

Brocade and Blood: The Cockfight in Chinese and English Poetry

Robert Joe Cutter

I.

The sport, or spectacle, of cockfighting is now either illegal or stigmatized in many societies, yet it continues to exist, often being carried on surreptitiously by avid devotees. Although it occupies a more prominent place in some societies, such as Bali and the Philippines, than in others it has an extremely broad, almost world-wide, distribution.¹ Some indication of the endurance of cockfighting in the modern world is provided by the case of the United States. It is against the law in most of the states, but its legal status is complicated by differences in state and county ordinances, so that the sport is much more widespread and popular than is generally known.² Cockfights are held in nearly every state, and organized cockfighting is said to involve at least \$10 million annually, to engage as many as seventy thousand breeders, and to attract half a million cockfighters.³ There are supposedly about 250 cockpits in New York City alone.⁴

Those of us who are not directly involved with cockfighting still may be exposed to the phenomenon in other ways. For example, fighting cocks not only have a place in the representational art of the ancient Western world, but the more plebeian among us can delight in their emergence in popular productions from Hogarth to the Walt Disney Studios.⁵ The sport also surfaces occasionally in the news and in English language literature. The writings of Shakespeare, Pepys, George Eliot, Conan Doyle, Joyce, James Dickey, and Martin Cruz Smith, to name but a few, contain random references to cockfighting or gamecocks.

Cockfighting is sometimes referred to as the world's oldest sport. Like the origins of the domestic chicken itself, the origins of cockfighting

may well be Asian. It is thought by some to have begun on the Indian subcontinent and to have radiated from there.⁶ In any case, it was popular in Greece, perhaps transmitted there via Persia, and seems to have existed in Rome already by 470 B.C.⁷

The first recorded cockfight in Chinese history took place a half a century earlier, in 517 B.C. in the state of Lu魯. A partial reflection of the importance of this famous incident, in which the cocks of Chi-sun P'ing-tzu 季孫平子和 Hou Chao-po 郈昭伯 were pitted against one another is the fact that accounts of it may be found in *Tso chuan* 左傳 (Tso's Commentary), *Shih-chi* 史記 (Records of the Historian), *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu* 呂氏春秋 (Mr. Lü's Spring and Autumn), and *Huai-nan-tzu* 淮南子.⁸ This particular cockfight made a good metaphor for the power struggles taking place then in Lu among such aristocratic families.⁹ Despite its metaphorical value, however, there seems no reason to doubt that the fight really did occur. Even at that early date the tactics used, most notably the use of artificial spurs, suggest the sport had been around for some time. As one historian of the sport has observed, the introduction of the artificial spur must have come later than naked-heel fighting.¹⁰ The legacy of this first recorded cockfight in Chinese history is not only historical but literary, for it eventually furnished a stock of conventions for later writers who adopted cockfighting as a topic or source of imagery.

After the first mention of the sport in *Tso chuan*, it never again disappears from the Chinese scene. *Chuang-tzu* 莊子 and *Lieh-tzu* 列子 refer to it as a royal activity.¹¹ In documents concerning Warring States times and the Han dynasty, it is often associated with people of wealth and position.¹² In fact, in Han times cockfighting was practiced in the very highest quarters. Among its *aficionados* was the father of the Han founder Kao-tsu 高祖 (247-195 B.C.).¹³ Kao-tsu's great-grandson Liu Yü 劉餘, who was a son of Emperor Ching 景帝 (reg. 156-141 B.C.) and who in 155 B.C. became King Kung of Lu 魯恭王, is reported not only to have been fond of cockfights but of duck- and goose-fighting as well.¹⁴ The long reigning Emperor Wu 武帝 (reg. 140-87 B.C.) attended cockfights from time to time, and Emperor Hsüan 宣帝 (reg. 79-49 B.C.), who came to the throne a little later, had been particularly fond of the sport in his youth.¹⁵ Emperor Ch'eng 成帝 (reg. 32-7 B.C.) was also interested in the sport.¹⁶

After the Han, Emperor Ming 明帝 (reg. 226-39) of Wei is said to have constructed a Cockfighting Terrace.¹⁷ And there is ample literary evidence to suggest that the sport remained popular in the Six Dynasties period. In

the early part of the T'ang dynasty, the young nobles of the royal house were clearly involved with cockfighting.¹⁸ But it was slightly later in T'ang times, during the so-called High T'ang, that cockfighting may have reached the historical apex of its popularity among all levels of society, for the real heyday of T'ang cockfighting was the reign of Emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄帝 (reg. 712-56). Literature and the arts tend to bear this out. For instance, Ch'en Hung's 陳鴻 (fl. 805) tale "Tung-ch'eng lao-fu chuan" 東城老父傳 (The Old Man of the Eastern Wall) relates the life story and socio-political observations of a fictional imperial cockfighter in the employ of Hsüan-tsung, while a number of paintings purports to show Hsüan-tsung watching a cockfight.¹⁹ Poems by various poets and passages in *Hsin T'ang shu* 新唐書 (New T'ang History) and the ninth century work *Ming-huang tsa-lu* 明皇雜錄 (Miscellaneous Records of the Enlightened Sovereign) further contribute to this impression.²⁰ Although the An Lu-shan 安祿山 Rebellion ended the reign of Hsüan-tsung and interrupted the extravagant entertainments presented for the delectation of those fortunate enough to be in attendance at his court, cockfighting did not end as a popular or a royal pastime. The emperors Tai-tsung 代宗 (reg. 762-79), Mu-tsung 穆宗 (reg. 820-24), Wen-tsung 文宗 (reg. 827-40), and Hsi-tsung 僖宗 (reg. 837-88) were all fans.²¹ As for virtually all earlier periods, there also exists a number of poems by well-known poets of the Mid- and Late T'ang periods that are related in one way or another to cockfighting.

There is poetic testimony to the popularity of cockfighting during the Sung period, and specialists in quail- and cockfighting were among the hangers-on whose skills and talents made life pleasant for the privileged residents of the Southern Song capital of Lin-an 臨安 (modern Hang-chou 杭州).²² A poem by Lu Yu 陸游 (1125-1209) indicates that the sport was practiced in the Ch'eng-tu 成都 area as well.²³ But perhaps the most dedicated adherents of cockfighting were the non-Chinese living in Kuang-chou 廣州, whose obsession with it was observed by Chou Ch'ü-fei 周去非 (fl. late twelfth century). His observations, recorded in his *Ling-wai tai-ta* 嶺外代答 (Replies to Questions about the Land beyond the Five Ridges), constitute an important source of information on cockfighting in traditional China.²⁴ A few pieces of literature connected with cockfighting exist from in *Hung lou meng* 紅樓夢 (A Dream of Red Mansions), but also in writings by nineteenth century Western visitors to China.

Today cockfighting is still popular in some quarters in China, as demonstrated by the fact that in April of 1986 an international invitational

derby was held in Ho-tzu 荷澤, Shan-tung. It was attended by several hundred local spectators and by foreign visitors from Japan, Canada, and the U.S., as well.²⁵ Another traditional center of cockfighting in Shan-tung is Shou-kuang 壽光 *hsien*.²⁶ Other areas that have been mentioned as places where cockfighting is popular include Ho-nan, An-hui, Chiang-su, Kuang-tung, and the region south of the Hsiang River 湘南 in general.²⁷

Cockfighting was popular in England from at least the twelfth century of our era.²⁸ It was often associated with the schools.²⁹ One explanation of this is that the courageous behavior of the cocks was viewed as a good example for mankind. One early modern writer, Robert Howlett, saw cockfighting as a needed stimulus to valor and as a way "to divert the English gentry from effeminate Dancing, Whoring, and Drinking, which are three Evils grown now almost Epidimical."³⁰ He writes:

Amongst all the Pleasures and Delights this lower sphere affords to Mortals here on Earth, there is nothing more taking with the Heroic, and truly generous Soul, than the Noble and most Princely Pastime of Cockfighting, which really is in it self a Recreation becoming the greatest Potentate, and surely the most suitable to all such whose natural Genius prompts them on to signalize their Valour in the Field of Honour, where like the Cock fitted for Battle, with their bright Arms they move their Fortune, and to raise themselves to the highest pitch of Glory.³¹

By Howlett's time, the English "Potentates" had already done their part to encourage the spread of this "princely pastime" throughout all levels of society. As George Ryley Scott writes,

One of the most potent reasons for the appeal of cockfighting to the upper and middle classes, as well as to the lower orders, was the support accorded to it by royalty. When the eighth Henry [reg. 1509-47] had a cockpit built in the palace of Whitehall, the sport was lifted out of obscurity at one swoop. It is true there appears to be no evidence that Henry was sufficiently enamoured to grace the fights with his portly presence, but the very fact that he recognized its importance and its claims was enough.³²

Some indication of consciousness of the sport in England by the seventeenth century can be seen in Shakespeare's use of the cockpit as a metaphor for the stage in his "Prologue" to *Henry V* (1599):

... Can this cockpit hold
The vasty fields of France? or may we cram
Within this wooden O the very casques
That did affright the air at Agincourt?
O, pardon! since a crooked figure may
Attest in little place a million;
And let us, ciphers to the great accompt,
On your imaginary forces work. . . .

Among the English royalty, sports mad James I (reg. 1603-25) was surely one of the greatest benefactors of cockfighting.

