

DEEP AMBIVALENCE: NOTES ON A GREEK COCKFIGHT (PARTS II-IV)

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II THE MEDIATIONS OF GARLIC

DETENNE GIVES EVIDENCE of the isotopy of intercourse and combat in Greek dietary and pharmacological thought, where "cold and wet" foods, like lettuce or mint, are both antaphrodisiac and to be avoided before sport or battle. Conversely "hot and dry" substances, like aromatic spices, stimulate "virile" sexual and physical aggression.¹²⁹ The homology between the combat-ready male and the fighting cock extends even to diet: "it is good for a man rushing into battle to eat onion, just as some feed garlic to cocks before setting them together to fight" (Xen. *Symp.* 4.9). In fact both garlic and onion are listed as standard provisions for soldiers on campaign.¹³⁰

The practice of priming cocks with garlic before a cockfight is also attested by the scholiast to Aristophanes' *Knights* 494, who claims this is done ἵνα θερμανθέντες δξύτεροι γένωνται.¹³¹ Garlic is one of the hot and dry

Part I of this article appeared in the previous issue of *Phoenix* (47.1); the remaining Parts II-IV appear in this issue. The abbreviations used in this issue are repeated here: U. Aldrovandi, *Ornithologiae Lib. xiv* (Bologna 1600), referred to in 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; K. J. Dover, *Aristophanes Clouds* (Oxford 1968) = *Clouds*; K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (New York 1980 [Cambridge, Mass. 1978]) = *GH*; 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."

¹²⁹M. Detienne, *Les Jardins d'Adonis*² (Paris 1989) 117-184.

¹³⁰Ar. *Ach.* 550 (garlic and onions), 1099 (onions), *Eq.* 600 (garlic and onions), *Pax* 529 (onion), 1129 (onion), *Ranae* 654 (onion); Eupolis *PCG* 275 (onion); cf. schol. Ar. *Lys.* 690 (garlic).

¹³¹Relevant passages in Aristophanes are discussed below. Cf. the practice of priming cocks with *adiantum*, another dry plant (Pliny *HN* 22.65; *Dsc.* 4.134.2). Stimulating cocks with garlic is a practice known also from renaissance and modern Europe: Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus (L. C. Richerius) in *Lectionum antiquarum* (Basel 1542, 1562, 1599) 16.13 reports that his contemporaries gave garlic to cocks to make them fight harder and to horses (along with bread and wine) to enable them to sustain their labours more easily and become fiercer, and took it themselves when they went into battle to increase their strength and sharpen their courage (O. Taplin kindly draws my attention to the wine fed to Hector's horses at Homer *Il.* 8.185-190). Cole's *Art of Simpling* claims garlic makes cocks and horses "most stout of fight" (cited by L. J. Harris, *The Book of Garlic* [New York 1975] 45). Atkinson (30) recommends that

plants which warm the body¹³² and enhance virility, specifically combativeness and physical aggression. Garlic and physical aggression became so closely linked in popular thought that, in imperial times, *scordalus* became the vernacular term for "one given to picking fights" (*OLD*).¹³³ In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* one company of the women's shock-troops, μάχιμοι γυναῖκες ἐξωπλισμέναι (454), are called σκοροδοπανδοκεντριαρτοπώλιδες (458). The same connection probably lurks behind Lucian's Σκοροδομάχοι (*Ver. Hist.* 1.13.10). Cockfighting nevertheless appears to have preserved its archetypal status in the matter of garlic-induced aggression: a *scordalia* that breaks out between Giton and one of Trimalchio's freedmen is quelled when Trimalchio urges *Hermeros, parce adolescentulo. Sanguen illi fervet Et tu cum esses capo, cocococo, atque cor non habebas* (*Petr.* 59.2).

