

Typo-technological, elemental and lead isotopic characterization and interpretation of Đông Sơn miniature drums

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Abstract: Copper-base drums are among the most iconic artefacts of mid-late 1st millennium BC Southeast Asia and southern China, and more specifically of the Vietnamese Đông Sơn culture and the Yunnanese Dian culture. The wide distribution of these drums, in public museums and private collections, renders their technical and stylistic study difficult, and their comparison complex. In this paper, we focus on a copper-base miniature drum assemblage, discovered in a tightly delimited area of northern Vietnam, associated to the Đông Sơn culture. This multi-disciplinary study incorporates morphological, stylistic, technological, elemental and lead isotopic analysis of a large proportion of a regional drum assemblage for the first time. With this combined approach was intended to improve our knowledge of the people who produced and consumed miniature drums; a class which, until now, has not aroused much interest. The present paper details the archaeometric results of this original analysis, based on 25 samples from the National Museum of History (Hanoi). The results indicate a wide variety of alloy types was used, alongside a range of raw material sources, both with weak correspondence to morpho-stylistic classification. We propose these data evidence Đông Sơn drum miniature production was practiced in a decentralised manner, using materials at hand, but questions concerning their emergence and their link to burial practices seen in contemporary southern China remains unsolved from an archaeometallurgical point of view but will be the subject of another paper (Le Meur et al. (forthcoming).

Keywords: Vietnam; Đông Sơn culture; Protohistoric/Iron Age Southeast Asia; Copper-base metal; Microstructure; Elemental composition; Lead isotopes

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1. Introduction

- 41 1.1 Đông Sơn culture and Iron Age Mainland Southeast Asia
- 42 As per many regions of the world, the Iron Age of Mainland Southeast Asia ('MSEA'),
- beginning during the 5th/4th. c. BC, was a period of immense cultural, economic and political
- change, with generally sharp increases in the social complexity of regional social groups (e.g.
- 45 Higham, 1989, 2014). In addition to regional population growth, partly fuelled by innovations
- 46 in intensive wet-rice agriculture stimulated by an increasingly dry climate (e.g. Castillo et al.,
- 47 2018; Wohlfarth et al., 2016), the beginnings of monumental combined hydraulic/defensive
- 48 earthworks and evidence for rising conflict in the run up to the emergence of proto-states
- 49 (e.g. Bellina, 2017; Boyd et al., 1999; Kim, 2013; O'Reilly and Scott, 2015), the second half of
- 50 the 1st millennium BC saw the intensification of pre-existing long-range social interaction
- 51 networks, linking MSEA with South Asia, East Asia and Island Southeast Asia ('ISEA') (e.g.
- 52 Bellina, 2007; Bellwood, 2007; Hung, 2017). Given MSEA's massive ecological and cultural
- diversity, the presence and intensity of these Iron Age changes varied considerably, between
- 54 populations occupying mountains and plains, inland and coastal zones, but the most
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- extreme differences were, as might be expected, to be found on the extremities of the MSEA
- 56 Peninsula.

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Located the closest to South India, widely thought to be the proximal source of MSEA iron technologies (e.g. Bellwood, 2007; Higham, 2014; Pryce et al., 2017), Myanmar has provided amongst the earliest regional Iron Age dates, namely from Kan Gyi Gon in Magway Region (Pryce et al., 2013), but even these are not significantly earlier than reliably dated sites in central and northeast Thailand (Higham et al., 2015, 2020). What is now very clear, some forty years after the initial signs were spotted at Ban Don Tha Phet in west-central Thailand (e.g. Bellina and Glover, 2004; Glover, 1990), is that the earliest intense and sustained contacts, including limited migration, between South Asia and MSEA took place on the Myanma-Thai-Malay Peninsula, as evidenced by two decades of intensive archaeological investigation by the Franco-Thai and Franco-Myanma team in Thailand's Chumphon Province (Bellina, 2017) and Myanmar's Tanintharyi Region (e.g. Bellina et al., 2018).

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75 76 Concomitantly, after millennia of sustained interactions with populations of the present-day southern Chinese provinces of Guangxi and Yunnan, which led to the MSEA Neolithic (Higham et al., 2011) and Bronze Age (Higham et al., 2019, 2020; Pryce et al., 2018; Yao et al., 2020) transitions, the mid-late 1st millennium BC saw ever-heightening confluence and indeed conflict between Warring States, Qin and Han China and northern Vietnam.

Ultimately this trend culminated with the annexing of Nam Việt by Emperor Wu's armies in 111 BC, marking the beginning of the Bắc thuộc ('Northern Domination') period that was to last, with some unsuccessful disruptions, until AD 938. However, who were the Lạc Việt peoples conquered in Nam Việt, and what was the nature of their societies, before and after the imposition of direct Han control via the Han Governance of Jiaozhi ('Giao Chỉ Bộ') (Papin, 2000). There is little doubt that some northern Vietnamese gradually adopted some Han practices in the first centuries of the Christian era, but to what extent, with what degree of fidelity, and hybridisation?

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> The late prehistoric chronological sequence leading to the Han Commandery in northern Vietnam is not yet precisely known. The Bronze Age, rather than Neolithic/Bronze Age status of the early-mid 2nd millennium BC Phùng Nguyên culture remains somewhat disputed (e.g. Kim, 2015) but the proceeding late 2nd millennium BC Đồng Đậu period is widely agreed to be Bronze Age. The following period, at the outset of the 1st millennium BC, was known as Gò Mun, which between the 8th-6th c. BC gave way to that of the Đông Sơn. This latter, persisted at least until the beginning of the Eastern Han period (AD 25). The eponymous site of this period, which also gave its name to the iconic copper-base drums of various sizes that continue to serve as the image of late prehistoric Vietnam, provides the bulk of the study assemblage for this paper. The 'Đông Sơn drum' artefact class, whose ultimate origin and social meaning has been hotly debated for over a century, is claimed to have been found across southwestern China, MSEA and much of ISEA (e.g. Bernet Kempers, 1988; Calò, 2014; Heger, 1902; Jusoh et al., 2014; Oliveira et al., 2019; Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, 1979; Sinh, 1989). Regional copper-base drums were initially classified by F. Heger (1902) into various types, I – IV, with Is being the oldest and later types continuing to be used for rituals in many ethnic minority populations, often in upland and remote regions (e.g. Andaya, 2016; Izikowitz, 2001). Closer reading soon reveals the ancient, Heger I, drums are typically referred to as either 'Đông Sơn' or 'Dian' (Yunnan) bronzes (typically but not exclusively leaded bronze alloys), as there are clear stylistic differences between the two, but discussion continues on which was the earliest type (Han, 2004) and on the production technique (e.g. Bennett, 2008; Chiou-Peng, 2008). The dating is difficult to resolve satisfactorily as whilst the Yunnan Metal Age is increasingly well-dated (Yao et al., 2020), Metal Age Vietnam continues to suffer from a lack of reliable radiometric dating (Kim, 2015), with some notable exceptions like Đọng Xá (Bellwood et al., 2007). Indeed, Đọng Xá is a Red River Delta site that produced a drum of Dian rather than Đông Sơn style and of an atypical elemental and lead isotopic composition, so the devil is clearly in the detail (Pryce et al., 2014). This period also corresponds to the Hallstatt Plateau (e.g. Jacobsson et al., 2018), so without targeted chronological campaigns, preferably combining radiocarbon with dendrochronology and Bayesian stratigraphical statistical analysis, we are unlikely to see an entirely satisfactory resolution to the question of which drum tradition came first.

For the question of technology, opinion splits between piece-mould casting (Meyers, 2011; Nguyễn, 2017), long known in the Bronze Age Central Plain of China, or lost wax casting, whose origin is less clear but potentially Southeast Asian (e.g. Barnard, 1996; Bennett, 2008; White, 1988; Notis and Wang, 2017) or Chinese (Peng, 2020). Here is not the place to go into the details of these two broad techniques, for which a large literature exists. Needless to say, no single scholar has made an exhaustive technological, let alone archaeometric, study of the hundreds of known large drums, such is their wide geographical distribution, across Southeast Asia and Western museums, and the inaccessibility of examples in private collections. As such, the important potential for variation in production technique, or combinations of decorative style, techniques and materials, remains unexplored. This lacuna could well obscure multiple production centres, and/or core-periphery interactions as expressed via imitations or re-interpretations of imported material culture. Of the limited archaeometric studies available (e.g. Pryce et al., 2014), those from peninsular Thailand (Pryce and Bellina, 2018) and Bali (Pryce et al., 2018) bear out these possibilities, as do findings of drums moulds from the Non Nong Ho site in northeastern Thailand (Baoneod, 2010; Lertlum, 2011).

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This paper takes a different direction to preceding efforts, in that the entire sub-class of miniature drums constitutes the study assemblage. Ninety percent of all known miniature drums have been directly studied by the authors, and nearly 20% of the total has been subjected to stylistic, technological, elemental and lead isotope analyses at a much higher level of representativity. Such a focus, on artefacts that are only found in cemeteries in a restricted area of the Red River Delta, as opposed to the large drums' regional distribution, may be able to shine light, not only on the possibility of production variation in large drums, but also on the nature of the Han occupation of northern Vietnam, as funerary miniatures are a well-known Han trait (e.g. Selbitschka, 2015).

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1.2 Đông Sơn site

The cemetery at Đông Sơn village (105.78295° E, 19.84934° N) in Thanh Hóa province (Figures 1 & 2) was first investigated by Louis Pajot, a French colonial officer assigned by the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (EFEO) to supervise the discovery of archaeological remains in this province between 1924 and 1928. Following criticism over a lack of professionalism, the EFEO engaged the Swedish archaeologist Olov Janse to succeed Pajot in 1935. Two burials and 16 funeral deposits were identified and associated to the Đông Sơn occupation period.

