

# THE FAMILY AND EARLY CAREER OF T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS<sup>1</sup>

By E. BADIAN

There is hardly a more important character in the history of the Roman Republic than the young Patrician who first laid down the lines of Roman policy in Greece and the East—and hardly a more mysterious one, despite frequent discussion. It is only the first and perhaps the most puzzling of the problems concerning him that will occupy us here; but the very fact that it is the first gives it an importance quite independent of other considerations: we are not likely to solve the others as long as this one is ignored.

How did a young man of about twenty-nine come to be elected to a consulship and entrusted with a major war that had been going badly for Rome, after holding no office higher than the quaestorship<sup>2</sup>—and holding even this lowly charge so inconspicuously that Livy does not even mention him in it? The very facts make it clear that we cannot give a certain answer: the evidence is not good enough. Family alliances have been invoked, themselves poorly attested (if at all) and open to many interpretations; and they merely manage to cancel one another out.<sup>3</sup> Münzer, the master of them that know prosopography, in the end had to confess defeat: 'It is not at all apparent how Flamininus won the general confidence at such an early age.'<sup>4</sup> Gundel, whose article in *RE* is based on Münzer for the family background, inconclusively summarizes the inconclusive debate. I propose, after serving notice of inevitable use of conjecture, to approach the matter in a new way: perhaps closer investigation of the stemma may turn out helpful; perhaps a close look at that inconspicuous early career may be profitably employed in conjunction with the results of this.<sup>5</sup>

We start, perhaps topically, with a haircut—a *historic* haircut, if we are to believe Münzer. The Patrician Quinctii were obviously proud of their hair. The old *cognomina*—Cincinnatus, Crispinus, Barbatus—speak for themselves.<sup>6</sup> Hence the importance of a haircut. So Münzer thought; and he arranged the almost impenetrable stemma of the Quinctii by that criterion; not unreasonably, except that the foundation was not very solidly laid.<sup>7</sup> Barbers, he reminds us, first came to Rome from Sicily about 300 B.C., as Varro relates.<sup>8</sup> At this time a Quinctius was *flamen Dialis*—the origin of the famous *cognomen* is made clear by the priestly *apex* on the coins of a later Quinctius.<sup>9</sup> Now, Gellius informs us that the hair of the priest of Jupiter must not be cut by a slave:<sup>10</sup> surely this law was passed when the Greek *tonsores* ('slaves, of course') first came to Rome; the conservative *flamen* stood out against the fashion and refused to have his hair cut, while another Quinctius (perhaps a brother) had his cut short (and, we must add as a minor premiss which Münzer omits, it thereupon grew curly). Hence their respective sons, probably homonymous and in need of distinction, came to be called, one Crispinus and one Flamininus: son of the—short-haired—curly one and son of the—long-haired—priest.<sup>11</sup>

Thus Münzer. Alas, the historic haircut turns out, on scrutiny, to be historical fiction—a sidelight on a facet of Münzer's character (that of the lovable anecdotalist) often ignored by those ploughing through *Adelsparteien*, rather than a brilliant illumination of history. We need not even discuss (though we must mention) some of the questionable assumptions on which the story is based, such as the date when the taboo originated (surely not as late as

<sup>1</sup> An early version of this paper was presented to the Althistorische Seminar of the University of Heidelberg, where it was improved by the constructive criticism of (especially) Professor F. Gschnitzer. The present version, in much abbreviated form, was read at the annual meeting of the American Philological Association at San Francisco in December, 1969.

<sup>2</sup> *MRR* i, 329, n. 2, rightly notes that *ex quaestura* does not mean 'straight after the quaestorship', as Weissenborn took it.

<sup>3</sup> The question of whether he was supported by Scipio or opposed by him has been indecisively debated: see, e.g., Münzer, *Röm. Adelsp.* 117 f.; Frank, *CAH* viii, 368; Scullard, *Rom. Pol.* 97 (a compromise suggestion).

<sup>4</sup> Münzer, *Röm. Adelsp.* 118; my translation.

<sup>5</sup> I propose to use the name 'Titus' to designate him, as the Greeks did. It will conduce to brevity.

<sup>6</sup> See *RE*, s.v. 'Quinctius'. Since all Romans were bearded in those days before 300, the name 'Barbatus' must have referred to special luxuriance.

<sup>7</sup> *Röm. Adelsp.* 116, taken over by Gundel with one essential improvement.

<sup>8</sup> Varro, *r.r.* ii, 11, 10 f.; cf. Plin., *n.h.* vii, 211. Either 301 or 300 is possible.

