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ĐẶNG HỒNG SƠN*, NGUYỄN VĂN ANH* AND NGUYỄN MINH HÙNG*

1. Luy Lâu Citadel site

The Luy Lâu Citadel site is located in Lũng Khê hamlet, Thanh Khương commune, Thuận Thành district, Bắc Ninh province. Luy Lâu was the name of a district in Jiaozhi province, and the Jiaozhi province was named by the Han dynasty from 106 BC to AD 220. In 106 BC, the Western Han dynasty set up the Jiaozhi county including 9 districts, in which Jiaozhi, Juizhen and Rinan districts are in Việt Nam nowadays. The Jiaozhi province consists of 10 districts, including Luy Lâu, which is equivalent to Thuận Thành district, Bắc Ninh province today. In the Wu-dynasty period, there were 45 districts in 6 provinces, including Jiaozhi province. Jiaozhi province consists of 14 districts, of which the Luy Lâu district was more or less similar to a district in the Han Domination period.

The Luy Lâu district used to be both a metropolitan centre of Jiaozhi province, and Jiaozhi county in the Eastern Han period as well. In 142, the governor Zhou Chang (First - second centuries) relocated the metropolitan centre of Jiaozhi to Long Biên, but returned to Luy Lâu a few years later. In the Shi Xie period (137-226), Luy Lâu was the most prosperous. The Tang dynasty located their metropolitan centre in Tống Bình, and then governor Li Da liang relocated it to Luy Lâu, but he soon left Luy Lâu. In the Zhenyuan period (785-805) the Tang dynasty relocated its centre to Luy Lâu, which was then relocated to Tống Bình by Li Yuan-xi (the eighth - ninth centuries). Since then, Luy Lâu completely lost its role as a political, cultural and economic centre of Jiaozhi province for almost all of the first millennium (Đào Duy Anh 1997: 37-106; Trần Quốc Vượng 2001: 3-7).

The Luy Lâu site was excavated in 1969 and 1970 (Đỗ Đình Truật 1969; Trần Đình Luyện 1970) by the Việt Nam Institute of Archaeology; in 1986 by the Việt Nam Institute of Archaeology and the National University of Hà Nội (Bùi Minh Trí 1986; Thắt Xăm Ry 1986; Tống Trung Tín, Lê Đình Phụng 1986; Trần Quốc Vượng *et al* 1986; Trịnh Cao Tường *et al* 1986; Trịnh Cao Tường *et al* 1989); in 1999 by the University of Social Sciences and Humanity - National University of Hà Nội (Hoàng Văn Khoán 2000, 2002), 2000 (Nguyễn Văn Anh 2001; Nishimura Masanari 2001; Nishimura Masanari *et al* 2002), 2001 (Nishimura Masanari *et al* 2002), 2014 and 2015; in 2014 and 2015 by the provincial museum of Bắc Ninh and the Việt Nam Institute of Archaeology; in 2014 and 2015 by the National Museum of Vietnamese History, the Eastern Asian University (Japan) and the Department of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Bắc Ninh province (Việt Nam National Museum of History *et al* 2014, 2015).

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In the excavated trenches, especially those in the area of the Inner Rampart, there were many terra-cotta architectural materials. Of which, the tubular tile-ends of various types are the most special, the most numerous and the most valuable in identification of the dates, scales and cultural factors.

The decorative designs found on the tubular tile-ends from Luy Lâu include: cloud shape; epigraphs 君宜高官 (Jun yi gao guan), 位至三公 (Wei zhi san gong); 萬歲 (Wan sui); lotuses and human faces. Of which, the cloud designs account for the smallest quantity, which are followed by the epigraphs and human faces; the largest quantity consists of lotus designs, with the longest dates, abundant and diversified types.

In this paper, we focus on the classification of the tubular tile-ends in human-face shape, which are combined with the strata of the three trenches excavated by the Hà Nội University of Social Sciences and Humanities in 2014 and 2015 to identify these unique artifacts. In addition, we also use part of the data from the previous excavations by our colleagues at home and abroad.

2. Types of the human face-shaped tile-ends from Luy Lâu

Hundreds of human face-shaped tile-ends have been found from the investigations, excavations and collections for nearly 50 years, which were all made from well-refined clay mixed with sand, most of which were burned in not high temperature, so they are red or yellowish red and their clay powder easily peeled off. Some of them were burned in fairly high temperature, so they are fairly hard, blackish gray and their clay powder did not easily peel off.

As for forms and technique, the human face-shaped tile-ends from Luy Lâu are similar to those found in other sites from the first half of the first millennium in Việt Nam and Southeast Asia. They were made separately in a mould, with tracks in attaching points for better connection. After that, they were attached to the tile bodies when they all were not completely dry, and the attachment was reinforced with additional clay pressed by potter's hand and brush. The broken tile ends usually include these traces of attachment.

Another feature of the human face-shaped tile-ends from Luy Lâu is that the bottoms of their ends were not left empty as those from other sites, especially from the Lý - Trần periods afterwards. They were made with edges that are about 0.5 - 2.3cm high, usually 1 - 1.5cm high, 2.8 - 9.5cm wide, with the same thickness, technical traces and designs as in their bodies. In the middle of the edge and the two sides, there are tenons that are favourable for tiling the roof; the flat tiles lie completely within these tenons, so the tubular tiles and the flats tiles are tightly connected with one another. These tenons are somewhat similar to the tubular tiles attached on the roof of Gao Li architecture (Song Yu-bin, 2009).

The main feature is the decoration of human face imagery on the tubular tile ends. All the decoration of the tubular tile ends shows human face patterns with big, small and delicate lines clearly standing out on the flat base. The human faces were detailed with eyes, eye rims and eyebrow; the nose bridge and white hair in the centre of the forehead; lips, teeth, moustaches and cheekbones all form a lively face with variants.