Not only did he recognise cocking as a national sport; he appointed a special official, known as a "cockmaster," to supervise the breeding, rearing and training of fighting-cocks destined to appear in the royal arena; he visited the pit himself and was in fact an enthusiastic spectator at least once and often twice a week.³³

It is reported that in 1617, James I was made "very merry" by a battle royal he witnessed at Lincoln.³⁴ A battle royal is a fight in which all of the birds are put into the pit at the same time. This bloody affair ends when all but one of the creatures are dead or dying.³⁵ In James's day people were not squeamish about such spectacles. When a stag was killed on a hunt, James would, as part of the ritual of the hunt, "personally cut its throat and daub the faces of his courtiers with blood, which they were not permitted to wash off. . . ."³⁶

Although attacks on cockfighting and other such sports occurred in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was not outlawed in England until the 1830s.³⁷ Even after prohibition, cockfighting was carried on illegally.

II.

The picture painted thus far is one of two societies, far apart and vastly

different culturally, each of which has known the sport of cockfighting from early in its recorded history. The fact that both great national literatures contain references to cockfighting has already been alluded to. But when we turn to an examination of the poetical references to the sport in the two literary traditions, we discover a striking difference in approach. The English poems are much bloodier and devote much more attention to the courage of the cocks and the details of the battle than do their Chinese counterparts. The purpose of this essay is to demonstrate this phenomenon and to offer a possible explanation for it.

The Chinese poems that will be considered here come from a long stretch of history. Among them will be found examples dating from the Han to the Ming dynasties. The English poems, on the other hand, will come from a more limited time period. This is not merely because English history is shorter. It is also due, at least in part, to the particular popularity of cockfighting there during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

Among the earliest Chinese poems to mention cockfighting are two pieces by Ts'ao Chih 曹植 (192-232). In his frequently anthologized "Ming tu p'ien" 名都篇 (Famous Towns), it appears in line 5 as one of the activities of the carefree and sybaritic young men of Lo-yang described in the poem. The line reads "They fight cocks on the eastern suburb road," and thereafter references to the eastern road or suburbs become a common motif in poems that refer to the cockfight.³⁸

But perhaps the first poem actually to take the cockfight as its subject matter is Ts'ao "Tou-chi" 鬥雞 (Cockfight). Chien-an 建安 period poets like Ts'ao very commonly wrote poems on shared topics, sometimes in one another's company. While we cannot know if they composed their pieces on the same occasion, two other Chien-an poets, Liu Chen 劉楨 (d. 217) and Ying Yang 應湯 (d. 217), also have poems by the same title. All three poems follow here.

Cockfight
("Tou-chi")³⁹
Ts'ao Chih

Wandering eyes have done with subtle dancing;
Clear hearing is sated with music.
The host is listless and has nothing to do;
The many guests offer a way to have fun.

Long mats seat the merry visitors,
 Cockfights they watch in an empty room.
 The gathered stags are now in a frenzy;
 Twin retrices fly and flutter instinctively.
 Beating primaries start a swift breeze;
 Cruel eyes emit vermilion light.
 Beaks fall, light down scatters;
 Harsh spurs wound again and again.
 A long crow enters the azure clouds;
 Fanning wings, a single bird soars up.
 I want the help of raccoon dog grease,
 Then I'd always be able to dominate this pit.⁴⁰

Cockfight
 ("Tou-chi")⁴¹
 Liu Chen

The cinnabar cocks are covered with flowery colors;
 The twin spurs are like edged points.
 Wanting totally to flex their blazing might,
 They meet in battle on this inner causeway.
 Sharp talons scabble on jade steps;
 Glaring eyes contain fiery light.
 Long retrices ramp in a startling breeze;
 Hackle-feathers now spread in display.
 They lightly rise and wield their hooked beaks,
 Strike like lightning and again fly back.

Cockfight
 ("Tou-chi")⁴²
 Ying Yang

I was careworn and my mood was unhappy;
 I had not means to escape labor and toil.
 The brothers roamed to the sporting grounds,⁴³
 And ordered carriages to fetch many guests.
 Two groups split into facing ranks;
 The gathered cocks shine and are put on display.
 Twin spurs slip the long tethers;
 Flying and leaping, they jump the opponents and rivals.
 Mustard wings flourish metal spurs.
 Battle after battle, what chaotic confusion!

From morning to the setting of the sun
 The winners and losers still are not clear.
 The champion drives off a host of opponents;
 Its toughness and quickness surpass the rest of the flock.
 The surrounding gallery all enjoy and praise it;
 Guests and hosts feel delighted and glad.
 It is not that *liu-po* and chess do not make one happy,
 But this sport is what our age prizes.

What should be noted in the case of all three of these poems is the very little space devoted to the action of the fight and its violence. In the poems by Ts'ao and Ying, there is much more attention paid to the circumstances surrounding the fight than to the fight itself, and Liu Chen's poem gives relatively more lines to description of the gamecocks.

Description of the gamecocks is also the chief element in a *fu* 賦 on the cockfight, "Tou-chi fu" 鬥雞賦 (Cockfight Rhapsody), by Fu Hsüan 傅玄 (217-78). Normally, we expect an attempt at exhaustive description from a *fu*, yet Fu Hsüan is very restrained in depicting the ferocity of the sport. The most violent part of his rhapsody reads:

At times they are tentative and hesitant;
 At times they are strutting and relaxed;
 At times they take mincing steps and look up and down;
 At times they sweep their wings but don't yet rise;
 At times they look back like wolves, stare like owls;
 At times they soar like simurghs, dance like phoenixes;
 At times they feign retreat and lure the rival;
 At times they are ready to die in violent resistance.⁴⁴

And then,

In a flurry, in a frenzy,
 Thunder meets, lightning strikes.
 Struggling, they lift their bodies and provoke one another;
 Competing, they're as savage as peregrines and glance like raptors.
 The one who gains the upper hand ascends to the Nine Heavens;
 The one who loses ground sinks to the Nine Earths.⁴⁵

This is tame stuff, indeed, when we consider the sections on the hunt found in earlier rhapsodies, full of strong verbs recounting the massacre of great numbers of creatures in every imaginable way. The cockfight operates

both in life and literature on a more personal level. It was not intended to awe or impress to the same degree the imperial hunt and its literary counterparts were. As a result, there is little need to linger over the sanguinary side of the sport.

There can be little doubt that such *yung-wu fu* 詠物賦 (rhapsodies on things) has a strong influence on the heavy descriptive tendency in Six Dynasties poetry.⁴⁶ When we turn to poems about cockfights and fighting cocks from that era, we find the same inclination to omit actual combat and to concentrate on description of the cocks. There is also an emphasis on the use of phrases from earlier literature which are on their way to becoming formulaic.

For instance, in Hsiao Kang's "Tou-chi p'ien" there is no straightforward description of a fight. Instead the poem concentrates on the superiority and nobility of the cock, drawing on allusions from Ts'ao Chih, the *Tso chuan* story, *Chuang-tzu*, and *Han shih wai-chuan* 韓詩外傳. Likewise, a "Tou-chi p'ien" by Liu Hsiao-wei 劉孝威 (ca. 496-549), a member of Hsiao Kang's literary salon, uses expressions found in the earlier "Cockfight" poems of Ts'ao Chih and Liu Chen while avoiding any depiction of violence.⁴⁷

The approach of members of Hsiao's coterie to poems on cocks and cockfighting is perhaps epitomized by Hsü Ling's 徐陵 (507-83) effort.⁴⁸ Not only does it allude to earlier cockfighting literature, but it refers only briefly and obliquely to the fight. It contains the following lines:

Fighting phoenixes ashamed of clothing brocade;
Twin simurghs embarrassed of mirror stands.

Here the phoenixes and simurghs are metaphors for the cocks, and, in just the sort of delicate description one associates with the Palace Style Poetry for which Hsiao and his group were noted, objects of artifice are incorporated as images. A brocade in a phoenix design is what is meant in the first of these lines, while the second seems to allude to a simurgh decorative motif found on mirror stands.⁴⁹

Yü Hsin 庾信 (513-81) also has a "Tou-chi" poem.⁵⁰ It is short enough to quote in its entirety:

We open the casement to gaze at a Viscount P'ing;
Trot our horses to see a King of Ch'en.

Raccoon dog grease smokes the fighting rivals;
 Mustard powder dusts the springtime pit,
 Unfolding their wings, lotus flowers move;
 Wary of the flock, brocade chests swell.

Viscount P'ing is Chi-sun P'ing-tzu of first cockfight fame; King of Ch'en is Ts'ao Chih. Perhaps here they are used to refer to Hsiao Kang. Since Hsü Ling's poem begins with the same two historical examples, and given the fact that Yü and Hsü both belonged to Hsiao Kang's salon, it seems certain that one of the poems influenced the other. They may even have been composed contemporaneously. As we have seen, the mention of raccoon dog grease is an allusion to *Chuang-tzu* and Ts'ao Chih's "Tou-chi," and the reference to mustard comes originally from *Tso chuan*. The last two lines of the poem compare the wings of the cocks to lotuses and liken their chests to brocade in an attempt to capture the beauty of the birds. It would also be possible to understand the penultimate line as saying, "When they unfold their wings, lotus flowers move," the meaning being that the wind from their wings stirs the blossoms. But this interpretation seems to be overpowered by the identity between the wings and flowers implied in the line.⁵¹ Again there is only a very oblique reference to the gamecocks' combat.