Several plants belonging to the genus Liliaceae, especially garlic, onions, and leeks, and known collectively as βολβοί, were famed in antiquity for their aphrodisiac qualities, and specifically for their capacity to induce sexual potency.¹³⁴ The βολβοί of Megara were particularly effective in this regard.¹³⁵ While in ordinary parlance the term βολβός/*bulbus* includes garlic, garlic is never explicitly referred to in the specialist literature, which

"garlic and onions are a fine pick-me-up [for fighting cocks], and garlic, almost forgotten in this country, is valued highly in India for a poultry tonic and medicine." Some British sources eschew "hot" foods: "There be some others that in this bread will mix Liquorice, Aniseed, and other hot Spices; and will also in the Cock-water steep slices of Liquorice; but it is not commendable, for it is both unnatural and unwholesome and maketh a Cock so hot at the heart, that when he comes to the latter end of a battle, he is suffocated and overcome with his own heat" (G. Markham, *Country Contentments, or, the Husbandman's Recreations*¹¹ [London, 1675] cited by G. R. Scott, *A History of Cockfighting* [Liss, Hampshire 1975] 41). M. Visser (*Much Depends on Dinner* [New York 1986] 128) is surely right in identifying these substances as "sexually stimulating food."

¹³²The medical writers praise garlic for its θερμότης and ξηρότης: see, e.g., Aët. 1.369.1; 9.20.30 f.; Alex. Aphr. in *SE* 92.17 f.; Anonymi Medici *De urinis in febribus* 2.326.12, *De cibis* 1.26, Περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως 468.3; [Arist.] *Pr.* 865a21 f. (= 907b7 f., 924b21 f.), 925b10; Galen 7.6.6, 12.126.9 f., 15.872.7; Pseudo-Galen 19.513.18 f.; *Hippiatr.* 1.34.25 2; Hippoc. *De diaita* 54.1; Pseudo-Hippoc. Περὶ διαφορᾶς τροφῶν πρὸς Πτολεμαίων 491.3 f.; Pall. In Hippoc. 2.119.16, *Synopsis de febribus* 9.2.2 f.; Paul. Aeg. 1.76.1.16 f., 1.3.48.4.8 f., 1.7.3.18.113; Theophilus Protospatharius et Stephanus Atheniensis *De febrium differentia ex Hippocrate et Galeno* (D. Sicuris [ed.], Florence 1862) 19.27 ff. For garlic as ἐρεθιστικόν: Aët. 11.5.44; Basilius Theol. *Enarratio in prophetam Isaïam* 1.21.73; Varro *Sat. Men.* 63.

¹³³Sen. *Suas.* 7.14; Sen. *Ep.* 56.7, 83.12; Petr. 95.7. The personal names Σκόρδος, Σκορδᾶς, etc., should perhaps be considered *sobriquets* rather than *noms de métier*: see L. Robert, *Noms indigènes dans l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine* (Paris 1963) 245 f.

¹³⁴Ar. *Eccl.* 1092; Pl. Com. *PCG* 188.12, 189.9 f.; Alexis *PCG* 175, 281; Xenarch. *PCG* 1.5; Petr. 130.7; Mart. 3.75.3, 13.34.1; Ath. 2.63e-64b; Galen 6.653, 11.777, 11.851; Aët. 11.35; Paul. Aeg. 1.76.

¹³⁵Columella 10.105 ff.; Ovid *Ars* 2.421 f., *Rem. am.* 797 f.; Pliny *HN* 20.105.

frequently distinguishes βολβοί from garlic and onions: in such cases it appears that βολβός/*bulbus* properly refers to purse-tassel (*Muscari comosum*).¹³⁶ So far as I know, only Pliny among classical authors specifically recommends garlic (i.e., *allium sativum*) as an aphrodisiac.¹³⁷ The lack of specific reference to *allium sativum* seems not to indicate doubt of its aphrodisiac qualities so much as a recognition of the antaphrodisiac side-effects of halitosis and body odour which were generally thought to frustrate its aphrodisiac qualities.¹³⁸ The double function of βολβοί in promoting potency and combativeness is punned on in the proverb οὐδὲν σ' ὀνήσει βολβός, ἂν μὴ νεῦρ' ἔχῃς.¹³⁹

Some passages in Aristophanes attest the double function of garlic in promoting physical and sexual aggression. *Acharnians* 156 ff. reproduces the associations outlined above:

- 156 Δι. τουτὶ τί ἐστὶν τὸ κακόν; Θε. 'Οδομάντων στρατός.
 Δι. ποίων 'Οδομάντων; εἰπέ μοι τουτὶ τί ἦν;
 τίς τῶν 'Οδομάντων τὸ πέος ἀποτεθρίακεν;
 Θε. τούτοις ἔάν τις δύο δραχμὰς μισθὸν διδῶ,
 160 καταπελτάσονται τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὅλην.
 Δι. τοιοῦδὶ δύο δραχμὰς τοῖς ἀπεπωλημένοις;
 ὑποστένοι μέντ' ὁ θρανίτης λεῶς

¹³⁶In the Vergilian *Moretum* (94), for example, a clove of garlic is called a *bulbus*. Celsus at one point (2.18.5) explicitly includes garlic and onion under *bulbi*, but later (2.22) distinguishes *qui proprie bulbi nominantur* from *alium* and *cepa*.

¹³⁷Pliny *HN* 20.57. Cf. the garlic which appears in the garden of Priapus, *Priapea* 51.20 ff. Dsc. 2.149.2 recommends πράσον κεφαλῶτόν (*allium porrum* or "leek"). By contrast garlic is widely recognized as an aphrodisiac by the ancient Jews (J. Trachtenberg, *Jewish Magic and Superstition* [London 1939] index, s.v. "garlic"). Sperm production is one of the five properties attributed to garlic by the Talmud (A. Maurizio, *Histoire de l'alimentation végétale depuis la préhistoire jusqu'à nos jours* [Paris 1932] 519). The Bower Manuscript (fifth century A.D.) attests to the use of garlic as an aphrodisiac in ancient India (E. Strübing, "Knoblauch in alten Zeiten: Zur Diätik und Ernährung der Menschen," *Ernährungsforschung* 12 [1967] 593 f.). Garlic's reputation as a sexual stimulant has even survived in some of the modern medical literature; see Harris (above, n. 131) 85.

¹³⁸The literature argues that noses became measurably less tolerant to garlic "with increased civilization and consequent polish of manners, and with greater delicacy of the nerves" (i.e., with urbanization and increased class consciousness) culminating in Horace's famous complaint in *Epodes* 3. (V. Hehn, *Cultivated Plants and Domesticated Animals in their Migration from Asia to Europe: Historico-Linguistic Studies* [Amsterdam 1976, *Amsterdam Classics in Linguistics* 7] 157, cf. K. Ziegler, *Der Kleine Pauly* 3.517, s.v. "Lauch"). Nasal delicacy is already apparent by late-fifth-century Athens (Ar. *Thesm.* 494; Xen. *Symp.* 4.8). See also Detienne (above, n. 129) 156, 178 f. with Phot. s.v. τρόπις = Philochorus, *FGrHist* 328 F 89.

¹³⁹Cited by Ath. 2.64b; cf. Mart. 13.34. For the double meaning of νεῦρον, see Pfeiffer *ad Call.* fr. 199.1; Henderson, *MM* 116.

165 ὁ σωσίπολις. οἱμοὶ τάλας ἀπόλλυμαι,
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀδομάντων τὰ σκόροδα πορθούμενος.
 οὐ καταβαλεῖτε τὰ σκόροδ'; Θε. ὦ μόχθηρε σὺ
 οὐ μὴ πρόσει τούτοις ἐσκοροδισμένοις.

The embassy to Sitalkes appears before the Athenian assembly with a contingent of Thracians. In contrast with the effeminacy of Athenians like Kleisthenes and Straton earlier (Athenians reckon the only real men are "pathics and cock-suckers," *Ar. Ach.* 79), the Thracians are described as a μαχηώτατον ἔθνος (153), a bellicosity which is stressed by their willingness to "peltast all of Boeotia into submission" (160).¹⁴⁰ In comedy Thracians are generally endowed with enormous sexual appetites and matching vigour.¹⁴¹ Aristophanes does not disappoint his audience. It is a reasonable inference that in *Acharnians* the Thracians swarm in wearing ithyphallic costume, without foreskin, like the cock on the left of the Getty vase: the jokes in the passage would scarcely be intelligible otherwise. Dikaiopolis points to the costume and asks: "What's that?" The answer, that their members have been "defoliated," refers to the fact that their foreskins are not visible. If the primary reference is to the (apparently incorrect)¹⁴² comic conceit that Thracians were circumcised, this conceit is as much determined by the connotation of lasciviousness attached to the exposed glans as by contemporary popular ethnology.¹⁴³ The pun on the literal meaning of ἀπεγωλημένοις in 161 further capitalizes on this costume humour.