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Subsequent Đông Sơn excavations in 1959, 1961-1962, 1969-70 and 1976 by the Institute of Archaeology of Hanoi, expanded the known extent and understanding of the site. A total of 129 tombs were recorded over an area of 2033 m². Unfortunately, very few human bones were preserved, making it impossible for a solid study of age and sex profiles to be conducted. The cemetery presented three strata with superposed and intercutting burials

suggesting a phase of use ranging from a period qualified as 'pre-Đông Sơn' to the Han occupation period. Regrettably there are no available radiocarbon dates for the site. The miniature drums, for those we have excavation records, were found in indigenous tombs and were clearly intended as burial offerings.

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1.3 Thiệu Dương and Lãng Ngâm sites

Thiệu Dương is a cemetery site in the hamlet of Dương Xá (19.859722°N, 105.760556° E), Thiệu Dương village, Thanh Hoá province, located a few kilometres away from the Đông Sơn site. It was discovered during the French colonial period and excavated three times by a team lead by the Vietnamese Institute of Archaeology, between 1960 and 1965. A total of 123 burials from the late Đông Sơn period were discovered in an area covering more than 3000 m² (Reinecke, 2016; Tỳ et al., 1968). Among 444 copper-base artefacts, one miniature drum was found in an adult grave. Notably this grave also contained the largest number of metal artefacts within the site. One other miniature was found in 1925 during Pajot's excavations but its location is unknown. Another chance find is known of but is not documented.

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Lãng Ngâm is a cemetery site in Núi Thiên Thai hamlet (106.168753° E, 21.074227°N), Lãng Ngâm village, Bắc Ninh, province. It was excavated in 1972 by the National History Museum in Hanoi (*Bảo tàng Lịch sử Quốc gia*), after the reporting of a chance find. In the limited area excavated, four burials were recorded, one of which contained a miniature drum (Huyền, 1996).

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2. Assemblage

There is no formal definition regarding the dimensions of miniature drums, though Pham Minh Huyền et al. (1987: 120-122) and Bernet Kempers (1988: 45) suggest a maximum height of 150 mm or a tympanum diameter of 200 mm, respectively. In this study we propose that miniature drums are those less than 200 mm in height, which gives a clear differentiation from their larger counterparts whose height is considerably more and can even exceed 600 mm. As per the large drums, the miniature are hollow, though in a few cases baked clay probably corresponding to the casting core remains. The miniature drum assemblage, their contextual information and method of typological classification, in particular their casting technique, will be dealt with at length in Le Meur et al. (forthcoming), so we will limit ourselves here to the details necessary to cross-reference the archaeometric approach that is the focus of this paper. A total of 131 drum miniatures are known, of which 118 were personally examined by the lead author. The remaining 13 are known either from bibliographic sources, or through correspondence with museum curators. 53 of the 131 examples come from archaeological excavations, with the remainder being the result of chance finds, donations, private collections and police seizures of looted material. The major repositories for the drum miniatures are the National History Museum, the Thanh Hóa provincial museum, and the Cernuschi Museum in Paris, whose combined collections

constitute 78% of the total. All of the 25 samples whose analyses are presented here come from the National History Museum and were legally sampled and exported to France in November 2018. This gives an archaeometric study ratio of ca. 19%, which is high compared to most regional assemblages and offers an rare level of representativity (e.g. Pryce et al., 2014).

The five miniature drum types, plus exceptional and non-classifiable examples are shown in Figure 2. They may be defined thus: Type 1 drums have a ring on the tympanum, no seams, a flat tympanum, a rounded profile upper mantle, a truncated cone shape lower mantle and a wide foot. Hollow designs cover the tympanum and, most of the time, the mantle. The quantity and appearance of handles are varied, with no pattern identified. Sub-types have been created considering the presence of frog figurines on the tympanum (Type B) or the significant height of the upper mantle (Type C). Type D gathers incomplete drums associated to Type 1 due to the presence of a ring or their morphological characteristics.

Type 2 drums have neither seams nor decoration, a very flat and large tympanum and two symmetric handles. Considering the shapes, two sub-types have been identified. Sub-type A includes drums with a sharp oblique upper mantle. As the shape of the lower mantle differs between cylindrical and truncated cones, associated with a wide foot differentiated by an inflection from the lower mantle or included in the lower mantle base, two groups have been created. Sub-type B consists of drums with oblique rounded upper mantle, truncated cone-shaped lower mantle from which foot is not stressed.

Type 3 drums bear a single seam bisecting the drums vertically, were undecorated and have a slightly convex tympanum associated with an oblique rounded upper mantle. As the number of handles and the shape of the lower mantle differs, four sub-types have been created (Figure 3). The first one includes drums with two handles between the seam, with a cylindrical lower mantle and a wide foot or with a truncated cone-shaped lower mantle with no foot emphasised by an inflexion. Sub-type Bs have only one handle disposed between the seam, and two shape have been identified as in sub-type A. Drums gathered in sub-type C have two handles on the seam, a cylindrical lower mantle and a wide foot emphasised by an inflexion. Sub-type D drums are similar to sub-type A1 drums in shape, but are bigger and does not have handles attached to the upper mantle and the lower mantle but only on the lower mantle.

Type 4 drums have three seams, no decoration, a tympanum slightly heightened and a rounded upper mantle. Two sub-types have been created considering the different shapes of the lower mantle and the foot (Figure 4).

Type 5 drums have three seams and designs in relief are always present on the tympanum, and frequently on the mantle. The large and various shapes of the upper mantle, lower mantle and foot, lead us to identify four sub-types. Sub-type A have raised tympana, rounded upper mantles, cylindrical lower mantles and wide feet so as a star at the centre of the tympanum and two handles disposed between the seams, contrary to sub-type B with two handles on the seams, a flat tympanum, an oblique rounded upper mantle, a truncated

240 cone shape lower mantle and designs both on the tympanum and the lower mantle. Subtype C drums carried a shape similar to sub-type A but are bigger, and the tympanum 241 242 surface is decorated with a star and other geometric designs. Sub-type D consists of drums with heightened tympanums, four handles, decorated on the tympanum and the mantle. 243 244 Those are the only examples to have four flying bird designs on the tympanum. Body shapes differed so we have divided this sub-type in three sub-groups. The first one of small drums, 245 246 with oblique rounded upper mantles associated with wide lower mantles. Drums belonging to the second group are the largest our assemblage, with rounded upper mantles, a 247 248 truncated cone shape lower mantle with a wide foot highlighted by an inflexion. The last 249 Type 5 D group include drum similar to Type 5 B with a significant addition, four frog 250 figurines on the tympanum.

Two more categories have been added for drums not associated to one of the five types (Incategorizable) and for drums which stand out (Exceptional).

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- Figure 2: Analysed miniature drums typology (from Le Meur's forthcoming doctoral thesis).
- 255 Figure 3: Miniature drum typological classification schematic (from Le Meur's forthcoming doctoral thesis).

As can be seen in Figure 4 (left), Type 1 drums are the predominant type, followed by Type 5s, 3s and 2s tied, and Type 4s the least common. Details of the analysed samples can be found in Table 1, and it can be seen (Figure 4, right) that our sampling strategy at the National History Museum followed the overall type distribution closely, with the exception of Type 2s being under-represented and Type 3s over-represented, which was simply due to the unavoidable sub-sampling issue of being granted permission to cut only in Hanoi. We can notice the particular shape and aspect of one of the two Remarquable drums sampled (Figure 4) compared to the ones associated to the five types.

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- Figure 4: Proportion of whole (left) and archaeometrically-studied (right) assemblages by typological classification.
- Table 1: Nomenclature, context and metric data for the archaeometrically studied assemblages from Đông Sơn, Lãng Ngâm
 and Thiệu Dương.

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3. Methodology

The studied artefacts were all cut on site in the National History Museum, Hanoi, using an ultra-fine jeweller's saw, taking into account areas of existing damage (preferred) and corrosion (avoided). As such it was not possible to cut the artefacts across macroscopicallyvisible seams and/or decoration so as to get microscopic proof of production technique. The artefacts were immediately restored with copper oxide dust-impregnated dental wax. The cut samples were 2-4 mm³, cut from exterior surfaces and may not be representative of object heterogeneity due to poor alloy mixing, segregation during solidification, or any unidentified joints or welds. The cut samples were then halved, for elemental/microstructural and isotopic analyses, respectively.

- 3.1 Optical Microscopy (OM)
- Cut samples were epoxy resin-mounted and ground using silicon carbide wet-dry paper (80-281
- 282 4000 grit), prior to polishing with diamond pastes (3, 1 and 0.25 μm). The microstructure
- was studied by OM before (for corroded samples) and after ferric chloride etching to reveal 283
- 284 crystalline structures.