Although they are nearly as terse in this regard as most of the earlier poems, there are two pieces from the Six Dynasties that do go slightly further in describing the fighting of the cocks. One is Wang Pao's 王褒 (d. 577) "K'an tou-chi shih" 看鬥雞詩 ("Poem on Watching a Cockfight," and the other is Ch'u Chieh's "Tou-chi tung chiao tao shih." Wang's poem reads:

With mincing steps they first move to the side.
 In will and spirit they wish to topple each other.
 They are jealous of rivals, so the metal spurs rise;
 They are wary of the flock, so the mustard powder emerges.
 Entering the pit, they resemble people picking a fight;
 Chasing back the enemy, they seem pursuing armies.
 Who would know that below Han-ku
 When someone left it was they who opened the wall?⁵²

This poem is linked with those by other poets writing on the cockfight theme by its use of stock images connected with that theme, particularly

the metal spurs and the mustard powder. But beyond this, there is a hint of a still more intimate relationship with the salon of Hsiao Kang in the third and fourth lines: "jealous of rivals" (*tu ti* 妬敵) is also employed by Liu Hsiao-wei in line 3 of his poem, where, as here, references to metal spurs and mustard powder immediately follow; and "wary of the flock" (*ts'ai ch'un* 猜羣) is used in the last line of Yü Hsin's poem. Although this may not be proof of synchronous composition, it is tempting to see some kind of influence at work. In any case, although the poem seems much more directed towards actually depicting the actions of a cock in battle, the description is actually quite reserved and conveys even less of the fury of the contest than the Chien-an period poems and Fu Hsüan's rhapsody.

The penultimate couplet of Ch'u Chieh's poem is somewhat more evocative of the nature of the contest but still rather subdued:

Brocade down is strewn by attacking spurs;
Mustard feathers are born of jumbled dust.

A final Six Dynasties poem on the topic, Chou Hung-cheng's "Yung lao pai tou-chi shih," lacks any description of battle whatsoever. In this respect it is similar to the majority of T'ang poetic works in which cockfighting or cockfighters play a role, for they, too, contain absolutely no such description.⁵³ An exception is a linked verse (*lien-chü* 聯句) by Han Yü 韓愈 (768-824) and Meng Chiao 孟郊 (751-814). It is, in fact, in this poem that we find the nearest Chinese equivalent of the later English poems on cockfighting. It is worth quoting its lengthy treatment of the fray:⁵⁴

Spreading feathers, each shudders and shivers;	
Angry throat swellings compete in jutting out.	HY
Lifted breasts suddenly lower;	
Erect stances change in a glance.	MJ
Whirr! The battle sounds are loud;	
Furious flapping – the fallen feathers are snowy.	HY
In the middle a pause, the matter is not yet resolved;	
A small setback, strength increases twofold.	MJ
Their jealous hearts must give rise to hostility;	
Their murderous natures concentrate on making mincemeat	
of each other.	HY
Tearing blood, they drop their crowing sounds;	
Pecking the reddish-black, they're worse than famished and	

ravenous.	MJ
Rising face-to-face, how excited and alarmed!	
Whirling in pursuit, truly cunning and deceptive.	HY
Their merciless hands would satisfy Li Yang; ⁵⁵	
Their miraculous mallets would tire Chu Hai. ⁵⁶	MJ
With compassionate hearts we are benevolent, ⁵⁷	
So, with your tattered heads, what were your crimes?	HY
Only one will win, the thing is thus;	
The sidelines are excited, sweat flows and stains.	MJ
Those who know a winner happily animate their faces;	
Those shy of losing sadly look at their stakes.	HY
competing to see — clouds filling a road;	
Helping to shout — waves churning the sea.	MJ
The stabbing talons are extremely hard to dislodge;	
The furious eyes never as yet weary.	HY
One spray and suddenly they seem to revive; ⁵⁸	
Again joined, again as if honed.	MJ
Heads hanging — tattered bits of cinnabar;	
Wings broken — dragging brocaded colored silk.	HY
Soaring, one still has courage to spare;	
Its clear, shrill cry resembles a song of triumph.	MJ

In this poem there is a very successful attempt to capture the violent fury and gory destruction that characterize the fight. Yet no attempt to glorify the spectacle is made. On the contrary, while the poem does do homage to the courage, martial artistry, and endurance of the contestants, it also presents the more repulsive side of the sport. This is particularly the case from the allusion to *Meng-tzu* on.

Perhaps the most striking post-T'ang development in the use of cockfighting in poetry is that, just as in the Han-Wei period it crossed over from *shih* and *yüeh-fu* to the *fu*, in Sung times it crosses over into *tz'u*詞. The Sung and later dynastic periods do not, however, witness any great change in the poetic presentation of the violence of the sport. Descriptions of the fight itself hardly exist, and when the sport appears at all, it is usually mentioned only in passing, as something the poet or someone else used to enjoy or engages in now.⁵⁹ It took a writer with a certain flair for eccentricity, Yang Wei-chen 楊維楨(1296-1370), to focus on the fight the way Han Yü and Meng Chiao had done:

Cockfight
 (“Tou-chi hsing” 鬥雞行)⁶⁰

Two cocks, courageous and keen, show off to mates and rivals;
 Their old spurs in the pit are as sharp as halberds.
 The delicate down ruffles up and hedgehog quills spread;
 The angry throats are lumpy, the furious eyes azure.
 Sword natures suddenly move and smash flowery combs;
 Mouth blood mutually stains and mats the colorful wings.
 When shall they stop fighting and make a crowing sound?
 From plum blossoms on the levee spring dew drips.

In this poem can be seen features that have been pointed out as being characteristic of Yang's poetry. First of all, it is a *yüeh-fu*, the form from which much of Yang's literary reputation derives. His choice of words is also characteristic. Some of Yang's favorite words, like *hsüeh* 血 (“blood”) in line 6, are meant to confront and challenge the reader's expectation of what is aesthetically pleasing.⁶¹ It is no doubt for this reason that the Tang poet Li Ho 李賀 (790-816), whose imagery is commonly regarded as tending toward the grotesque, is frequently mentioned in discussions of Yang Wei-chen's poetry.

The final two lines of his poem must be understood in the context of an allusion Yang has chosen for his closure. It is said that on one occasion when Hsiao Tse 蕭頤, agnomen Emperor Wu (Wu-ti 武帝; reg. 493-93) of Ch'i, made an imperial excursion to Lang-yeh Town (Lang-yeh ch'eng 瑯琊城), a cock began to crow as his party came to the northern levee of the lake.⁶² Later the place was called Cockcrow Levee (Chi-ming tai 雞鳴埭).⁶³ Yang combines the images of the early morning crowing of the cock at Cockcrow Levee long ago with the early morning dripping of dew from the blossoms of the plum trees on the levee in the poem. His is bloodier than most Chinese poems on the theme and he seems to regret the violence of the cocks, wishing they would cease fighting and revert to simple crowing. While the dew in the last line is an image of morning, its use here may also impart a tone of sadness to the poem, for it often represents the ephemeral nature of life and can be a metaphor for tears.⁶⁴

Among the English poems that will be considered here, some are anonymous compositions, while others are the works of known literary figures, such as Robert Wild (1609-79) and Sir Richard Blackmore (1654-1729). Since Wild was a Puritan, it might seem surprising that he would

write on cockfighting, for the Puritans were one of the groups against the sport.⁶⁵ Indeed, it is possible that Puritan influence was partly responsible for the temporary prohibition of cockfighting in 1654, when Cromwell was Lord Protector.⁶⁶ This apparent paradox is explained in Wild's entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which says:

Wild's later verse is largely elegiac. His satirical efforts are, however, more characteristic. Besides those already mentioned, the chief are: "A Horrible, Terrible, and Troublesome Historical Narration. or the Relation of a Cock Fight fought at Wisbech" (London, 1660, fol.; reprinted in Cotton's "Compleat Gamester," 1680)⁶⁷

The poem, then, is a satire.⁶⁸ It is "a local political squib" which nonetheless "faithfully describes cocking."⁶⁹ So convincingly does Wild's piece treat of the sport that it is often quoted in works on cockfighting.⁷⁰ The poem is rather long, and only the part which pertains most to the actual fighting will be quoted here:

Into the Pit they're brought, and being there
 Upon the Stage, the *Norfolk* Canticleer
 Looks stoutly at his ne'er before seen Foe,
 And like a Challenger began to Crow,
 And clap his Wings, as if he would display
 His Warlike Colours which were Black Grey.
 Mean time the wary *Wisbich* walks and breaths
 His active Body, and in fury Wreaths
 His comely Crest, and often looking down,
 He whets his angry Beak upon the Ground.
 This done they meet, not like that Coward Breed
 Of sop's; these can better Fight than Feed;
 They scorn the Dunghill, 'tis their only Prize,
 To dig for Pearls within each other's Eyes.
 They Fought so nimbly that 'twas hard to know,
 To th' Skilful, whether they did Fight or no;
 It that the Blood which dy'd the fatal Floor,
 Had not born Witness of't. Yet Fought they more:
 As if each Wound were but a Spur to Prick
 Their Fury forward, Lightnings not more quick,
 Or red, than were their Eyes: 'Twas hard to know

