

XXVIII.—Cicero and Gloria

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This paper is summarized in the last two paragraphs.

Few men, ancient or modern, have loved glory more ardently or pursued it more tirelessly than Marcus Tullius Cicero. In speeches, essays, and letters alike, glory was a theme that seldom failed to stir his enthusiasm and inspire his pen. Towards the end of his life he wrote an entire treatise *De Gloria*, a work now lost to us.

But what exactly did Cicero mean by *gloria*? Was it mere vulgar popularity and reputation that he hankered after, or something deeper and nobler? Was Dio Cassius fair to Cicero when he asserted that he "aimed at the semblance rather than the reality of excellence," or was Mommsen just when he called Cicero "a short-sighted egotist"?¹ A study of Cicero's many utterances on *gloria*, viewed in their proper historical context, will, I believe, make it plain that "vulgar selfishness was never one of his faults, however much he may have been enthralled by fame, that last infirmity of noble mind."² Such a study will show that years and experience helped to deepen and enrich Cicero's ideal of *gloria*, and taught him to make a sharp distinction between *ficta* and *vera gloria*, the one a heedless, hollow, short-lived counterfeit, the other a thing of solid substance lasting even beyond the grave.

Plutarch tells us that from early boyhood Cicero conceived the ambition to outshine his fellows. He took as his motto the line of Homer, "ever to excel, and tower above the crowd."³ In the *Brutus* we have the vivid picture of an ambitious lad, tireless in his search for everything and everyone who could help him in the oratorical career he had already chosen as his field of glory. In 80 B.C., his speech for Roscius of Ameria met with such acclaim that, to quote his own words, "from that time no case was deemed too

¹ D.C. 38.12.6; Th. Mommsen, *History of Rome* (Eng. trans. by W. P. Dickson. New York, 1888) 4.724.

² R. Y. Tyrrell and L. C. Purser, *The Correspondence of M. Tullius Cicero* (Dublin, London, 1904-1933) 6².lxxii.

³ Plu. *Cic.* 2.2; Cic. *Ad Q. fr.* 3.5-6.4.

important to be committed to my charge.”⁴ About this same time he composed a manual of rhetoric, the *De Inventione*. Here, in the Second Book, we come upon his first description of *gloria*: *frequens de aliquo fama cum laude*.⁵ In a word, it is widespread popularity. Whether he took this definition from someone else or made it up himself, it does seem to reflect rather faithfully his view of *gloria* at this period. To rise in the world and carve out a career for himself, a *novus homo* like Cicero needed above all to have his name well known at Rome. In 75 B.C., he became quaestor. And it was while returning from his quaestorship in Sicily that he had the amusing experience described by himself many years later. Convinced that everyone at Rome was talking about his accomplishments in Sicily, he was dumbfounded to discover that he had hardly been missed at Rome.⁶ Plutarch, after repeating the anecdote, remarks that “afterwards he reasoned within himself and abated much of his ambition, persuaded that the fame towards which he was struggling was a thing that knew no bounds and had no limits.”⁷ But Cicero himself drew a different moral from his experience: he resolved henceforth to keep ever in sight of Rome and to hug the Forum. For only in this way could he win *frequens fama cum laude*. Soon afterwards the *Verrines* made him Rome’s foremost advocate. “As in our own public life, success at the bar opened the way to political offices and political honors. . . . Everything must now be sacrificed to popularity. The ambitious advocate therefore announced that he would no longer appear as a prosecutor.”⁸ By 63 he was consul. Glory was now no mere dream, but sober reality.

Soon, however, it became quite clear that *gloria* meant for Cicero the consul something deeper and more significant than mere *fama cum laude*. Political experience and personal reflexion had left their mark on him. Speaking on behalf of Rabirius in 63, he turns aside a moment to speak of glory. In Sihler’s words, “it is not the renown of the moment nor the acclamations of the hour, which furnish the deeper motives for great achievement and noble

⁴ *Brut.* 312.

