NATIONAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

KWANG-CHIH CHANG

1931-2001

A Biographical Memoir by

ROBERT E. MUROWCHICK

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April 15, 1931–January 3, 2001

BY ROBERT E. MUROWCHICK

FOR MORE THAN 40 YEARS Kwang-chih Chang bridged East and West with his scholarship serving as the main doorway through which Western scholars and students could approach the archaeology of ancient China as that country moved from isolation to full international collaboration in the study of its past. With a modest smile and well-known aversion to pretentiousness, Chang transformed our understanding of early Chinese and East Asian history by integrating traditional historiography with American anthropological archaeology, and by using Asian data to challenge long-held Western ideas about the rise of agriculture, urbanism, and kingship. Chang's introduction of interdisciplinary field methods in his excavations in Taiwan brought new understanding of cultural and environmental change. The bonds he forged with mainland scholars helped pave the way for the new era of international cooperation in Chinese fieldwork we see

today. Chang was a student of many of the giants in the fields of archaeology, anthropology, and ethnology, and he in turn trained multiple generations of students who carry forward both his research interests and his love for teaching.

Kwang-chih Chang, or "K.C." as he was known among his Western colleagues, was born on April 15, 1931, in Beijing (then Beiping), China. His father, Chang Wo-chün (Zhang Wojun, 1902-1955), was a prolific writer and poet from Banqiao, just west of Taipei, who promoted the use of bai hua (vernacular Chinese) in literature rather than the less accessible Classical Chinese. Chang Wo-chün traveled to Shanghai in 1923 to pursue his interests in literary reform in Taiwan, part of the broad progressive cultural movements sweeping China at that time but stifled in Taiwan under the Japanese colonial administration. In 1924 he moved to Beijing to study at National Beiping Normal University and to write bai hua poetry and essays. It was here that he met Lo Hsin-hsiang (Luo Xinxiang), a student at the same school, and they eloped to Taipei to marry in September 1925, returning to Beijing in June 1926. Chang Wo-chün taught Japanese at National Beiping Normal University while his wife earned her degree in teaching at National Beiping Normal University for Women in 1931. They had four sons: Kwang-cheng (b. 1926), Kwang-chih (1931-2001), Kwang-ch'eng (1937-1999), and Kwang-p'u (b. 1942). In Beijing, Kwang-chih attended two of the city's most academically challenging schools attached to National

Teachers University, the Second Affiliated Primary School from 1937 to 1943, and the Affiliated Middle School for Boys from 1943 to 1946. In 1946 Chang Wo-chün and most of his family moved back to Taiwan, which after the war was once again under Nationalist Chinese control. Their oldest son, Kwang-cheng, stayed in Beijing, having joined the Red Army the year before, eventually rising to a military position that would preclude any contact with K.C. for the next 35 years *(Falkenhausen, 2001, p. 122)*.

During the late 1940s, as the political and military fortunes of China's ruling Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang (KMT), faltered in the face of an increasingly powerful and popular communist opposition, the KMT's anticommunist campaigns became more and more brutal, both on the mainland and on the island of Taiwan. On February 28, 1947, in what would become known as the "February 28 Incident," local demonstrations in Taipei against KMT political corruption and economic oppression were met with a savage KMT response over the ensuing weeks, with some 10,000 or more citizens massacred across the island. The crackdown continued for some time, and in April 1949 the KMT organized a broad campaign to root out communist "bandit spies" among Taiwan's academic community who were allegedly involved in the February 28 Incident. More than 200 student suspects were arrested at National Taiwan University, many of whom were executed or simply "disappeared." K.C.—still only a high school student—was labeled a communist sympathizer, perhaps because as a middle school student he had written a number of essays that reflected leftist leanings, possibly influenced by several of his teachers and classmates who

A young K.C . Chang stands behind his mentor, Li Chi, the original excavator of the Shang urban site at Anyang.

were sympathetic to the communist revolution stirring in China. K.C was arrested and spent much of the next year in prison (he was finally released in March 1950), an experience described in detail in his memoirs about his childhood *(Chang, 1998)*. As one of K.C.'s former graduate students would later describe *(Falkenhausen, 2001, p. 122)*,

K.C. Chang emerged from imprisonment shaken, but not cynical. Perhaps his greatest human achievement—fundamental to all his later accomplishments as a scholar and teacher—lay in not allowing the horrible memories to break his spirit, make him withdraw into a world of his own, or become embittered. At the end of his life, he was to display that same resilience and strength of mind [during his long battle with Parkinson's disease.]

In the fall of 1950 K.C. enrolled as a freshman in the first cohort of the newly established Department of Archaeology and

Anthropology at National Taiwan University (NTU). There were several reasons for his growing interests in archaeology. When K.C. was very young, he and his elder brother slept in their father's study, and one book that caught his attention was *A General Introduction to Anthropology*, by the Japanese scholar Nishimura Shinji (1879-1943) and translated into Chinese by K.C.'s father in 1931. As K.C. would later relate *(Ferrie, 1995, p. 308)*

The contents of this book fascinated me, and I read every word of it most carefully. My contemporaries saw anthropology as some strange, esoteric discipline that dealt with weird antique shops, but I learned more about it through this book and was deeply attracted to archaeology.

The founder and chair of the department, Prof. Li Chi (1896-1979), widely regarded as the founding father of Chinese archaeology and director of the seminal excavations at the Shang dynastic capital city at Anyang from 1928 to 1937, accepted K.C.'s registration card without comment. When asked by the dean of the College of Arts why he had selected archaeology as his major—certainly an unusual choice among NTU students—K.C. replied, "Because it is fun." Satisfied, the dean smiled and said, "That is a good enough reason. Study hard. Do well." *(Ferrie, 1995, p. 308)*. In his own memoirs (1998), however, K.C. suggests that it was his experience in prison as a young student and his ambivalence about being able to assess "good" and "evil," that evoked a strong interest in how people conduct themselves in different situations and broader anthropological questions.

K.C. studied at NTU from October 1950 to July 1954[1] with faculty in archaeology and anthropology who had moved, along with their research institutes, to Taiwan

in 1948 and 1949 as control of the mainland shifted to the communists. In addition to Prof. Li Chi, the NTU archaeology faculty included a number of Li's colleagues from the Anyang excavations who had moved with Academia Sinica to Taiwan: Tung Tso-pin (Dong Zuobin, 1895-1963), Shih Chang-ju (Shi Zhangru, 1900-2004), and Kao Ch'ü-hs'ün (Gao Quxun, 1909-1991). Their courses focused on the archaeology of Bronze Age China and its historical texts, particularly those of the Shang period. One of K.C.'s most influential teachers at NTU was the eminent comparative ethnographer Ling Shun-sheng (Ling Chunsheng, 1902-1981), who would later found the Institute of Ethnology at Academia Sinica, and whose particular interests in the ethnography of Taiwan and circum-Pacific cultural contact no doubt helped to lay the foundations for K.C.'s own strong interests in these areas.

