DEEP AMBIVALENCE: NOTES ON A GREEK COCKFIGHT (PART I)

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Nam unde aut ubi non potest signum dare? Ut in eisdem ipsis gallis erat videre, intenta proiectius capita, inflatas comas, vehementes ictus, cautissimas evitationes, et in omni motu animalium rationis expertium nihil non decorum, quippe alia ratione desuper omnia moderante. Postremo legem ipsam victoris, superbum cantum, et membra in unum quasi orbem collecta velut in fastum dominationis. Signum autem victi, elatas a cervice pennulas et in voce atque motu deforme totum, et eo ipso naturae legibus nescio quomodo concinnum et pulchrum.

Augustine, *De ordine* 1.8.25

AUGUSTINE, stumbling upon a cockfight, had a revelation. Its every movement yielded a structure of such perfect intelligibility that he received it as an epiphany of the divine order. To say that Augustine mistook the work of ideology for the hand of God is not to deny that nature determines the

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Part I of this article appears in this issue; Parts II–IV will appear in the next issue.

The following works are cited in abbreviated form or by author's name only: U. Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae Lib. xiv* (Bologna 1600) for Latin citations; all other citations refer to the English translation by L. R. Lind, *Aldrovandi on Chickens* (Norman, Okla. 1963); H. Atkinson, *Cock-Fighting and Game Fowl* (Bath 1938, repr. Liss, Hampshire 1977); P. Bruneau, "Le Motif des coqs affrontés dans l'imagerie antique," *BCH* 89 (1965) 90–121; J. R. Green, "A Representation of the *Birds* of Aristophanes," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 2 (Malibu, Calif. 1985) 95–118 = "*Birds*"; J. R. Green, "On Seeing and Depicting the Theatre in Classical Athens," *GRBS* 32 (1991) 15–52 = "Seeing"; J. R. Green, "Notes on Phlyax Vases," *NumAntCl* 20 (1991) 49–56 = "Notes"; K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes Clouds* (Oxford 1968) = *Clouds*; K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (New York 1980 [Cambridge, Mass. 1978]) = *GH*; D. M. Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality* (New York and London 1990) = *HY*; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*^{2} (New York 1991) = *MM*; H. Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf in Athen. Zur Ikonologie einer attischen Bildformel," *RA* 1974, 195–220 = "Hahnenkampf"; O. Taplin, "Phallology, *Phlyakes*, Iconography and Aristophanes," *PCPS* 213 NS 30 (1987) 92–104 = "Phallology"; O. Taplin, *Comic Angels and Other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-Paintings* (Oxford 1993) = *CA*; A. D. Trendall, *Phlyax Vases*^{2} (London 1967, *BICS* Supp. 19) = *PhV*^{2}; T. B. L. Webster and J. R. Green, *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*^{3} (London 1978, *BICS* Supp. 39) = *MMC*^{3}; J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire* (New York and London 1990) = *CD*.

cock's rituals of domination and submission, but to assert that it is human practice which makes them meaningful. Classical Athens offers a particularly clear demonstration of the way chickens may be modelled on human pecking-orders: the chief aim of this article is to discover just how Athenian chickens addressed social relations of power. I will argue that the Athenian chicken was not just another manifestation of some transcultural paradigm or archetype, but had a recipe as unique as that of Athens itself.

Let us begin with a close look at an Attic red-figured calyx-krater in the Getty Museum, dated by style to the second-last decade of the fifth century B.C. It shows two actors dressed as cocks facing one another with a piper between them facing the viewer (PLATE 1). The scene poses an intriguing problem of interpretation. At present the field is held by two rival camps, championed by Green who argues that the vase represents an abbreviation of the chorus of Aristophanes' *Birds* ("*Birds*," "Seeing"), and by Taplin who argued that it represents the *agon* from Aristophanes' *Clouds* ("Phallology").

A problem of classification underlies the interpretative problem. In the initial publication ("*Birds*"), Green compared the vase with the only *coherent* group of Attic vase-paintings associable with comedy, eighteen (then-known)[1] *komos* vases dating from ca 560 to ca 480 B.C. and showing uniformly costumed men dancing to the music of pipers. The awkwardness of the sixty-year gap between the end of this series and the manufacture of the Getty vase is perhaps mitigated by the appearance of the same subject type, uniformly dressed marching choruses in performance with pipers, but much later and in a different medium, two mid-fourth-century B.C. Attic reliefs.[2] If the Getty calyx-krater belongs to this genre, then it seems likely that the birds are part of a chorus. Their costumes are nearly identical and they are costumed as animals: both typical features of the *komos* vases.

Two years later both Taplin and I presented strong arguments for believing that the comic scenes on South Italian pottery, traditionally called "phlyakes," depicted Attic comedy.[3] There are Attic pots (ca 420–390 B.C.) which depict comic actors in performance, but they are very few and do not form a particularly coherent group.[4] It now appears, however, that these Attic comic vases collectively have a closer connection with the

[1]Green, "Seeing" 22, n. 19 adds two more vases.

[2]Green, "*Birds*" 105, n. 8 referring to *MMC*^{3} 118 f., AS 3–4. Further development in Green, "Seeing" 24.

[3]Taplin, "Phallology" 96–101; E. Csapo, "A Note on the Würzburg Bell-Crater H5697 ('Telephus Travestitus')," *Phoenix* 40 (1986) 379–392. The connection is now more thoroughly explored in Taplin, *CA passim* and Green, "Notes."

[4]Perseus Dancer (ca 420 B.C.): Athens, Vlastos coll.; *ARV*^{2} 1215.1; *PhV*^{2} 1; *MMC*^{3} 31, AV 4. Cyrene Heracles (ca 410 B.C.): Louvre L9 (N3408); *ARV*^{2} 1335.34; *PhV*^{2} 3; *MMC*^{3} 31, AV 5. Polychrome Oenochoai (ca 390 B.C.): London 1898.2–27.1; Athens, Agora P 23856, P 23900, P 23907, P 23985; *MMC*^{3} 33 f., AV 10–14. I do not list here

"phlyakes" than generally recognized, though the nature of this connection is still not clear. For help in characterizing the connection, we should look first to the parallel, yet very different, models offered by the South Italian tragic/mythological vase-paintings and by the South Italian production of dramatic terracotta figurines. In the case of the tragic/mythological vases the Italiot painters received a minor theme in Attic red figure and developed their dramatic rhetoric until Italiot vase-painting declared a "theatricality" rarely found in Attic production.[5] In the case of the figurines the Italiot production is more clearly derivative: "Tarentine comic terracottas ... in origin derive from Athenian archetypes, but steadily develop an identifiably Tarentine style while retaining the costume and masks of Athenian type, and developing with them *pari passu*" (Green, "Notes" 55). Neither of these models quite fits the case of the comic vases, since, on the one hand, the Attic comic vases are from the beginning as openly theatrical as the "phlyakes," while, on the other, their scarcity and marginality contrast starkly with the copious production of comic figurines by Attic coroplasts. The nature of the connection we seek would appear to lie somewhere between the adaptation and derivation suggested by these models. The Attic vases depicting comic actors in performance can be viewed as early experiments, probably influential early experiments, in a genre which found its ideal environment in the Western colonies.

If this is right, then it may provide us with a different genre-frame for interpreting the Getty calyx-krater, but with no easy choice. Are we to characterize the Getty calyx-krater as a unique sixty-year-late hangover from a genre which may not after all depict comic choruses, but ritual *komoi* serving some other function? Or are we to characterize the calyx-krater as one of a small contemporary group of Attic precursors of the "phlyakes" which are not Attic, but which depict Attic comedy? If the latter, then it does not necessarily follow that "the presence of a piper means we have a chorus" (Green, "Seeing" 27). Pipers frequently appear in conjunction with stage actors on the "phlyax" vases.[6] Textual evidence shows that pipes were frequently used to accompany actors in their formal chants and songs, including, almost certainly, the Old Comic *agon*.[7]

Taplin ("Phallology" 94–96) pointed out some difficulties with Green's identification. First, the text seems to indicate that the chorus of *Birds*

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the Attic choes with children dressed as actors since it is clear that they are not directly related to stage performance. Green ("Seeing" 30 f.) mentions three more possible candidates for the depiction of comic actors in performance.

[5]Cf. Taplin, *CA* 7.

[6]Taplin, *CA* 70–73.

[7]Taplin, "Phallology" n. 18, referring to A. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*[2] (second edition by J. Gould and D. M. Lewis, Oxford 1968, revised 1988) 156–158, 164.

comprised different species, none of which are cocks (*Aves* 268 ff.). Green ("Seeing" 27 f.) countered with the argument that slight variations in costume could be enhanced verbally and that it could be a comic joke for actors to see clear distinctions where the audience sees little or none. Second, Taplin remarked that the Getty cocks are phallic, making the costume unsuited to serve as a uniform for the chorus of *Birds*, which appears to have included females. Green countered by noting that a pack of animals, like a flock of birds, might be notionally mixed, though each choreut in fact wears male costume, since "a number of the indubitably male satyrs of the chorus [of Sophocles' *Ichneutai*] bear female names."[8] Thirdly, Taplin notes that the cocks on the Getty vase are not only phallic but ithyphallic. The possible parallels in comic costume are rare (some exceptions are discussed below and in Part II). But even if the comic texts in general suggest a few opportunities for this kind of costuming, there is no particularly good reason to think it would be suited to the chorus of *Birds*.[9] Green ("*Birds*" 111) noted that the ithyphallic "shorts" worn by the cocks are, except for the tailfeathers, identical to the *perizomata* worn by satyr choruses and seem to place the Getty birds within the choral realm: he notes that satyrs sometimes formed the chorus of comedy. More recently he has re-emphasized a "connexion with satyr-play in the staging of *Birds*" ("Seeing" 30, note 51).

Taplin inclined to identify the scene as the *agon* of Aristophanes' first *Clouds*, referring to schol.^{RV} 889 ὑπόκεινται ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐν πλεκτοῖς οἰκίσκοις οἱ λόγοι δίκην ὀρνίθων διαμαχόμενοι.[10] Green draws attention to the absence of the wicker cages mentioned by the scholion,[11] but even if we suppose that the scholion implies that the birds were not released from their cages for the *agon* (which is most unlikely), this is just the sort of detail which a pot-painter might wish to omit, since it would complicate and obscure the details of his visual narrative. Taplin explains the ithyphallic costume as expressing aggression, pointing out that "cocks fight out of sexual rivalry, and the Greeks thought of them as lascivious" ("Phallology" 95). But Taplin himself is not fully satisfied with the explanation. In *Comic Angels* (103) Taplin states that "the key issue remains ... whether anyone can find sufficient reason for the *Logoi* to have been ithyphallic."

This paper will attempt a comprehensive examination of the connection between fighting cocks and phalli in Aristophanes and the ideology of democratic Athens. I cannot say that I will resolve this complex debate to everyone's satisfaction, but my findings will, I think, give strong support to Taplin's hypothesis. By way of preface, however, let me develop further

[8]Green, "Seeing" 30, n. 51, referring to E. G. Turner in J. H. Betts *et al.* (eds.), *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* (Bristol 1988) 2.156.

