The animal called "ch'ai" (Cuon alpinus) has suffered much from the neglect, ignorance, and indifference of western interpreters of Chinese literature. There is some excuse for this in the texts themselves: he is not a familiar, well-defined creature there. Although he turns up often enough, his indistinct personality defers constantly to the fearful and almost heroic

On Saturday, 9 February 1963, Edward Hetzel Schaefer, Agassiz Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature at the University of California, Berkeley, died of liver cancer at his home in Berkeley. He was seventy-seven. Although he had not been feeling well for some months, his final sickness was very short: he taught his last class ten days before his death.

Known for his pioneering work in the study of medieval China—its language, literature, and culture—Professor Schaefer used the poetry and prose of the Tang dynasty (from the seventh to tenth centuries) to reconstruct the ways that these people of long ago thought, dreamed, and regarded the world around them.

The editors of Asia Major feel the loss of his passing deeply. He had contributed much to the revival of this journal. We thank Phyllis Brooks Schaefer for her help in publishing the following article.

To perpetuate his memory, a fund has been set up for the purchase of books on Classical Chinese for the University of California Library. Contributions may be made to the Schaefer Book Fund, the East Asian Library, University of California, Berkeley, 94720.
figures of the lion and the wolf, with whom he is frequently paired. He does not even appear in the wonder tales that present foxes and raccoon-dogs (Li 鼠; Nyctereutes procyonides), however depraved, as vivid protagonists. He is a stock image, a shadowy cliché, a crude metaphor, handed down through the ages without modification—since there are few distinct traits to be modified—hardly different in the verses of Tu Fu than he is in the vivid narratives of the Tso chuen.

Worst of all, western translators, old and new, have treated him with undeserved contempt. First of all, they have scurmed the small effort needed to determine his identity, so that his name persists as an empty vocable. Or else they have assimilated his identity to that of some completely different beast, which may not even exist in the Far East. For Waley, he evaporates; for Legge, he is coupled with the tiger, but becomes a wolf himself (ch'ai hu 狼虎), rendered “wolves and tigers.” But elsewhere Legge makes him half a wolf, or an ingredient in wolfness: ch'ai hu 狼虎, properly “ch'ai and wolves,” becomes merely a bisyllabic wolf.

Some more modern translators update the error and confusion by depriving the dhole of his nationality or ethnicity. For Hawkes, he is a displaced jackal, a wanderer from a dream of the Serengti.1 Liu Fu has not only adopted this fancy, but in the same clause converts the bovine gaur (isu 兀; bibos gaurus) into a rhinoceros—but this error is so old as to have acquired an aura of classic dignity.

For a credible definition of ch'ai, we look first for clues among the paranomastic etymologies supplied by old Chinese writers, following a respectable tradition. Tuan Ch'eng-shih's 蒲松龄 Dian (The Tang bibliophile, has suggested one in the guise of a folk-tapoo: “Hunters will not kill a ch'ai (*drai) since it has the same sound as *drai 财, wealth.”2 Wang An-shih 王安石 prefers to connect the name with *drai 财 “talent,” on the grounds that the ch'ai is domestic among its kind, and also performs ritual offerings to higher beings.3 Another Sung source offers ch'ai (*drai 柴 “kindling wood; stick) as etymon, because the animal ch'ai is as skinny as a stick, and emaciated people are for this reason called ch'ai.4 The last is the only persuasive proposal among these, but may not be provable. Traditional glosses on the word ch'ai add very little to our understanding: Erh ya 燕雅 observes that ch'ai are “dog-legged.” Shuo wen 説文 states that the ch'ai is related to the wolf, and has the cry of a dog. In short, ch'ai appears to be a canid, but neither dog nor wolf. It is rather a dhole—sometimes called “red dog,” “whistling dog,” “wild dog,” and other such descriptive names. The etymology of this word is not known, although Canarese dala “wolf” has been proposed. The earliest record of the word is dated 1827. Several early occurrences mention the similarity of the dhole to the dingo, and a source of 1866 reports the alternate name — source not stated — of “kholson.”5

Dholes are distinguished from wolves, jackals, and the like by their denition. For the casual observer the difference lies rather in its rounded ears and reddish color, although a yellowish brown color is reported in some individuals. It lives in burrows and hunts its prey in packs. It does not have authority, as Chinese sources note, and has been seen to drive even a leopard from its kill.6 Li Shih-ch'en 李時珍, writing in the sixteenth century, affirms that when traveling in packs even tigers fear it.7 A modern observer styles it “highly intelligent, wary of man, and an elusive predator . . . a rare and beautiful creature.”8

Human contact with dholes is necessarily slight, as both prefer. The physical dhole—as distinguished from the legendary and literary dhole—played only a small part in Chinese pharmacology. Meng Shen 孟頼 (seventh century) reports that, although eating its flesh damages spirit and sperm and causes emaciation in humans, it can be given to horses and cattle in a potion to make them docile.9

The dhole occurred in China during the Pleistocene, and reached Europe in the Last Interglacial, but it is now an endangered species in a shrink-
noses, resident in the south, with wild pigs; and, apparently, with giant pandas. All of these doublets apparently have metaphorical applications. All point to wild animals of which one should be wary. “Dholes and tigers” regularly represent cruel and heartless men; so do “dholes and wolves,” with the added image of working in packs; “dholes and otters,” though fierce, know the rudiments of civilized behavior; “dholes and bears” are vicious and dangerous; “dholes and ferret-badgers” and “dholes and giant pandas” seem only to symbolize social disorder and insensate behavior. But some subtle mind may yet discover more precise referents for these clusters of images.

