

泉

幣

第十四期

上海泉幣學社

聚興誠銀行

資本四百萬元

民國二年創立

專營商業銀行一切業務
各分支行另設儲蓄部

通匯地點 北京 天津 宜昌 沙市

重慶 昆明 香港 貴陽 沅陵 常德

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總行 重慶 林森路

上海分行 江西路二五〇號

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上海分行辦事處

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電話三九五八〇

中華民國三十一年九月一日出版

泉幣雜誌

定價每冊新幣二元(社員贈閱)

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承印者 人文印書館

上海山海關路第四〇六號

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寄售處 醫學書局

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麒麟泉幣社

市場內 電話一二三四九

中華民國郵政局登記證暫字三三八號

中華民國三十一年九月一日上海泉幣學社出版

泉幣雜誌

刊二月

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考據門

ERRORS IN THE SILVER COINAGE OF KIRIN PROVINCE.

An Investigation made by E. Kann.

Before dealing with the subject matter let us recall that, until 1929, Kirin Province was one of the "Three Eastern Provinces", then popularly known as Manchuria. When, in 1931, the latter seceded from China, Kirin province was estimated to have occupied 267, 753 square kilometers, holding a population variously given at between 5 million and 7 million people.

There is uncontrovertible evidence that, already in 1882 (the eighth year of Kuang Hsü), silver coins were minted in the arsenal, situated in the capital, also called Kirin. A one-tael and a half-tael piece was struck, more or less by way of essay. However, two years later an entire series of silver tael coins was produced, consisting of 1 tael, 7 mace, $\frac{1}{2}$ tael, 3 mace and 1 mace. This series was of a peculiar, distinctly pretty design, was excellently executed and had only Chinese inscriptions. No errors are known to exist.

It was in 1901 that the Kirin mint obtained new, modern machinery from abroad. But we have clear evidence that, already about 1895, the minting of silver coins of the dollar series was taking place, as the coinage of tael pieces was discontinued as unsuccessful and unpopular in 1885. The production of silver dollar coins consisted of the following denominations: 1 dollar,

50, 20, 10 and 5 cents in silver. With copper coins we are not concerned here.

Toward the end of the past and the beginning of the current century Kirin was a province of minor importance and with a small and poor population. The output of its mint was quite considerable, especially when measured by the aforementioned standards. It must be admitted that the installation of a modern minting plant in 1901 was not tantamount to an improvement in the output; on the contrary, one might safely state that the innovation had consequences which might justly be styled retrograde.

The coinage of silver proceeded, as far as the dollar series was concerned, from about 1895 to 1908, in which latter year it ceased altogether. During the imperial regime officials were selected from amongst the literati. Every government official of standing had to have an excellent education, especially as regards the Chinese classics. It is therefore not to be wondered at that no errors are known to exist on the obverse of the Chinese silver coinage in general, and of Kirin's coins in particular.

On the other hand, errors on the reverse of Kirin silver coins, as shown by the inscriptions in the English language are to be found in multitude. The frequency of such mistakes is remarkably recurring. This fact can be explained by the surmise that the maker of steel dies was ignorant of the English language, an attribute which was equally applicable to his superiors in office. The population of Kirin Province of fifty years ago could not read or understand foreign

languages; one might safely state to the extent of 99 per centum of the total. Had any of the native populace been able to detect the many errors found on Kirin's coinage, he probably would have remained indifferent to the fact, as long as the coin had the prescribed fineness and weight.

In speaking of errors in the legend it must once more be reiterated that these occur on the reverse only, where inscriptions in English are found. The center of all Kirin's silver coins is occupied by the dragon. Above is invariably found: KIRIN. PROVINCE; below value, varying according to denomination. It is mainly in the latter direction that numerous mistakes are occurring. These latter may be divided into (a) basic errors, and (b) individual mistakes.

(a) Basic Errors:

1 \$ coin is wrongly inscribed	" 7. CANDAREENS.	2. It should read	" 72 CANDAREENS";
50 cts coin	"	" 3. CABDAREENS. 6. "	" 36 CANDAREENS";
20 cts "	"	" 1 MACE AND 44. CANDAREENS;"	" 14.4 CANDAREENS;
10 cts "	"	" CANDARINS. 72.	" 7.2 CANDAREENS;
5 cts "	"	" 36. CANDAREENS.	" 3.6 CANDAREENS.