He excelled in his coursework, winning in 1952 the Fu Ssu-nien Award for academic excellence at NTU. His undergraduate years also showcased his ability for scholarly productivity, as he published at least 15 scholarly articles or book reviews while still an undergraduate.

At NTU, where Li Chi had introduced Western four-field anthropology, K.C. took courses in ethnology, Chinese ethnography, Chinese archaeology, physical anthropology, linguistics (with historical linguist Tung T'ung-ho), ethnological methods, anthropometry, and American ethnography, in addition to courses in palaeography, Chinese and Western history,

and geography. While at NTU, K.C. also received his first training in archaeological excavation under Prof. Shih Chang-ju and other faculty members, taking part in the archaeological survey of the island of Taiwan, and excavations at the late Neolithic Yuanshan shell mound near Taipei, as well as other sites *(Chang, 1956b)*. He excelled in his coursework, winning in 1952 the Fu Ssu-nien Award[2] for academic excellence at NTU. His undergraduate years also showcased his ability for scholarly productivity, as he published at least 15 scholarly articles or book reviews while still an undergraduate.

A fortuitous series of meetings while K.C. Chang was an undergraduate had important ramifications both for his career and for Mesoamerican archaeology. Michael Coe, a member of the National Academy of Sciences, relates in his memoirs *(Coe, 2006)* that after he earned his B.A. at Harvard in 1950, his professor Clyde Kluckhohn urged him to join the CIA. Coe agreed, joining the agency's Taipei office in January 1952. With his archaeological background, Coe came armed with a letter of introduction from Harvard physical anthropologist Earnest Hooten to Hooten's former student, Li Chi, who had earned his anthropology Ph.D. at Harvard in 1923. Li introduced Coe to his students at NTU, including sophomore Kwang-chih Chang. Li Chi persuaded Coe to give some talks at NTU on Maya archaeology, reigniting scholarly interests that had begun to wane since leaving Harvard.

"Li Chi and all these Chinese friends like Kwang-chih," Coe would write, "had reintroduced me to an intellectual world that I had almost forgotten." Coe and

Chang, only two years apart in age, would become lifelong friends and colleagues at Yale.

Following K.C.'s graduation from NTU and a year of mandatory military service, he came to Harvard in September 1955 with $50 in his pocket and a single suitcase filled mostly with books. At NTU in 1954 Li Chi had urged K.C. to apply to Harvard and had helped to persuade the Harvard-Yenching Institute[3] to grant K.C. a fellowship. K.C. lived frugally, reportedly sending half of his stipend back to Taipei to help support his family there, his father having died of liver cancer in November 1955, only two months after K.C. entered Harvard. While in graduate school, K.C. supplemented his income with part-time work, including as a night watchman and dishwasher during the summer of 1956 at the Oak Crest Inn in Falmouth Heights on Cape Cod.[4]

During his graduate studies at Harvard from 1955 to1960, K.C. made the most of the breadth and depth of its anthropology faculty. He studied Middle American anthropology with cultural anthropologist Evon Vogt, and early technologies with archaeologist John Otis Brew, who specialized in the American Southwest. K.C.'s four courses with Douglas L. Oliver included "Analysis and Comparison of Nonliterate Cultures," "Structural Analysis of Primitive Societies," and a graduate seminar on the anthropology of Oceania. K.C. also studied the ethnology of the American Southwest with Clyde Kluckhohn, whose sharp criticism of the practice of American archaeology, particularly in Mesoamerica, impressed upon K.C. the need to work with diverse, interdisciplinary

sets of data in order to fully understand the complexities of human interaction *(Ferrie, 1995, p. 310)*. "[It was Kluckhohn]," K.C. would later write *(Chang 1967, p. xi)*, "who inspired my inability to be impressed by established authorities and my penchant for asking seemingly ridiculous questions." At the urging of his teachers Chang revised his term paper on San Juan Anasazi social organization he had written for Kluckhohn's spring 1957 course. It was published soon thereafter in *American Anthropologist* (*Chang, 1958a*), becoming an important contribution to the recognition and characterization of social organization in the archaeological record.

Chang's closest faculty relationships at Harvard, however, were with archaeologists Hallam Movius Jr. and Gordon R. Willey. He took eight courses with Movius, a specialist in the Paleolithic archaeology of Asia who had joined Helmut de Terra and Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's Joint American Southeast Asiatic Expedition for Early Man during the 1937-1938 season in the Irrawaddy Valley of Upper Burma, leading to the recognition of a new Lower Paleolithic cultural sequence in Asia. K.C.'s courses with him included surveys of Old World and Asian pre- and protohistoric cultures, Old World Paleolithic archaeology (in which students compiled updated regional bibliographies of Paleolithic archaeology, reportedly rewarded by Movius at the end of the semester with ice cream bars), and a fall 1956 course on environmental reconstruction in archaeology for which K.C. wrote a 60-page term paper, "Habitat and Animal-Food Gathering Economy of the Northeastern Palaeo-Siberians: A Preliminary Study." K.C. spent the summer of

1959 excavating with Movius at the Upper Paleolithic rock shelter of Abri Pataud, near the town of Les Eyzies in the Dordogne Valley, France. Movius's fieldwork and passion for Paleolithic archaeology instilled in K.C. a keen, lifelong interest in this field, one that would manifest itself in a number of incisive articles on the Chinese Paleolithic, in the thorough Paleolithic archaeology sections of the four editions of *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, and in his later interests in parallel cultural developments in East Asia and the New World that might be explained by a common Paleolithic substratum.

