

Cross-Strait Migration during the Early Neolithic Period of Taiwan

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The Taiwan Strait, a 180-kilometer-wide passage separating the Asian mainland and Taiwan, is part of the South China Sea and connects to the East China Sea on its north end. It has long been an important waterway for maritime trade. According to historical records, Chinese were engaged in maritime trade with countries as far as the Middle East, Africa, and even southern Europe departing from or passing through the Taiwan Strait during the Tang and Song dynasties (ca. 7th to 13th centuries) (Li Jinming 2015). In the Age of Discovery (ca. 15th to 18th centuries), ships from Portugal, Spain, Holland, and England navigated from Southeast Asia through the Strait to reach China and Japan (Chen Cheng-hsiang 1959). Yet, archaeological evidence shows that the Strait was a waterway for human migration as far back as the early Neolithic period of Taiwan, around 5,000 to 6,000 years ago. This chapter reviews this evidence, focusing on the Tapenkeng/Dabengkeng 大坌坑 (TPK) culture, which represents the earliest Neolithic population found thus far in Taiwan.

Chronology of Taiwan's prehistory

The earliest stage of Taiwan's prehistory is represented by the Paleolithic assemblages named Changpinian culture 長濱文化, excavated by Sung Wen-hsun 宋文薰 (1924–2016) and Lin Chao-chi 林朝榮 (1910–1985) from the cave site of Pahsientung/Baxiandong 八仙洞 in Changpin/Changbin 長濱 township on the east coast of Taiwan (Sung Wen-hsun 1969). This culture is characterized by a lithic industry consisting solely of chipped pebble and flake tools, as well as by the absence of pottery and trace of farming. According to currently available evidence, cultural remains at the site date back as early as 30,000 years BP, marking the beginning of known human occupation in Taiwan (Tsang Cheng-hwa 2018).

The second stage is the pre-ceramic culture also called Chaoyindong culture 潮音洞文化, which has recently been identified from materials excavated from a few caves of Baxiandong. It is characterized by a lithic industry, like the Paleolithic assemblages at the same site, but exhibits different diagnostic characteristics, with flake tools being more numerous, and the emergence of new types of stone artifacts, such as Sumatralith-like and edge-ground tools. Evidence of farming and pottery making remains lacking in this culture, whose age has been carbon-14 dated to around 6,000–5,000 years ago (*Ibid.*).

The third stage, the early Neolithic, is represented by the Tapenkeng culture, which is found largely along the western coastal area of Taiwan, and is typically

represented by the lower strata of the Tapenkeng site in New Taipei 新北 and the Fengpitou/Fengbitou 鳳鼻頭 site in Kaohsiung 高雄, the Pachiatsun/Bajiacun 八甲村 site in Tainan 臺南, along with the Kuoyeh/Guoye 菓葉 A site in the Penghu 澎湖 Islands. Archaeological materials from these sites, however, remain scanty. One sample of shells collected from the surface at Pachiatsun has been dated to 3700 BC (Huang Shih-chiang 1974), and five carbon-14 determinations have placed the date of the Kuoyeh A site at around 4700 BP (Tsang Cheng-hwa 1992). Recent salvage archaeology in the Tainan Science Park unearthed a large number of artifacts and ecofacts belonging to the Tapenkeng culture at the Nankuanli/Nanguanli 南關里 and Nankuanli East/Nanguanlidong 南關里東 sites (Tsang Cheng-hwa & Li Kuang-ti 2015) (A detailed description of these two sites is given below).

A series of middle and late Neolithic cultures then emerged from roughly 4,500 to 2,000 years ago. They include the Shuntanpu/Xuntangpu 訊塘埔, Yuanshan 圓山, Chihshanyen/Zhishanyan 芝山岩, and Chihwuyuen/Zhiwuyuan 植物園 cultures in the north, the Niumatou 牛罵頭, Yingpu 營埔 and Tamalin/Damalin 大馬璘 cultures in west-central Taiwan, the Niuchoutzu/Niuchouzi 牛稠子, Fengpitou and Tahu/Dahu 大湖 cultures in the south and the Peinan/Beinan 卑南, Chilin/Qilin 麒麟 and Huakangshan/Huagangshan 花岡山 cultures on the east coast. Pottery styles of these cultures were numerous and varied. Their inventories of stone artifacts consist mainly of polished rectangular adzes, hoe-axes, slate knives, net sinkers, and arrowheads. This fourth prehistoric stage is characterized by the development of intensive agriculture and larger settlements which extend across the island from the coastal plains and the lower river terraces sites of the early Neolithic and further into the interiors of the higher valleys. This phenomenon suggests population growth and adaptation to various ecological niches during this period (Tsang Cheng-hwa 2009).

The last stage of Taiwan's prehistory begins around 2000 BP as the island enters the Metal Age. Its inhabitants may be the direct ancestors of several aboriginal peoples known in ethnographical records. Although archaeological assemblages of this stage are scattered widely in divergent locations, they present some common traits in material culture: hard or soft sandy paste pottery with stamped or incised geometric designs, the appearance of glass and carnelian ornaments as well as iron implements, and a decrease in stone tools. There is evidence that these people were engaged in long-distance trade for exotic goods with the peoples of the southeast coast of China and Southeast Asia. The subsistence economy of the inhabitants appears to have been mixed. While cereal crops such as rice formed a part of their alimentation, hunting and fishing remained the dominant food sources (*Ibid.*).

