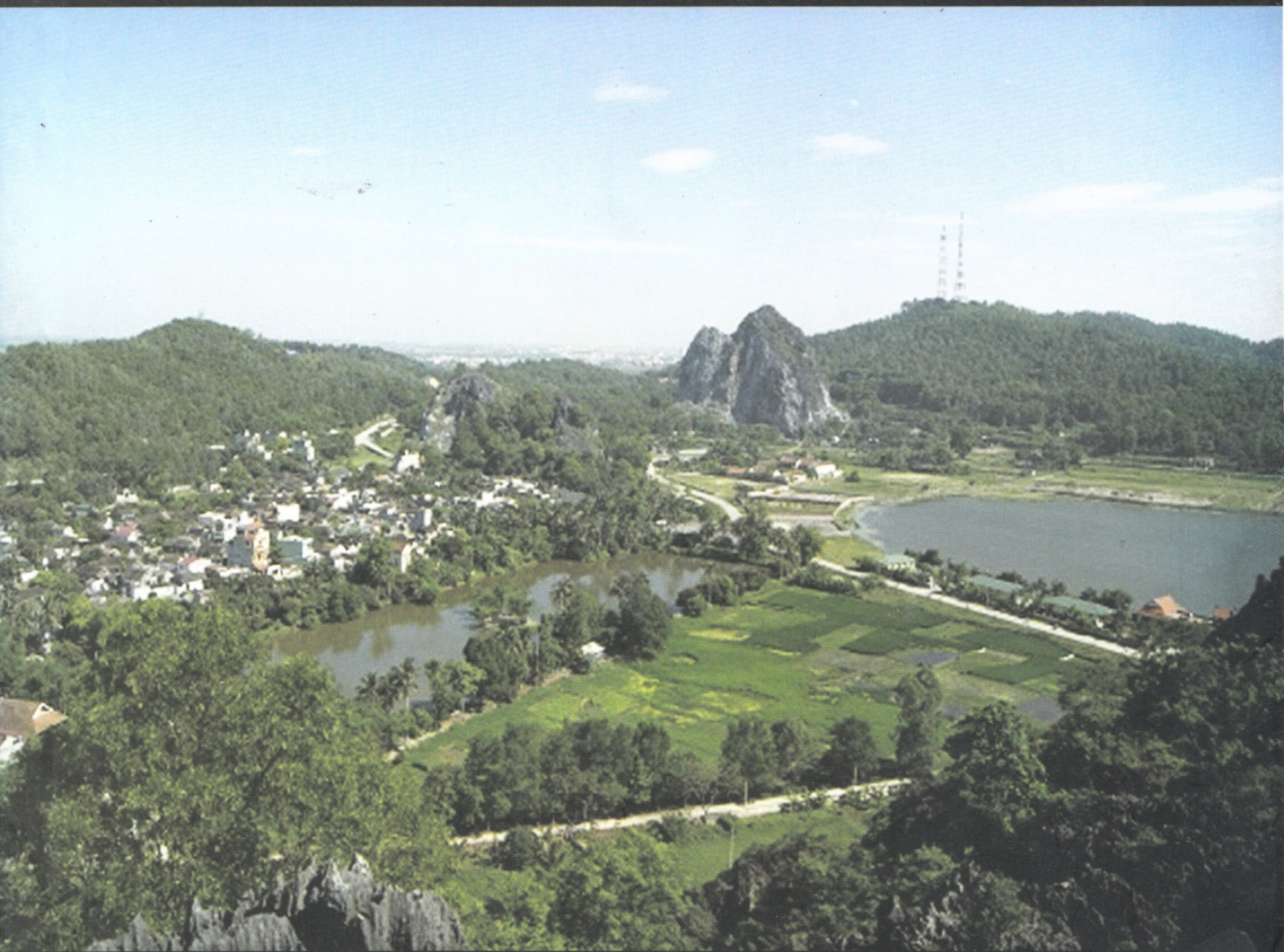


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# ARCHAEOLOGY

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**Archaeology**

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	About location names on bricks from Hồ-dynasty citadel (Thanh Hóa)	



# ABOUT LOCATION NAMES ON BRICKS FROM HỒ - DYNASTY CITADEL (THÀNH HÓA)

ĐẶNG HỒNG SƠN\*, LÊ THỊ THU TRANG, NGUYỄN VĂN LONG\*\*

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*“In Spring, January, (the King) sent Đỗ Tĩnh - Lại bộ (吏部) thượng thư (尚書) (similar to Minister of the Ministry of the Interior nowadays), concurrently Thái sử lệnh (太史令) - the Court Astrologer) to investigate the land in the An Tôn cave, Thanh Hóa prefecture, for building a citadel and moats, setting up an ancestor's temples, building xã (社) tắc (神农) Altar (for worshipping the Earth God and Agriculture God), building roads and streets, with the intention to transfer the Imperial city to that area, and the work was completed in March” (Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư: p.28b) (Complete history of Đại Việt). With just a few lines, the old annals tell us of an exploit concerning a place nominated as a World Cultural Heritage site by UNESCO. Regarding how this sophisticated construction process was realized, we hope the translation of the Han characters printed on the bricks illuminates a small corner of the research on the Hồ - dynasty citadel.*

The location names printed/engraved on the bricks of the Hồ-dynasty citadel have been published in increasing numbers through ongoing field surveys, from 21 names in 2005 (Đặng Hồng Sơn: 2005: 769-685) up to 54 names in 2008 (Đặng Hồng Sơn 2011: 443-496) and over 100 names in 2010 (Lê Thị Thu Trang *et al* 2011: 493-496). They provide valuable data for research into the preparation of the materials for the citadel construction. Some of the bricks with Han characters were found in excavated trenches, while the rest were collected from the local people living around the citadel. They share some following common, technological features:

- The Han characters were printed/engraved when the bricks were still wet.
- Some Han characters were printed/engraved by a rectangular or oval seal, some others were engraved through use of a stick, and there are some other Han characters that were both printed by a seal and engraved by a stick. The seal engraving shows raised or sunken Han characters positioned vertically downwards.
- The printed Han characters are located in two positions: most of them are on the wide side of the bricks, while some are on the long side, and still others are in both positions.

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\* MA. Departement of History - Hà Nội University of Social Sciences and Humanity

\*\* BA. Centre for Preservation of Hồ-dynasty Citadel Heritage



- The Han characters have two contents: most of them convey location names, and others convey some other meaning.

- In terms of size, the characters range from 3.5cm to 13cm long, 1.5cm to 3.9cm wide, and the average engraving depth is 0.1cm to 0.3cm; sometimes the Han characters were printed back to front.

- In terms of dimensions and forms, the bricks can be divided into 2 types: the first type includes the bricks with Han characters signifying the *Vĩnh Ninh trường*, and the other contains characters signifying other location names.