Apart from these universal basic errors, we find inconsistencies, insofar as Candareens is sometimes spelled so, but at others as Candarins. In the dollar values we find the last-mentioned spelling until 1901; but from then onward invariably CAINDARINS. All these designa-

tions are meant to give a translation from the Chinese, where the denomination is indicated in terms of the K'uping tael weight. It needs no emphasis to point to the fact that the above-mentioned deviations are distinctly basic errors.

(b) Individual Errors:

Quite apart from these basic mistakes there is an endless row of specific errors to be found on the reverse of Kirin's silver coinage. In the following I am citing such, as far as I have found them in my own collection. These examples are derived from specimens directly available to me. But undoubtedly there are many more errors extant, and I am fully aware of the incompleteness of my enumeration. The numbers mentioned in brackets here are merely reference numbers from an essay on the subject written by myself, but not yet published in print.

(1) 5 CENTS:

CANDAREENZ { on issue up to 1898 (No. 2, 2a, 4, 4a, 4b)
 { on issue of 1900 (No. 11)

(2) 10 CENTS:

CANDARINS. 72	on issue up to 1898	(No. 39)
CANDARINS. 78	" "	1898 (No. 40, 40a, 40b)
CANDARINS.	" "	1898 (No. 41, 41a, 54)
KIRIN PROVINCE	" "	1898 (No. 46)

CANDAPINS	"	"	1898	(No. 48)
KIPIN. PROVINCE	"	"	1898	(No. 49)(double error)
KIRIN. PROVINCE	"	"	1898	(No. 53a)
CANRADINS	"	"	1898	(No. 55)
KIRIN. PROVINCE	"	"	1898	(No. 58)
CANDARINS	"	"	1901	(No. 74)
KIRIN. PROVINCE	"	"	1901	(No. 75, 77)
KIRIN. PROVINCE	"	"	1902	(No. 79)
CANDARINS	"	"	1903	(No. 83)

(3) 20 CENTS:

In this category many errors in transcribing from the Chinese are noticeable. The value is arranged in varying spacing of the English letters. In very many instances we find one single word only, appearing thus: IMACEAND44CANDAREENS. While this admittedly is incorrect, it occurs so frequently, that it is wiser not to be considered an error.

ONEMACEAND 44 CANDAREENS, on issue up to 1898, (No. 103)
 ONE MACE AND 44 CANDAREINS, " " , (No. 104)
 PROVINCE IMACE AND 44 CANDAREENS, " " , (No. 105c)
 IMACE AND 44 CANDAREENS, " " , (No. 106)

IMAC EAN D44CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 106f)
I MACEANO 44 CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 107)
IMACEAND 44 CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 108)
IHAGE AND 44 CND△RENS,	"	"	, (No. 109)
IIIA□△ND 44 CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 110)
I MACE AND 44 CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 113)
KIRIN. CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 114)
CANDAPEENS,	"	1900,	(No. 122)
I MACEAND 44 CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 123)
IMACEAND 44 CANDAREEN2,	"	1902,	(No. 132)
I MAC EAND 44 CANDAREENS,	"	1903,	(No. 135)
CANDAPEENS,	"	1903,	(No. 136)
CANDAREEN2,	"	1904,	(No. 142)
CANDAPEENS,	"	"	, (No. 243)
IMACEAND 44 CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 144)
KIRINE. I MACE AND 44 CNDAREENS,	"	1907,	(No. 156)
"	"	1908,	(No. 159)
PROVINCD. IMACDAND44CANDAREENS,	"	"	, (No. 162)

(4) HALF-DOLLAR

Also in this denomination there are numerous errors to be found on the reverse of the coin. The half-dollar coin of Kirin has the standard size of 32 mm in diameter and a thickness of $1\frac{1}{4}$ mm. But there was an initial issue without date, much smaller* and thicker than the standard piece, which apparently never was more than an essay, made before 1898. This issue displays an English inscription of "6. CANDARINS. 3" (No. 163), while "3. CANDARINS. 6" was meant, though this designation also is wrong, for correctly it ought to have read "36 CANDARINS".

