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SHELL-TEMPERED POTTERY: OPPORTUNISM OR/AND TECHNICAL CHOICE? ON THE USE OF A COMMON RESOURCE BY NORTHEAST CHINA HUNTER-GATHERERS

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Abstract

This article investigates the origins, contexts, and extent of use shell-tempered pottery in Neolithic Northeastern China. Using available site inventories, thin-section petrography, spatial mapping, and extensive environmental and subsistence data, this research demonstrates that far from being a uniform phenomenon, shell temper's use varied according to a variety of social and environmental factors. Shell temper's use in environments where shell was abundantly available, and shellfish were an important component of the diet, show that ancient hunter-gatherers were making efficient use of their locally available resources. Thin-sectioning demonstrates unique recipes for manufacturing shell-tempered vessels that also vary through space and time, strongly suggesting local, household-level production of pottery vessels. Especially given the absence of many other common tempering materials in this region, shell-tempered pottery had a particular advantage in terms of functional performance. Multiple types of data are employed to create a multidimensional picture of the use of shell-tempering in Neolithic China, shedding light on the close relationships inherent in human-environmental-technological interactions.

Keywords

Petrography Ceramic technology GIS Settlement archaeology Subsistence Northeast China

1. Introduction

The presence of crushed shells in the pottery from Northeast China is often noted by local specialists and considered a normal, unquestioned regional characteristic. However, it may also be possible to understand the motivation beneath such a choice, whether cultural, stylistic, aesthetic, or functional. This study aims to investigate this motivation by asking several specific questions: why crushed shell was present in the fabric; where this type of pottery emerged; whether this pottery was produced in one center and then exchanged; and if so, what was transmitted—the objects, the techniques, or a tradition.

We will present data on shell-tempered pottery (STP) and the sites where it is found, outside archaeological cultures' strict divisions. We employ a multidisciplinary approach to come to a new understanding of these artifacts, including spatial analysis, petrography, and paleoenvironment (climatic, faunal, and palaeobotanical) data. Such a large data spectrum allows us to interrogate the use of a specific resource and its links with subsistence strategies. We will thereby demonstrate that shell tempering was used mainly in environmental zones

where aquatic resources were available and exploited, revealing a close relationship between humans, environments, and technologies.

1.1 Geographic background of Northeast China

Located at the heart of Northeast Asia, Northeast China is the northernmost region of China, located between Mongolia, Russia, and the Korean Peninsula (Fig. 1). It is bordered by the Da Xing'an Mountains and the Inner Mongolia plateau to the west, the Xiao Xing'an Mountains and the Amur River to the north, and the Changbai Mountains to the southeast, creating a vast plain with rivers flowing into the Bohai Bay. This vast plain is linked to the surrounding regions by many waterways, rivers that act as roads crisscrossing the landscape and sometimes end in topographical conditions so flat that they have nowhere to drain, creating lacustrine and marshy landscapes. The Northeast China Plain is one of the earliest places in the world where pottery emerged, with ceramic production dating to before 10,000 BC, which makes it a particularly interesting area to raise technological questions about pottery production. Its harsh winter climate also makes it a challenging area for ancient populations, who developed original subsistence strategies in order to thrive there.

Fig. 1 Topographical map of Northeast China

1.2 History of archaeological research on shell-tempered pottery

STP constitutes a special pottery category in the scientific literature: this name designates a manufacturing technique, and generally refers to a type of ceramic whose spatio-temporal distribution is known and where the paste and more precisely the inclusions are the major criteria for identification (Miksic and Teck 1992; Dung et al. 2011). Much research focuses on production centers and diffusion (Deru and Paicheler 2001; Dumpe et al. 2008; Blackmore and Pearce 2010). In these cases, the pottery is identified with the naked eye, by presence or absence of shell fragments visible in the cross sections. The production technique or the specific nature of the inclusions are rarely detailed (good counter-examples include Rieger and Möller [2012] and Sorresso and Quinn [2020]). Similarly, the functional or socio-cultural significance of the use of shell temper is not always thoroughly explored (but see Gijanto [2011], Spataro et al. [2021], and Vybornov et al. [2021] for such analysis). Previous research has thus established the essential criteria to recognize STP and their properties, but mainly constitutes case-studies about specific sites or cultures and does not offer a methodology suited to studying large ensembles of sites over a vast region.

United States are an exception: in addition to studies on the emergence and spread of shell temper in pottery (Feathers 2006; Herbert 2008), many papers and experimental studies show how and why crushed shells were used as a temper (Stimmel et al 1982; Steponaitis 1984; Skibo 2013). These ceramics have been extensively analyzed on multiple aspects (chronological, technical, functional, socio-cultural, etc.), and this research provides an essential methodological framework in order to understand, by comparison, STP from Northeast China.

Studies on shell temper pottery in China are of the former, typochronological variety. A few articles, often parts of excavation reports, mention this specific tempering material (Zuo et al. 1997; Nanjing and Yixing 2009; Li 2021; Beijing et al. 2022), but none are specifically dedicated to exploring this choice of temper or the properties of such ceramics. The STP discovered at Neolithic sites in Northeast China, therefore, have previously only been studied for relative dating purposes (e.g. Zhao and Yu 2016), and only complete (refitted) specimens have been published. The morphological traits used in typological analysis in Chinese archaeology are never considered in a technical analysis. Therefore, although in Chinese reports, the type of temper in pottery is systematically noted in the reports, this article is the first to gather this scattered information for a comprehensive analysis.

Petrographic analyses in Northeast China especially remain rare (Nishida 1987; Duan 2013; Liu et al. 2017; Duan et al. 2018; Li 2020). The previous research all relates to datasets from a single site, using a very small sample of thin-sections, and are limited to the production technique and/or the provenance of the objects on a very local scale. By contrast, the present article focuses on the use of crushed shell in ceramic production across a large region and over a very long period. Here, we use petrographic analysis to arrive at a better understanding of shell temper's significance for subsistence and lifestyle.

1.3 Research questions

This paper aims to go beyond what typochronological analysis has already accomplished, that is, using a morphological and chronological approach to develop a robust cultural sequence for the different subregions of Northeast China. We integrate bibliographical, petrographic, spatial, environmental, and subsistence data to look at shell as a resource that was present both in the landscape and in the lifeways of the human groups who produced STP, and to understand the significance of this choice of material.