**Type 1:** Every brick with Han characters signifying the *Vĩnh Ninh trường* is 40cm long, 20cm wide, 5cm-6cm thick and 5kg-6kg heavy. The seal engraved the brick with raised Han characters. The brick material is fine clay with a few tiny laterite grains and white clay veins. The clay was refined but not carefully, so when the brick is broken, it is possible to see tiny holes inside its body. On both sides of the brick, and sometimes on all faces, there are traces of cutmarks, presumably from when scissors cut the clay. The firing temperature was high, so the brick is solid and hard. Its colour is often red or light pink; there are tiny white veins of clay in some spots. The bricks of this type share the common features of the *Vĩnh Ninh trường* bricks in terms of material, dimensions, as well as the seal style on the bricks found in many other sites from the Trần period, such as the *Báo Ân* site (Vũ Quốc Hiền et al 2002), the *Hậu Lâu* site (Nguyễn Ngọc Chắt 1999), the *18 Hậu Lâu* site (Tống Trung Tín (ed.) 2006), the *Thiên Trường* site (Nguyễn Quốc Hội, Nguyễn Xuân Năm 1998), and the *Tam Đường* site (Ngô Thế Phong et al 2004), etc.

**Type 2** includes bricks with Han characters indicating administrative location names. They are 45cm - 50cm in length, 23cm - 25cm in width, 7cm - 10cm in thickness, and 12kg - 16kg in weight. The seal engraving on the bricks resulted in raised or sunken Han characters. The brick material is fine clay mixed with many tiny or bigger laterite grains. There are no traces of scissor cutting marks. The firing temperature was high, as the bricks are very hard, solid, heavy, red or grey.

For over 50 years of research, over 100 names of communes/hamlets have been identified from engravings on bricks, associated with the building of Imperial cities. These bricks have been found from the Hồ - dynasty citadel, and the engravings include the location names collected in 1970 (Chu Quang Trứ (1976: 65-70).

*Table 1:* Statistics of location names printed, engraved on bricks (source: the Author (Ed.))

	Chinese characters		Chinese characters
1.	阿凌土橋	71	仙侶縣郭社鄧廊
2.	安林社	72	鄧
3.	安孫下	73	百姓社
4.	安孫下社	74	[黑]社
5.	安孫上社	75	羅木引
6.	安舍社	76	林川社



7.	婆陀社	77	黎舍社
8.	拜綴社[下] <sup>3</sup>	78	梁江橋社
9.	拜社	79	梁江忠社
10.	變場社	80	劉舍
11.	俸田法	81	麻羅可蘭社
12.	竿竹社	82	枚朝
13.	高舍社	83	木州阮舍社鄭村
14.	吒社	84	每買下
15.	真利社	85	每買上伴社
16.	制社	86	美春范舍社
17.	支耒坊	87	午家社
18.	支耒社	88	阮舍社
19.	古碑社	89	牛欄巨淥社
20.	古帶社	90	如來社
21.	古弘 <sup>6</sup> 社	91	芮巨諭社
22.	古雷縣茶利	92	芮火
23.	古雷縣茶利社	93	烏格社
24.	古雷縣陳舍社	94	沃戶社
25.	公場社	95	潘舍廊
26.	巨隊社	96	分場社
27.	渠舍社	97	片社
28.	綱社	98	官舍坊
29.	弋上社	99	光沐社
30.	延石社	100	光舍社
31.	多忙泥社	101	初社
32.	多忙泥社果坊	102	謝舍
33.	忙泥社改坊	103	三帶州
34.	亭上社	104	新橋社
35.	小亭上社	105	細江
36.	大安貴	106	壽祖社;口壽祖
37.	大昇橋社	107	土位社
38.	大翁蘭社	108	前[街]社
39.	小翁蘭社	109	小福林坊
40.	大前社	110	涇江縣巴[魯]村
41.	陶舍坊	111	涇江縣陳舍社
42.	陶舍社	112	趙社
43.	田代坊	113	鄭舍社
44.	条阮社	114	中坊
45.	亭庄	115	中前橋



46.	隊社	116	長曳社
47.	東山揚舍社	117	長堞坊
48.	東山縣黎阮舍社	118	祥安社洞白社入
49.	東山縣光員亭	119	宣光江[龍]縣
50.	東山縣運[舍社]	120	宣光江渭龍州
51.	同營社舍社	121	宣光鎮□□州
52.	凍社	122	宣光鎮... <sup>12</sup>
53.	洞偈社	123	万貞社
54.	江西埭	124	文言社
55.	江西軍	125	永嘜場
56.	何社	126	永嘜盃社
57.	戶舍社	127	永嘜葉社
58.	上戶社	128	永嘜頭寨社
59.	下戶社	129	永嘜和樂社
60.	下郎	130	永嘜水岩社
61.	賢社	131	永嘜陳舍社
62.	黃爭社	132	永嘜安之社
63.	黃爭[舍社]	133	永嘜□冬社
64.	弘下	134	王廬
65.	???????? <sup>8</sup>	135	旧市
66.	个稔喇社	136	車喇
67.	个那下	137	安之縣長浪社
68.	个那社	138	安定縣...
69.	可凜社	139	安朗東
70.	快州千冬社		

The above-mentioned bricks represent those found by chance, and there are certainly many more location names to be identified because many more bricks of these types still remain in private collections in people's houses, which need further investigations, collections and statistics.

The similarities of forms, materials and dimensions in the bricks, but with different location names, enable us to make a preliminary deduction: the bricks used for building the Hồ - dynasty citadel might have been collected from many locations in the vicinity. These locations were assigned some quantity or quota of bricks to produce, using standardized dimensions. Each location might have hired a kiln for their own or two or more locations might have shared a kiln to meet their target production quotas. Regardless of the kilns used, local workers had to engrave/print their location name on their bricks before firing them.

The research into the contents and meanings of the characters printed/engraved on the bricks used for building the Hồ - dynasty citadel holds great significance for the studies of an ancient Imperial city of the Vietnamese people. However, this work remains difficult



as many of the bricks from the citadel have been privately kept and used for various purposes by the local people. Moreover, our consultation of the locations names of this historical period is certainly restricted.

One way to conduct preliminary research into the location names of the area involves investigation of the legends circulated among the local people, as well as information from projects that have studied the location names in Thanh Hóa, such as *Dư địa chí* (輿地誌) (Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên: 383-591), *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời* (Vietnamese country through various dynasties) (Đào Duy Anh 1997), *Tên làng xã Thanh Hoá* (Names of villages and communes of Thanh Hóa) (The department of Studies and Edition of Thanh Hóa History 2000), etc. We especially concentrate on the vicinity of Vĩnh Lộc district to study and identify the location name of the recovered bricks (*Table 2*).