In addition to Movius, K.C. developed a very close relationship with Gordon Willey, another member of the National Academy of Sciences. In the spring of 1957 Chang took two classes with him, covering the archaeology and ethnography of Central and South America. K.C. was excited by Willey's work on settlement archaeology in the Viru Valley of Peru *(Willey, 1953, 1956)* and by other concepts emerging at that time in American archaeology, such as "traditions" and "horizons" *(Willey and Phillips, 1958)*. He recognized that these concepts could be fruitfully applied to Chinese archaeology. These interests quickly evolved into K.C.'s doctoral dissertation, "Prehistoric Settlements in China: A Study in Archaeological Method and Theory." Although K.C. had excavation experience, (in Taiwan as an undergraduate; during the summer of 1958 with visits to Emil Haury's University of Arizona Archaeological Field School at Point of Pines in Arizona, and to the Peabody Museum's Lower Mississippi Survey; and with Movius at Abri Pataud in 1959) his dissertation was a library thesis

that explored settlement patterns and social organization in the Neolithic "nuclear area" of the North China Plain. Chaired by Willey, his thesis committee also included Movius and Lauriston Ward, a ceramics specialist and the Peabody Museum's curator of Asiatic archaeology. Clyde Kluckhohn joined the committee with Ward's death on February 1, 1960 ("I lost an intellectual guardian and a warm friend with the death of Mr. Lauriston Ward," K.C. would write in dedicating his thesis to Ward). K.C. completed his thesis in the spring of 1960 and, as one might expect, his ideas about a North China "nuclear area" would evolve substantially with the increasing publication of Chinese archaeological data beginning in the early 1970s. K.C.'s continuing interests in settlement patterns are evident in his edited volume

K.C. Chang as a graduate student at Harvard's Peabody Museum.

Settlement Archaeology (Chang, 1968a), including his introductory essay in that volume, "Toward a Science of Prehistoric Society."

K.C.'s five years of graduate studies at Harvard exposed him to many rapidly developing theoretical approaches in American archaeology, and he quickly recognized the potential for their application in the study of ancient China. In addition to his coursework, he was an unbelievably productive scholar during his graduate years, publishing some 24 articles and reviews between 1955 and 1960. It was during this time too that his teachers and other colleagues helped him engage with a broad international sphere of rising scholars. Shortly after arriving at Harvard, K.C. was invited to join the North American and Hawaiian Branch of the Far-Eastern Prehistory Association (FEPA), which was established in 1953 as an outgrowth of the earlier Far Eastern Prehistory Congresses that began in 1929. Involvement with FEPA while a graduate student brought K.C. into close contact with Wilhelm G. Solheim II, Chester Chard, Robert Hackenberg, Dick Shutler, and other key American scholars of Asian archaeology, and FEPA's fledgling journal, *Asian Perspectives*, provided an important publication venue for K.C.'s early scholarship, particularly on the archaeology of Taiwan *(e.g., Chang, 1958b,c)*.

Upon completing his thesis, K.C. was hired by Harvard during 1960-1961 as lecturer and acting head tutor in anthropology, gaining valuable teaching experience overseeing the junior and senior tutorials, and offering a new course, "Anthropology 111: Archaeology of Asia in Prehistoric and Early Historic Times," which focused on northern and eastern Asia, and a new seminar,

"Anthropology 222: Analysis and Comparison of Prehistoric Settlements," which drew on case studies worldwide. K.C.'s growing recognition as a rising young star in Asian archaeology and in archaeological theory is shown by his invitation to participate in the Wenner-Gren Foundation symposium "From 15,000 B.C. to the Thresholds of Urban Civilizations: A World-Wide Consideration of Cultural Alternatives," held at Burg Wartenstein, Austria, in July 1960 and cochaired by Robert Braidwood and Gordon Willey. The papers by and discussions among the international list of esteemed participants—K.C. was by far the youngest among a veritable constellation of senior stars—focused on the variation of cultural development leading to the thresholds of urban civilizations. The papers from this conference were published as volume 32 of Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology *(Chang, 1962)*.

Movius was very interested in finding a more permanent faculty position for K.C. at Harvard beyond his one-year appointment in 1960-1961, but his ability to press for this was hindered by his being 3,500 miles away at Abri Pataud. During that year, Yale was seeking to fill a junior position in Palaeolithic archaeology that had been variously described to Movius as an Old World Paleolithic position ("someone to carry on the 'MacCurdy tradition")[5] and then as a Near Eastern position, and he therefore assumed that K.C. would not be a likely candidate. Fortuitously, Michael Coe had joined the Yale faculty earlier that fall, and when Cornelius Osgood, curator of anthropology at Yale's Peabody Museum from 1934 to 1973, asked Coe if he knew of any

good candidates for the open position, he recommended that K.C. be considered. Osgood and Irving ("Ben") Rouse, chair of the anthropology department, brought K.C. for an interview and in February 1961 offered him an appointment.

K.C. Chang joined the Yale faculty and Yale Peabody Museum curatorial staff that fall, moving to New Haven in 1961 with his wife, Hwei Li, an anthropology classmate from National Taiwan University, who had come to the United States in 1956 to study and work at Columbia University; they wed in May 1957. While briefly weighing other opportunities at Princeton, Wisconsin, Hawaii, and Cornell during the subsequent years, K.C. stayed at Yale at the urging of Movius, attaining the rank of assistant professor in 1963, associate professor in 1966, and full professor in 1969. He served as chair of Yale's anthropology department from 1970 to 1973, as well as chair of Yale's Council on East Asian Studies (1975-1977) and as a trustee for the Yale-China Association in the late 1970s.[6]

During late 1976 and early 1977, K.C. was entertaining a possible offer from Harvard to rejoin the anthropology department there. K.C. was attracted to the idea of returning to the "home" where he had spent so many enjoyable and productive years as a student, "to walk the same corridors" where he had studied with Movius and Willey. Many close friends and colleagues at Yale tried to talk K.C. out of leaving, and Kingman Brewster, Yale's president, even offered K.C. a Sterling Chair[7]—Yale's most prestigious academic rank. In a fascinating exchange of correspondence between Brewster and Chang in late January 1977—before a firm offer from Harvard

had yet been received—K.C., with his characteristic concern for honor, appearance, and doing the right thing, explained to Yale's president why it was impossible for him to accept Brewster's unexpected offer.[8]

Dear Kingman,

Your letter of January 30th honors me enormously. I am extremely grateful that I am held in such high regard by my admired and respected chief. I only hope I deserve it. . . This thing has gone too far now for me not to see it through, one way or the other, in good faith. When and if they make their invitation official, the confidence you have shown in me by taking such an extraordinary step will weigh very heavily in my deliberations.

But if then I decide to stay [at Yale], then I cannot accept this great honor, at least within the years it will take to totally eradicate the seeming connection between the Harvard offer and the Sterling chair. You and I both know it ain't so, but my colleagues, here and at Harvard, will be convinced, no matter what, that K.C. got himself a distinguished chair by playing John against Eli. I know my colleagues well; they are only human. And I care about what they think for a very practical reason: I can remain to be an effective member of this community only if I remain as my old self. And I would want to remain an effective member to serve you and serve Yale.