Whether 'twas Blood or Anger made them so.
 I'm sure they had been out, had they not stood
 More safe, by being fenced in with Blood.
 Thus they vy'd blows; but yet (*Alas!*) at length,
 Altho' their Courage were full try'd, their Strength,
 And Blood began to Ebb. You that have seen
 A Watry Combat on the Sea between
 Two angry-roaring-boyling Billows, how
 They march, and meet, and dash their curled Brow,
 Swelling like Graves, as tho' they did intend
 T'intomb each other e'er the Quarrel end;
 But when the Wind is down, blustering Weather,
 They are made Friends, and sweetly run together;
 May think these Champions such: their Blood grows low
 And they which leapt before, now scarce can go:
 Their Wings which lately at each blow they clapt,
 (As if they did applaud themselves) now flapt;
 And having lost th'advantage of the Heel,
 Drunk with each other's Blood, they only reel;
 From either Eyes such drops of Blood did fall,
 As if they wept them for their Funeral.
 And yet they fain would Fight; they came so near,
 Methought they meant into each other's Ear
 To whisper Wounds; and when they could not rise,
 They lay and lookt Blows int' each other's Eyes.
 But now the Tragic Part! after this fit,
 When *Norfolk* Cock had got the best of it,
 And *Wisbich* lay a dying, so that none,
 Tho' sober but might venture Seven to One;
 Contracting, like a dying Taper all
 His strength, intending with the Blow to fall:
 He struggles up, and having taken Wind,
 Ventures a Blow, and strikes the other blind.
 And now poor *Norfolk* having lost his Eyes,
 Fights only guided by Antipathies:
 With him (*Alas!*) the Proverb holds not true,
 The blows his Eyes ne'er saw his Heart must rue.
 At length by chance he stumbled on his foe,
 Not having any power to strike a blow,
 He falls upon him with his wounded Head,
 And makes his Conqueror's wings his Feather-bed:

Where lying sick his Friends were very Charie
of him, and fetcht in hast Apothecary;
But all in vain his Body did so blister,
That 'twas uncapable of any Clister;
Wherefore at length opening his fainting Bill
He call'd a Scriv'ner and thus made his Will

Obviously, this is cockfighting literature of a different order from what is seen in Chinese. The violence is much more graphic, with its depiction taking up more lines than most Chinese poems do in their entirety. Wild's poem is not unusual in this regard, as is shown by Blackmore's verse description:

----- Two Valiant Cocks in *Albion* bred,
That from the insulting Conqueror never Fled:
A Match in Strength, in Courage, and in Age,
And with keen Weapons Arm'd, alike engage
Each other they assault with furious Beaks,
And their twin'd Plumes distain with Bloody streaks,
Each nimble Warrior from the Mat-ment bounds,
And wing'd with death, their heels deal ghastly Wounds
By turns they take, by turns fierce stroaks they give,
And with like Hopes, and Fears for Conquest strive.
Both obstinate maintain the Bloody Field,
Both can in Combat Die, but neither yield.
Till with their bleeding Wounds grown weak & faint,
And choak'd with flowing gore they gasp and pant:
Disables on the Crimson Floor they lie,
Both Honour win, but neither Victory.
And now the throng rush in, the Combat's done,
By neither Hero lost, by neither won:
And rending with their Shouts the tortur'd Air,
Back from the Pit the Combatants they bear.⁷¹

The detailed description of the valiant suffering of the cocks in these poems, with recurrent use of words like "blood" and "wounds," takes on an almost burlesque quality when read today. Indeed, in the case of Wild's poem that may have been the author's original intent. However, there is good reason to think that these poems were for the most part

composed in all seriousness. Robert Howlett, one of the earliest English writers on the subject of gamecocks and, as mentioned above, a strong advocate of the sport of cockfighting, not only appends the two preceding pieces to his book on the subject but also adds his own not dissimilar effort:

Of all the numerous Feathered Flock
 Which *Jove* Created, the brave Fighting-Cock
 Contains within his truly generous Breast,
 By much, a Nobler Courage than the rest.
 When first he spies the Bloody trampled Pit,
 He claps his Wings, and Crows for Joy to see't:
 And when set down, he proudly struts along,
 Careless, and unconcern'd at the great Throng;
 Who Shouting clap the Hands to see him go
 So eagerly to meet his threatening Foe;
 Whose lofty Crimson Front when first he spies,
 He like the *Bazilick* thro' his swoln Eyes
 Darts Flames of Fury, Death, Revenge, & Spight,
 And thus enrag'd begins the Bloody Fight.
 Then on they fall, and like two Dragons meet,
 Rending the Air both with their Wings and Feet,
 Untill at length grown mad, they cease to Ward,
 And desperately closing scorn their Guard.
 Then, like to Thunder, fall their dreadful Stroaks,
 And as that slives the strong and mighty Oaks,
 So their fierce whirling Blows sharply rush thro'
 The tender Flesh, and slive the Bones in two.
 Whilst from their gaping Wounds there streams a flood
 Which like a Deluge drowns the Pit with Blood:
 The wounded Warriors reeling to, and fro',
 At length grow Faint, and stagger at each Blow:
 But bravely still maintain the doubtful fight,
 Altho's the one want Limbs, the other Sight:
 'Till faithless *Fortune* with a fatal Frown,
 Sends giddy Chance to pull the destin'd down.
 Whilst cruel *Death* in Crimson Colours meets
 The mangled Carcass, and in Purple Sheets,
 Presents him strait before the *Victor* dead;
 Who views him stretcht upon his Bloody Bed,
 And hears the Crowd with Shouts Ring his last Peal,

Which mournful Eccho Chimes his dying Knell:
 And Praises pierce the Skies from the vast Throng,
 Who shout the *Victor* as he Rides along.⁷²

Even those poems which express some alarm over the spectacle of the cockfight and imply some criticism of it are not averse to giving a fairly explicit recital of the agonies of the cocks, especially the loser as in the following excerpt:

Yet what, alas! avails his furious mien,
 His ruddy neck, and breast of varied green?
 Soon thro' his brain the foe's bright weapon flies,
 Eternal darkness shades his swimming eyes;
 Prostrate he falls, and quiv'ring spurns the ground,
 While life indignant issues from the wound.⁷³

And George Crabbe (1754-1832) has included in his depiction of the cruelty of the cockfighter in "The Parish Register" a brief but vivid account of a combat and its outcome:

Here his poor bird th'inhuman Cocker brings,
 Arms his hard heel and clips his golden wings;
 With spicy food th'impatient spirit feeds,
 And shouts and curses as the battle bleeds.
 Struck through the brain, deprived of both his eyes,
 The vanquish'd bird must combat till he dies;
 Must faintly peck at his victorious foe,
 And reel and stagger at each feeble blow:
 When fallen, the savage grasps his dabbled plumes,
 His blood-stain'd arms, for other deaths assumes;
 And damns the craven-fowl, that lost his stake,
 And only bled and perish'd for his sake.⁷⁴

This is admittedly a small sampling of poems, but the difference between the Chinese and English approaches to the clash of the gamecocks is abundantly clear. We are entitled to ask to what we should attribute this difference.

A potential extra-literary explanation that deserves mention has to do with religion. The way people viewed the issue of violence towards animals

differed sharply between the major religious currents of the two societies. At the risk of oversimplification, we can say that in the western world from very early times Christianity has proclaimed man's ascendancy over the animal kingdom. Gen. 9.2-3 reads:

And the fear of you and the dread of you shall be upon every beast of the earth, and upon every fowl of the air, upon all that moveth *upon* the earth, and upon all the fishes of the sea; into your hand are they delivered.

Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things.⁷⁵

This world view articulated in this biblical passage, although neither unquestioned nor universally held, was basic to the beliefs of most early modern Westerners. It was supported both by the Aristotelian notion of a ladder of souls and by Cartesian ideas concerning animals.⁷⁶ For occidentals, man had more than a simple right to use animals for food:

Even those who wished to kill animals for pleasure could, as Thomas Fuller observed in 1642, cite "man's charter of dominion over the creatures." Of bear-baiting and cock-fighting they could say: "Christianity gives us a placard to use these sports."⁷⁷

There was little in beliefs such as these to deter the minutely detailed narrations of bloodshed in the fighting passages of some of the English poems presented above. Nor was there any restraint imposed by literary tradition, for writers of the time cut their teeth on the epic.

Despite fortuitous parallels between Aristotle's differentiation of souls and the concepts of certain Chinese thinkers, there was a force in Chinese society that at least had the potential to ameliorate man's treatment of animals.⁷⁸ That force was Buddhism. Animal sacrifice, of course, has a long history in China, and animals have always been killed for food in China as elsewhere. But Buddhism has at least provided doctrinal support for the sanctity of life and injunctions to save and not to kill sentient beings. These are actually codified in the *Fan wang ching* 梵網經 (Sutra of Brahma's Net), and typified by the widespread practice of *fang-sheng* 放生, or releasing living creatures.⁷⁹

The question here is, to what extent might these Buddhist ideals have operated to subdue descriptions of violence in the Chinese poems under consideration. Unfortunately, with regard to actual human behavior, there is no reason to think that China has been a less violent society than any other or that animals have been well-treated in it. Not only was Buddhism not the religion of everyone, but there were differences between popular and clerical practices. Furthermore, the doctrines regarding animals contained a paradox.⁸⁰ The general prohibition against killing sentient beings and the injunction to save them (as expressed in the practice of *fang sheng*) are manifestations of *maitri* (*tz'u* 慈, or "universal sympathy").⁸¹ Yet Buddhism enumerates five or six *gati* (*ch'u* 趣, or "karmic destinations"), and rebirth as an animal is one of the three that are considered evil.⁸² Thus, an animal's life has to be one of suffering since it is a form of retribution for past sins.