**Table 2: Comparison of the location names printed/engraved on the bricks with modern location names (Source: The Author)**

	Characters on bricks	Locations in the Trần-Hồ periods	Modern locations
1.	安孫下社	The area of An Tôn cave, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	Yên Tôn Hạ village, Vĩnh Yên commune, Vĩnh Lộc district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>14</sup>
2.	安孫上社	The area of An Tôn cave, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	
3.	永嘜場	Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	Vĩnh Lộc district, Thanh Hoá province
4.	永嘜盆社	Bôi commune, huyện Vĩnh Ninh, Thanh Đô town	
5.	永嘜葉社	Diệp commune, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	
6.	永嘜頭寨社	Đầu Trại commune, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	
7.	永嘜和樂社	Hòa Lạc commune, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	
8.	永嘜水岩社	Thủy Nham commune, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	
9.	永嘜陳舍社	Trần Xá commune, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	
10.	永嘜安之社	Yên Định commune, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô prefect	
11.	永嘜口冬社	□ Đông commune, Vĩnh Ninh district, Thanh Đô town	
12.	安之縣長浪社	Trường Lăng commune, Yên Định district, Thanh Đô prefect	Yên Định district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>15</sup>
13.	安定縣...	Yên Định district, Thanh Đô town	Yên Định district, Thanh Hoá province
14.	梁江橋社	Kiểu commune, Lương Giang district, Thanh Đô town	Thiệu Hóa district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>16</sup>



	Characters on bricks	Locations in the Trần-Hồ periods	Modern locations
15.	梁江忠社	Trung commune, Lương Giang district, Thanh Đô town	Thiệu Hóa district, Thanh Hoá province
16.	古雷縣茶利社	Trà Lị commune, Cổ Lôi district, Thanh Đô town	Thọ Xuân district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>17</sup>
17.	古雷縣陳舍社	Trần Xá commune, Cổ Lôi district, Thanh Đô town	Thọ Xuân district, Thanh Hoá province
18.	古弘 □ 社	Cổ Hoàng district, Thanh Đô town	Hoàng Hoá district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>18</sup>
19.	弘下	Hoàng Hạ commune, Cổ Hoàng district, Thanh Đô town	Hoàng Hoá district, Thanh Hoá province
20.	東山揚舍社	Dương Xá commune, Đông Sơn district, Thanh Đô town	Đông Sơn district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>19</sup>
21.	東山縣黎阮舍社	Lê Nguyễn Xá commune, Đông Sơn district, Thanh Đô town	Đông Sơn district, Thanh Hoá province
22.	東山縣光員亭	trung Quang Viên, Đông Sơn district, Thanh Đô town	
23.	東山縣運[舍社]	Vận [Xá] commune, Đông Sơn district, Thanh Đô town	
24.	个那下	Kê Nưa Hạ, Nông Cống district, Thanh Đô town	Nông Cống district, Thanh Hoá province
25.	个那社	Kê Nưa commune, Nông Cống district, Thanh Đô town	Nông Cống district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>20</sup>
26.	涇江縣巴[魯]村	Ba [Thú] hamlet, Tống Giang district, Thanh Đô town	The area share the border with Nga Sơn and Hà Trung district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>21</sup>
27.	涇江縣陳舍社	Trần Xá commune, huyện Tống Giang, Thanh Đô town	The area share the border with Nga Sơn and Hà Trung district, Thanh Hoá province
28.	細江	[district] Tế Giang, Thanh Đô town	The western area of Thạch Thành district, Thanh Hoá province <sup>22</sup>
29.	快州千冬社	Thiên Đông commune, Khoái lộ - Trần period	Of the 5 districts of Khoái Châu, Ân Thi, Kim Động, Tiên Lữ and Phù Cừ, Hưng Yên province <sup>23</sup>
30.	仙侶縣郭社鄧廓	Đặng village, Quách commune, Tiên Lữ district, Khoái lộ -- Trần period	Tiên Lữ district, Hưng Yên province <sup>24</sup>
31.	木州阮舍社鄭村	Trịnh hamlet, Nguyễn Xá commune, Mộc châu, Thiên Hưng prefect	Mộc Châu district, Sơn La province and the northern area of Đà river, Hòa Bình province <sup>25</sup>
32.	三帶州	châu Tam Đới, lộ Tam Đới	The junction area of Việt Trì including the districts of Phù Ninh, Phú Thọ province; Lập Thạch,

	Characters on bricks	Locations in the Trần-Hồ periods	Modern locations
			Vĩnh Tường, Yên Lạc, Vĩnh Phúc province <sup>26</sup>
33.	宣光江渭龍州	châu Vị Long, giang (town) Tuyên Quang	Chiêm Hóa district, Tuyên Quang province <sup>27</sup>
34.	宣光江[龍]縣	Giang [Long] district, [town] Tuyên Quang	Tuyên Quang province
35.	宣光鎮□ □州	châu □ □ Tuyên Quang town	

The initial results are unremarkable and we have only identified 35/139 location names in the areas of the 8 districts of the Thanh Hoá province, such as: Vĩnh Lộc (11 names), Yên Định (2 names), Thọ Xuân (2 names), Thiệu Hóa (2 names), Đông Sơn (4 names), Hoằng Hoá (2 names), Nông Cống (2 names) and the vicinities of the Nga Sơn district and the Hà Trung district (2 names). Of all the names, the location names appearing in highest frequency belong to the modern Vĩnh Lộc district.

Apart from the area of the Hồ - dynasty citadel, some other bricks were printed/engraved with other names, such as 2 names of the modern Hưng Yên province, one name of the Mộc Châu district area (Sơn La province) and the northern area of the Đá river (Hòa Bình province); one name of the area around the Việt Trì Junction of the 2 provinces of Phú Thọ and Vĩnh Phúc; one name of the Chiêm Hóa district, (Tuyên Quang province) and 2 other names of the Tuyên Quang province (*Table 3*).