<sup>9</sup> Sydenham, *CRR* 505.

<sup>10</sup> Gell. x, 15, 11.

<sup>11</sup> See Münzer's stemma for the result of this story.

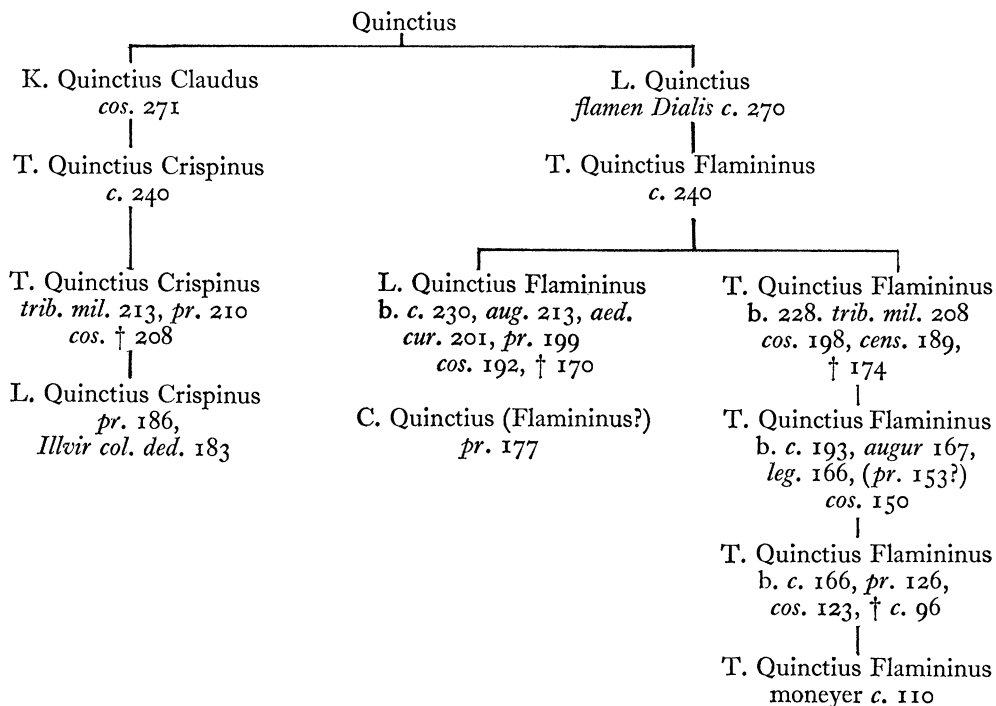


FIG. 9. MÜNZER'S STEMMMA OF THE QUINCTII, 3RD-2ND CENTURIES B.C.

*Adapted and simplified from 'Römische Adelsparteien,' p. 122*

this) and the status of the Sicilian *tonsores* as opposed to that of their native predecessors: for that they had such predecessors—that *someone* must have cut the early Romans' hair and even beards—can be regarded as certain: they could hardly have marched into battle like so many Struwelpeters.<sup>12</sup> More important is the confused chronology. On Münzer's stemma, the *flamen Dialis* must be dated about 270, a whole generation after the introduction of the new barbers; and this, oddly enough, is what Münzer proceeds to do a few pages later, without comment.<sup>13</sup> Another error is corrected by Gundel: the evidence of the *fasti* on the filiation of T. Quinctius Crispinus, *cos.* 208, disproves Münzer's suggestion about the two brothers. This gravely weakens the point of the story; but it can still be saved, and Gundel proceeds to do so in the most reasonable way it can be done,<sup>14</sup> without questioning the haircut.

What finally defeats the whole tale is another fact of which Münzer was well aware: the *cognomen* 'Crispinus' appears in the *gens* several generations before the immigrant barbers, in a man (*RE* 35) called T. Quinctius Pennus (?) Capitolinus Crispinus—a very distinguished man who accumulated the highest offices. Now, fourth-century *cognomina* must be taken with a pinch of salt, since *cognomina* were not in official use at the time and there was no public record of them. (Perhaps *both* Cincinnatus *and* Crispinus in the family is too much to believe.) But what we must regard as beyond reasonable doubt is the fact that the later Crispini derived their name and their descent from that man; and we have no right to disbelieve them. Thus the name cannot have arisen in the splendid way excogitated by Münzer,<sup>15</sup> as late as *c.* 250 B.C.