Animals are at the mercy of humans and the environment, and that they suffer and die thereby is a form of penance they do.⁸³ But animals primarily suffer due to their own inherently violent behavior. Therefore, Buddhists in traditional China might very well have blamed the suffering of gamecocks on their fundamentally aggressive natures and not on the humans who fought them for entertainment and profit.⁸⁴

Still, *maitri* might well have prevented devout Buddhists from engaging in cockfighting. Besides, spectacles were forbidden at certain times to the Buddhist laity, and attendance at spectacles was prohibited by one of the ten rules of religious life that are often associated with the *śrāmanera* (*shami* 沙彌, or "novices"), but which served as the foundations for monastic regulations.⁸⁵

The only real clue that Buddhism might have stood in opposition to cockfighting is "The Old Man of the Eastern Wall." In order to obtain the maximum contrast between the hero of the tale in his earlier occupation of royal cockfighter and his later state, Ch'en Hung chose to have him become a member of the *sangha*. It would seem that Ch'en, at least, felt that these two modes of existence were incompatible. But even if Buddhism did provide some check on the sport in life, which is problematical, our selection of Chinese poems gives us no cause to suspect that it acted in any way as a curb on the degree of violence reached by the sport. In sport any case, there are examples of the same suppression of violence in a different context in poems antedating Buddhism in China. This does not mean that our consideration of Buddhism has been a blind alley, for even an imported

religion such as this one must reflect and reinforce autochthonous ideals and cultural values, and we are reminded that it is to these values we must turn for an answer to our question.

Very early in the history of Chinese poetry a marked disinclination to dwell on the gory details of that most human of violent encounters, war, appears. This is not to say there are no poems about war's sufferings, for there are many. But such pieces do not often concentrate on the blows of battle and their immediate grisly results.

This phenomenon has been superbly studied by C. H. Wang, who views it as the outcome of a clash between *wen* 文 and *wu* 武. According to Wang, "the poet's cultural tendency . . . does not permit him to dwell on the details of the clash of arms; the heroic 'action' is consequently redirected into another area." A little further on he writes, "The display of martial power (*wu*) is never as worthy as the exhibition of cultural eloquence (*wen*)."⁸⁶ Wang identifies in the canonical anthology *Shih ching* 詩經 a group of poems dealing with the Chou conquest of Shang. He calls these the *Weniad* and points out that, together with other poems on the era, they extol virtue, good works, and piety and downplay martial spirit.⁸⁷ Wang concludes this section of his article as follows:

The most glorious conquest in Chinese history, therefore, did not give rise to a poetic convention like that defined through the heroic action in the Trojan War. The poet of China, deferent to the sage king, sings of the positive cultural values of the conquest, but not of arms. The "heroism" is confirmed, nonetheless, but it is not the heroism that sustains itself in the extolling of arms.⁸⁸

Most interesting for our purposes is the total absence throughout the *Shih ching* corpus of actual descriptions of fighting. As Wang notes,

The poet sings of the war, in panegyric verse and more often in complaints and laments; but the battle, the actual clash of arms, is almost always left unsaid. This is called the "ellipsis of battle." It is a significant feature in the Chinese literary convention that keeps poetry about the heroic action from developing into detailed narrative of the battle.⁸⁹

Were the violent action to be elaborately presented, there would be a danger of blurring the primacy and nobility of *wen*.⁹⁰

At first it may seem an absurd incongruity to suggest a kinship between the eulogistic hymns of the *Shih ching* (or even less stately poems of that collection which exhibit ellipsis of battle) on the one hand and the cock-fighting poems on the other. Nevertheless, it seems very likely that the relative reticence of Chinese poets with regard to details of the battle and their tendency to rely instead on formulas and brief evocative images can be traced to just this source. Not only do the *Shih ching* poems exemplify deeply held cultural ideals, the excellence of the collection and its status as China's first poetic anthology and as one of the Classics has meant that its impact on later poetry has been unparalleled. It is not surprising, then, that the approach to martial deeds adopted there and so generally followed by later poets carried over into narrations of battles between gamecocks, just as it is not surprising that the English poems, under the strong influence of heroic narratives in the West, are so graphic in their treatment of the violence.

Notes

1. According to Clifford Geertz's famous and influential article on the sport in Bali, cockfights are illegal there except for certain special occasions. Yet they are held very often and quite openly. See Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101.1 (1972): 2. See also Brian Stoddart, "Bali and Survival," *Hemisphere* 26.3 (November-December 1981), 188-91. The popularity of the sport in the Philippines is too well-known to need any comment. It has even spawned a number of short stories by Alejandro Roces, published together under the title "*Of Cocks and Kites*" and *Other Short Stories* (Manila: Regal, 1959).
2. As this is being written I learn from the American edition of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's program "As It Happens" (21 May 1987) that the Texas legislature is currently considering an absolute ban.
3. Charles H. McCaghy and Arthur G. Neal, "The Fraternity of Cockfighters: Ethical Embellishments of an Illegal Sport," *Journal of Popular Culture* 8.3 (1975): 558, citing *The National Humane Review* and *Grit and Steel*, one of the three main magazines devoted to the sport.
4. McCaghy and Neal, "The Fraternity of Cockfighters," 558, quoting *Grit and Steel*. I was recently surprised to discover that one of the biggest cockpits in the country is near my old home of Yuma on the Arizona-California border. The person who informed me of this, incidentally, proves that it is not always easy to identify the sport's adherents. He is not only a breeder and fighter of gamecocks but is also a university faculty member.
5. For some examples of older Western art works on the theme, see the plates in Alessandro Ghigi, trans., *Poultry Farming as Described by the Writers of Ancient*

- Rome (Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius)* (Milan: Raffaello Bertieri, 1939). A variety of paintings and photographs related to the activity are contained in George Ryley Scott, *The History of Cockfighting* (London: Skilton, 1957?). Hogarth depicts cockfighting both in the series *The Stages of Cruelty* (1750) and in *The Cockpit* (1759). The latter is found between pages 74 and 75 of Scott's book. I recently saw on television some Disney animated sequences of cocks fighting, but since the program was pieced together from old cartoons, I do not know the titles or dates of the originals.
6. Page Smith and Charles Daniel, *The Chicken Book* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1982), 13, 70, 75; M. A. Jull, "The Races of Domestic Fowl," *The National Geographic Magazine* 51.4 (April 1927): 383. Note, however, that archaeological evidence shows the domestication of the chicken took place in the area of Tz'u-shan 磁山 in Ho-pei as early as the sixth millennium B. C., predating the existence of domesticated chickens at Mohenjodaro by 3000 years. See Chou Pen-hsiung 周本雄, "Ho-pei Wu-an Tz'u-shan i-chih te tung-wu ku-hai" 河北武安磁山遺址的動物骨骸 (The Animal Remains Discovered at Tz'u-shan Village, Wu-an, Ho-pei Province), *K'ao ku hsüeh-pao* 考古學報, 1981, no. 3: 343-46; Sally Rodwell, "China's Earliest Farmers: The Evidence from Cishan," *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 5 (1985): 55, 59-60
 7. Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 92.
 8. *Tso chuan*, Chao 25; *Shih-chi*, comp. Szu-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷 (145-ca. 86 B.C.) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 33.1540; Hsü Wei-yü 徐維邁, ed., *Lü shih ch'un-ch'iu chi-shih* 呂氏春秋集釋 (Collected Explanations to *Lu shih ch'un-ch'iu*) (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1962), 16.23b-25a; *Huai-nan-tzu*, 18.13b-14a, in *Szu-pu pei-yao* 四部備要
 9. The Chi, or Chi-sun, clan was made up of the descendants of the youngest son of Duke Huan 桓公 (reg. 710-693 B.C.) of Lu. Together with the clans descended from Duke Huan's two middle sons, the Meng-sun 孟孫 (or Chung-sun 仲孫) and the Shu-sun 叔孫, they constituted a powerful group known collectively as the Three Huan 三桓. Hou Chao-po's clan, on the other hand, was descended from the early Lu noble Duke Hsiao 孝公.
 10. Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 51. From the reaction that Hou's spurs provoked, it may be that they were a new development in the sport. If so, their inception in China might be about the same as in the West, where the use of artificial spurs goes back at least as far as Greece in the fourth or fifth centuries B.C. See L. R. Lind, trans., *Aldrovandi on Chickens; The Ornithology of Ulisse Aldrovandi (1600) Volume II, Book XIV* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 155; Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 53.
 11. See Kuo Ch'ing-fan 郭慶藩 (1844-96), ed., *Chuang-tzu chi-shih* 莊子集釋 (Collected Explanations on *Chuang-tzu*), 19.287-88, in *Hsin-pien Chu-tzu chi-ch'eng* 新編諸子集成 (Integrator of Philosophers, Newly Edited) (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1978); Yang Po-chün 楊伯峻, ed., *Lieh-tzu chi-shih* 列子集釋 (Collected Explanations on *Lieh-tzu*) (Shang-hai: Lung-men lien-ho shu-chü, 1965), 53.
 12. See Yokota Ikô 横田維孝, ed., *Senkokusaku seikai* 戰國策正解 (Correct Interpretations of *Chan-kuo ts'e*), 1829 (Taipei: Ho Luo t'u-shu ch'u-pan she, 1977), 4A. 13; *Shih-chi*, 69.2257, 30.1437, 101.2744; *Han shu* 漢書 (Han History), comp. Pan Ku 班固 (32-92) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1962), 75.3153; *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Later Han History), comp. Fan Yeh 范曄 (398-445) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), 34.1178.