⁵ *Inv.* 2.55.166. U. Knoche, “Der römische Ruhmesgedanke,” *Ph* 43 (1934) 102ff., has well pointed out that, in this earliest definition of Cicero, appears an essential element in the Roman concept of *gloria*: actual recognition on the part of many (*frequens*). This point will be more fully discussed later on.

⁶ *Planc.* 26.64.

⁷ *Cic.* 6.4f.

⁸ H. Taylor, *Cicero* (Chicago, 1918) 147. Cf. also *Verr.* 5.72.183.

deeds; no, it is the vision of the distant future and the lasting fame far transcending this little life and the short span of mortality.”⁹ From this speech and even more from the *Pro Archia* of the following year, it becomes clear that *gloria* now means for Cicero more than popularity and a name. It is definitely the high reward of notable service to the State; moreover, it is a pledge, nay a form of immortality, satisfying the natural craving of great men to live on after death.¹⁰

That these utterances on *gloria* are sincere expressions and not mere rhetorical commonplaces is plain, I think, from the more intimate confessions in his letters. In many letters from this time on glory is linked with service to the State and with immortality. Sometimes, as Strachan-Davidson remarks, Cicero “spoiled a good thing by making too much of it, and we get tired, as doubtless did Cicero’s contemporaries, of ‘the great Nones of December,’ and its ‘glorious deed,’ and its ‘eternal fame.’”¹¹ Yet Cicero sincerely believed that his deeds as consul deserved immortality. To Atticus he opens wide his heart on this subject: he has already written a Greek memoir on his consulship and intends to compose another in Latin; moreover, he promises a poem on the same subject, “that I may not omit any form of self praise.” But, lest Atticus be alarmed, he adds: “If there be any human action more praiseworthy than mine, let me be blamed for not having chosen some other theme. And yet, this is not eulogy at all but plain fact.”¹² In this same year, Cicero sent a long letter of exhortation to Quintus, then governor of Asia. He urges him to “set his whole heart, care, and thought on the gaining of praise from everybody” by honorable service to the State. “Remember,” he warns him at the end, “you are not seeking glory for yourself alone . . . but you have to share it with me, and hand it down to our children.”¹³

⁹ E. G. Sihler, *Cicero of Arpinum*² (New York, 1933) 138.

¹⁰ *Rab. Perd.* 10.29; *Arch.* 6.14; 11.28f.

¹¹ J. L. Strachan-Davidson, *Cicero and the Fall of the Roman Republic* (New York, 1894) 192–193.

¹² *Att.* 1.19.10. Cf. also 1.15.1. Some years later he wrote the famous letter to Lucceius, asking for a historical monograph on his consular year (*Fam.* 5.12). Towards the end of this letter he says: *illa nos cupiditas incendit . . . festinationis, quod alacres animo sumus ut et ceteri viventibus nobis ex libris tuis nos cognoscant et nosmet ipsi vivi gloriola nostra perfruamur.*

¹³ *Ad Q. fr.* 1.1.41f. In 38 he says: *Qua re, quoniam in eam rationem vitae nos non tam cupiditas quaedam gloriae quam res ipsa ac fortuna deduxit ut sempiternus sermo hominum de nobis futurus sit, caveamus . . . ut ne quod in nobis insigne vitium fuisse dicatur.*

In 59, the political horizon became overcast. Cicero was tempted to leave Rome for a tour of Egypt. But what will the *optimates* say? Cato, he is sure, will be the first to blame him. Then he adds: Quid vero historiae de nobis ad annos DC praedicabunt? Quas quidem ego multo magis vereor quam eorum hominum qui hodie vivunt rumusculos.¹⁴ Political life gradually began to pall on him. The laurels he had won seemed to be turning to dust and ashes in his hands. In a letter to Atticus, apropos of Pompey, he writes: Quin etiam, quod est subinane in nobis et non ἀφιλόδοξον—bellum est enim sua vitia nosse—id adficitur quadam delectatione. Solebat enim me pun gere, ne Sampsicera mi merita in patriam ad annos sescentos maiora viderentur quam nostra; hac quidem cura certe iam vacuus sum. Iacet enim ille. . . .¹⁵