With available data mainly based on 46 samples with intact or nearly intact forms from the three excavated trenches in 2014 - 2015 and another 22 samples from other

excavations and collections, we temporarily classified the tubular human face-shaped tile ends from Luy Lâu into 5 main types. In addition, there is an abundance of broken tiles found in 1969, whose forms are impossible to be completely recovered.

2.1. Type A: the human faces include raised big eyes in horizontal water-drop shape, with the two pointed ends that are slightly slanting up; the eye rims are raised lines running around and enclosing the eyes, except the styles A2b and A4; the eyebrows are short, thin, raised lines erected on the eye rims. The nose bridges are triangular and highly raised, the tops of the nose bridges include three thin raised lines pointing up to the forehead in three directions: one in the middle and the other two are balanced on both sides in nearly isosceles triangles, and there is a small raised line in crescent shape on each of the raised lines. The style A5 is different from the styles A1 to A4. The big mouths normally include three raised horizontal lines functioning as two lips and a tongue; there are 4 - 8 vertical raised lines from the upper lip to lower lip, forming teeth and between them there is a raised line that equally divides the upper and power jaws; there is a lot of beard whiskers on the chin. The two cheekbones are normally two raised lines running from the eye canthi to the two corners of the mouth. This type includes 5 styles.

- *Style A1:* includes 1 pink sample (LL.2014.H1.L21.a3.VL017), with an intact end, a tenon and part of the body. The tile end's length is bigger than its width and it is 2.1cm thick; its diameter is 13.4 - 13.6cm. This is the thickest tubular tile end from Luy Lâu; the tile rim is 0.6cm high, 1cm thick, with brush traces on the surface as on the body; the body is 1.1cm thick and its diameter is 13.4cm, and there are brush traces on the back along the body and cloth traces on the other side; the hook is 1.9cm high, 1.2cm thick, and 7cm long; the tenon is concave and 4,5 - 5cm wide. The eyes and nose are raised 0.5 - 0.7cm up, and other raised designs are 0.1 - 0.2cm high. Around the eyes are enclosed rims and the eye canthi are slanting up; the eyebrows are formed by 9 short raised edges that are 0.5 - 1.5cm long, which are slanting to the eye canthi. The nose is triangular, with three raised lines that are 2.5 - 3cm long, with three small crescent lines that are about 1.5cm long and separated from one another. The mouth is rectangular, and the lips are nearly sinusoidal, curved down at both corners; the teeth are formed by the 5 vertical lines that are 1.5cm long. Under the chin, there are 12 thin, curved whiskers that are 1.5 - 2.5cm long, which radiate laterally to both sides, 6 of which are on each side. The cheekbones are formed by the raised line running windingly down from eye canthi to near the lower mouth corner (Fig. 1).



Fig 1. Type A1, sample LL.2014.H1.L21.a3.VL017
(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

- *Style A2* is divided into two patterns:

+ Pattern A2a: includes 18 samples from Luy Lâu and 6 other samples from other excavations, 6 of which remain with intact forms. Some of the samples have no eyebrows (Fig.2: 1-2), some of the samples include 7 whiskers, some have lines on the cheekbones, forming circles touching the rims of the tile ends (Fig. 2: 3-6).

The sample LL.2014.H1.L14.b1.VL006 is pink, with intact end, part of the body with a tenon. The tile end's length is bigger than its width, and the diameter is 14 - 14.7cm, and it is 1.2cm thick; the tile rim is 0.6cm high and 0.7 - 1.3cm thick; the body diameter is 14cm, it is 1.1cm thick, the back contains brush traces along the body; the hook is 2cm high, 1.0cm thick, and 7cm long; the tenon is curve, and 5 - 6cm wide. The eyes are raised 0.5cm up and the nose is 0.6cm high, and the other designs are 0.1 - 0.4cm high. There are round rims enclosing the eyes, the canthi are slightly slanting up; no eyebrows. The nose is triangular; there are three raised lines that are 2.3 - 2.5cm long on the nose top, the three crescents are closed to one another, and the middle one is V-shaped. The mouth is rectangular; the upper lip is curve in balance, the lower lip is straight and thick; the two lip corners are curved down as two beard strands; the teeth are formed by 5 raised vertical lines that are 1.7cm; there are 10 thin strands under the chin, about 2cm long, which radiate out to the two sides, 5 of which are on each side. There are two raise lines along the two cheekbones wandering from eye canthi down to near the corner of the lower lip rim, the left line is connected to the corner of the lower lip rim, the right lines are connected to the eye canthi (Fig. 2: 1-2).



Fig. 2. Style A2a

1-2.LL.2014.H1.L14.b1.VL006;

3.LL.2014.H1.L14.b1.VL005;

4. Restored from LL.2014.H1.L12.a3.VL016 &

LL.2015.H1.L11.b5.VL046;

5-6. LL.2014.H1.L19.a3.VL007

(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

The sample LL.2014.H1.L14.b1.VL005 is pink, with intact tile end, a hook and part of the body. The tile end's length is bigger than its width, and the diameter is 13.5 - 14.1cm, and it is 1.1cm thick; the tile rim is 0.7cm high, 1cm thick; the tile body is 0.9cm thick, the diameter is 13.5cm, the back contains brush traces along the body; the opposite side includes fine cloth and brush traces; the hook is 1.5cm, 0.9cm thick, 5.5cm long; the tenon is straight, and 7cm wide. The eyes are 0.3cm high and the nose is 0.8cm high, the other designs are 0.1 - 0.2cm high. The circles around the eyes are slightly slanting up; with no eyebrows. The nose is triangular, with three raised lines that are 2.3 - 2.5cm long on the top and three small, separated crescents. The mouth is rectangular; the upper lip is curved in balance, the lower lip is straight and thick, the two lip corners are curved downward as the two strands of beard; the teeth are formed by 5 vertical lines that are 1.7cm long; there are 10 beard strands that are more or less 2cm under the chin, which radiate out to the two sides, 5 of which are on each side. The cheekbones are formed by the two raised lines running wandringly under the eye canthi to near the lower lip rim, the left line is connected to the corner of the lower lip rim, the right lines are connected to the eye canthi (Fig.2: 3).