Other mistakes found on half-dollar specimens are:

3. CANDARINS. 6	PROVINCE	(No. 170)	on issue of 1898.
3. CANDAPINS. 6		(No. 174,175)	" "
3. CANDAPNS. 6		(No. 177,177a)	" "
3. CANIARINS. 6		(No. 180)	" "
"		(No. 186)	" "
3. CANDARINS. 6		(No. 196)	" 1901
3. CANDAREINS **		(No. 197)	" "

* Size 23 mm in diameter; 2 mm thick.

** This is a double error, since the half-dollar coin bears the inscription of value of the 20-cent piece.

PROVINCE 3. CANDARIN2.6	(No. 198)	on issue of 1901
PROVINCE	(No. 199)	" "
3. CANDARIN2. 6	(No. 205)	" 1902
3. CANDARINS. 6	(No. 206)	" "
PROVINCE	(No. 215)	" 1904
3. CANDARINS. 6		

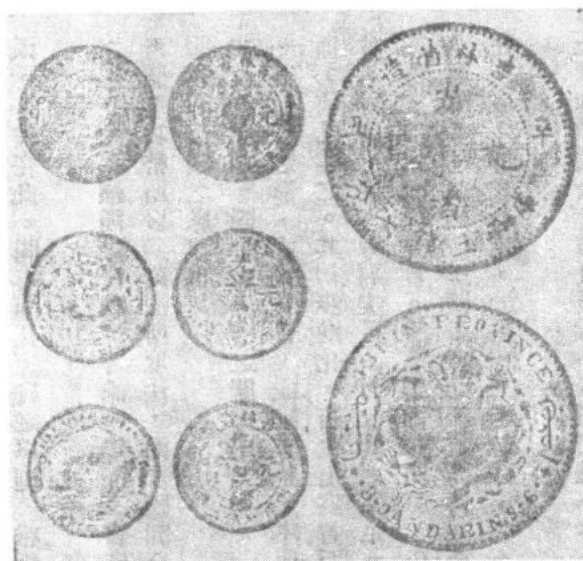
(5) ONE DOLLAR

Here the number of errors is much reduced.

PROVINCE	(No. 238,242)	on issue of 1898
CAINDARIN2	(No. 253,253a, b.)	" 1901
PROVINCE CAINDARIN2	(No. 254,254a)	" "
PROVINCE	(No. 261,)	" 1903
"	(No. 265,267)	" 1904
3. CAINDARINS. 6 *	(No. 276,276a)	" 1906

* Instead of 7. CAINDARINS. 2

本文「吉林銀幣之錯版」作者，闕恩君，奧國人，中國貨幣專家，現任上海西僑貨幣研究會會長。其名著有「中國之通貨」（別發洋行），「中國機器造幣史」，「中國最早之銀幣」，「中國之金幣」等，散見於中國美術雜誌，中央銀行月刊等刊。沐園識



林錯版幣四品 閻恩君藏

方孔制錢考

張綱伯

方孔制錢，行用之久，上溯戰國，下逮民初，首尾不下二千二百年，爲世界任何貨幣所不及。且不僅

爲吾國所獨創，而文化所播，日本朝鮮安南，滿蒙回藏，靡不效。行用之廣，綿亘百餘萬里。然孔何以方，未聞有人追本窮源，攷其究竟。自古以來，但知其然，而不知其所以然。晉魯元道作錢神論，名之曰孔方，尊之曰兄。蓋憤世嫉俗，有激而言，於攷古無與焉。今者實質貨幣既廢，方孔制錢，久經絕跡，數典忘祖，後世更將瞠目，不知所對。爰作斯攷，以質當世。

按貨幣源流問題，吾與家相及貫井銀次郎氏，在民國廿四五年間，互相研討，往返駁詰，非止一次。凡與本文有關各節，擇要摘錄，以資參攷。貨幣雜誌第二百號，再論貨幣源流中附註有云。

