

**'All that glitters is not Roman' - Roman coins discovered in East Java, Indonesia**

**Author**

Hoppál, Krisztina, Vida, István, Adhityatama, Shinatria, Yahui, Lu

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# ‘All that glitters is not Roman’ Roman coins discovered in East Java, Indonesia

A study on new data with an overview on other coins  
discovered beyond India

KRISZTINA HOPPÁL

MTA-ELTE-SZTE Silk Road Research Group<sup>1</sup>

hoppalkriszti85@gmail.com

ISTVÁN VIDA

Hungarian National Museum

vida.istvan@hnm.hu

SHINATRIA ADHITYATAMA

National Archaeological Research Center,  
Jakarta

shinatriaadhityatama@gmail.com

LU YAHUI

Institute of Archaeology  
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

luyahuipku@126.com

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## Abstract

*Studying extra regional trade networks in Antiquity can be considered a relatively popular field of research, but the intensity and patterns of such complex system still leave lot of questions, particularly in the case of Rome’s Far Eastern trade. There is still a trend to visualize a kind of globalized commercial activity between the Imperium and communities on the eastern edge of the Silk Road(s). However, the facts provide us a more comprehensive picture. Due to the meticulous work of international joint research projects working in East and Southeast Asia followed by a raised interest in collecting ancient objects among local people, an increasing number of Roman objects have been discovered in the region. These finds prove the significance of mediator cultures in transferring Roman artifacts beyond India – with their own imprints on forming evaluation/acceptance of these non-local goods by the receiving culture.*

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At the same time, one must keep in mind that Roman objects discovered in East and Southeast Asia have different backgrounds, and most cases – due to extensive looting – are lacking an archaeologically secure context. Therefore, a careful approach towards these finds is essential along with the re-evaluation of earlier discoveries. Detailed and objective report of Roman artifacts newly discovered in East and Southeast Asia – whatever their background may be – is a first step towards a more elaborate study. In the following pages, fourteen Roman and Byzantine coins along with eleven Chinese coins found in different locations in East Java will be studied. However, the authors had only limited access to some of the coins, thus some basic information (clear, high resolution photos, measurements etc.) are lacking.

Despite the abovementioned difficulties, the paper not only gives identification to these finds but also gathers other Roman coins discovered beyond India along with the re-identification of some earlier discoveries. In the end, it intends to provide possible explanations on how they

1 The research was conducted during the 2018 MOFA Taiwan Fellowship at the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica. The authors would like to emphasise that the coins were discovered by local people and were kindly provided by Shinatria Adhityatama for further research. Thus no field research was conducted by the other authors, and there is no intention to do any kind of field works without the permission of Indonesian authorities.

ended up in East Java, a region that is terra incognita in regards of Roman studies, taking all the suspicious details on their finding context into account.

## Western coins from Tuban Regency

In 2016, five Western coins were reported to be found by local peasants in the vast area of Tuban Regency. Each coin was said to be discovered in a different location without revealing any more details on their finding circumstances or on their distances from one another.

If the locals' account is to be credited, a Roman sestertius, two late Roman bronzes, and a Byzantine follis as well as a fifth coin, a modern replica of a Greek tetradachm were found separately without any connection to each other. However, the presence of a modern replica is highly suspicious.

The replica was modeled of an Athenian tetradrachm minted ca. 454-404 B.C. On the obverse the helmeted head of Athena, facing right. On the reverse the Greek legend ΑΘΕ with the owl, standing right, head facing to the left, an olive sprig and a crescent, all within an incuse square (ID No. Tuban1, *Fig. 1.1a–b*).

Among the Roman coins, a sestertius of Lucilla minted at Rome between 164 and 169 was found. On the obverse Latin legend LVCILLA – AVGVSTA around the draped bust of Lucilla facing right. On the reverse Latin legend [FECVNDITAS] around Fecunditas seated right, nursing a child, before and behind her, a child standing; S C in exergue. Since the sex of the children cannot be determined, the exact type (RIC 1736 or 1738) cannot be defined (ID No. Tuban2, *Fig. 1.2a–b*).

An AE2 of Constantinus Gallus dated between 351 and 354 was also found. On the obverse the Latin legend [D N] CO[NSTANTIVS IVN] NOB C around draped and cuirassed bust of Constantius Gallus facing right, A in left field. On the reverse Latin legend [FEL TEMP REPARATIO] around soldier spearing a fallen horseman. Uncertain mintmark in exergue. RIC ? (ID No. Tuban3, *Fig. 1.3a–b*).

The third coin is an AE3 of Theodosius I minted at Siscia between 384 and 387. On the obverse Latin legend D N THEODO-SIVS P F AVG around pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust of Theodosius I facing right. On the reverse Latin legend GLORIA RO-MANORVM around an emperor advancing right, dragging a captive with right hand, holding a labarum in the left. Mint-mark A SIS in exergue. RIC 38b (ID No. Tuban4, *Fig. 1.4a–b*).

The fourth coin is a 40 nummia coin of Maurice Tiberius minted at Constantinople in 589/590. On the obverse Latin legend D N MAVRC – [TIBE]R P P AV around the helmeted, facing bust of Maurice Tiberius, holding globus cruciger. On the reverse a large M (Greek numeral 40), cross above; to the left, A/N/N/O, to the right [G (?)]/II (regnal year 8), officina number E (Greek numeral 5) below; mint-mark CON in exergue. MIB 67D; cf. BMC 50 (ID No. Tuban5, *Fig. 1.5a–b*).

The above Roman and Byzantine coins are all small denominations with little value, they are common all around the Empire,<sup>2</sup> which could be in circulation for more than a century or two, but usually only for a few decades.<sup>3</sup>

2 In the 4<sup>th</sup> century from Londinium to Alexandria 20 mints were producing bronze coins all over the Roman Empire: see RIC VI, VII, VIII, IX.

3 For an overview of late Roman bronze hoards: RIC X, cxxviii–clxx.



Fig. 1. 1a–b – Modern replica of an Athenian tetradrachm from the Tuban Regency, 2a–b – Sestertius of Lucilla from the Tuban Regency, 3a–b – AE of Constantius Gallus from the Tuban Regency, 4a–b – AE of Theodosius I from the Tuban Regency, 5a–b – Coin of Maurice Tiberius from the Tuban Regency from the Brantas River near Trowulan (©Shinatria Adhityatama).

As for the modern replica, similar coins have been copied not only by swindlers in order to cheat buyers, but also legitimately by museums and commercial replica makers, with no intent to deceive. A quite similar coin was discovered in Flores (for details see below), suggesting that more Greek replicas might have reached the Indonesian archipelago – undoubtedly in modern times. Other modern replicas can be found in Sri Lanka as well. Walburg mentions a Syracuse tetradachm from the same period along with a few later coins, all most probably cast modern forgeries, some of them were offered for sale in 1994, others in 1998. However, all those mentioned by Walburg were made of silver (or a material that looked like silver), unlike their bronze counterpart from the Tuban region.<sup>4</sup>

Although the exact location where the coins were discovered is unknown, it is difficult not looking for connections with the town of Tuban. The town has a particular historical significance partly thanks to its favorable geographical conditions. It was already mentioned as a famous port in Hindu-Buddhist inscriptions as early as the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries. From the 13<sup>th</sup> century Tuban is known as one of the major ports<sup>5</sup> of the notable Majapahit Empire (1293 – 16<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>6</sup> and was also mentioned in Chinese historical records.<sup>7</sup> It kept its economic and cultural importance in the colonial period as does in modern times.

## A presumable coin hoard from the Brantas River

In 2017, a small hoard of Roman and Chinese coins was found by local gold panners in the

4 WALBURG 2008, 183–184, Fig. 2.102.

5 About Tuban in the Majapahit Kingdom e.g.: TJANDRASASMITA 2010; MULJANA 2007.

6 F. KOVÁCS 2014.

7 On Tuban in detail: PRATOMO 2000; SEDYAWATI 1992.

Brantas River near Trowulan, a site that has been theorized as the place of the eponymous capital city of the Majapahit Empire. According to the locals' brief report, the coins were scattered in the riverbed close to each other.