*Table 3: Statistics of identified modern location names (source: The Author)*

	Provinces	Districts	Quantity
1.	Thanh Hóa	Vĩnh Lộc	11
		Đông Sơn	4
		Yên Định	2
		Thọ Xuân	2
		Thiệu Hóa	2
		Hoằng Hoá	2
		Nông Cống	2
		Nga Sơn and Hà Trung	2
		Thạch Thành	1
2.	Hưng Yên	Tiên Lữ	1
		Khoái Châu	1
3.	Sơn La	Mộc Châu	1
4.	Phú Thọ and Vĩnh Phúc	unidentified	1
5.	Tuyên Quang	Chiêm Hóa	1
		unidentified	2

Of the 139 names mentioned above, the names of districts account for the most (71%), followed by the units of precincts and old administrative divisions, etc. Therefore,

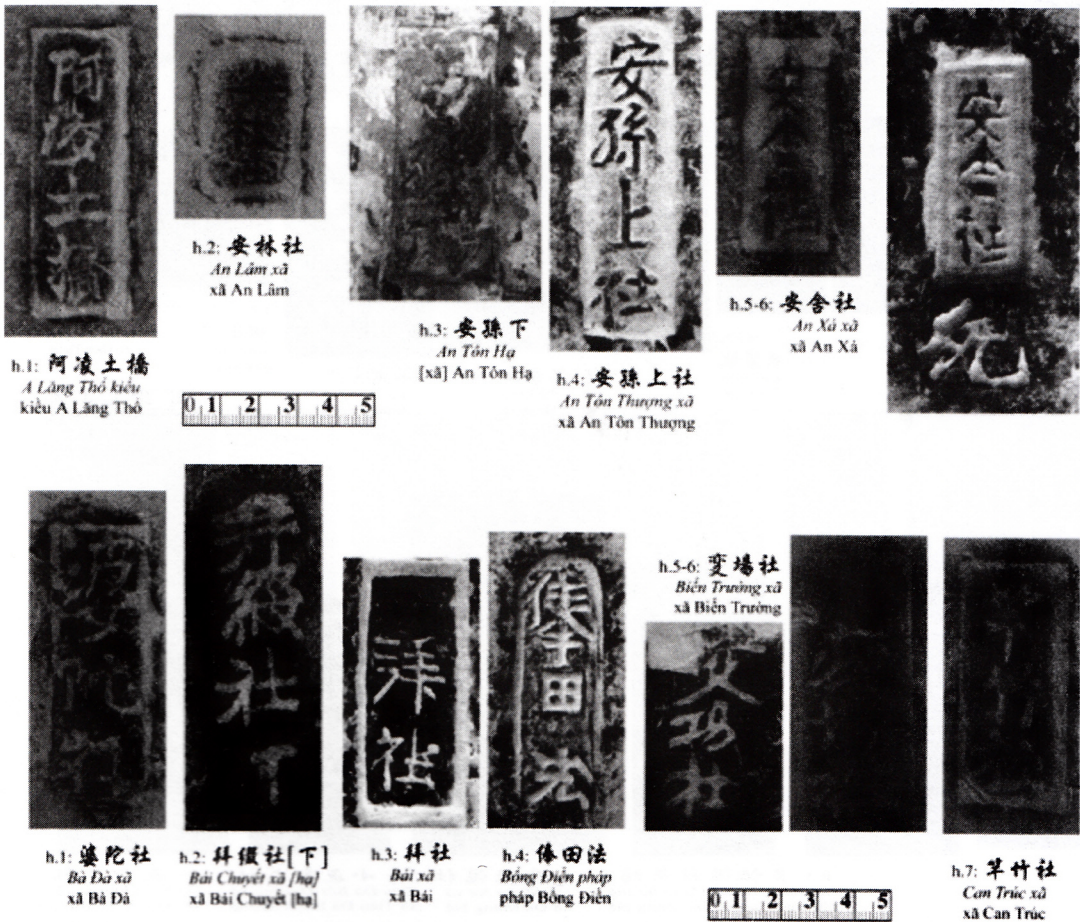


district is the main unit, playing a great role in the brick production for the construction of the Hồ dynasty citadel. We have not mentioned some names of communes and precincts that have not yet been completely analyzed, or that impossible to translate completely (about 50 other names). The following are the total quantities of various types of administrative units on the bricks (Table 4).

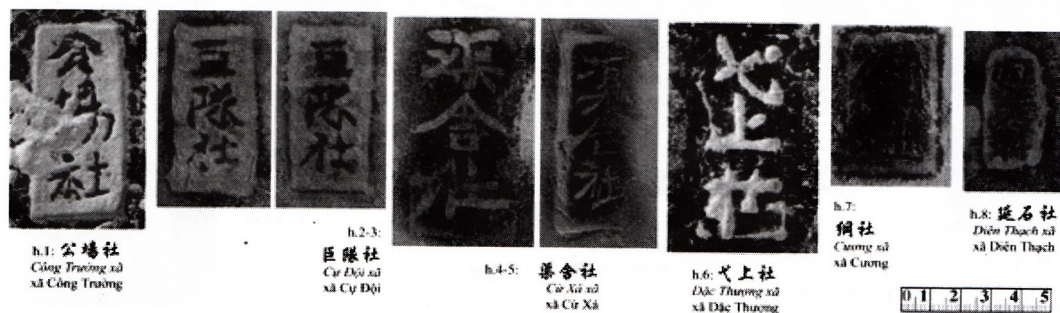
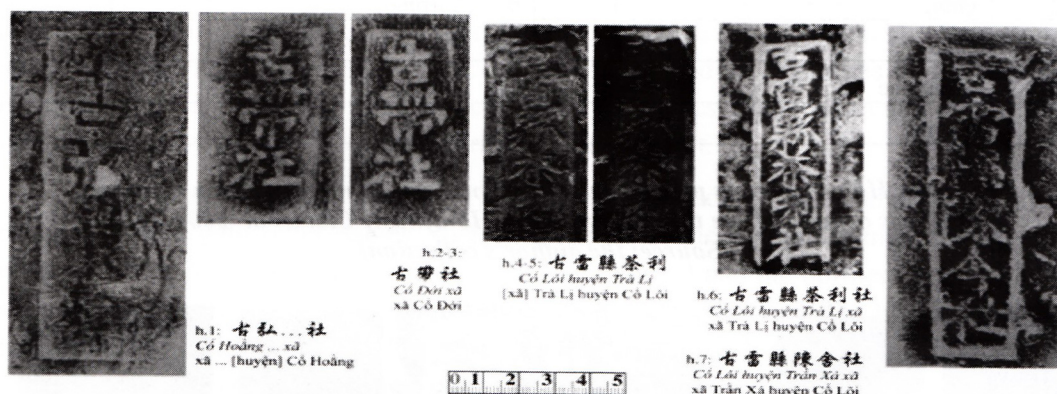
Table 4: Statistics of various administrative units (source: The Author)

	Types of Units	Quantity		Types of Units	Quantity
1.	town	2	7.	hamlet	2
2.	school	1	8.	village	2
3.	giang	1	9.	trang	1
4.	châu	6	10.	kiều	1
5.	commune	96	11.	pháp	1
6.	precint	9	12.	đình	1

Seals with Hán characters printed on bricks type 2- meaning production locations.  
Artifacts collected from the surveys at the Hồ-dynasty Citadel in 2004-2010  
(Source: the author’s collection)