The commentators are in general agreement that at line 164 the Thracians run forward and grab Dikaiopolis' lunchbox or shopping bag. The theft leads to the joke contained in ἐσκοροδισμένοις in 166, but it is not motivated only by signifiers. The metaphor likening the Thracians to fighting

¹⁴⁰The phrase appears to have sexual overtones. Henderson (*MM* 123, 173) takes πέλητ to mean "spearshaft" hence "phallus." The meaning "spearshaft" is only attested by the late lexicographers; unfortunately the ancient usage "light shield" is less obviously phallic. Perhaps the innuendo derives more from the opposition between hoplite/citizen and non-hoplite/foreigner in matters of military discipline, self-control, and, by analogy, sexual compartment. Lissarrague notes that satyr warriors in Attic vase-painting are normally armed as peltasts and ithyphallic and often wear Scythian hats and carry phallic lances: "nous rencontrons ici . . . la reprise d'un type de guerrier marginal, para-éphébique, armé à la légère et qui pratique une guerre de ruse et d'embuscades" (F. Lissarrague, "Dionysos s'en va-t-en guerre," in C. Bérard, C. Bron, A. Pomari [eds.], *Images et société en Grèce ancienne. Actes du Colloque international, Lausanne 8-11 février 1984* [Lausanne 1987] 111-120, at 116). For Boeotia, see Henderson, *MM* 136.

¹⁴¹*Men. Aspis* 242 ff., *Samia* 519 f., frags. 794 and 795 (Koerte). Cf. Triballus in *Ar. Aves* 1628 f., the Thracian in *Lys.* 563 (with Henderson, *MM* 136) and the joke on the Triballoi: Eubulus *PCG* 75.3 (see Hunter *ad loc.*); Henderson, *MM* 121; Dover, *GH* 38.

¹⁴²Dover, *GH* 129.

¹⁴³Henderson, *MM* 118 f., 247. B. B. Rogers (*ad loc.*) denies any reference to circumcision.

cocks "primed with garlic" is prepared by their priapism as much as it is by their bellicosity.¹⁴⁴

Aristophanes' account of the origin of the Peloponnesian wars (*Ach.* 524–527) draws upon the same set of associations: sexual arousal, violence, cockfighting, and garlic. A *komos* of drunken (μεθυσσοκότταβοι) young men stole the whore Simaitha from the garlic-capital Megara. The Megarians "garlic-primed with grief" (ὀδύναις πεφυσιγγωμένοι) retaliate by stealing two whores of Aspasia's and war breaks out. The choice of πεφυσιγγωμένοι (from φῦσιγξ), said by the scholiast *ad loc.* to be the garlic skin, τὸ ἐκτὸς λέπασμα τῶν σκορόδων),¹⁴⁵ puns on πεφυσσάμενοι ("bloated with rage") not only because of Megara's connection with garlic, but also because of the sexual aggression supposed to be provoked by garlic. Alan Sommerstein points out to me that the denominative verb φუსιγγοῦν ought to mean "turned into a garlic skin," if the scholiast is correct, hence "bloated with garlic."¹⁴⁶ Alternatively, the comic compound might be formed on the analogy of verbs like κεντροῦν or μαστιγοῦν, "to exercise the spur" or "whip." In this case "garlic skin" would seem to imply "foreskin," a meaning implicit in a large number of *double entendres* for wraps and peels in Aristophanes (e.g., ἀποτεθρίακεν in *Ach.* 158).¹⁴⁷

The eponymous goddess in Aristophanes' *Peace* is said to loathe the Megarians because they first rubbed her with garlic, μισεῖ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἡ θεὸς μεμνημένη· πρῶτοι γὰρ αὐτὴν τοῖς σκορόδοις ἠλείψατε (501 f.). The passage is problematic. A connection with ἐσκοροδισμένος is universally assumed, but with the overt sense of "fighting mad," as in *Acharnians* 164–166 (discussed above), which leads only to tautology: if the expression means "primed like a fighting cock, hence angered," then we are forced to translate, "the goddess is angry at you, as she remembers, for you were the first to make her angry." Because this is less than satisfactory, commentators resort to a mixture of figurative and literal meanings: Peace is angry because the