After his restoration from exile, when, as he had fancied, he "had been brought back on the shoulders of Italy herself amid the plaudits of the citizens," he soon came to realize that he was no longer free as before. He submitted finally to Caesar and Pompey, but not without many misgivings. Once his ideal had been *otium cum dignitate*: now only *otium* was left.¹⁶ Some letters he wrote to Quintus in 54 B.C. show how completely disillusioned he had become: vides nullam esse rem publicam, nullum senatum, nulla iudicia, nullam in ullo nostrum dignitatem. Despite Caesar's kindness towards him, he does not trust his promises overmuch. Then come some significant words: *nec sitio honores nec desidero gloriam*. "I am tormented," he goes on to say, "tormented by the thought that the State is no more, and that I, who at this time of my life ought to be at the peak of a distinguished senatorial career, am plagued by forensic labor or kept alive by literature. . . ." ¹⁷ As Tyrrell and Purser say, "his sole ambition now is to fling away ambition, to keep out of politics, to turn his back even on his forensic career, and to devote himself to literature and to his

¹⁴ *Att.* 2.5.1. In 2 he confesses: Nunc vero, quoniam quae putavi esse praeclara expertus sum quam essent inania, cum omnibus Musis rationem habere cogito.

¹⁵ *Att.* 2.17.2. Many years afterwards, Cicero wrote as follows to Brutus: *nihil est in me inane*—neque enim debet—sed tamen omnium ordinum consensus . . . me commovet . . . (*Ad Brut.* 1.3.2). Despite Tyrrell and Purser's comment here, I believe that both of these statements may be sincere. Cicero in 43 B.C. was a changed man from the Cicero of 59.

¹⁶ *Plu. Cic.* 33.5. Cf. *Fam.* 1.8.4: *Otium nobis exoptandum est. . . . Dignitatem quidem illam consularem et constantis senatoris nihil est quod cogitemus.* *Fam.* 1.9, to Lentulus, is an elaborate apology for his submission.

¹⁷ *Ad Q. fr.* 3.4.1; 3.5–6.3,4.

family.”¹⁸ It was in this mood that he began work on the *De Republica*.

From these letters it is evident that his bitter experiences in the years following his consulship had taught Cicero that vulgar popularity (*fama popularis*) was “flat, stale, and unprofitable.” Glory of that kind came and went all too quickly. But did he really scorn and reject *all* human glory? Scholars like Sihler, Harder, and Boyancé seem to think so, and they point to the *Somnium Scipionis* for proof. Sihler says of the *Somnium*: “Cicero after all had come to feel the *susprium de profundis*, ‘All is Vanity.’ We feel it, he was then striving to wean his soul from the consuming ambition of his life-long attitude. . . .” Harder believes that the rejection of glory in the *Somnium* is the philosophy of a man whose expectations of recognition for his services have not been fulfilled in this world; he therefore seeks it in the life to come.¹⁹ But Edelstein, in a recent review of Boyancé’s book on the *Somnium*, has, I think, successfully refuted this view. Cicero does indeed point out the risks involved in the quest for human glory: it may mean the sacrifice of moral principles and the ultimate loss of the requital awaiting the just and pious statesman in a life to come—*non statuas plumbo inhaerentes nec triumphos arescentibus laureis, sed stabiliora quaedam et viridiora praemiorum genera*. But a closer reading of the *De Republica* will show that there is a kind of glory in which even a statesman may rejoice. And *this* type of *gloria* (*vera gloria*) Cicero never rejected.²⁰

Cicero did not forget the noble sentiments of the *Somnium*. In 51 B.C. he had dreams of a triumph for his military deeds in the East. Yet he writes thus to Atticus: *Quod si ista nobis cogitatio de triumpho iniecta non esset, quam tu quoque approbas, ne tu haud multum requireres illum virum, qui in VI libro (i.e., of the Rep.) informatus est. Quid enim tibi faciam, qui illos libros devorasti? Quin nunc ipsum non dubitabo rem tantam abicere, si id erit rectius*. A letter to Cato is even more revealing. After explaining why he desires Cato’s support for a *supplicatio* from the Senate, he says: *Si quisquam fuit umquam remotus, et natura et magis etiam,*

¹⁸ Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.* (see note 2) 2².xx.