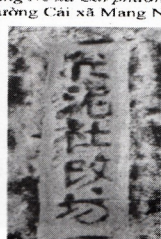






h.2: 忙泥社改坊  
Mang Nê xã Cải phường  
phường Cải xã Mang Nê

h.1: 大安貴  
Đại An Quý  
[xã] Đại An Quý



h.3: 多忙泥社果坊  
Đa Mang Nê xã Cáo phường  
phường Cáo xã Đa Mang Nê



h.4: 多忙泥社  
Đa Mang Nê xã  
xã Đa Mang Nê

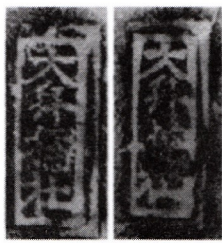


h.5: 小龜亭上社  
Tiểu Đà Bọt Thượng xã  
xã Tiểu Đà Bọt Thượng



h.6: 龜亭上社  
Đà Bọt Thượng xã  
xã Đà Bọt Thượng

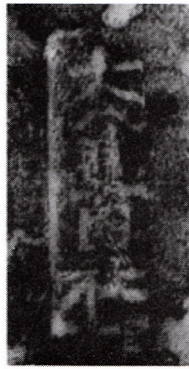




h.1-2: 大昇橋社  
Đại Dư Kiều xã  
xã Đại Dư Kiều



h.3: 小翁蘭社  
Tiểu Ông Lan xã  
xã Tiểu Ông Lan



h.3: 大翁蘭社  
Đại Ông Lan xã  
xã Đại Ông Lan



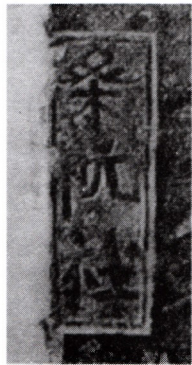
h.5: 大前社  
Đại Tiền xã  
xã Đại Tiền



h.6: 陶舍坊  
Đào Xá phường  
phường Đào Xá



h.7: 陶舍社  
Đào Xá xã  
xã Đào Xá



h.1: 糸阮社  
Điền Nguyễn xã  
xã Điền Nguyễn



h.2: 田代坊  
Điền Đại phường  
phường Điền Đại



h.3: 亭庄  
Đình trang  
tràng Đình



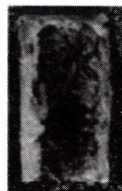
h.5: 凍社  
Đống xã  
xã Đống



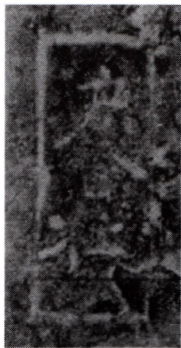
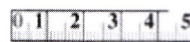
h.6: 洞傷社  
Động Kê xã  
xã Động Kê



h.7: 同營社舍社  
Đồng Doanh Đồ Xã xã  
xã Đồ Xá [huyện] Đồng Doanh



h.4: 隈社  
Đội xã  
xã Đội



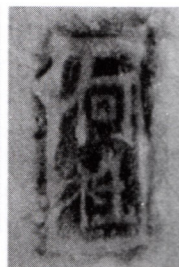
h.1: 戶舍社  
Hộ Xá xã  
xã Hộ Xá



h.2: 下戶社  
Hạ Hộ xã  
xã Hạ Hộ



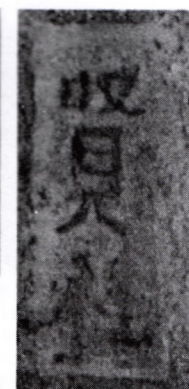
h.3-4: 上戶社  
Thượng Hộ xã  
xã Thượng Hộ



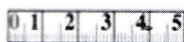
h.5: 何社  
Hà xã  
xã Hà



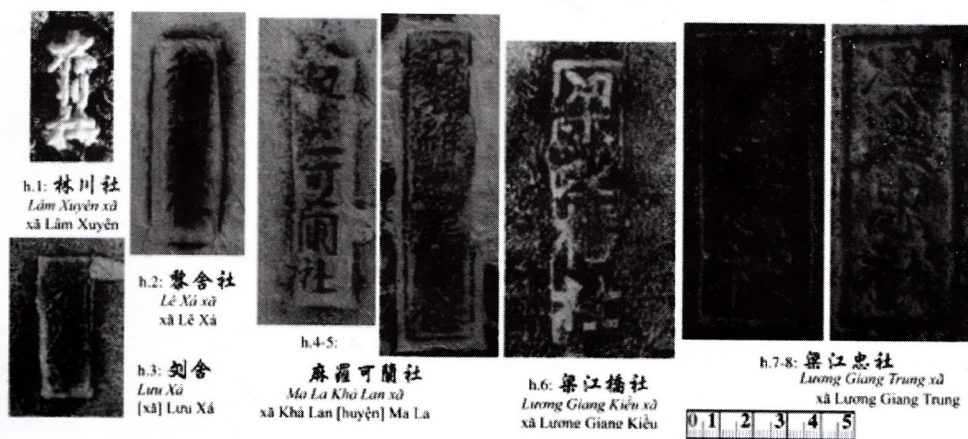
h.6: 下郎  
Hạ Lang xã  
[xã] Hạ Lang



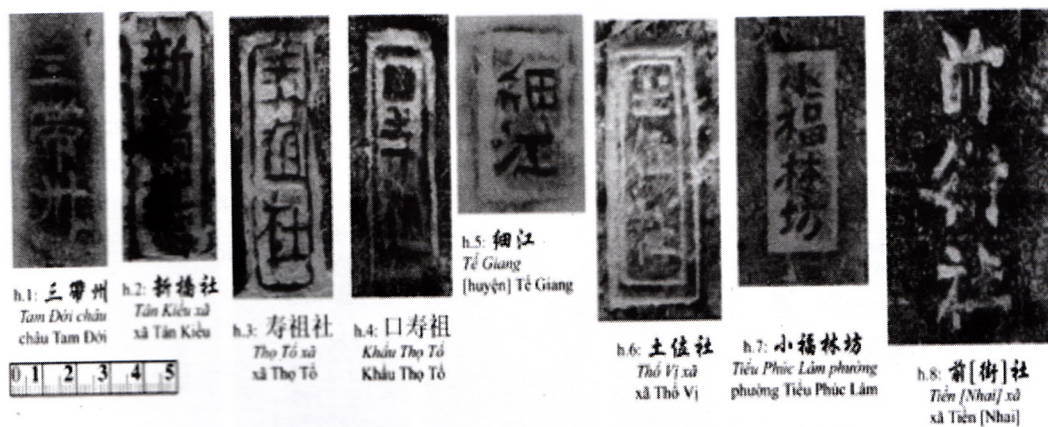
h.7: 賢社  
Hiền xã  
xã Hiền













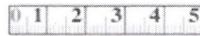
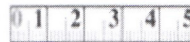
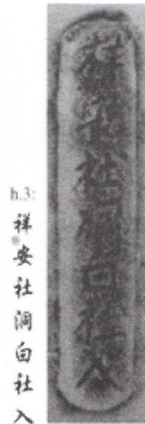
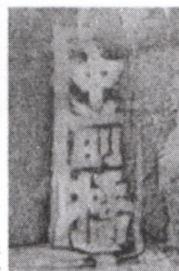
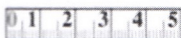
h.1: 宋江縣巴魯村