13. Li T'ai 李泰 (618-52) et. al., *Kua-ti chih* 括地志 (All-Inclusive Gazetteer), quoted in Chang Shou-chieh's 張守節 (fl. 725) *Shih-chi* commentary. See *Shih-chi*, 8.387. *Kua-ti chih* has been reconstructed by Sun Hsing-yen 孫星衍 (1753-1818). See Li T'ai et. al., *Kua-ti chih*, 2.86, in *Tai-nan ko ts'ung-shu* 岱南閣叢書, in *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng* 百部叢書集成. A parallel passage is in *Hsi-ching tsa-chi* 西京雜記 (Western Capital Miscellany), 2.3a-b, in *Szu-pu ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊.
14. *Hsi-ching tsa-chi*, 2.6a. See also Ch'ien Chung-lien 錢仲聯, ed., *Han Ch'ang-li shih hsi-nien chi-shih* 韓昌黎詩繫年集釋 (Collected Explanations to the Poems of Han Ch'ang-li Arranged by Year), rev. ed. (Shang-hai: Shang-hai ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1984), 5.595.
15. *Han shu*, 65.2855, 8.237, 97A.3969, 59.2651.
16. *Hsi-ching tsa-chi*, 4.6b; Michael Loewe, "The Former Han Dynasty," in *The Ch'in and Han Empires 221 B.C. - A.D. 220*, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 213.
17. *Yeh-tu ku-shih* 鄴都故事 (Former Events of the Metropolis of Yeh), cited in Chu Hsu-tseng 朱緒曾 (fl. 1837), ed., *Ts'ao chi k'ao-i* 曹集考異 (Variorum of Ts'ao Chih's Collected Works), 5.6b, in *Chin-ling ts'ung-shu* 金陵叢書, 3rd series.
18. *Chiu T'ang shu* 舊唐書 (Old T'ang History), comp. Liu Hsiü 劉昫 (887-946) et. al. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1975), 190A.5005.
19. For a discussion and annotated translation of Ch'en Hung's tale, see my article "History and 'The Old Man of the Eastern Wall'," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106.3 (July-September 1986): 503-28.
 Paintings of the subject by Chang Hsüan 張萱 (fl. 713-41) and Chou Fang 周昉 (fl. 780-81) are recorded. See *Hsüan-ho hua-p'u* 宣和畫譜 (Hsüan-ho Reign Period Register of Paintings), preface dated 1120, 5.6b, 6.3b, in *Hsueh-chin t'ao-yuan* 學津討原, in *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*; Wang Lo-yu 汪砢玉 (b. 1587), *Wang shih Shan-hu wang ming-hua t'i-pa* 汪氏珊瑚網名畫題跋 (Inscriptions on Famous Paintings from Mr. Wang's Net of Coral), 1.17a, in *Shih-yuan ts'ung-shu* 適園叢書. Later descendants of these T'ang paintings exist today. See Ellen Johnston Laing, "Six Late Yuan Dynasty Figure Paintings," *Oriental Art* 20.3 (Autumn 1974): 1-12; Laurence Sickman, "Four Album Leaves by Li Sung (fl. 1190-1225)," *The Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin* 2.1 (March 1959): 5-10; James Cahill, *An Index of Early Chinese Painters and Paintings: T'ang, Sung, and Yuan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 37, 120, 368-69.
20. For the *Hsin T'ang shu* and *Ming-huang tsa-lu* passages see *Hsin T'ang shu*, comp. Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽修 (1007-72) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1975), 134.4565 and Cheng Ch'u-hui 鄭處誨 (*chin-shih* 834), *Ming-huang tsa-lu*, A.6b-7a, B.2a-b, in *Shou-shan ko tsung-shu* 守山閣叢書.
21. Lo Hsiang-lin 羅香林, *T'ang-tai wen-hua shih yen-chiu* 唐代文化史研究 (Studies in Tang Cultural History) (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1967), 131-32.
 Anecdotal testimony to interest in the sport on the part of Emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗 (reg. 820-24) and others is to be found in *Yu-yang tsa-tsu* 酉陽雜俎 (Yu-yang Miscellany), a work of the mid-ninth century. See Tuan Ch'eng-shih 段成式 (803-63), *Yu-yang tsa-tsu*, ed. Fang Nan-sheng 方南生 (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chu, 1981), *hsü chi* 8.275.

On Hsi-tsung's predilection for sports and entertainments see *Tzu-chih*

- t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 (Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government), comp. Szu-ma Kuang 司馬光 (1019-86) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1957), 253.8220-21; Robert M. Somers, "The End of the T'ang," in *Sui and T'ang China*, 589-906, vol. 3, part 1 of *The Cambridge History of China*, ed. Denis Twitchett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 715. See also Fan Sheng 范生, "Wo kuo ku-tai tsu-ch'iu kai-shu" 我國古代足球概述 (A General Account of Ancient Football in Our Country), in *Chung-kuo t'i-yü ts'an-k'ao tzu-liao* 中國體育參考資料 (Research Materials on the History of Chinese Physical Education) (Peking: Jen-min t'i-yü ch'u-pan she, 1957), 1:50.
22. Jacques Gernet, *Daily Life in China on the Eve of the Mongol Invasion 1250-1276*, trans. H. M. Wright, 1962 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 93; Wu Tzu-mu 吳自牧 (fl. 1270), *Meng liang lu* 夢梁錄 (Record of a Millet Dream), 19.10a-11a, in *Hsüeh-chin t'ao-yuan*.
 23. See his "Huai Ch'eng-tu shih yün" 懷成都十韻 (Ten Verses Recalling Ch'eng-tu); Lei Chin 雷瑯, comm., *Chien-chu Chien-nan shih-ch'ao* 箋注劍南詩鈔 (A Copy of Poetry from Chien-nan with Notes and Commentary), 1930 (Kao-hsiung: Ch'i-sheng t'u-shu kung-szu, 1973), 2.55-56.
 24. See Chou Ch'ü-fei, *Ling-wai tai-ta*, 9.14b-16a, in *Chih-pu-tsu chai ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書, in *Pai-pu ts'ung-shu chi-ch'eng*. See also Lü Shu-hsiang 呂叔湘, ed., *Pi-chi wen hsüan-tu* 筆記文選讀 (Selected Readings in Note-form Literature), 1946 (Shang-hai: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1959), 71-73.
 25. Chu Wen-chih 朱文志, "Ho-tzu ch'uan-t'ung tou-chi sai" 荷澤傳統鬥雞賽 (Traditional Cockfight Derby in Ho-tzu), *Jen-min jih-pao* 人民日報 (People's Daily), 28 April 1986, international edition.
 26. Lin Po-nan 林伯南, "Ch'ü t'an tou-chi" 趣談鬥雞 (Chatting about Cockfighting), an extract from *Lao-jen t'ien-ti* 老人天地 (Senior World) quoted in *Jen-min jih-pao*, 3 October 1986, international edition.
 27. Chu, "Ho-tzu ch'uan-t'ung tou-chi sai," Yang, *Lieh-tzu chi-shih*, 53.
 28. Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: A History of the Modern Sensibility* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 144.
 29. See Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 93-99; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 183; Lind, *Aldrovandi on Chickens*, 154-55.
 30. R[obert] H[owlett], *The Royal Pastime of Cockfighting, or The Art of Breeding, Feeding, Fighting, and Curing Cocks of the Game. Published purely for the good, and benefit of all such as take Delight in that Royal, and Warlike Sport. To which is Prefixed, A short Treatise, wherein Cocking is proved not only Ancient and Honourable, but also Useful, and Profitable*, 1709 (Hill Brow, Hampshire: Spur Publications, 1973), preface.
 31. Howlett, *The Royal Pastime of Cockfighting*, 1-2.
 32. Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 102. See also Edward Brown, *Races of Domestic Poultry* (London: Edward Arnold. 1906), 34.
 33. Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 102.
 34. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 144.
 35. See Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 73; Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 144.
 36. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 29.
 37. See Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 121-91; Brown, *Races of Domestic Poultry*, 34, 37.
 38. As in the following poems:

1) Hsün Ch'ang's 荀昶 (fl. mid 420s) "Ni 'Hsiang feng hsia lu chien'" 擬相逢狹路間 (In Imitation of "Meeting in a Narrow Street"). See *Chien-chu Yü-t'ai hsün-yung* 箋注玉臺新詠 (Notes and Commentary to *Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*), ed. Wu Chao-i 吳兆宜 (fl. 1672), rev. by Ch'eng Yen 程琰, 1774 (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1967), 3.12b-13b; *Yüeh-fu shih chi* 樂府詩集 (Collection of *yüeh-fu* Poetry), comp. Kuo Mao-ch'ien 郭茂倩 (twelfth century) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), 35.515; Lu Ch'in-li 遂欽立, comp., *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih* 先秦漢魏晉南北朝詩 (Poetry of the Pre-Ch'in, Han, Wei, Chin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties Periods), 3 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1983), 2:1217-18. Cf. Anne Birrell, trans., *New Songs from a Jade Terrace* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 102.

2) Hsiao Kang's 蕭綱 (503-551) "Tou-chi p'ien" 鬥雞篇 (Cockfight). See Lu, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih*, 3:1908; *Liang Chien-wen-ti chi* 梁簡文帝集 (Collected Works of Emperor Chien-wen of Liang), 2.3a, in *Han Wei Liu ch'ao pai-san ming chia chi* 漢魏六朝百三家集 (Collected Works of One Hundred Three Famous Writers of the Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties), ed. Chang P'u 張溥 (1602-41) (Taipei: Wen-chin ch'u-pan she, 1979 rpt.); *Ch'u-hsüeh chi* 初學記 (Records for Elementary Study), comp. Hsu Chien 徐堅 (659-729) et al. (Taipei: Ting-wen shu-chü, 1976 rpt.), 30.730; *I-wen lei chiü* 藝文類聚 (Compendium of Arts and Letters), comp. Ou-yang Hsün 歐陽詢 (557-641) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), 91.1585 (includes only last six lines). Cf. John Marney, trans., *Beyond the Mulberries: An Anthology of Palace-Style Poetry by Emperor Chien-wen of the Liang Dynasty (503-551)* (Taipei: Chinese Materials Center, 1982), 38-39.