¹⁹ Sihler, *op. cit.* (see note 9) 292; R. Harder, “Über Ciceros *Somnium Scipionis*,” *Schriften der Königsberger Gesellschaft* 6, Heft 3 (Halle, 1929), 149; P. Boyancé, *Études sur le Songe de Scipion*, *Biblioth. des Univ. du Midi*, fasc. 20 (Paris, 1936). See the able review of Boyancé by L. Edelstein, *AJPh* 59 (1938) 360f.

²⁰ *Rep.* 6.8.8. Cicero speaks of *gloria* especially in 6.23.25f. Cf. also 5.7.9.

ut mihi quidem sentire videor, ratione atque doctrina, *ab inani laude et sermonibus vulgi*, ego profecto is sum. Testis est consulatus meus, in quo, sicut in reliqua vita, fateor ea me studiose secutum ex quibus *vera gloria* nasci posset, *ipsam quidem gloriam per se numquam putavi expetendam*.²¹ We need not take these words too literally. But one fact is clear: Cicero makes a sharp distinction between *falsa gloria* (*fama, laus*) and *vera gloria*. And this distinction he continued to make in the troubled years ahead.

Throughout the conflict between Caesar and Pompey, he suffered great mental distress: he knew only too well whom to flee from, but whom to follow he did not know. He was anxious to do the right thing, but what was right? One of the truly glorious days of Cicero's life was that on which he said "No" to Caesar. As he was leaving Italy to join Pompey he wrote: "I am supported by a good conscience, and with that as my companion I am going forth upon my journey."²²

In 46 B.C., he spoke on behalf of Marcellus before Caesar. Here again, to cite Sihler, "there recur the same sentiments and political ideals, civic immortality and its lofty splendor, which Cicero had delineated in his Dream of Scipio."²³ Caesar's military exploits are indeed surpassing great. But even greater glories are his: *animum vincere, iracundiam cohibere, victo temperare. . . .* Caesar's military trophies will crumble and decay: *nihil est enim opere et manu factum, quod non conficiat et consumat vetustas*—at haec tua iustitia et lenitas florescet cotidie magis. Towards the end, he warns Caesar thus: *vide, quaeso, ne tua divina virtus admirationis plus sit habitura quam gloriae; si quidem gloria est inlustris et pervagata magnorum vel in suos civis vel in patriam vel in omne genus hominum fama meritorum*.²⁴

²¹ *Att.* 7.3.2; *Fam.* 15.4.13. In another letter to Atticus (*Att.* 5.20.6), speaking of his self-restraint in governing Cilicia, he says: *Nec me tam fama, quae summa est, quam res ipsa delectat*. As Knoche points out, this distinction between *gloria multorum* and *gloria bonorum* or *vera gloria* first appears in Cicero *Pis.* 1.2; it is often implied, as in *Sest.* 61.129, *Phil.* 1.12.29; it appears most explicitly in *Tusc.* 3.2.3 and *Off.* 2.12.43. Cf. Knoche, *loc. cit.* (see note 5), 117f.

²² *Att.* 10.4.5: *Praeclara igitur conscientia sustentor cum cogito me de re publica aut meruisse optime cum potuerim, aut certe numquam nisi pie cogitasse. . . .* After the memorable meeting with Caesar, he wrote (*Att.* 9.18.1): *Credo hunc (i.e., Caesarem) me non amare. At ego me amavi, quod mihi iam pridem usu non venit*.