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- 286 3.2 X-ray fluorescence (XRF)
- 287 XRF was used for the OM samples' bulk elemental composition of major, minor and (some)
- 288 trace elements, conducted at the Laboratoire Archéomatériaux et Prévision de l'Altération
- 289 (LAPA-IRAMAT/CEA) in Saclay, France. XRF data were acquired using a NITON XL 3t GOLDD+
- 290 portable XRF analyser in 'laboratory mode' (fixed stand), with a max 40 kV accelerating
- 291 voltage in the 'alloys' mode. Accuracy and precision were assessed with eleven Certified
- 292 Reference Materials (CRMs): B10, B12, B31, UZ 52-3, B21 and L 20-1 from the Centre de
- Development des Industries de Mise en Forme des Matériaux, France, 71.32-4 and 51.13-4 293
- 294 from the Bureau of Analyzed Samples Ltd., England and 500, C1123 and 1275 from the
- National Institute for Standards and Technology (NIST, Table 2). Good results for majors and 295
- 296 minor components were confirmed but note that light elements at low concentrations like phosphorous, silicon, aluminium, magnesium and also sulphur were not reliably detected 297
- due to non-vacuum conditions. The analyses were performed on the OM mounted and 298
- 299 polished sections using a 3 mm beam diameter, which allowed for reliable results as long as
- 300 the sample was larger than this. Three such spot analyses were made for each sample to
- account for corrosion and inclusions. 301

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- 3.3 Scanning Electron Microscopy with Energy Dispersive Spectrometry (SEM-EDS)
- 304 The OM/XRF samples were carbon coated for analysis in a JEOL 7001F instrument, in order
- 305 to establish the bulk composition of samples less 3 mm in diameter, those with intergranular
- 306 corrosion, and to study any inclusions. Both secondary electron (SE) and backscattered
- 307
- electron (BSE) modes were used, using a 20 kV accelerating voltage, a 10 mm working
- distance with an Oxford Silicon Drift Detector, and processed using Oxford Instruments Aztec 308 software. The detection limit was fixed at 0.5 wt.% with a count rate of 4000/s (detection 309
- 310 time of 40 s), which gave good spectral resolution with respect to background noise. We
- 311 consider the relative quantification error (2 σ) is circa 10% of the measured value. SEM-EDS
- 312 accuracy was evaluated using the same CRMs as used for the pXRF analysis, and we obtained
- 313 good results for the major elements (Table 2). Bulk compositions for each sample were
- 314 obtained by a mean of 3-4 areas scan (0.4 mm²) per sample. The analyses were performed in
- 315 areas without corrosion products, when it was possible, as it can have an effect on the SEM
- 316 results, especially on the major components.

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Table 2: CRM results. The table presents raw data from XRF and SEM-EDS analyses.

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3.4 Multi Collector – Inductively Coupled Plasma – Mass Spectrometer (MC-ICP-MS)

Lead isotope analysis (LIA) was performed at the *Service d'Analyse des Roches et des Minéraux* of the Centre for Petrographic and Geochemical Research (SARM-CRPG) in Nancy, France, using MC-ICP-MS after lead extraction (Manhes et al., 1980). Thallium NIST SRM 997 was used to correct for instrumental mass bias and all parameters were adjusted to obtain the closest values relative to NIST SRM 981, as determined by DSTIMS (Thirlwall, 2002). More details about SARM-CRPG lead isotope analysis are available in (Cloquet et al., 2006; Pienitz et al., 2015).

As one case study within the SEALIP/BROGLASEA programme, LIA was used to look for 'consistency' with known and characterised production systems, in recognition that there could be other, as yet uncharacterised, primary and/or secondary production systems, as well as recycling impacting interpretation (e.g. Budd et al., 1993; Pryce et al., 2014, 2011b; Wilson and Pollard, 2001).

4. Results

4.1 Optical Microscopy

As was expected given the typology and decoration of the miniature drums, all presented ascast microstructures with no evidence for post-casting treatment (Figure 5). Some variation is visible in the speed of cooling, with dendrites indicating extended cooling, preheated moulds and/or lack of quenching/immediate breaking of the moulds. At higher magnifications, elemental segregation is visible, as would be expected with longer cooling times. Inter-granular corrosion is frequent and some samples are almost exclusively composed of corrosion products (DS/9, THD/2, DS/8 and DS/19), potentially impacting the XRF elemental analyses (see below), as would the relatively common fully-segregated lead prills, formed due to Cu-Pb solid-state immiscibility. The dimension of lead nodules is variable and dependent on the cooling rate, the slower the cooling rate is the larger are the lead nodules (Mille, 2017: 383). Some samples have a two-phases microstructure, namely the $\alpha+\delta$ eutectoid, with a brittle and hard high-tin δ phase and a rich-copper α phase. The quantity/area of these second phase in some samples is also indicative of fast cooling rates. For every sample (except those composed exclusively of corrosion products), copper sulphide inclusions are observed with rounded and polylobed form

Figure 5: (top row, left to right), DS11 x 10 ppl showing intergranular corrosion and faster-cooled as-cast structure, DS14 x 10 ppl showing elemental segregation, lead inclusions (black areas) and an δ tin-rich phase (light blue) DS20 x 10 ppl showing intergranular corrosion and slower-cooled dendritic as-cast structure, (bottom row, left to right), DS2 x 20 ppl after etching, showing porosity, intergranular corrosion, elemental segregation and lead[?] inclusions, DS10 x 50 ppl showing copper sulphide inclusions (grey), an δ tin-rich phase (light blue) and faster-cooled structure, DS7 x 400 SEM BSE showing intergranular corrosion, elemental segregation, an $\alpha+\delta$ eutectoid (light grey) and lead inclusions (white).

Table 3: Elemental compositional data for Đông Sơn, Lãng Ngâm and Thiệu Dương samples. Major alloying components (Sn, Pb, Cu) are highlighted, as are those indicative of corrosion and thus intepretative caution. O percentage, not measured by stoichiometry, are also an indicator of corrosion degree. Detection limit is 0.5 wt. % for SEM-EDS and 700 ppm for XRF (varying in function of the element, note that light elements detection is not accurate with XRF).

The studied assemblage contains four classes of copper-base alloy using the standard 1 wt% as the cut-off for alloying components: 1. Effectively pure copper, 2. Bronze, 3. Leaded copper and 4. Leaded bronze. Table 1 shows both bulk (XRF) and phase (SEM-EDS) elemental results, which sometimes differ considerably, which highlights the level of corrosion. However, only in two cases, DS/12 and DS/19, does this potentially change the alloy identification, and in realistic 'borderline' terms, it can be considered not to. Overall, there is a clear trend towards leaded alloys, at 81% of the assemblage (Figure 6). In provenance terms, this means that our LIA data must be discussed largely with respect to lead exchange systems, though no prehistoric lead production systems have yet been studied (Pryce, 2014, 2012) as well as those for copper/bronze.

Figure 6: Major alloy classes for studied samples across all sites.

In terms of standardisation, there is near continuous variation in tin content from below detection limit (bdl. XRF/SEM-EDS) to 21 wt.% (Figure 7). The samples with the higher tin concentrations are not true 'high-tin bronzes' in the sense of the hot-worked and quenched beta alloys often associated with the Indian subcontinent (Murillo-Barroso et al., 2010; Pryce and Bellina, 2018; Srinivasan and Glover, 1995): the high Sn values are simply due to copper depletion and apparent enrichment of residual tin oxide in the burial environment. Tin values measured by SEM-EDS in less corroded metal do not exceed 15 wt%. Similar but not quite identical results can be seen for lead content, from bdl. to 18 wt.%, perhaps some modalism at ca. 1-2, 6-8 and 10-12 wt. % lead compositions (Figure 8), though corrosion depletion of copper remains the most likely reason, as seen in the optical microscopy.

Figure 7: Variation of tin content in wt. %.

Figure 8: Variation of lead content in wt. %.

In Table 1 we include a column for 'Alloy-Type', that is cross-referencing the typological classification and the alloy, to see if there were preferred 'recipes' for certain shapes. This could potentially identify control of alloying to achieve more complex shapes, and/or the practices of individual workshops. Although there is a predominance (31%) of leaded bronze Type LB1 miniature drums this is most likely a simple function of Type 1 being the prevalent artefact class and leaded bronze being a very common Iron Age MSEA alloy (Pryce, 2014; Pryce et al., 2014). As such, with these data we see no correspondence between style and alloy (Figure 9).

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4.4 Lead isotopes

Complete raw lead isotope ratio data may be consulted in Table 3, alongside the 'Alloy-Type' column seen in Table 2. Being a four-fifths leaded assemblage, we are clearly limited but not mute, in what we can say about the sources of the primary alloy component, copper, whose own trace lead isotope signature will be totally overwhelmed by that of the added lead metal. Let us begin then by assessing the general clustering of the study assemblage, as labelled for leaded and unleaded artefacts (Figure 10). Without reference to a regional database, not a great deal could be said other than that the sources of copper for DS/13, THD2 and DS20, itself perhaps with THD/1, are probably different. Likewise, we can see two main lead clusters to the left and centre of the figure, with possible outliers in DS/2 and DS/6. These *a priori* potential consistencies show no correspondence with the attributed typological classification.

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Table 4: Raw lead isotope ratios for the studied artefacts.