As seen above, the prehistoric cultures in Taiwan present great variation in both time and space. The questions of "where did these cultures come from and why were they here?" have already become commonplace among Taiwanese archaeologists. Although it has been postulated that exchanges across the [Taiwan Strait](#) have played an important role in the formation of people and culture in Taiwan since the Neolithic period, in consideration of their complexity and diversity we need to examine more concrete archaeological evidence. This chapter thus reviews some recently discovered archaeological data and pieces together the story of a prehistoric cross-strait migration with a focus on the early Neolithic Tapenkeng culture.

The cross-strait migration of the Tapenkeng culture

The Tapenkeng culture and its significance

As mentioned above, the Tapenkeng culture apparently represents the intrusion of a new group of people from somewhere outside of Taiwan. On the basis of archaeological discoveries made at Tapenkeng in northern Taiwan, Fengpitou in southwestern Taiwan, and other relevant data, Chang Kwang-chih 張光直 (1931–2001) suggested some specific characteristics of this culture as follows:

1. It is characterized by pottery made of coarse paste and decorated with cord-marked impressions. The stone inventory includes pecked river pebbles, net sinkers, stone adzes, points, and bark beaters.
2. It is unquestionably the oldest Neolithic cultural horizon thus far found in Taiwan. It apparently antedates the subsequent prehistoric culture, which began around 2500 BC, by a considerable amount of time.
3. The subsistence base of the Tapenkeng people was hunting, fishing, and collecting, but some form of farming, such as root and fruit cultivation, was also carried out.
4. Settlements were located on marine and river terraces, not far from water.
5. The Tapenkeng culture evolved in a humid and warm subtropical-tropical environment, and shows adaptations to marine, estuarine, riverine, and lacustrine micro-environments.
6. Possible affinities include the cultures of the Jomon period 縄文時代 in Japan; cultures in South China (Xianrendong 仙人洞 [Jiangxi] and other sites), and cultures in Southeast Asia (the Kalanay complex in the Philippines) (Chang Kwang-chih 1969).

These characteristics led Chang Kwang-chih to suggest that the people of the Tapenkeng culture were among the earliest horticulturalists in Southeast Asia. Other scholars such as Ferrell (1966), Shutler and Marck (1974), Bellwood (1979), and Blust (1988) also proposed that the Tapenkeng culture represents the proto-Austronesian population, which migrated from the southeast coast of China to Taiwan. This whole region has thus been identified as “the Austronesian homeland,” even if this viewpoint has by no means gained unanimous support among archaeologists (Meacham 1988, Solheim 2006). The origin of the Tapenkeng culture and its role in the questions of Austronesian expansion remain controversial issues.

Recent archaeological discoveries of the Tapenkeng culture in Taiwan

In addition to the sites of Tapenkeng, Fengpitou, Pachiatsun and Kuoyeh A, which were all discovered before the 1980s, two new Tapenkeng culture sites, Nankuanli and Nankuanli East, both located within the Southern Taiwan Science Park 南部科學園區 (Map. 4.1) in Tainan, have recently undergone large-scale excavations as part of a rescue archaeology project.

The Nankuanli site is about 5 hectares in size. An intensive salvage excavation was carried out in September and October of 2000, with extremely abundant remains unearthed, including pottery, stone, shell, and bone tools, along with animal bones, plant remains, and human burials. The pottery primarily consists of jars and bowls, dark or reddish brown in color with cord-marked, painted, and incised decorations, which are strikingly similar in style and form to the coarse cord-marked pottery of



Map 4.1 – The location of Nankuanli (Nanguanli) and Nankuanli East (Nanguanlidong) sites in Tainan.

Kuoyeh A. Stone tools include mainly polished adzes, arrowheads, and net sinkers. The polished adzes consist of quadrangular and shouldered types. One broken stone bark-cloth beater was also found. Instead of stone knives, many reaping shell knives were recovered (Fig. 4.1). A few bone and antler artifacts were found, including points and chisels, along with ornaments of beads and pendants. A large quantity of fish, deer, pig, and dog bones as well as plant remains, mainly seeds of *Picrasma quassioides* and *Celtis sinensis*, were recovered. Especially noteworthy is the discovery of carbonized rice grains. Fourteen burials were unearthed, most with the bodies in a supine and extended posture, with their heads all pointed toward the south (Tsang Cheng-hwa & Li Kuang-ti 2015).



Figure 4.1 – Characteristic artifacts excavated from Nankuanli and Nankuanli East.

Nankuanli East is located about a few hundred meters further east. An area of about 1500 square meters was excavated, presenting similar materials to those in Nankuanli, except for the discovery of thousands of charred grains of millet, including mainly *Setaria italica* L. and *Panicum miliaceum* (Tsang Cheng-hwa & Li Kuang-ti 2015, Tsang Cheng-hwa *et al.* 2017). Carbon-14 analyses of remains obtained from the two sites date them between 5000 and 4500 BP.

These sites' abundant archaeological data undoubtedly provide further information about the settlement and subsistence patterns of the people of the Tapenkeng culture and help us trace their origin more clearly. They inhabited stilt houses on sand dunes near the beach, forming intermittent coastal settlements. Their major subsistence resources were the marine fish and shells along the shoreline, but they also hunted deer and wild boars. The discovery of carbonized rice and millet, along with several shell reaping knives and stone adzes, provide us with a concrete evidence that they also practiced rice and millet farming.