Here, we primarily employ spatial analysis and petrography to clarify the following questions:

- 1) emergence and distribution of shell temper pottery (When and where does shell temper appear on Northeast China? Is the fabric homogeneous in the whole region during one period, or continuously homogeneous over several periods? Were the shell-tempered objects common or rare?); and
- 2) origin and ecological significance of shells used as temper (Where do the shells come from? Were the shells widely available or scarce? Were they used in other practices? What role did this resource play aside pottery making?).

2. Materials and methods

2.1 Research Methods

2.1.1 Materials

This research is based on previously published examples of STP found at Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age sites in Northeast China, as well as a large sample of directly observed artifacts, sherds, and thin-sections.

Chinese archaeology generates a bibliographical ocean of book reports and preliminary reports (*jianbao*) on excavated sites, articles on basic surveys, systematic regional surveys (Sebillaud et al. 2021), local cultural gazetteers, and provincial atlases reporting the National Inventory (Guojia 1993, 2003, 2009, 2015), with varying degrees of detail. Most of the information about sites in this study comes from the National Inventory data, but the dataset also contains about 20 each of excavated sites with detailed published information, sites recently discovered through the Yueliang regional systematic survey, and sites described in non-systematic survey reports (Table 1, Fig. 2).

Fig. 2 Bibliographical provenance of the data pertaining to the STP sites

This published material contains reports of pottery sherds containing shell temper, which were identified with the naked eye by local archaeologists, who are used to recognizing such unusual material in the fabric of ceramics (the material most commonly expected being sand). These sherds contain obvious chunks of crushed shells in large quantities in their paste, resembling no other tempering material available in this region. Information about tempering material is systematically reported in the publications. These identification results can be trusted and represent a minimum: only the sherds containing quite a large quantity of crushed shell have been noticed, so pottery containing very small quantities or very finely ground shell might have not been recorded, but none of the obvious examples have been missed. The methodology, identification criteria, and quality of the national inventory data is homogeneous in the four provinces of Northeast China. In addition, the authors personally examined sherds from most of the excavated sites and all the Yueliang survey sites with the naked eye, and confirmed the presence of shell fragments.

Thus, 193 sites have been identified as containing STP. These are often multi-layered settlements, as most of the Neolithic sites' locations were inhabited during the multiple phases of the Bronze Age, Iron Ages, and Medieval period (Sebillaud et al. 2021). The present article only refers to phases of occupation for which STP sherds have been reported, all of which belong to the Neolithic, Bronze Age, or Iron Age periods. The pottery discovered at these sites are mostly cooking jars, with some storage jars and serving cups.

In Chinese archaeology, chronology is mainly based on typological analysis. Radiocarbon dates – when available - are published at the end of site reports and in a special article in the archaeological journal *Kaogu* once a year. Until recently, radiocarbon dating was inconsistently used, with calibrated dates reported alongside uncalibrated ones. More often than not, only one date is available for an excavated site, and the sites which have only been surveyed do not have C14 dates.

2.1.2 Methods

2.1.2.1 Bibliographical data: Shell-tempered pottery in the published materials

Once all the sites where STP was found were identified, information regarding the site locations (coordinates) and excavated materials such as pottery, lithic tools, fauna, botanical data, etc., were gathered into a database (using FileMaker Pro 12). These data, along with sedimentology, lithology, and hydrographic information were mapped using ArcGIS.

Information related to paleoenvironment and subsistence, such as paleoclimate, pollen, carpology, and faunal data were gathered from published materials, mostly site excavation reports. These data are highly local by nature and cannot be easily generalized, so their interpretation should not be extended to large regions (Jaffe et al. 2020; Berger et al. 2021). That is why they will be presented in their site context below.

Because the available C14 dates were sometimes not calibrated or, more often, calibrated using different and outdated curves, the radiocarbon dates related to STP sites gathered in the bibliographical materials for which the original uncalibrated C14 BP data was available have been systematically recalibrated here, using the IntCal20 calibration curve (95.4% probability) and online program OxCal v4.4.4 (Bronk Ramsey 2009; Reimer et al. 2020) (Supplementary Materials Table 1).

2.1.2.2 Direct observation: complete artifacts, sherds, and thin-section samples

In addition to the previously published data, one complete set of sherds has been studied for technical analysis (Duval et al. in prep.), and 86 sherds from five sites have been selected to manufacture 30 μm thin-sections to be examined under a petrographic microscope (x4 to x40, with polarizing light), to carry out a compositional analysis, that is, to characterize the nature of the raw materials and how they were processed (Table 2, Supplementary Information Table 3).

In ceramology, "temper" refers to all the non-plastic materials deliberately added to the clay (Rye 1976). Though they are difficult to determine with certainty, the criteria used to describe temper are the amount of the non-plastic inclusions, the coherence between matrix and non-plastic inclusions, and the grain size distribution of the non-plastic inclusions (Eramo 2020).

During the petrographic compositional analysis, the sherds' thin-sections have been classified by petrofabrics, according to the nature of the matrix and its degree of porosity, the composition, the shape, the orientation of the main inclusions, and their quantity. Their abundance has been estimated using an abundance comparison chart and described according to frequency labels: predominant $($ >70%), dominant (70-50%), frequent (50-30%), common (30-15%), few (15-5%), rare (<5%), and absent (0%) (Quinn 2022: 98-113) (Supplementary Materials Table 3).

Distributed broadly in time and space, the chosen sample has a good representativeness (Fig. 3). The chosen sherds all come from artifacts with clear typo-chronological information, most of them from the same type of cylindrical jar (called *tongxingguan* in Chinese archaeological literature). These sites have all been excavated and have clear stratigraphic and chronological data (Supplementary Materials Table 1), belong to different parts of the region where STP was found, and yielded remains belonging to different periods covering over eight millennia.