²³ Sihler, *op. cit.* (see note 9), 349.

²⁴ *Marcell.* 4.11–12, 8.26. Apropos of the last words of this definition, Knoche, *loc. cit.* (see note 5), 119, remarks that they contain a widened idea of glory: "der Gesichtskreis der Römer umfasst jetzt ein Weltreich, und es entwickelt sich folgerichtig die Forderung des allgemeinmenschlichen Ruhmes."

To find Cicero's maturest thoughts on *gloria*, we must turn to his philosophical works, written in the years 45-44 B.C. In the First Book of the *Tusculan Disputations*, among the arguments for immortality, Cicero adduces the desire of great men for undying glory. Later on in the same Book comes a puzzling passage. Cicero is maintaining that death is no evil, even though the soul be mortal. But, it is objected, if there be no consciousness after death, how can great men enjoy the fruits of their glory, once they have passed from earth? Cicero answers this objection with his heart rather than his head: *Quamquam enim sensus abierit, tamen suis et propriis bonis laudis et gloriae, quamvis non sentiant, mortui non carent.* And a little later he says: *Non possum dicere, quoquo modo hoc accipietur, Lycurgum, Solonem legum et publicae disciplinae carere gloria, Themistoclem, Epaminondam bellicae virtutis.*²⁵ As Bruwaene, in his *Théologie de Cicéron*, observes, "l'affirmation n'est pas logique, mais elle résume Cicéron. Son intelligence saisissait très vite la force de l'argument adverse, et à défaut de solides réfutations, elle lui fournissait des réponses subtiles. Celles-ci devaient cadrer avec l'impératif absolu de sa volonté ambitieuse. Il n'y a pas d'autre conclusion possible pour lui, s'il ne veut pas condamner les mobiles de son passé politique, que de donner raison à sa volonté contre son raisonnement."²⁶ However Cicero may doubt about personal and objective immortality, he holds fast to the view that the possession of glory is itself a kind of immortality, difficult to conceive, but none the less real.

In the Third Book of the *Tusculans* he gives us perhaps his most beautiful definition of *gloria*. "Men grow up," he says, "with the vicious belief that nothing is more to be sought after in life than distinctions, commands, popular glory. Even good men engage in this quest, only to find in the end that they have won, not the lofty image of virtue, but a shadowy phantom of glory: *nullam eminentem effigiem virtutis, sed adumbratam imaginem gloriae. Est enim gloria solida quaedam res et expressa, non adumbrata: ea est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene iudicantium de excellenti virtute, ea virtuti resonat tamquam imago.*"²⁷ "This kind of glory," he adds, "is not to be disdained by good men."

²⁵ *Tusc.* 1.14.31f.; 45-46.109f. For an excellent discussion of this perplexing passage, see the chapter, "Conception de la gloire," in A. M. Guillemin, *Pléine et la vie littéraire de son temps* (Paris, 1929) 17f.

²⁶ M. van den Bruwaene, *La théologie de Cicéron* (Louvain, 1937) 79.

²⁷ *Tusc.* 3.2.3.

Soon afterwards, he published two entire books *De Gloria*. Though these books are no longer extant, we probably have the gist of them in the Second Book of the *De Officiis*. Here again, as in the *Tusculans*, Cicero's language matches his thought: Quod si qui simulatione et inani ostentatione et ficto non modo sermone, sed etiam vultu *stabilem* se *gloriam* consequi posse rentur, vehementer errant. *Vera* gloria radices agit atque etiam propagatur, *ficta* omnia celeriter tamquam flosculi decidunt, nec simulatum potest quicquam esse diuturnum.²⁸