Archaeological discoveries related to the Tapenkeng culture on the west side of the Taiwan Strait

Based on currently available archaeological data, archaeologists have been able to establish a chronological sequence of the prehistoric cultures on the coastal area of Fujian. The earliest Neolithic cultural remains so far known are a small collection of potsherds as well as bone and stone tools from the Daowei 島尾 sites on an offshore islet of Liangdao 亮島 in the Matsu Islands 馬祖列島, which were carbon-14 dated around 8000 to 7000 BP. The potsherds were grayish brown in color, tempered with coarse sand and decorated with impressed designs and appliques. The stone tools found at the site were mainly chipped pointers, which were presumably used as a tool for pecking shells. Most of the bone tools are harpoons and pointers for fishing. Because of the existence of a 1,000 to 2,000-year time gap between Daowei and later sites on the Fujian coast, their cultural relationship remains unclear (Chen Chung-yu 2013).

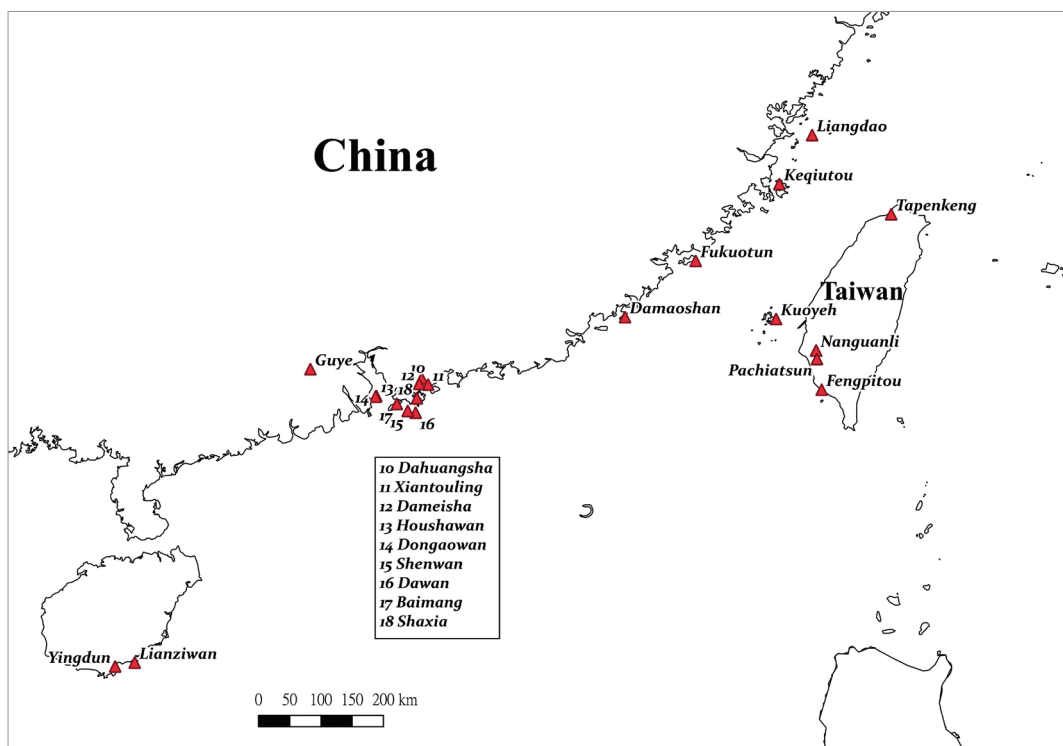
The next earliest Neolithic assemblages were from the shell mound of Fukuotun/Fuguodun 復國墩 on Kinmen (Quemoy) Island 金門島, which has been carbon-14 dated to the fifth millennium BC. Most of these sherds are thick and low fired. Their exterior and interior surfaces are red, whilst the cores are black. The most common decorative patterns are wavy lines, lines of dots, and straight lines, which were impressed by using the edges of shells or fingernails (Lin Chao-chi 1973). The stylistic status of this pottery in the prehistory of Fujian and the south-east coast of China could not be ascertained until the discovery of the Keqiutou 殼丘頭 site on Pingtan Island 平潭島. Archaeologists now know that they probably represent a distinctive earlier coastal Neolithic culture in the Fujian area. This culture is characterized by handmade gray, grayish-yellow and red pottery, which had a paste tempered with sands and shell grains, and decorated with paddled, impressed, incised, dotted, and punctuated patterns. Small roughly polished or chipped adzes comprise the major type of stone tools of this culture. Other stone tools include choppers, scrapers, points, stone hoes with perforation in the center, and stone knives. Radiocarbon determinations place the date of the Keqiutou culture at around 6500–5500 BP (Jiao Tianlong *et al.* 2009). There are clear similarities in

the cultural remains of the Keqiutou culture and the earlier phase of the Tanshishan 曇石山 culture distributed mainly in Minhou district 閩侯縣, Fujian, such as red pottery with fine sandy paste and cord-marked, incised, and painted decorations. This perhaps indicates the existence of a developmental relationship between these two cultures (*Ibid.*).