It is clear that we must look for a more rational principle than the historic haircut, if we are to unravel the stemma of the Flaminini (which is what concerns us). *Praenomina* are an obvious and well-established device, and it is surprising that the lure of the romantic anecdote has hitherto inhibited the use of this accepted technique.

<sup>12</sup> Cf., for what it is worth, *FgrHist* 138 F 11—a dubious story, but a valid practical point.

<sup>13</sup> *Röm. Adelsp.* 122.

<sup>14</sup> See Gundel's stemma in *RE*, as compared with

Münzer's. He does not notice that much of the point of the story is lost by this concession to reality.

<sup>15</sup> Münzer mentions this man on p. 115, but ignores him later.

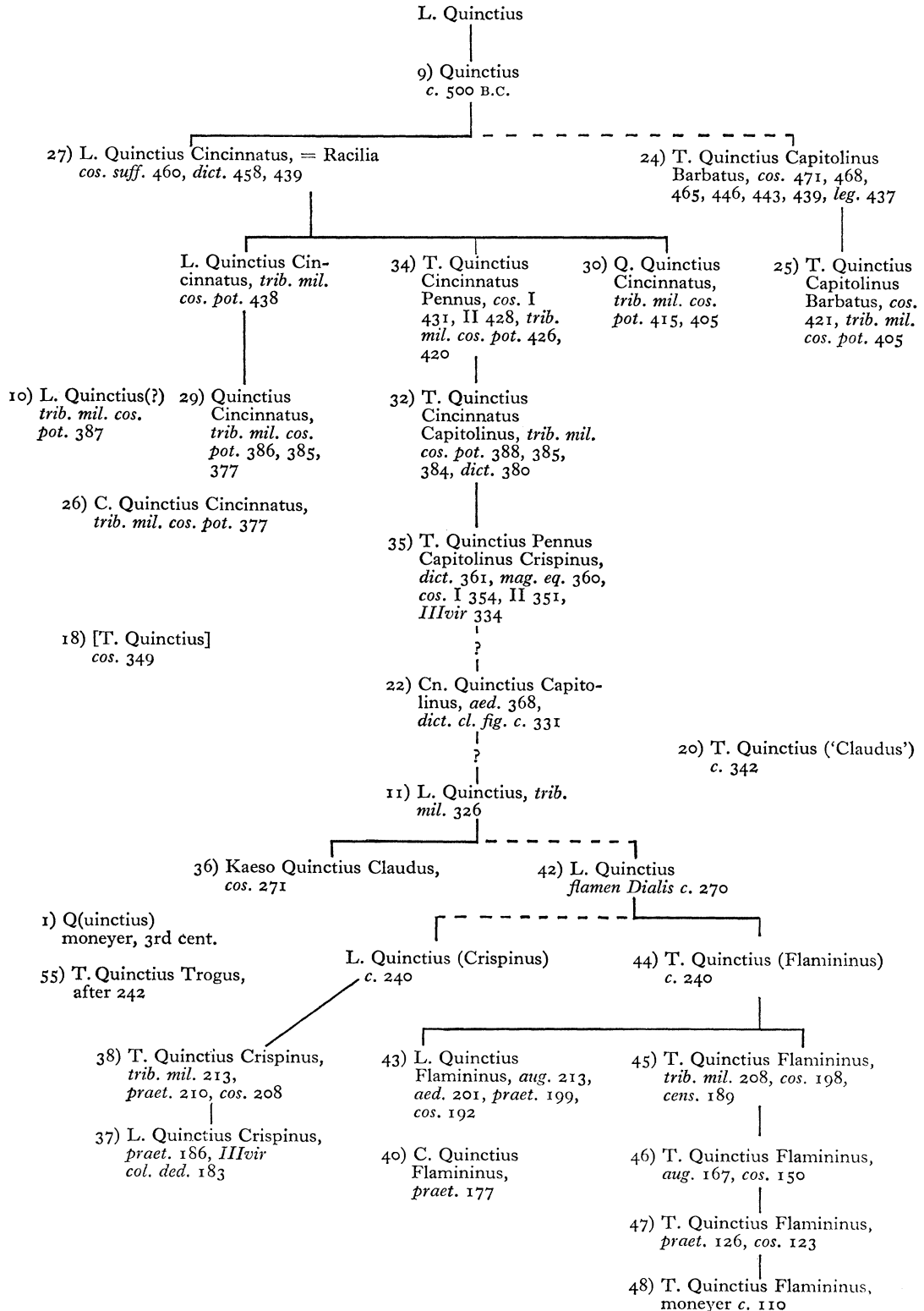


FIG. 10. STEMMA OF THE QUINCTII ACCORDING TO H. GUNDEL

Adapted and simplified from *RE* xxiv, coll. 991 f., 995 f.