[9]Taplin, "Phallology" 94 f. Cf. Henderson *ad Lys.* 799 f.

[10]For the ascription of this scholion to the first *Clouds*, see Dover, *Clouds* xc ff.

[11]Green, "Seeing" 30. Cf. Taplin, *CA* 103.

a few of Taplin's criticisms of Green's interpretation. The Attic *komos* vases show dancers in formation with identical movements. Only the Siana cup (Green, "*Birds*" no. 1) shows choreuts facing each other and making strikingly different gestures, but there each gesture is shared by a column of dancers indicating a hemichorus on each side of the piper. Where the vases show a synecdoche of only two choreuts, these make identical movements and move in the same direction (Green, "*Birds*" nos. 8, 11). The two exceptions are Palermo CAT 2816 (Green's no. 14) where two dolphin riders have different hand positions and one turns back to look at the other (cf. Green, "*Birds*" no. 10) but both move in the same direction, and Kerameikos 5671 (Green, "*Birds*" no. 13), where two dolphin riders face each other but are differentiated only by the position of their right hands. Neither gives the impression of an attempt to contrast or individualize the choreuts. The Getty vase, on the other hand, shows actors striking two very different poses as they face each other on either side of the piper (whose frontal pose—so far as I know, unique among dramatic vases—suggests the impartial balance of the formal contest).[12] The cocks' hand gestures are markedly different. They are not united in song and it is clear from their different postures that they are not dancing in unison either. The figure on the left, which Taplin notes is "usually the victorious side in battle iconography," is "crouched and more devious looking," that on the right more "upright and dignified" ("Phallology" 95). The position of the lefthand cock is not only crouched but twisted, as can be seen from the line of his left arm. Arguably, this helps signify his cunning intelligence, a quality connected in Greek thought with twisting and wriggling creatures[13] and frequently connoted by words derived from the root of στρέφω. Strepsiades owes his name to this connotation,[14] in particular his desire to στρεψοδικῆσαι (434) and become a στρόφις (450). Moreover this posture creates a difference in height which visually marks one as ἥττων and the other as κρείττων, as the competing λόγοι refer to themselves in the extant version of the *Clouds*.

The whole scene is more suited to an *agon* than a chorus. In Greek art from the archaic period onwards cocks never stand facing each other except in combat scenes (Bruneau 94 ff.). In theatrical contexts, at least by the early Hellenistic period, cocks become a symbol of the larger *agon* of the dramatic competition itself: on either side of the throne of the priest of Dionysus in the Athenian theatre young boys with wings, identified as Erotes,

[12]Frontal pipers do appear in Dionysiac contexts, but are more closely related to the symposium and satyrs: F. Frontisi-Ducroux, "In the Mirror of the Mask," in C. Bérard *et al.*, *A City of Images* (Princeton 1989) 151–165, 162 f.; Y. Korshak, *Frontal Faces in Attic Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Chicago 1987) 28.

[13]J.-P. Vernant and M. Detienne, *Les Ruses de l'intelligence: La Métis des grecs* (Paris 1974) 49 f.

[14]B. Marzullo, "Strepsiade," *Maia* 6 (1953) 99–124, 110 ff.

sometimes as Agones, crouch holding their cocks ready for combat;[15] and on the Calendar Frieze built into the Little Metropolitan in Athens, the entry for the month of Poseideon shows three judges for the Rural Dionysia behind a table heaped with crowns and before them two cocks locked in combat.[16]

The costumes too have differences, albeit subtle, which may serve to individualize the characters. The first is a difference in the phalli of the cocks: that on the right is covered by a foreskin, that on the left is not. The difference is less obvious than it appears on the photograph (PLATE 1), since a horizontal chip a third of the way down the left cock's phallus adds accidental emphasis.[17] The figure on the left, in contrast to the figure on the right, is ἀπεψωλημένος, literally "with foreskin retracted," whence the word's figurative meaning, "lewd."[18] As a visual pun this would (*prima facie*) be an allusion to the Lesser Logos,[19] who in our present text, along with other forms of ἀναισχυντία, champions καταπυγοσύνη, μοιχεία, εὐρυπρωκτία.

The second detail differentiating the two cocks is their spurs, which on the cock on the left are phallic (and identical in form to the phallus of the cock on the right).[20] This is no doubt a pun on κέντρον, which is used of the spur of a cock (LSJ 1.5b) and also for phallus,[21] and seems to allude to the same kind of cross-connection between sexual intercourse and physical violence which we find, for example, in *Lysistrata* 799 (λακτίσαι for βινεῖν) or *Ecclesiazusae* 964 (πληκτίζεσθαι),[22] and which appears generally in comic *double entendre* where words like παίειν, τύπτειν, βάλλειν are used for sexual assault (though also apparently for sexual intercourse without violence).[23] Poetic metaphors for sexual intercourse frequently draw a homology between

[15]The reliefs are dated to the Lycurgan theatre by M. Maass, *Die Prohedrie des Dionysostheaters in Athen* (Munich 1972) 60–76.

[16]See E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica* (Madison, Wis. 1983) 101, pl. 3.3 and p. 6 for a late Hellenistic (first century B.C.) dating for the frieze.

[17]Taplin, "Phallology" n. 17. I have not seen the pot and rely on a museum photograph and on Taplin's description. Though Taplin's note denies that the leftmost cock is circumcised as the chip makes it appear to be, he seems to allow that the birds are differentiated by the prominence of the foreskin on the right phallus and its absence on the left.

[18]Cf. Ar. *Pax* 903, *Ach.* 592 with Sommerstein *ad loc.*, Henderson, *MM* 110, Dover, *GH* 204.

[19]Though Dover shows that the uprightness of the Greater Logos is only, so to speak, skin-deep (*Clouds* on lines 977 f.).

[20]Cf. Taplin, "Phallology" n. 17, who seems a bit unwilling to trust his eyes on this point.

[21]Henderson, *MM* (122) refers to Ar. *V.* 225 f., 407, 1115, 1121; Sotad. 1; Eust. 413.7, 1308.59, 1564.63.

[22]See Henderson, *MM* 173, 140. The latter is probably a metaphor from cockfighting: πλῆκτρον is also used for "spur."

[23]Henderson, *MM* 113, 121, 157, 169–172. This homology between intercourse and violent assault or combat is not just occasional or confined to humorous contexts, but deeply ingrained in Greek thought. The phallic connotation of κέντρον and ὕβρις adds

intercourse and sport and intercourse and combat.[24] Instruments of war are frequently made to stand for the aroused male organ,[25] and in Athenian red figure satyrs are often armed with phallic spears.[26] The chorus of Aristophanes' *Wasps* was certainly phallic. At verse 1061 f. when they boast that they were once valiant in battle and "most valiant men above all as far as *this* is concerned" it is clear that they point to their phalli.[27] The frequent references in the play to the chorus' stings are possibly references to their phalli—they are after all wasp-like men and not real wasps—but even if stings were sewn onto the sides or backs of their costumes (cf. 225, 1075), there can be no doubt that these κέντρα are also phallic in use and conception.[28] When they throw off their cloaks and reveal their "erected" stings (407 κέντρον ἐντέτατ'), they march in upon Bdelykleon and his slaves in hoplite formation, holding their κέντρα before them like spears (423 f.; it is unlikely that they marched backwards). One hemichorus flies at the enemy's πρωκτά (431), as they once did at Persian trousers (1087).[29] The ἐπίνοια τῆς ἐγκεντρίδος (1073), they explain, is just this manifestation of the Attic race as "most manly" (1077). There is more than comic invention behind this conflation of sex, violence and domination into an act of symbolic buggery. This constellation of ideas, we will see, was central to Athenian representations of virility in Aristophanes' day.

Winkler drew attention in passing to the scene on the reverse of the Getty calyx-krater (PLATE 2A), which appears, at first, unrelated to the scene on the front.[30] A young *ephebe* (beardless) stands naked holding a spear in his left hand and a (crested) Corinthian helmet in his right. The himation and walking stick show that the man facing him on the right is older. On

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considerable resonance to the play on these words/images in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, which, on des Bouvrie's interpretation, deals with the Danaids' rejection of natural marriage, i.e., involving sexual penetration (described as "wounding," τρῶσαι, at *TrGF* 3 *Danaides* F 44) in favour of the mythic non-"violent" marriage of Io, involving only the gentle touch of Zeus (see S. des Bouvrie, *Women in Greek Tragedy* [Oslo 1990] 147–166).

[24]Henderson, *MM* 45, 121, 169–173. For the link between sex and aggression in Greek culture and elsewhere, see esp. W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (tr. P. Bing, Berkeley 1983) 58–72.

[25]Henderson, *MM* 120–124 (δόρυ, ἔμβολος, ξίφος, ὅπλον, πέλεκυς, ῥόπαλον, πέλτη, σαυνίον).

[26]F. Lissarrague, "The Sexual Life of Satyrs" in D. M. Halperin, J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality* (Princeton 1990) 53–81, 58 and see Part II (to be published in the next issue), n. 140.

[27]See MacDowell *ad loc.* Cf. Green, "*Birds*" 111, n. 21.

[28]See the recent contribution to this debate by K. J. Reckford, *Aristophanes' Old-and-New Comedy* (Chapel Hill and London 1987) 235 ff. and the earlier literature cited on 522, n. 16.

[29]One thinks of the famous Εὐρυμέδων εἰμί vase (Hamburg 1981.173). See K. Schauenburg, "ΕΥΡΥΜΕΔΩΝ ΕΙΜΙ," *AthMitt* 90 (1975) 97–121; and, with an unconvincing interpretation, G. F. Pinney, "For the Heroes are at Hand," *JHS* 104 (1984) 181–183.

[30]J. J. Winkler, "Phallos Politikos: Representing the Body Politic in Athens," *Differences* 2 (1990) 29–45, 41.

the left side a woman looks on. Winkler took the scene to show an ephebe receiving his arms while his parents look on,[31] a youth's rite of passage to manhood, which, he hinted, has a particular relevance to the cockfight on the front. So far as I know Winkler's untimely death prevented his further exploration of cockfighting in Athens, which he styled "one of the central and underrated topoi in the Athenian poetics of manhood." Nevertheless, a few passing references in Winkler's published works, and Hoffmann's crucial study of the virility symbolism of the cock ("Hahnenkampf"), make much of the way clear already.

The problems posed by the Getty cockfight refer us to a much broader ideological context, to be explored below in Part I. Not till Part II (to be published in the next issue) will we descend again from the general to reconsider the Getty vase within an Aristophanic context. A note of caution: the following discussion invokes both earlier and much later ancient sources. This is not because I believe that Greek antiquity comprised a single ideological system—quite the opposite. Even Classical Athens would not be taken as a synchronic unit, if not for the relative paucity of evidence. When Archaic, Hellenistic, and Roman material is adduced, it is sometimes based on the assumption that it expresses emergent or residual attitudes which stand in some diachronic relation with Classical Athenian attitudes. More often, in the case of later sources, I have assumed a direct or indirect influence by Classical authors. The case could perhaps have been made from Classical (i.e., 479–323 B.C.) Athenian sources alone: I decided to err on the side of comprehensiveness.