「圓金之形，由璧環所蛻化，日本泉家言之。余嘗贊同其說，以爲極有見地。顧言其然，而未言其所以然，余加以補充。謂刀形身長而首銳，布形笨拙而難束，屈折斷損堪虞，攜帶不便，莫此爲甚。貨幣乃日常所需，求攜取之便利，爲必要之條件。古者君子必佩玉，璧以文身，環以飾臂

，男女皆然。富貴者用玉，常人力不能致而用銅，故璧環者，古人所常佩之物也。因感覺刀布取攜之困難，聯想及於璧環繫身之便利，遂仿其形，而創圓金。刀布所以一變而爲圓金，其最大原因，亦卽在此。圓形圓孔，貫之以繩，雖纍纍千百，束諸腰間，置之囊中，無損折之虞，無傷膚之慮，而有種種之便利，可謂一舉而三善備矣。此圓形貨幣所以爲萬國所取法，而吾國圓金，可詡爲圓形錢之鼻祖也。」

第二百另三期，圓金與玉璧之關係中云，

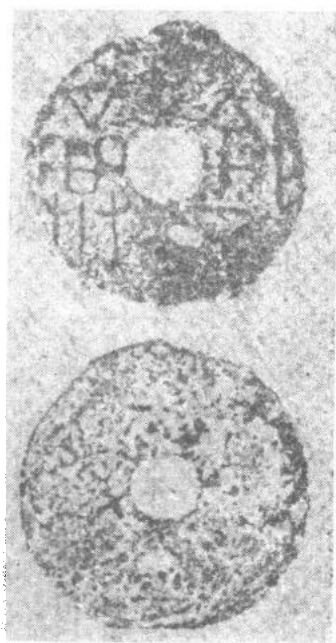
「至刀布之形，或銳其首，或銳其足，不便於取攜，前已言之。其初步進化，布化由空首而中空首，方肩方足，方肩尖足，而改圓肩圓足。刀化亦由尖首，而改圓首。然攜帶困難問題，仍未完全解除也。最後仿玉璧玉環之形，而爲圓金。悅化既成，形式乃定，於是亘二千數百年而不再變化。」

以上兩節論圓金，仿自璧環，自謂切確不移。更舉

實據，以資佐證。攷說文玉部環字下引爾雅曰。「好倍肉謂之環，肉倍好謂之璧，肉好若一謂之環」。

肉好二字，本爲璧環之專稱，而金錢沿用之。如食貨志敘周景王鑄大錢曰。

「卒鑄大錢，文曰寶貨，肉好皆有周郭。」名詞互用，留此蛛絲馬跡，以示圓金系出璧環，今後世數典而不忘祖，甚幸事也。昔人創去刀留環之說，今攷圓金初創，形制古樸，厥惟垣字共字。兩幣卽其後之闕焉石東西周重一兩十二四銖之類，皆由布化遞嬗而來，與刀幣漠不相關。則其說將不攻自破，無待贅辭。又攷圓金銘文大抵不外紀地紀重。少則一字，多至六字，綜而計之，共有十四種。一字者，三品，曰垣，曰共，曰閔。二字者七品，曰安藏，曰陰平，曰濟陰，曰离石，曰西周，曰東周，曰半圓。四字者兩品，曰共屯赤金，曰長垣一銖。六字者兩品，曰重一兩十二四銖。圓金之形，內外皆圓，上下左右，回環往復，旋轉若一。文字



位置，勢難固定，且文悉爲大篆古籀。後世不察，或置之左而倒讀之，或置之下而臥讀之，附會葛天神農，荒誕不經，無足怪也。以上所舉諸品，凡兩字以上者，舍濟陰東西周爲對讀外，其餘靡不旋讀。蓋圓形圓孔，布置文字，信手所至，遂有橫臥顛倒之弊。試取共屯赤金，長垣一銖，及重一兩十二四銖諸幣而諦審之，可恍然而悟。夫錢幣者，人人之所必需，日日之所接觸。故其銘文不問其爲紀重紀直，期在簡明，易於識讀，雖婦孺走卒，一望而知。然則孔之所以易圓而方，以意揆之，必爲固定