+ Pattern A2b: includes 7 samples with other 8 samples from other excavations, 7 of which are still intact in form.

The LL.2014.H1.L12.b2.VL001 sample is light yellow, with an intact end, a hook and part of the body. The tile end's length is bigger than its width; the diameter is 14 - 14.5cm, and it is 1.4cm thick; the tile rim is 1cm high, and 0.7 - 1.4cm thick; the tile body is 1.2cm thick and its diameter is 13.8cm; there are sloping cloth traces on the back; the hook is 1.5cm high, 1cm thick, and 6cm long; the tenon is slightly curved and 5.5 - 6cm wide. The eyes are raised 0.6cm up and the nose is 0.4cm high; the other designs are 0.1 - 0.2cm high. The eyes are slanting up, without the surrounding circles or eyebrows. The nose is small, with three raised lines that are 2.3 - 2.7cm long on the top and the crescents are small and separated from one another. The mouth is rectangular; the upper lip is curved up, the lower lip is nearly horizontal; the teeth are formed by 1.4cm long; under the chin, there are 12 straight, thin beard strands that are 1 - 2cm long, which radiate out to the two sides, 6 which are on each side. The cheekbones are formed by the two raised curve lines from under the eye canthi to near the lower lip rim (Fig 3: 1-2).



Fig. 3. Style A2b

1-2. LL.2014. H1.L12.b2.VL001;
3-4. LL.2014.H1.L13.Hdd12.VL002
(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

The sample LL.2014.H1.L13.Hdd12.VL002 is pink, with intact tile end, a hook and part of the body. The tile end's length is bigger than its width; the diameter is 14 - 14.5cm, and it is 1.0cm thick; the tile rim is 1cm high, and 0.7 - 1.4cm thick; the tile body is 0.7cm thick, with the diameter of 14cm, there are sloping cloth traces on the back; the hook is 1.7cm high, 0.7cm thick, and 5cm long; the tenon is straight and 7.5 - 8cm wide. The eyes are 0.6cm high and the nose is 0.7cm high; the other designs are 0.1 - 0.4cm high. The eyes are slanting up, without the surrounding circles and no eyebrows. The nose is small, with three raised lines that are 2.3 - 2.7cm long, the crescents are small and separated from one another. The mouth is rectangular; the upper lip is curved up, the lower lip is horizontal; the teeth are formed by 4 raised lines that are 1.4cm long; there are two small dots that are 0.2cm high at both sides of the mouth, which are 0.5cm in diameter; with 12 straight, thin beard strands that are 1 - 2cm under the chin, which spread out to the two sides, each of which includes 6 strands. The cheekbones are formed by the two raised curving lines from under the eye canthi to near the lower lip rim (Fig. 3: 3-4).

- *Style A3*: includes 9 samples, one of which (labeled LL.2014.H1.L20.a3.VL029) has been restored with a complete form. They are yellowish or greyish pink, with intact hooks; the diameter is 14cm, and the thickness is 0.9cm; the tile rim is 0.7cm high, and 0.6 - 0.9cm thick; the hook is 1.8cm high, 0.8cm thick, and 8cm long; the tenon is curved, and 5.5cm wide. The eyes are 0.5cm high and the nose is about 1cm high; the other designs are 0.1 - 0.2cm high. The eyes are horizontal, which are enclosed by the circles; the eyebrows are formed by 10 raised lines that are 0.5 - 1.7cm long, slanting to the eye canthi. The nose is triangular, with three raised lines on the top, which are 2.3 - 3.2cm long, and three V-shaped crescents connected with one another as a zig zag line. The mouth is a closed rectangle; the lower and upper lip rims are formed as 4 beard strands showing to four directions; the teeth are formed by raised 8 vertical lines that are 1.2 - 1.4cm long; there are 13 thin strands under the chin, which are 2.5 - 2.7cm long, one of which is in the centre and six of which are on each side. There are two raised curving lines on the cheekbones from under the eye cantuses down to near the strand at the lower lip rim (Fig.4:1-2).

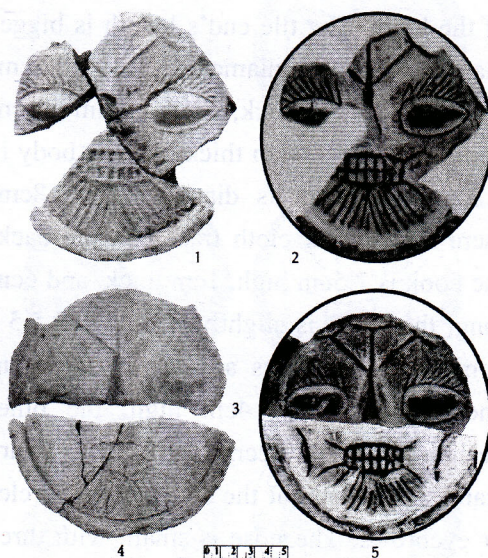


Fig. 4. Style A3

1-2. LL.2014.H1.L20.a3.VL029; 3.