In addition to the important discoveries mentioned above, it has been reported that a Neolithic shell mound site was discovered and excavated on the southeastern slope of Damao hill 大帽山 on the offshore island of Dongshan 東山島 in southern Fujian. Most of the potsherds from the site are grayish yellow in color with fine or sandy paste and fine cord-marked impressions. Pottery vessel forms include mainly pots and jars, which were globular in shape with flared rims and low ring bases. The stone tools are all roughly polished adzes, rectangular in shape with a straight but asymmetrical cutting edge. Animal bones and shellfish remains indicate that the inhabitants of the site subsisted mainly on hunting, fishing, and collecting shellfish from the intertidal rocks and shallow waters near the seashore. Three carbon-14 dates (4600 $\pm$ 70 BP, 4500 $\pm$ 80 BP, 4285 $\pm$ 80 BP) place the dates of the site in a range close to the second phase of the Tanshishan culture (ca. 5000–4300 BP) (Fujian & Harvard 2003, Jiao Tianlong 2007).

In Guangdong, the most relevant archaeological discoveries are in the region of the Pearl River Delta 珠江三角洲. A number of archaeological sites have been scientifically surveyed and excavated, including Dahuangsha 大黃沙 (Shenzhen & Zhongshan 1990), Xiantouling 咸頭嶺 (Shenzhen 2013) and Dameisha 大梅沙 (Ye Yang 1993) in Shenzhen 深圳, Houshawan 後沙灣 (Li Ziwen 1991) and Dong'aowan 東澳灣 (Li Yan & Li Ziwen 1990) in Zhuhai 珠海, Haogang 蚝崗 in Dongguan 東莞 (Li Ziwen 1998), Heisha 黑沙 in Macau, and Sham Wan/Shenwan 深灣 (Meacham 1978), Dawan 大灣 (Tang Chung & Wong Wan-cheung 1994), Pak Mong/Baimang 白芒 (Tang Chung *et al.* 1997), Sha Ha/Shaxia 沙下 (Shaanxi & Hong Kong 2006), in Hong Kong. Recently it has also been reported that a shell midden site at Guye 古椰 in Foshan 佛山 was intensively excavated (Li Yan & Cui Yong 2019) (Map 4.2). These sites yield very important information not just about individual pottery and stone artifacts, but also about dating and archaeological data related to various facets of human life, such as the patterns of subsistence, settlement, and ecological adaptation. According to Shang Zhitan 商志譚, the prehistoric sites are not only located in the same geographical area, but also possess many common cultural characteristics (Shang Zhitan & Chen Shilong 2000). The pottery is characterized by reddish brown and grayish black colors and a sandy paste. The major forms include cooking pots and jars that are generally globular in shape with flared, everted rims and rounded bases, and decorated mainly with cord-marked impressions and incised straight lines and crosshatched lines, as well as bowls, pot-stands and plates. The latter ones are quite unique, consisting of a shallow basin with a vertical rim, rounded lip and slightly rounded base on a low ring foot which is usually decorated with perforated holes as well as painted wavy lines.

The major types of stone artifacts are polished or partially polished adzes. They are mainly elongated or trapezoid in shape. Stepped and shouldered adzes are less common. In addition, there are many polishing stones, some of them with grooved bands on the surface. Net sinkers are numerous. They are small, ovoid pebbles with



Map 4.2 – Major sites dated around 6000-5000 BP in Taiwan, Fujian, Guangdong, and Hainan.

two notches on the long sides. As for the settlement patterns, all the sites are located along the coast of the ancient sea bays and on island sandbanks. They usually have sand beaches in front, a small hill to the rear, and a nearby stream or river running into the sea. Their elevation is a few meters above sea level, and their distance from the coastline ranges from about 10 to 100 meters. The houses were probably built on piles and are randomly distributed within the settlements. Their hearths are piled up with pebbles or rocks, without specific shapes. Cultural deposits are not very thick, usually with intermittent layers, probably reflecting seasonal and scattered coastal settlements. As the Pearl River Delta region has a warm and humid climate and a variety of terrestrial and marine resources, hunting and fishing were the main economic activities, and agriculture was not well developed (*Ibid.*).

Shang Zhitan estimates that these sites date to around 6,000 years ago, correlated with and close to the dates of the development of the Pearl River Delta landscape. The Research Team for Investigating the Prehistoric Sites in the Pearl River Delta, Department of Archaeology, Peking University (北大考古系珠江三角洲史前遗址调查组) divided the sites they investigated into an earlier and a later group with a boundary line at about 4000 BP. The former is characterized by cord-marked pottery, with a few painted and white color potteries also found, and its upper limit date is about 6000 BP. No geometric pottery was ever found in this group of sites. The latter group of sites is defined by pottery with geometric designs, with a lower limit date around 3000 BP (Zhujiang 2000).

Further south, many new archaeological sites were discovered along the coast of the Gulf of Tonkin (Beibu wan 北部灣) in southern Guangxi (125 sites), in the Leizhou Peninsula 雷州半島 (20 sites), and on Hainan Island 海南島 (200 sites). These sites include early Neolithic shell mounds, middle Neolithic sand dune sites, and late Neolithic sites of the Big Spade culture (Da shichan wenhua 大石鏟文化). Among these, most of the middle Neolithic sites are located on coastal dunes, dated to around 6,000–4,000 years ago. These sites include Shigong 石貢 and Yinian 移輦 in Lingshui Li Autonomous County 陵水黎族自治縣, Yingdun 英墩 and Lianziwan 蓮子灣 in Sanya City 三亞市. They are characterized by hand-made pottery tempered with coarse sand, whose forms include cooking pots with rounded bases, jars with flat bases, bowls with ring feet, and bowls with rounded bases, as well as spindle whorls and net sinkers. The pots and jars are decorated mainly with cord-marked impressions and incised patterns, some of which have burnished surfaces or are coated with a red slip. The stone tools include mainly polished trapezoid adzes and polishing stones, and a few shouldered adzes were also found. People lived in houses with piles, forming small settlements scattered on sand dunes. Human subsistence mainly consisted of fishing and hunting of marine and terrestrial animals. These features indicate close ties with the sites of the same age on the Guangdong coast (Liao Guoyi 2006, Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan & Hainan sheng bowuguan 2016, Wang Mingzhong *et al.* 2016).