I BETWEEN ARES AND APHRODITE

It is well known that in antiquity generally the cock was available as a liminal creature. Its habit of crowing at dawn made it a symbol of the transition from night to day and darkness to light. As a marker of time and transitions it is associated with birth, death, and rebirth, becoming closely identified with such liminal deities as Leto, Hermes, Demeter/Persephone and Asclepius.[32] Ephebic status might also be closely connected to death and rebirth: Artemidorus, for example, claims that dreams of ephebehood

[31]For the "genre," see H. Hoffmann, "Knotenpunkte," *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 128–154, 142 f. and pl. 5a. Cf. G. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke* (Berlin 1983) 47, 156.

[32]Some important discussions are: P. Perdrizet, "L'Hippalectryon," *REA* 6 (1904) 7–30; G. Weicker, "Hähne auf Grabstelen," *AthMitt* 30 (1905) 207–212; E. Orth, *s.v.* "Huhn," *RE* 8.2 (1913) col. 2531–34; F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris 1942) 398 f., n. 4; J. and L. Robert, *Hellenica* 6 (1948) 54 f.; L. Bodson, *Hiera Zoia* (Brussels 1978, *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des lettres* 63.2) 100; C. Sourvinou-Inwood, *"Reading" Greek Culture* (Oxford 1991) 147–180, *passim*, esp. 159.

signify marriage for the bachelor and death for the aged.[33] We will focus our discussion here at the point of intersection of all these oppositions so far implicit in our discussion: love and war, life and death, and consequently ephebe and cock.

A Hellenistic aetiological myth makes the cock, Alektryon, a creature of Ares.[34] The connection alludes, of course, to the martial qualities of the bird, but of these none appears in the character of Alektryon when he was human. Lucian describes him as "a boy in early adolescence (νεανίσκος), dear to Ares, who kept company with the god at drinking parties, caroused with him and was his companion in lovemaking (κοινωνοίη τῶν ἐρωτικῶν)." His only soldierly duty was to keep watch, while Ares made adulterous love to Aphrodite, so as to prevent the rising sun from seeing them and reporting the affair to Hephaestus. Alektryon did not keep his watch. He fell asleep. Hephaestus learned of the affair and set the trap (described by Homer *Od.* 8.266–366) which led to the public humiliation of Ares and Aphrodite. As punishment Alektryon was condemned to compensate eternally for his failure to herald the rising sun. Ares turned him into a cock. The features of this new beast were said to demonstrate his affinity to the war god. The bird's crest resembled a helmet,[35] with cheek-pieces (wattles) of the Corinthian variety. Its spurs are like armaments. In the cockfight bronze points are said to have been fixed to their tips to make them more lethal.[36] Columella thinks of stakes, but Nicander comes closest to the logic of the myth in calling them spears.[37] The epicene youth turns hoplite. In losing his humanity Alektryon gains "manhood." It may seem odd that a story with the format of an initiation myth should be attached to a cautionary tale about adultery. But there are two stories told about the cock: one turns him into an ideal model of hoplite virtue, the other is about sexual transgression and loss of self.

The Greater Logos

It is said that the Greeks cultivated chickens primarily for their martial qualities.[38] Whatever the case, apart from scientific and agricultural handbooks, the cock of Greek art and literature is normally the fighting-cock.[39]

[33]Artem. 1.54. Cf. J. J. Winkler in J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin (eds.), *Nothing to Do with Dionysos* (Princeton 1989) 33.

[34]Lucian *Gallus* 3; schol. Ar. *Aves* 835; Eust. *Od.* 1.300 (Stallbaum); Auson. 26.2.27 (Schenkl); Lib. *Progymnasmata* 2.26 (Foerster).

[35]Lucian *Gallus* 3; Eust. *Od.* 1.142.15 (Stallbaum); cf. Ar. *Aves* 290.

[36]Schol. Ar. *Aves* 759; Suda *s.v.* πλῆκτρον.

[37]Lucian *Gallus* 3 (ὅπλα); Pliny *HN* 10.47 ("tela"); Columella 8.2.11 ("velut sudibus nocenter armata"); Nic. *Alex.* 294 (αἰχμητῆσιν ... νεοσσοῖς, "spearbearing chicks"). Cf. Eust. *Od.* 1.300 (Stallbaum); Lib. *Progymnasmata* 2.26 (Foerster).

[38]Varro *Rust.* 3.9; Columella 8.2.4–5; Orth (above, n. 32) col. 2524.

[39]Bruneau; Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 199–206.

It emblematized the spirit of war itself (Aesch. *Eum.* 861 ff.). It was a favourite motif on shield blazons,[40] and served as attribute for the chief wargods Athena and Ares. In Elis a chryselephantine statue of Athena by Pheidias had an image of a cock on her helmet because οὗτοι προχειρότατα ἔχουσιν ἐς μάχας οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνες (Paus. 6.26.3). On the front of Panathenaic amphorae there is a "figure of Athena, in warlike attitude, between two columns surmounted by cocks," read by Beazley as "symbols of the fighting spirit."[41] Its very name, "the defender" (ἀλεκτρυών, or poetic ἀλέκτωρ, from the root of ἀλέξω) seems a sufficient guarantee of the bird's martial prowess.[42] An association with Athena's role as guardian of the city lies behind the punning τῆς ἀλέκτορος (cf. ἀλέκτρου "virgin") Ἀθηνᾶς by Pompeianus of Philadelphia (Ath. 3.98b). In Aristophanes' *Birds* (826 ff.) Euelpides and Pisthetairos reject Athena as the tutelary deity of Nephelokokkygia, choosing instead the cock ὅσπερ λέγεται δεινότατος εἶναι πανταχοῦ Ἄρεως νεοττός.

To Ares cocks were sacrificed at Sparta as a victory offering after battle.[43] The animal's combative spirit made it sacred also to Heracles.[44] Programmatic decoration on Attic vase-painting frequently produces similes between fighting cocks and mythological combatants and/or hoplites: for example, an Attic black-figured plate in Oxford (late sixth/early fifth c. B.C.) shows, in the centre interior, Heracles and Apollo fighting over the hind while Athena looks on and, in the predella, two cocks fighting over an onlooking hen.[45]

To what did this bird owe its glorious reputation? A dominant discourse held that cocks never yield to their opponents but fight to the death.[46] During the Persian Wars Themistocles, or, in one version, Miltiades, is said

[40]Perdrizet (above, n. 32) 14, n. 2; Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 202, fig. 5, and 201, nn. 1 and 2. Some evidence for cocks as a figurehead for warships: Perdrizet, *op. cit.* 11.

[41]J. D. Beazley, *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*[2] (Berkeley 1986) 81, 84.

[42]P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1968) 1.58; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1960) 1.68.

[43]Plut. *Ages.* 33.4, *Marc.* 22.5, *Apophth. Lac.* 238f6; Eust. *Od.* 1.142.16 ff.

[44]Ael. *NA* 17.46; Plut. *Mor.* 696e; *IG* II[2] 1367.27.

[45]Oxford 1934.333 (*ABV* 115.4); Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 200, fig. 3. See, in general, Koch-Harnack (above, n. 31) 98 f. and particularly figs. 33–36, which bring single cocks in the interior of cups by Lydos and his Companions (Taranto 52130 = *ABV* 112.67) and by The Painter of Boston C.A. (Copenhagen 5180 = *ABV* 69.5) into relation with combat scenes on the exterior. As early as Exekias cockfights appear as shoulder decoration on neck-amphorae where the principal scene gives a combat motif: Boston 89.273 (R 315) = *ABV* 144.4; Munich 1470 (J 1295) = *ABV* 144.6; and Harvard 1960.312 = *ABV* 148/iii, *Paralipomena* 62 ("Near Exekias") with cocks between hens. For onlooking hens, cf. also n. 156 in Part III (to be published in the next issue).

[46]Ion 19 *TrGF* 53; Philo *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 133; Pliny *HN* 10.47; Muson. *Diatribe* 7; Plut. *Lyc.* 20.6, *Mor.* 191e, *Mor.* 224b-c; Epict. 2.2.13; Sext. Emp. *Math.* 11.99, 11.101, 11.103; extended to all beasts in Plut. *Mor.* 987c–e.

to have roused the ardour of the troops with the spectacle of a cockfight and later instituted an annual cockfight as an object lesson in military valour.[47] Lucian's Solon explains to Anacharsis (*Anach.* 37):

> So what would you say, if you saw our quail- and cockfights and the not inconsiderable zeal devoted to them? Or is it likely you would laugh, and especially if you learned that we do it by law and that all men of military age are instructed to attend and watch the birds flail at one another until their very last fall? But it is not ridiculous, for an appetite for danger steals gradually into their spirits so that they might not appear less noble and daring than cocks and give in while they still have life (προαπαγορεύοιεν) under distress of wounds and exhaustion or some other hardship.

Socrates is said to have roused the spirit of the general Iphicrates by pointing to fighting cocks (D.L. 2.30). Chrysippus remarked on their utility "in inciting soldiers to war and instilling an appetite for valour" (Plut. *Mor.* 1049a).

But the cock is also close to Aphrodite. Meleager explains a cock on a grave stele as a sign that the dead man was περὶ Κύπριν πρᾶτος (*Anth. Pal.* 7.428.16 f.). Chickens are said by Aristotle to be ἀφροδισιαστικά, by Oppian to be sex-crazed (and pugnacious) beyond all known birds.[48] This is partly justified by observation of their behaviour: unlike other birds (Arist. *HA* 558b24 f.), chickens have no concept of καιρός, but copulate anywhere (Clem. Al. *Paed.* 2.10.96.2), any time of day (Plut. *Mor.* 654f), at any time of year.[49] Hens will chase the cocks and throw themselves underneath them, even when the cocks are not in the mood (Arist. *HA* 637b7 f.). Their excessive fertility often leads to their own undoing: multiple conception frequently causes monstrous births (Arist. *Gen. an.* 769b30 ff.), or causes hens to die exhausted, laying as many as two or three eggs a day.[50] Though birds in general are lecherous, Aristotle explains why cocks are especially so (*Gen. an.* 749b): the class of "heavy" birds (including *inter alia* the cock, quail, and partridge) are particularly salacious (ὀχευτικά) and fertile (πολύγονα), as opposed to the taloned (γαμψώνυχα) and feathery birds (πτητικά), because the residue (περίττωμα) left over from the production of flesh and organs, which is directed to the creation of feathers and talons in other birds, is in the "heavy" birds directed to the surplus production of sperm and menstrual fluids (responsible for fertility). "Heavy" birds generally have close connections with the cult of Aphrodite: both Aphrodite

[47] Ael. *VH* 2.28; Eust. *Il.* 2.675.5; Philo *Quod omnis probus liber sit* 132 f. An institutional cockfight is also attested for Pergamon (Pliny *HN* 10.50).