LL.2014.H1.L18.VL015;

4. LL.2014.H1.L21.a3.VL032;

5. Restored from

LL.2014.H1.L18.VL015 and

LL.2014.H1.L21.a3.VL032

(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

- *Style A4*: include only one sample LL.2013.ST.23 collected by the Việt Nam National Museum and the Eastern Asian University in 2013, which is greenish grey, with intact tile end, a hook and part of the body. The diameter of the tile end is 12.3cm; the tile rim is 0.5cm thick. The eyes are slanting up, without circles or eyebrows. The nose bridge is straight up to the top and linked with the middle raised to form a nose bridge; the other two raised lines point to the two sides; the crescent lines are blurred. The mouth is rectangular, the upper lip is evenly curve up and the lower lip is curved down; the teeth are formed by the vertical raised lines that are 1cm long,

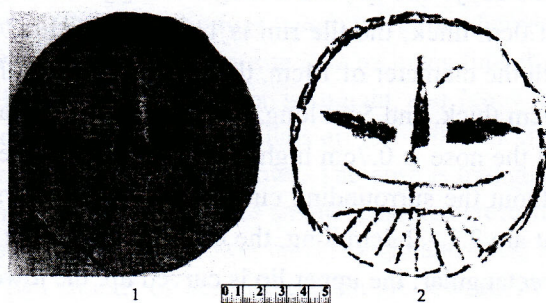


Fig. 5. Style A4, Sample LL.2013.ST.23

(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

they are too blurred so it is impossible to know their quantity; there are 8 beard strands under the chin, which are 1.5 - 2.5cm long, radiating out to the two sides, 4 of which are on each side. The cheekbones are flat (*Fig 5: 1-2*) (Hoàng Hiếu Phần 2015).

- *Style A5*: includes only one sample collected in Lũng Khê hamlet in 2016 by Mr. Quyền, which later turned yellow, with intact hook and big, clear designs. Its diameter is 14.5cm; the rim is 0.7 - 1cm; the hook is 5cm; the tenon is curved, 5 - 5.5cm wide. The eyes are horizontal, and slightly slanting up, which are surrounded by a closed circle; the eyebrows are formed by 6 raised lines that are 0.5 - 1cm long, slanting to the eye canthuses and touching the raised line bifurcating at the top of the nose bridge.

The nose is triangular; there are three raised lines on the top: one in the middle and the other two are horizontal above the eyebrows, on each of the line ends there are three other small straight lines. The mouth is rectangular; the two lips are curved up; the teeth are formed by 7 vertical lines that are 1.5 - 2.2cm long; there are 11 beard strands that are 1 - 1.5cm long under the chin, radiating out to the two sides, 5 of which on each side and one in the middle. The cheekbones include two raised curving lines under the eye canthuses down to near the lower lip rim; the left line is linked with the lower lip corner and the right line is linked with the eye canthus (*Fig. 6*).

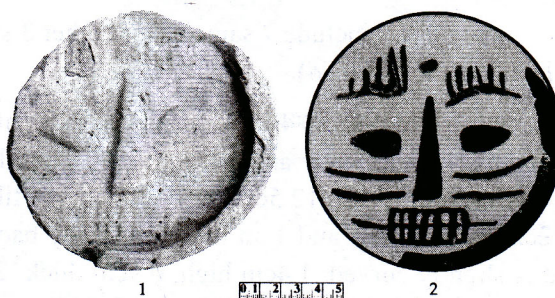


0 1 2 3 4 5

Fig. 6. Style A5

(Source: Quyền)

2.2. Type B: the eyes are big and raised as two horizontal water drops, the eye canthuses are slightly slanting up; there are one or two are raised unclosed lines above and under the eyes; the eyebrows include 4 - 6 short thin raised lines in vertical position from the lines above the eyes. The nose bridge is triangular, long and smaller from lower up. Over the top of the nose, there is a small round spot that is 0.1cm high and its diameter is 1cm (in Buddhist iconography, and this detail is called *bai hao*). The mouth is rectangular, with 1 - 3 raised horizontal lines forming as the two lips and a tongue; the teeth are formed by 4 - 7 vertical raised lines. The cheekbones include two raised horizontal lines that slightly curved at two ends. The differences in details can be divided into two types.



1

0 1 2 3 4 5

2

Fig. 7. Style B1, sample LL.2015.H1.L6.cng1.VL018

(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

- *Style B1*: includes 1 pink sample labeled LL.2015.H1.L6.cng1.VL018, with intact tile end linked with a hook and the whole body, the other end is broken. This is a rare intact sample from the excavated trench. In addition, there are rare broken tiles as this one. The tile end is 12.5cm in diameter, 1.0cm thick; the tile rim is 1.4 cm high, 0.8 - 1.2cm thick; the body is 13.5cm in diameter, the complete length is 21cm, it is 1.2cm thick; there are brush designs along the back and front body; the tenon joint is 1.6cm high, 0.8cm thick, and 6.3cm long; the tenon is curve, 4.5 - 5cm wide; the sample weighs 1.08kg, or about 1.1kg if it was intact. The eyes and the nose are 0.4 - 0.7cm high, and other designs are 0.1 - 0.2cm high. The eyes are horizontal and slightly slanting up; the eyebrows are formed by 6 raised lines that are 1 - 2.7cm long along the curved line above the eyes. The nose bridge is triangular, long and smaller from lower up; *bai hao* in the center of the forehead I a small spot that is 1.0cm diameter, and 0.2cm high. The mouth is rectangular, horizontal and closed, including 3 horizontal raised lines functioning as the two lips and a tongue; the teeth are formed by 7 vertical raised lines that are 1.3cm long; at the two corners, there are two beard strands that are 2 - 2.5cm long. The cheekbones include two raised horizontal lines that slightly curves at two ends; the upper raised line covers the lower part of the eyes (Fig. 7).

- *Style B2*: include 7 samples and other 3 samples from other excavations, 6 of which are intact in form (Fig. 8).

LL.2015.H1.L8.d3-4.VL030 sample consists of dark red temper and grey slip, with intact tile end, part of the body and a tenon joint. The tile end has the length longer than its width, and its diameter is 12 - 12.5cm, 1.3cm thick; the tile rim is 1.0cm high, 0.8cm thick; the body is 12cm in diameter, and 1cm thick; the body back includes vertical brush traces; the tenon joint is slightly curved, 1.4cm high, 0.9cm thick, 2.8cm long; the tenon is curved round, and 5.5cm wide. The eyes and nose are 0.5 - 0.6cm high, and the other design lines are 0.1 - 0.2cm high. The eyes are horizontal, with up-raised eye canthi, and two curved raised lines over and under them; the eyebrows are formed by 4 - 5 raised lines that are 0.5 - 2.3cm long and slightly slanting to the eye brands; there are four lines over the right eye and 5 lines over the left eye. The nose bridge is triangular, smaller upwards; *bai hao* in the centre of the forehead is a small spot that is 0.9cm in diameter and 0.2cm high. The mouth is rectangular, horizontal,



Fig. 8. Style B2

1-2. LL.2015.H1.L8.d3-4.VL030; 3-4. NH435/Dn38(1);

5-6. LL.2015.H1.L7.b3.VL020

(Source: *Đặng Hồng Sơn*)

with 4 vertical lines that are 1.6cm long lying on a raised line that is 3cm long. The cheekbones include two raised lines which are horizontal and slightly curve up (*Fig. 8: 1-2*).