錢文位置起見，無他故也。位置既定，左右有別，上下劃分，此半兩以後之錢，所以非二字卽四字。而四字者，不論循讀對讀，亦無橫臥倒置之弊矣。家相在半兩之研究一文中，以爲圓形方孔，殆取義於天圓地方，似嫌空泛。又家相伯昭僉以秦半兩爲方孔錢之鼻祖，與鄙見少異。吾則謂寶四六化，應在半兩之先。當戰國之末，六國將滅未滅之際，不但刀布猶未盡廢，卽改圓金之後，亦各自爲政。周行東周西周，秦行重一兩十二四銖半圓，趙行閼離，燕行一化明化明多，齊行寶化寶四六化。或紀地，或紀重，或紀直，或圓孔，或方孔。方孔之制，所以創自寶四六化者，殆因兩錢銘文，各爲三字，布置困難。而此三字之形又復首長次短。於是易圓而方，右置一字，左置二字，停允妥貼，巧若天成。秦滅六國，改鑄半兩，取法於此，事或然歟。方孔古錢，上述而外，又有兩箇文陽長安三品。此二錢者，在秦半兩之先，抑在半兩之後，年湮代遠，史載闕如，莫由詳究。或審兩箇形制色質，與閼離

石初無少異。其爲同地先後所鑄，毫無疑義。而其不同之點，則有四焉。姑取离石兩箇二錢，並列而比較之，益見當時幣制變化劇烈。又攷秦取閼离石二城在先，滅趙在後，此錢殆歸秦後所鑄。宜乎制同秦錢，形存趙式也。

書體 銘文 形制 位置

离石 大篆 紀地 圓孔 旋讀

兩箇 小篆 紀重 方孔 對讀

兩箇傳形者，惟方氏舊藏有之，細審乃取八銖半兩改刻，形跡宛然。聞有人因此有疑留爲地名者，賸錢妄說，恐淆觀聽，爰本所知，辭而闕之。

四曲文陽錢，舊釋文信，方藥兩改釋文計。蔣伯璠釋文都，伯昭釋文部。細審穿左一字，若爲信爲計，左旁並非言字。釋都釋部，右旁又非邑字，似難愜當。按此錢由三孔魚陽布蛻變而來，有四曲文爲證。以理推之，應爲陽字，第屬省筆，又爲傳形，以致混淆莫辨耳。且好大肉少，地位狹隘，布置文字，殊費周章。乃將易字下部，正而不斜，縮成口

字，更難辨識。若將書法略加指撥，而成习字，則一望而爲傳形省筆之陽字，尙有何疑哉。此錢與秦半兩同流異派。一襲三孔布之背文，而取其紀重，一襲三孔布之面文，而取其紀地。一則間接，而先有圓金重一兩二十四銖半圓爲之導，一則直接而孔已成方。孰先孰後，殊難斷定矣。

長安錢右長下安，文字位置，不失古風。然安字正



書而非橫臥，方孔優點，於茲益顯。宜乎圓孔之制，行之未久而旋廢也。此錢以

形論，應在秦錢之後，以文論，應在秦錢之先，史志疏略，要不可攷矣。

南漢乾亨錢

泉緯叢談

王蔭嘉

乾符六年，黃巢自嶺表北還。湖湘間羣盜蟻結，劉謙擊之屢有功，因據封州。中和三年六月辛丑，授

封州刺史，兼賀水鎮使。愛蓄用度，撫納流亡，養士卒，得精兵萬人，多具戰艦，境內肅然。乾甯元年卒。其推其子隱爲嗣。遭中原多故，干戈不及於僻遠，奄有南海。然事唐甚謹。及襲（初名巖）尤多延中原人士，深結朱全忠，貢獻珍奇方物金銀寶貨，動數千萬。梁貞明元年十一月間錢鏐册封吳越，恥稱南海之號，吳越國王南海郡王是貞明之表求封南越王，及加都統。梁帝不許。嚴謂僚屬曰，今中國紛紛，孰爲天子，安能梯航萬里遠事僞庭乎。自是貢使遂絕。貞明三年八月癸巳，卽皇帝位於番禺。國號大越。大赦。改元乾亨。鑄乾亨重寶錢。洪遵泉志曰「乾



