Anthropology*, new series, vol. 72, no. 5, 1970, p. 1020-1040.
14. See my paper *Textiles as Money on the Silk Road?*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 23 no. 2, 2013, p. 165-174.
15. Andrew Burnett, *Coins*, London, 1991.
16. Joe Cribb, *What is money? and Origins*, in: *Money – from Cowrie Shells to Credit Cards*, ed. Joe Cribb, London, 1986. Also, Joe Cribb, *Money as Metaphor 1*, in: *Numismatic Chronicle*, 165, 2005, p. 431.
17. Masahiro Arakawa, tr. Valerie Hansen, *The Transportation of Tax Textiles to the North-West: as Part of the Tang-Dynasty Military Shipment System*, in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 23 no. 2, 2013, p. 245-261.
18. *Trade and Market in the Early Empires: Economies in History and Theory*, eds. Karl Polanyi et al., Glencoe, 1957.
19. A. B. Coole (with Hitoshi Kozono and Howard F. Bowker), *Encyclopedia of Chinese Coins, vol. 1, Bibliography of Far Eastern Numismatology and a Coin Index*, Kansas, 1967. The Japanese section in this book has been superseded by *Bibliography of Japanese Numismatics*, compiled by Edward Welch and Helen Wang, and revised by Yoshiko Yasumura (2014). It includes the titles in the bibliographies prepared by Professor Shin'ichi Sakuraki in the Surveys of Numismatic Research. Published on the British Museum website, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/pdf/Japanese%20Numismatic%20Bibliography%20FINAL.pdf, 03-03-2020>.
20. For details of their publications – books and articles – see their respective pages on Academia.edu. Bruce W. Smith maintains a private bibliography of Chinese numismatics, and responds frequently and helpfully to queries on *The E-Sylum*, <https://www.coinbooks.org/esylum/> <https://www.coinbooks.org/esylum/, 03-03-2020>.
21. See also "China – a survey of numismatic literature 2008-2012" which I prepared for this volume, but which was not published at the time, https://www.academia.edu/14485661/China_-_a_survey_of_numismatic_literature_2008-2012, 03-03-2020.
22. For this volume the Chinese section will be compiled by Lyce Jankowski.
23. *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society (JONS)*, http://orientalnumismaticociety.org/ons_journal, 03-03-2020.
24. *Numismatique Asiatique* is published by La Société de Numismatique Asiatique, <https://sites.google.com/site/societedenumismatiqueasiatique/revue, 03-03-2020>.
25. The BSFN website, <http://www.sfnnumismatique.org/le-bulletin-de-la-societe-francaise-de-numismatique/, 03-03-2020>.
26. The *Numismatic Chronicle* is the annual publication of the Royal Numismatic Society, <https://numismatics.org.uk/society-publications-2/the-numismatic-chronicle/, 03-03-2020>.
27. *The E-sylum* is the weekly online publication of the Numismatic Bibliomania Society, <https://www.coinbooks.org/esylum/, 03-03-2020>.
28. *Coins Weekly* is the weekly online publication of Münzenwoche GmbH.

29. The International Banknote Society Journal, https://www.theibns.org/joomla/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=485&Itemid=123, 03-03-2020.
30. This journal was formerly a quarterly, but is now published bimonthly.
31. David Hartill, *Cast Chinese Coins* (2nd edn.), New Generation Publishing, 2017.
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33. See the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) website. A search for "Chinese coin" will show the Chinese coins that have been unearthed in the UK and recorded as part of the scheme, <https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/q/chinese+coin>, 03-03-2020.
34. See the Primal Trek website, <http://primaltrek.com/>, 03-03-2020.
35. See the Zeno.ru website, <https://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=501>, 03-03-2020.
36. See the Chinese Money Matters website, <https://chinesemoneymatters.wordpress.com/>, 03-03-2020.
37. Project website for Research Group (FOR 596) funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, <http://www.monieseastasia.uni-tuebingen.de/index.html>, 03-03-2020.
38. Project website http://www.monieseastasia.uni-tuebingen.de/framework_sum_eng.html, 03-03-2020.
39. Werner Burger, *Ch'ing Cash*, 2 vols, Hong Kong, 2016. For further details of Burger's vast collection of coins and library, see Edith Terry, *Coin stash that puts new spin on China's 100 years of humiliation*, in: *South China Morning Post*, 22 October 2017, <https://www.scmp.com/magazines/post-magazine/long-reads/article/2116027/coin-stash-puts-new-spin-chinas-100-years>, 03-03-2020.
40. <http://chinese-export-silver.com.gridhosted.co.uk/>, 03-03-2020.
41. For details, see Adrien von Ferscht's website <http://chinese-export-silver.com>, 03-03-2020.
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Summary

There are tens of thousands of pieces of Chinese money (coins, banknotes, coin-shaped amulets, hell money and other money-related objects) in East Asian collections outside of Asia. Why are they so neglected?

In the first part of my presentation, I consider the locations and provenances of the collections, the status of the collectors, and the level of expertise currently available to study them. When East Asian money is part of a collection of world money, the East Asian money tends to be overshadowed by its European, American and Middle Eastern counterparts. Similarly, when East Asian money is part of a collection of East Asian material culture, the collection is usually noted as an “art” collection or an “ethnographic” collection, with the result that the East Asian money is overshadowed again. In other words, collections of East Asian money are largely neglected by the communities of experts who are responsible for looking after them. Too often, the East Asian money remains untouched, uncatalogued, unknown, and unconsidered.

And yet, their potential is enormous! In the second part of my paper, I give examples of recent detailed studies and projects concerning East Asian money. I also show how a very simple knowledge of Chinese coins can empower museum-visitors who have no prior knowledge of East Asia or East Asian languages.

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Title

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