The sample collected from the excavation in 2000 and kept in the Museum of Anthropology, the National University of Social Sciences and Humanities is NH435/Đn38(1), dark red, with intact tile end linked with the tenon joint and almost complete body. Part of its end and body are missing. The tile end is 12.5 - 13cm in diameter, 2.1cm thick; the tile rim is 1 - 1.3cm high, 1 - 1.2cm thick; the tile body is 13 - 13.5cm diameter, 0.5 - 1.3cm thick; there are brush traces along the body; the trace shows that just the tile end is broken; the hook deeply curved and 6cm long, and 1cm thick; the tenon is curve, 4 - 5cm wide. The eyes and nose are 0.5 - 0.7cm high, with the other design lines that are 0.1 - 0.2cm high. The eyes are horizontal, slightly slanting up, with the two raised lines covering the upper and lower parts of the eyes; the eyebrows are formed by 4 - 5 raised lines that are 0.5 - 2.3cm long, slightly slanting to the eye canthuses; there are 4 raised lines over the right eye and 5 raised lines over the left eye. The nose bridge is big, triangular, smaller upwards; *bai hao* in the centre of the forehead is a tiny spot that is 0.8cm in diameter, and 0.2cm high. The mouth is rectangular, closed, horizontal and linked with the nose, including 4 vertical lines that are 1.6cm long, all lying on a horizontal raised line that is 3cm long. The cheekbones include two raised horizontal lines that are slightly curved up (*Fig. 8: 3-4*).

2.3. Type C: includes 1 sample (coded LL.2014.T2. L3:11) found from the excavated trench in 2014 by the group of the National Museum of History and the Eastern Asian University, which is light yellow, broken, so just a small fragment remains with part of the mouth, one eye and a cheekbone; the diameter of the tile end is 14cm, and it is 1cm thick.

The crescent mouth is formed by 3 raised lines, with the flat upper lip and the lower lip is curved up and closed to the two upper lip corners; the mouth is widely open with the straight horizontal tongue; there are short raised lines under the mouth (*Fig.9*) (National Museum of Vietnamese History *et al* 2014: 50, Copy 49-fig.1; Plate 73-fig.3).

2.4. Type D: includes just 1 sample (LL.2014. ST.24) collected by the National Museum of Vietnamese History and the Eastern Asian University in 2014, which is whitest grey, with part of the body and a nearly intact end linked with a hook; the tile end is 12.5cm in diameter, 1.2cm thick. The eyes and nose are 0.3 - 0.4cm high; other the design lines are raised, 0.1 - 0.2cm high. There are no circles around the eyes, and the eyebrows are formed by 4 raised lines running down, showing closed eyes; the eyebrows are formed by 5 raised vertical lines on a horizontal raised line, on the eye brows, there is a small crescent raised curve, on which is another horizontal raised line. The nose is triangular. The mouth is rectangular and closed, including two raised lines forming lips, with 5 other raised lines in the mouth forming teeth. The cheekbones are plain and flat.

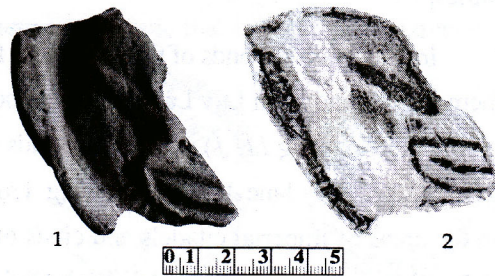


Fig. 9. Type C, sample LL.2014.T2.L3:11

(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

There is a raised line around the eyes, the nose and the mouth, forming a face with broad forehead, hollow cheeks and obtuse chin. Outside the face, there are 24 raised lines sloping down, which look like a male face with side-whiskers. The outmost line around the face is a raised line enclosing the whole face (Fig.10) (National Museum of Vietnamese History *et al* 2014:79, drawing 121-fig.2; copy 82-fig.2; plate.fig.2).

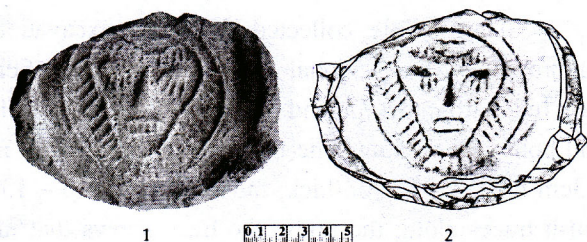


Fig. 10. Type D, sample LL.2014.ST.24
(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

2.5. Other types: includes 4 samples, broken, impossible to be fully recovered. However, based on the designs on the broken fragments, they are certainly not of any types mentioned above, but from different types. As the data are not enough, we temporarily classified them into the other types and hope that we will be able to find some more complete samples from further excavations.

3. Strata, dates and cultural origins

3.1. Human-face tile ends in Northeast and Southeast Asia

Human-face tile ends were found in many sites in Việt Nam and Asia in the first CE centuries.