If I should decide to leave, it will be primarily because of my belief that such a move would spur me on to new levels of personal growth…

I feel sure that you will understand the reasons for this long-winded letter. This has been an agonizing deliberation—done entirely alone, without even the benefit of advice from my wife—but I must say that the agony is of the pleasant kind and that the alternatives are clear-cut. I am almost praying that Harvard is having second thoughts about the wisdom of what they are doing.

A formal offer did come from Harvard, which K.C. accepted on March 24, 1977, resigning from Yale effective June 30. He was appointed as professor of anthropology and curator of East Asian archaeology in Harvard's Peabody Museum. He served as chair of the anthropology department from 1981 to 1984, and was appointed the John E. Hudson Professor of Archaeology[9] on July 1, 1984, from which he retired on June 30, 1996, as the debilitating effects of his Parkinson's disease affected both his mobility and his speech, but certainly not his clarity of thought and sense of humor. "As I said to the Dean," K.C. wrote to Harvard President Neil Rudenstine announcing his retirement plans, "I consider it the highest honor for any academic to retire as a Harvard professor—at least in the hearts of some diehard Harvard partisans and I confess to be one of them."[10]

K.C. Chang's breadth and depth of scholarship is reflected in his more than three hundred scholarly publications. While primarily associated with the archaeology of China, his earliest field projects and some of his most enduring legacies are on the archaeology of Taiwan. At the urging of Hal Movius that he embark on a new field project soon after he joined the Yale faculty, K.C. ignored Movius's suggestion that he join Yale anthropologist Hal Conklin in the field in the Philippines, choosing instead to return to Taiwan to conduct excavations in 1964-1965 at the prehistoric sites of Tapenkeng (at the northern tip of the island) and at Fengpitou (in southern Taiwan) to explore the development of horticulture through archaeological excavation and interdisciplinary environmental reconstruction. The resulting book,

Fengpitou, Tapenkeng and the Prehistory of Taiwan (Chang, 1969), presented the results of the fieldwork and, more importantly, examined Taiwan's prehistoric relationship with southeastern China and with island and mainland Southeast Asia, bringing many key issues in Taiwan archaeology to the attention of English-reading archaeologists for the first time.

K.C. developed an even more ambitious interdisciplinary project in west-central Taiwan in the early 1970s that would focus on the study of subsistence, settlement patterns, and human interaction with different ecosystems. Chang's "Anthropological and Environmental Investigations in the Choshui and Tatu River Valleys of Central Taiwan" (1972-1974) involved an intensive investigation in a relatively small region—a "saturation" approach, as K.C. would describe it—of changes in cultural ecology across time. K-C reasoned in his funding proposals that

[t]he time has come for this kind of study because the problems we face call for it: problems such as the early cultivation of plants, the differential stress upon the various modes of subsistence, the selective utilization of the ample resources, and the covariation of tools and village patterns. These problems have emerged from existing data and engendered some discussion and interest; they cannot be tackled without knowledge of the ecosystems at the local level.

To undertake such an ambitious interdisciplinary research project, Chang assembled a team of more than 40 archaeologists, cultural anthropologists, geologists and geomorphologists, zoologists, and botanists from a variety of departments at NTU, Academia Sinica's Institute of Ethnology, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

K.C. Chang in 1986. Courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, No. 2004.24.31428A.

In addition to serving as a model for later field projects, the Choshui Project served as an important training opportunity for a new generation of archaeology students in Taiwan.

While K.C.'s earlier work in Taiwan focused on prehistoric archaeology, the rapid economic development of Taiwan during the 1980s brought with it new threats to Taiwan's historical heritage. Chang and his colleagues organized the Field Research Project on Taiwan History at Academia Sinica in 1986, involving scholars from four of that academy's institutes (History and Philology, Ethnology, Modern History, and the Sun Yat-sen Institute for Social Sciences and Philosophy), to undertake collaborative research on all aspects of Taiwan's history from ca. 1500 to 1945. With funding from Taiwan's National Science Council and from the Henry

Luce Foundation (New York), the ambitious scope of the Taiwan History Project can be illustrated with just the first round of projects, which included the systematic collection of local and regional historical archives, studies of land tenure on Taiwan during the 17th through early 20th centuries, architectural studies of some of the major estates remaining in central Taiwan, and islandwide archaeological surveys of Han and aboriginal sites. Initially established as a research center, the permanence of this important new academic endeavor was ensured by its elevation as the Institute of Taiwan History in Academia Sinica in 1993. K.C.'s extraordinary contributions to Taiwan archaeology and history were further honored by his appointment from 1994 to 1996 as vice president of Academia Sinica.

The rapid development of Taiwan in the 1980s included expansion of the East Line Railway, which exposed an enormous Neolithic settlement and cemetery at the Peinan train station near the southeastern city of Taitung. Ten years of excavations by NTU archaeologists Sung Wen-hsun and Lien Chao-mei of what would become known as the Peinan Culture revealed the largest archaeological site found so far in Taiwan, prompting K.C. to advocate building an archaeology museum at the site, which many hoped would educate the public about Taiwan's archaeology, indigenous cultures, and ecology. Beginning in 1992, K.C. was brought in as a member of the National Museum of Prehistory Planning Bureau, and to develop the conceptual plans for the museum's proposed galleries and research projects on the prehistory and early history of China. The National Museum of Prehistory

finally opened to broad public acclaim in Taitung in 2002—unfortunately, K.C. did not live to see its completion—and the museum's anthropology library is named in his honor.

Throughout his career K.C. was particularly interested in bringing Asian archaeology to the attention of non-Asianists. One early indication of his commitment to this goal can be found in his willingness to produce meticulous translations and abstracts of Chinese archaeological reports for the Peabody Museum library during his early graduate years at Harvard *(Chang, 1956a)*, a project from which Movius and many others benefited. In some ways it was this initial exercise that would expand a few years later into K.C.'s first magnum opus, *The Archaeology of Ancient China (Chang, 1963)*, which at that time represented the first anthropologically oriented presentation in English of pre-imperial archaeological material coming out of China.[11] As a virtual flood of new field data came to his attention, his interpretations and presentations changed, requiring him to substantially revise the book in its second *(1968b)*, third *(1977a)*, and particularly in the fourth *(1986a)* editions. In this final edition[12] he significantly reduced the chronological coverage to allow greater detail to be presented for the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods, the later historical periods by that point being thoroughly addressed in other works by K.C. and other scholars.