There were 10 Roman coins:

- An AE3 of Constantine I minted at Heraclea in 324. On the obverse Latin legend CONSTAN-TINVS AVG around the laureate head of Constantine I facing right. On the reverse Latin legend D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG around laurel wreath enclosing [VOT XX]. Mint-mark S M H [...] in exergue. RIC 56 or 60 (ID No. Brantas1, *Fig. 2.1a–b*).
- An AE4 of Constans dated between 342 and 348.<sup>8</sup> On the obverse Latin legend D N CONSTA-NS P F AVG around the rosette-diademed head of Constans facing right. On the reverse Latin legend VOT / XX / MVLT / XXX in laurel wreath. Uncertain mint-mark in exergue. RIC ? (ID No. Brantas2, *Fig. 2.2a–b*).
- An antoninian of Claudius II minted at Rome between 268 and 270. On the obverse Latin legend IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG around the radiate, cuirassed bust of Claudius II facing right. On the reverse Latin legend [VICTO]R[I]A AVG around Victory standing left, holding wreath and palm. RIC 104 (ID No. Brantas3, *Fig. 2.3a–b*).
- An AE4 of Constantius Caesar minted at Constantinopolis between 336 and 337. On the obverse Latin legend [FL IVL] CONSTANTIVS NOB C around the laureate, draped and cuirassed bust of Constantius II facing right. On the reverse Latin legend GLORIA EXERC-ITVS · around standard between two soldiers holding spear and resting on shield. Mint-mark CONS [...] in exergue. RIC 151 (ID No. Brantas4, *Fig. 2.4a–b*).
- An AE4 of Constans minted at Thessalonica between 342 and 348.<sup>9</sup> On the obverse Latin legend D N CONSTA-NS P F AVG around the rosette-diademed(?), draped and cuirassed bust of Constans facing right. On the reverse Latin legend VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN around two Victories facing one another, each holding wreath and palm. Mintmark S M TS [...] in exergue and palm-branch between the two Victories. RIC 106 (ID No. Brantas5, *Fig. 2.5a–b*).
- An AE3 of Constantius II minted at Siscia or Sirmium between 351 and 358. On the obverse Latin legend D N CONSTAN-[TIVS P F] AVG around the pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust of Constantius II right. On the reverse Latin legend FEL TEMP – REPARATIO around a soldier spearing a fallen horseman. Mintmark B SI[...] in exergue. RIC ? (ID No. Brantas6, *Fig. 2.6a–b*).
- An AE3 of Julian II minted at Sirmium between 355 and 358. On the obverse Latin legend D N IVLIA-NVS NOB C around the draped and cuirassed bust of Julian II. On the reverse Latin legend [FEL TEMP] – REPARATIO around a soldier spearing a fallen horseman. Mintmark A SIRM · in exergue. RIC 70 (ID No. Brantas7, *Fig. 2.7a–b*).
- And an AE3 of Gratian minted at Siscia between 367 and 375. On the obverse Latin legend D N GRATIANVS P F AVG around the pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust of Gratian right. On the reverse Latin legend GLORIA RO-MANORVM around emperor advancing right, dragging a captive with the right hand, and holding a labarum in the left. Mintmark Δ SISC R in exergue, M in left field, \*/R/O in right field. RIC 14c.XXIII (ID No. Brantas8, *Fig. 2.8a–b*).

8 RIC dates this type to 347–348. However, based on the great variety of mintmarks, and their ratio to other periods of the Constantinian dynasty, we think that 342–348 is more appropriate.

9 See note 8.



Fig. 2. 1a-b – AE of Constantine I from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 2a-b – AE of Constans from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 3a-b – Antoninian of Claudius II from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 4a-b – AE of II Constantius Caesar from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 5a-b – AE of Constans from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 6a-b – AE of Constantius II from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 7a-b – AE of Julian II from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 8a-b – AE of Gratian from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 9a-b – Antoninian of Aurelian from the Brantas River near Trowulan, 10a-b – Assarion of Severus Alexander from the Brantas River near Trowulan (©Shinatria Adhityatama).

- An antoninian of Aurelian minted at Siscia between 270 and 275. On the obverse Latin legend [IMP AVREL]IANVS AVG around the radiate, cuirassed(?) bust of Aurelian facing right. On the reverse Latin legend [IO]VI CON-[SE]R around emperor standing right, holding a sceptre in the left hand receiving globe from Jupiter standing left, holding sceptre in left hand. Mint-mark \*T in exergue. The obverse is double struck. RIC 225 (ID No. Brantas9, Fig. 2.9a-b).
- An assarion (Greek for *as*) of Severus Alexander minted in the provincial mint at Nicaea Bithyniae between 222 and 235. On the obverse Greek legend [...]ΔΠΟC AV[Γ] (?) around laureate, draped bust of Severus Alexander facing right. On the reverse

Greek legend NI-KA-I-E/ΩN and three military standards. Waddington 617 (ID No. Brantas10, Fig. 2.10a–b).

Although this type was minted at Nicaea Bithyniae, it was destined to circulate in the Middle-Danubian region of the Roman Empire, primarily Moesia Superior and Pannonia Inferior. Such coins were found from Britain to Syria, but 99% of the finds come from the Middle Danubian region,<sup>10</sup> where it was also imitated contemporaneously.<sup>11</sup>

Like in the case of the Tuban coins, the Brantas River finds are also small denominations with little value. As individual finds they can be found all around the Empire, being in circulation for a relatively long time. They are quite frequent in coin hoards or as scattered finds of the Carpathian Basin<sup>12</sup> – although not typical in such combination – but rarely appear in India or beyond.<sup>13</sup>

Regarding the place and date of coins it can be presumed that they traveled to Java together as an assemblage and not independently.

The eleven Chinese coins reported to be found together with the Roman ones are ranging from 758 to 1258. Three dynasties can be differentiated, Tang (618–907), Southern Song (1127–1279) and Jin Dynasties (1115–1234), as there are four Tang, six Southern Song and one Jin coins. In this manner, the coin of Song Lizong 宋理宗 issued in 1258 defines the *terminus post quem* for the whole hoard.<sup>14</sup>

The presence of Chinese coins in East Java is a quite common phenomenon. Relations of Chinese coins and the Majapahit have been studied in great details. It is well-accepted that the vast majority of Chinese coins promoted to set up a new currency system in Java.<sup>15</sup> Coin hoards discovered both in coastal and inland regions of the island show similar combination to the Brantas coin find. Many of the hoards contain coins from the Tang to the Yuan Dynasties, with strong appearance of Song coins,<sup>16</sup> just like in the case of the Brantas River finds.

However, as for the Roman coins, the problem is more complex. In order to get a better understanding how these Western coins might ended up in East Java, it would be useful to look for possible examples beyond India.

## Locals' discoveries: Roman coins from Indonesia

Unfortunately, it is quite rare to unearth ancient coins from secure context in Indonesia as most coin finds, mainly Chinese coins, are discovered by locals. These ordinary people – because of their desperate financial situation, and in many cases the lack of knowledge about value of ancient finds – are selling them at local markets.<sup>17</sup>

10 CALOMINO 2017.

11 VIDA 2017.

12 E.g.: see FMRU I, FMRU II; FMRU III; RAFMU 1; RAFMU 2; RAFMU 3. We also had the opportunity to look over several 100 000 coins of collectors from Hungary and from the Northern Balkans, and look over tens of thousand coins smuggled from the Balkans and caught by customs officers.

13 See e.g.: JANSARI 2012.

14 For detailed identifications see *Appendix III* by Lu Yahui.

15 E.g.: CRIBB – POTTS 1996, 108.

16 For date and periodization of Chinese coins unearthed in Trowulan e.g.: AMELIA 1991, 194–195. In English: AMELIA 1995, 102–103.

17 Reports of such discoveries can be found on various Indonesian websites. E.g.: <https://www.yukepo.com/hiburan/indonesiaku/5-penemuan-uang-koin-kuno-di-indonesia-bukti-eksisnya-peradaban-masa-lalu/>



Fig. 3. Western coin from Flores <http://www.tambang.id/blog/koin-kuno-kami-beli-dari-pengguna-detektor> (Last accessed: 05.08.2018).

A rather striking analogy to the coins from East Java is provided by a blog of an Indonesian metal detector website. According to the very short report from 2015 May, a certain local man has found five Greek, Indo-Greek and Roman coins by using metal detector in Flores (Fig. 3). Although previously it was assumed that these coins are the very first Greco-Roman coins from Indonesia,<sup>18</sup> in reality, all coins are modern replicas. One of them is an Athenian tetradrachm – just like the replica from the Tuban area. The website has kindly provided further information regarding the find context. According to their knowledge the coins were discovered in a deserted graveyard possibly started as early as the colonial period, thus the coins were suggested to belong to a Dutch collector.<sup>19</sup> However, all replicas seem to be even more recent products, most likely from the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

More remarkable finds have been uploaded to Facebook in 27 October 2017, by a user from Jakarta.<sup>20</sup> He claimed that the more than two dozen Roman coins along with Chinese coins and coins of Jambi Sultanate were found in Jambi (Sumatra). The Western coins were of twenty-eight Roman (ranging from Augustus to the 4<sup>th</sup> century), a 7<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine and an uncertain, possibly Greek coin. Apart from the one as of Augustus, minted at Rome, all other coins are AE3s and AE4s, antoniniani, and folles dated to the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century, minted at Siscia, Thessalonica and Heraclea. Despite the difficulty of judging from the blurry photo available, it is significant that in four cases out of the twelve coins with visible mint marks, Siscia can be identified as the place of minting.