3) Ch'u Chieh's 褚玠 (529-80) "Tou-chi tung chiao tao shih" 鬥雞東郊道詩 (Fighting Cocks on the Eastern Suburb Road). See Lu, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih*, 3:2550; *Ch'u-hsüeh chi*, 30.730.

4) Chou Hung-cheng's 周弘正 (496-574) "Yung lao pai tou-chi shih" 詠老敗鬥雞詩 (Singing of an Old and Beaten Fighting Cock"). See Lu, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih*, 3:2463.

Cockfighting in Lo-yang is also mentioned in "Lo-yang tao" 洛陽道 (Lo-yang Road) by Hsiao I 蕭繹 (508-54; Liang Yüan-ti 梁元帝, reg. 552-54). See *Chien-chu Yü-t'ai hsün-yung*, 7.29b (added by Wu Chao-i and attributed to Hsiao Kang); *Yüeh-fu shih chi*, 23.340; Lu, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih*, 3:2033.

39. Chao Yu-wen 趙幼文, *Ts'ao Chih chi chiao-chu* 曹植集校注 (Collation Notes to the Collected Works of Ts'ao Chih) (Peking: Jen-min wen-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1984), 1.1-2; Ting Yen 丁晏 (1794-1875), *Ts'ao chi ch'üan p'ing* 曹集銓評 (Ts'ao Chih's Collected Works Weighed and Appraised), rev. ed. (Peking: Wen-hsüeh ku-chi k'an-k'ing she, 1957), 5.58. This is one of those poems which is sometimes given as a *yüeh-fu* 樂府 and sometimes as a *ku-shih* 古詩. Ting Yen's basic text included it in the *shih* 詩 section, but Ting moved it to the *yüeh-fu* section based on its inclusion in *Yüeh-fu shih chi* and its *yüeh-fu* status in *Ch'en Szu wang chi* 陳思王集, the edition of Ts'ao's works included in *Han Wei Liu ch'ao pai-san ming chia chi*. See also *Yüeh-fu shih chi*, 64.927.
40. This may be an allusion to a *Chuang-tzu* passage preserved in *I-wen lei-chu*, 91.1583:

Chuang-tzu said to Hui-tzu, "Cocks of Yang-kou were the *chu* 株 for

three years. If a judge were to look at them, they were not good cocks. Despite this, as to the way they repeatedly used them to defeat others, they daubed their heads with raccoon dog grease."

The note of Szu-ma Piao 司馬彪 (240-306) explains that Yang-kou was a district where cockfighting was popular, that gamecocks fear raccoon dogs, and that *chu* means *k'uei-shih* 魁師 ("chief" or "leader").

41. *I-wen lei-chü*, 91.1585.
42. *I-wen lei-chü*, 91.1585.
43. It is very tempting to identify the two brothers mentioned here as Ts'ao Chih and Ts'ao P'i 曹丕 (187-226). That, of course, cannot be proved, and it is also possible that the reference is to Ying himself and his brother Ying Ch'ü 應璩. This interpretation would require changing the pronouns I have supplied in the first two lines of my translation to plurals.
44. Chang Shou-lin 張壽林, "T'an tou-chi te feng-su" 談鬥雞的風俗 (On the Custom of Cockfighting), *Shuo-feng* 朔風 5 (1933): 193 calls attention to the fineness and vividness gained by the repetition of *huo* ("at times") here.
45. *Ch'u-hsüeh chi*, 30.730.
46. Yang Su-chen 楊宿珍, "Kuan wu szu-hsiang te chü-hsien: yung-wu tz'u" 觀物思想的具現: 詠物詞 (The Embodiment of Notions on Observing Things: Lyrics on Things), in *I-hsiang te liu-pien* 意象的流變 (Developments in Imagery), ed. Ts'ai Ying-chun 蔡英俊 (Taipei: Lien-ching ch'u-pan shih-yeh kung-szu, 1982), 380; Kang-i Sun Chang, *Six Dynasties Poetry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 68, 72, 161.
47. Lu, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih*, 3:1869; *Yüeh-fu shih chi*, 64.928; *Liu Shu-tzu chi* 劉庶子集, 4a, in *Han Wei Liu ch'ao pai-san ming-chia chi*. The poem also appears in *I-wen lei-chü*, 91.1586, where the title is given as "Chi-ming p'ien" 雞鳴篇.
48. Lu, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih*, 3:2533; *Hsü Hsiao-mu chi chien-chu* 徐孝穆集箋注 (Notes and Commentary to the Collected Works of Hsü Hsiao-mu), ed. Wu Chao-i (Taipei: Shih-chieh shu-chü, 1963), 1.14b.
49. See *Hsü Hsiao-mu chi chien-chu*, 1.1b, 14b.
50. Lu, *Hsien Ch'in Han Wei Chin Nan Pei ch'ao shih*, 3:2399; *Yü Tzu-shan chi chu* 庾子山集注 (Commentary to the Collected Works of Yü Tzu-shan), ed. Ni Fan 倪璠 (Ch'ing Dynasty) (Taipei: Hsin-hsing shu-chü, 1959), 4.32a.
51. See *Yü Tzu-shan chi chu*, 4.32a.
52. Likening the cock to a pursuing army leads Wang to the allusion in the last two lines, in which he draws on the famous story of the flight from Ch'in back to Ch'i of T'ien Wen 田文, Lord of Meng-ch'ang 孟嘗君 in the third century B.C. The Lord of Meng-ch'ang had gone to Ch'in 秦 at the request of its ruler and was serving as chief minister there. However, fearful that he might put the interests of Ch'i 齊 first, the King of Ch'in removed him from office and incarcerated him, planning ultimately to kill him. The Lord of Meng-ch'ang managed to obtain his freedom and rode to Han-ku 函谷, the important pass south of modern Ling-pao 靈寶 *hsien*, Ho-nan. When he got there the pass was closed by regulation until cockcrow. One of his retainers, however, mimicked the crowing of a cock, which set the local roosters to crowing. By this ruse, the pass was opened and the Lord of Meng-ch'ang was able to escape. See *Shih-chi*, 75.2354-55; Yang Hsien-yi and Gladys Yang, trans., *Records of the Historian* (Hong Kong:

commercial Press, 1974), 80.

53. See the following poems:

1) Wei Ch'eng-ch'ing 韋承慶, "Han-shih ying chih" 寒食應制 (By Imperial Order on Cold Food Day), in *Ch'üan T'ang shih* 全唐詩 (Complete T'ang Poems), ed. Ts'ao Yin 曹寅 (1658-1712) et al., 12 vols. (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1960), 46.557;

2) Li Pai 李白 (701-62?), "Ku feng" 古風 (Ancient Airs) #24 and #46, "Pai ma p'ien" 白馬篇 (White Horse), "Hsu chiu tseng Chiang-yang tsai Lu Tiao" 敘舊贈江陽宰陸調 (Recounting the Past, Presented to Magistrate Lu Tiao of Chiang-yang), and "Ta Wang Shih-erh han yeh tu chuo yu hua" 答王十二寒夜獨酌有懷 (Responding to 'Meditation on a Cold Night While Drinking Alone' by Wang the Twelfth), in Ch'ü Shui-yüan 瞿蛻園 and Chu Chin-ch'eng 朱金城, eds., *Li Pai chi chiao-chu* 李白集校注 (Collected Works of Li Pai Collated with Commentary) (Shang-hai: Ku-chi ch'u-pan she, 1980), 2.138-40, 171, 5.357-59, 10.684, 19.1144;

3) Wang Wei 王維 (701-61), "Ou-jan tso" 偶然作 (Written Extempore) #5 and "Yü-yen" 寓言 (Parable) #1, in Chao Tien-ch'eng 趙殿成, comm., *Wang Yu-ch'eng chi chien chu* 王右丞集箋注 (Collected Works of Wang Yu-ch'eng with Notes and Commentary) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1961), 5.74-75, 84;

4) Tu Fu 杜甫 (712-70), "Tou-chi" 鬥雞 (Cockfight), in Ch'iu Chao-ao 仇兆鰲 (1638-64), comm., *Tu shih hsiang-chu* 杜詩詳註 (Poems of Tu with Detailed Commentary) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1979), 17.1523-24;

5) Chang Chi 張籍 (ca. 766-ca. 829), "Shao-nien hsing" 少年行 (Song of the Youth), in Ch'en Yen-chieh 陳延傑, comm., *Chang Chi shih chu* 張籍詩注 (Commentary to the Poetry of Chang Chi) (Taipei: Shang-wu yin-shu kuan, 1967), 13;

6) Pai Chü-i 白居易 (772-846), "Chi-chü pi fu" 雞距筆賦 (Rhapsody on a Cock's Spur Writing Brush), in Ku Hsüeh-chieh 顧學頤, ed., *Pai Chü-i chi* 白居易集 (Collected Works of Pai Chü-i), 3 vols. (Taipei: Li-jen shu-chu, 1980), 38.872-73;

7) Li Shang-yin 李商隱 (813-58), "Ying tieh chi she luan feng teng ch'eng p'ien" 蠅捷雞鸞鳳等成篇 and "Fu te chi" 賦得雞 (On the Set Topic of the Cock), in Feng Hao 馮浩 (1719-1801), comm., *Yü-hsi sheng shih chien-chu* 玉溪生詩箋注 (Notes and Commentary to the Poems of Master Yü-hsi), 6.31a, 2.23b-24a, in *Szu-pu pei-yao*;

8) Wei Chuang 韋莊 (836-910), "Chi kung tse" 雞公幘 (Cockscomb), in Chiang Ts'ung-p'ing 江聰平, ed., *Wei Tuan-chi shih chiao-chu* 韋端已詩校注 (Collation Notes to the Poems of Wei Tuan-chi) (Taipei: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1969), 224;

9) Han Wo 韓偓 (844-923?), "Kuan tou-chi ou-tso" 觀鬥雞偶作 (Written by Chance upon Viewing a Cockfight), in *Ch'üan T'ang shih*, 681.7810.