The identification of Tapenkeng cross-strait migration from the archaeological record

Comparison of the newly discovered data of the Tapenkeng culture in Taiwan and the above-mentioned archaeological materials from the Chinese southeast coast across from Taiwan enables us to identify more clearly the sourcing area of the Tapenkeng culture on the mainland (Table 4.1). The pottery styles and forms characterizing the earlier Neolithic cultures on the offshore islands of Fujian (e.g. Matsu, Kinmen, and Pingtan) as well as in the area of the Min River mouth are somewhat distinct from those of the Tapenkeng culture in Taiwan. Taking Keqiutou as an example, the pottery from this site is mostly grayish black in color, and the decoration mostly in paddled dots and impressed shell-edge patterns (Fig. 4.2). Similarities with the earlier Neolithic remains in the coast of Guangdong, particularly in the Pearl River Delta may however be discerned (Fig. 4.3). In my earlier monograph *Archaeology of the P'eng-hu Islands* (Tsang Cheng-hwa 1992), I have observed that the Kuoyeh cultural phase on Penghu, identical to the later phase of the Tapenkeng culture in Taiwan, is comparable in many aspects with the Neolithic culture characterized by cord-marked pottery on the Guangdong coast. In addition to the similarities of pottery styles, including shapes and decorations of cord-marked impression as well as incised and painting designs, the stone artifact types are also mainly the same. Yet, even more important is the accordance in dating, lifeways, and patterns of adaptation (Table 4.1). Therefore, looking from the overall cultural characteristics and configurations, we may speculate that the Kuoyeh phase culture of the Penghu Islands most likely originated from the Guangdong coast.

Archaeological data from the recently excavated Nankuanli and Nankuanli East sites appears to further support my earlier view. As discussed in earlier articles

Cultural characteristics	Taiwan	Guangdong coast and Pearl River Delta	Guangxi coast and Hainan Island
Tool kits	<i>Pottery:</i> jars and bowls, dark or reddish brown in color with cord-marked, painted, and incised decorations. <i>Stone tools:</i> polished adzes, arrowheads, net sinkers and bark beater.	<i>Pottery:</i> jars, bowls, plates, and pot-stands, reddish brown and grayish black in color, decorated with cord-marked impressions and incised straight lines and crosshatched lines. <i>Stone tools:</i> polished or partially polished adzes, mainly elongated or trapezoid in shape. Net sinkers are numerous.	<i>Pottery:</i> pots and jars decorated mainly with cord-marked impressions and incised patterns, some of which have burnished surfaces or are coated with a red slip. <i>Stone tools:</i> mainly polished trapezoid adzes and polishing stones.
Settlement pattern	Habitation on sand dunes near the beach, forming intermittent coastal settlements, stilt houses.	Seasonal and scattered settlements located along the coast of the sea bays and on island sandbanks. Houses probably built on piles.	Habitation on sand dunes near the beach. House types not yet clear.
Subsistence pattern	Mainly fishing and hunting of marine and terrestrial animals, practicing also rice and millet farming.	Mainly fishing and hunting of marine and terrestrial animals.	Mainly fishing and hunting of marine and terrestrial animals.
Adaptation pattern	Adaption to marine environments.	Adaption to marine environments.	Adaption to marine environments.

Table 4.1 – Comparison of cultural characteristics between Taiwan, the Guangdong coast and the Pearl River Delta, and the Guangxi coast and Hainan Island during the Neolithic period around 6,000 to 4,000 years ago.

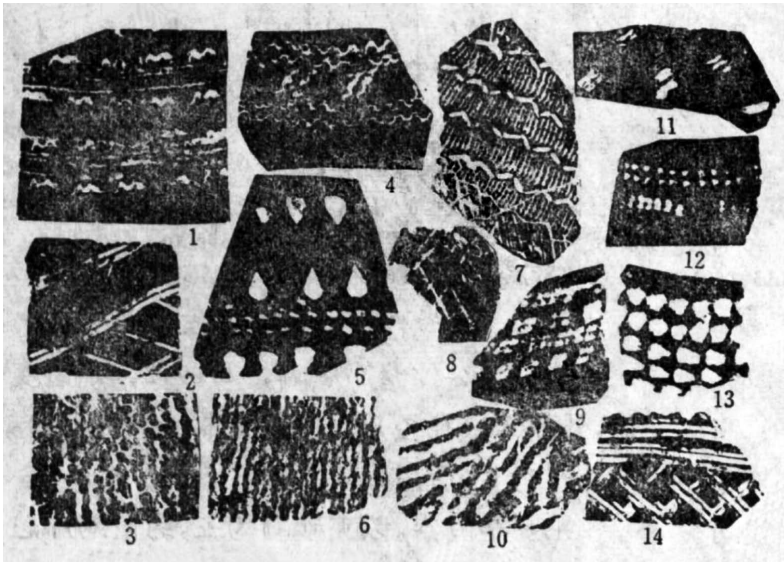


Figure 4.2 – Decorative patterns on the Keqiutou site’s pottery (Fujian sheng bowuguan 2011).