It is not without example to find Roman coins on Indonesian auction websites as well, however – unlike Chinese coins on the same sites – their description never contains any information on possible finding context i.e. coming from Indonesian soil. The lack of such information might suggest that the sellers have acquired them from abroad. At the same time, it is an interesting coincidence that many of those sellers reside in Surabaya area (Gresik, Sidoarjo etc.) – relatively close both to Trowulan and Tuban.

## Lost or found: Roman coins from Southeast Asia

### *Thailand*

Looking for other Southeast Asian finds, Thailand, Vietnam and Cambodia provide the only examples. One of the most notable Southeast Asian Roman coin find was discovered in

(Last accessed: 05.08.2018).

18 <http://www.tambang.id/blog/koin-kuno-kami-beli-dari-pengguna-detektor> (Last accessed: 05.08.2018).

19 ATM PROMINING™ 2018, pers. comm.

20 All the attempts of the authors have failed to connect the above mentioned user.

U Thong (Krabi Province, Thailand) along with possibly regionally produced Roman coin imitations.<sup>21</sup> The antoninian of Victorinus was minted at Cologne (France) in 269/270 (Fig. 4). As B. Borell et al. has pointed out “*these debased coins of the Gallic empire with a minimal silver content were in circulation in the western provinces of the Roman empire until the end of the third century CE. They were not used in bulk in long-distance trade with India, although occasional finds of such coins are known from there*”.<sup>22</sup> The coin is usually considered the only Roman coin known from Thailand, although some publications cite another find from Khlong Thom (Krabi, Thailand). Unfortunately only pictures and rubbings of the coin are mentioned.<sup>23</sup> In fact, M. Veraprassert reports a Roman gold coin from the collection of Wat Khlong Thom. According to his short description it bears an image of a human face on the obverse, and some letters on the reverse, but is gravely worn and the motifs are blurred.<sup>24</sup> A. Srisuchat credits a blurry picture of a Roman coin – convincingly the same as mentioned by M. Veraprassert – took along with some other non-local artifacts discovered in Khlong Thom, without giving any specific details (Fig. 5). B. Borell has kindly drawn the authors' attention to her recent study in which she clears the mystery of the above mentioned coin, and defines it as a non-Roman, most likely local find.<sup>25</sup>

Another Roman coin worn as a pendant was exhibited on the International Workshop on Defining Dvāravatī in 2017. The aureus of Domitian minted at Rome is reported to be found in Bang Kluay Nok (Ranong Province, Thailand) near a huge wooden slab interpreted as a ‘*part of ancient ship on a sandy beach*’.<sup>26</sup>

### Vietnam

Admittedly, the Antoninus dynasty coins from Óc Eo are the most recognized Roman-related artefacts in



Fig. 4. Antoninian of Victorinus from U Thong (©Metropolitam Museum of Arts).



Fig. 5. A previously Roman-interpreted coin from Khlong Thom (GLOVER 1996, 65).

21 For more details on coin imitations from U Thong see: BORELL 2014, 11–12, 35; BENNETT 2017, 26–27.

22 BORELL et al. 2014, 110; BORELL 2008, 14.

23 BENNETT 2017, 42.

24 VERAPRASSERT 1992, 157.

25 GLOVER 1996, 65. The aforementioned photo taken by A. Srisuchat is also often cited see e.g.: NONSOOK 2012, 51, etc.

26 BORELL 2017, 152–153.

Southeast Asia. Three gold coin-shaped ornaments were reported by L. Malleret in his enormous corpus of Ôc Eo finds.<sup>27</sup> Two of them have been often cited as Roman coins, despite the fact that these are ornaments imitating Roman coin designs as B. Borell quite recently stressed out again.<sup>28</sup> Apart from the above examples, other coin imitations were found in several locations of Southeast Asia. These pendants most likely were made in the region, which would presuppose that there were Roman coins available that served as models for casting.<sup>29</sup>



Fig. 6. Coin of Theodosius from the Ba Vi Mountain (MALLERET 1962, Pl. XL).

L. Malleret – later repeated by J. C. M. Khoo and then J. Miksic – also mentions a wooden box containing five coins found in 5<sup>th</sup> May 1942 at the Ba Vi Mountain, near Hanoi (Fig. 6). Among these coins one is a sesterce of Antoninus Pius, 138 AD; another is a coin of Constantine I, 306–337, one is perhaps of Theodosius II, 415–450; and one is possibly a Byzantine piece from the fifth century.<sup>30</sup> Although the discovery was briefly reported in 1943 no further details have been given ever since.<sup>31</sup> As B. Borell pointed out, the coins can no longer be found in the Museum of Hanoi where they were reported to be deposited after their discovery.<sup>32</sup>

L. Malleret again cites another bronze coin with the legend ANTONINVS. According to his short description the coin was acquired from a sorcerer in Thân-phù village (Thừa Thiên-Huế province). Its origin was unknown to its new owner and there is no evidence that it had been found locally.<sup>33</sup>

A. de Longpérier reported a now lost bronze coin in 1864 found near Mỹ Tho (Tiền Giang Province) cited later by L. Malleret<sup>34</sup>. Judging from the short description the coin is believed to be an early coin of Maximinus I from the years 235–236 AD.<sup>35</sup>

As for Byzantine examples, a quite recent excavation in Nền Chùa yielded a worn and corroded bronze coin, probably an early Byzantine piece of the late 5<sup>th</sup> or early 6<sup>th</sup> century, most likely a coin of Anastasius (reigned 491–518 AD).<sup>36</sup>

Around 2012 G. Epinal has discovered four Roman coins of the same origin (Ôc Eo – Ba Thê Mountain surroundings) on a now deleted Vietnamese website. In three cases only the reverses were available<sup>37</sup> (Fig. 7). According to the pictures downloaded and then provided by G. Epinal, two dupondii of Vespasian (69–79 AD) were found. One with FORTVNAE - REDVCI or FIDES - PVBLICA, and another with FORTVNAE - REDVCI legends. The third coin is an

27 MALLERET 1962, 115–117.

28 BORELL 2008, 170–171.

29 BORELL 2016, 108.

30 MALLERET 1962, 382–383; KHOO 2003, 25; MIKSIC 2013, 50.

31 The report was published in the Cahiers de L'école française d'Extrême-Orient 34 (1943) 5, cited in MALLERET 1957, 335 and MALLERET 1962, 383, note 1.

32 BORELL 2018, pers. comm.

33 MALLERET 1962, 382–383.

34 MALLERET 1962, 112, 380–381, 385.

35 See BMCRE Maximinus 2 or 63; also BORELL 2014, 29, note 77.

36 BORELL 2016, 109.

37 EPINAL 2014, 47, note 55.

as of Nero (54–68 AD), minted at Rome. The fourth one is possibly a coin of Faustina Minor or Lucilla, with the legend IVNO, Juno seated left, holding patera and sceptre on the reverse (145–169 AD).

G. Epinal also has knowledge on such coins from Southern Vietnam, near Saigon and from the Ha Tien area.<sup>38</sup>

### Cambodia

A dozen Roman coins ranging from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries (from Augustus to Valens) were reported to be found in Angkor Borei and have been published by G. Epinal<sup>39</sup> (Figs 8–9). The coins were said to be found relatively close to the Angkor Borei River, southeast of the monastery of the royal landing stage (Wat Kompong Luong) in the Angkor Borei administrative district during a house construction in 1993. Considering the chronological gap between the coins, G. Epinal believes that the coins cannot be considered as an ancient coin hoard, but they rather „came from various locations in the same general area”. He assumes that the coins were found in the riverbed or probably on the banks of the river, in a heavily eroded area where layers and artifacts from different periods were mixed together.<sup>40</sup>

Later, 3 more coins were reported to be found, possibly by local gold panners, in the riverbed, and were presented to J-D. Gardère in 2016 (Fig. 10). In this manner, until 2017, 13 Roman coins reported to be discovered in Angkor Borei are known.<sup>41</sup>

Thanks to G. Epinal’s kind help in providing all materials connected to these coins, the authors were able to have a deeper look on the aforementioned coins and thus would like to offer some minor altercations to the identifications.