His enthusiasm for the growing importance of Asian archaeology was not always shared by other archaeologists, especially in the early years when China was still considered by many to be an exotic and distant place. In the summer of 1963 Chang was

invited by Emil Haury, director of the Arizona State Museum, to take part in the "Advanced Course in Anthropology for Museum Professionals" in Tucson, at which K.C. made a series of presentations on the Neolithic and Bronze Age archaeology of China, Siberia, Mongolia, Manchuria, Korea, Japan, Southeast Asia, and India. At the end of the workshop the participants filled out comment cards with suggestions and criticisms. When K.C. read the comments about his sessions, he wrote back to Haury,

I have noticed that most of the participants seem to feel that the lectures on Asiatic archaeology are somewhat superfluous. I can understand and am sympathetic with their absorptions in areas and data closer to home, and I regard it as my personal failure not to have aroused their interest in this remote area. On reflection, though, I am still convinced that in bringing a few lectures on Asiatic archaeology in this program you have done the participants a service that may not be readily appreciated.[13]

K.C.'s teaching at Yale and at Harvard brought his gentle and unassuming nature, as well as his dizzying mastery of archaeological theory and of the archaeology and anthropology of Asia, to classrooms large and small. I had the pleasure of having K.C. as my teacher, both as an undergraduate at Yale in the mid-1970s and in graduate school at Harvard, and I now realize that I learned from K.C. as much about how to be a caring and effective teacher as I did about archaeology.

"Get them while they're young!" K.C. would exclaim. Perhaps recalling his own experiences as a college freshman in Taipei, he reveled in the thought of bringing to a new generation of students the thrill of archaeology.

At Yale, K.C. taught a range of courses, including general surveys of archaeological method and theory as well as graduate and undergraduate courses on Chinese, East Asian, and Southeast Asian archaeology. At Harvard he was able to focus his offerings on his more specific interests in archaeology, in various years teaching "The Archaeology of Ancient China," "Ancient Chinese Documents," "Prehistoric and Ancient Societies," "The Rise and Fall of Ancient Civilizations," "Chinese Culture and Society in the Bronze Age," "The Emergence of Complex Society in Ancient China," "Art and Power in the Archaeological Record" (which he co-taught with art historian Irene Winter), "Cosmology, Society, and Polity," "Asiatic Archaeology and Ethnography," "The Anthropological Study of Taiwan," and graduate seminars in East Asian archaeology, Chinese archaeology, and Shang civilization. During his teaching at Harvard in the late 1970s and 1980s, he frequently remarked to me that his favorite course to teach was not the high-powered graduate seminar in Chinese archaeology, as one might have expected. It was instead the introductory freshman seminar that usually represented a student's first exposure to archaeology, not to mention their first exposure to Asia. Established in

1959, Harvard's freshman seminars provided selected freshmen "the privilege to work with top experts" in small groups, usually 10 to 12 students meeting two to three hours a week. "Get them while they're young!" K.C. would exclaim. Perhaps recalling his own experiences as a college freshman in Taipei, he reveled in the thought of bringing to a new generation of students the thrill of archaeology.

When Harvard established its core curriculum in the late 1970s to focus on teaching "modes of inquiry" in six main areas (literature and arts, historical study, social analysis, moral reasoning, science, and foreign cultures), many senior members of the faculty resisted offering new courses designed for non-concentrators (or "the ignorant masses," as proclaimed in a 1979 *Harvard Crimson* article on the core program). K.C., however, jumped at the prospect, designing two new courses for the core: "Literature and Arts C-28: Politics, Mythology, and Art of Bronze Age China" (or "P, M, and A," which he taught in 1982, 1984, and 1986), and "Historical Studies B-02: The Emergence of Complex Society in Ancient China" (taught in 1989 and 1992). While differing in their emphasis, both brought together diverse literary, artistic, textual, and archaeological data in an effort to understand Bronze Age China, and K.C. designed a new textbook for these courses *(Chang, 1983)*. Those of us who taught with K.C. know that he recognized that both China and archaeology were challenging topics for undergraduates, and he graded on the generous side, never wanting to penalize a student for having the courage to take a course full of difficult and unfamiliar material. However, his reputation as an easy grader led to dramatically increased enrollments: his

The course took on a special atmosphere that year because K.C. was still glowing just a year after his first trip back to Beijing since departing as a child some 30 years earlier, full of fresh impressions and first-hand accounts of new archaeological discoveries.

core course "Literature and Arts C-28: Politics, Mythology, and Art of Bronze Age China" began with some 24 students when first offered in 1982, burgeoning to nearly 200 by 1986, requiring a search for more and more qualified Teaching Fellows to lead the weekly small group discussions. At least one reason for the rising enrollments became clear: in a *New York Times* article about easy courses (or "guts") at Harvard *(Campbell, 1986)*, Chang's "Politics, Mythology, and Art of Bronze Age China" was among those singled out for derision, quoting the Harvard Crimson's student-run *Confidential Guide* that the course was "such a flaming gut that extra fire extinguishers are kept in the lecture hall." K.C. refused to offer the course again after that, and taught his other large-enrollment core course "Historical Studies

B-02: The Emergence of Complex Society in Ancient China" only until 1992.

Perhaps my favorite experience with K.C. as a teacher was when I had the pleasure of taking his signature course "The Archaeology of Ancient China" as a junior at Yale during the fall of 1976. The course took on a special atmosphere that year because K.C. was still glowing a year after his first trip back to Beijing since departing as a child some 30 years earlier, full of fresh impressions and first-hand accounts of new archaeological discoveries.

Between the late 1940s and the early 1970s the absence of diplomatic relations between China and the United States [and the virtual closure of China to most of the outside world during the early part of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (1966-1976)] meant that American archaeologists, anthropologists, and art historians interested in Chinese archaeology either worked elsewhere in East and Southeast Asia, or they depended upon often spotty access to Chinese publications in Western libraries, or they studied antiquities in Western collections that came from excavations prior to World War II or through the international antiquities market. With Ping-Pong diplomacy and the Kissinger and Nixon visits to China in 1971 and 1972, the closed door to China began to crack open for Americans, including scholars. The American Paleoanthropology Delegation to China, organized and sponsored by the Committee on Scholarly Communication with the People's Republic of China (or CSCPRC, Washington, D.C.), brought K.C. and other delegation members[14] to China from May 15 to June 14, 1975, to meet colleagues and

to visit museums, archaeological, and paleoanthropological sites in Beijing, Taiyuan, Xi'an, Anyang, Zhengzhou, Nanjing, Shanghai, Guilin, and Guangzhou. Upon his return to New Haven, K.C. prepared a formal report to the delegation chair describing his observations of the "state of the art" of prehistoric archaeology in China *(see Howells and Tsuchitani, 1977)*, as well as a separate unpublished personal report *(Chang, 1976a)* on his observations and impressions about how China had changed since he had last seen it in 1946. Both accounts are detailed and moving, as the trip clearly influenced K.C.'s future directions in archaeology in three ways.