413 Figure 10: LI ratios seen for the study assemblage alone, labelled by Alloy-Type.

Considering the unleaded examples, of which there are only five, we can at least assess consistency with the Southeast Asian copper production LI database (Figure 11, see Cadet et al., 2019; Pryce et al., 2014, 2011b, 2011a; Zou et al., 2019). Here we see that DS/13 appears to lie within the LI signature as well-defined for the Vilabouly Complex in central Laos (Cadet et al., 2019; Pryce et al., 2011a) but the correspondence is actually with artefacts that are considered exotics at that site, probably imports, and thus we have a comparison for consumption but not production (provenance). Likewise, for DS/10 and THD/2, which plot close to the Vilabouly Complex signature, but not close enough as to be considered consistent with it, especially as this area of the plot is very highly populated when taking the whole regional database into account. Phu Lon, in northeastern Thailand, has always had a poorly defined LI field due to a reliance on excavated mineral samples of uncertain human use as opposed to slag samples (Pigott and Weisgerber, 1998; Pryce et al., 2011a), as well as multiple hydrothermal depositional episodes in geological time giving a dispersed and radiogenically-trending plot (Kamvong and Zaw, 2009). Nevertheless, THD/1 is relatively consistent, as much as individual samples can be, with TH/PL/11, which was one of the rare slag samples, and as such an indication of the anthropogenic Phu Lon copper signature (Pryce et al., 2011a). Likewise, both THD/1 and DS/20 are not unreasonable candidates for the recently published Guangfentou copper production signature, from south of Kunming in Yunnan Province, PRC (Zou et al., 2019). The Guangfentou slag samples exhibit high variation LI ratios, which, as the authors acknowledge, is indicative of variable ore feedstock. However, given known close associations between north Vietnamese Đông Sơn and Kunming-centred Dian culture (e.g. Calò, 2014; Chiou-Peng, 2008; Yao, 2016) it is perfectly reasonable to expect some movement of metals, either raw or processed, over the 500-600 kilometres separating the two areas, especially as most can be accomplished afloat on the

Red River. Nevertheless, none of the present study's copper-base samples can be considered to be reliably provenanced.

Figure 11: Lead isotope rations for the copper-base study samples and known regional primary copper production centres: the Khao Wong Prachan Valley in central Thailand (NKH and NPW), Phu Lon in northeastern Thailand (PL), the Vilabouly Complex in central Laos (PBL and TNN) and Guangfentou in central Yunnan (GFT)(data from Cadet et al., 2019; Pryce et al., 2014; Zou et al., 2019).

In terms of lead production centres, as previously stated, none have yet been studied in Southeast Asia (Pryce, 2014, 2012). Some unpublished LI data for lead minerals (galena) by Dr Tom Chase under the aegis of the Thailand Archaeometallurgy Project during the mid-1980s (courtesy of Prof. Vincent C. Pigott) offer no consistency with our study samples but these are not proven anthropogenic lead signatures and this whole field remains massively understudied at a regional scale – i.e. there are known and/or suspected pre-modern lead production sites but none have been investigated yet (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Present study LI data and available LI data for Thai lead minerals (TLM, courtesy V.C. Pigott).

Of course, a considerable proportion of the complete recent SEALIP/BROGLASEA database consists of leaded alloys (e.g. Cadet et al., 2019; Pryce et al., 2018; Pryce and Bellina, 2018), and these offer some potentially useful insights (Figure 13). There is substantial variability, overlap and outliers but the Đông Sơn and Thiệu Dương samples have a distinct tendency to form an 'upper' (higher ²⁰⁷Pb/²⁰⁴Pb) cluster and are consistent with a number of continental and littoral Thai and one Cambodian site, whereas as the bulk of the previously studied Vietnamese leaded copper-base alloys fall in a 'lower' cluster. It should be noted that the Pacung site is on Bali, and thus at quite some distance (ca. 3400 km geodesic) from the Red River delta but such maritime links have been previously proposed (Calò, 2014) and potentially detected (Pryce et al., 2018).

Figure 13: LI ratios for leaded (>1 wt.%) copper-base and lead artefacts in the published SEALIP/BROGLASEA database.

Finally, we can drill down into these, predominantly leaded data, to compare the Đông Sơn drum miniatures to the, albeit limited, medium and large-sized drum population of the SEALIP/BROGLASEA database for which elemental and lead isotope datasets exist (Figure 14, N=12 out of hundreds of stylistically reported examples e.g. Calò, 2014). Again, these larger drums have a range of alloy types: copper, leaded copper and leaded bronze, thus representing Cu and Pb exchange systems, and three (VN/DX/10, ID/ML/4 & ID/ML/5) are not considered to be of the Đông Sơn style (Pryce et al., 2014; Pryce et al., 2018). Firstly, we note a cluster of four Đông Sơn leaded miniatures (DS/5, 7, 14 & 17) in apparent compatibility with a single drum, LA/VC/13, from the central Lao Vilabouly Complex (Cadet et al., 2019). Secondly, we observe that the bulk of the Đông Sơn leaded miniature assemblage plots near to TH/KS/2. This is a false match as this peninsular Thai drum was made from near pure copper, itself consistent with the Vilabouly Complex signature, and may have been a poorly-executed ancient imitation (Pryce and Bellina, 2018). Generally,

there is some lead isotope consistency between the miniature and large drums but far more large drum data are needed. Of note, however, is the complete incompatibility of VN/DX/10, a large unleaded bronze drum found in northern Vietnam but with Dian-style decoration (Pryce et al., 2014). DX/10 does plot broadly within the newly characterised Yunnanese Guangfentou copper production signature (Figure 11), though many more such analyses are needed to reinforce this, admittedly enticing, association.

Figure 14: LI ratios of medium/large vs miniature leaded and unleaded drums (data from Pryce et al., 2014; T. O. Pryce et al., 2018; Pryce and Bellina, 2018).

5-Discussion

490 5.1- Đông Sơn miniature drum production: regular workshops or random funereal alloying 491 practices?

In 2014, the excavation at Luy Lâu (or Liên Lâu) Citadel in Bắc Ninh Province, led by the National Museum of History and the Japanese University of East Asia, uncovered the remains of a drum foundry, the first of its kind (Reinecke, 2016: 457-458). Previously, only two fragments of an investment clay drum mould had been recovered from the same site, only 30 meters away (Masanari, 1998; 2011: 164-167). These recent discoveries tend to confirm that some of the big-sized Đông Sơn bronze drums were cast by piece moulds.

Due to the significant difference in scale, it is evident miniature drums do not imply the same type or mastery of technical skills as large drum production. For the latter, whatever the casting method used, merely the melting and pouring of dozens of kilograms of metal, synchronised to avoid cold-shuts in the fine-walled finished product, implies significant technical skill and organisation of production. For the miniatures, the lack of 'alloy-type' correspondence suggests the metal used in their manufacture was probably recycled. The risks involved in these much smaller castings were far lower, not requiring particular alloys to have a reasonable chance of success, and thus we can imagine these artisans using whatever copper-base scrap was available to them.

Should we, therefore, consider miniature drums as technically uninteresting and socially irrelevant, as opposed to the prestige so often associated to large drums? We think this would be an error, for a number of reasons. Firstly, there is the admittedly subjective element of production quality. In particular, the typological study highlighted two types within the corpus, 1A & 5D, whose decoration and lack of any casting failures suggest they were made by a reasonably competent artisan. Secondly, the central ring on the tympanum of the type 1 miniatures may indicate a real difference in their use, possibly as suspended bells with the general appearance of a miniature drum. This could indicate an evolution of traditional use and external influences in musical instruments during a period of deep cultural change (i.e. the Han occupation of northern Vietnam). Thirdly, the apparently poor technical execution of the other miniature drum types does not necessarily imply low social value. As noted, the Thiệu Dương example was found in the richest burial of 123 excavated. Miniature drums have rarely been discovered in the same burials as their large counterparts,

for which they presumably stood in as models but nevertheless attest to the importance of drums for the Lac Việt people.

The range of miniature drum production indicates that Lac Viêt craftspersons used multiple methods to produce material culture that would normally be categorised as a single, simple type (Le Meur et al, forthcoming). These variations of style, technology, alloy type and raw material sourcing are important, and rarely considered by archaeologists, as they suggest multiple and overlapping communities of practice. Lac Viêt people maintained contact with other 'drum cultures', as the miniature drum classified as 'Exceptional' was probably made in Yunnan or inspired by Yunnan examples.

By a reimagining of the size and the use of drums, and their lack of morphological and technical standardisation, the north Vietnamese phenomenon of drum miniaturization seems to be slightly but importantly different from Han funerary customs. The question of the miniature drums' function remains, as does their importance within the broader 'drum cultures' of northern Vietnam and southern China. These leads will require a much larger study of well-contextualised north Vietnamese mid-late 1st millennium BC burial assemblages containing drums, for comparison with southern Chinese funeral practices.

5.2 Relation to wider Southeast Asian metal exchange networks

At this point in the SEALIP/BROGLASEA programme, there is little detailed geochemical interpretation that can be given of the miniature drums at a regional level. The present assemblage is majority leaded copper alloy and we lack primary production signatures for lead. Nevertheless, those leaded, and unleaded, consumption signatures fall into the very dense cloud of data that makes up the bulk of the Southeast Asian non-ferrous/non-precious metals dataset – the miniatures drums are coherent with their regional context. The imminent, at the time of writing, receipt of Yunnan artefact analyses will greatly aid our ability to resolve chemical clustering issues, and forthcoming multifactorial network analysis (Radivojević and Grujić, 2018) will enable typological, chronological and geographical aspects to be taken into account.

6. Conclusion

The present study represents the first comprehensive multi-method study of a discrete Đông Sơn culture metal assemblage. Our study of all 131 known examples of miniature drums identified five main morpho-stylistic groups, encompassing three broad technological traditions: lost wax, bivalve and multiple piece moulding. Four alloy classes were identified in samples of varying corrosion: copper, bronze, leaded copper and leaded bronze; the latter predominating in an ca. 80% leaded alloy assemblage. Twelve 'alloy-types' were identified, with LB1 (leaded bronze Type 1) drums being the most common. Lead isotope analyses identified two main leaded alloy groups, and two unleaded groups, the latter of which may offer some consistency with Yunnan copper production. In summary, the miniature drums

show high variation in form, decoration, production methods and materials that suggest an intriguing intersection in indigenous and exotic artisanal and burial practices at a critical juncture in Vietnamese history.