A consul Caeso Quinctius L.f. Cn.n. Claudus appears in the *fasti* in 271. As consul he is a mere name to us; though I think that a little later he appears (whether in fact or fiction) in a story in an anonymous fragment.<sup>16</sup> We shall have more to say about his *cognomen*; but what about his *praenomen*? The rare 'Caeso' is probably derived from an original Fabian connection,<sup>17</sup> though the Fabii were no longer using it by this time, and indeed the Quinctii henceforth have almost a monopoly of it. Surely that name is unusual enough to give us an organizing principle. Gundel leaves the *cos.* 271 without known descendants; Münzer, in his stemma, with a progeny of Crispini. In view of the fact that the *praenomen* later turns up in the family of the Flaminini and, we may say, only there,<sup>18</sup> we may surely posit that the Flaminini are the descendants of the *cos.* 271. Nor does this cause chronological difficulties. Obviously, the consul Caeso is not himself the eponymous *flamen Dialis*: that man, with all the taboos surrounding his office, would hardly be a *bona fide* consul.<sup>19</sup> Yet why not his son? Münzer, on purely political grounds unconnected with the stemma, concluded that Caeso must have reached his consulship late, with the help of his Plebeian colleague. He is almost certainly the son of a *tribunus militum* of 326 (*RE* 11), hence born around 350. Caeso, in his late forties in 271 (if Münzer is right), may well have been the father of a *flamen Dialis* of only a little later. The usual generation count of about thirty years is very rough, but often turns out to be useful in the Roman Republic. Titus' son, *cos.* 150, was apparently born when Titus was 34 or so; his son, *cos.* 123, presumably when he himself was about 27. Titus is the son of a Titus (known only from that filiation) and grandson of a Lucius. Since he was born *c.* 228, as we shall see, we may assume that his grandfather was born about 288. His grandfather, as we have seen (if the *cos.* 271 is assumed as the intervening generation), was a military tribune of 326, for whom a date of birth around 350 may be assumed. The fit is perfect. Working from both ends, we see that the assumption that Titus' grandfather was the son of Caeso (*cos.* 271) makes for a very easy and natural stemma; and the identification of that man with the *flamen*—putting the latter in the only natural place and in fact precisely where Münzer did with relation to Titus—completes our preliminary investigation. As a hypothesis, the standard method of using a *praenomen* (and especially an unusual one) as the thread of Ariadne appears to work.

Let us follow it further. The name 'Caeso' appears among the Flaminini in 217: a *duumvir* for letting a temple contract is called Caeso Quinctius Flamininus.<sup>20</sup> The name reveals him, as we have seen, both a descendant of the *cos.* 271 and a descendant of the *flamen*, whom we have identified as the consul's son. We cannot say much about the age of these *duumvirs*. In fact, this pair in 217 and another in 215<sup>21</sup> comprises the whole of our specific evidence on them. However, in the case of that only known parallel the two were the great Q. Fabius Maximus and an ex-praetor. With this example before us, even though it is obviously not precisely matched in 217, we are entitled to reflect that it was only

<sup>16</sup> See *CR* 1964, 139 f.

<sup>17</sup> See Münzer, *Röm. Adelsp.* 114, 116, 120 for the connection. Apart from the (probably legendary—see Gundel, *RE*, s.v. 'Quinctius', no. 8) son of the great Cincinnatus, the name only appears in the *gens* with the *cos.* 271, after the Fabii have stopped using it.

<sup>18</sup> To be precise, there appears to be one exception to this, interesting enough to be pursued. A man called L. Acilius K.f. turns up in the great list of Delphic *proxeni* (*SIG*<sup>3</sup> 585, no. 47)—clearly, as everyone has recognized, the father of the *cos.* 150, M' Acilius L.f. K.n. Balbus (see note *SIG*<sup>3</sup>, *ad loc.*). Who was K. Acilius? Nothing further is known about him. But the son L. Acilius receives his Delphic honour early in 188, and the name immediately preceding his on the list is—T. Quinctius T.f., clearly our Titus. (The awards may be connected with the Delphic embassy to Rome, as suggested in the *SIG*<sup>3</sup> note. For this see Sherk, *RDGE*, pp. 24 f., where these *proxenies* should be added.) Coincidence is wholly excluded when we find that in the next generation the son of this L. Acilius shares a consulship with the son of Titus: they are the consuls of 150 B.C. Münzer (*Röm. Adelsp.* 120) noticed the connection, which he ascribed to 'common political views and actions'.