[48] Arist. *HA* 488b4; Opp. *apud* Dionys. *Av.* 1.26 (Garzya); Anon. *Physiogn.* 131 (= *Script. physiogn.* 2.142 f. [Foerster]); cf. Mart. 13.63.

[49] Arist. *HA* 544a31 ff., 558b12 f., 564b12, 588b22, *Gen. an.* 770a13, [*Mir. ausc.*] 842b31; Pliny *HN* 10.146.

[50] Arist. *HA* 558b21, *Gen. an.* 750b27 ff., [*Mir. ausc.*] 842b31 f.

and Eros frequently ride swans, ducks, geese, cocks, and peacocks.[51] The Aristotelian *Problems* (880a–b) offers the same explanation for the lechery of birds and hairy men: feathers and hair are the product of the decoction of much moisture in hot animals;[52] moreover, short-legged creatures (like lame men) are lecherous because less residue is diverted to their legs.[53] Ancient agricultural treatises recommend cocks with "shaggy" and short legs as particularly salacious.[54]

In art avian lechery is abundantly represented by the motifs of winged phalli and phallic birds.[55] The latter, according to Dover (*GH* 133), have "the legs, body and wings of a bird but a neck and head in the form of a curved penis with the foreskin rolled back and an eye on the glans." Though the species of these phallus-birds is often indistinct, they are generally of the "heavy" variety, and amongst recognizable species the cock has pride of place.[56] There are unique physical and behavioural characteristics which account for the cock's particular privilege, and, oddly, the physical characteristics which made it a hoplite are precisely those which mark it as phallic. Crest and wattles distinguish the male gallinaceae, even prove, for reasons which were self-evident to Aelian (*NA* 11.26), that nature prefers the male. Though analogous to the crests of other species, the cock's crest is unique: no mere feathery tuft, "in substance it is not flesh, but it is not

[51]Aphrodite on geese and swans: see A. Delivorias with G. Berger-Doer and A. Kossatz-Deissmann, "Aphrodite," *LIMC* 2 (Zurich and Munich 1984) 2–151, sec. IV.E.4, nos. 903–946. Aphrodite on cock (late-sixth-century B.C. Halicarnassus): see S. Mollard-Besques, *Catalogue raisonné des figurines et reliefs en terre-cuite grecs, étrusques et romains* 1 (Paris 1954) B 339, pl. 36; Bodson (above, n. 32) 97. Eros on "heavy birds": A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis, and R. Vollkomner, "Eros," *LIMC* 3 (Zurich and Munich 1986) 850–942, 870, nos. 193–204. Ephebes, παῖδες, and the goddess Men also ride cocks just as ephebes most frequently ride the hybrid cock-horse, *hippalectryon*: Perdrizet (above, n. 32) 30; D. Williams, "Hippalektryon," *LIMC* 5 (Zurich and Munich 1990) 427–432, 430 f., nos. 49, 59, 52–59, 61–63, 65–68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77–84. A black-figured kyathos (Berlin 2095 = *ABV* 610.1) shows a hetaira (or Aphrodite?) riding a phallus-goose. Cf. also the satyr who rides a phallus-bird on Brussels A723 (*ARV*^{2} 317).

[52]On hairy men, see Dover, *GH* 137 f. For the position of gallinaceae amongst the hottest and driest animals, see, e.g., Hippoc. *Vict.* 2.47; Aët. 1. Pr. 78 (= *CMG* 8.1 p. 20).

[53]In Attic art dwarves and pygmies are depicted with abnormally large genitals: see Lissarrague (above, n. 26) 56 and n. 16.

[54]Varro *Rust.* 3.9.5; Columella 8.2.10; *Geoponica* 14.16; cf. [Arist.] *Phgn.* 806b11 ff., where the hardness of the cock's feathers show it is ἀνδρεῖος.

[55]See the listings by H. Herter, *RE* 19 (1938) *s.v.* "Phallos" and *s.v.* "Phallophoria," supplemented by B. Bérard, "Une Nouvelle Péliké du Peintre de Geras," *AntK* 9 (1966) 93–100, 96, n. 25. See further for discussions/illustrations: Bérard, *op. cit.* 94–96, pl. 22.3; *PhV*^{2} no. 182, pl. xi (d); E. Vermeule, "Some Erotica in Boston," *AntK* 11 (1969) 9–15, 14, no. 15, pls. 11.4, 11.5; Dover *GH* 133; Greek Ministry of Culture, *Eros grec: amour des dieux et des hommes* (Athens 1989) 33, 35, 148 ff. (nos. 76, 78, 79).

[56]Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 204–213; Dover, *GH* 133, n. 18. In addition to the artifacts mentioned below, honourable mention should be given to: 1) a marble relief

very different from flesh either" (Arist. *HA* 504b11 f.; cf. Pliny *HN* 11.122). It is in fact most like erectile tissue: the flaccidity or rigidity of the cock's comb varies in proportion to the cock's salaciousness.[57] The phallic conception of the cock becomes systematic in the Aristophanic explanation of the name Περσικὸς ὄρνις: the cock is the only bird which wears its tiara erect (as the Persian king allegedly did).[58] The crest of a salacious cock is not only erect but ruddy-coloured,[59] while castration causes the crest to lose its colouring (Arist. *HA* 631b28). The spurs of the cock show the same tendency to be considered more than merely secondary sex characteristics. The homology between the spur and the genitals, obvious already on the Getty vase, became sufficiently systematic that Pliny allowed removal of the spurs as an alternative to castration (*HN* 10.50), while Varro (*Rust.* 3.9.1) and Columella (8.2.3: "nec tamen id patiuntur amissis genitalibus") claimed that this is the only means of performing castration. In the feathers too we find symbolic isotopy between sex and war. Λόφος, the word for "crest," is also used for the "crest," or decorative plumes, of a hoplite's helmet. A helmet's λόφος typically consisted of two long tail feathers (taxiarchs had three).[60] And two long tail feathers were stereotypically associated with the

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of an ithyphallic cock-herm with cock's comb and wattles, admired by a hen, goose, and duck, in Naples (G. L. Marini, *Il gabinetto segreto del Museo Nazionale di Napoli* [Turin 1971] 113; W. Helbig, *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* [Leipzig 1868] 384, no. 1554; S. Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* [Rome 1970] 367, no. 7); 2) a bronze phallus-bust with cock's comb and wattles at the Vatican, labelled "soter kosmou" (E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period* 8 [New York 1958] 64); 3) a Priapus with a cock's comb and wattles (Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 205, n. 4; O. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt* ii [Leipzig 1913, repr. Hildesheim 1963] 138), described in *Le Grand Cabinet Romain ou Recueil d'Antiquitez Romaines etc. avec les explications de Michel Ange de la Chausse* (Amsterdam 1706) 122: "Mr. le Cardinal Chigi a dans son cabinet une statue de Priape, qui est des plus ridiculement grotesques, mais qui cache beaucoup de belle érudition. Ce Priape est crêté comme un cocq, tant sur la tête que sous le menton, son membre est droit, il porte une bourse à la main droite et une clochette à la gauche."

[57]Columella 8.2.9; for Pliny the erect comb shows "generositas" (*HN* 10.156), for Juvenal self-satisfaction (4.70).

[58]Ar. *Aves* 487: ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν κυρβασίαν τῶν ὀρνίθων μόνος ὀρθήν. Contrast Arist. *HA* 504b9 f. Further schematization occurred in the Renaissance: Gilbert Longolius "made the error of saying that the rooster's crest is erect and the hen's pliable, hanging down on the middle of its head" (Aldrovandi 40).

[59]Columella 8.2.9: the most salacious cocks have *sublimes, sanguineaeque, nec obliquae cristae*; Varro *Rust.* 3.9.5; *Geoponica* 14.16 Note that the peripatetics regarded the redness of the crest and wattles to be (like sperm) the product of decoction ([Arist.] *Col.* 799b14). For the association of redness with male genitals in ancient Greece (and elsewhere), see D. Fehling, *Ethologische Überlegungen auf dem Gebiet der Altertumskunde* (Munich 1974) 12 f.

[60]Ar. *Ach.* 1103, 1105; *Pax* 1214 (see van Leeuwen *ad loc.*); taxiarchs: Ar. *Ach.* 965, 1109; *Pax* 1173; schol. *Pax* 395. The plumes are depicted on the helmet of Heracles on the calyx-krater by Asteas, Madrid 11094 (L. 369) = A. D. Trendall, *The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum* (London 1987) no. 2/127, pl. 46.

cock (Lucian *Gallus* 28). Columella makes them an attribute of the most salacious cocks.[61]

But it is in its behaviour, specifically in battle, that the cock's phallic propensities are most evident. Crests are particularly red and erect when the bird fights.[62] In addition cocks have feather erections. In a fight the two long tailfeathers are said to curve upwards in a semicircle,[63] and the feathers around the neck (the "mane") begin to bristle.[64] The Renaissance writer Ulysses Aldrovandi (236 f.) describes them bristling and pulsating: *Dum enim pugnant, naturae ductu terram feriunt, et plumas circum collum erigunt pennasque caudae, quantum possunt, sursum, atque dorsum vibrant* ..., apparently instilling terror with this "imposing display," like Tydeus raging in battle (Aesch. *Sept.* 384 τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους σείει) or the comic Lamachus (Ar. *Ach.* 965 κραδαίνων τρεῖς κατασκίους λόφους). The homology between the cock's and the helmet's λόφος is explicitly drawn in Greek comedy,[65] and Aelian (fr. 19 [Hercher]) is able to speak of the cock as τὸν λόφον ἐπισείων, οἷον ὁπλίτης γαῦρος. Both the "manes" and the erected tails are emphasized in cockfights on Attic pottery (PLATE 2B).[66]

The cock's crow is yet another distinctive attribute of male gallinaceae,[67] and its frequency a measure of a cock's sexual prowess (Varro *Rust.* 3.9.5). So closely linked are the voice and the sexual identity of the cock that its song ceases with castration.[68] Not only does the cock crow when sexually

[61]Columella 8.2.10: *procerissimae caudae, duplici ordine, singulis utrinque prominentibus pinnis inflexae.* Cf. Varro *Rust.* 3.9.5: *gallos salaces ... caudis magnis, frequentibus pinnis.*

[62]Arist. *HA* 631b10 f.; August. *De ordine* 1.8.25. Theocritus (22.72) specifically associates red crests with fighting cocks: ὀρνίθων φοινικολόφων τοιοίδε κυδοιμοί. Cf. W. Gilbey, *Sport in the Olden Time* (London 1912, repr. Liss, Hampshire 1975) 19, reporting the findings of G. Markham, *The Pleasure of Princes* (1604): "Redness above the head indicated lust, strength and courage; pallor the reverse."