As for the AE3 of Constantius II (inv.:TRC074) in G. Epinal’s Cambodia from Funan to Chenla, a thousand years of monetary history,<sup>42</sup> between 351 and 358 A.D., the mint-mark mark in the exergue seems to be [...S]IRM [a possible treminal dot]. RIC 48 or 50 or 52=69 or 71 or 73 or 75. (Fig. 9, TRC074)

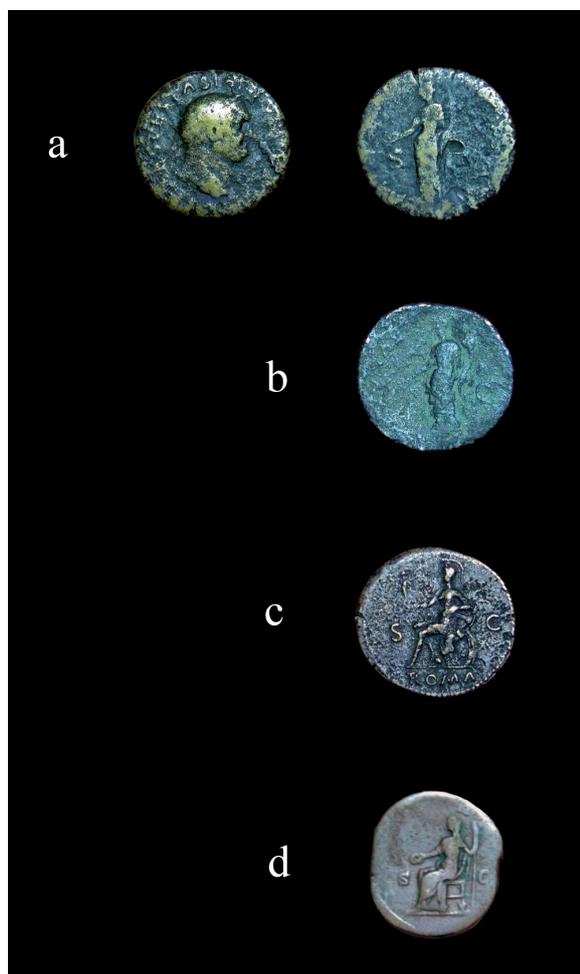


Fig. 7. a–d – Coins from Óc Eo – Ba Thê Mountain surroundings (©Guillaume Epinal).

38 EPINAL 2018, pers. comm.

39 EPINAL 2014. Presumably at least some of them are identical to the coins mentioned by Thierry and Morrisson as several coins of the third and fourth centuries found in Angkor Borei. THIERRY – MORRISSON 1994, 136, note 34) EPINAL 2018, pers. comm.

40 EPINAL 2018, pers. comm.

41 EPINAL 2018, pers. comm.

42 EPINAL 2014, 50.

As for the three coins presented in 2016, we would suggest the following:

- The first is an AE3 of Constantine I minted at Cyzicus in 325/326 or 326/327. On the obverse Latin legend CONSTAN-TINVS AVG around laurate head of Constantine I facing right. On the reverse Latin legend PROVIDEN-TIAE AVGG, around camp-gate<sup>43</sup> with two turrets and star above; in exergue, SMKB. The exact type is RIC 34 or RIC 44 depending on the place of the dot. On the reverse of RIC 34 the mint-mark in the exergue has a terminal dot only, while on the reverse of the RIC 44 there is another dot at the beginning of the mint-mark (*Fig. 10a*).
- Based on its reddish color the second coin is more likely a copper as of Faustina Maior minted at Rome between 141 and 161. On the obverse Latin legend DIVA FAV-[STINA] around the veiled and draped bust of Faustina Maior facing right. On the reverse Latin legend CONSECRATIO around Vesta standing left, sacrificing with pater over altar and holding torch; S – C in field. RIC 1187 (*Fig. 10b*).
- Based on its yellow color the third coin is more likely an orichalcum dupondius of Faustina Minor minted at Rome between 145 and 161. On the obverse Latin legend FAVSTINAE AVG – PII AVG FIL around draped bust of Faustina Minor facing right. On the reverse Latin legend [VENERI] – GEN[ETRICI] around Venus standing left, holding apple and child; S – C in field. RIC 1407 (*Fig. 10c*).



*Fig. 8.* Coins from Angkor Borei (©Guillaume Epinal).

Interestingly, the vast majority of the Angkor Borei-found coins were issued in the West,<sup>44</sup> Lugdunum, Mediolanum, Rome, Aquileia, however – unlike the ones from Indonesia – mostly at mints being relatively frequent in India and Sri Lanka. Regarding mints – in case the newly offered suggestions are acceptable – there is one striking parallel to the Brantas coins, as the AE3 of Constantius II (TRC-074) was more likely to be struck in Sirmium not Alexandria. The type i.e. falling horseman is identical to the Brantas-found Constantius II, however in the latter the exact RIC number is not clear.

The contexts of the Angkor Borei- and Indonesia-found Roman coins are also quite similar, especially in the case of the recently presented 3 coins, which were found by local gold panners – just like their counterparts from the Brantas River.

43 The reverse image is more likely a burgus, a fortified watch-tower. However we retained the traditional description to be unambiguous.

44 In the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries AD basically no Roman imperial coins were minted in the East, on the other hand enormous number of local coins were made, which seem to be absent from the Southeast Asian finds.

Considering small issues discovered in Southeast Asia, only two pieces with relatively reliable context are eligible for comparison, the Victorinus antoninianus from U Thong and the Anastasius follis from Nền Chùa, only the latter one from secure context though. Victorinus' coin was also issued in the West (Cologne), a mint relatively rare even in India, but coins from the Gallic Empire can be considered more frequent in the East<sup>45</sup> than ones from Siscia or Sirmium – the two characteristic mints of coins from Tuban and Brantas. As for the Anastasius follis, the surface is too corroded to judge the place of issue.



Fig. 9. Coins from Angkor Borei (©Guillaume Epinal).

If looking towards ones with less reliable context, the coins from Angkor Borei share many similarities with the Indonesia-found coins. Some of them were even reported to be discovered in very similar circumstances. There is an identical type, most likely struck at the same mint: Sirmium. At the same time, the first ten coins published by G. Epinal range within a remarkably wide time frame, which suggests that they were not hoarded together, or at least not during ancient times. Unlike Brantas River finds, as those most likely can be considered a hoard. Both in the Angkor Borei and Indonesian cases, the lack of datable finds or context makes very difficult to judge whether those coins arrived in ancient times or later (Middle Ages, or even modern) periods.

45 R. Walburg mentions a few pieces of Postumus and Tetricus I from Sri Lanka, none from secure context though. WALBURG 2008, 56.

## Comparing and contrasting: Roman coins from Sri Lanka and India

Regarding the great number of small issues, it is worth to get a deeper look into the Roman and Byzantine coins found in Sri Lanka and India. However, a search for suitable comparisons gives very poor results.

According to R. Walburg's catalogue of Sri Lankan coin finds, the verified and reliable data shows mostly 4<sup>th</sup> century folles and 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century copper coins, mainly from the period of Constantinus I to Marcianus, which might be comparable to the average composition of Brantas coins. But the Sri Lankan coins were mostly minted at Antioch and Constantinople – as in the case of those found in South India.<sup>46</sup> The well-documented McKenzie collection – acquired in South India and possibly Sri Lanka – can be used as a striking example; only one out of the seventy late Roman coins was minted in the West, namely at Rome (IOLC 4814).<sup>47</sup>

Small issues are not rare in the Indian subcontinent, especially from later periods, but as in Sri Lanka, mostly from eastern mints, mainly Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. Some others from Rome, Carthage, Aquileia, Thessalonica, Heracleia, and Nicomedia,<sup>48</sup> As with the Brantas coins, it is not without example to find Roman coins hoarded together with later coins, though none from stratified context.<sup>49</sup> From Akkialur two aurei of Septimius Severus and one of Caracalla were found together with forty-three Byzantine solidi and their imitations from Theodosius II to Justin I.<sup>50</sup> However, no smaller issues were mentioned.

Again from India, there are examples of Chinese coins found along with Roman and Byzantine coins in Edgar Thurston's *Coins in Madras Government Museum. Catalogues No. 2. Roman, Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon*.<sup>51</sup> Such as some later smaller issues (among them coins of Honorius and Arcadius), originally possessed by Mr. Scott, pleader in the District Court of Madura, reported to be found in the riverbed along with a Chinese coin,<sup>52</sup> again without any further information.



Fig. 10. a–c – Recently found coins from Angkor Borei (©Guillaume Epinal).

46 However, only little more than 5000 out of the 35 000 late Roman coin finds can be assured for Sri Lanka with an acceptable degree of certainty, and there are only 1430 with reliable provenance. WALBURG 2008, 53–55, 231–236.