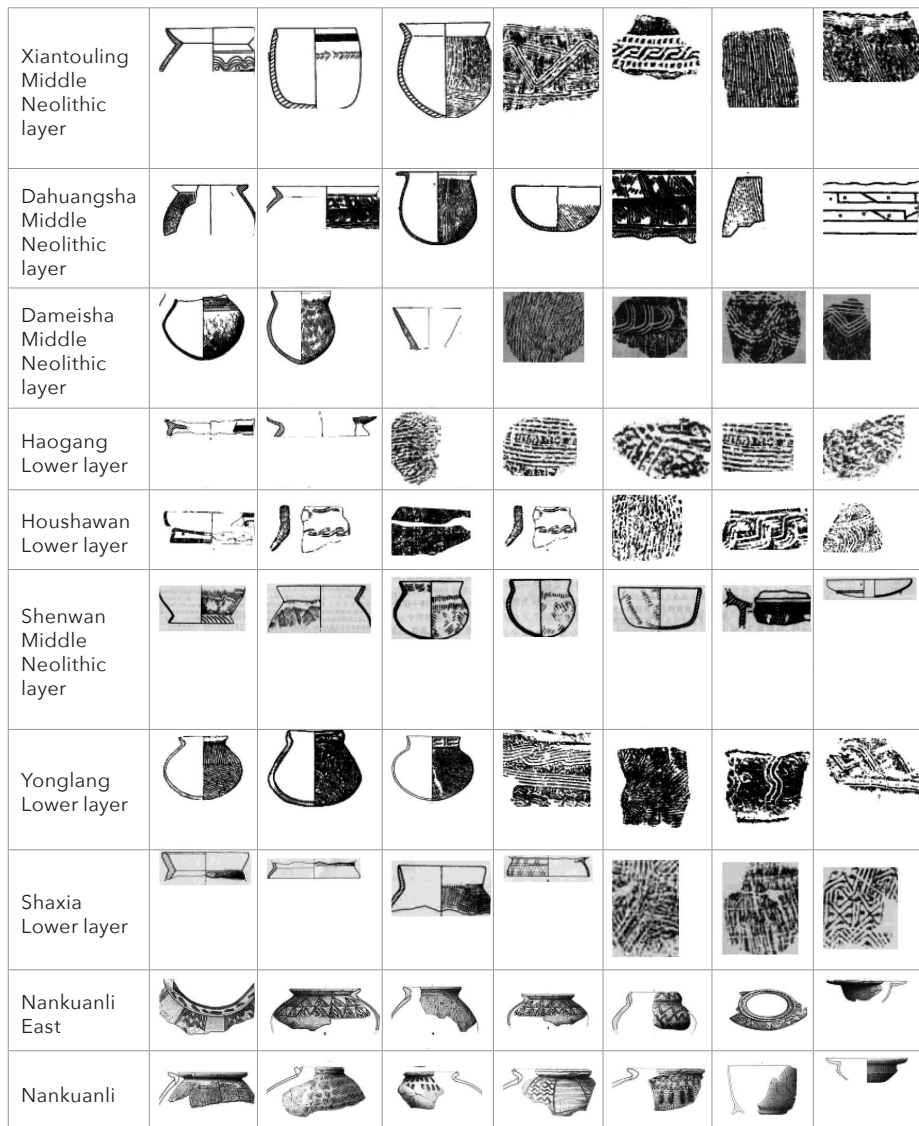


Figure 4.3 – Comparison of the pottery styles of Nankuanli and Nankuanli East with the sites in the Pearl River Delta (vessels forms and surface decorations).

(Tsang Cheng-hwa 2005b, 2012), I have noted that based on the characteristics of the archaeological remains, the Tapenkeng culture in Taiwan probably has a close relationship with the Neolithic cultures in the Pearl River Delta as well. The pottery styles from these two sites share many common traits with those from the sand dune settlements in the Pearl River Delta (Fig. 4.3). These shared features include the pastes, forms, and decorations of the pots and jars from the sand dune sites, such as Dahuangsha, Xiantouling (Shenzhen & Zhongshan 1990, Shenzhen 2013) and other sites in Hong Kong and Zhuhai (Tang Chung & Wong Wan-cheung 1994, Wu Zengde & Ye Yang 1994).