Site		Abbreviation Num. thin-sections
Houtaomuga	DН	22
Changtuozi	TС	
Shuangta	TS	
Wutaishan	$N_{\rm W}$	23

Table 2 Thin-section STP samples

Fig. 3 Map of the STP sites and distribution of thin-section samples

2.2 Analysis of materials 2.2.1 Where and when? 2.2.1.1 Where?

STP has mainly been discovered at sites located in the northwestern part of Jilin Province (Table 3). To put these numbers into perspective, about 5000 archaeological sites of all periods have been inventoried in Jilin Province alone, 242 of them containing Neolithic remains, and only 167 sites of all periods contained STP.

These sites mostly date to the Neolithic, but not exclusively, and have been dated with different degrees of precision, depending on the type of documentation available. STP has also been identified in levels dating from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, though from fewer sites (Table 4, Fig. 4).

Table – DTT shes by behous across all four broymees examined										
Period	Neolithic without) precision)	Early Neolithic 11 000-7000 ВC	Middle Neolithic 7000-3500 BC	Late Neolithic 3500-2000 ВC	Bronze Age 2000-500 BC	Iron Age 500 BC-0	Total			
Number	55		56		48		193			
of sites	137			56						

Table 4 STP sites by periods across all four provinces examined

2.2.1.2 When?

A total of 125 radiocarbon dates are available for only 20 of the sites mentioned in this research (Supplementary Materials Table 1). They are not evenly distributed in time, as half of the dates (58) belong to the 6 phases of the Houtaomuga site, and the remaining 19 sites each have between one and 13 dated samples. The Bronze Age and Iron Age remains are less often subjected to C14 dating than Neolithic sites: for example, at Houtaomuga, 53 dates belong to the early and middle Neolithic phases and only 5 samples have been dated for the late Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age. Nevertheless, the new calibration of all the available dates provides a robust chronological frame for our diachronic analysis.

According to these data, all the earliest sites yielding STP are located in the Lower Nen River Valley. The Houtaomuga phase I remains, after which the archaeological culture of Houtaomuga phase I is named, can be dated to between 10,900 and 9100 BC (Supplementary Materials Graph 1). The dates of the samples belonging to the first occupation phase of the Shuangta site, eponym of the culture of Shuangta phase I, can be dated to between 9200 and 6000 BC, but they are in fact divided into two groups: 2 samples around 8900-8600 BC and 5 samples around 6600-6000 BC. So, they should be divided into two distinct cultural phases, even though previous publications, including thermoluminescence dates (Supplementary Materials Table 2), lean toward dating the entire culture of Shuangta phase I "earlier than 8000 BC" (Jilin and Jilin 2013). The Changtuosi site has not been excavated, but the pottery from surface collection is attributed through typochronological analysis to 9100-8200 BC (Wang L. 2018). All these remains, which date to before 6000 BC, are grouped into an "Early Neolithic" period for the sake of our analysis.

In the Lower Nen River Valley, the samples from phase II of the Houtaomuga site, belonging to the Huangjiaweizi culture fall between 6000 and 5300 BC (Supplementary Materials Graph 2). The occupation of the Huangjiaweizi site is traditionally dated to between 6000 and 5000 BC (Jilin 1988). The Tengjiagang site has been attributed to the Houtaomuga phase III culture by typological comparison of pottery (Wang L. 2018), but two radiocarbon samples from this site date to between 6400 and 5800 BC, bringing the earlier phase its occupation closer to the chronological frame of the Huangjiaweizi culture, and one date from a later tomb (around 3500 BC) shows the presence of a second level of occupation. The Elasu C site, with three dates around 5500 BC, is also considered to belong to the Huangjiaweizi culture (Wang L. 2018). The samples from Houtaomuga phase III, also eponymous with an archaeological culture, all date from 4300-3500 BC, and the samples from the Dongmingha site (3800-3500 BC), attributed to the Houtaomuga phase III culture, date from the last three centuries of this culture. In the Yitong River Valley and the Ke'erqin Basin, the Zuojiashan phase I remains are dated to around 5000-4800 BC, the Yaojingzi site remains are typologically dated to around 5000-4500 BC, and the Yuanbaogou C14 sample is dated to ca. 4300-4100 BC. These are all attributed to the culture of the Lower Level of Zuojiashan (ca. 5500-4000 BC) (Jilin 1989; Jilin et al. 2018), as is the Wutaishan site, for which the dates (4300-3800 BC) point to a late or slightly posterior phase of this culture. In the Liaoxi region, the Xinglongwa site samples are dated to between 6000 and 4400 BC, divided into two groups: 8 samples from between 6000 and 5500 BC, fitting well into the eponymous archaeological culture's chronological frame of 6200-5000 BC (Du and Han 2019). Three later samples from between 4700 and 4400 BC represent a later phase of occupation of this site. The Baiyinchanghan site, with dates between 5900 and 5000 BC, is also attributed to the Xinglongwa culture. The samples from the Zhaobaogou site are dated to between 5100 and 4800 BC, consistent with the culture of the same name, which is typically dated to between 5000-4500 BC (Du 2014). These sites are considered here as belonging to a "Middle Neolithic" period.

In the Xiliao region, the Haminmangha site is also a type site, with samples dated to between 3400 and 3100 BC, and the archaeological culture typically dated to 3500-3000 BC (Zheng et al. 2014) (Supplementary Materials Graph 3). In the Nen River Valley, the samples of phase IV of the Houtaomuga site are dated to around 3000 BC; this phase is more broadly dated as spanning 3500 to 3000 BC by other authors (Wang et al. 2017), and these remains are attributed to the Haminmangha culture. The samples from the Honghe site are dated ca. 2400 BC, and this site is attributed to the Angangxi culture (2500-2000 BC). The Xiaolaha I-B phase sample is dated to around 2100 BC and attributed to the Angangxi culture. In the Yitong River Valley, the sample from the third phase of the Zuojiashan site is dated ca. 3000- 2800 BC, and these remains are attributed to the culture of the Upper Level of Zuojiashan (4000-2500 BC) (Jilin et al. 2018). In the Liao River Valley, the Xinle site (5500-4700 BC) and the Longshanlu site (5100-4900 BC) belong to the culture of the Lower Level of Xinle (5500-4500 BC) (Shengyang and Xinle 2018). These sites are traditionally considered as belonging to a "Late Neolithic" period.