Tống Giang huyện Ba [Thủ] thôn Ba [Thủ] huyện Tống Giang

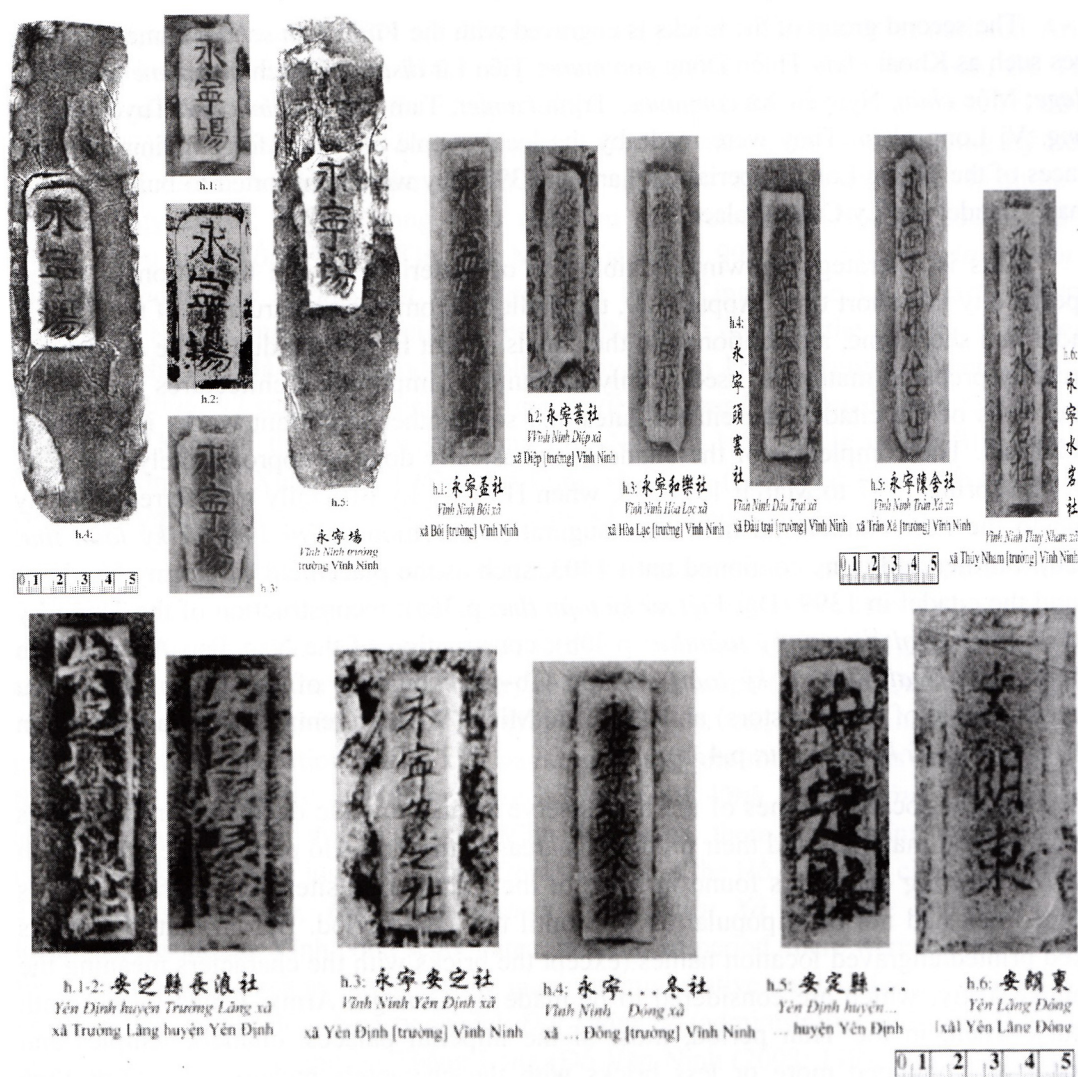


Tống Giang huyện Trần Xá xã Trần Xá xã huyện Tống Giang

h.2: 宋江縣陳舍社

h.3: 趙社  
Triệu xã  
xã Triệuh.4: 鄭舍社  
Trịnh Xá xã  
xã Trịnh Xáh.5: 中坊  
Trung phương  
phường Trungh.1: 長叟社  
Trường Duệ xã  
xã Trường Duệh.3: 宣光江渭龍州  
Tuyên Quang giang Vị Long châu  
châu Vị Long giang Tuyên Quangh.2: 長塔坊  
Trường Diếp phường  
phường Trường Diếph.4: 宣光江  
[龍]  
縣h.5: 宣光鎮...  
Tuyên Quang trấn...  
... trấn Tuyên Quangh.6: 宣光鎮...  
州Tuyên Quang trấn ... châu  
châu ... trấn Tuyên Quangh.1: 荀市  
Cửu Thị  
[xã] Cửu Thịh.2: 王厓  
Vương Triền  
[xã] Vương Triềnh.3: 祥安社  
Hàng An xãh.4: 車咧  
Xã Lôi  
[xã] Xa Lôih.5: 中箭橋  
Trung Tiên Kiều [xã] Trung Tiên Kiềuh.6: 文官社  
Văn Ngõn xã  
xã Văn Ngõnh.7: 万貞社  
Vạn Trinh xã  
xã Vạn Trinh





## Comments

(1) Of the architectural sites of the Trần – Hồ period, the Hồ - dynasty citadel is the site possessing the largest quantity of bricks printed/engraved with location names, with the most abundant types. The collection of the bricks with Han – Nôm characters of the Hồ - dynasty citadel have important significance in the building the citadel.

From the location names printed/ engraved on the bricks, we are able to realize that almost all the bricks used for building the citadel were made by local people, which were exactly dated to 1397 – 1403. The contribution of the bricks for building the citadel by the local people is partly referenced in the annals. In 1401, “Hán Thương ordered *lộ* (ancient administrative units) to make bricks for building the citadel. Previously, when the Tây Đô citadel was built, many rocks were transported there and it collapsed soon after that and then the citadel was built with bricks in the upper part and with rocks in the lower part” (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*: p.40a – The Complete History of Đại Việt).



The second group of the bricks is engraved with the *Vĩnh Ninh school* name and other types such as *Khoái châu Thiên Đông commune*; *Tiên Lữ district*, *Quách commune and Đặng village*; *Mộc châu*, *Nguyễn Xá commune*, *Trịnh hamlet*; *Tam Đới precinct and Tuyên Quang giang*, *Vị Long châu*. They were made by the local people and used for building the royal palaces of the Thăng Long Imperial City and in 1397 they were transported to build the Hồ - dynasty citadel and Ly Cung (Palace).