¹⁴⁴Anaxandrides' *Protesilaus* also capitalized upon popular assumptions about the Thracians' overuse of aphrodisiacs: see *PCG* 42.28 f. where the newlyweds Iphicrates and the daughter of the Thracian king Cotys are given βολβῶν τε σὺν δωδεκάτηρυν καὶ πουλπύδων ἑκατόμβην. For the combination of βολβοί and octopus as a cure for impotence, see Xenarchus *PCG* 1. For the aphrodisiac qualities of octopus, see Alexis *PCG* 175; possibly Pl. Com. *PCG* 189.17; Ath. 7.316c, 8.356e, 8.357c; Galen 11.777; Aët. 11.35; M. Wellmann, *Die Fragmente der sikelischen Aertze Akron, Philistion und des Diokles von Karystos* (Berlin 1901, *Fragmentsammlung der griechischen Aertze* 1) on Diocles of Karystos, fr. 132. Garlic and onions may have been a culinary theme at Greek weddings: see Austin *CGFPR fr. adesp.* 292.19 f.

¹⁴⁵Cf. Theophr. *Hist. Pl.* 7.4.12 with Casaubon's emendation (*ad Ath.* 278).

¹⁴⁶Sommerstein compares the use of *askos*, "wine-skin," for a heavy drinker by Antiphanes (*PCG* 20).

¹⁴⁷See Henderson, *MM* 118 f., 167 f., 184 f.

Megarians angered her by making her smell of garlic.¹⁴⁸ Something of the same difficulty is encountered at *Knights* 946, where Demos complains to Paphlagon: σὺ δ', ὦ Παφλαγών, φάσκων φιλεῖν μ' ἐσκοροδίσας. This has been interpreted to refer to Paphlagon's making Demos fighting mad with his talk of love¹⁴⁹ or to Paphlagon's urging Demos to fight (i.e., Cleon's hawkish politics),¹⁵⁰ or to Paphlagon's inciting Demos to violence.¹⁵¹ The solution to the problem may lie in the fact that cocks were primed not only by feeding, but also by rubbing them with garlic (Hsch. s.v. σκοροδίσαι; Phot. s.v. ἐσκοροδισμένους).¹⁵² Pollux claims that οἱ κωμικοὶ used the word σκοροδοῦν for sexual intercourse (5.93) and Hesychius glosses σκοροδοῦν with συνουσιάζειν.¹⁵³ The gloss seems to indicate that the source of the stimulus was transferred to the affected part (as with *scordalus* to the affected person): garlic is then a metaphor for the aroused male member; σκοροδοῦν would seem to mean something like "apply the 'garlic' to." If this is right, "rubbing with garlic" at *Peace* 502 and *Knights* 946 would imply "force sexual attention upon."

III REPRISE

The details of the Getty vase accord well with the "deep structure" of the Greek cockfight: the cocks' ithyphallicism points to a conflation of sex and violence; the details of the phallus and ithyphallic spurs of the cock on the left give a strong hint of homoerotic aggression. It remains to examine

¹⁴⁸E.g., Platnauer, *ad loc.*: "Girls like Peace should be anointed with sweet perfumes, not with Megara's staple product, the strong-smelling garlic. There must also be an allusion to the use of garlic to augment the natural bellicosity of fighting cocks"; cf. Sommerstein, *ad loc.*: "to smear her with your garlic: i.e., to anger her: fighting cocks were fed with garlic to make them more aggressive (cf. *Ach.* 166; *Eq.* 494, 946). There is a suggestion that the Megarians transformed the sweet fragrance of Peace (cf. 525–538) into the pungent and unpleasant odour of war."

¹⁴⁹Sommerstein, *ad loc.*: "the reference is to Paphlagon's incessant harping, during his argument with the Sausage-seller, on his love for Demos (732, 741, 773, etc.)."

¹⁵⁰Rogers *ad loc.*

¹⁵¹Sommerstein *ad loc.*: "referring to Cleon's alleged encouragement of class-hatred (cf. 818)."