First, he stressed the importance of understanding Chinese archaeology within its societal context. Chinese archaeology during the end of the Cultural Revolution was highly politicized, and K.C. reminded his readers that the 1975 Chinese Constitution's statement that "scientific research work must all serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers, and be combined with productive labor" were not empty words, and that the administration, planning, and practice of archaeology were all serving proletarian politics,[15] which he would describe in more detail in several key articles on the history of the field in China *(Chang, 1977b, 1981b)*.

Second, K.C.'s reports reflect his amazement and frustration at the enormous amount of new archaeological data that was being uncovered, only a very small portion of which was making it into internationally available publications. The data clearly required that scholars revise their understanding of Chinese prehistory, and K.C. noted that his Chinese colleagues were very cautious in

making their interpretations because of this steady flow of new data. Remarking in 1976 that the most recent Chinese synthesis of Chinese prehistory had been produced in 1962, it is clear that these observations played a role in his revision and expansion of the third edition *(1977a)* of *The Archaeology of Ancient China*. In the fall 1976 version of his Chinese archaeology course at Yale, K.C.'s excitement about the future of archaeology in China was almost uncontainable, having seen such famous landmarks as the Zhoukoudian Paleolithic remains and the Shang city and royal tombs at Anyang[16] that he had already learned about as a student at NTU, as well as many new finds such as the just discovered terracotta army of the first emperor of Qin near Xi'an.

Third, K.C. noted in his report the importance of notions of self-reliance and independence in China generally and in archaeology specifically, as China slowly opened up to the outside world. K.C. recognized that the engagement of Chinese and foreign scholars, and the development of scholarly interaction and collaboration, would take time to achieve. K.C. worked tirelessly toward this goal as international scholarly relationships became closer and closer. He spearheaded or collaborated in a series of international conferences and workshops that further brightened the prospects for collaboration with China. These included, among others, the Conference on the Origins of Chinese Civilization, organized by David Keightley at Berkeley in 1978 *(Keightley, 1983)*, the International Conference on Shang Civilization at the East-West Center in Honolulu in 1982 *(Chang, 1986b)*, and the 1986 Conference on Ancient China and Social Science Generalizations

"Professor Chang has written,

if not the Bible for the field,

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— David Keightley 1982

(cosponsored by the National Academy of Sciences, CSCPRC, and ACLS) at Airlie House in rural northern Virginia. The impact of these latter two conferences went well beyond the content of their specific papers, for they brought together dozens of scholars and many graduate students from the Chinese mainland, Taiwan, and the West in intensive and productive discussions of new data and theoretical approaches that would continue over the coming decades. As China continued to open up, Chang made frequent research and lecture trips there, and in 1984 he gave six highly influential lectures at Peking University *(Chang, 1986c)*, followed by lecture series at Shandong University, Jilin University, and Xiamen University. His presentations of Western approaches to archaeology and his own ideas about Chinese archaeology to large audiences of Chinese

students were well received, and prompted K.C. to publish frequent essays on these topics in Chinese archaeological journals and newspapers, with many of his earlier publications being translated into Chinese *(see, e.g., Chang, 1995)*.

Chang is best known for his comprehensive work on the complex societies of Bronze Age China, particularly the powerful Shang state (ca. 1600-1045 B.C.) in the North China Plain. This focus is not surprising, given the early and detailed exposure he had from his college teachers who had excavated at the Shang capital city of Yin at Anyang from 1928 to 1937. He brought new approaches to the study of this material, seeking explanations through interdisciplinary explorations. Chang's broader Shang studies were varied and insightful, and his book *Shang Civilization* (1980) provided an incredibly comprehensive study of that culture using an integrated approach based on his mastery of both the archaeological and textual data. The enormous importance of this volume, even 30 years after its publication, was foreseen by historian David Keightley in his 1982 review for the *Journal of Asian Studies:* "Professor Chang has written, if not the Bible for the field, at least the New Testament."

From his earliest graduate student days at Harvard, Chang continued to be interested in exploring the meaning of the iconography on ritual bronze vessels of the Shang and Zhou periods. From 1968 to 1971 in what surely is one of his most underappreciated major projects *(Chang, 1973)*, he sought to apply the growing power of computers to systematically seek out patterns of meaning in the form, decoration, and inscriptions of some

As a field archaeologist K.C.'s greatest dream was to undertake excavations in China, although for decades this would remain only a dream because of restrictions on foreign participation.

5000 Shang and Zhou bronzes by separating out and then analyzing hundreds of individual attributes. He was partly motivated by the desire to test earlier systematic analyses, such as those undertaken in the 1930s by the Swedish sinologist Bernhard Karlgren, who divided decorative elements into A, B, and C groups to try to derive chronologically and sociologically significant patterns, and art historian Max Loehr, who sought to understand the relationship between the development of bronze decoration and form and the details of the piece-mold casting technology that produced them *(Loehr, 1953)*.

K.C.'s interests in Shang bronze iconography evolved over the next two decades into broader studies of the emergence of kingship in ancient China and its relationship to shamanism, very much inspired by research on

comparative mythology by Joseph Campbell and on comparative shamanism by Peter Furst and others. Chang's early studies of the changing relationship between humans and animals as depicted on Chinese jades and bronzes *(Chang, 1981a, 1989)* expanded into wide-ranging, stimulating, and often provocative discussions of writing, technology, shamanism, and other avenues to power in ancient China *(Chang, 1983, 1994)*.