This is a strategy showing flexible use of materials for the formation of a new Imperial city in a short time. Apparently, the ability to complete construction of the Tây Đô citadel in a short time, as mentioned in the annals, might have been due to the availability of readily-prepared materials used mainly for building important architectures such as the stone walls of the citadel, the citadel gates and some other important works in the inner citadel, etc. The completion of the citadel was basically done in approximately one year, from the spring 1397 to March 15, 1398, when Hồ Quý Ly officially transferred from Ly Cung to the new citadel and held an inauguration ceremony (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*: p.32b). Further additions continued until 1403, such as: the placement of thorny bamboos around the citadel in 1399 (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*: p.36a); reconstruction of the Thiên Lý road in 1402 (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*: p.40b); construction of the Nan Jiao Altar at Đồn Sơn in 1402 (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*: pp.41b-42a); building of the Đông Thái Miếu (Eastern temple of the ancestors) and Tây Thái Miếu (Western temple of the ancestors) in 1403 (*Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*: p.43b).

(2) The location names of the bricks serve as an authentic database for the studies of architectural materials and their production areas in the Trần-Hồ period. The bricks with *Vĩnh Ninh trường* characters found in some of the Trần-period sites demonstrate that this type of brick had not been popular at least until the Trần period. Before that, the bricks lacked printed/engraved location names (except the bricks with the characters meaning the Guangxi Army, which are considered to be made by Guangxi Army, China in the ninth century. Then, in the Trần period, most of the imperial palaces, citadels, temples and pagodas all contained more or less bricks with the characters meaning the *Vĩnh Ninh trường*. These serve as an important evidentiary base showing that the Hồ Dynasty ordered the districts in this area to make bricks for building the citadel. As a result, apart from the bricks printed/engraved with the *Vĩnh Ninh trường*, there are more bricks with the location names other than the *Vĩnh Ninh school*, such as *Bôi*, *Diệp*, *Hòa Lạc*, *Đầu Trại*, *Trần Xá*, *Thủy Nham*, *Yên Định* and other units also belonging to the Trần-period *Vĩnh Ninh* location. Since then, *Vĩnh Ninh school* grew into a great centre for making bricks in the Hồ-dynasty period, from which over 100 location names of this area appeared on the bricks. This is a dramatic development of a trend that we temporarily call **the Trend of *Vĩnh Ninh trường***.

(3) The boom of the seals with the location names for printing/engraving on bricks indicated a new step of development of a technical style that existed from the Đinh period to the pre-Lê time.

The bricks with Han characters from the Đinh-Lê and Lý time mainly include dates of production closely associated with the national titles, or sometimes associated



with the dynasties such as *Đại Việt quốc quân thành chuyên* (Đại Việt national Army brick) at Hoa Lư (Tổng Trung Tín, Trần Anh Dũng 1998; Nguyễn Văn Đoàn, Đỗ Trần Cư, Lê Hoài Anh 2010) and 18 Hoàng Diệu site (Tổng Trung Tín, Bùi Minh Trí 2010: 88, plate22); *Lý gia đệ tam đế Long Thụy Thái Bình tứ niên tạo* (the third King Lý Long Thụy Thái Bình, made in the fourth year) at Phật Tích (Việt Nam Institute of Archaeology 2010), Tường Long (The museum of Vietnamese History 2003) and 18 Hoàng Diệu site (Tổng Trung Tín, Bùi Minh Trí 2010: 99, plate 35); *Lý gia đệ tam đế Chương Thánh Gia Khánh thất niên tạo* (The third King of the Lý dynasty Chương Thánh Gia Khánh, made in the eighth year) at Phật Tích (kept in the provincial Museum of Bắc Ninh) and Bà Tấm pagoda/temple (Nguyễn Văn Đoàn, Nguyễn Quang Huy, Lê Hoài Anh 2006: 97 stamped plate 1); *Lý gia đệ tứ đế Long Phù Nguyên Hóa ngũ niên tạo* (the fourth King of the Lý dynasty Long Phù Nguyên Hóa, made in the fifth year) at Chương Sơn (Cao Xuân Phổ 1968) and Long Đọi Sơn (Ngô Thế Phong, Nguyễn Văn Đoàn, Lê Văn Chiến, Chu Văn Vệ 2002: plate 34, stamped plate 19a-b), etc.

However, in the Trần period, apart from the inscription of the dates of the dynasties such as *Hưng Long thập nhị niên* (Hưng Long the twelfth year) at Báo Ân pagoda (Ngô Thế Bách 2005: plate 1-2, stamped plate 1; Nguyễn Doãn Minh 2005: 344); *Hưng Long thập tam niên* (Hưng Long the thirteenth year) at Phổ Minh stupa (Nguyễn Quốc Hội, Nguyễn Xuân Năm (1998: 350-351; Hồ Thọ (1990: 138-139), etc., a large number of bricks printed/engraved a location name/ kiln name, in which the most famous and richest ones found from the majority of buildings are bricks of the *Vĩnh Ninh trường* (as mentioned above). In addition, in the vicinity of Vĩnh Ninh area, there were many other locations making bricks that have just been found from the area of the Hồ - dynasty citadel, such as *An Tôn Thượng commune, Đông Sơn district, Lê Nguyễn Xá commune* and many other locations. Beside the Vĩnh Ninh school area, in the Trần period, there were some other kilns for making bricks, such as *Tuyên Quang giang* (administrative unit) *Vị Long châu* and *Tuyên Quang town...* at the Hồ - dynasty citadel; *Đại Thông độ* (administrative unit) and *Đại Thông độ ông* (administrative unit) at Thăng Long (Đỗ Văn Ninh (2008: 119). The inscriptions of the location names on the bricks, apart from the initial function for statistics of the quantity for transaction between the central and local authorities, started and developed a new trend in the handicraft production: **products closely associated with brands**. The archaeological data have demonstrated this trend through the appearance of similar cases on the glazed ceramics from the Trần period such as *Thiên Trường* and *Made in Thiên Trường palace* (Bùi Minh Trí, Trương Hữu Nghĩa, Nguyễn Văn Anh 2008: 439-440).