The sample from the fifth phase of Houtaomuga is dated to around 600 BC, and these remains are attributed to the Bronze Age culture of Baijinbao (1000-500 BC) (Wang at al. 2017). The two samples from the sixth phase of Houtaomuga are dated to around 380 BC, and are attributed to the Iron Age culture of Hanshu phase II (500-0 BC) (Wang at al. 2017), as are the samples from the third phase of the Xiaolaha site, with a sample dated to 150 BC.

2.2.1.3 Temper or not temper?

All these archaeological cultures have been defined through typological analysis on complete objects. In publications, alongside shell fragments, other tempering materials are mentioned, such as vegetable fibers for the sites attributed to the Houtaomuga I culture (Wang and Sebillaud 2019) and sand, which is described as tempering material in over half of the sites and present in various proportions (Supplementary Materials Table 4).

Overall, petrographic analysis shows that most of the thin-section samples present very elongated, angular shaped and poorly sorted inclusions, which are brown under polarized light, and mostly orientated parallel to the rim of the artifacts, with an average size of less than 1 mm, and only very rare inclusions measuring over 2 mm. Some retain their layered structures, but also developed long transverse fractures, which are characteristic of freshwater mussels (Sorresso and Quinn 2020).

Twenty-six of the 86 samples contain a high abundance of shell inclusions (predominant or dominant); 22 had less (frequent to common); 17 had rare shell inclusions; and 21 had none (Supplementary Information Table 3).

When the shell inclusions are predominant to common, the large volume of inclusions means that they most probably had an impact on the physical properties of the fabric (Eramo 2020). Their addition was therefore almost certainly deliberate. The very angular, long, rodlike shape of the inclusions indicates a stage of preparation where the mussels were possibly burned in order to make them more brittle, and then crushed before being then added to the clay, as these are not features of naturally present inclusions (Feathers 1989). Moreover, the shell fragments observed here are not completely decomposed, so the firing temperature of STP samples must have been lower than 850C° (Maritan et al. 2007). In the samples with rare shell inclusions, they might have been an involuntary addition or were naturally present in the clay.

Petrographic analysis reveals the existence of 19 distinct petrofabrics in our sample (three to five per site), 11 of which show clear evidence of crushed shell used as temper.

2.2.2 Diachronic analysis

2.2.2.1 Early Neolithic 11,000-7000 BC

2.2.2.1.1 Spatial distribution of the STP sites

There are only nine STP sites from the Early Neolithic. They are located in the Lower Nen River Valley, concentrated around the lacustrine and marshy region where the Tao'er River flows into the Nen River, an area with vast available space and resources (Fig. 5).

Fig. 5 Spatial distribution of the Early Neolithic STP sites 1. Houtaomuga, 2. Shuangta, 3. Changtuozi

2.2.2.1.2 Environnemental conditions and subsistance

Some paleoenvironmental data are available from excavated sites of this time period.

At the Houtaomuga site, during phase I (10,900-9100 BC), pollen assemblages show a large number of fungi, which are characteristic of a Tertiary vegetation. During this period, their proportion gradually decreases, while that of herbaceous plants increases (Tang et al. 2017a). By then, the *Pteridophyte* family (ferns and lichens) constitute the majority of the plants, while trees are almost absent. The landscape is composed of meadows and steppes with a cold and relatively humid climate. *Polygonaceae* pollens indicate the presence of wetlands near the site. Faunal remains are composed of freshwater shells present in large deposits and as funerary offerings, and also of fish, shrimp, birds, and their eggs, which were relatively easy to acquire. Rare mammal bones belong to small game, such as hares, dogs (the only domestic animal), and badgers (Zhang 2015). However, the remains of aquatic animals are much more numerous than those of mammals, indicating that the food supply mainly relied on aquatic resources provided by the immediate environment. In addition, paleopathological analysis reveals severe dentition wear, which can be linked to the consumption of shellfish containing too much sand (Xiao 2014: 9-21). These very early strata also yielded 25 harpoons.

At the Shuangta site, during phase I (9200-6000 BC), the climate was relatively dry and cold, with vegetation cover corresponding to a meadow-dominated landscape (Tang et al. 2017b). Animal remains are mainly shells, especially large freshwater mussels (*Unio douglasiae*), which are present in virtually all the features, elongated freshwater mussels (*Lanceolaria gladiola*), and big cockscomb pearl mussels (*Cristaria plicata*), as well as fish and small mammals (hare and pheasants). The site yielded many fishing tools. No domestic

animals, except for dogs, and no lithic tools associated with agriculture were found (Zhang 2011).

The abundance of microlithic tools and the relative rarity and uniformity in shape and facture of this early pottery points to a mobile foraging lifeway (Bar-Yosef and Belfer-Cohen 1989). All these elements suggest a seasonal occupation of the sites by nomadic or seminomadic groups (Sebillaud et al. 2021) mainly relying on shell collection, fishing, and small game hunting.

2.2.2.1.3 Petrographic analysis

The Houtaomuga phase I pottery is the earliest in Northern China (Wang and Sebillaud 2019). The vessels are large in size and thick-walled (0.8 to 1.5 cm), with impressed decoration, made out of a fabric tempered with freshwater reed fibers and fashioned into large coils (Fig. 6-a).

Only one petrofabric has been identified in the Houtaomuga phase I samples (Supplementary Materials Table 3). It is characterized by the presence of a very abundant multifoil porosity (approx. 0.6 mm), which is the imprints left by the vegetable fibers used as temper. The non-plastic inclusions are small (less than 0.2 mm), except for a few shell inclusions which naturally occurred in the raw material (Fig. 6-b).

Fig. 6 Houtaomuga phase I: a. pottery sherds; b. thin-section, sample num. DH01 x2, PPL (plane-polarized light). (Sh: Shell).

At Shuangta, two types of petrofabric coexist: thick- and thin-walled ceramics (Fig. 7-a and b).

Thick pottery sherds have a very abundant porosity, like that of the Houtaomuga phase I fabric, but the voids are ovoid and measure on average 0.1 mm (Fig. 7-c). They are also imprints of organic fibers (reeds). There are few, if any, shell inclusions in these samples.