¹⁵²D. Thompson (*Glossary of Greek Birds*² [London 1936] 35) claims that they were only rubbed with garlic and not fed, but it is difficult to dismiss the express testimony of Xen. *Symp.* 4.9 and schol. *Eq.* 166, particularly since a garlic diet is known from other cockfighting cultures (see above, n. 131). Anointing with garlic oil is most readily suggested by *Peace* 257 f., where Polemos cuffs Kydoimos and the latter cries, "What a sting! You don't by chance rub garlic onto your knuckles? (ὥς δρμύς ... μὼν τῶν σκοροδῶν ἐνέβαλες εἰς τὸν κόνδυλον;). δρμύς would then refer both to the aggression of the κόνδυλος, as well as its eye-stinging quality, though, admittedly, the latter is a sufficient explanation for the joke.

¹⁵³For the syncopation σκοροδ to σκοροδ see C. A. Lobeck, *Pathologiae Graeci sermonis elementa* 1 (Königsberg 1853, repr. Hildesheim 1966) 300 f.

what specific relationship Aristophanes' *Clouds* may have with the complex of associations evoked by these clues.

As mentioned above (Part I, page 4), the evidence for the appearance of the Logoi in the *agon* of *Clouds* as fighting cocks depends upon a scholion (schol.^{RV} 889). If the information is of any value, it probably does not relate to our version of the play, the *Second Clouds*, which may never have been performed, but to the *First Clouds*,¹⁵⁴ whose *agon*, we are told (by Hypothesis 1), was altered in the extant revised version (αὐτίκα ἡ παράβασις τοῦ χοροῦ ἡμειπται, καὶ ὅπου ὁ δίκαιος λόγος πρὸς τὸν ἄδικον λαλεῖ. . .). The credibility of the scholion is enhanced by the fact that it cannot be an inference from the text. Dover points out that in our revised version "nothing that is said by the logoi or by anyone else suggests that they are dressed or brought on as fighting-cocks" (*Clouds* xc). Fowler rightly argues against the view that the Hypothesis need imply a total revision, and points to a number of instances where the language of the extant *agon* would suit a cockfight (though still not suffice to be a source of inference for the scholion): "the opening words of the κρείττων λόγος at 889-890 would suit a cock 'displaying:'"

χώρει δευρί, δεῖξον σαντὸν
τοῖσι θεαταῖς, καίπερ θρασὺς ὢν.

κεντούμενος in 947, despite the qualifying ὥσπερ ὑπ' ἀνθρηνῶν, would fit a cock, as would the chorus' ῥῆξον φωνὴν ἦτινι χαίρεις at 960."¹⁵⁵ To this list one may add the Greater Logos' metaphor at 999: "[choose to study with me, young man, and] you will not contradict your father in anything nor call him 'Iapetos' or resent that time of life when you were raised as a chick (ἐνεοττοτροφῆθης)."

Since it is likely that the text of *First Clouds* underwent revision, my argument will rest on two thematic links between this scene and the play as a whole. Cocks fight for sexual domination. Illustrations of cockfights frequently show the presence of the disputed female or females, often held up by the owners in order to animate the cocks.¹⁵⁶ In analogous fashion Strepsiades offers his adolescent son Pheidippides to the winner of this *agon*, not for the sexual gratification of the combatants, though their interest in boys as sex objects is clear, particularly in the words of the Greater

¹⁵⁴Dover, *Clouds* lxxx ff.

¹⁵⁵See also D. Fowler, "Taplin on Cocks," *CQ* NS 39 (1989) 257-259, at 257. E. K. Borthwick kindly points out to me that the adjective θρασὺς in *Clouds* 890 (cited above) and reiterated in 819 is, with its cognates, often applied to exultant cocks: Aesch. Ag. 1671, *Eum.* 863; Plut. *Mor.* 762f.

¹⁵⁶Hens looking on: Bruneau nos. 24, 25, 27-29, 40; Hoffman figs. 3, 7. Hens held by boys/men to animate cocks: e.g., Bruneau no. 39; Hoffmann, "Hahnenkampf" 204, and figs. 9, 12; K. Schneider, s.v. "Hahnenkämpfe," *RE* 8 (1912) col. 2212.