47 JANSARI 2012.

48 BOPEARACHCHI 1992, 113; WALBURG 1991.

49 SURESH 2004, 39.

50 TURNER 1989, 48, SURESH 2004, 38.

51 THURSTON 1888, 22–23.

52 SEWELL 1882, 285, 291.

## Collectors and coins: Roman and Byzantine coins from China

The first report of Roman coins from China can be dated back as early as 1885.<sup>53</sup> According to their description, the sixteen copper coins from the reign of Tiberius to the reign of Aurelian were sent to Beijing “by a Chinese banker named Yang [...]. They come from Ling shih hsien, a small district town in the interior of the province of Shansi, situated on the left bank of the little river Fen, an affluent of the Yellow River, about 25 miles north of Hochou, somewhat farther south of the large city Fen chou fu, the prefecture to which it formerly belonged, and about 80 miles from T'ai yuan fu, the capital of the province, which is on the upper course of the same river. Ling shih hsien is the ancestral residence of the Yang family, who assure me that these coins have been in their possession between fifty and sixty years, and that they were originally purchased from the discoverer, who had found them buried in the ground in the neighborhood. A little copper coin of Henri III, Roi de France et de Polande, dated 1589, had found its way into the same collection and was sent with the others.” The small assemblage includes coins of twelve emperors ranging from Tiberius to Aurelian and according to S. W. Bushell “the coins had every appearance of having been buried and no attempt had been made to remove the patina to read the legends. [...] Some of the older specimens are much worn but the two more recent ones are as sharply defined as if fresh from the mint.”<sup>54</sup>

Although this brief report gave credit to their reliability, these coins were most likely collected in modern times and possibly brought to China by foreigners.<sup>55</sup>

The story behind these finds – as being collected in the West and then brought to China – might bare similarities with the coins from the Tuban and Brantas River. Especially in case of the latter that can be considered one assemblage, thus was moved as a collection. Regarding their characteristics, glaring parallels can also be detected. Among the sixteen coins reported to be found in Lingshi were no examples of eastern mints<sup>56</sup> – as those are quite underrepresented in the Brantas hoard as well. The Lingshi coins are also all of bronze, and also the most common types of coins – all without real value. As in Lingshi, the coins from Tuban and Brantas River are mostly patinated, some with earthen deposits. Except for one or two coins they are not very worn, they were presumably not in circulation for a very long time.

At the same time, there are apparent differences. The sixteen coins of the Lingshi collection contained coins of twelve emperors from different time periods, ranging from the 1<sup>st</sup> century to the 3<sup>rd</sup>, while the ten coins from Brantas were minted between the early 3<sup>rd</sup> and late 4<sup>th</sup> century. And as for coins from the Tuban region, all four coins were issued in different periods, and were also reported to be found individually, thus it is very unlikely that they formed a collection once.

Another often cited example of Roman coins from China was published by A. Stein. The two solidi of Constantine II and Constantius II (identified and published as Constans) both from

53 S. W. Bushell mentions two other coins found prior the Lingshi finds (BUSHELL 1886). According to the few lines these coins possibly bought in, “a wayside stall” in Tianjin were in the possession of a certain Lady Lyall already dead in the time of Bushell’s report.

54 BUSHELL 1886, 17–18, 24.

55 RASCHKE 1978, 625; XIA 夏 1959, 71–73.

56 BUSHELL 1886, 18.



Fig. 11. Coin from Karghalik (©Trustees of the British Museum).



Fig. 12. Coin from the collection of the Shanghai Museum Shanghai Bowuguan Qingtong guan bian (SHANGHAI BOWUGUAN 1995, 629).

eastern mints were bought in Karghalik and originally were purchased from an Indian collector who had acquired them in Buhara<sup>57</sup> (Fig. 11).

Byzantine coins – mostly solidi – and their imitations are more common in China: as much as 100 coin finds and their imitations – all dating from the 5<sup>th</sup> century were found until 2005.<sup>58</sup> According to Guo Yunyan's 郭云艳 research, twenty-eight genuine coins with certain context out of a total number of forty-three were known in 2006.<sup>59</sup>

The only bronze coin was donated in the 1990's by the couple of Du Weishan 杜维善 to the Shanghai Museum.<sup>60</sup> Its surface is vague and worn, but considered to be a coin of Heraclius (610–641) (Fig. 12).

Seeking for parallels between the Byzantine coins found in China and Indonesia, it is hard to find any. The earliest coins discovered in the former are of Theodosius

II.<sup>61</sup> As for coins of Maurice, none has been found in China so far, the closest in time are the four solidi of Phocas.<sup>62</sup>

## Puzzling problems of interpretation: Roman coins from Japan

In 2016 news of Roman coins discovered from a controlled excavation of Katsuren Castle (Okinawa Prefecture, Japan) run through the world.<sup>63</sup> Ancient western coins were found one meter deep in Enclosure 4. The four Roman copper coins are worn out, one is a coin of Constantius II, and the others all seem to be minted between 320 and 370. A fifth coin, an Ottoman coin dated to 1687/1688 was also identified.

The discovery of the small hoard left more questions than answers. Katsuren Castle is known to have been occupied between the 12<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, thus not only the existence of

57 STEIN 1921, vol. 3.1349; Illustration: STEIN 1921, vol. 4, Table CXL; WANG 1997, 193; WANG 2004, 153, 248. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3595642&partId=1&place=58862&plaA=58862-3-2&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3595642&partId=1&place=58862&plaA=58862-3-2&page=1) (Last accessed: 06.08.2018).

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=3146165&partId=1&people=136862&matcult=15623&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3146165&partId=1&people=136862&matcult=15623&page=1) (Last accessed: 06.08.2018).

58 LI 2015, 4.

59 GUO 郭 2006, 94.

60 DU 杜 1992, 2; SHANGHAI BOWUGUAN QINGTONG GUAN BIAN 上海博物馆青铜馆编 1995, 629.

61 GUO 郭 2006, 42–43; From Northern China: SELBITSCHKA 2018, 32–35, Tab. 5.

62 GUO 郭 2006, 59–60. With further bibliography.

63 For example: <https://theconversation.com/how-did-4th-century-roman-coins-end-up-in-a-medieval-japanese-castle-66417> and <http://edition.cnn.com/style/article/ancient-roman-coins-japan/index.html> (Last accessed: 07.08.2018).

Roman coins is puzzling, but the Ottoman coin of the 17<sup>th</sup> century also leads toward problems of interpretation.

The coins are currently under investigation by Makiko Tsumura chief curator of The Ancient Orient Museum, Tokyo.<sup>64</sup>

### Case of poorly supported claims: Australia

A range of mysterious artefacts have been published on the internet by various websites claimed to be found in Australia, including a few Roman coins. While those cases can rather be considered hoaxes than reality, one example of Australia-discovered ancient coins – a Ptolemy IV bronze coin dating from 221–204 BC – has reached academic publications.<sup>65</sup> The coin was said to be found in northern Queensland by a local farmer in 1910 and recently been re-studied by D. Gojak in his research blog. Apart from the problem that a photo depicting another, certainly fake Ptolemy coin was also published, the time gap between the finding and its first report is also remarkable and arouse suspicion.<sup>66</sup>

### Conclusion

Apart from a number of Roman-interpreted soda natron glass beads excavated in Bali<sup>67</sup> Indonesia has not yielded convincingly Roman finds so far. East Java least of all, a region whose history prior the 6–7<sup>th</sup> centuries has still been less understood. Thus discovery of Roman (and Byzantine) coins in such number is remarkable on its own. At the same time, the lack of context and reliable information regarding their finding circumstances make difficult to interpret these finds.

Both the Tuban and Brantas River coins were reported to be discovered from locations most likely being connected to well-known Majapahit sites, the latter hoard was even deposited together with Chinese coins – frequent currencies during the Majapahit era. However, in Tuban the existence of a modern replica – even if it was claimed to be found separately from the ancient coins – suggests a modern 20<sup>th</sup> century date for the arrival of the coins. In case of the Brantas River, date and mints of the coins imply that they travelled to Java at the same time as a hoard. Although it is difficult to find an exact analogy to such composition, only in more sizeable hoards, interestingly of the Middle Danubian region. This possibly indicates that originally they might have been part of a more numerous coin collection consisted of maybe even hundreds of coins.

