

exercised very great influence both on the politics and on the judicature of Athens of which he became a member as a matter of course." The influence of the speculative philosopher, Anaxagoras, by whom he was swayed most deeply and permanently, can be traced alike in the intellectual breadth and the elevated moral tone of the pupil, in his superiority to vulgar superstitions and in the unruffled serenity he preserved throughout the storms of political life. Grave, studious, reserved, he was himself penetrated by those ideas of progress and culture which he undertook to convert into political and social realities."

On the other hand, Cleon, condemned by Thucydides, held up to eternal ridicule by Aristophanes, has come before posterity for judgment at a greater disadvantage than any other statesman of his merit. By the historian he is regarded as a restless and dangerous agitator, and if we might trust the picture given of him by Aristophanes, "he is the unscrupulous and shifty demagogue, always by lies and cajolery pandering to the worst passions of his master, the populace, filching from other men their glory, and resisting all the efforts of the peace party for his own selfish ends." But (according to Grote) we must remember that "men of the middling class, like Cleon, who persevered in addressing the public assembly and trying to take a leading part in it against persons of greater family pretensions than themselves, were pretty sure to be men of more than usual audacity. Without this quality they would never have surmounted the opposition made to them. And, apart from the license of the comedian to ridicule all notorious characters, it would be a grievous error and injustice to suppose that Cleon's policy, and the policy of men like him—who were self-made, who won their influence in the state by the sheer force of cleverness, eloquence, industry and audacity—was determined by mere selfish ambition or party malice. "Though he may have been vulgar and offensive in his manners, there is no proof that he was not an able politician." And when we allow for the personal grudge of Thucydides, these testimonies only show that Cleon was a coarse, noisy, ill-bred, audacious man, offensive to noblemen and formidable to officials—the watchful dog of the people. Nothing is proved against his political insight or his political honesty. The portrait of Aristophanes in the "Knights" carries no more historical value than nowadays a caricature in a comic paper. He, too, had suffered from the assaults of Cleon, who

"Had dragged him to the Senate House,
And trodden him down and bellowed over him,
And mauled him till he scarce escaped alive."

Despite their widely different characters, one quality was possessed by both Pericles and Cleon in a high degree—an extraordinary oratorical power. Both possessed this gift of speech which was essential to their success. It was owing to their eloquence that both were enabled to gain and maintain their great influence over the fickle populace. This gift of lucid and persuasive speech was Pericles' most marked characteristic, and the fact of Cleon's great power of speech is better attested than anything else concerning him. In this one particular even his enemies are agreed. Yet though both possessed the same power of eloquence there is as striking a contrast between the oratory of Pericles and that of Cleon as there is between their characters.

Pericles' voice was sweet and his utterance rapid and distinct, and by the unanimous testimony of ancient au-

thors his oratory was of the highest kind. Plato traces his eloquence largely to the influence of Anaxagoras; intercourse with that philosopher (he says) filled the mind of Pericles with lofty speculations and a true conception of the nature of intelligence, and hence his oratory possessed the intellectual grandeur and artistic finish characteristic of the highest eloquence. "The range and compass of his rhetoric was wonderful, extending from the most winning persuasion to the most overwhelming denunciation. The comic poets of the day, in general very unfriendly to him, speak with admiration of his oratory: 'Greatest of Grecian tongues,' says Cratinus; 'persuasion sat on his lips, such was his charm,' and 'he alone of the orators left his sting in his hearers,' says Eupolis; 'he lightened, he thundered,' says Aristophanes. In his eloquence he was indeed 'Olympian.'"

Cleon, on the other hand, possessed a powerful and violent invective, which he delivered in a loud, coarse voice. In the comedy he is represented as terrifying opponents by the violence of his criminations, the loudness of his voice and the impudence of his gestures, still in spite of this violent manner of speaking he seems to have acquired a power over the assembly which procured for him that extraneous support which he required to sustain him till he succeeded in gaining a personal hold on the people. By what degrees or through what causes that hold was gradually increased we do not know. At the time when the question of Mitylene came on for discussion, it had grown into a sort of ascendancy which Thucydides describes by saying that Cleon was "at that time by far the most persuasive speaker in the eyes of the people." There never was a theme more perfectly suited to his violent temperament and power of fierce invective than the disposal of the Mitylenians. He strongly remonstrated against the rescinding of the decree for a wholesale slaughter, and it is in this speech that Cleon appears at his worst. "The people were only showing (what he himself had long seen) their incapacity for governing, by giving way to a sentimental, unbusinesslike compassion; as for the orators who excited it, they were likely enough paid for their trouble." To those who regretted the dignity of Pericles the speech of Cleon may have seemed violent and coarse; but Cleon himself could hardly have outdone the coarseness and the violence of the personalities which Demosthenes heaped on Aeschines in a subsequent generation. Though his blistering rhetoric appealed to popular feeling, Cleon's influence extended no further than the public assembly; for Demos sitting in the Pnyx was a different man from Demos sitting at home, and while the lofty combination of qualities possessed by Pericles exercised influence over both one and the other, Cleon swayed considerably the former without standing high in the esteem of the latter.

While in Pericles two gifts were united, a supreme capacity for action as well as for speech, Cleon, as an opposition man was extremely formidable to all acting functionaries. With regard to their domestic policy, in their strong imperialism and democratic tendencies Pericles and Cleon are at one. Both are Pan-Athenian, both aimed to increase the Athenian Empire and to spread the political influence of Athens within the borders of Greece. The only difference in their imperialism is one which is an inevitable outcome from the diverse characters of the two men. Pericles' views and aims were of a much loftier description than those of Cleon. The aim of the statesmen who guided the destinies of Athens in the days of her greatness was (in Bury's words) "to make Athens the queen of Hellas; to spread