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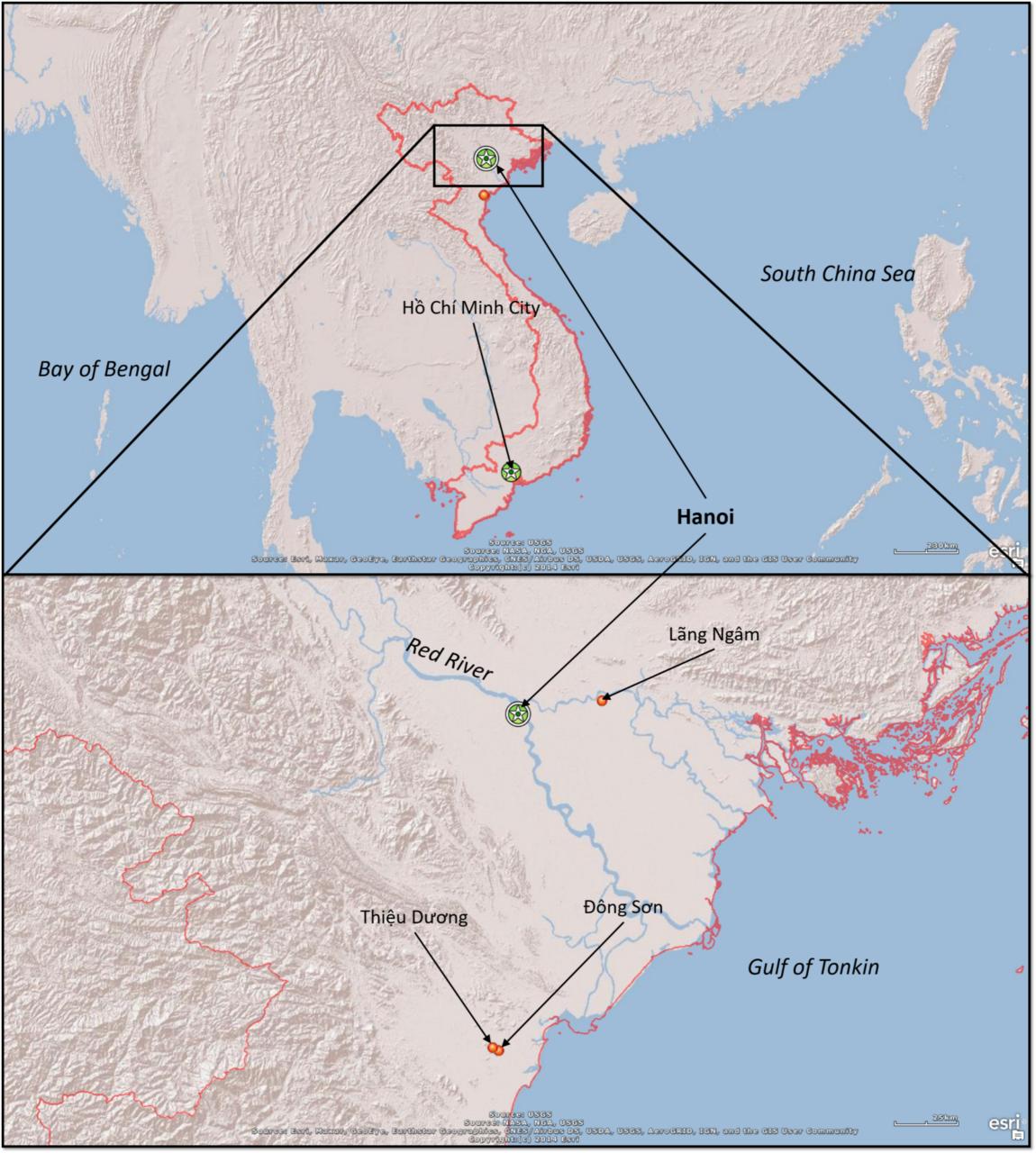
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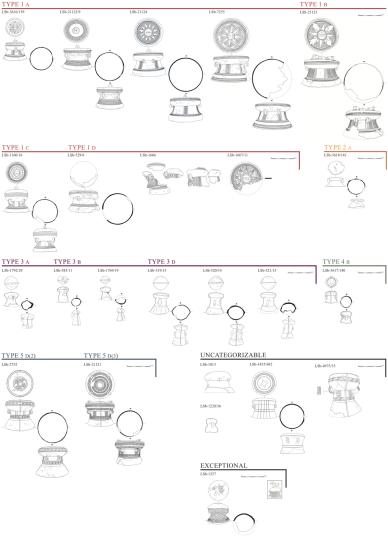
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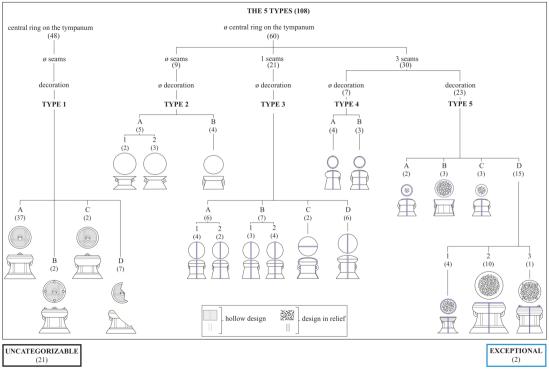
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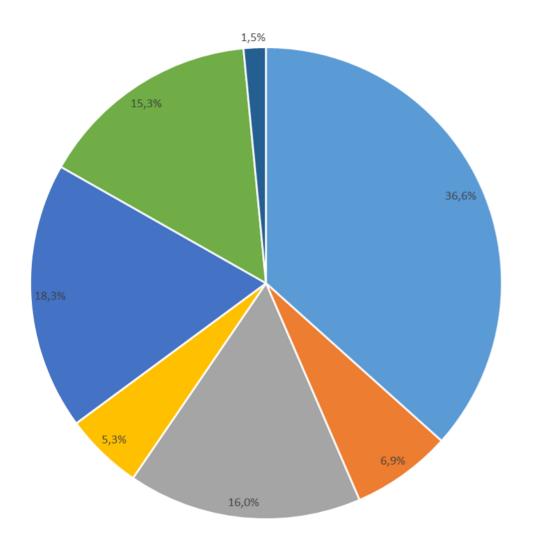
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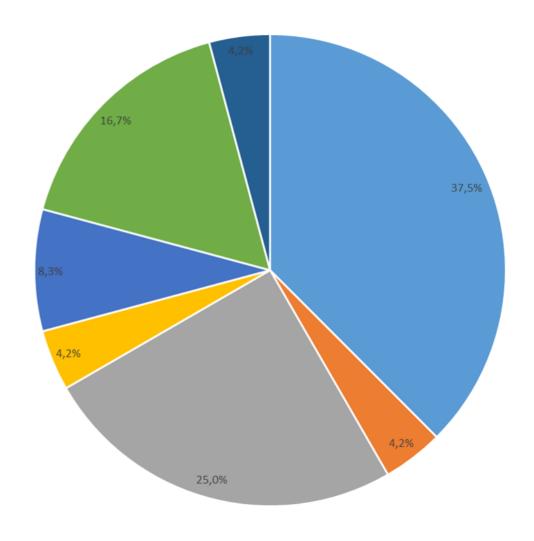
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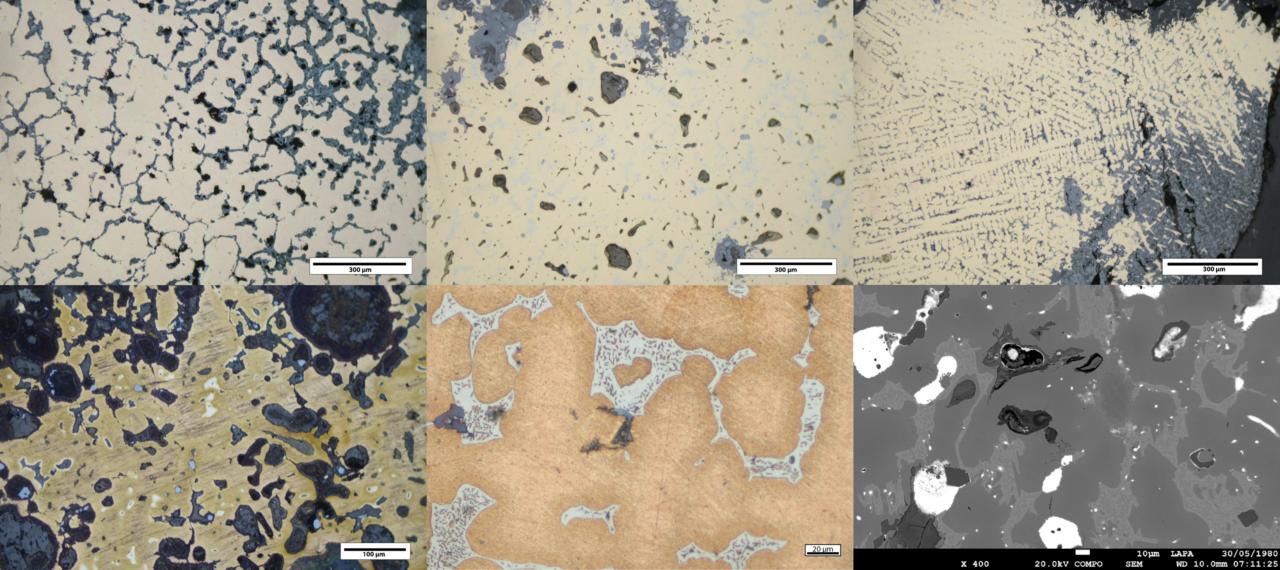