Overrepresentation of western mints, especially Siscia and Sirmium is also quite unexpected, since such coins have rarely been discovered in India and beyond so far – except for the case of the above reinterpreted Constantius II coin from Angkor Borei. At the same time, such mints are not without example in the East. A coin of Shahpur II (309–379 AD) issued after 351 from an uncertain eastern mint is known from an auction of Classical Numismatic Group. It was overstruck also on a “falling horseman” AE of Constantius II from Sirmium (cf. RIC VIII 48).<sup>68</sup>

64 Pers. comm. with Hidetoshi Tsumoto, Senior Curator, The Ancient Orient Museum, Tokyo 2018.

65 MEGAW 1967; TERRY 1965; TERRY 1967.

66 <https://secretvisitors.wordpress.com/2011/01/26/ptolemy-iv-coin-found-in-queensland-part-1/> to <https://secretvisitors.wordpress.com/2011/11/06/ptolemy-iv-coin-found-in-queensland-part-4/> (Last accessed: 15.08.2018).

67 CALO et al. 2015.

68 CNG Electronic Auction 176, lot 141. <https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=113490> (Last accessed 15.08.2018).

Comparing mints of India and Sri Lanka found coins with those of Southeast Asian coin finds, it is interesting that western mints are more represented in the latter area – something quite surprising even if the available data in the two regions is quite unbalanced.

Concerning how the Roman coins might have ended up in East Java, three theories can be defined.

- The most pretentious explanation would be that these coins traveled via ancient maritime networks, possibly from India, and reached East Java in ancient times. In fact, sites from West Java and Bali already yielded vivid connections with South Asia and other regions of Southeast Asia in ancient times,<sup>69</sup> but such research has not been conducted in East Java so far. At the same time, this explanation would indicate that the Brantas coins had been treasured(?)/circulated(?)/deposited(?) for centuries in Trowulan area or somewhere else until they were buried along with the Chinese coins some time after the 13<sup>th</sup> century – as the coin of Emperor Lizong suggests. Therefore, the hypothesis of ancient maritime networks in case of Brantas coins is very unlikely. As for the Tuban coins, the above theory is also less convincing, even if we overlook the presence of a modern replica.
- The second explanation would connect the coins to extra regional networks of the Majapahit era. In case of the Brantas River finds, the Chinese coins might also support this hypothesis. In fact, extensive connections of the Majapahit with India, China, and the rest of Southeast Asia are well documented. However, the time gap between the Roman and Chinese coins is still significant. The presence of Roman coins along with an Ottoman coin in Japan might have been used as an analogy, but the Japanese case is as puzzling as the Indonesian one. The Katsuren Castle is believed to be abandoned a whole two centuries before the issue of the Ottoman coin. The vague reference of Byzantine coins reported to be found with a Chinese coin from India, would also have been an analogy, but the more than 130 years old report fails revealing details on the exact coin types or finding context. At the same time, the theory of Majapahit maritime networks cannot be totally dismissed – at least not in the case of the Brantas River hoard.
- The third explanation would suggest that the coins were part of a quite recent, even modern coin collection and therefore being secondary depositums, or simply lost and randomly scattered items (the Tuban finds?). Similar might have happened in the case of the Flores metal detector finds, and in Southeast Asia more examples of Roman-believed but defacto modern artefacts are existing. As an illustration, B. Borell has already convincingly argued that the often cited Pan statuette from Go Hang, Vietnam is a modern product in reality.<sup>70</sup> The above explanation, at least in case of the Tuban finds is more likely: As no information on their finding circumstances are available, the presence of a modern replica cannot be ignored.

At the same time, with so little information available it is impossible to decide which of the

69 For example: CALO et al. 2015; ARDIKA et al. 1993; MANGUIN – INDRAJAYA 2006; MANGUIN – INDRAJAYA 2011; CAMERON et al. 2015.

70 BORELL 2008, 168.

above three (plus one)<sup>71</sup> hypotheses – or even a yet undefined possibility – would really apply to the Tuban and Brantas River coins. However, a more extensive interdisciplinary research in East Java and a detailed study on ancient intra and extra regional networks of the region would help us to take a side. Additionally, pictures of Roman coins posted on various websites and claimed to be found in Indonesian soil suggest that there may have been a greater number of Roman artefacts in the archipelago than it is known at present.

Be that as it may, these finds from Eastern Java give a unique glimpse on the multicolored afterlife of Roman and Byzantine coins.

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71 It is also possible that these finds are some kind of hoaxes aiming archaeologists or collectors. Coins from the Balkans are the most common ones on the online market, so they might have been purchased recently from Europe, and shipped to Southeast Asia, where they were presented as local finds. We have heard of similar problems in the UK, where smuggled finds from Eastern Europe were presented as local finds. However, it is also important to keep in mind that costs of shipping Roman coins to Southeast Asia are more expensive than to Europe, therefore the real aims of such hoaxes would be hardly understandable.

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**Appendix 1: Western Coins from Tuban and Brantas River**

<i>Identification Number and Photo</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Possible Location</i>	<i>Description</i>
Tuban1 <i>Fig. 1.1a–b.</i>	<b>Modern replica</b> of an Athenian tetradrachm weight: 6.31g diameter: 22mm	Tuban (Tuban Regency, East Java, Indonesia)	Obv.: Helmeted head of Athena right. Rev.: AΘE Owl standing right, head facing; to left, olive sprig and crescent; all within incuse square. Modern replica of an Athenian tetradrachm minted ca. 454-404 B.C.
Tuban2 <i>Fig. 1.2a–b</i>	<b>Lucilla</b> Sestertius RIC 1736/1738 weight: 22.25g diameter: 28mm	Tuban (Tuban Regency, East Java, Indonesia)	Obv.: LVCILLA – AVGVSTA Draped bust right. Rev. : [FECVNDITAS / S C] Fecunditas seated right, nursing a child, before and behind her, a child standing. Roma AD 164–169
Tuban3 <i>Fig. 1.3a–b</i>	<b>Constantius Gallus</b> AE 2 RIC ? weight: 4.41g diameter: 21mm	Tuban (Tuban Regency, East Java, Indonesia)	Obv.: [D N] CO[NSTANTIVS IVN] NOB C / A (?) Draped and cuirassed bust right. Rev.: [...] Uncertain. AD 351–354
Tuban4 <i>Fig. 1.4a–b</i>	<b>Theodosius I</b> AE 3 RIC 38b weight: 2.58g diameter: 19mm	Tuban (Tuban Regency, East Java, Indonesia)	Obv.: D N THEODO-SIVS P F AVG Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust right. Rev.: GLORIA RO-MANORVM, in exergue A SIS Emperor advancing right, dragging captive with right hand, holding labarum in left. Siscia AD 384–387
Tuban5 <i>Fig. 1.5a–b</i>	<b>Maurice Tiberius</b> 40 nummia MIB 67D; cf. BMC 50 weight: 11.65g diameter: 30mm	Tuban (Tuban Regency, East Java, Indonesia)	Obv.: D N MAVRC – [TIBE]R P P AV Helmeted facing bust, holding glo- bus cruciger. Rev.: Large M, cross above, E/CON. To left, A/N/N/O, to right [G (?)]/II. Constantinopolis AD 589/590

Roman coins discovered in East Java, Indonesia

Brantas1 <i>Fig. 2.1a–b</i>	<b>Constantine I</b> AE3 weight: 3.00g diameter: 18mm	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG? Laureate head right. Rev.: D N CONSTANTINI MAX AVG around laurel wreath enclosing [VOT XX] // S M H [...] AD 320–330
Brantas2 <i>Fig. 2.2a–b</i>	<b>Constans</b> AE4 weight: 2.00g diameter: 13mm	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: D N CONSTA-NS P F AVG Rosette-diademed head right. Rev.: VOT / XX / MVL T / XXX in laurel wreath // [...] AD 342–348
Brantas3 <i>Fig. 2.3a–b</i>	<b>Claudius II</b> antoninian RIC 104 weight: 3.00g diameter: 18mm	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG Radiate, cuirassed(?) bust right. Rev.: [VICTO]R[I]A AVG Victory standing left, holding wreath and palm Rome AD 268–270
Brantas4 <i>Fig. 2.4a–b</i>	<b>II. Constantius Cae- sar</b> AE4 RIC 151	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: [FL IVL] CONSTANTIVS NOB C Laureate, draped and cuirassed bust right. Rev.: GLOR-IA EXERC-ITVS · // CONS [...] Standard between two soldiers hold- ing spear and resting on shield. Constantinopolis AD 336–337
Brantas5 <i>Fig. 2.5a–b</i>	<b>Constans</b> AE 4 RIC 106	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: D N CONSTANS – P F AVG Rosette-diademed(?), draped and cuirassed bust right. Rev.: VICTORIAE DD AVGGQ NN / (palm)// S M TS [...] Two Victories facing one another, each holding wreath and palm. Thessalonica AD 342–348
Brantas6 <i>Fig. 2.6a–b</i>	<b>Constantius II</b> AE3 RIC ?	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: D N CONSTAN-[TIVS P F] AVG Pearl-diademed, draped and cui- rassed bust right. Rev.: FEL TEMP REPARATIO// B SI[...] Soldier spearing fallen horseman. Siscia or Sirmium AD 351–358