[63]Arist. *HA* 631b11; Pliny *HN* 10.47.

[64]Columella 8.2.9; August. *De ordine* 1.8.25: *inflatas comas.*

[65]Ar. *Aves* 1366 f. νομίσας ἀλεκτρυόνος ἔχειν τονδὶ λόφον,/ φρούρει, στρατεύει .... (this passage is discussed further in Part III) and the puns at *Aves* 279 and Heraclid. Com. *PCG* 1 with E. K. Borthwick, "Death of a Fighting Cock," *CR* 16 (1966) 4–5.

[66]Boston 08.791; Vermeule (above, n. 55) no. 1, pl. 4; Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" fig. 15. Cf. esp. Oxford 1964.621 (= Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" fig. 7); white-ground lekythos in Limassol (= *ARV*^{2} 660.76, Painter of the Yale Lekythos; Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" fig. 19); cf. also the tailfeathers on the bronze figurine in Athens NM 6643 (= Bruneau fig. 7, Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" fig. 18).

[67]Arist. *HA* 536a20–33; Pliny *HN* 11.168; Ter. *Phormio* 708; Alex. Aphr. *Pr.* 4.168. But cf. Atkinson 32 f. Cocks are said not to crow in damp climates (Theophr. *apud* Ael. *NA* 3.38), no doubt because their masculinity (hot and dry) is affected by the climate.

[68]Arist. *HA* 631b28; Pliny *HN* 10.50; cf. E. K. Borthwick, "Two Emendations in Alciphron," *CR* 15 (1965) 261–263, at 261 f. The voice of birds is so sexually charged that male sparrows, partridges, and cocks emit semen if they merely hear the call of the female (Clearch. *apud* Ath. 9.389 f.), while female partridges (partridges are closest

excited, but it crows to proclaim its victory in battle,[69] and so was thought to augur victory for armies within earshot of its call.[70] Conceived as another of its military habits, the cock's crow serves as a ready metaphor for trumpet signals.[71] And against the interloper the cock's phallic attributes, like the phallus itself, are magically apotropaic: its crowing, like its crest, strikes terror into lions, panthers, and basilisks.[72] Even smearing oneself with cock fat, especially when mixed with garlic (Pliny *HN* 29.78), acts as a panther-and-lion repellent. Indeed everything distinctive about the cock seems to serve as a simultaneous index of its remarkable accomplishments in both love and war.

If we were to stop our inquiry here, we could agree that the cock has all the essential characteristics of a "real man" in ancient Greek society. An ideal hoplite and an assiduous lover, the cock excels at both poles of the masculine domain. So densely overdetermined, the cock's "virility" produced emanations of great medicinal value. Its testicles, particularly the one on the right, were a powerful aphrodisiac[73] and a cure for impotence.[74] The *Kyranides* recommend the tail (here ὀρθοπύγιον) for the same purposes (3.3.3 f. Kaimakis). If women consumed cock's testicles immediately after conception, they were ensured of the delivery of a male child.[75]

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to chickens in their mating habits, Arist. *Gen. an.* 738b27 ff.; 746a29–b2) can conceive just by hearing the voice of the male (Arist. *HA* 541a27 ff., *Gen. an.* 751a15; Pliny *HN* 10.102; Varro *Rust.* 3.11.4).

[69]Schol. Ar. *Aves* 489 κοκκύζει γὰρ κυρίως ὅταν παρ' ἑαυτῷ μετὰ νίκην τῆς μάχης ᾖσῃ. Cf. the proverb πρὶν νενικηκέναι ᾄδειν "to crow too soon": Pl. *Tht.* 164c (cf. Pl. *Lys.* 205d) and LSJ, *s.v.* ἀείδω I. See also Borthwick (above, n. 65) 5 on Zenob. 6.34. On the victory ritual see further below.

[70]Cic. *Div.* 1.34.74, 2.26.56; Pliny *HN* 10.49; Aldrovandi 211 ff.

[71]See Ar. *Ranae* 1380, 1384; Demades fr. 4; Cf. Lucian *Ocypus* 114.

[72]Perdrizet ([above, n. 32] 12) calls the cock "une bête prophylactique par excellence." For lions, panthers and basilisks, see Lucr. 4.710; Pliny *HN* 8.52; Ael. *NA* 3.31, 5.50, 6.22, 8.28, 14.9; Sext. Emp. *Pyr.* 1.58.4, 3.1.93; Plut. *Mor.* 537a11, 537c2, *De sollertia animalium* 981e; *Corp. Fab. Aesop.* 292 (Hausrath); Solinus 27.20 (Mommsen, p. 120); Alex. Aphr. *Mixt.* 1.1; *et al.* Cf. the tale told about Germanicus (Plut. fr. 215k, 217g [Sandbach]). In early Christian literature the cock wards off demons of the night: Prudent. *Cath.* 1.38; *Anecd. Gr.* 3.445.4 (Boissonade). In Jewish folklore the redness of the cock's crest is said to keep off the devil: P. Smith and C. Daniel, *The Chicken Book* (Boston and Toronto 1975) 39. With the cock's apotropaic crowing, one can compare the effects of the braying of Dionysus' (or Silenus') ithyphallic donkey: Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.23; Pseudo-Eratosth. 2; Ovid *Fasti* 1.434, 6.342.

[73]Pliny *HN* 30.141 f.; *Kyranides* 3.3.17 f. (D. Kaimakis [ed.], *Die Kyraniden* [Meisenheim 1976]). But contrast Pliny *HN* 30.142 where the testicles and blood of the cock placed under the bed inhibit intercourse: in this case emphasis is placed not on the testicles but on the fact that the cock is *castrated.*

[74]Aët. 11.35; *Kyranides* 3.3.3 f. (Kaimakis [above, n. 73]).

[75]Pliny *HN* 30.123. Cf. also the story of the rooster egg portent of Tiberius' birth and of his salaciousness (Dio Cass. 48.52.3; Pliny *HN* 10.154, 15.136; cf. Suet. *Galba* 1).

The hypermasculinity of the cock was proverbial: "cock's milk" was something so "unthinkable," that whoever lacked it, emphatically lacked nothing, for a product so mammalian and female could hardly be expected from this macho ὄρνις *par excellence*.

Given the cock's association with both sex and masculinity, it is not surprising that it was the preferred love gift given by mature men to beautiful youths.[76] In Visser's words "the cock expressed the sheer maleness of the couple, their virile aggressivity and energy."[77] From one point of view, the logic is impeccable. Male homosexuality[78] has something in common with the cock: as a form of sexual contact it shares the province of Aphrodite; as a form of aggressive energy directed by male towards male, it shares the province of Ares. Yet from another point of view the cock is the very antitype of the male homosexual: the latter goes against the grain of both Aphrodite and Ares and confuses the acts of love and war, attraction and repulsion. "You'll never see a cock that is a *kinaidos*," claims Lucian's Alektryon (*Gallus* 27), possibly citing from Attic comedy.[79] Pathic homosexuality seems remote from this paradigm of martial valour and masculine fertility, upright citizen and hoplite; frequently, however, it can be caught off guard, permitting a glimpse of Ares and Aphrodite in embarrassing combination.

The Lesser Logos

In the fighting cock's habit of crowing in triumph over the prostrate body of its defeated rival, its erotic and martial qualities are most inseparable.[80] The victorious cock was perceived as "phallicity" itself, swelling up,[81] fluttering its wings,[82] lifting its entire body,[83] rising on tiptoes,[84] stretching

[76]Ar. *Aves* 705 ff.; Pl. *Lysis* 211e5; Petr. 86; Plut. *Mor.* 622f; K. Schneider, *s.v.* "Hahnenkämpfe," *RE* 8 (1912) col. 2214 f.; Dover, *GH* 92. The principal evidence is Attic vase-painting from ca 570/60 to ca 460 B.C.: see esp. Koch-Harnack (above, n. 31) 63, 97–105.

[77]M. Visser, *Much Depends on Dinner* (New York 1986) 126.

[78]It will be apparent that I do not agree with the more radical constructionist position that this category did not exist in antiquity. Cf. J. Thorp, "The Social Construction of Homosexuality," *Phoenix* 46 (1992) 54–61. This is not to say that the categories were the *same* as at present.

[79]Rewritten by Kock as *Com. adesp.* 1213 K. For the sentiment, cf. Pl. *Leges* 836c; Plut. *Mor.* 990d. See Winkler, *CD* 49.

[80]For the cock crowing over a defeated rival, see in addition to passages mentioned below: Arist. *HA* 536a27, 631b9; Pliny *HN* 10.47; *Corp. Fab. Aesop.* 266 (Hausrath).

[81]M. Phile, *De animalium proprietate* (in F. S. Lehrs and F. Dübner [eds.], *Poetae bucolici et didactici* [Paris 1862]) 340 f.: ἀλεκτρυὼν μέντοι γε νικῶν τὴν μάχην σφριγᾷ καθαρῶς ....

[82]Dem. 54.7–9; Babr. 5.6 (Perry). Cf. the common metaphor of "fluttering up with excitement": Ar. *Aves* 430, 1436 ff.; Diph. *PCG* 62; and in an erotic context: Anac. 52 D. = *PMG* 378; Soph. *Ajax* 693; Hdt. 2.115.4; Ar. *Eq.* 1345; Xen. *Symp.* 9.5; Pl.

its head and neck skywards[85] and crowing while gathering its wings into a ball.[86] Greek art leaves no doubt that the cock, at its climactic moment, with its erect head and mobile lateral appendages, became a winged phallus. The homology is most explicitly drawn by a number of crowing birds whose heads and necks have been replaced by the erect male organ. A generic "heavy bird" with a phallic head flutters its wings as if crowing atop a *louterion* on the reverse of a red-figured pelike by the Geras Painter (ca 470 B.C.).[87] This has been interpreted as a symbol of defiance or triumph over death (reading the *louterion* as a grave monument).[88] But Durand and Lissarrague have shown that the *louterion* has strong erotic associations.[89] Possibly, there is some connection between this triumphant pose and the ithyphallic satyr on the front of the pelike who stands atop a supine and equally ithyphallic herm, dealing it a fatal blow to the head.[90] A similar phallus bird flaps its wings on the reverse of a red-figured skyphos of ca 470–460 B.C. (PLATE 3A).[91] A clearer motive for this triumphant display is suggested by the front of the skyphos (PLATE 3B), where a phallus bird stands poised under the rump of a satyr who seems to oblige the bird by bending forward and bracing himself with his hands on his lower back. Perhaps this is the very same bird and we are to take Side A as the "before" picture. If this is right, then the bird crows on the reverse over the erotic conquest that seems imminent on the front.[92] A red-figured cup by Apollodoros (ca 490 B.C.) shows a kottabos stand (labelled) surmounted by another phallic bird which flutters its wings as if to symbolize the triumph of the victorious

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Phdr. 255c. For the phallic associations of "wings": see Henderson, *MM* 128; W. Arrowsmith, "Aristophanes' *Birds*: The Fantasy Politics of Eros," *Arion* NS 1 (1973) 119–167, 136, 164 ff.