Noting the name 'Caeso', we may surely go one step further: *cognatio* (through the mother) is the only plausible explanation of the appearance of the odd *praenomen*, in this one instance, in a family different from—but closely allied to—the Flaminini. Since their sons were consuls together, the fathers (Titus and L. Acilius) were presumably of much the same age, as were the grandfathers (Titus' father and K. Acilius). K. Acilius must be the son of a Quinctia, who would be (most easily—though since women married young, one cannot be sure) an aunt of Titus' father. I have conjecturally inserted her in the stemma in this place, as a daughter of the *cos.* 271: her son would be given her father's unusual name, no doubt to point the connection of the new family of the Acilii with the Patrician Quinctii. Compare, in reverse, the story of the name 'Numerius' in the Fabian *gens* (*Auct. praen.* 6; *Festus* 174 L).

<sup>19</sup> The only instance we know—L. Cornelius Merula, *cos. suff.* 87 (*MRR* ii, 47)—was anything but a *bona fide* consul: he was elected in order to ensure that his colleague Cn. Octavius had unrestricted power.

<sup>20</sup> Livy xxii, 33, 7 f.

<sup>21</sup> Livy xxiii, 30, 13 f.; 31, 9.

reasonable for a major building contract (the kind usually let by a censor or a magistrate with *imperium*) to be let by men of comparable experience, i.e. by ex-praetors, or (since at this time there were not many of them) by men of comparable age.<sup>22</sup> Our duumvir Caeso, whether ex-praetor or of an age to be, emerges as born perhaps around 255: hence he will be the son of the *flamen* and an uncle of our Titus.

We may as well—even though it is not directly relevant to Titus—follow this line a little further. In 177, a praetor called C. Quinctius Flamininus is mentioned (once) in Livy.<sup>23</sup> His *praenomen*, in this family, is odd and has been much debated. Münzer thought him quite possibly an annalistic invention—an extreme view, which Gundel rightly rejected; though he leaves him unattached in the stemma. Strangely enough, the obvious suggestion does not seem to have been made (unless I have missed it): that this man is also a Caeso. The name ‘Caeso’ seems to be written with an initial C in our manuscripts of Livy; though, of course, we cannot go back beyond the fourth century, we have no real reason to believe that the Romans wrote it differently. The archaic abbreviation ‘K.’ has caused the common ‘Caeso’ in modern texts. But we may compare the abbreviations ‘C.’ and ‘Cn.’: few scholars nowadays write ‘Caius’ or ‘Cnaeus’, any more than the Classical Romans did. ‘Caeso’ was a far less common name, not preserved through the Classical age; nevertheless, it seems that this was the spelling that corresponded to the abbreviation ‘K.’ Now, ‘Caeso’ in a manuscript could easily become ‘C.’ and then ‘Gaius’ (if expanded). Fortunately, examples of confusion can be cited. In iv, 61, 4 and v, 10, 1 all the codices in the OCT, and in ii, 48, 1 at least some of them, give ‘C.’ or even ‘G.’ for a man known to be Caeso. In ii, 46, 6 the principal codices write out ‘Gaius’ in full, although the fact that the true name is Caeso cannot be doubted.<sup>24</sup> This should surely suffice. The unknown and implausible ‘C. Quinctius Flamininus’, unjustly doubted on account of his name, finds easy acceptance as a Caeso. If he reached the office *suo anno*, he was born 217/6; which makes it easy to conjecture him as the son of the duumvir of that very year. Of course, we cannot be quite certain, as there may always be totally unattested brothers about: our evidence is never good enough to exclude this. But we at least have a reasonable picture.

It is now time to look at another mysterious man, not obviously connected. In 208 a praetor Q. Claudius Flamen receives Tarentum as his province.<sup>25</sup> No one has been able to make sense of this man. Identification with the obnoxious tribune of 218, who passed the law forbidding senators to own merchant ships,<sup>26</sup> is impossible, as the OCT editors quite properly note: the *flamen* had to be a Patrician, hence could not have been tribune. Not that the author of a law so unpopular in the Senate was likely to reach the praetorship in a critical year in any case. Hence a Patrician Q. Claudius ‘Flamen’.<sup>27</sup> Yet Patrician Q. Claudii are rare. I know of only one, the senator Q. Claudius Ap. f. in the *SC* on Pergamum of 129 B.C.<sup>28</sup> He must be a son of the famous consul of 143, the father-in-law of Ti. Gracchus. I once suggested the obvious explanation for his *praenomen*: he must be the youngest son, and his father was running out of usable *praenomina*.<sup>29</sup> There was not much choice. Two sons (Ap. and C.) survived, after a first-born son had perhaps died in infancy.<sup>30</sup> The names M. and Ti were characteristic of other Claudian families (Plebeian Marcelli and Patrician Neronēs respectively); and L. could not be used, for historical reasons.<sup>31</sup> This leaves only P. and Q., of common names; and another son may well have had the commoner (P.) and died young. In fact, this kind of simple and obvious consideration will no doubt often explain