萊鍾官圖經引董道錢譜曰「乾亨重寶，僞漢劉巖鑄

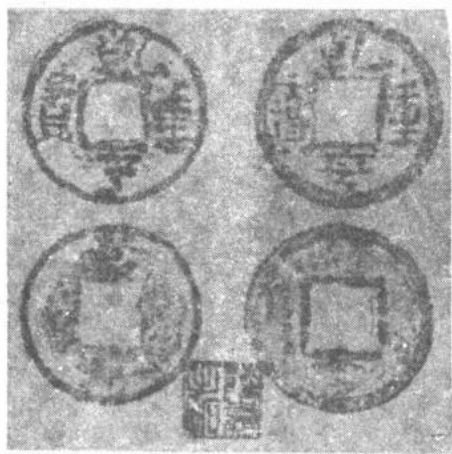
亨重寶重三銖六參」。李孝美錢譜曰「此錢文曰乾亨重寶，徑七分重六銖，疑當時所鑄」。陳孝

一。乾亨二年梁末帝貞明四年蜀光天元年十一月，祀南郊，大赦，改國號曰漢。以國用不足，鑄鉛錢，十當銅錢一。泉志曰「鉛錢有二品，輪郭鏤薄，文曰乾亨重寶，大者徑寸，重三銖，九參，重寶二字傳形，小者徑九分，重三銖九參，余抵嶺外始獲此品，若銅錢今世所傳至多」。諸家所載南漢鑄錢，文僅重寶一種，而遺其曰通寶者。今通寶錢明明具在，不過多少之別，乃古人之所未曾見耳。羅伯昭氏著南漢錢史，定通寶爲初



鑄錢。洵有卓識，見本誌第四期，敢更進而疏證之曰，通寶錢者，乾亨二年十一月以前國號大越時之所鑄。洎改國號曰漢國用不足，鑄鉛錢十當銅錢一，而銅鉛之文，始俱改曰重寶。重寶者仿乾元之制，所當者重，故曰重寶。若以一當一，通寶而已，何重之有。鉛錢乃

其輔幣。鑄額既繁，并其錢文不暇出于士人之手，聽任工匠就範刻畫，粗製濫造，惟求迅速。迄今嶺南出土動輒千百，職是故也。至其行使鉛錢之法，後主銀大寶五年，十國紀年引漢史云，「乾和後多聚銅錢。城內用鉛，城外用銅，禁其出入，犯者抵死。俸祿非特恩不給銅錢」。此寥寥數語，于當時聚斂之策，及銅錢之荒，可概見。乾和爲中宗晟號



，上距乾亨元年爲二十七年，下迄是年爲二十年，銅錢專入內帑，固無新鑄可言，所鑄惟鉛錢耳。「俸祿非特恩不給銅錢」清

異錄曰，「南漢地狹力弱，事例卑狹，州縣時會僚屬，不設席而分饋阿堵，號潤家錢。」潤家雖未明言銅錢，而銅錢之名貴，幾等禁樹。然「城內用鉛」云云其經濟政策之離奇，令人莫名其妙。城內者，番禺，永樂大典引宋會要云，「劉氏割據嶺表，建僞都於廣州，乃分南海縣地爲常康咸甯二縣，以爲京邑，且就美名」。吳氏蘭修南漢地里志「興王府本廣州，乾亨元年改爲興王府，領縣十三，常康，咸甯，番禺，增城，四會，化蒙，懷集，泮水，東莞，清遠，浚淮，新會，義甯，」是也。銅錢既搜括淨盡，城內行使，惟有鉛錢。「城外」包含國內國外。國外固多行用銅錢。所謂銅錢，又不限于乾亨，如各國各地所鑄及開元錢，甚至開元以前古錢皆銅錢也。「禁其出入，犯者抵死」。則城內之鉛錢，既不能出城闔，追論遠方之物，公私其何以貿易，人民其何以聊生。城外之銅錢不能入，則在上者何從積聚。其政策豈非離奇之至。開寶四年，資治通鑑長編陳均九朝編年云，「制大量重斂於民，