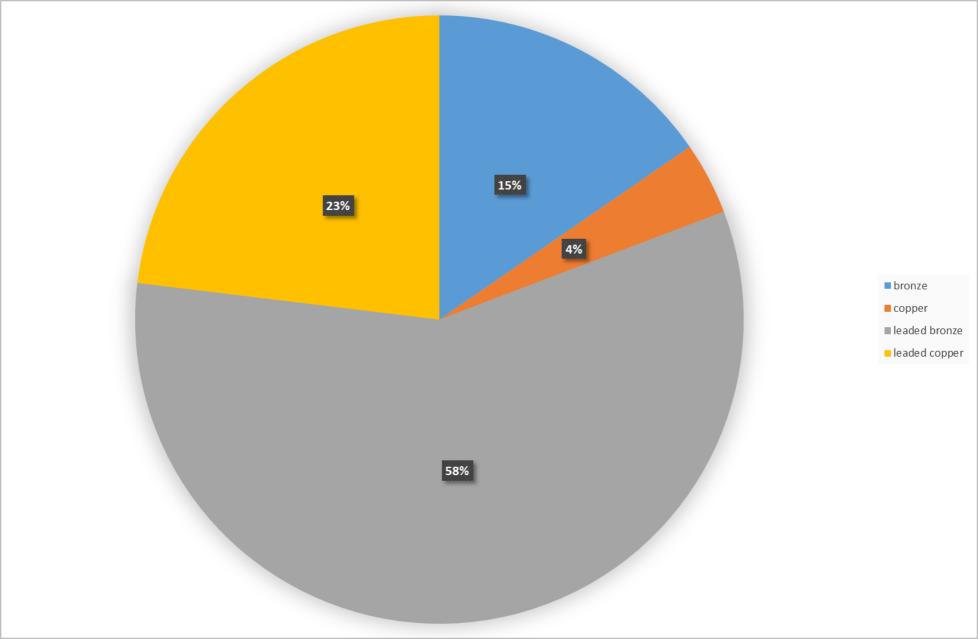


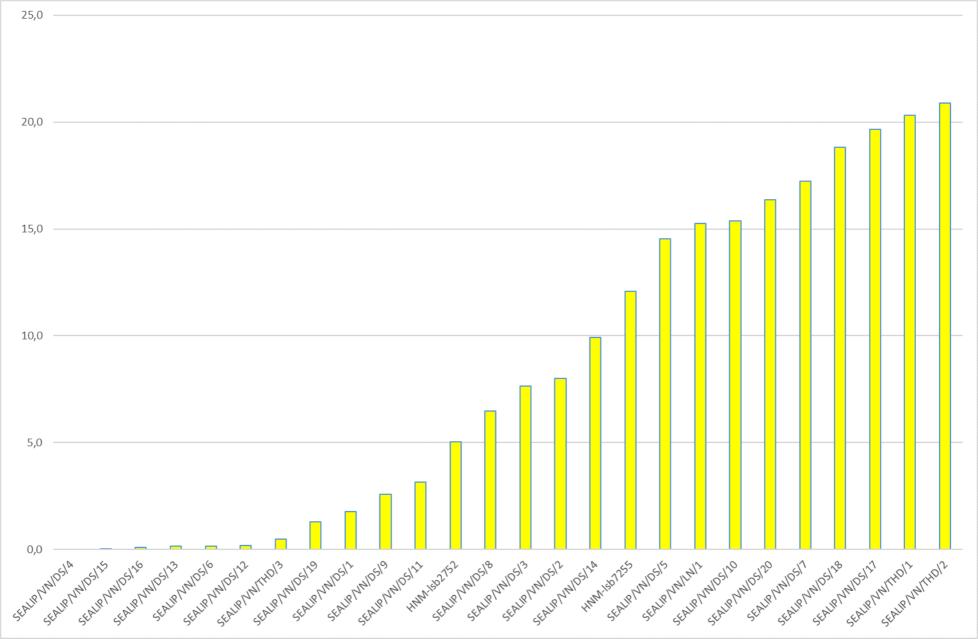


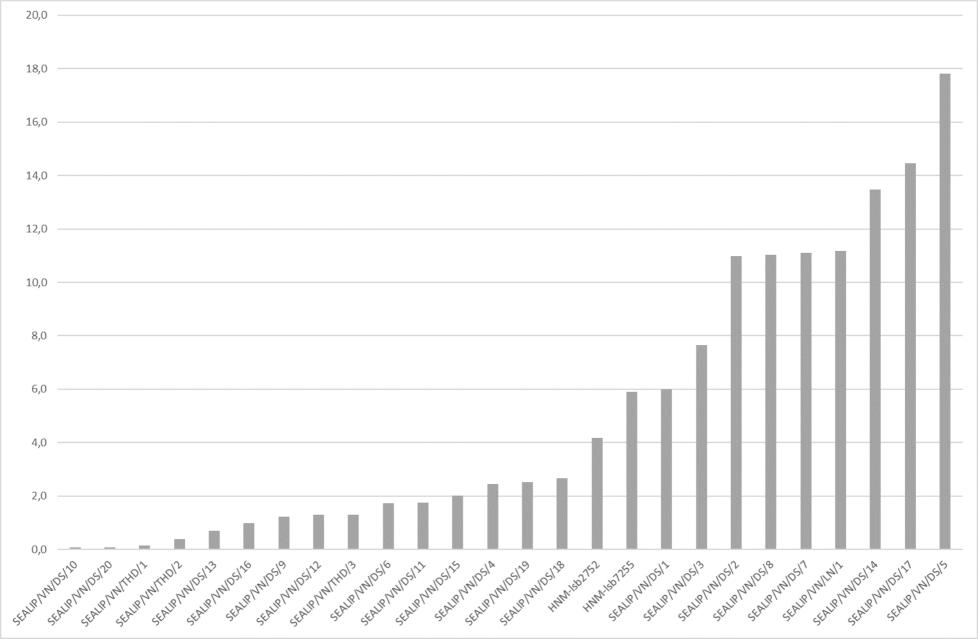


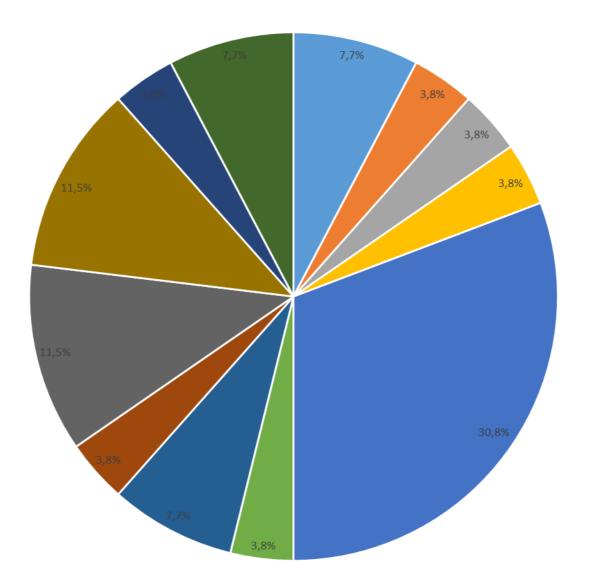












■ B1

■ B5

■ BR

C3

■ LB1

■ LB2

■ LB3

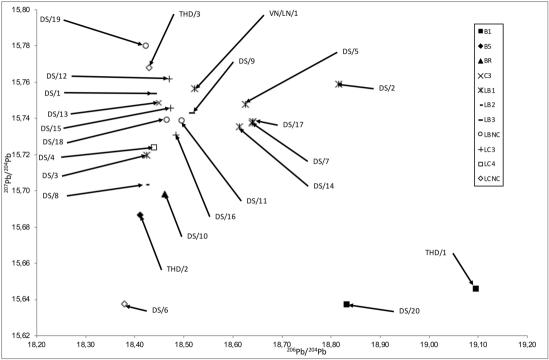
■ LB5

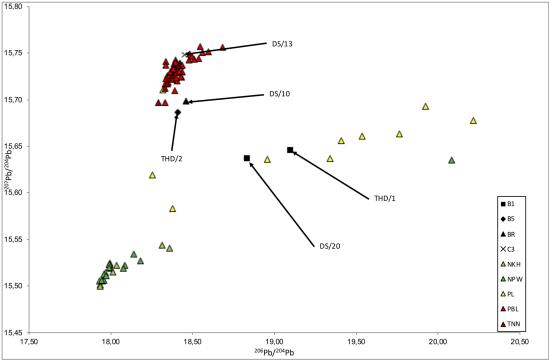
■ LBNC

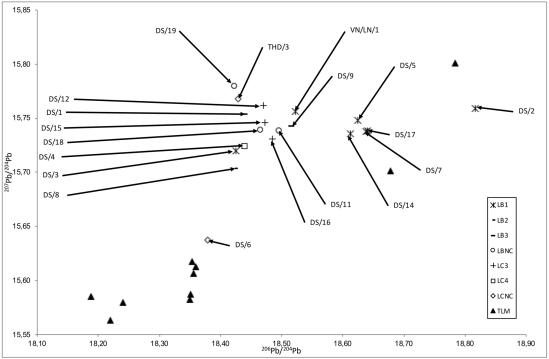
■ LC3

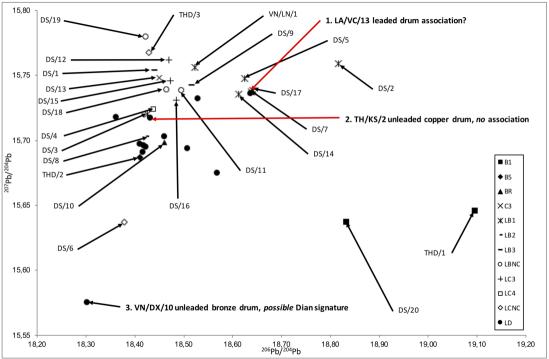
LC4

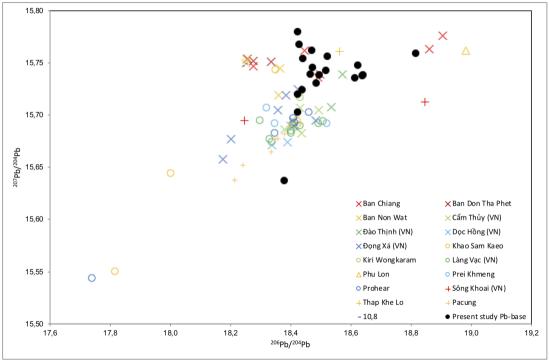
■ LCNC











SEALIP ID	HNM ID	Site	Artefact	Mass (g)	Typological classification
SEALIP/VN/DS/1	LSB 520/14	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	83	Type 3
SEALIP/VN/DS/2	LSB 21122-9	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	141	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/DS/3	LSB 3616/139	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	58	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/DS/4	LSB 3617/140	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	33	Type 4
SEALIP/VN/DS/5	LSB 1160/16	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	123	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/DS/6	LSB 1228/36	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	?	not classified
SEALIP/VN/DS/7	LSB 1667/11	Đông Sơn	miniature tympanum	26	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/DS/8	LSB 3618/141	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	38	Type 2
SEALIP/VN/DS/9	LSB 519/13	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	84	Type 3
SEALIP/VN/DS/10	LSB 1257	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	125	exceptional
SEALIP/VN/DS/11	LSB 4975/35	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	191	not classified
SEALIP/VN/DS/12	LSB 521/15	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	52	Type 3
SEALIP/VN/DS/13	LSB 1769/19	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	15	Type 3
SEALIP/VN/DS/14	LSB 529/6	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	64	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/DS/15	LSB 583/11	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	21	Type 3
SEALIP/VN/DS/16	LSB 1792/29	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	37	Type 3
SEALIP/VN/DS/17	LSB 1666	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	47	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/DS/18	LSB 1013	Đông Sơn	miniature drum	?	not classified
SEALIP/VN/DS/19	LSB 1013	Đông Sơn	situla	?	not classified
SEALIP/VN/DS/20	LSB 7250	Đông Sơn	medium drum	6000	not classified
					(Heger 1 big drum)
SEALIP/VN/LN/1	LSB 21124	Lãng Ngâm	miniature drum	164	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/THD/1	LSB 21123	Thiệu Dương	miniature drum	185	Type 1
SEALIP/VN/THD/2	LSB 21121	Thiệu Dương	miniature drum	480	Type 5
SEALIP/VN/THD/3	LSB 3435/682	Thiệu Dương	miniature drum	154	not classified
*	LSB 2752	?	miniature drum	1132	Type 5
*	LSB 7255	?	miniature drum	227	Type 1

^{*}Not analysed for LIA due to lack of context