As a field archaeologist K.C.'s greatest dream was to undertake excavations in China, although for decades this would remain only a dream because of restrictions on foreign participation. A potential breakthrough came in 1982, when Prof. Tong Enzheng, a senior archaeologist at Sichuan University in southwest China, was a visiting scholar at Harvard. The Chinese Academy of Sciences and the National Academy of Sciences U.S.A. were laying out proposals for new collaborations in six disciplines, including archaeology, and K.C. was asked if he had any projects that could be quickly put into place in China. K.C. and Tong drew up an application for the National Science Foundation that would establish, at Sichuan University, archaeological labs in radiocarbon dating, zooarchaeology, archaeobotany, and geoarchaeology that at that time did not exist in China, under the direction of renowned American specialists. The project would also involve a comprehensive study of paleoethnobotany and the origins of agriculture in China, codirected by Tong on the Chinese side and Richard ("Scotty") MacNeish on the American side. Funding was approved, but the Sino-American collaborative plan was quickly forbidden by Xia Nai, the powerful director of the

Above: with archaeologists Wu En and Zhang Changshou at the middle Neolithic site of Mazhuang, Yucheng County, Henan province, autumn 1994.

Right: at Mazhuang, autumn 1994

Chinese Institute of Archaeology in Beijing, who stridently opposed any foreign participation in Chinese archaeology. When Xu Pingfang became the institute's new director in 1988, K.C. negotiated a new major collaborative field project that would focus on the origins of Shang civilization. With funding in place that project was suddenly and unexpectedly postponed by the violent crackdown on the Tiananmen Square protests in June 1989.

By 1991 the joint project "Investigations into Early Shang Civilization," between the Institute of Archaeology (Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing) and Harvard's Peabody Museum was finally underway, although K.C.'s deteriorating health prevented him from taking as active a role over the next five years as he had wanted. The interdisciplinary project was based in Shangqiu County in eastern Henan Province in the Yellow River floodplain, where a variety of textual evidence had convinced K.C. of the presence there of the predynastic Shang ritual and political center, and the dynastic Shang ritual center known as Great City Shang. The project involved three principal components between 1991 and 2005: Holocene landscape reconstruction through a comprehensive coring program, geophysical prospection for possible Bronze Age sites, and excavation of Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Age sites in the general Shangqiu area to better understand the local cultural chronology. K.C. was able to participate in geophysical surveys in 1992, and in excavations at several Neolithic sites in 1994. Days were spent in the broad, flat wheat fields of this poor, rural part of Henan, and evenings were spent around the dinner table with American and Chinese team members discussing

Days were spent in the broad, flat wheat fields of this poor, rural part of Henan, and evenings were spent around the dinner table with American and Chinese team members discussing the day's finds and planning the next day's work, with the inevitable banquets for local politicians and visiting archaeologists.

the day's finds and planning the next day's work, with the inevitable banquets for local politicians and visiting archaeologists. The banquets were often lubricated by seemingly endless rounds of *baijiu* and calls for "ganbei!" ("bottoms up!"), although early on we had devised a strategy for keeping K.C.'s glass secretly filled with plain water, to accommodate his physical intolerance of alcohol.

By the spring of 1996 the coring program at Shangqiu had detected the massive buried rammed-earth city walls of the Zhou dynasty (ca. 1045-221 B.C.) city of Song, which ancient texts described as having been established after the Zhou conquest by Shang descendants on the ruins of Great City Shang. Unfortunately, K.C.'s health precluded him from joining us in the field at that time, and I clearly remember the frequent phone calls to keep

him updated from our hotel in Shangqiu on the ever-expanding city outlines. He ended each call with the hope that we would "Dig faster! Dig faster!" but the enormity of the Zhou site (1100 hectares within the city walls) and the depth of alluvium that buried it (11 meters) precluded any hasty excavations beyond trenching wall sections. K.C. made his final trip to Shangqiu in the fall of 1996, traveling with a stretcher and wheelchair, and greatly assisted in his walking at the site by a squadron of dedicated students and colleagues. It was an unbelievably moving sight to see him, supported by colleagues from Beijing, Taiwan, and the United States, kneeling with his Marshalltown trowel to personally participate in the exploratory excavations of the Eastern Zhou city wall, in the search for earlier Shang evidence. He remained convinced, as we all do, that given enough time and funding, the earlier foundations of City Song, and ultimately of Great City Shang, are there to be found *(Murowchick and Cohen, 2001)*.

In addition to his teaching and his research, K.C. was an active colleague in a range of professional societies, including the Association of Asian Studies, the American Anthropological Association, Sigma Xi, the Connecticut Archaeological Society, Ethnological Society of China, and the Society of Archaeology and Anthropology (Taipei). Recognition of K.C.'s accomplishments took many forms, including honorary academic appointments and professional society awards: he was appointed a fellow (1974) and senior researcher (1978) at Academia Sinica in Taipei, and was elected to the National Academy of Sciences U.S.A. in 1979, at the

same time as two of his former teachers, Evon Vogt and Douglas Oliver. He was also elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences (1980), and was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London. He was appointed as guest professor at Shandong University (1984), Peking University (1987-indefinite), and at Xiamen University (1987-1990) in China. He won the Association for Asian Studies 1986 Award for Distinguished Contributions to Asian Studies, as well as the Lucy Wharton Drexel Medal, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania in 1987 "for his contributions to our knowledge of the prehistoric and early historic civilizations of China." The Chinese University of Hong Kong conferred upon him an honorary doctorate of social science in 1990.

When K.C. Chang died in early 2001, he left behind a field transformed by his work. For more than 40 years, he served as a bridge between East and West, between traditional Chinese historiography and Western anthropological archaeology. He trained three generations of students, many now prominent archaeologists in Korea, Japan, the People's Republic of China and Taiwan, Hong Kong, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, Europe, the United States, and Canada. His prodigious scholarly articles, books, and monographs, dizzying in their range, form a fundamental foundation for the field that will endure well into the future. The emphasis on collaboration—between disciplines and between countries—that was a hallmark of K.C.'s work throughout his life and that played a key role in

the gradual opening up of China to Western scholars during the 1970s and 1980s bears fruit today in the form of dozens of collaborative field projects and international conferences, and the growth of Chinese and East Asian archaeology in American and Canadian universities, that he could scarcely have imagined 20 years ago.

Kwang-chih Chang is survived by his wife, Hwei Li Chang; their son, Julian Po-keng Chang (Yale 1982, Harvard Ph.D. 1995); and their daughter, Nora Chung-ch'i Chang (Harvard 1984). I am most grateful to them for providing generous access to K.C.'s personal correspondence and other materials in the preparation of this memoir.

NOTES

1. K.C.'s B.A. degree was not conferred until August 1955, following a year of compulsory reserve officers training with the Nationalist army, during which time he served in an armored unit.

2. Fu Ssu-nien (Fu Sinian, 1896-1950) was the founding director in 1928 of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, and later president of National Taiwan University.

3. Based at Harvard since its founding in 1928, the independent Harvard-Yenching Institute supports scholarly collaboration between the United States and East Asia, sponsoring doctoral students, research fellowships, publications, conferences, and research initiatives.