These noble sentiments are often echoed in the letters and speeches he wrote at this time. After Caesar's murder, Cicero felt himself in imminent peril. But he was still more anxious for the State than for himself. As he wrote to Plancus: mihi maximae curae est, non de mea quidem vita, cui satis feci vel aetate vel factis vel, si quid etiam hoc ad rem pertinet, *gloria*, sed *me patria* sollicitat. . . .²⁹ In the *First Philippic*, he says to Antony: Illud magis vereor, ne ignorans verum iter gloriae gloriosum putes plus te unum posse quam omnis et metui a civibus tuis quam diligi malis. Quod si ita putas, *totam ignoras viam gloriae*. Carum esse civem, bene de re publica mereri, laudari, coli, diligi gloriosum est. . . .³⁰ He concludes a letter to Plancus with the following words: Perge igitur, ut agis, nomenque tuum commenda immortalitati, atque haec omnia quae habent speciem gloriae, collecta inanissimis splendoris insignibus, contemne; brevia, fucata, caduca existima. Verum decus in virtute positum est, quae maxime illustratur *magnis in rem publicam meritis*.³¹ Finally, in the *Fourteenth Philippic*, "after the high Roman fashion, (he) spoke weighty and solemn words on the shortness of life and the eternity of glory. This speech, the last public utterance which we have of Cicero's, is in his highest strain, and is in every respect

²⁸ *Off.* 2.12.43. For the *De Gloria*, see *Att.* 15.27.2, and *Off.* 2.9.31.

²⁹ *Fam.* 10.1.1.

³⁰ *Phil.* 1.14.33. In 12.29 he addresses Antony and Dolabella in this wise: credo vos . . . non opes violentas et populo Romano minime ferendam potentiam, sed caritatem civium et *gloriam concupivisse*. Est autem gloria laus recte factorum magnorumque in rem publicam meritorum, quae cum optimi cuiusque, tum etiam multitudinis testimonio comprobatur.

³¹ *Fam.* 10.12.5. These words and others with which he concludes a letter to Cornificius (*Fam.* 12.25.5) give the keynote of all Cicero's exhortations to his friends at this time: tu fac ut magno animo sis et excelso, cogitesque omnem dignitatem tuam cum re publica coniunctam esse debere. To Paetus he writes (*Fam.* 9.24.4): Sic tibi, mi Paete, persuade, me dies et noctes nihil aliud agere, nihil curare, nisi ut mei cives salvi liberique sint . . . : hoc denique animo sum ut, si in hac cura . . . vita mihi ponenda sit, praeclare actum mecum putem.

worthy of the orator who delivered it, of the language he spoke, and of the Roman name."³² It was the twenty-first of April, 43 B.C. In December of that same year he was done to death by the agents of Antony.

These numerous quotations from Cicero's writings show that, during most of his life, *gloria* was seldom far from his thoughts. But no less clearly do they show that, under the impact of political experience, wide reading, and personal reflection, the meaning of the word *gloria* took on new and deeper significance. Cicero lived in an age when the old Roman ideal of glory was fast being forgotten. The Roman heroes who live again in the pages of Livy and in the prophetic pageant of Virgil had (with some exceptions) steadfastly sought glory by unselfish devotion to the State.³³ But, with the last century of the Republic, came a great change: Marius and Sulla, Pompey, Caesar and Antony only too often, as Cicero bitterly complains, sought their own interests, not the good of the State. And it is to the credit of Cicero, *novus homo* though he was, that he strove with might and main to revive the old ideal both by his example and his writings. As Altheim well says of him: "Wherever he encountered Roman greatness and piety, so to say, in the flesh, as in the *Somnium Scipionis*, his feeling is able to break out in tones of grandeur and sublimity."³⁴

No doubt Cicero's idea of glory was, at the outset, rather vague: *frequens fama cum laude*. But gradually, once he had achieved fame by his rise to the consulship, this ideal became steadily deeper and nobler. He came to care less and less for the applause of the crowd, *popularis gloria*, *gloria multorum*, more and more for *vera gloria*, the consensientis laus *bonorum*, incorrupta vox *bene iudicantium* de excellenti virtute.³⁵ This *vera gloria* signified the recognition, accorded by those able to discern true merit, of unselfish devotion

³² Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.* (see note 2), 6².xlvi; *Phil.* 14.11.29f. Cf. also *Phil.* 9.5.10f.