<sup>22</sup> Nothing is known about C. Pupius, Flamininus’ colleague in 217 and the first bearer of that *nomen* in Roman history. (But see *RE*, s.v. ‘Pupius’, no. 9.) Presumably these men were appointed because at this time the few praetorians and consulars were not available—any more than the regular *curule* magistrates—for such tasks. It is noteworthy that for dedicating the temple two men of good family, but unknown to us, were chosen: Livy xxiii, 21, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Livy xli, 8, 1; cf. Münzer, *Röm. Adelsp.* 120, considering various possibilities (including forgery), but not doubting the *praenomen*. As Dr. McDonald reminds me, our text here is based on nothing better than an apograph.

<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to distinguish between confusion in the text of Livy and earlier confusion (perhaps also

textual, at least in part) in the tradition that Livy knew. Such confusion can start early: cf. Livy vii, 22, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Livy xxvii, 22, 3.

<sup>26</sup> *MRR* i, 238.

<sup>27</sup> Madvig wrote ‘flamen’—eliminating the *cognomen* unique in the aristocracy, but creating new difficulties (see OCT *ad loc.*) and leaving the main problems.

<sup>28</sup> Sherck, *RDGE* 12, no. 21. See Taylor, *VDRR* 203, rightly emending the tribe.

<sup>29</sup> *JRS* 1962, 208 f.

<sup>30</sup> See *RE* s.v., no. 295: C. Claudius (302) is obviously the oldest surviving son, some years older than Appius (296). The usual inference is possible.

<sup>31</sup> See Suet., *Tib.* 1.

a puzzling *praenomen* in a family.<sup>32</sup> Most aristocratic families normally had two or at most three sons in each generation, hence kept to two or at most three usual *praenomina*. Inevitably, *polypaidia* presented the parents, and presents modern scholars, with some problems.

It follows that the unique Q. Claudius in 129 is not a proper parallel for the odd Patrician Q. Claudius in 208. Hence Q. Claudius Flamen must be suspected. The only time the strange *cognomen* certainly appears (if it is a *cognomen*) is in the passage cited above, where it is in the dative: Q. Claudio Flamini.<sup>33</sup> And one group of manuscripts offers 'Flaminio'. The OCT editors recognize that the name as it appears must be based on that of Flamininus (with which Flaminius is constantly confused); and they are surely right. However, they then proceed to emend the name out of existence with a cock-and-bull story of their own: a marginal gloss on 'T. Quincti praetoris', a few lines further down, has crept into the text in the wrong place. The gloss that has entered the text in the wrong place is an old standby. But here it is more obviously absurd than usual: not only the case is wrong, but the person to whom it was first applied. As the editors admit, the man a few lines further down, far from being a Flamininus at all, is in fact Crispinus, *cos.* 208! Hence a *mistaken* gloss on a later character must have crept into the text in the wrong place, in the wrong case: a bit much to believe.

How, then, can we explain the monstrous Q. Claudius Flamininus (which is what he appears to be)? I think we must be bold. Let us approach the matter circuitously.

The consul of 271, Caeso Quinctius Claudus, has his *cognomen* secured, in our tradition, only in the Capitoline *Fasti*: in three late chronographic sources he appears as 'Claudius'. And, of course, the *nomen* 'Quinctius' can be 'Quintius' in many texts, and again there is no reason to doubt that this could be so in antiquity. If there were a man named Quinctius Claudus, with the additional *cognomen* 'Flamininus' (and double *cognomina* are by no means rare at this period),<sup>34</sup> it is easy to see how the slightly unusual Quinctius Claudus Flamininus would become Quintus Claudius Flamininus—a perfect set of *tria nomina*. This, in the dative (the only certain appearance of the full name, I repeat), could easily become Quinto Claudio Flamini(o). In other words, as soon as the *praenomen* of our hypothetical man was lost, the remaining three names would almost inevitably be readjusted as shown. This, I would submit, is what has in fact happened, to produce our unlikely praetor. And the fact that Livy later repeatedly calls him Q. Claudius, apparently without compunction (or manuscript variation), suggests that it happened in antiquity, at a very early stage of the tradition: i.e., that Livy already found the basic error accomplished and merely took it over. It was more probably due to misinterpretation by an annalist (Livy's immediate source) than to mere scribal error.