4. Hallam Movius letter to K.-C. Chang, Jul. 6, 1956. International Center for East Asian Archaeology and Cultural History, or ICEAACH, archives, Boston University.

5. Referring to George Grant MacCurdy (1863-1947), Paleolithic archaeologist (primarily in Europe) and curator of archaeology and anthropology at Yale's Peabody Museum (1902-1931). Hallam Movius letter to K.-C. Chang, Oct. 13, 1960. ICEAACH Archives, Boston University.

6. The Yale-China Association, formerly known as Yale-in-China, is an independent organization based at Yale since 1901 to promote the development of training and educational exchanges with China. K.C.'s acceptance letter to Charles Shepard, Yale-China's president, to a three-year term on the Yale-China Board of Trustees, provides a concise self-assessment of what he had to offer:

   I'm honored by, and happy to accept, your nomination as a member of the trustees of Yale-China for three years. I am not unfamiliar with the goals and activities of your association and am happy to be associated with many of the worthy causes you have been trying to promote in recent years. . . It would only be fair to let you

know what kind of colleague you'll probably find in me. I'm very serious in discharging my duties, and will attempt to push for causes I believe in and fight against those that I don't. Sometimes I'm regarded as a gadfly in committees both in and out of Yale. I take very seriously your statement that you asked me to join the board to "broaden [your] perspective," and I won't hesitate to put forth my views. On the other hand, I'm a very poor attendant at ceremonial and social functions, and have a poor rating on clubbiness. I hope such are tolerable behaviors. (Papers of Kwang-chih Chang. General correspondence. Letter, K.-C. Chang to Charles Shepard, May 17, 1976. Yale-China Association folder, call no. 13534, box 16, Harvard University Archives.)

7. Papers of Kwang-chih Chang. General correspondence. Letter, Kingman Brewster to K.-C. Chang, Jan. 30, 1977. Yale University folder, Call no. 13534, box 16, Harvard University Archives. Yale's Sterling professorships are named after lawyer John William Sterling (Yale Class of 1864), as part of an enormous bequest made to the university in 1918 that would also fund the building of the Sterling Memorial Library, the Yale Law School, the Hall of Graduate Studies, and other campus buildings.

8. Papers of Kwang-chih Chang. General correspondence. Letter, K.-C. Chang to Kingman Brewster, Jan. 31, 1977. Yale University folder, call no. 13534, box 16, Harvard University Archives.

9. This professorship, established in 1916 as a professorship "in archaeology, or some subject thereof," honors Harvard graduate John E. Hudson (1839-1900), a lawyer and businessman with a deep interest in Classical studies. Incumbents prior to Chang include Classical archaeologist George Henry Chase (1874-1952), Mesoamerican archaeologist Alfred M. Tozzer (1877-1954), Classical archaeologist, epigrapher, and historian Sterling Dow (1903-1995), and Mediterranean archaeologist and art historian George M. A. Hanfmann (1911-1986).

10. Papers of Kwang-chih Chang. Letter from K.-C. Chang to Neil Rudenstine, May 25, 1994, call no. 13534, box 16, Harvard University Archives.

11. The scholarly vacuum filled by this work is illustrated by its many glowing reviews. The senior UCLA sinologist Richard Rudolph (1909-2003), in his 1969 review of the second edition, wrote of the young Chang's work,

    Dr. Chang's book is not a mere report on recent archaeological work in China, but a highly interpretive and closely integrated work written by a professional archaeologist in a truly professional manner. His lively style and enthusiasm for his subject will make itself felt upon all but the dullest of readers.

12. K.C. was acutely aware of the need for a further revision and expansion of *The Archaeology of Ancient China*, given that the fourth edition in 1986 presented archaeological discoveries only up to late 1984, when the field was really beginning to explode in China. During the mid-1990s, I was working with him on a revised fifth edition, however, the enormity of the task of trying to incorporate in a single volume the avalanche of new data, combined with K.C.'s rapidly failing health, required that the project be abandoned, to the great disappointment of all involved.

13. Papers of Kwang-chih Chang. General correspondence. Letter from K.-C. Chang to Emil Haury, Jan. 14, 1964, call no. 13534, box 16, Harvard University Archives.

14. Participants included delegation chair F. Clark Howell (Anthropology, UC-Berkeley), Francis H. Brown (Geology and Geophysics, Utah), Kwang-chih Chang (Anthropology, Yale), Eric Delson (Anthropology, Lehman College, CUNY), Leslie G. Freeman Jr. (Anthropology, Chicago), William W. Howells (Anthropology, Harvard), Estella Leopold (Paleontology and Stratigraphy Branch, USGS, Denver), Richard S. MacNeish (Peabody Foundation for Archaeology, Andover, Mass.), Patrick Maddox (Social Science Research

Council, New York), Harold E. Malde (USGS, Denver), G. William Skinner (Anthropology, Stanford), David N. Keightley (History, UC-Berkeley), and Hannah Marie Wormington (Denver Museum of Natural History). For the formal delegation report, see Howells and Tsuchitani (1977).

Chang was also a member of the American "Han Studies Delegation" to China from Oct. 16 to Nov 17, 1978. In addition to K.C., delegation members included Yu Ying-shih (chair, Yale), Patricia Berger (Berkeley), Hans Bielenstein (Columbia), Derk Bodde (Pennsylvania), Jack Dull (Washington), Hans Frankel (Yale), John Major (Dartmouth), Jeffrey Riegel (Berkeley), David Roy (Chicago), Doug Spelman (U.S. State Department), and Alexander DeAngelis (CSCPRC).

15. It should be noted that in 1988 K.C. wrote on the cover of his personal trip report (Chang, 1976) that "this manuscript is kept as a journal only. In 1975, we as visitors to China were extremely naive and believed almost everything we were told. Someday I may rewrite the book, separating fact from fiction." He did not indicate, however, which of his original observations he might like to revise.

16. On his first visit to Anyang, having studied at NTU under most of the veteran Anyang archaeologists who had excavated this Shang capital city from 1928 to 1937, K.C. wrote,

The famous river Huan was just a small creek, along whose banks herds of goats grazed. Hsiao-t'un [Xiaotun] and Hsi-pei-kang [Xibeigang], the two most important localities—one the royal palaces and temples and the other the royal cemetery—did not betray their underground splendor, but when we walked on the soft soil of the fields the feeling of being present at Creation was unmistakable for me. (Chang, 1976, p. 154)

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