Logos,¹⁵⁷ and in his expressions of possessiveness and jealousy of the Lesser Logos (916: "because of you none of the boys wishes to study with me") and other potential rivals. The contestants never lose themselves in the abstract issues of the debate, but are constantly aware of Pheidippides as its concrete reward (929 ff., 990, 1000). Each aligns himself with one of the opposed personae of the chicken. The Greater Logos is characterized as the old-fashioned champion of self-control (σώφροσύνη [962, 1027]) and discipline (963 ff.) which produced the heroic temperament of the *Marathonomachoi* (986); not gratifying one's ἐρασταί is a recurrent theme in his speech (973 ff., 979 f.). The Lesser Logos stands for giving in to one's appetites, particularly sexual *hybris* (1068), violating boys (928) as well as passive homosexual activity (909). The Greater Logos warns Pheidippides that if he studies with the Lesser he will become εὐρύπρωκτος (1084 f.) and "will be filled with the καταπνογούνη of Antimachos" (1022 f.).¹⁵⁸ This in fact happens to the Greater Logos himself: when defeated by the Lesser, he declares that he will come over to the side of the κινούμενοι (1102 ff.).

Pheidippides' newly acquired καταπνογούνη remains only figurative, however, since the plot is about Strepsiades and not his son, and so the particular expression of Pheidippides' transformation must be one which affects Strepsiades directly. Pheidippides becomes a father-beater, a πατραλοίας, and, in this, is no less a student of the shameless chicken. While the Greater Logos stands for respect for one's parents (994, 999), the Lesser Logos is himself a πατραλοίας (911). Now the cock is the living proof that the πατραλοίας enjoys natural sanction. So, at least, Pheidippides argues before he thrashes Strepsiades (*Nubes* 1427 ff.):

σκέψαι δὲ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας καὶ τὰλλα τὰ βοτὰ ταυτί,
ὥς τοὺς πατέρας ἀμύνεται· καίτοι τί διαφέρουσιν
ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνοι.

And it is noteworthy that, in Strepsiades' account of the assault, Pheidippides is said to "leap upon" (ἐπαναπηδᾶ) his father (1375). In conformity with this Lesser Logic, father-beating is sanctioned in Cloudbuckooland and it is considered noble to run up, strike one's father, and say "raise your spur if you will fight" (*Aves* 757 ff.). Among the enthusiastic new immigrants to Cloudbuckooland one even finds a πατραλοίας specifically attracted by the custom by which "it is considered noble among the birds to strangle and bite one's father" (*Aves* 1347 f.).¹⁵⁹ Not so oddly, the cure Pisthetairios

¹⁵⁷Ar. *Nubes* 966, 973 ff., 1014; Dover, *Clouds* lxiv.

¹⁵⁸See Dover, *GH* 157 for the assimilation of sophist/student to erastes/eromenos relationship in Plato.

¹⁵⁹Cf. schol. Aesch. *Eum.* 861: μάχιμον γὰρ τὸ ὄρνεον, τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων τὸ συγγενὲς αἰδουμένων μόνον οὐ φείδεται. Something of this sort may be implicit in Anaxandr. *PCG* 46 where the speaker assumes he will be called a cock καταφαγὼν τὴν πατράν οὐσίαν (cf.

finds for the young father-beater's desire to imitate the cock is to substitute another cock, the Greater for the Lesser, by giving him a wing, a spur, and a cock's comb and sending him off to do garrison duty in Thrace (*Aves* 1363 ff.).

IV CONCLUSIONS

Compelling proof that the Getty cocks are the Logoi of *Clouds* is not to be expected. Simply arguing that it fits may be turned about: the chicken's ethical associations could just as well have stimulated a scholastic fantasy quite independently of any historical tradition relating to the staging of the first *Clouds*. If so, we are at least in a better position to see why the *agon* of the *Clouds* seemed especially well suited to a cockfight, whether to Aristophanes¹⁶⁰ or the commentator. What does seem clear is that the Getty vase is not a depiction of Aristophanes' *Birds*. These are no ordinary birds, and no synecdoche for the avian genus. The Getty vase shows a cockfight and its details are the fruit of a meditation on a cockfight.