[83]Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 1344; Cratinus *PCG* 279 and Hsch. *s.v.* ὀλόφωνος: ... ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ᾄδειν ὅλον αἴρεσθαι καὶ μετεωρίζεσθαι; Heraclid. Com. *PCG* 1: ἀωρὶ κοκκύζοντα καὶ πλανώμενον.

[84]Lucil. fr. 328–329 Warmington: *gallinaceus cum victor se gallus honeste,* | *in tentos digitos primores erigit ungues.*

[85]Theoc. 18.57 (ἀνασχὼν εὔτριχα δειράν); Ael. 4.29 (ὑψαυχενεῖ).

[86]August. *De ordine* 1.8.25: *postremo legem ipsam victoris, superbum cantum, et membra in unum quasi orbem collecta velut in fastum dominationis.*

[87]Lausanne 3250 = (*Paralipomena* 355). Bérard (above, n. 55) pl. 23.3.

[88]E. T. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry* (Berkeley 1979, Sather Classical Lectures 46) 174.

[89]J.-L. Durand and F. Lissarrague, "Un Lieu d'image," *Hephaistos* 2 (1980) 89–106, esp. 101.

[90]Bérard (above, n. 55) pl. 21. Bérard (97) rejects the idea that the satyr's attack is motivated by erotic jealousy.

[91]Boston Museum of Fine Arts 08.31c. Vermeule (above, n. 55) no. 15, fig. 11.5.

[92]Lissarrague (above, n. 26) 59 reads the two sides as belonging to a single scene: "a satyr stalks a bird of impressive size while a tiny bird approaches from behind." In my view the satyr's stance does not suggest "stalking."

contestant and the erotic nature of the "prize" to be won (PLATE 4A).[93] A similar conflation of phallic and triumphant symbolism appears on the choregic monument of Karystios (late fourth/early third c. B.C.) guarding the entrance to a shrine of Dionysus at Delos. This time the bird which appears on the front of the base has the clearly defined features of a cock. It crows with its wings rounded into a ball (as Augustine describes, note 86), but with head and neck replaced by a phallus; the base itself carried a large phallus, though it is doubtful whether the sculpture which now surmounts it is the original (PLATE 4B).[94]

How to explain the use of a crowing cock as a symbol for both erotic conquest and triumph in combat or competition? It is true that cocks fight for sexual domination (Arist. *HA* 536a24 ff.; Ath. 391e), but the conflation of the erotic with the combative/competitive is more specifically determined: the cock's ritual triumph *is* both a military and a sexual conquest. The victorious cock mounts the prostrate body of its victim to crow but also to bugger him (Arist. *HA* 631b10).

The *hybris* of the triumphant cock was proverbial: ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐπιπηδᾷ "the cock treads upon [its victim]."[95] The meaning of the proverb arises from the ambiguity of ἐπιπηδᾶν. It is used not only of a violent assault,

[93]M. Vickers, *Greek Symposia* (London, [1978]) 15, fig. 17; F. Lissarrague, *Un Flot d'images. Une Esthétique du banquet grec* (Paris 1987) 79, fig. 68. For the kottabos "prize" see E. Csapo and M. C. Miller, "The 'Kottabos-Toast' and an Inscribed Red-Figured Cup," *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 367–382, 379 ff.

[94]*IG* XI.4 no. 1148. Karystios' monument may depict the winged phallus carried in procession at the Delian Dionysia, see R. Vallois, "L'Agalma des Dionysies de Délos," *BCH* 46 (1922) 94 ff.; P. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale* (Paris 1970) 312–317. One thinks of Pratinus' "Lord Dithyramb-Triumph" (*TrGF* 4 F 3.16). For the symbolism one may compare the appearance of herms in the background of Hellenistic/Roman cockfighting scenes depicting victor and vanquished (Bruneau nos. 63, 64, 67, 94 and figs. 18, 20, 25). Bruneau (112) explains this as indicating the palaestra as the scene of combat, but surely Goodenough is also right in saying that the herms are there as "a sexual form which went with the sexual symbolism of the cock" (Goodenough [above, n. 56] 63).

[95]Apostolios, *Paroemiographi Graeci* 2.13 (Leutsch and Schneidewin); cf. Arsenius, *ibid.* 2.75. Apostolios' explanation of the proverb cannot stand. He claims that it is used ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγεννῶς ἀναμαχομένων τὴν ἧτταν. Parallels show that ἀναμάχεσθαι τὴν ἧτταν must mean "making good or reversing an earlier defeat" (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 223f; Julian *Or.* 1.24c) and this is how Erasmus takes it: *gallus insilit: ubi quis semel victus, redintegrat certamen* (F. Heinimann and E. Kienzle [eds.], *Adagiorum chilias tertia* [Amsterdam and Oxford 1981, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* II–5] 201, no. 2222). But it is impossible to see what the refusal of a cock to concede victory had to do with behaviour classed as ἀγεννῶς, since this was precisely the substance of the cock's claim to nobility. One could perhaps emend to εὐγενῶς, γενναίως or the like. However, ἐπιπηδᾶν is not used of "leaping back to one's feet" or "resuming combat with an opponent" but of "leaping upon a victim" and normally a helpless one. Köhler correctly explains the proverb: "Der Hahn geht darauf los" meaning "der Stärkere sich am Schwächeren rächen will"

but with the same ambiguity as English "tread upon" when used of cocks mounting hens.[96] It is also used of male homosexual intercourse.[97]

This little eccentricity is the foundation of another myth about the cock, which we may call the "Lesser Logos," and one no less moral in its intent, though this time a cautionary tale in which the cock serves as a negative paradigm. In this version of events the cock is diametrically opposed to its former expression of untrammeled virility. The focus of attention shifts from victor to vanquished.

The following is a story told by Aristotle about the partridge and the quail, but it is also sometimes true, he later says, of the cock (*HA* 614). Partridges and quails are the closest wild equivalents of the domesticated cock: they resemble the cock in their lust and mating habits,[98] but, because of their savagery, they are unusually vicious. They destroy the eggs of their own hens out of pure lust to prevent them from brooding (since brooding distracts them from non-stop copulation). This drives the hens into hiding. The males, called "widowers," thus fight among themselves "and the defeated male follows the victor about, and allows himself to be mounted by the latter alone" (*HA* 614a2 f.). "Sometimes, however, this behaviour is to be found even amongst cocks. In sanctuaries, for example, where they are dedicated without females, all the males reasonably (εὐλόγως) mount the [most recently] dedicated cock."[99] One might infer from Aristotle's words that this behaviour was rather exceptional, but to the popular imagination the obsequiousness of the defeated cock was also proverbial. In the technical language of the cockfight the loser was called a slave, δοῦλος.[100] In Aristophanes' *Birds*, when Euelpides and Pisthetairos call at Tereus' palace, the doorkeeper appears describing himself as an ὄρνις δοῦλος (70). Pisthetairos asks if he was "beaten by some cock" (71, ἠττήθης τινὸς ἀλεκτρυόνος;). The

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(C. S. Köhler, *Das Tierleben im Sprichwort der Griechen und Römer* [Leipzig 1881, repr. Hildesheim 1967] 70).

[96]Arist. *HA* 539b32. Cf. also Ath. 605f, Paus. 5.27.4, and Longus 3.14.4 <ἐπι>πηδήσαντες (Dalmeyda) for other birds and quadrupeds mounting.

[97]Pl. *Phdr.* 254a; Plut. *Mor.* 768e; cf. Plut. *Mor.* 1095a (H. Usener [ed.], *Epicurea* [Leipzig 1887] perditorum librorum fr. 21, pp. 21, 343). Note that the opposite ἀποπηδᾶν is used in Pl. *Tht.* 164c: the passage suggests that the cock first buggers its victim, then leaps off to crow. I suspect an allusion to this behaviour in Ar. *Vespae* 225 ff. where the chorus are said to have a very sharp sting from their loins ᾧ κεντοῦσι καὶ κεκραγότες πηδῶσι (κράζω, at least, is more naturally used of birds than insects). Cf. *Vespae* 705 where the jurors are said to leap savagely (ἀγρίως ... ἐπιπηδᾷς) upon the enemies of Cleon when he whistles.

[98]*HA* 488b4, *Gen. an.* 738b27 ff., 746a29 ff.

[99]Arist. *HA* 614a6 ff. Cf. Philo, *De anim.* 66; Pliny *HN* 10.100 f.; Ael. *HA* 3.16, 4.16; *Geoponica* 14.20; Solinus 7.30; Plut. *Mor.* 990e; [Antig.] *Mir.* 39.

[100]Ar. *Aves* 70 (van Leeuwen, Sommerstein *ad loc.*); Phryn. 3 *TrGF* 17 and *Adespota* 2 *TrGF* 408a; Theoc. 22.72 (Gow *ad loc.*); Pliny *HN* 10.47.

scholiast points out that it is "natural in cockfights that those which are beaten follow the victors about."[101]

So the dominant myth of the cock is a lie: the cock, which was supposed to fight to the death, appears here in total surrender, obsequiously following the victor, and, moreover, you *will* see a cock which is a *kinaidos*, since it willingly offers itself for penetration. Like the myth of Alektryon this is a myth of transformation, but in the opposite direction: male is turned to female, free citizen to slave, hoplite to *kinaidos*. It is the cock's conflation of social and sexual domination which makes its behaviour particularly intelligible and meaningful to the classical Greek mentality. Much recent literature, particularly the work of Halperin and Winkler, has shown how the Greeks represented the social division of power between classes and genders symbolically as a form of sexual domination. The distinction between slave and citizen was most clearly expressed in terms of the violability and inviolability of their respective bodies. Athenian rhetoric frequently represented the struggle within the citizen class between rich and poor, oligarch and democrat, in terms of the attempt by the former to convert economic into sexual domination. Hence the sexual and social dimensions of the crime of *hybris*, both physical "rape" and moral "outrage," "the anti-democratic crime *par excellence*."[102] It was as a form of sexual violence, symbolic buggery, that the Athenian democracy imaged the oligarchic programme to disenfranchise the lower classes and reduce them to servile status. The behaviour of the cock served as an archetypal expression of this fear. In mid-fourth-century B.C. Athens when Ariston prosecuted Konon for *hybris* after being beaten, stripped naked and trampled in the mud by the defendant's sons, he needed to show, in accordance with the law (Arist. *Rh.* 1374a13 ff.) that he was not only beaten, but beaten with an intent to dishonour the status of a free male citizen of Athens.[103] He did so by adducing, as a "sign of the defendant's *hybris* and proof that the whole affair was orchestrated by him," the fact that Konon stood over his prostrate body and "crowed in imitation of victorious cocks, and the others thought it alright for him to flap his elbows against his sides in imitation of wings" (Dem. 54.7–9).