SAMPLE	Sb	Sn	Bi	Pb	Zn	Cu	Ni	Со	Fe	Mn	Αl	S
B12 pXRF	0.12	10.00	nd	0.20	0.66	85.20	2.79	nd	0.17	0.24	nd	nd
B12 SEM-EDS	nd	9.5	nd	nd	0.9	85.0	3.0	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
B12 CRMs value	0.12	9.57	0.00	0.20	0.61	85.65	2.63	0.00	0.16	0.24	0.13	0.00
51.13-4 pXRF	nd	0.30	nd	0.11	0.4	91.00	nd	nd	1.95	0.90	4.95	nd
51.13-4 SEM-EDS	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.7	87.7	nd	nd	2.0	1.0	8.0	nd
51.13-4 CRMs value	0.00	0.27	0.00	0.00	0.34	88.79	0.06	0.00	1.81	0.90	7.30	0.00
71.32-4 pXRF	0.25	6.40	nd	4.30	7.00	80.50	0.78	nd	0.40	nd	nd	nd
71.32-4 SEM-EDS	nd	6.5	nd	3.0	7.0	82.0	0.8	nd	0.4		nd	nd
71.32-4 CRMs value	0.26	6.46	0.05	4.43	6.52	80.48	0.70	0.00	0.35	0.05	0.12	0.00
C1123 pXRF	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	97.40	nd	2.49	nd	nd	nd	nd
C1123 SEM-EDS	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	96.5	nd	3.5	nd	nd	nd	nd
C1123 CRMs value	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	97.40	0.01	2.30	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00
L-20-1 pXRF	nd	0.54	nd	0.30	14.35	84.15	0.25	nd	nd	0.15	nd	nd
L-20-1 SEM-EDS	nd	0.5	nd	nd	14.5	84.0		nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
L-20-1 CRMs value	0.00	0.49	0.00	0.27	13.33	85.20	0.22	0.00	0.04	0.13	0.07	0.00
B31 pXRF	0.50	7.95	nd	10.60	0.84	79.40	0.55	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
B31 SEM-EDS	1.8	8.0	nd	9.9	1.1	78.6	0.5	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
B31 CRMs value	0.48	7.70	0.00	11.79	0.82	78.55	0.49	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.03
UZ-52-3 pXRF	0.08	0.99	nd	0.10	18.00	80.30	0.10	nd	0.34	nd	nd	nd
UZ-52-3 SEM-EDS	nd	1.0	nd	nd	18.5	80.5	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
UZ-52-3 CRMs value	0.08	1.06	0.00	0.11	17.00	81.08	0.08	0.00	0.31	0.00	0.00	0.00
B21 pXRF	0.19	5.35	nd	3.75	6.53	82.20	1.35	nd	0.30	nd	nd	nd
B21 SEM-EDS	nd	5.0	nd	4.0	7.0	82.0	1.0	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
B21 CRMs value	0.18	5.13	0.00	3.79	6.22	83.00	1.21	0.00	0.29	0.00	0.14	0.05
SRM1275 pXRF	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	86.90	10.70	nd	1.63	0.39	nd	nd
SRM1275 SEM-EDS	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd	87.9	10.1	nd	1.5	0.5		nd
SRM1275 CRMs value	0.00		0.00	0.01	0.09	88.20	9.76	0.02	1.46	0.42	0.00	0.00
SRM-500 pXRF	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.10	99.70	0.08	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
SRM-500 SEM-EDS	nd	nd	nd	nd	0.5	99.5		nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
SRM-500 CRMs value	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	99.70	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
B10 pXRF	1.15	7.20	nd	4.14	2.95	83.20	1.10	nd	0.18	nd	nd	nd
B10 SEM-EDS	2.0	6.5	nd	3.5	3.0	83.0	1.0	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
B10 CRMs value	1.14	6.95	0.00	4.07	2.75	83.65	1.01	0.00	0.17	0.00	0.21	0.00