The second petrofabric is characterized by a predominance of shell inclusions and few non-plastic inclusions greater than 0.2 mm, meaning crushed shells were added (Fig. 7-d).

However, sample TS05, a thin-walled pottery sample, presents both a high concentration of crushed shells and the specific ovoid porosity similar to that of the first petrofabric, but in a larger size (0.2 mm on average) (Fig. 7-e).

These two types of ceramic could correspond to two functions such as cooking and serving, two groups of potters, a difference between local and exogenous productions, or two social levels of consumers. Alternatively, they could have been produced during the two chronological sub-phases brought to light by the analysis of the Shuangta phase I C14 dates, in which case, sample TS05 could represent a transitional phase.

Fig. 7 Shuangta phase I: a. thick-walled pottery sherd, sample TS01; b. thin-walled pottery sherd, sample TS08; c. thick-walled pottery thin-section, sample num. TS02 x4 PPL; d. thin-walled pottery thin-section, sample num. TS09, x4 XP (crossed polarized light); e. organics and shells inclusions, sample num.TS05, x4 PPL. (Sh: Shell, Q: Quartz)

2.2.2.2 Middle Neolithic 7000-3500 BC 2.2.2.2.1 Spatial distribution of the STP sites

During the Middle Neolithic, STP is found at many more sites (56), most of them still concentrated in the northwestern portion of Jilin Province, along the Nen and the Tao'er Rivers. These artifacts also newly appear in the Ke'erqin Basin and along the tributaries of the Songhua River (Fig. 8).

Fig. 8 Spatial distribution of the Middle Neolithic STP sites 1. Houtaomuga, 2. Huangjiaweizi, 3. Yaojingzi, 4. Zuojiashan, 5. Wutaishan

2.2.2.2.2 Environmental conditions and subsistance

Little paleoenvironmental information is available from the excavated sites (Houtaomuga and Huangjiaweizi in the Lower Nen region, Yaojingzi in the Ke'erqin Basin, and Zuojiashan in the Yitong River Valley).

At the Houtaomuga site, during phase II (6000-5300 BC), recovered seeds all come from wild plants, and only two millet seeds suggest the possible use of wild cereals or the beginnings of their domestication (Tang et al. 2020). The remains of fauna are mainly aquatic, dominated by shells and fish, but birds and wild mammals are more abundant (hare, wild boar, fox, tanuki, and Asian deer) (Zhang 2015). Birds are mostly mallards (MNI 62% of bird remains) and pheasants (Liang et al. 2020a). Birds, shells, and mammal bones were used to make objects, such as fishing tools. The Houtaomuga site might have been occupied only periodically.

At the same site, during phase III (4300-3500 BC), plant remains are rare and all wild. Pollens show that the environment was rather humid and slightly warmer than before, and tree cover was developing (Tang et al. 2017a). All the semi-subterranean houses yielded large quantities of shells (mainly *Unio douglasiae*), fishbones, birds, and smaller quantities of mammal remains, as well as objects made out of shells, mammal bones, and bird bones, such as fishing tools and arrowheads, along with microlithic blades. Bird remains are dominated by pheasants (MNI 62% of bird remains) and ducks, mostly mallards (*Anas platyrhynchos*). Adult male birds were hunted during summer and spring. These specialized hunting practices were followed by storage strategies, as shown by pits full of animal bones, such as pit n.12DHAIIIH165, containing at least 42 pheasants (Liang et al. 2020a). Shells seem to have been mainly collected during the spring. This site can be interpreted as a temporary shell collecting and fishing spot reused year after year (a "long-term temporary occupation") (Peng 2015).

At the Huangjiaweizi site (6000-5000 BC) (Jilin 1988), likewise, a large number of shells have been found, as well as one pit dedicated to fish storage, and fishing tools such as harpoons and hooks, the lithic assemblage being dominated by microlithic tools.

In the Ke'erqin Basin, at the Yaojingzi site (5000-4500 BC), bone and shell artifacts, stone axes and chisels, and jade ornaments have been discovered, and houses yielded tools associated with fishing and hunting, as well as accumulations of fishbones (Jilin et al. 1992). In the Yitong River Valley, during the first phase of the Zuojiashan site (5000-4800 BC), the faunal assemblage corresponds to a transition phase with a mixed economy, with as many wild boar (*Sus scorfia*) as domesticated pigs, as well as chickens, many deer (elks, water deer), a few aurochs and horses, large quantities of shells (Chinese pound mussels *Sinanondonta woodiana*, large freshwater mussels of the *Unionidae* family, and *Unio douglasiae*), fish (catfish *Siluriformes*), softshell turtles, and furry mammals (otter, grey fox, tiger, tanuki, wolverine), discovered with fishnet weights and microliths. This evidence points to a settlement mode combining sedentarism and mobility (Peng 2015).

2.2.2.2.3 Petrographic analysis

Houtaomuga phase II (6000-5300 BC) pottery (Fig. 9-a, b) shows two recipes: one very rich in shell fragments (Fig. 9-c) and one characterized by a mix of inclusions of round marl fragments and shells (Fig. 9-d). Both are shell-tempered but the processing of the materials is different.

Fig. 9 Houtaomuga phase II: a. pottery sherd drawing; b. pottery sherd photo; c. shell fragments rich fabric thinsection, sample num. DH07 x4 PPL; d. calcareous fabric with marl fragments thin-section, sample num. DH09 x4 PPL. (Sh: Shell, Q: Quartz)

Sherds belonging to the posterior periods of Houtaomuga phases III (4300-3500 BC) (Fig. 10-a, b, c) and IV (3500-3000 BC) (Fig. 10-d) show the same petrofabric, tempered with a mix of shell fragments and sand (monocrystalline quartz, plagioclase and chert). The concentration of shell fragments does not vary much (frequent to few). The clay matrix and the fine fraction are close to that of previous periods, which suggests a continuity in the use of very local resources, such as lakeshore soil as matrix raw material.