[101] Schol. Ar. *Aves* 70: φυσικόν ἐστι τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων, τοὺς ἡττηθέντας ἕπεσθαι τοῖς νενικηκόσι. Cf. W. G. Rutherford *ad loc.*, who confirms this "fact of natural history—the defeated birds in a cock-fight follow the victors." In this connection it is interesting to note that in quailfights, according to Pollux (9.109), the owner of the losing quail would shout in its ear to prevent it from being "unmanned" by the sound of its victorious rival's voice.

[102] Halperin *HY* 96. For *hybris* as "sexual assault," "violation," or "rape," see Dover, *GH* 35–39. Menander's *Dyskolos* 298 nicely illustrates the sexual, social, and ideological dimensions of *hybris*. For *hybris* meaning homosexual rape, see, e.g., Aeschines 1.15 f.; Diod. Sic. 16.93.7.

[103] Cf. Winkler, *CD* 48 f.

Konon's behaviour was readily perceived as a symbolic thrust at Ariston's masculinity and his freedom, but it is far more than this: the speaker is careful to give maximum plausibility to his argument by associating the violent behaviour of Konon and his sons with aristocratic youth gangs called "Ithyphalloi" and "Triballoi" (Dem. 54.14), and making the teleology of Konon's chicken impersonation explicit by characterizing his associates as "supercilious and Lakonizing" oligarchs (Dem. 54.34).

Despite its contradictory nature, the myth of the cock as slave and catamite could, if we wished, be read as a supplement to the virility myth, a warning that defeat in battle leads to loss of manhood. Both tales might then appear to express a unified moral injunction to the citizen soldier to resist to the bitter end. But like the cock's "arms," which may be read as phalli, the total ambiguity of this complex of myths invites an inverse reading, taking the military metaphors merely as an allegorical supplement to the threat of sexual invasion and enslavement. In Bali or Cuba, cockfighting is a sport practised exclusively by adult males, but in Greece, though older men might get involved, the sport was ideally represented as a pastime for boys, youths, and particularly young aristocrats.[104] This fact is hard to square with a tale about martial valour, an express concern of all Greek males. Rather, it reflects the particular configuration of homosexuality in Classical Greece with its emphasis on pederasty and its predominantly aristocratic context. Boys were encouraged to identify with their cocks. They symbolized both their social status and their sexuality. Cocks were, like their owners, aristocrats: fighting cocks were γενναῖοι, those unfit for sport ἀγεννεῖς.[105] In the time of the epigrammatist Straton (*Anth. Pal.* 12.7), a boy's penis, when beginning to swell, was called a κωκώ, probably a slang term for "cock." Early Latin comedy preserves the use of the cock's crow as a metaphor for the breaking of the voice at puberty.[106] But the evidence suggests that culture conspired to make the chief focus of identification less the bird's strengths than its weakness, its uncertain, even volatile, sexual identity. From the fourth century B.C. onwards young boys depicted in scenes of cockfighting have distinctly hermaphroditic qualities. From ca 420

[104]In art cockfighters are regularly represented as boys or youths. Particularly revealing among literary sources are Pl. *Leges* 789b; Alciphron 3.53.3; Plut. *Mor.* 471e. Cf. Keller (above, n. 56) 137; Schneider (above, n. 76) col. 2214; Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 210.

[105]Pl. *Tht.* 164c; Arist. *HA* 558b15, *Gen. an.* 749b31; Heraclid. Com. *PCG* 1 with commentary; Men. *Theoph.* fr. 1.12 f. (Sandbach = 223 K.); Ath. 655c; Epict. 2.2.13; Lucian *Anach.* 37; Ael. fr. 69 (compare lines 1 f., 15 and 32), fr. 98 (Hercher); Suda, *s.v.* ἀλεκτρυόνα ἀθλητὴν Ταναγραῖον and *s.v.* Ταναγραῖοι ἀλεκτορίσκοι.

[106]Novius *Com.* 21 *apud* Nonius Marcellus *De conpendiosa doctrina* (Lindsay) 116 M.: *gallulare, pubescere. Novius Exodio: "puerum mulieri praestare nemo nescit, quanto melior | sit cuius vox gallulascit, cuius iam ramus roborascit."*

B.C. some achieve still closer identification by sprouting wings and becoming Erotes.[107] The moralizing symbolism of the cock seems less directed towards the military, than towards impressionable adolescent males: an addictive and potentially obsessive symbol, the bird simultaneously promoted and mediated anxieties about sexual roles and their sociopolitical analogues, the hypermasculine role of leader of men, and the subfeminine role of the slave. A tale about war, also a tale about sex, and particularly homoerotic sexuality, the cock with its contradictions and its pervasive ambiguity expressed Greek ambivalence about homosexuality: not the province of Aphrodite or Ares yet partaking of both, it resembled heterosexual love in uniting two bodies in an erotic embrace, but it was also like war in that from two males of equal status it could produce a winner and a loser, a triumph and an enslavement.

Logos and Logina: gallinam in gallum, et gallum in gallinam versum *(a portent of disaster, Livy 22.1.13)*

The homosexual armature of the Greek chicken is distinctive and perhaps unique. Specifically Greek is also the radically dynamic social and sexual symbolism of the cockfight. In this respect the myth of Alektryon turns out to be a kind of initiation myth after all in which the cockfight serves as a symbolic representation of traversing social and gender boundaries. Greek homosexuality was an asymmetrical relationship. It involved relations not between partners of equal status but between social superior and inferior. Homosexual relations were still more asymmetrical than heterosexual relations: textual and iconographic evidence indicates a belief that women enjoyed sexual relations with men, but passive male partners felt none.[108] Aggression and pleasure in the act of love are entirely on the side of the dominant older male; the passive younger male, on the contrary, knows no natural urge to submit and gains no pleasure by it. For this reason the stakes of victory and defeat are represented as preternaturally great. Women are by nature submissive to men, but the male who conquers a male evidently has more of what it takes (Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.149 ff.) and gains thereby a hypermasculine aura. For the ἐρώμενος, however, submission to anal penetration was projected as something decisive and final, like death or enslavement. Nothing less than one's φύσις is at

[107]Hermary, *et al.* (above, n. 51) 914, nos. 749–754. The most significant example is the throne of the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus (above, n. 15). Cf. also F. Conciani, "Agon," *LIMC* 1 (Zurich and Munich 1981) 304 f., no. 6 and, generally, Koch-Harnack (above, n. 31) 223 ff.

[108]Dover, *GH* 52 f., 90; M. Golden, "Slavery and Homosexuality at Athens," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 308–324, 313 ff.; Halperin, *HY* 47, 55, 93, 130–137; M. Golden, "Thirteen Years of Homosexuality (and Other Recent Work on Sex, Gender and the Body in Ancient Greece)," *EMC/CV* 35 (1991) 327–340, 333.

stake:[109] the cost of submission is prefigured as a descent in social and sexual status to the level of the δοῦλος and the subfeminine, proportionate to the active lover's ascent to hypermasculinity. As Dover points out (*ad loc.*), Aristophanes' statement in Plato's *Symposium* (192a) that boys who take on lovers "are the most manly by nature" is an Aristophanic joke; the opposite was culturally obvious. Plutarch expresses the common Greek attitude, somewhat prudishly, but still using the language of the cockfight:

> Intercourse of male with male is rather a loss of control (ἀκρασίαν) and a leaping upon one's victim (ἐπιπήδησιν). On reflection one would say "this is *hybris* and not Love." For this reason we place those who enjoy being penetrated into the lowest category of the base and do not attribute the smallest portion of faith, shame or friendship to them (*Mor.* 768d).

In this sense too, love is like war, which, according to Aristotle, providence designed to separate natural masters from natural slaves (*Pol.* 1256b20 ff.).

Much that is projected on the behaviour of the cock can be explained as a representation of "losing one's nature."[110] In the first instance, male castration fear: the Greeks were keenly conscious of the fact that the symbolic phalli were the prime targets of rival cocks. The crest, in particular, when torn or bitten off, is said to bleed profusely, blinding the animal and usually bringing the contest to an early conclusion: surgical removal of the crest and wattles before placing the cock in the ring is a universal modern practice.[111] In antiquity, however, the fight began with whole males, perhaps less a matter of taste or technical know-how than a desire to preserve the cockfight's cultural meaning even at the expense of the "sport" itself. In Aristophanes' *Knights* (495 ff.) Demos encourages the Sausage-Seller to chew off his rival's crests and bite off his wattles (μέμνησό νυν | δάκνειν διαβάλλειν, τοὺς λόφους κατεσθίειν, | χὤπως τὰ κάλλαι' ἀποφαγὼν ἥξεις πάλιν).[112] The verb κόπτειν "to cut," usually in the compound κατακόπτειν, was a technical term for one cock defeating another.[113] The internal logic which projects defeat as symbolic castration was no doubt confirmed by the

[109]Cf. Hyperides fr. 215. For ancient arguments that passive homosexuality showed a defect of nature, see [Arist.] *Pr.* 897b33; Soranos in Caelius Aurelianus, *De morbis chronicis* 4.9.

[110]The Greek word φύσις invites an identification of "nature" with "genitals": for the semantic range of the word, see the second appendix in Winkler, *CD.*

[111]O. Danaë, *Combats de coqs* (Paris 1989) 122; G. R. Scott, *A History of Cockfighting* (Liss, Hampshire 1975) 47.

[112]Cf. *Ranae* 860 ff. (J. Taillardat, *Les Images d'Aristophane* [Paris 1962] 342) and *Aves* 1348.

[113]Anaxandr. *PCG* 46; Heraclid. Com. *PCG* 1; Plut. *Mor.* 762 f.; *Corp. Fab. Aesop.* 23.ii–iii (Hausrath). See Borthwick (above, n. 65) 4. Two Boeotian kantharoi (later sixth century B.C.) depict the winning cock (inscribed NIKA, "he wins") firmly taking its rival's crest in its beak: see Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 207, fig. 12 and K. Kilinski, *Boeotian Black Figure Vase Painting of the Archaic Period* (Mainz 1990) 42, pl. 32.

"observation" that the loser, like the capon, never crowed again (Ael. *NA* 4.29 ; Cic. *Div.* 1.34.74, 2.26.56; Pliny *HN* 10.49). By the same symbolic logic, Petronius equates habitually submissive males, *spatalocinaidi*, with castrated cocks, *Deliaci manu recisi* (23.3).[114]

The zoological literature contains frequent reference to chickens not merely losing their sexual identity, but easily crossing biological boundaries and adopting the role of the opposite sex. Some cocks are effeminate from birth, "so much so that they endure being mounted by others" (Arist. *HA* 631b17 f.). Others willingly succumb through acculturation. Should the hen die, the cock will take over the task of brooding over the nest and raising the chicks. That this is regarded as tantamount to castration appears from the observation that such housework will make the cock cease to crow and mount the hens.[115] Aelian (*NA* 4.29) claims that the cock does not sing while brooding over the nest because "he appears to realize that he is doing women's not men's work."[116] By contrast some females are born naturally butch, even have small spurs on their legs (Arist. *HA* 631b12 f.).[117] Unlike their ambivalent male counterparts "such hens rebel against coitus, scorn to admit the male" (Columella 8.2.8) and remain infertile or destroy their own eggs by breaking them with their spurs, although this does not appear to happen when cocks brood (*Geoponica* 14.7.17; Columella 8.2.8). To make the threat complete we are told that such hens frequently fight with males and defeat them.