Brantas7 <i>Fig. 2.7a–b</i>	<b>Julian II</b> AE 3 RIC 70	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: D N IVLIA-NVS NOB C Draped and cuirassed bust right. Rev.: [FEL TEMP] –REPARATIO// A SIRM · Soldier spearing fallen horseman. Sirmium AD 355–358
Brantas8 <i>Fig. 2.8a–b</i>	<b>Gratian</b> AE3 RIC 14c.XXIII	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: D N GRATIANVS P F AVG Pearl-diademed, draped and cui- rassed bust right. Rev.: GLORIA RO-MANORVM / M*/R/ O//Δ SISC R Emperor advancing right, dragging captive with right hand, and holding labarum in left. Siscia AD 367–375
Brantas9 <i>Fig. 2.9a–b</i>	<b>Aurelian</b> antoninian RIC 225	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: [IMP AVREL]IANVS AVG Radiate, cuirassed(?) bust right. Rev.: [IO]VI CON-[SE]R//*T Emperor standing right, holding sceptre in left hand receiving globe from Jupi- ter standing left, holding sceptre in left hand. Siscia AD 270–275
Brantas10 <i>Fig. 2.10a–b</i>	<b>Severus Alexander</b> assarion Waddington 617	Brantas River/ Trowulan (Trow- ulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	Obv.: [...]ΔPOC AV[Γ] (?) Laureate, draped bust right. Rev.: NI-KA-I-E/ΩN Three military standards. Nicaea, Bithynia AD 222–235

**Appendix 2: The Roman and Roman-related coins mentioned in the text**

<i>Site</i>	<i>Number of coins</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Finding context</i>
<b>INDONESIA</b>			
Tuban (Tuban Regency, East Java)	4+1	Roman, Byzantine, modern replica	collected
Brantas River/Trowulan (Trowulan Subdistrict, Mojokerto Regency, East Java)	10+11	Roman, Chinese	collected
Jambi province(Sumatra)	28+17?	Roman, Chinese, Jambi Sultanate	uncertain
Flores island	1+4	modern replicas	collected irrelevant
<b>VIETNAM</b>			
Óc Eo (An Giang, Vietnam)	2	imitations	irrelevant
Ba Vi mountain	5	Roman, Byzantine	lost
Mỹ Tho (Tiền Giang Province)	1	Roman	lost
Thân-phù village (Thừa Thiên -Huế province)	1	Roman?	lost, irrelevant
Nền Chùa	1	Byzantine	excavation
Óc Eo – Ba Thê mountain surroundings	4	Roman	collected
<b>CAMBODIA</b>			
Angkor Borei	13	Roman	collected
<b>THAILAND</b>			
Khlong Thom (Krabi, Thailand)	1	Roman	collected
Bang Kluay Nok (Ranong Province, Thailand)	1	proved to be non-Roman	possibly secure context
U Thong Thong (Krabi Province, Thailand)	1	Roman	collected
<b>CHINA</b>			
Lingshi	16+1	Roman, French	collected, lost?
Karghalik	2	Roman	collected in Buhara
<b>JAPAN</b>			
Katsuren Castle (Okinawa Prefecture, Japan)	5	Roman, Ottoman	excavation



Fig. 2. Map of Roman and Roman-related coins mentioned in the text.

### Appendix 3: Chinese Coins from Brantas River

LU YAHUI 卢亚辉

*Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social Sciences*

中国社会科学院考古研究所

luyahuipku@126.com

#### **Qianyuan Zhongbao (Fig. 1.1a–b)**

758–762

(BRC1)

Obv.: 乾元重寶 Qianyuan Zhongbao

Style of calligraphy: Clerical script 隶书

Rev.: Blank

Qian Yuan 乾元 was the reign title 年号 of the Emperor Suzong of Tang 唐肃宗, who designated the officer Diwu Qi 第五琦 to cast the coins of Qianyuan Zhongbao 乾元重寶 in July A.D. 758, so to solicit money to suppress the rebellion of An Lushan 安禄山.<sup>1</sup> We were unsure where these Qianyuan Zhongbao Coins were cast since coins were cast in many areas in Tang Dynasty, and according to some records, Jiangzhou 絳州 is a possible casting place. After the Emperor Daizong of Tang 唐代宗 ascended the throne in A.D. 762, many Qianyuan Zhongbao Coins were melted and made into the bronze utensils. Since then, Qianyuan Zhongbao Coins were out of circulation.<sup>2</sup>

#### **Kaiyuan Tongbao (Fig. 1.2a–b)**

ca. 750–840

(BRC2)

Obv.: Kaiyuan Tongbao 開元通寶

Style of calligraphy: Clerical script 隶书

Rev.: Star

There is a small round dot on the reverse of the Kaiyuan Tongbao Coin, commonly called as “star” by Chinese scholars.

During the early Tang Dynasty, Wu Zhu Coins 五铢钱 were adopted and continued circulating until the Kaiyuan Tongbao Coins 开元通宝 were issued by the Emperor Gaozu of Tang 唐高祖 in A.D. 621.<sup>3</sup> The latter marked the end of the “Zhu” 铢 and “Liang” 两 monetary system. Kaiyuan Tongbao Coins were also cast in Southern Tang 南唐 (A.D. 937–975) and Min Dynasty 闽 (A.D. 909–945).

1 OUYANG XIU 欧阳修 – SONG QI 宋祁 et al. 1975, 1386; LIU XU 刘昫 et al. 1975, 252-253; NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 156.

2 OUYANG XIU 欧阳修 – SONG QI 宋祁 et al. 1975, 1386–1387; NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 156.

3 LIU XU et al. 1975, 12; OUYANG XIU 欧阳修 – SONG QI 宋祁 et al. 1975, 1384; LIU XU et al. 1975, 2094–2095.

The Kaiyuan Tongbao Coin shown in the picture was issued from late Kai Yuan Period to Kai Cheng Period, i.e. from the mid-eighth century to A.D. 840.<sup>4</sup>

### **Kaiyuan Tongbao** (*Fig. 1.3a–b*)

ca. 750–840

(BRC3)

Obv.: Kaiyuan Tongbao 開元通寶

Style of calligraphy: Clerical script 隶书

Rev.: Crescent Moon

There is a small mark on the reverse of the Kaiyuan Tongbao Coin, commonly called as “Crescent Moon” among Chinese scholars.

The Kaiyuan Tongbao Coin shown in the picture was issued from late Kai Yuan Period to Kai Cheng Period, i.e. from the mid-eighth century to A.D. 840.<sup>5</sup>

### **Kaiyuan Tongbao** (*Fig. 1.4a–b*)

ca. 750–840

(BRC4)

Obv.: Kaiyuan Tongbao 開元通寶

Style of calligraphy: Clerical script 隶书

Rev.: Crescent Moon

There is a small mark on the reverse of the Kaiyuan Tongbao Coin, commonly called “Crescent Moon” among Chinese scholars.

The Kaiyuan Tongbao Coin shown in the picture was issued from late Kai Yuan Period to Kai Cheng Period, i.e. from the mid-eighth century to A.D. 840.<sup>6</sup>

### **Jiatai Tongbao** (*Fig. 1.5a–b*)

1201

(BRC5)

Obv.: Jiatai Tongbao 嘉泰通寶

Style of calligraphy: Regular script 楷书

Rev.: Yuan 元

Jia Tai 嘉泰 was the reign title of the Emperor Ningzong of the Song Dynasty 宋宁宗. Emperor Ningzong issued Jiatai Tongbao Coins 嘉泰通寶 during the four years from 1201 to 1204, the exact casting year can be recognized from the Chinese characters on the reverse: 元 the first, 二 the second, 三 the third, 四 the fourth.<sup>7</sup> There is a 元 on the reverse of the Jiatai Tongbao Coin shown in the picture, which marks the first year of Jia Tai Period. So it was cast in A.D. 1201.