If we accept this suggestion, we cannot hope to identify this man with any confidence. He may be another brother of Titus' father, adding further complexity. But it is also possible that he was in fact the duumvir of 217, reaching office belatedly, or for the second time. (This would not be noted once his name was distorted.) In any case, he can be no other than an uncle of Titus.

And this begins to make sense of Titus' early career, and incidentally adds support to our hypothesis on the name of the praetor of 208: it is unlikely that we have stumbled upon a mere coincidence. Let us now, in the light of our hypothesis, look at Titus' early career.

He was born, probably, late in 229 or early in 228. Polybius was not sure, and Plutarch

<sup>32</sup> Compare, e.g., the Pompeii: the name 'Sextus' appears once in a branch usually distinguished by 'A.' and 'Q.'; and it is this unique name for a third son that demonstrates the fact that all the aristocratic Pompeii were conscious of a common descent—not, as has often been thought, entirely unrelated families (see *Historia* 1963, 138).

<sup>33</sup> Livy xxvii, 22, 3. At the first mention of the man (xxvii, 21, 5), Frobenius' second edition adds 'Flamen' (others 'Flaminus'!). Dr. McDonald reminds me that the *auctoritas* of that scholar has been vindicated by Billanovich. Still, this looks like a

guess (at whatever stage) by one who expected the name at the first mention of the man and introduced it from the second. I therefore still accept the comment of the Oxford editors: '*sc. ex c. 22, 3 sumptum.*' It never recurs after the second mention (in the dative).

<sup>34</sup> e.g. Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus; P. Licinius Crassus Dives; Cn. Fulvius Centumalus Maximus; P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus; L. et P. Cornelii Lentuli Caudini; M. Servilius Pulex Geminus; and some Scipiones. For early confusion in the tradition accessible to Livy, see n. 24.

and Livy probably got their information only from Polybius.<sup>35</sup> At any rate, his first office was a military tribunate in 208, under Marcellus; and it is unlikely that he would not be at least twenty years old when he held that post.<sup>36</sup> In that year, T. Quinctius Crispinus was consul. Prosopographers who concentrate on names have found it difficult to explain why Titus did not serve under his relative; but our corrected stemma makes it clear that the relationship was rather remote: it may well be that a connection with Marcellus—whether based on relationship or not: we cannot tell—was simply closer. In any case, Marcellus