> Whenever hens defeat males in battle, they crow and like males attempt to mount them. Their crests and tailfeathers grow erect, so that you could not easily tell that they are female. . . . (Arist. *HA* 631b8 ff.)

> When the female defeats a male in battle, it swells up with joy and grows wattles, not as long as those of a cock, but grows them nevertheless, and it becomes pompous and takes longer steps. (Ael. *NA* 5.5.)[118]

At its extreme limit castration fear is condensed with gynecophobia, the consequence of submission hyperbolically projected as castration *by females*. This is the literal meaning of a fragment of Anaxandrides' *Tereus* (*PCG* 46) where a speaker, probably the hero of the play, is told that he will be called an ὄρνις because he has been "cut up" by females—ὅτι ἄρρην ὑπὸ θηλειῶν κατεκόπης.[119] In *Birds* (286) Kallias is likened by Aristophanes to a

[114] See further Dover, *GH* 169 f. on the loss of masculinity through habituation to the passive sex role.

[115] Arist. *HA* 631b13 ff.; Pliny *HN* 10.155; cf. Atkinson 31.

[116] Cf. Winkler, *CD* 7 and n. 6 on the larger myth of effeminizing housework.

[117] Further on the hen as aggressive female: Arist. *HA* 637b7 f.

[118] Cf. Columella 8.5.24, who advises farmers to get rid of hens *quae velut mares cantare atque etiam calcare coeperunt.*

[119] There is a valuable discussion of this fragment in H.-G. Nesselrath, *Die attische Mittlere Komödie* (Berlin 1990) 214 f. Still more intriguing is fr. 48 of the *Tereus* which

noble cock whose feathers are plucked out by sycophants "and the females also pluck out his feathers." It is perhaps significant that the verb κόπτεσθαι is also Athenian slang for being buggered (Ar. *Ranae* 425).[120]

This paradigmatic isotopy between the defeated chicken, the slave, the castrato, and the *kinaidos* is something specific to Greek culture. In its deep structure the cockfight is "a supremely clear representation" of a distinctively Greek attitude to social relations which Winkler calls zero-sum competition: "The cultural understanding of competition was not simply that winners gained rewards and honour, but that losers were stigmatized with shame and penalties in proportionate amounts, or, to put it another way, winners won at the direct expense of losers."[121] In Greece sex was a form of status competition due to the focus on sexual penetration as an expression of social dominance.[122] Thus the construction of sexual identity reveals a particularly paranoid configuration. In Winkler's words (*CD* 50):

> This odd belief in the reversibility of the male person, always in peril of slipping into the servile or the feminine, has been noted by Stephen Greenblatt, who observes that for the ancient world the two sexes are not simply opposite but stand at poles of a continuum which can be traversed. Thus, "woman" is not only the opposite of a man; she is also a potentially threatening "internal émigré" of masculine identity. The contrast between hoplite and *kinaidos* is a contrast between manly male and womanly male, and therefore rests on a more fundamental polarity between men and women. The cultural polarity between the genders is made internal to one gender, creating a set of infra-masculine polarities between the hoplite and the *kinaidos*.

The Greek cock thus had its own distinctive recipe, nature steeped in cultural meaning, a complex combination of two orders of "reality." What Classical Athenians perceived when they observed the cock was in large measure constructed from something we can securely identify as the cock's "real" behaviour, yet nevertheless "arbitrary" in the sense that biology did not play the determinant role in its creation. The Classical Athenian cock provides a very clear example of the way society may transform brute nature and recreate it in its own image to participate in a higher *social* "reality." In Athens the cock was configured for use in the discourse of

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in its present corrupt form reads ὀχευομένους δὲ τοὺς κάπρους / καὶ τὰς ἀλεκτρυόνας θεωροῦσ' ἄσμενοι. Nesselrath (218) argues that this must refer to a "topsy-turvy" relation between the sexes: "Eber (männliche Tiere par excellence), die nicht mehr selbst bespringen, sondern ihrerseits besprungen werden, und weibliche Hähne (Hennen, die auf dem Hühnerhof die Hahnenrolle übernommen haben)."

[120] Cf. Henderson, *MM* 180. An analogous meaning for κατακόπτεσθαι may be suspected at Ar. *Lys.* 730 (cf. Henderson *ad loc.*).

[121] Winkler, *CD* 49 and 47, referring to A. Gouldner, *Enter Plato: Classical Greece and the Origins of Social Theory* (New York 1965) 45–55.

[122] Winkler, *CD* 39 f.; Halperin, *HY* 29 ff.

power: its particular construction brought it into close alignment with the basic forces which constituted Athenian social reality, primarily the unequal distribution of power between free and slave, male and female, old and young.

The contradiction in the modes of perceiving and representing the cock, the two Logoi, is in large part determined by the ambivalent and contradictory status of the Athenian youth, who stands in a state of transition from a subordinate to a superordinate status, specifically from the quality of one who is both socially slave-like as a παῖς (both "boy" and "slave")[123] and notionally effeminate as the object of male desire, to the quality of one who is a full member of the dominant caste, a free citizen and a soldier. The contradiction represents even narrower divisions of power: cockfighting and pederasty both had symbolic connections with the leisure class. Since raising fighting cocks was a matter of breeding superior "natures" to be tested and confirmed in competitive action, cockfighting could be used to express and promote aristocratic values.[124] Practical considerations tended to exclude the lower class from active participation, since cockfighting, like pederasty,[125] was an expensive and time-consuming enterprise. From the opposite perspective, the lower classes could construe the cockfight as a sign that social hierarchies were expressions of culture, not nature: the rapid and complete inversions of social and sexual status symbolized by the cockfight, and especially the sexual volatility of the chicken, the chameleon quality of its sexual transformation when a cock did hen's work and *vice versa*—all this might seem to argue that *nomos* governs *physis*, not *physis nomos*. The repeated mention of Kallias in connection with cockfights thus has a mythical as well as a historical explanation. He did breed fighting cocks, but he was also the social stereotype of a man who inherited fabulous wealth and status and squandered it through luxurious living. Diogenes (D.L. 2.30) presents the story that the barber's cocks flapped their wings in defiance of Kallias' cocks as an object lesson for Iphicrates, one of the few self-made men to rise from poverty to Athens' highest office.[126] In *Birds* (285 f.) Kallias' squandered wealth is another indictment of the belief that one can inherit a stable *physis* with one's status: Kallias' feathers are plucked even by females "though he is γενναῖος." At another level, as in the speech against Konon and his sons, the cockfight gave expression to oligarchic aspirations and democratic fears by translating a competition

[123]Golden, "Slavery and Homosexuality at Athens" (above, n. 108).

[124]Cf. J. Dumont, "Les Combats de coq furent-ils un sport?," *Pallas* 34 (1988) 33–44, 37: "[Le combat de coq] plaît aux aristocrates lecteurs de Pindare parce qu'il exalte l'idéologie de puissance, l'hérédité des forces morales et physiques, la nécessaire sélection des meilleurs, la valeur de l'entraînement permanent, le dépassement de soi-même."

[125]Halperin, *HY* 93 f.

[126]Plut. *Mor.* 186f.; Suda, *s.v.* Ἰφικράτης.

between equals into a vivid demonstration of domination and enslavement. The cock embodied contradictory values because constructed by the common discourse of a fragmented society.

The contradictory nature of the cock appears most clearly in the realm of symbolic action.[127] When an ἐραστής gives a cock as a love gift, symbolic meaning undermines, *is designed* to undermine, the alleged purpose of the act of giving. Behind the *logos* which makes of the cock an education in virility, there is an equally public if less distinct *antilogos* which warns of social castration. The lover thinks that the cock he gives to a beautiful boy is a seduction gift, but at the same time it includes a coded warning not to submit, even to resist to the death the donor's erotic intentions. Conversely the adolescent boy sees cockfighting as a realm of indulgence and free play, but his gift-cock contains an echo of his pedagogue's most oppressive strictures.

Paradoxically the contradiction which gave expression to social oppositions had an integrative social function. It was a more effective form of socializing young men precisely because it seemed to work at the level of individual self-expression, even as an extravagance and a form of self-assertion in the face of community norms. In reality, however, it helped construct the individual's desires and fears in accordance with those norms. With its system of contradictory tales and its reversible oppositions of manhood and castration, this complex symbol had the power both to aggravate and to mediate an adolescent's anxieties about his virility as he was about to enter the community of men. By creating these anxieties and regulating their release the community enforced its norms in the behaviour of free male citizens.[128]

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PLATE 2A Attic red-figured calyx-krater, ca 420–410 B.C., Malibu 82.AE.83. Side B. Courtesy, J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

[127]For the concept of a "performative contradiction" see D. Turner, *Marxism and Christianity* (Oxford 1983) 26; T. Eagleton, *Ideology* (London 1991) 24.

[128]It may be worthwhile here to repeat the *caveat* that social representations describe social ideals or "protocols," not realities (Winkler, *CD* 45 ff.; Halperin, *HY* 58 f.). It is not to be supposed that all or even most Greek youths respected the behavioural ideals urged upon them by social representations: they are "norms," not in a statistical sense, but as expressions of ideal values to which all real behaviour held some structural relation, whether honoured in the observance or the breach.

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PLATE 4B Monument of Karystios, late fourth–early third century B.C., Delos. Courtesy, École Française d'Archéologie, Athens.

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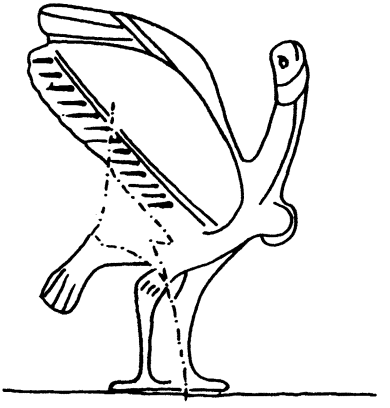
2B



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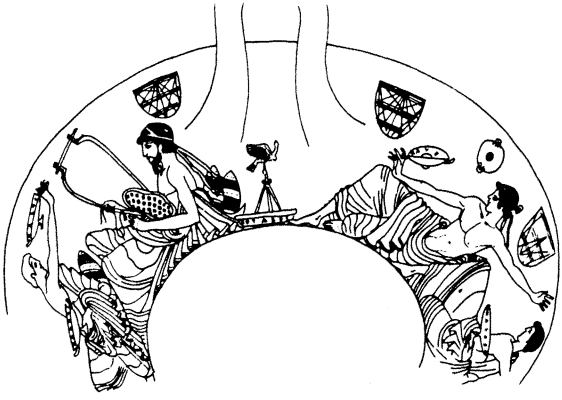

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