4 XU DIANKUI 徐殿魁 1991, 558.

5 XU DIANKUI 徐殿魁 1991, 558.

6 XU DIANKUI 徐殿魁 1991, 558.

7 NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 265.

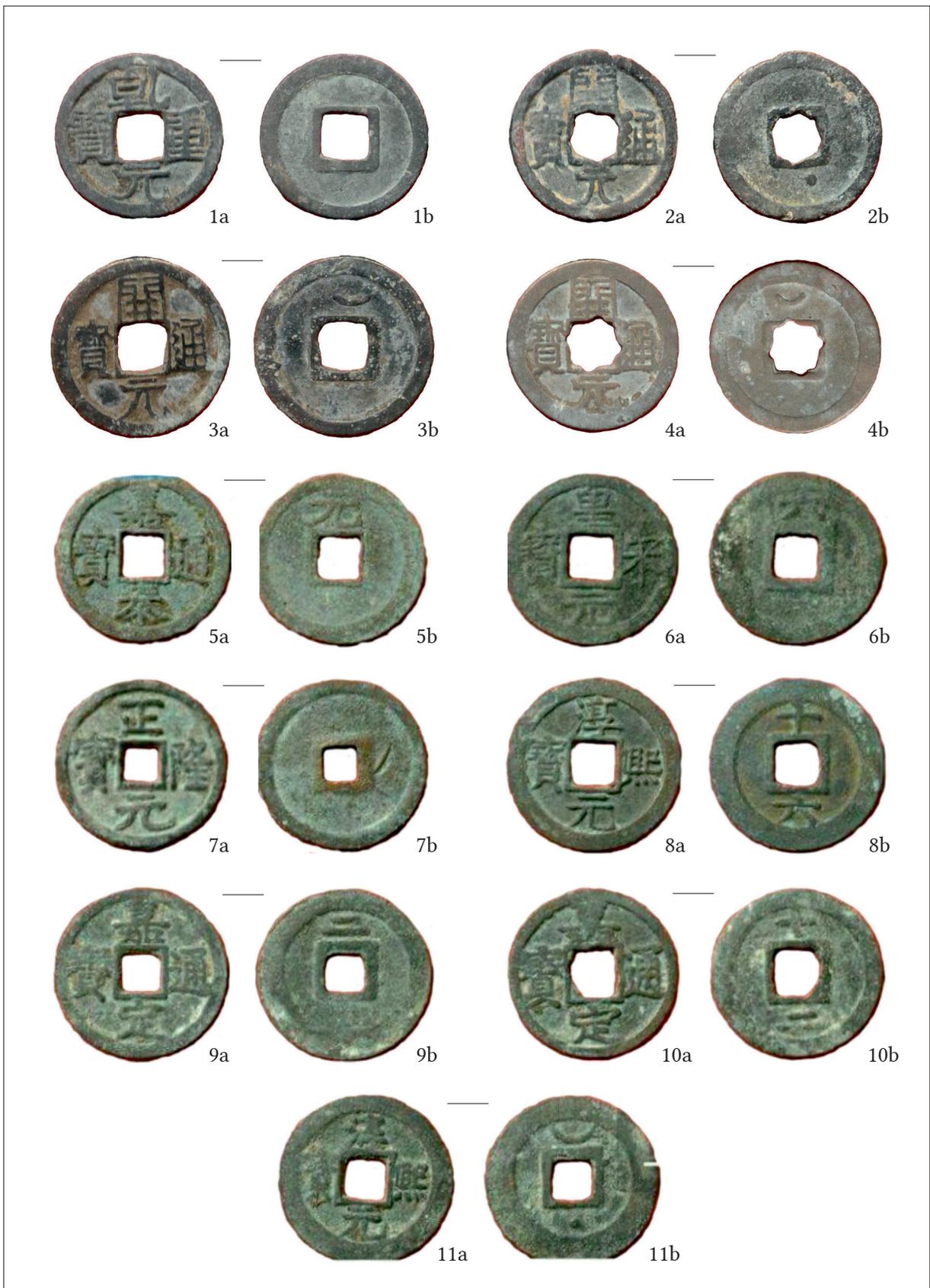


Fig. 1. 1–11: Chinese Coins from Brantas River (©Lu Yahui).

## Huangsong Yuanbao (Fig. 1.6a–b)

1258

(BRC6)

Obv.: Huangsong Yuanbao 皇宋元寶

Style of calligraphy: Regular script 楷书

Rev.: Six 六

The Emperor lizong of the Song Dynasty 宋理宗 issued Huangsong Yuanbao Coins 皇宋元寶 during the six years from 1253 to 1258.<sup>8</sup> The accurate chronology studies were based on the Chinese characters on the reverse.<sup>9</sup>

There is a Chinese character 六 (Six) on the reverse of the Huangsong Yuanbao Coin shown in the picture, which means the sixth year of Bao You Period 宝祐年间, marking that the coin was cast in A.D. 1258.

## Zhenglong Yuanbao (Fig. 1.7a–b)

1158–1161

(BRC7)

Obv.: Zhenglong Yuanbao 正隆元寶

Style of calligraphy: Regular Script 楷书

Rev.: Crescent Moon

Zheng Long 正隆 was the reign title 年号 of Prince Hailing of Jin 金海陵王. Prince Hailing of Jin issued Zhenglong Yuanbao Coins in Zhongdu 中都 (the present Beijing) and Jingzhao 京兆 (the present Xi'an, Shaanxi Province) in February A.D. 1158.<sup>10</sup> Prince Hailing of Jin was killed in A.D. 1161, so Zhenglong Yuanbao Coins were issued in the four years from A.D. 1158 to 1161.

## Chunxi Yuanbao (Fig. 1.8a–b)

1189

(BRC8)

Obv.: Chunxi Yuanbao 淳熙元寶

Rev.: Ten 十, Six 六

Style of calligraphy: Regular script 楷书

Chun Xi 淳熙 was the reign title of the Emperor Xiaozong of the Song Dynasty 宋孝宗, who issued Chunxi Yuanbao Coins 淳熙元寶 from A.D. 1174 to 1189.<sup>11</sup> From A.D. 1180, a number was cast on the reverse to mark the exact casting year.<sup>12</sup>

As shown in the picture, two Chinese characters 十 (Ten) and 六 (Six) can be seen on the reverse, which means the sixteenth year of the Chun Xi Period 淳熙年间, marking that it was cast in A.D. 1189.

8 Toqto'a 脱脱 et al. 1977, 848.

9 NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 292.

10 NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 306; Toqto'a 脱脱 et al. 1975, 1069.

11 Toqto'a 脱脱 et al. 1977, 658.

12 NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 242.

### **Jiading Tongbao** (*Fig. 1.9a–b*)

1209

(BRC9)

Obv.: Jiading Tongbao 嘉定通寶

Rev.: Two 二

Style of calligraphy: Regular Script 楷书

Jia Ding 嘉定 was the reign title of the Emperor Ningzong of the Song Dynasty 宋宁宗, who issued Jiading Tongbao Coins 嘉定通宝 from A.D. 1208 to 1224. The accurate chronology studies are based on the Chinese characters on the reverse.<sup>13</sup>

As shown in the picture, a Chinese character 二 (Two) is on the reverse, which means the second year of Jia Ding Period 嘉定年间, marking that it was cast in A.D. 1209.

### **Jiading Tongbao** (*Fig. 1.10a–b*)

1219

(BRC10)

Obv.: Jiading Tongbao 嘉定通寶

Rev.: Ten 十, Two 二

Style of calligraphy: Regular script 楷书

Jia Ding 嘉定 was the reign title of the Emperor Ningzong of the Song Dynasty 宋宁宗, who issued Jiading Tongbao Coins 嘉定通宝 from A.D. 1208 to 1224. The accurate chronology studies are based on the Chinese characters on the reverse.<sup>14</sup>

As shown in the picture, two Chinese characters 十 (Ten) and 二 (Two) are on the reverse, which means the twelfth year of Jia Ding Period 嘉定年间, marking that it was cast in A.D. 1219.

### **Chunxi Yuanbao** (*Fig. 1.11a–b*)

1174–1179

(BRC11)

Obv.: Chunxi Yuanbao 淳熙元寶

Rev.: Crescent Moon, Star

Style of calligraphy: Regular script 楷书

Chun Xi 淳熙 was the reign title of the Emperor Xiaozong of Song Dynasty 宋孝宗, who issued Chunxi Yuanbao Coins 淳熙元宝 from A.D. 1174 to 1189, and from A.D. 1180, a number in Chinese was cast on the reverse to mark the exact casting year.<sup>15</sup>

As shown in the picture, there is no Chinese number but a star and a small Crescent Moon on the reverse. So the Chunxi Yuanbao Coin was cast between A.D. 1174 and 1179.

13 NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 270.

14 NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 270.

15 NATIONAL CULTURAL HERITAGE ADMINISTRATION 1989, 242.

## Conclusion

Chinese copper coins were produced in many places in ancient China. So we have no idea where they were cast. The copper coins produced in Tang Dynasty and Song Dynasty circulated until the early Ming Dynasty. As issued in A.D.1258, the Huangsong Yuanbao Coin 皇宋元宝 was the latest (BRC6). So the coin hoard discovered in Brantas River, East Java should have been buried no earlier than A.D. 1258.

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