Fig. 10 Houtaomuga phase III and IV: a. pottery drawing phase III (AIIIG1:42); b. pottery photo phase III (AIIIG1:42); c. phase III thin-section, sample num. DH16 x4 PPL; d. phase IV thin-section, sample num. DH18 x4 PPL. (Sh : Shell, Q: Quartz, Pl: Plagioclase)

In the Yitong River Valley, the Wutaishan site (4300-3800 BC) presents an interesting case with three types of pottery production and four distinct fabrics, clearly corresponding to one local production and at least two or three imported ones. One of them is characterized by a very high abundance of crushed shells. These inclusions are angular and very poorly sorted. Some sub-rounded inclusions of quartz and plagioclase are also present in the fine fraction. At Wutaishan, there is a clear correlation between this shell-tempered petrofabric and the morphostylistic typology of this pottery, and it is clear that these artifacts, or their contents, were imported from the Lower Nen River Valley (Duval et al. in prep.).

2.2.2.3 Late Neolithic 3500-2000 BC

2.2.2.3.1 Spatial distribution of the STP sites

STP is found at fewer sites during the Late Neolithic (17), but their spatial distribution remains quite stable, with a lower density during this shorter period (Fig. 11) (Sebillaud et al. 2021).

Fig. 11 Spatial distribution of the Late Neolithic STP sites 1. Houtaomuga, 2. Honghe, 3. Haminmangha

2.2.2.3.2 Environmental conditions and subsistance

For this period, paleoenvironmental data are available from the Houtaomuga and the Honghe sites in the Lower Nen River Valley, as well as for the Haminmangha site in the very northeastern part of the Liaoxi region.

At Houtaomuga, during phase IV (3500-3000 BC), preliminary carpology observations show that some rare millet seeds are present; the increase in the number of grinding stones and the appearance of knives indicate a rise in plant use, and may represent the beginnings of some cultivation practices. Animal remains are extremely numerous, and all the houses yielded large quantities of shells (mainly *Unio douglasiae*, accounting for over 90% of the shells, at least 10 times more numerous than *Lanceolaria gladiola*) and fish bones (over 50% being yellowhead catfish *Tachysurus fulvidraco*), which were also used to make a variety of tools and ornaments. Mammal bones are more numerous than before, especially wild bovines (aurochs), and to a lesser extent pheasant (*Phasianus colchicus*), dog, hare, boar, horse, and furry carnivores (tanuki) (Zhang 2015; Wang X. 2018; Wang Y. 2018). Bird remains are still very abundant and dominated by pheasants (72% of bird remains) and mallards, mostly adult males (Liang et al. 2020). Some pits are exclusively filled with fish and shells, suggesting deliberate storage. Nevertheless, at this point at Houtaomuga, aurochs dominate the diet. Animal remains made up the majority of the fill of the enclosure ditch, and 90% (weight) of these are aurochs' bones, some of which bore traces of fire cooking. The hunt apparently targeted rather young individuals. Overall, meat at the site evidently came from wild cattle and secondarily from boars and horses, as well as from fishing.

At Haminmangha (3400-3100 BC), in the Liaoxi region, faunal remains, mostly unearthed from the semi-subterranean buildings, are 70% small-sized wild mammal remains, mollusks (15% of the identified remains, second most abundant in MNI), birds (12% of the identified remains, third most abundant in MNI), reptiles (2%), and fish (1%). The estimates of meat proportions are: 60% boar, 13% hare, 9% aurochs, 7% roe deer, 5% horse, 2% red deer, 2% pheasant, and 2% small deer (Chen 2014). No trace of agriculture or animal domestication was found. Subsistence was based on hunting, collecting, and fishing. The unearthed grinding stones are used to process wild plants (cereals, nuts). Analysis of the collecting season for shells and deer antlers demonstrates that the site was occupied all year long. This shows a very different subsistence pattern, but still leaves an important place for shells in the economy, with a large quantity of worked shell artifacts. The 1477 mollusk fragments are mainly composed of *Unio douglasiae* (NMI 171), over 10 times more numerous than *Lanceolaria gladiola* (MNI 12), with some fragments of *Margaritiferidae* (middle-size freshwater mussels of the *Unionidae* family). The 91 shell artifacts (knives, spatulas, and ornaments) unearthed at this site exhibit various manufacture techniques, with a clear sorting of raw materials according to the type of object and a tendency towards standardization of the shapes and dimensions (Chen et al. 2015). The discovery of 70 pieces of prepared raw material point to on-site production.

At the Honghe site (around 2400 BC), the fauna was composed of large quantities of shells, fish, and birds, as well as wild mammals (aurochs, horse, red deer, roe deer, boar, wolf, dog, fox, tanuki, badger, and hare—all hunted wild game, except for the dog). Artifacts made out of bone and antler were mainly used for fishing, and to a lesser extent hunting and gathering, as most of the 225 bone objects are fish hooks, harpoons, spearheads, arrowheads, and composite knives (Liang et al. 2020b).

2.2.2.3.3 Petrographic analysis

At Honghe (fig. a, b), three petrofabrics have been identified: one with deliberately added crushed shells, whose coarse inclusions are mostly shell fragments (Fig. 12-d); one without any shell fragments (Fig. 12-c); and one with a variable amount of shell inclusions, which could be natural or a mix of two fabrics (Fig. 12-e). However, all the pottery samples contain volcanic rock fragments and rare but very characteristic graphic textured granite (Fig. 12-f). In these three petrofabrics, the clay comes from the same or very close extraction locations, and the variations in the recipes might correspond to neighboring extraction locations or slight manufacturing disparities.

Fig. 12 Honghe: a. pottery drawing (F1:1); b. pottery photo (F1:1); c. quartz fabric, sample num. QH-07 x4 PPL; d. shell fabric, sample num. QH-03 x4 PPL; e. quartz + shell fabric, sample num. QH-04 x2 XP; f. detail of a graphic textured granite inclusion, sample num. QH-22 x10 XP. (Sh: Shell, Q: Quartz, Vc: Volcanic rock fragment, Pl: Plagioclase)

2.2.2.4 Bronze Age 2000-500 BC and Iron Age 500 BC-0

Less information is available for the sites from this period.