Most often the dhole represents a type, not an individual. It is common in old maxims; for instance, “When dholes and wolves are at the pen, goats are not abundant there.” The allusion is general, not specific, and all sorts of oppressive officials will fill the bill. Another example: “When dholes and wolves are on the road, who cares about foxes and raccoon-dogs?” That is, one can ignore petty scoundrels when powerful men threaten harm. The metaphor applies also to persons who, even if not actually injurious, are able and well-informed, but are not governed by honor and decency: . . . if he is neither trustworthy nor prudent, he is comparable to a dhole or a wolf.

Among the dhole-like enemies of civilized men were the tribes along the northern frontier. Here are the words of the late-T’ang poet Ch’en T’ao 陳陶:

Looking over the lake at a battle below the frontier barrier—
The several caiff peoples have lost their whole host.
Birds peck at commanderies of dholes and wolves,
Sand buries the banners of sun and moon;
Their oxen and sheep run off to the Red Ti,
Their settlements are distributed among the veterans of Yen,
The Convoker-Guardian comes out, skimming the dawn;
He makes the epistles for their exploit; he inhumes the corpses of the dead.

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21 Li Po, “Ta lieh fu” 大離賦, Ch’ien T’ang wen 347, p. 98.
22 Ch’u mao (猟狗) 狗熊. The doublet can be found in T’ao Su’tai 東坡, “Wu wu fu” 英部賦; see his T’ie T’un-ch’ang 左太沖集 in Shen Wu Lin Chia tung chia ti 謝馥六朝名筆集 (Shanghai, 1942), p. 6b. The identification of “mao” as “giant panda” is owed to the work of Donald Harper, whose findings should appear in print soon.
23 Han Po tzu 温故子, “Yang ch’iai 禽畏.”
24 Hou Han shu 后漢書, 86, p. 683cd.
25 Ho’shun tzu, “Ai tung pien 畜罷.”
26 Ch’en T’ao, “Tai lian chu” 太山集, Ch’ien T’ang wen 347, shu 11, ts’ao 4, ch. 1, p. 1a. The “caiff” of 1, 2 are 0 (powerful captives), said of the northern nomads. The birds of 1, 3 are probably ravens; the wolves and dholes are the foreign warriors. In 1 the
Occasionally, however, we encounter a particular person who is described as a dhole. The founder of the great Ch’in nation, Ying Cheng 蒙政, displayed his character in his physical attributes. He was endowed with a “bee’s nose” (that is, a high-bridged nose), long narrow eyes, and the breast bone of a bird of prey; he had “the cry of a dhole and the heart of a tiger or wolf—with little mercy.”

The most commented on bit of dhole lore inherited from antiquity concerns their supposed sacrifice of animals as offerings to obscure divinities. In its pristine form the tradition is that the wild dogs lay out part of their kill in the late autumn, and that this was regarded as a signal for the great royal hunting season to begin. The origin of this belief may lie in the fact that dholes rarely take unclean portions of their prey back to their dens. They leave it at the site of the kill, where it can be scavenged by other carnivores.

Dholes are equipped with a rich variety of calls and cries. Some have been described as “whine,” “whimper,” “growl,” “bark,” “scream,” “chatter,” “whistle,” “cackle,” and “yapping howls.” The whistling, for which the dhole is sometimes named, is a way of arranging contacts or assemblies. Parts of this rich vocabulary, at least, seemed unpleasant or threatening to men. One T’ang authority says that southerners take it to be ill-omened when a dhole “makes a sound at them,” but whether this evil sound was a whine or a whistle is not specified.

Li Shih-chen writes, “Its cry is like a dog’s; men dislike it, saying that it summons goblins (mei 魅).” On top of that it emits a foul odor. It was said in ancient times that human beings with a dhole’s voice were as murderous as dholes, and such persons should be killed before they themselves kill.

There were, in addition to men with the attributes of dholes, men who were transformed into real dholes. Pao pu tz'u tells of such were-dholes—dholes, which like foxes, raccoon-dogs, and wolves, could assume the human form when they attained the age of 500 years.

banners are royal banners. The Red Ti (l. 5) hold the uplands on the Shanai border. Finally (l. 7), the “Conqueror-Guardian” (ti-tsu 炎帝) is the regional military inspector, and “skimming the dawn” (tang ch’en 湯晨) means “with the first flush of dawn.”

27 Shih chi 史記 (K’o ming edn.), 6, p. 902d.
28 T’ang ch’en 财晨, “Yu-ch’ing 釘買新,” and “Wang chih 王制”; and Chi chung Chou shu 漢書 周書, “Shih li ch’un ch’i 時訓集.” Later (Sung) attempts to explain this persistent bit of the ju-ist tradition may be perused in Lu, P’i 43, pp. 64–65, and Lo Yuan 羅願 (1136–1184), Evh yu i 種雅翼 (Tu yen shu ch’i ch’ing edn.) 19, pp. 80–81.
29 T’ang ch’un 財晨, pp. 73–74.
30 Ibid., p. 95.
31 T’ang, Yu yang hsü tzu, hsü chi 8, p. 299.
32 Li, Pen t’ieh 51, p. 52.
33 T’o ch’uan (Hsiau 4). Legge, as was customary, omits the dhole in his translations: “the voice of a wolf” suffices for chi t’ang ch’i sheng 貴狼之聲. See Legge, The Ch’in Texts with the Tso Chuen, vol 5. of The Chinese Classics, book 7, p. 296.
34 Pao pu tz’u, nei 3, p. 3a.