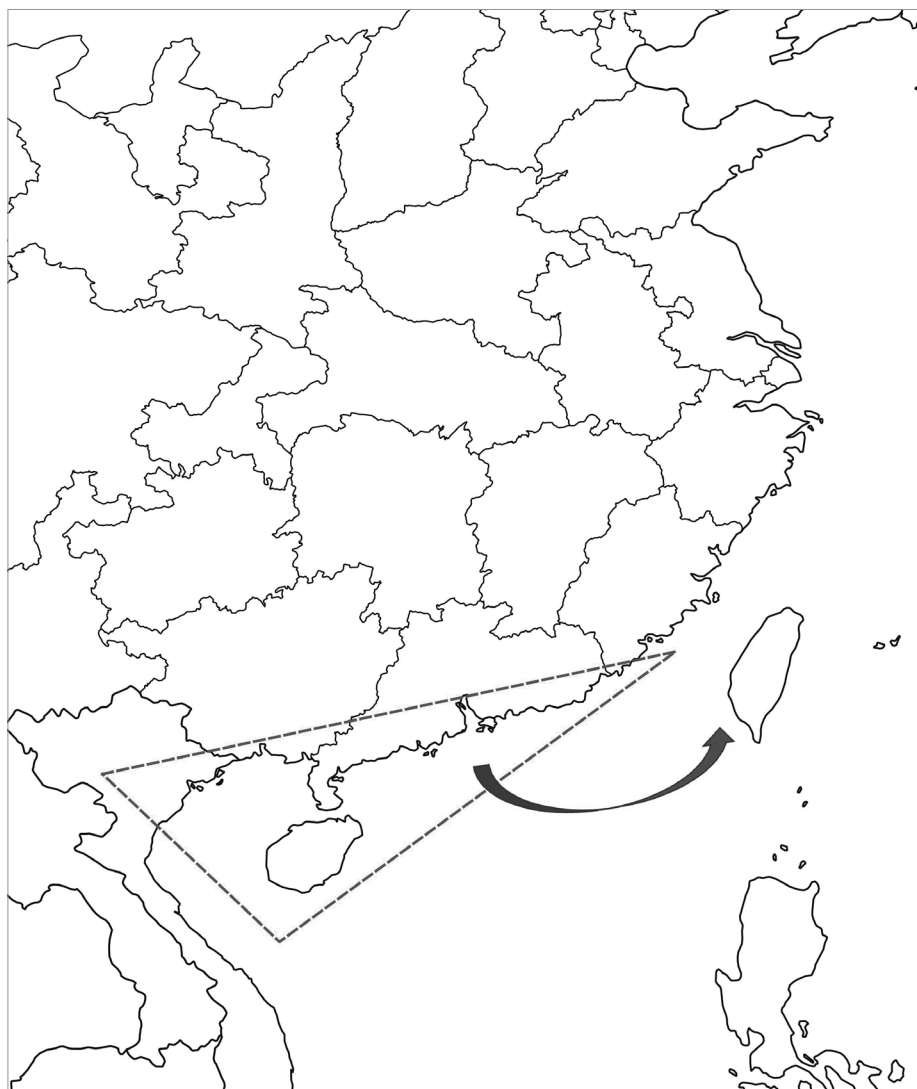
Therefore, it is reasonable to speculate that the Pearl River Delta had close links with Tapenkeng culture. However, I would also suggest that the link probably extended to a wider coastal area from the Pearl River Delta down to the coastal areas of the Tonkin Gulf, because archaeological materials similar to those of the Pearl River Delta and Taiwan's Tapenkeng culture are also found in the southern coast of Guangxi, the Leizhou Peninsula, and Hainan Island (Hao Side & Wang Daxin 2003, Hao Side & Wang Mingzhong 2004). These materials show that, ca. 6000–5000 BP, the prehistoric cultures distributed along these coastlines exhibited considerable uniformity in their tool kits, as well as settlement and subsistence patterns. Particularly, with settlements largely concentrated along the coasts, populations developed strategies to optimize the extensive exploitation of marine resources that became one of the most crucial ingredients of the inhabitants' livelihood.

Causes for migration

Based on the above discussion, it appears reasonable to speculate that the Tapenkeng culture is most probably the culture of Neolithic immigrants from the southern coast of China during the period 6000–5000 BP (Map 4.3). As mentioned earlier, some scholars have linked this phenomenon with the earliest expansion of the proto-Austronesian-speaking people to Taiwan from the Asian mainland. To explain this expansion phenomenon, several hypotheses have been proposed, such as pressure from population increase caused by the development of agriculture (Bellwood 1979), pressure from human groups coming from northern regions (Chang Kwang-chih 1989c), or motivation for regional interaction or maritime trade (Jiao Tianlong 2007). Based on presently available archaeological materials, I find it unlikely that these hypotheses could have been the major reasons for the migration of the early Neolithic coastal people to Taiwan. Instead, the specialized adaptation to maritime environments, even though they may have already possessed to some degree the knowledge and skill of farming, may have been major factor in propelling the spread of these populations.

The peoples living close to the coast moved with relative ease on account of such factors as the seasonality of their food resources, the movement of fishing grounds, the advances in maritime technology, and geomorphologic changes brought about by natural factors such as marine erosion and dune formation (Huang Guangqing 1996, Xiao Yiting 2002, Cheng Ling 2015, Zhang Chi & Hung Hsiao-chun 2016). In this way, they differed from their more sedentary and more fully agricultural neighbors further inland. Thus, we may imagine how, about 6,000–5,000 years ago, the ancestors of the Austronesians, living along the present southern coast of China were probably incessantly on the move along the shorelines or on the sea by sailing canoes searching for new habitats. Whether it was because their original habitats had been occupied by the more advanced northerly cultures, or because the maritime currents carried them eastward, sooner or later they were bound to reach the island of Taiwan, which is one of the closest to the mainland, as well as expanding further southward along the continental shoreline. Continuing this expansion process through the generations, they eventually became masters of the Pacific Ocean.

Linguists such as H. A. Kern and Robert Blust have inferred from the vocabulary of the proto-Austronesian languages that the ancestors of the Austronesians lived in a tropical coastal environment, and that the populations of that time already



Map 4.3 – Possible source area of the cross-strait migration to Taiwan during the period around 5,000 years ago.

cultivated yam, taro, rice, millet, and fruits, but also practiced fishing and hunting. Their material culture comprised ceramics as well as stone, wood, and bamboo artifacts, weaving, pile dwellings, tapa, and the extensive use of seashells. They possessed highly developed seafaring techniques (Li Jen-kuei 1979). Such linguistic inferences have already to a large extent been borne out by archaeological materials along the south and southeastern coast of China. They also corroborate my emphasis on maritime adaptation.