By the second millennium BC (the Bronze Age), shell temper was only still being used in Northwestern Jilin Province, in the lacustrine region south of the Chagan Lake, which was newly and densely occupied, most likely due to a drop in the water level (Fig. 13). Most of these sites had been continuously occupied since the Neolithic, and their subsistence strategy was still heavily based on fishing and hunting.

During the second half of the first millennium BC (Iron Age, or Hanshu culture phase II), STP appears at a few sites in the Bohai Bay but disappears in the Lower Nen River Valley, when animal domestication, specifically ovine animal husbandry, took a larger place in the subsistence regime (Fig. 13).

Fig. 13 Spatial distribution of Bronze Age and Iron Age STP sites

3. Results and discussion: Why shell temper?

At first glance, the presence of STP raises a pure ceramology question. However, a multidisciplinary analysis reveals its broader significance.

The diachronic distribution of the STP sites shows this technique was used across eight millennia, over thousands of kilometers, and within many archaeological cultures' boundaries. This analysis demonstrates for the first time where this practice originated in Northeast China (the Lower Nen River Valley, in northwest Jilin and southeast Heilongjiang), how it spread, its geographic limits in each period.

Synchronically, the analysis reveals that the exploitation of unique resources (large freshwater shells) can be linked with both specific settlement patterns (seasonal shore occupations) and a distinct ceramic technique (shell-tempering).

All the sites presented here yielded STP, but petrographic analysis shows that the raw materials were not the same, and could not have come from the same source or production center. The heterogeneity in the recipes of the shell-tempered fabrics, even within the same site and during the same period, can be linked to household-scale production: making pottery was then most probably a domestic activity. STP therefore was produced on a small scale at numerous sites in the Lower Nen River Valley, used locally, and sometimes exported to the surrounding regions.

The dynamics that drove the dispersal of STP into wider territories dominated by different cultural groups are difficult to ascertain. Vessels may have been exchanged for their contents, people may have traveled with them and exchanged them along the way or during commercial or religious gatherings, or the technique could also have been transmitted through movements of human groups or exchange of people (e.g. women or slaves) (Duval et al. in prep.).

The sediments of this lacustrine region are eolian and alluvial sand, silt, and clay deposits, and there are no lithic raw materials on the surface in the Lower Nen River Valley, the Ke'erqin Basin, or the Yitong and Dongliao River Valleys (Food and Agriculture Organization 2006a; Food and Agriculture Organization 2006b; Nachtergaele et al. 2012) (Fig. 14a). Lithic raw materials must have been quite precious, so much so that, at some sites, broken tools were even recycled, reshaped to gain new functions (Chen 2016) (Fig. 14b). The Nen River Valley has such a flat low-land topography that the rivers do not flow smoothly, but form numerous lakes and swamps. Thus, the benefits of shell-tempered pottery in terms of

functional performance mean that local populations were taking full advantage of this resource, particularly in the absence of many other common tempering materials.

Fig. 14 STP Neolithic sites distribution and land conditions: a) sedimentology map, b) lithology map

Some organic tempers provide a technological advantage. For instance, because they are absorbent, plant fibers help to dry the clay and allow a vessel to be made in one sitting (Skibo et al. 1989; Skibo 2013: 6). By contrast, using shell temper constitutes quite a challenge. During firing, between 620°C and 850°C, calcite in the shells decomposes into burnt lime (transforming $CaCO₃$ into $CaO + CO₂$) (Rye 1976; Maritan et al. 2007). During the cooling phase and for several days after firing, the dehydrated decomposed calcite (or burnt lime/calcium oxide CaO) absorbs moisture, and can therefore move, gather, inflate, and form cracks inside the fabric (also called "lime spalling") (Allegretta et al. 2016).

This difficulty can be avoided by using salt (Rye 1976; Stimmel et al. 1982; Skibo 1992: 37). Most of the lakeshore and riverside sediments in the Lower Nen River Valley and the Ke'erqin Basin contain salt. Because of the presence of Chernozems and meadow soils (Devyatova et al. 2015) in the Lower Nen River Valley, these flat lands of salt-affected soils are today subject to desertification and increased salinization processes, and salt was produced in these regions until the 1960s. Soil salt concentration reaches its maximum after the snow melts and before the rainy season begins, around April. At this time of the year, evaporation conditions are good, especially on flat land, next to a body of water, with a lot of wind and sun. Naturally salted soil seems to have been predominantly chosen to manufacture ceramics, it is also possible that salt could have been deliberately added to the fabric, but unfortunately, we know nothing about the production of salt before the medieval period in this region (Sebillaud et al. 2017).

Moreover, adding crushed shells as a temper or choosing a clay naturally containing shell fragments, as long as it also contains salt, enhances plasticity during shaping and decreases the risk of cracks during drying (Maritan et al. 2007). Because of the parallel orientation and the elongated shape of the fragments, coarse shell temper's thermal expansion is similar to that of the fired body, and thus, it intensifies resistance to repeated thermal shock, making the containers well-suited for cooking (Steponaitis 1984; Feathers 1989; Feathers 2006; Skibo 2013: 43-45).

Therefore, the use of shell temper seems to have been opportunistic, but conferred technical advantages on the finished ceramic vessels. It has not been subjected to a cultural diffusion per se, and seems linked to the concomitant availability of large quantity of shells and salty soil.

The abundance of water in the landscape, the site locations on lake shores, the lake reed fibers in the earliest pottery fabric, tools made out of shells, and transportation and exchanges which might have at least partly taken place on water in summer or frozen water in winter, show that these human groups chose to use different aspects of their aquatic environment and developed related know-how and techniques. The lacustrine landscape was a key feature that attracted human populations and linked these communities together. The abundance of large shells, their presence in a funerary context, the presence of tools made of shell, and their importance in the subsistence economy all indicate that shell gathering might have been one of the practices that tied these communities together.

Furthermore, residue analyses on sherds from each of the four chronological phases of the Houtaomuga site (11th to 3rd millennia BC) show that from the earliest pottery production to the Late Neolithic, these vessels were used to cook freshwater shellfish (Kunikita et al. 2017; Wang and Sebillaud 2019; Keute 2022). Further functional analysis of use-alteration traces (Skibo 2013) and residues would help to clarify the diet of the human groups using STP, for example, if a functional difference in food preparation existed between the two types of petrofabrics at the Shuangta site.