³³ Cf. e.g. Liv. 2.40.11: sine obtreactione gloriae alienae vivebatur; Sall. *Iug.* 41.2: ante Carthaginem deletam populus et senatus Romanus placide modesteque inter se rem publicam tractabant, neque gloriae neque dominationis certamen inter civis erat; Virg. *Aen.* 6.823 (of Brutus): vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.

³⁴ F. Altheim, *A History of Roman Religion* (Eng. trans. by H. Mattingly. London, 1938) 338.

³⁵ J. C. Plumpe, "Roman Elements in Cicero's Panegyric on the *Legio Martia*," *CJ* 36 (1941) 281f., gives a brief but excellent analysis of *gloria*. Quoting the definition of *gloria* in *Phil.* 1.12.29 (see note 30 above), he says: "The prevailing import of an actual judgment and recognition by the state-society for a deserving member of that society should be evident. But its bestowal by all the citizens for great public services

to the State; it called for sacrifice and even death itself, if need be. For was not glory a pledge and guarantee of immortality, a priceless gift that would last beyond the grave? Here, I think, we touch the deepest source of Cicero's consuming desire of *gloria*. As he grew older, he conceived a great longing for immortality.³⁶ In the *Tusculans* above all Cicero marshalls every possible argument for the soul's survival. But, in the end, he too admits the mystery of it all: in his est aliqua obscuritas. Yet one thing he could never doubt: that those who, like himself, have devoted their lives to the State and risked death itself for her welfare would ever be deprived of their crown of glory. Sometimes, indeed, we get the impression as we read that it was this immortality of glory alone that he hankered after.³⁷ As the shadows deepened about him, he seemed to feel these "immortal longings" more intensely. In the midst of his anguish after Tullia's death, "his only comfort is the thought of the shrine which he has vowed to consecrate to her memory, and the reflection that 'the long ages when I shall be no more are more important in my eyes than the brief span of present life, which indeed seems all too long.'" ³⁸

"Rome's least mortal mind" remained to the end very mortal still. But all who know Cicero intimately must admit that the glory he hungered after was no mean or vulgar thing. It inspired him to live nobly and to die bravely, like one of his old Roman heroes.

rendered elevates it above *honor*. A third distinguishing mark is brought out by Cicero . . . : *gloria* is a permanent gift, lasting beyond death." However, as already observed, Cicero does not always regard the bestowal of glory by all the citizens as an essential element of *gloria*. For instance, in *Tusc.* 3.2.3, he maintains that *vera gloria* is the consensu laus *bonorum*, incorrupta vox *bene iudicantium* . . . , and, in *Sest.* 66.139, he says: Qui bonam famam *bonorum*, quae sola vere gloria nominari potest, expetunt. . . . This apparent inconsistency may, perhaps, be best explained away by Tyrrell and Purser's comment on a letter to Brutus in 43 B.C. (*Ad. Brut.* 1.3.2): "Cicero never had much sympathy with the democracy, and accordingly was not a favorite with the people. In his opinion, the people were constantly clamouring for what was not their real good, or for the good of the whole community. But now they see that he is furthering their interests, and defending the state, and Cicero feels that their applause in such a case was a thing to be proud of."

³⁶ I believe that Cicero, at least in his later years, really longed for personal and objective immortality, not merely for an immortality of fame and name. See Bruwaene, *op. cit.* (see note 26), 59f., and my forthcoming article, "Cicero's Thoughts on Immortality," in *Thought* (New York, Fordham Univ. Pr.).

³⁷ See especially the fine remarks of Bruwaene, *op. cit.* (see note 26), 65f.

³⁸ Tyrrell and Purser, *op. cit.* (see note 2), 52.xlii; *Att.* 12.18.1: longum illud tempus cum non ero magis me movet quam hoc exiguum, quod mihi tamen nimium longum videtur.