54. Ch'ien, *Han Ch'ang-li shih hsi-nien chi-shih*, 5.594.

55. Li Yang 李陽 was a neighbor of Shih Le 石勒, the Hsiung-nu 匈奴 founder of the Later Chao 後趙 (319-51). *Chin shu* 晉書 (Chin History), comp. Fang Hsüan-ling 房玄齡 (578-648) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1974), 105.2739 reports that the two once fought over a field of hemp at harvest. Shih Le is supposed to have grabbed Li Yang by the arm and said, "In former days I had my fill of your old fists, and you, in turn shall get enough of my merciless hands."

56. The reference to Chu Hai 朱亥 is an allusion to an incident recorded in *Shih-chi*,

- 77.2381. During the Warring States period Chao 趙 was under attack by Ch'in. A rescue force initially sent from Wei 魏 was stopped en route by order of Wei's king, who was afraid of Ch'in. However, the Ducal Son Wu-chi of Wei 魏公子無忌 wanted to go to Chao's aid and managed to obtain illicitly a tally giving him control of the large Wei force. When the original commander suspected that something was wrong and refused to obey, Wu-chi's retainer Chu Hai beat the commander to death with a large iron hammer he had concealed in his sleeve.
57. Cf. *Meng-tzu*, 6A.6.
58. Fan Ju-lin 樊汝霖 (Sung) notes that cocks were in his time revived by squirting them with water. See Ch'ien, *Han Ch'ang-li shih hsi-nien chi-shih*, 5.599. This was also done in Japan. See *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan*, 1st ed., s.v. "cockfighting."
59. In addition to the *shih* poem by Lu Yu mentioned earlier (see note 23), see also the following *tz'u* poems: Liu Yung 柳永 (987-1053), "P'ao ch'iu le" 拋球樂 (The Fun of Toss Ball); Tu Lung-sha 杜龍沙, "Tou-chi hui" 鬥雞會 (Cockfighting Derby); Tseng Pu 曾布 (1035-1107), "Shui-tiao ko-t'ou" 水調歌頭 (Water Tune Prelude); and Li Tseng-po 李曾伯 (b. 1198), "Man Chiang hung" 滿江紅 (The Whole River Red). See T'ang Kuei-chang 唐圭璋, ed., *Ch'üan Sung tz'u* 全宋詞 (Complete Sung *tz'u*) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1965), 1:31, 5:3178, 1:266, 4:2802. A later heptasyllabic octave by Ch'ü Yu 瞿佑 (1341-1427) entitled "Tou-chi" (Cockfight) and contained in Yü Yen's 俞琰 (fl. 1724) *Yung-wu shih hstian* 詠物詩選 (Anthology of Poems on Things) is equally devoid of any depiction of the contest. See *Hsiang-chu fen-lei li-tai Yung-wu shih hstian* 詳註分類歷代詠物詩選 (Anthology of Poems on Things through the Ages Fully Annotated and Categorized), comm. I Chin-yün 易縉雲 and Sun Fen-yang 孫奮揚 (Taipei: Kuang-wen shu-chü, 1968), 8.8b-9a. In the same work (5.15a) is another poem by Ch'ü on a lamp decorated with fighting cocks, "Tou-chi teng" 鬥雞燈 (Fighting Cock Lamp).
60. *T'ieh-yai san chung* 鐵崖三種 (Three Collections of Iron Cliff) (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan she, 1971), 7.7b.
61. See Liu Mei-hua 劉美華, *Yang Wei-chen shih-hsueh yen-chiu* 楊維禎詩學研究 (A Study of the Poetics of Yang Wei-chen) (Taipei: Wen shih che ch'u-pan she, 1983), 115.
62. See *Nan Ch'i shu* 南齊書 (Southern Ch'i History), comp. Hsiao Tzu-hsien 蕭子顯 (489-537) (Peking: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1972), 20.391. This was Southern Lang-yeh, just north of Chien-kang 建康.
63. See Lou Pu-ch'an's 樓卜纏 (Ch'ing) commentary in *T'ieh-yai san chung*, 7.7b.
64. On the symbolism of dew, see Hans H. Frankel, *The Flowering Plum and the Palace Lady: Interpretations of Chinese Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 81-83.
65. See Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 153-54, 157-59.
66. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 158. Cromwell was a zealous patrician in his youth, but it is important to note that the proscription against cockfighting during the Protectorate was mainly motivated by political considerations. Thomas notes that such Protectorate laws had limited effect while in force and that cockfighting became public again with the Restoration. See also Brown, *Races of Domestic Poultry*, 34.
67. *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Wild or Wylde, Robert."
68. It does not, however, represent the only allegorical use of cockfighting in English

- poetry. See D. F. Foxon, comp., *English Verse 1701-1750: A Catalogue of Separately Printed Poems with Notes on Contemporary Collected Editions*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), C269, T26.
69. *New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, 2:1568. Note that Li Shang-yin's heptasyllabic quatrain "Fu te chi" (see note 53) is also allegorical. See the commentary in Feng, *Yü-hsi sheng shih chien-chu*, 2.24a.
 70. See Howlett, *The Royal Pastime of Cockfighting*, 86-90; Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 82-85. Minor differences in orthography and punctuation exist between these two texts, but these rarely have even a slight effect on the meaning, and I have simply followed Howlett's version.
 71. Again, the poem is in both Howlett, *The Royal Pastime of Cockfighting*, 83 and Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 81-82, and I have followed Howlett.
 72. Howlett, *The Royal Pastime of Cockfighting*, 81-83. Cf. Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 153-54. In addition to the poems by Wild, Blackmore, and himself, Howlett includes two other pieces whose authors he does not identify by name. The first of these bears the heading "A Poem Writ upon Cocking" and is simply said to be "By a Person of Honour." The second is headed "A Copy of Verses Writ upon a Cock-Match" and carries the attribution "By a Lover of the Royal Sport." See Howlett, *The Royal Pastime of Cockfighting*, 84-85, 90-92.
 73. From *Gentleman's Magazine* 17 (June 1747): 292, quoted in Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 162.
 74. *The Works of the Rev. George Crabbe*, 8 vols. (London: John Murray, 1823), 1:45. See also Scott, *The History of Cockfighting*, 166.
 75. See also the first chapter of Thomas, *Man and the Natural World* for various statements of man's belief in his dominion over animals.
 76. See Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 17, 30, 33, 35.
 77. Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 22.
 78. On similarities between Chinese thinkers and the Aristotelian construct, see Joseph Needham, *History of Scientific Thought*, vol. 2 of *Science and Civilisation in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 22-23, 568-69.
 79. See *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經 1924-32 (Taipei: Hsin wen feng ch'u-pan she, 1978?), 24.1004b, 1006b. Cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *Le Code du Mahâyâna en Chine: son influence sur la vie monacale et sur le monde laïque* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1893), 32-33, 53 and "Miséricorde envers les animaux dans le Bouddhisme chinois," *T'oung Pao* 3 (1892): 467; Kristin Yü Greenblatt, "Chu-hung and Lay Buddhism in the Late Ming," in *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism*, Wm. Theodore de Bary et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), 96-97. On this sutra, see also Leo M. Pruden, "Some Notes on the *Fan-wang-ching*," *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Indogaku Bukkyōgaku kenkyū)* 15.2 (March 1967).
 80. See Wolfram Eberhard, *Guilt and Sin in Traditional China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 73-74 (see also p. 43). I am also indebted to Erik Zürcher for suggestions pertaining to the issue of Buddhism and animal suffering.
 81. See A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that Was India* (1954; New York: Grove, 1959), 284.
 82. See Donald E. Gjertson, "Rebirth as an Animal in Medieval Chinese Buddhism," *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Chinese Religions* 8 (1980): 57; Erik Zürcher, *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*, 2 vols., rev. ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972),

- 1:166; Kenneth K. S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), 5; Holmes Welch, *The Practice of Chinese Buddhism, 1900-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 180.
83. See Tao shih 道世 (fl. 668), *Fa-yüan chu-lin* 法苑珠林 (Forest of Pearls from the Garden of Law) (*Taishō*, 53:317a).
84. In a personal communication, Erik Zürcher reminds me that the three basic sins – *rāga* (“lust”), *dvesa* (“hatred”), and *moha* (“ignorance”) – are symbolized by the cock, the snake, and the pig.
85. Etienne Lamotte, trans., *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinidesa)* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1962), 414.
86. C. H. Wang, “Towards Defining a Chinese Heroism,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95.1 (January-March 1975): 26, 27.
87. Wang, “Towards Defining a Chinese Heroism,” 27-29.
88. Wang, “Towards Defining a Chinese Heroism,” 29.
89. Wang, “Towards Defining a Chinese Heroism,” 29.
90. Cf. Eric Rothstein, *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Poetry 1660-1780*, vol. 3 of *The Routledge History of English Poetry* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), 6.