The abundance of shells eaten and discarded at the sites, the fine-grained sediments (loess and silt), and the absence of lithic material made crushed shells a very attractive material for potters at the time: easy to obtain, light, suitable for repeated heating in cooking, and shockresistant. The connection between shell temper use in environments where shell is abundantly available and shellfish as important dietary components shows the efficient use of resources by hunter-gatherers occupying these areas.

Furthermore, this research allows us to further refine the concept of "fishing-huntinggathering" generally used to describe the subsistence mode of Neolithic Northeast China into more precise definitions. Subsistence was heavily dependent on shellfish in the Nen River Valley where STP was produced and used, while other subregions, without STP, present varied and complex ensembles of subsistence strategies, e.g. deer-based in the Liaoxi region and fish-based in the Sanjiang Valley. Our research also reveals large changes in subsistence strategies during the Bronze and Iron Ages.

In the Liaoxi region, at the Baiyinchanghan site (5900-5000 BC), faunal remains are dominated by deer (including red deer *Cervus elaphus*, elk *Cervus canadiensis*, Siberian roe deer *Capreolus pygargus*), boar, aurochs, and bear (Neimenggu 2004 :546-574). It seems, therefore, that subsistence was largely based on big game hunting without any evidence for domestication, except for dogs. Some of the Xinglongwa culture (6200-5000 BC) sites appear to have been used all year long by at least part of the population. Small quantities of domesticated plant remains have been found, but they did not constitute a big part of the diet and economy. Discovery of specialized storage pits for fish and harpoons point to the important role played by fishing in subsistence. Microlithic tools also point to a huntingfishing-gathering economy. Slightly later, the Zhaobaogou settlement (5100-4800 BC) was used all year long and the economy was based on deer hunting (Shelach 2006).

In the Sanjiang Valley, on the Ussuri River, at the Xiaonanshan site (of the eponymous culture ca. 7200-6800 BC) (Heilongjiang and Raohe 2019), the rather cold climate had a large temperature range, and no remains associated with agriculture have been found, but the site yielded many fish storage pits. The economy was based on fishing, and to a lesser extent on hunting and gathering.

At the Xinkailiu site (Heilongjiang 1979) (eponymous culture ca. 5500-4000 BC), fauna remains were largely dominated by fish (salmon, Amur carps *Cyprinus rubrofuscus*, catfish *Siluriformes*, black carp *Mylopharyngodon piceus*) and bivalves, with low quantities of large

and small game such as deer (red deer, Père David deer *Elaphurus davidianus*, Eastern roe deer) and other even-toed ungulates, furry mammals (red fox, badger, wolf, brown bear), oddtoed ungulates, boar, birds, and soft-shell turtles. Excavation also yielded large quantities and varieties of fishing tools and numerous storage pits dedicated to fish preservation (Zhao et al. 2015).

In the Liaodong peninsula, during the period of the culture of the Lower Level of Houwa (4500-4000 BC), the climate was slightly warmer and wetter than today. Some researchers interpret the lithic tool assemblage of polished axes and ground stones as evidence of agricultural practices (Peng 2015), but they could also have been used to process wild plants. Bolas and net weights indicate hunting and fishing.

In the Liao River Valley, which has a similar climate, sites of the culture of the Lower Level of Xinle (5500-4500 BC) (Shenyang and Xinle 2018) yielded semi-subterranean houses restored and rebuild many times as well as grain silos, pointing to a higher degree of sedentarism and true agricultural production with a surplus. A large accumulation of fish bones and tools also suggest hunting and fishing.

To compare, in the Yellow River Valley, at Xinmi in Xinzhai in Henan Province, during the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, contemporaneous with the Honghe site, 83% of all animals found at the site were domesticated pigs, and an addition 5.3% were from other domesticated species (Liang et al. 2020b).

As in many other places in the world, hunter-gatherer groups thrived in Northeast China in inhospitable lands. People in many subregions used aquatic resources in their subsistence strategies, but there is not a universal association between this trait and STP production. The cold climate might have been a deterrent for farmers, but the abundance of easily exploited natural food resources made these regions attractive for non-agricultural groups, who lived "in relatively sedentary ways and were well established due to the abundance of aquatic resources" (Demoule 2022: 42, 51). Hunter-gatherer groups made the most ancient pottery in the world, in China, Japan, and Amazonia, where they "could live in a sedentary way due to the abundance of natural resources" (Demoule 2022: 47).

5. Conclusions

This research reveals that the use of shell temper in pottery production was mostly motivated by opportunism and that it provided some technical advantages. Moreover, an inclusive methodology, applicable in other regions of the world, sheds light on the use of a common and key resource in the subsistence of hunter-gatherers in Northeast China, and how these strategies changed during the Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age.

Through the study of published artifacts, direct analysis of sherds and thin-sections, and comparison with settlement, lithic, and faunal data, this research sheds new light on STP in Northeast China. It shows that STP emerged in the Lower Nen River Valley before expanding only into some parts of the Northeast China Plain. This distribution is explained by the exploitation of the water-dominated landscapes and uniquely rich aquatic resources provided by only some of the river valleys in this region.

This research demonstrates that a cross-cultural long-lasting practice, such as STP, can only be thoroughly reconstructed using multidisciplinary data. Far from a homogeneous territory, Northeast China encompasses various topographical regions, each presenting a unique set of harsh climate conditions and rich resources. Further attention to pottery production techniques and materials, along with better paleobotanical and archaeozoological data, will shed new light on other ancient complex cultural practices.

Declaration of Competing Interest

The authors declare that they have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

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Supplementary Materials

Table 2 Shuangta site phase I thermoluminescence dates (Jilin and Jilin 2013/Beijing University)

Graph 2 Middle Neolithic radiocarbon dates

Graph 3 Late Neolithic, Bronze Age, and Iron Age radiocarbon dates

Table 3 List of petrographic analysis samples

* Frequency labels: predominant (>70%), dominant (70-50%), frequent (50-30%), common (30-15%), few (15-5%), rare (<5%), absent (0%) (Quinn 2022: 98-113).

Table 4 STP sites dataset