In Việt Nam tile ends of this type were found from many sites. In northern Việt Nam, many of them were found from Luy Lâu site and some others found from the excavation at Tam Thọ kiln site in Thanh Hóa (Fig.11: 1) with the tile ends having the characters 萬歲 (Wan sui), 君宜官 (Jun yi guan) (Olov R.T. Jane 1947; Đỗ Quang Trọng 2005). In central Việt Nam, they were found from the areas of Imperial citadels and cities of the Lin Yi State such as Trà Kiệu (Quảng Nam), Cổ Lũy (Quảng Ngãi), Cha Citadel (Bình Định), Hồ Citadel (Phú Yên) (Fig. 11: 2-12) (Lâm Thị Mỹ Dung, Đặng Hồng Sơn 2005; Lê Đình Phụng 2000; Mariko Yamagata, Nguyễn Kim Dung 2010; William A. Southworth 1995; Trịnh Sinh, Lê Đình Phụng 1993), etc. Especially, those found in Trà Kiệu are fairly numerous in quantity and abundant in types. Remarkably, in central Việt Nam, no tile ends with Han characters have been found, like those from Tam Thọ, Luy Lâu or Nghi Vệ sites in northern Việt Nam have been found.

In Japan, human-face tile ends from the eighth century were found from the Chang Liang Fei Pagoda site. However, they are quite different from the common style in other regions; the human face lies in the centre and is surrounded by a band of lotus petals, functioning as a lotus receptacle (Fig.12: 1) (Wang Fei-feng 2008).



Fig. 11. Human-face tile ends in Việt Nam

1. Tam Thọ (Thanh Hóa); 2-9. Trà Kiệu (Quảng Nam);
10-11. Cỗ Lũy (Quảng Ngãi)

(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)



Fig. 12. Human-face tile ends in Japan & Korea

1. Trường Lương Phế pagoda (Japan); 2. Di Lặc pagoda (Korea); 3-4. Linh Miếu pagoda (Korea)

In Korea, some human-face tile ends have been found dating to the Xin lo and Bai Ji periods. In the Ling Miao pagoda¹ built in 635, there is a sample that is 11.5cm in diameter and 2cm thick, which is described as a smiling face of a Xin lo woman. In the Mi Le Pagoda built around 600 - 634, there are two samples of tile ends, one of which is 14cm in diameter and 2.3cm thick, depicting an unhappy face of a Bai Ji man, with beard and 8-shaped ears. Both of them share some common features such as cheekbones that are round and high, which are similar to those ends found in Nan King (Fig.12: 2-4) (National Museum of Qing Zhou 2000; Han Zhao 2005; Trương Khởi Nhân Zhang Qi-ren 1993).

In China, the human-face tile ends appeared very early and existed for a long time in the history. The earliest ones are the crescent type from the Warring-State period, including two samples of two different types from the Lin Zi

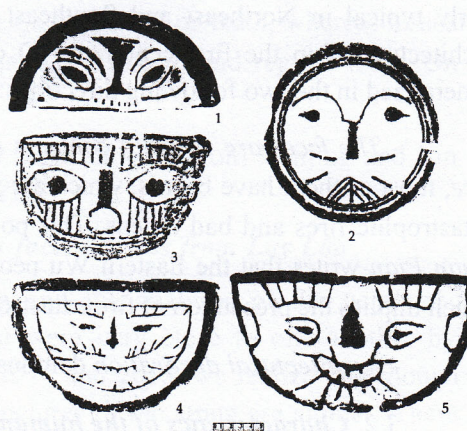


Fig.13. Tubular and Yang tile ends with human face from Qin - Han period (China)

1. Xia Du of Yan State; 2. Dong Ping Ling site;
3. He Nan; 4. Zi Luan Megalith citadel;
5. Chang An citadel

(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

Citadel of Qi State and the other from the Xia Du site of Yan State (Fig.13: 1) (Chuan Jia-yi 1999). In the Western Han period, a round tile end with a human face was found at the Dong Ping Ling site, which is 17.5cm in diameter, with raised nose and eyes and flat cheeks (Fig.13: 2) (Zhang Wen-bin 1999). From the Han to Tang period, there were a large-sized crescent tile ends with human faces (Fig.13: 3-5) (Chuan Jia-yi 1999, Wang Fei-feng 1999).

The most typical and largest quantity of tile ends with human faces are from Nanjing area, the ancient Imperial City Jian Ye of Eastern Wu period, with 100 samples in total. Many researchers proposed their viewpoints about the dates of the tile ends with human faces in Nam King, and though the classification of the types, the time orders and *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* are also different, these special samples are basically identified as from Eastern Wu to early Eastern Jin (Fig.14) (Xia Yun-gao 2003, 2003b, 2005; Wang Zhi-gao, Jia Wei-yong 2004; Wang Zhi-gao, Ma Tao 2007; Liu Lu-lu 2014). However, the researchers think that the human-face tile ends found from Nam King in Eastern Wu - Eastern Jin period did not originate directly from the crescent tile ends with human faces from the period of the Warring States (Wang Zhi-gao, Ma Tao 2007).

From the current studies, the viewpoints of the significance of the human-face tile ends fairly typical in Northeast and Southeast Asian architecture of in the first centuries AD can be generalized in the two following directions:

- The faces are unlike a common human face, most of them have beards, which are symbols of divine men with witchcraft to eliminate catastrophic fires and bad omens. This point is similar to the book *Lun Heng*, volume 12: *Xia Duan Pian* writes that the Eastern Wu people used to “draw men extinguishing fire on a wall” which implies the precaution of fire catastrophes (Wang Zhi-gao, Ma Tao 2007: 92);

- Architectural decoration demonstrates estate (Wang Fei-feng 2008).

3.2. Characteristics of the human-face tile ends from Luy Lâu

Although the Luy Lâu site is located in a fairly homogeneous relation with the Northeast Asian and South East Asian regions, the compositions and human images of its tile ends have some distinctive features.

First, they are all red. This feature is similar to the other sites of Lin Yi, but quite different from Nanjing, Xin lo and Baekje sites.



Fig. 14. Human-face tile ends in Wu - Jin period
(Source: Đặng Hồng Sơn)

Second, they don't have raised borders or border bands of jagged designs or short straight lines, which are the same as the human-face or cloud tile ends from Nanjing. This feature is fairly similar to Lin Yi and Baekje sites. However, type D includes a raised border similar to some samples of Lin Yi and Nanjing sites.