In the early Lê period, apart from the brands closely associated with the location names such as Thu Vật district Cá Lăng village, Thu Vật district Mộc Độc village, Thu Vật district Nhân Khâm village, Thu Vật district Tha Âm village, Thu Vật district Thu Vật village, Thu Vật district Thùy Đình village continued to be printed/engraved on bricks (Đỗ Văn Ninh 2008: 120; Nguyễn Đình Chiến 2008: 391-392; Tăng Bá Hoành, Đặng Đình Thê, Nguyễn Duy Cương 2000: 476-477; Nguyễn Văn Quang 2004: 642-643), etc., the main inscriptions were the names of troops of the Tĩnh Ba Army and Hữu Army at Lam Kinh (Nguyễn Văn Đoàn 2004: 80-112); Tráng Phong Army, Dương Vũ

Army và Vũ Ky Army at 18 Hoàng Diệu (Tổng Trung Tín, Bùi Minh Trí 2010: 163; Tổng Trung Tín -ed. 2006: 48), etc.. We think that this change was due to the change of production characteristics, a shift from private kilns to official kilns, as demonstrated by the characters meaning Trường Lạc Treasure and Trường Lạc found at 18 Hoàng Diệu site (The Scientific Association of Vietnamese History 2004: 111, plates b-c), etc, on the glazed ceramics from the early Lê period.

(4). The Han – Nôm characters on the bricks from the Hồ dynasty citadel area are significant for the studies of the locations names of the Trần – Hồ time. For example, the characters 忙泥社改坊 should be translated as *Mang Nê xã commune turned into precinct*. The characters 多忙泥社果坊 should be more logically translated into *Cải precinct Đa Mang Nê commune*. If so, we suppose that the Trần – Hồ precinct might have been a unit under a commune. This needs further confirmation from more data.

(5). The Han – Nom characters on the bricks from the Hồ - dynasty citadel are also significant for the studies of the seals, calligraphy, and written records from the Trần – Hồ time. For example, the character 土 in the seals was normally accompanied with a dot on its right (土).

## Notes

1. According to Hoàng Văn Lâu, Cảnh Tuệ Linh (2002a): *Văn khắc Hán Nôm Việt Nam* (Hán Nôm Inscriptions in Việt Nam), volume 2, First book, published by the Institute of Literature – the University of Trung Chính and the Institute of Hán - Nôm Studies, Gia Nghĩa - Hà Nội, PP. 129-142: on the stele 崇光寺鐘, there was an administrative unit *kiêu*: *Hồng lộ Ma Lăng kiều Ý Lan commune*, which might be a unit over the commune level.

2. The character () is added by us to make the meaning clearer.

3. The character [] means unreadable letter.

4. *pháp* might be an administrative unit in the Trần period.

5. In *Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên*, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, translated by Phan Huy Tiếp, edited by Hà Văn Tấn, published by Literature Publishing House and the Centre for the National Studies, Hà Nội, 2001, pp. 383-591, *phường* is a popular administrative unit belonging to a district, for example, Vĩnh Ninh district in the Trần period included a *phường* (precinct).

6. Every character□ is unreadable letters.

7. In *Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên*, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, pp. 383-591: *trang* is a popular administrative unit belonging to a district, for example, Đông Sơn district in the Trần period includes a *trang*.

8. Chu Quang Trứ (1976): “Thành nhà Hồ (Thanh Hóa)” (Hồ-dynasty citadel), *Khảo cổ học* (Archaeology) (20), p. 66, the author did not use Hán characters.

9. A village unit might have had to make bricks for building the citadel.

10. In *Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên*, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, p. 383-591: *châu* an administrative unit, similar to a district.

11. According to Phan Văn Các, Claudine Salmon (1998): *Văn khắc Hán Nôm Việt Nam*, (Hán Nôm Inscriptions in Việt Nam), volume 1, published by École française d'Extrême-Orient and



the Institute of Hán - Nôm Studies, Paris-Hà Nội, p.97: *châu Vị Long* now belongs to Chiêm Hóa district, Tuyên Quang province.

12. Each sign ... contains two or more unreadable characters.

13. In the Trần dynasty, there were administrative units *trường*, *giang*, and *huong*, further consultation of Nguyễn Đình Chiến (1980): “Bài minh trên chùa Bình Lâm (Hà Tuyên) đời Trần Anh Tông” (Inscriptions in the Bình Lâm pagoda (Hà Tuyên), Trần Anh Tông period, *Khảo cổ học* (4), pp. 32-45 and Nguyễn Đình

14. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời* (Việt Nam through the dynasties), p. 152: the Trần-period Vĩnh Lộc district was previously called Vĩnh Ninh district. There is now Vĩnh Lộc district in the northern Thanh Hoá province on the left bank of the Mã river.

15. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, p. 152: Yên Định district existed from the late Trần period.

16. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, p. 153: Lương Giang district in the Trần period on both banks of the Lương river (Chu river), equivalent to the location of Thiệu Hóa district, modern Thanh Hóa province.

17. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, p. 152: Cổ Lôi district had been called Lôi Dương district before the Trần, like modern Thọ Xuân district, in the northwestern Đông Sơn district and might include part of Thường Xuân district land.

According to Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, p. 548: Lôi Dương district in the Trần period was Cổ Lôi district; in the Lê period it was remaned Lôi Dương district of *phủ* Thiệu Thiên. It now belongs to Thọ Xuân district, the area over Bái Thượng.

18. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, p. 152: Cổ Hoảng district existed from the Trần period.

19. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, p. 152: Đông Sơn district existed from the Trần period, there is now Đông Sơn district in northern Thanh Hoá province.

20. Cổ Định village (previously called Cổ Ninh, or Kê Nưa), Nông Cống district, Thanh Hoá province.

21. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, p. 154: Tống Giang district in the Trần period was located on the Tống river bank, equivalent to the northern Nga Sơn district and the northeastern Hà Trung district, modern Thanh Hóa.

22. According to Đào Duy Anh (1997): *Đất nước Việt Nam qua các đời*, p. 153: Tế Giang district in the Trần period was located on the Bái river bank (Bưởi river), equivalent to the western Thạch Thành district, modern Thanh Hóa.

23. According to Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, p. 523.

24. According to Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, p. 524.

25. According to Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, p. 539.

26. According to Nguyễn Trãi toàn tập tân biên, volume II: *Dư địa chí*, p. 515.

27. According to Phan Văn Các, Claudine Salmon (1998): *Văn khắc Hán Nôm Việt Nam*, volume 1, p. 97.

28. *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư*, BKTĐ, Book.VIII, pp. 31a-31b records: Hành khiển đồng tri Đại tông chính tự Lương Nguyên Bưu removed bricks, tiles and big woods from Thuy Chương and Đại An palaces and ordered châu Từ Liêm and Nam Sách to deliver to a new Imperial City, but met storm and over half were sunken. Further consulting Phạm Như Hồ, Tống Trung Tín (1980): "Ly Cung (Thanh Hóa)", *Khảo cổ học* (4), p. 46-60 and Tống Trung Tín (1981): "Những hiện vật điêu khắc ở Ly Cung (Thanh Hóa)" (Sculptural artifacts from Ly Cung), *Khảo cổ học* (1), p. 49-63.

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