	0	Sb	Sn	Ag	Bi	Pb	As	Cu	Ni	Fe	Cr	V	Ti	Al	S	Р	Si		Alloy		_		
SAMPLE							wt. %	wt. %	wt.%	wt. %	wt. %	wt.%		wt. %		wt. %		- Analysis	(1 wt.% threshold)	- Corrosion	Туре	Alloy-Type	Artefact
Đông Sơn																							
SEALIP/VN/DS/1		0.06	2.00	0.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	89.50	0.02	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	1.00	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	Type 3	LB3	miniature drum
	6.5		1.5			3.0		89.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/2		1.00	8.00	0.24	0.00	11.00	0.00		0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.50	0.00	0.00	0.40	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	Type 1	LB1	miniature drum
	6.4	2.5	7.0			16.0		68.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/3		0.00		0.00	0.00	7.50	0.00	77.50	0.00	0.33	0.00	0.04	0.00	3.45	0.00	0.50	2.00	XRF	leaded bronze	Low	Type 1	LB1	miniature drum
	5.5		8.0			2.0		84.5										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/4		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.46	0.00	88.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.54	0.00	2.00	4.00	XRF	leaded copper	High	Type 4	LC4	miniature drum
	7.0		0.0			1.4		91.5										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/5		0.28		0.00	0.00	18.00	0.00		0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.00	0.00	0.41	1.00	XRF	leaded bronze	High	Type 1	LB1	miniature drum
	8.0		7.0			39.9		45.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/6		0.00		0.00	0.02	2.00	0.27		0.01	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.50	0.00	0.32	3.02	XRF	leaded copper	Low	not classified	LCNC	miniature drum
	2.0		0.0			1.0		97.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/7		0.11	17.00	0.00	0.14	11.00	0.00	67.00	0.05	0.34	0.00	0.00	0.00	2.70	0.00	0.00	1.00	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	Type 1	LB1	miniature tympanum
	7.0		16.0	_	_	15.0		62.0										SEM-EDS	. ,				
SEALIP/VN/DS/8		0.09	6.45	0.00	0.10		0.58	75.50	0.01	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.50	0.00	0.82	3.60	XRF	leaded bronze	High	Type 2	LB2	miniature drum
	10.0		3.5			7.0		78.5										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/9		0.92		1.84	1.18	1.24	1.23		0.00	0.10	0.35	0.60	1.58	0.00	0.00	0.19	0.95	XRF	leaded bronze	High	Type 3	LB3	miniature drum
	45.0		1.0			2.0	0.4	25.5								4.0	8.0	SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/10		0.02		0.00	0.00	0.08	0.04	83.50	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.18	0.00	0.06	0.02	0.24	XRF	bronze	Low	remarkable	BR	miniature drum
	4.0		14.0			0.0		82.0										SEM-EDS			<u> </u>		
SEALIP/VN/DS/11		0.07		0.00	0.00	1.70	0.18		0.03	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.30	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	not classified	LBNC	miniature drum
	6.0		3.0			1.0		90.0										SEM-EDS	<u> </u>				
SEALIP/VN/DS/12		0.05	0.20	0.00	0.01	1.00	0.23		0.04	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.40		leaded copper	Low	Type 3	LC3	miniature drum
	4.00	_	0.0	_	_	1.0		95.0	_			_						SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/13		0.13		0.00	0.02	0.60	0.63	97.00	0.07	0.06	0.01	0.06	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.66	XRF	copper	Low	Type 3	C3	miniature drum
	4.5		0.2			0.3		95.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/14		0.07	10.00		0.02	13.45	0.00	76.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	Type 1	LB1	miniature drum
	13.0		14.5			13.5		58.5										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/15		0.00		0.00	0.01		0.13		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.62		leaded copper	Low	Type 3	LC3	miniature drum
	4.0		0.0			1.0		95.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/16		0.17		0.00	0.00		0.02		0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03	1.75	0.00	0.12	1.73	XRF	leaded copper	Low	Type 3	LC3	miniature drum
	2.0		0.2			1.0		96.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/17		0.16			0.16		0.00		0.04	0.18	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		leaded bronze	Low	Type 1	LB1	miniature drum
	3.5		14.0			11.0		71.0										SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/18		0.02		0.00	0.01		0.00		0.00	0.64	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.66	0.00	0.19	2.50	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	not classified	LBNC	miniature drum
	5.5		14.5			3.0		75.0						0.5				SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/19		0.11		0.00	0.00		0.11		0.00	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.00	0.13		XRF	leaded bronze	High	not classified	LBNC	situla
	16.0	0.0-	1.0	0.5	0.5	1.0		82.0	0.00							• • •		SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/DS/20		0.05		0.00	0.00		0.08		0.03	0.21	0.00	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.24	0.16	0.34		bronze	Medium	Type 1	B1	medium drum
.~ ^	3.5		12.5			0.0		83.5							0.5			SEM-EDS					
Lãng Ngâm		0.1.1	45.00	0.00	0.00	44.55	0.00	70.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	\/F=	11.11			151	
SEALIP/VN/LN/1		0.14		0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.02	0.08	0.27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	XRF	leaded bronze		Type 1	LB1	miniature drum
TL:^ B · ·	2.0		13.0			13.5	-	71.0		0.5	-							SEM-EDS		Ī	1		
Thiệu Dương		0.00	20.40		0.00	0.45	0.07	72.52	0.05	2.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.25	1.00	1.10	VDE	laa	N 4 = :11	T 1	D.4	material de la companya de la compan
SEALIP/VN/THD/1		U.UU	20.40		0.00	0.15	0.07	73.50	0.05	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.35	1.00	1.16		bronze	Medium	Type 1	B1	miniature drum
CEALID !: !=: := !=	4.0	0.05	13.5		0.05	0.0	0.05	80.0	0.05	1.0	0.05	0.0-	0.05	0.05	0.5	0.0-	2.25	SEM-EDS		,	<u> </u>		
SEALIP/VN/THD/2	45.5	υ.00		0.00	0.00		0.02		0.00	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.36		XRF	bronze	High	Type 5	B5	miniature drum
	19.0	0.00	18.0		0.00	0.0		61.5	0.00						1.0	• • •		SEM-EDS					
SEALIP/VN/THD/3		0.60		0.00	0.00	1.30	0.00		0.00	0.01	0.10	0.25	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	XRF	leaded copper	Medium	not classified	LCNC	miniature drum
	2.5		0.0			1.5		96.0										SEM-EDS					
No context		_		_							_												
HNM-lsb2752		0.10		0.16	0.00	4.10		89.50	0.04		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.07	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	Type 5	LB5	miniature drum
	5.5	_	4.0			5.0	0.4	84.0	_	1.0		_						SEM-EDS					
HNM-lsb7255		0.12			0.06	6.00	0.27 1.0	80.45	0.01	0.30	0.03	0.00	0.13	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	XRF	leaded bronze	Medium	Type 1	LB1	miniature drum
	5.5		11.0					73.0			_							SEM-EDS					

Sample	Site	²⁰⁸ Pb/ ²⁰⁶ Pb			20	⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁶	⁵ Pb	208	³ Pb/ ²⁰⁴ l	Pb	2	⁰⁷ Pb/ ²⁰⁴	Pb	206	Alloy-Type		
SEALIP/VN/DS/1	Đông Sơn	2.109	±	0.00007	0.854	±	0.00002	38.899	±	0.0076	15.754	±	0.0030	18.440	±	0.0033	LB3
SEALIP/VN/DS/2	Đông Sơn	2.087	±	0.00009	0.837	±	0.00001	39.267	±	0.0032	15.759	±	0.0010	18.816	±	0.0010	LB1
SEALIP/VN/DS/3	Đông Sơn	2.108	±	0.00020	0.853	±	0.00003	38.832	±	0.0084	15.720	±	0.0035	18.425	±	0.0039	LB1
SEALIP/VN/DS/4	Đông Sơn	2.112	±	0.00018	0.852	±	0.00004	38.941	±	0.0126	15.724	±	0.0048	18.440	±	0.0050	LC4
SEALIP/VN/DS/5	Đông Sơn	2.095	±	0.00016	0.845	+I	0.00002	39.016	±	0.0064	15.748	±	0.0020	18.625	±	0.0018	LB1
SEALIP/VN/DS/6	Đông Sơn	2.107	±	0.00011	0.851	±	0.00001	38.721	±	0.0042	15.637	±	0.0014	18.378	±	0.0015	LCNC
SEALIP/VN/DS/7	Đông Sơn	2.094	±	0.00010	0.844	+1	0.00002	39.038	±	0.0042	15.737	±	0.0014	18.638	±	0.0016	LB1
SEALIP/VN/DS/8	Đông Sơn	2.115	±	0.00012	0.852	±	0.00002	38.976	±	0.0041	15.703	±	0.0013	18.424	±	0.0013	LB2
SEALIP/VN/DS/9	Đông Sơn	2.104	±	0.00023	0.850	+1	0.00002	38.958	±	0.0094	15.743	±	0.0031	18.517	±	0.0029	LB3
SEALIP/VN/DS/10	Đông Sơn	2.110	±	0.00027	0.850	±	0.00002	38.955	±	0.0108	15.698	±	0.0034	18.461	±	0.0030	BR
SEALIP/VN/DS/11	Đông Sơn	2.105	±	0.00013	0.851	±	0.00004	38.938	±	0.0095	15.739	±	0.0036	18.496	±	0.0042	LBNC
SEALIP/VN/DS/12	Đông Sơn	2.107	±	0.00025	0.853	±	0.00004	38.922	±	0.0135	15.762	±	0.0048	18.470	±	0.0042	LC3
SEALIP/VN/DS/13	Đông Sơn	2.108	±	0.00019	0.854	±	0.00006	38.888	±	0.0168	15.748	±	0.0067	18.449	±	0.0077	C3
SEALIP/VN/DS/14	Đông Sơn	2.096	±	0.00015	0.845	±	0.00001	39.014	±	0.0055	15.735	±	0.0017	18.613	±	0.0015	LB1
SEALIP/VN/DS/15	Đông Sơn	2.105	±	0.00022	0.852	±	0.00004	38.878	±	0.0143	15.746	±	0.0053	18.473	±	0.0058	LC3
SEALIP/VN/DS/16	Đông Sơn	2.103	±	0.00020	0.851	±	0.00008	38.875	±	0.0248	15.731	±	0.0099	18.484	±	0.0116	LC3
SEALIP/VN/DS/17	Đông Sơn	2.094	±	0.00016	0.844	±	0.00002	39.042	±	0.0054	15.738	±	0.0018	18.641	±	0.0018	LB1
SEALIP/VN/DS/18	Đông Sơn	2.105	±	0.00015	0.852	±	0.00003	38.876	±	0.0062	15.739	±	0.0023	18.465	±	0.0028	LBNC
SEALIP/VN/DS/19	Đông Sơn	2.111	±	0.00013	0.857	±	0.00002	38.892	±	0.0055	15.780	±	0.0020	18.423	±	0.0022	LBNC
SEALIP/VN/DS/20	Đông Sơn	2.081	±	0.00022	0.831	+1	0.00011	39.180	±	0.0307	15.637	±	0.0125	18.833	±	0.0173	B1
SEALIP/VN/LN/1	Lãng Ngâm	2.109	±	0.00012	0.851	+1	0.00002	39.058	±	0.0050	15.756	±	0.0016	18.522	±	0.0019	LB1
SEALIP/VN/THD/1	Thiệu Dương	2.067	±	0.00017	0.819	±	0.00009	39.466	±	0.0399	15.646	±	0.0162	19.096	±	0.0189	B1
SEALIP/VN/THD/2	Thiệu Dương	2.110	±	0.00025	0.852	±	0.00007	38.847	±	0.0253	15.687	±	0.0105	18.411	±	0.0125	B5
SEALIP/VN/THD/3	Thiệu Dương	2.110	±	0.00013	0.856	±	0.00005	38.891	±	0.0107	15.768	±	0.0038	18.428	±	0.0046	LCNC