Third, the cheek bones are formed by the thin raised lines on a flat surface, which are quite different from the typical round or oval cheek bones raised as edges of Lin Yi, Nanjing, Xin lo and Baekje sites. This feature is fairly similar to Tam Thọ and Dong Ping sites in the Han period.

Fourth, there are two decorative types on the front head, one type of the early group with three raised lines and the other of the late group with a raised round spot. The raised round spot is called *bai hao xiang* (ūṛṇā = 白毫 = *hao mei*), which indicates a white hair in the middle of the front head of the Buddha or Bodhisattva (Chân Nguyên, Nguyễn Tường Bách 1999). In Buddhist iconography, *bai hao xiang* is one of 32 great physiognomic features of Sakya Muni. It is a long, white, hollow hair that circles from right to left and lies in the eight-sided figure in the centre of the forehead. *Bai hao xiang* is a symbol of benevolent brilliant light of the Buddha shining the ten directions of the world. *Bai hao xiang*, which seems unemphatic in the system of Nanjing tile ends, and did not appear at Xin lo, but fairly popular at Luy Lâu and Lin Yi. In Hinduism, this detail is commonly shown on the foreheads of the deities. This might be the symbol indicating the effects of Buddhism or Buddhist culture and Indian culture in the architectures of Luy Lâu and Lin Yi in the early first century AD. The legend of Khâu Đà La and Man Nương in Dâu area, which still exists, is one of the folkloric stories demonstrating the priests who propagated Buddhism that appeared very early in the Luy Lâu area. It is said that they were propagated by commercial ships of Indian merchants, and one of them was Jiang Seng-hui's father.

Fifth, the teeth are shown very clearly. If there is a variety of mouth images with or without teeth in Nanjing, those from Silla and Baekje consist of no teeth, whereas almost all the tile ends from Luy Lâu include enough two jaws with small and regular teeth. On the other hand, the lower jaws of Lin Yi are fairly big.

Finally, the noses contain no nostrils like some samples from Nanjing and Lin Yi. This feature of Luy Lâu is the same as that of Lin Yi.

3.3. The stratum and dating of the human-face tile ends from Luy Lâu

From the results of the excavated strata and the analyses of the ceramics and stoneware from the three excavated trenches that were very close to one another by the University of Social Sciences and Humanities in 2014 and 2015, we realize that though the depths of the three trenches are different, their structures of the strata are similar. There are three stratal units equivalent to three main periods:

Stratal unit I: with the depth from -230cm to -110cm, fairly homogeneous, almost without disturbance, which is dated to Eastern Han to Eastern Wu period or the first - late third century.

Stratal unit II: with the depth from -110cm to -40cm, somewhere disturbed, which is dated to Two-Jin to Sui - Tang period, or late third - late eighth century.

Stratal unit III: with the depth from -40cm to +15cm, much disturbance, from Đại Việt period, or the eleventh - eighteenth century.

Based on the above stratal classification and the human-face tile ends, the types A1, A2a, A2b and A3 commonly lied at the depth from -110cm to -220cm (on the sterile layer); the types B1, B2, C and some unidentified broken pieces all lie at the depth from -80cm to +15cm (the farming surface). Therefore, the human-face tile ends can be divided into two successive periods, whose border is the depth from -100cm to -110cm. In addition, the types A4, A5 and D all include the randomly collected artifacts, without strata for dating. However, as they are typologically close to each other, we classify the type A4 and A5 to the early period, whereas the type D is divided into the late one.

The human-face tile ends from the early period including A1, A2a, A2b, A3, A4 and A5 are from Eastern Han to Eastern Wu period. This period is referred in the annals as the prosperous development period of Luy Lâu ruled by the Chinese governor Shi Xie (187-226). They normally appeared in the same stratum with the Wang Mang Wuzhu coins, the tile ends with cloud designs, and the characters 君宜高官 (Jun yi gao guan), 位至三公 (Wei zhi san gong), 萬歲 (Wan sui), etc., are possibly the architectural items from the Shi Xie period for the construction of the superb palaces that match "his proclamation of emperor".

The book *Việt sử lược* (Brief History of Vietnam) from the Trần period notes: "Shi Xie is highly qualified, and very good at politics. In the period with great disturbance, he was able to keep the Jiaozhi province safe for 20 years, with the borders that were undisturbed and the people that were settled down, with outstanding charisma. When he was traveling, the bells were ringing, the gongs were being beaten very majestically, the drums and trumpets were sounding, the roads were full of horse-drawn carriages, and there were always a few dozens of concubines in curtained carriages. At that time his charisma was famous all over Nanman, even Wei Tuo was impossible to compete with"².

The book *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư* (the full history of Đại Việt) from the Lê period noted in chapter *Wang ji* that: "In year of pig, the 21st year [207] (the 12th year of Jianan), Yuan Hui of Han dynasty sent a letter to the minister Xun Yu to inform that: "Shi Xie of the Jiao Zhou province is a great learned man and also good at politics. In the troubled time, he was able to preserve the district for more than twenty years, the frontier was safe, the people were not unemployed, the visitors from remote areas who took refuge were grateful to him, even Dou Yung was not better at keeping Heshi land (...). His brothers in the other provinces were talented chiefs, miles and miles away, and their prestige and virtue is matchless. When he was traveling, the bells were ringing, the gongs were being beaten very majestically, the drums and trumpets were sounding, the roads were full of horse-drawn carriages; the Hồ people went close with burning censers, there were always a few dozens of concubines in curtained carriages, the followers riding horses lead the troops to valet. At that time his charisma was famous all over Nanman, even Wei Tuo was unable to compete with"³.