Since this discussion has led us to general problems of social ideology and gender construction, a few remarks on more theoretical issues may be in order. The myth of the cock takes us right to the heart of the constructionist/essentialist debate. The extreme poles of this debate have gained a false clarity from our own ideological predilection for strong nature/culture oppositions. But historical analysis could be neither interesting nor really possible if restricted only to cultural specificities or transcultural norms, not the dialectic between them.

The essentialist will point to the fact that the cock is a virility symbol in many historical cultures. Comparative studies can easily be shaped to suggest that the cock's "virility" is an archetype which transcends cultural and historical boundaries. Against this trend, I have tried to show that the virility of the cock in Classical Athens had a unique configuration explicable only in terms of its specific historical moment.

Ar. *Eq.* 496 f.). Aldrovandi (242 f.) has an interesting variant: "Again, I must not omit the fact that impiety itself is represented in the language of hidden signs by the image of a rooster. For he leaps upon his mother in copulation, as the hippopotamus does, and he likewise cruelly treads upon his father." Aldrovandi suggests some connection with the Roman practice of placing a cock along with a snake, monkey, and dog in a sack with a patricide. For cocks copulating with their mothers: *Corp. Fab. Aesop.* 16 (Hausrath).

¹⁶⁰E. K. Borthwick observes a number of similarities between the *agones* of *Clouds* and *Frogs*: at *Frogs* 861 Euripides is said to be ready to δάκνεν, δάκνεσθαι and at 846 Euripides θρασύνεται; in *Frogs* the characterization of the contestants is very similar to that of the antagonists of *Clouds*: Aeschylus represents the disciplined Marathon generation and Euripides the shifty sophist; note also the use of σπρέφω words of Euripides at *Frogs* 775, 878, 892, 957, 1102.

The constructionist may be inclined to promote this uniqueness as something purely cultural and arbitrary. But cultures do not construct *ex nihilo*. Social mentalities bear some (complex) relation to both historical and biological realities. "Ideology" would have little meaning as a concept if there were nothing beyond it.

Nature is very suggestive. The biological chicken is the material cause of most cultural recipes. If the chicken was chosen to symbolize androcentric and phallogentric values in Athenian society and other pecking-orders, the reason is in the first place biological. Transcultural symbols are sufficiently explained if we think of nature as a raw material for cultural construction, which, like any raw material, suggests possibilities for some uses and resists others. In this way nature proposes, but culture disposes, and it is hardly surprising that many cultures accept nature's propositions, though after their own fashion. Biology does not explain the particular attention Athenians paid to the chicken's rape rituals and the chicken's sexual and, hence, social volatility.¹⁶¹ Nor does biology explain the process of systematic distortions which incorporated a series of opposed values within a single dynamic symbol. For this we must seek not a material, but a final cause, the perpetuation of a given order through its collective ideology. What is true of chickens is even more true of "virility." Chickens, at least, have a raw nature. But men construct their "virility" at another remove from nature, as a secondary manufacture from processed nature. Some societies notably construct their "virility"—in part—from "chickens."

It is often said that symbols are interesting because they encompass contradictions. But symbols are also contradictory *because* they are interesting, because they are political footballs, loci of struggle between competing social groups, and necessarily ambivalent, because the language of the debate must be common, even if competing groups ascribe different values to the terms. In this sense too, to paraphrase Geertz, it is not cocks that fight in the ring, but men, and not simply men, but the entire order of Athenian society—men, women, children, rich and poor, free and slave—all use the cockfight to express their relations to one another and their feelings about those relations. If Athens made the cock the supreme symbol of the *agon*, it was in part because the cock gave eloquent expression to some of Athens' most basic social struggles.

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¹⁶¹A modern scientific textbook (P. Smith and C. Daniel, *The Chicken Book* [Boston and Toronto 1975] 173 f., 164) relates that "hens do not clearly demonstrate heat, and . . . copulation in [*sic*] chickens more nearly resembles rape," that the ovaries of some hens produce excessive amounts of testosterone causing them to develop combs and spurs, and that experimentally castrated cocks are dominated by more aggressive hens.