Post-migration adaptation and lifeways

If the people of the Tapenkeng culture indeed migrated from the Asian mainland to Taiwan 6,000 to 5,000 years ago, the first challenge they faced as soon as they

landed on the island was where to settle down. They then had to adapt to the new environments. In an earlier article (2013), I have proposed that the migrants' selection of settlement location was likely based on three environment-related criteria:

1. the new settlement would be consistent with the settlers' memory of their ancestral landscapes;
2. the location should be able to provide sufficient resources for them to survive;
3. they should find it easy to adapt to and leverage the environment.

The Tapenkeng culture sites found recently around Taiwan and the abundant archaeological remains unearthed from Nankuanli and Nankuanli East provide us with very significant clues for our understanding of the post-migration adaptation of the Tapenkeng settlers.

1. Looking for similar settlement landscapes

As aforementioned, the Tapenkeng culture has been widely discovered in the north, central, southwest, and east coast areas in Taiwan. Most of the sites are situated on sand dunes along ancient coastlines, or slopes or lower river terraces near the coasts, all of which were environmentally identical to the original habitats of the immigrants from the mainland: the locations of the sites have wide sand beaches on one side and low hills on the other, and they are usually situated between the altitude of a few meters, and have streams or rivers flowing into the sea nearby. The houses were built on piles.

2. Exploitation of affluent natural resources

Archeological data unearthed from Nankuanli and Nankuanli East show that when people selected their settlement locations, the availability of survival resources was an important consideration. Geological drilling has revealed that both sites are situated on the ancient estuarine delta of the Zenwun/Zengwen River 曾文溪. They thus had a seaside environment which is half freshwater, and partly freshwater swamp. A diverse array of biological fossils was discovered at the sites. Marine animal bones comprise the largest percentage of biological finds, followed by land mammals. Amphibians and reptiles rank third, and birds last. Among marine animals, shellfish and fish make up the largest proportion. Shellfish include oyster, corbicula, hard-shelled clam, and batillaria, all found at river mouths or in tidal zones. Fish include banded grunter, brown croaker (Mi-iuy croaker), blowfish, bull heads, carp, *Clarias fuscus*, greenback mullet, groupers, *Johnius grypotus*, *Lates calcarifer*, *Otolithes ruber*, parrot fishes, pike eel, *Pristis cuspidatus* Latham, *Psephoderma*, sawfish, sea catfish, shark, sparidae, sting rays, thunnus, yellow croaker, and yellowfin sea bream. Land animals, the second largest group, include 10 species: deer, pigs, dogs, clouded leopards, rabbits, Reeve's muntjacs, mice, Formosan masked civet, bats, and cats. Reptiles include turtles, soft-shelled turtles, snakes, and frogs. Some bird remains were also found on site, but the quantity is quite small. As for plant remains, large amounts of carbonized rice and millet grains, as well as coix seed and beans, were discovered. These discoveries show that the people enjoyed a diverse and abundant food supply and daily necessities. Evidence of these abundant resources reflects the fact that these communities clearly possessed knowledge of what resources the environment could offer (Tsang Cheng-hwa & Li Kuang-ti 2015, Tsang Cheng-hwa *et al.* 2010, in press).

3. Well-adapted to their environments

Large amounts of marine-related resource items unearthed from the Tapenkeng culture sites demonstrate that the people frequently engaged in maritime activities. They not only collected shellfish along the shoreline, at river mouths, and in neritic zones, but also fished inshore. In addition, the people of the Tapenkeng culture explored and used marine resources from surrounding areas and took advantage of their seafaring skills to mine raw materials of rock for making stone tools from places located at a distance. The stone artifacts excavated from Nankuanli and Nankuanli East were made of different stone materials. Axes and hoes were made of basalt, adzes and chisels were made of basalt, metabasalt, andesite, sandstone, and nephrite, and arrowheads were made of slate and nephrite. These stone raw materials were largely collected from the Penghu archipelago and Taiwan's east coast (Tsang Cheng-hwa & Li Kuang-ti 2015). Apparently, the seafaring skill possessed by the Tapenkeng people help them adapt well to living on the island of Taiwan.

Concluding remarks

Based on the analyses of the recently discovered Tapenkeng culture sites, Nankuanli and Nankuanli East, and the abundant archaeological materials unearthed from them, we can identify a prehistoric cross-strait migration from what is now China's southeast coast to Taiwan around 6000 to 5000 BP. Archaeological data shows that the prehistoric cultures distributed along the coasts of Pearl River Delta, Hainan, and the Tonkin Gulf not only had close cultural affinities with the Tapenkeng culture in Taiwan, but also exhibited considerable uniformity in their strategies of extensively exploiting the marine resources. We may therefore speculate that the cross-strait migration was presumably caused by these extensive marine exploitation activities. After having settled in their new lands, these early Neolithic people of Taiwan most likely lived a life of abundance along the coastlines. They had sufficient knowledge of their surroundings and adapted to them well. They were not only able to collect and cultivate food resources in surrounding areas, but also to seek and exploit exotic goods from places located at a distance. These groups of people inhabited Taiwan for more than a thousand years until about 4,500 years ago, when the Tapenkeng culture was transformed into a later cultural phase.

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