It should be noted that only two of the Chinese officials who ruled Giao Chi (Giao Châu/An Nam Capital) were called *Emperors*⁴, namely Shi Xie (Shi Wang) and Gao Pian (Gao Wang). Shi Xie played an important role in the development of the Luy Lâu Imperial City, whereas Gao Pian contributed greatly to the formation of the Đại La Imperial City.

Shi Xie's ancestors were Shandong residents, who were relocated in Jiaozhou after escaping from Wang Mang and Shi Xie belonged to the seventh generation. He was born and grew up in the cultural area of Bai Yue, greatly influenced by the local culture and experienced the military pacification of the Han Dynasty (Ma Yuan in Hai Bà Trưng (Two Trưng sisters) period), Shi Xie might have thought to rule as a feud (feudal lord?). His tolerant ruling policies with the native inhabitants in the area in which he lived demonstrate his ideas to rule as a feud with the central state of the Han Dynasty that was in the decline, and the practice of his ideology to teach Han characters and Confucianism in Jiaozhou, etc., enabled Shi Xie to control "Nanman". It is not by chance the people later worshipped him as "Forefather of education in Nam Giao" as the great statue worshipped in the local area nowadays.

The analyses of the two charcoal samples collected from the depth of -150cm and -190cm all resulted in the corresponding dates, from the middle Eastern Han period⁵. These dates are completely the same as those of the ceramics, stoneware and the old annals referring to the most prosperous period at Luy Lâu.

The late-period group of the human-face tile ends, with the type B1, B2, C and D, is from the Eastern Wu to Western Jin dynasties. They might have been the products of additional and creative production based on the heritage of the forms and decorative types of the previous period for the reconstruction of the architectures from the Shi Xie period.

The question is if the date of the early-period group of the human-face tile ends is from the Shi Xie period, would the other group from the Jianye Imperial City (Nanjing, China now) of the Eastern Wu mainly coming from Eastern Wu period (220-280) to Western Jin period (265-316) be later? This is a very interesting but difficult question to answer, because the human-face tile ends from Luy Lâu and Central Việt Nam have been so far considered to be affected by Jian Ye (Wang Fei-feng 2008). This problem needs further research.

The old annals also refer to the cultural interaction between Luy Lâu and Jianye through the case of the priest Jiang Seng Hui (? -280). He came from Kangju state in Xiyu area, whose ancestors lived in India, and then moved to Giao Chi for trade; his parents died when he was 10 years old and he became priest after coming out of the mourning. When his family traded in Jiaozhi, Luy Lâu probably was a political and economic centre. In 247, he went to Jianye Imperial City of Wu state, building small pagodas, Buddhist statues, and propagation of Buddhism; he was one of the first priests who spread Buddhism in this area. After that, with spiritual and financial support from Sun Quan, Jiang Seng Hui, he built the first pagoda in Jiangdong, the Jianso pagoda, translated the Buddhist scripture and expanded the Buddhist propagation, the area including the pagoda was called Fo Da-Ly⁶. Jiang Seng Hui from Jiaozhi to Jiangdong to spread the Buddhist ideology might have carried the cultural values of Luy Lâu which included the human-face shaped tile ends as symbols of Indian Buddhism.

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Notes:

(1) As for tubular tile ends, there are two different viewpoints, one supposed from Lingmiao pagoda, the other supposed the Xinglun was built in 544.

(2) According to *Việt sử lược*, in Chinese, quoted from *Qin ding si ku quan shu - Histoty - Việt sử lược*. Publishing House Shanghai Ancient Bibliography, Shanghai, book 466, p. 564 noted (變既學問優博，又達於從政。處大亂之世，保全一郡二十餘年，疆場無事，民皆樂業，威尊無上。出入鳴鐘，磬備威儀，笳簫鼓吹，車騎滿道，常有數十妻妾乘輜輶。當時貴重威震南蠻，尉佗不足數也)。

(3) According to *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư - Shi Wang ji*, *Wai ji quan shu*, Book 3, 10ab, vol.4, in Chinese, printed version of the Cabinet of Ministers - woodblocks carved in the 18th Zhenghe year (1697). Publishing House of Social Sciences, Hà Nội, 1993 (丁亥二十一年(漢建安十二年)，漢袁徽遺尚書令荀彧書曰：“交州士府君既學問優博，又達於從政。處大亂之中保全一郡二十餘年，疆場無事，民不失業，羈旅之徒皆蒙其慶，雖賓融保河西曷以加之。。。兄弟並為列郡雄長一州，偏在萬里，[威尊]無上。出入鳴鐘，磬備具威儀，笳鼓簫吹，車騎滿道；胡人來覲焚香，常有數十妻妾乘居輜輶，子弟從兵騎。當時貴重威震服百蠻，尉佗不能逾也)。

(4) According to *Đại Việt sử ký toàn thư - Shi Wang ji*, *Wai ji quan shu*, Book 3, 7b-12b, vol. 4. Some other opinions supposed that he never proclaimed King.

(5) The sample collected by Prof.Huang Xiao-fen of the East Asia University from the depth of -150cm and -190cm in the excavated trench LL.2014.H1 and analyzed in Japan. By the way, I'd like to express our gratitude for the financial assistance to analyze samples and related research materials from Prof. Huang Xiao-fen and the members in the excavation group of Việt Nam National Museum of History and East Asia University of Japan.

(6) Hui Qiao: *Gao sheng zhuan*, Zhong Hua dianzhi Fodian xie hui (CBETA) cbeta@ccbs.ntu.edu.tw, Đại Chính tân tu Đại Chính Tạng kinh, Vol. 50, No. 2059, 23/08/2016, http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi_pdf/sutra20/T50n2059.pdf.

Zeng You: *Chu San zang ji ji*, Zhong Hua dianzhi Fodian xie hui (CBETA) cbeta@ccbs.ntu.edu.tw, Đại Chính tân tu Đại Chính Tạng kinh, Vol. 55, No. 2145, 23/08/2016, http://buddhism.lib.ntu.edu.tw/BDLM/sutra/chi_pdf/sutra23/T55n2145.pdf.

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