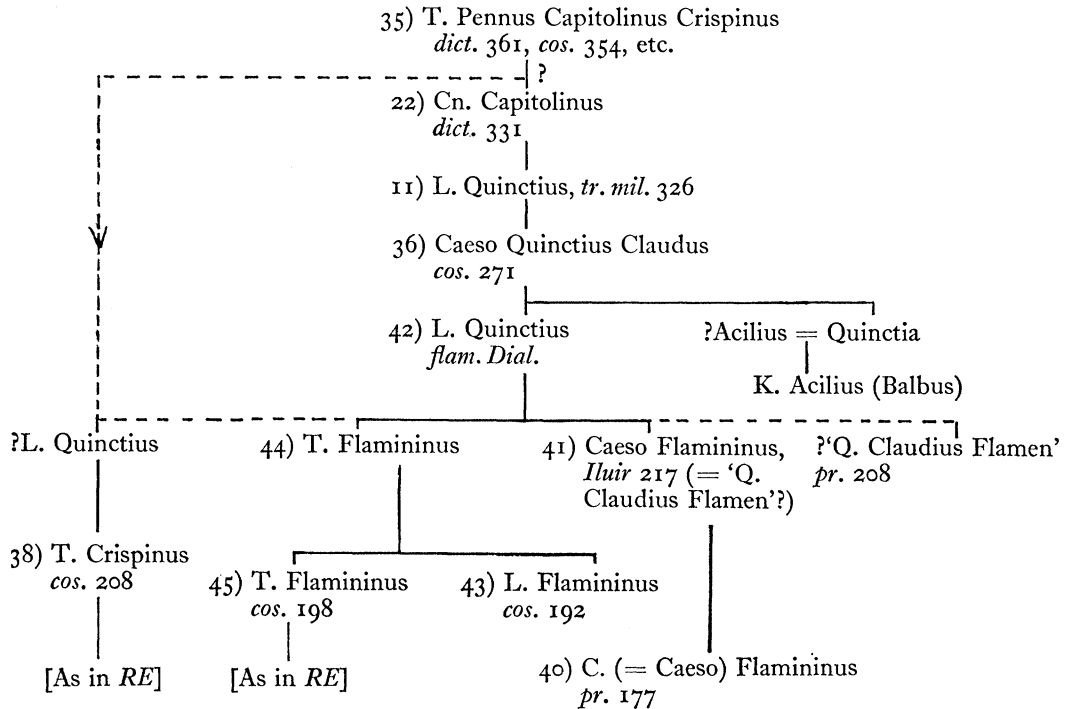


FIG. II. THE QUINCTII FLAMININI: PROPOSED RECONSTRUCTION

died in the course of the year, and the next information we have about Titus is that he was put in charge of Tarentum, as recorded by both Plutarch and Livy. It is only in 204, in fact, that we have specific information: in that year (according to Livy) he is prorogued at Tarentum *pro praetore*.<sup>37</sup> It follows that he had been there in the same position in 205, and *MRR* rightly thus lists him. But surely we have now come to a real puzzle: how did the young man, only (as far as we know) an ex-tribune, receive this unusual honour and responsibility? The question, if anything, dwarfs that of the inexplicable consulship. But perhaps we can now begin to look for an answer. For Tarentum was, as we saw in passing, the *provincia* of the man whom we hypothetically identified as Titus' uncle. His appointment

<sup>35</sup> Pol. xviii, 12, 5 (198 or early 197 B.C.): 'not over thirty'. Cf. Plut., *Tit.* 2, 2: 'not yet thirty' when elected; Livy xxxiii, 33, 3: 'nearly thirty-three' at the Isthmian Games of 196. The Livian passage may rest on Livy's own calculation from Polybian references or may render a direct statement in Polybius, which no longer survives. In any case, it seems that both Plutarch and Livy (who read more of Polybius than we have, thus perhaps more than the vague statement at xviii, 12, 5) took Titus' date of birth to be 229/8. This is as near as we can hope to get to it.

<sup>36</sup> *MRR* i, 289, 293. Fraccaro, *Opuscula* ii, 218, surveying the military tribunes of Scipio Africanus, of Cato and of Titus (216, 214, 208 respectively), concluded that the minimum of five years' service before that office, if it already existed at the time,

must have been occasionally ignored in the emergency of the Hannibalic War. There is no reason to think that it had existed, any more than other rules regulating ages and careers. Scipio (Pol. x, 3, 4; see Walbank, *Comm. ad loc.*) and Cato (Plut., *Cat. Maj.* 1) started their military service at the normal age and must have been tribunes in their third year of service. Since no military tribune younger than Scipio and Cato is recorded, it is highly unlikely that Titus was younger, i.e. born after 228; which fits in with the Polybian tradition. Of the four Patrician nobles who were military tribunes in 216 (*MRR* i, 250 f.), one (Ap. Claudius) had already been aedile in 217, while another (Cn. Lentulus) was to be quaester only in 212. The consulships of these four range from 213 to 201.

<sup>37</sup> Livy xxix, 13, 6.

is recorded, but his force is not specified; once more, we only hear of its size on his prorogation in 207,<sup>38</sup> which enables us to deduce it for 208. The appointments at Tarentum, sadly neglected by Livy, are clearly crucial to our enquiry. In 208, as we saw, 'Q. Claudius Flamen' is sent there, and prorogued in 207. In 206, he is still there, but has to give up his legions to a consul:<sup>39</sup> no doubt—again Livy is painfully uninterested—he was asked to enrol other forces (if indeed the report on the legions is true), since he retained his *imperium* and Tarentum obviously needed not only a commander, but a garrison. In 204, as we saw, we find Titus prorogued there *pro praetore*, which means he must have held the same command in 205.<sup>40</sup> Thus, despite Livy's carelessness, it is clear that Titus immediately succeeds his uncle (if our identification is right). The question (which we can only answer conjecturally) is when and how.

Let us attempt a reconstruction. As an ambitious young man, Titus would presumably hold the quaestorship as soon as possible, i.e. in 206, two years after his military tribunate: we are long before the *lex annalis* with its fixed minimum age. Naturally, he was most likely to be assigned to serve under his uncle, who, now in his third year at Tarentum, was presumably in need of a new quaestor; for no young man before C. Gracchus is known to have stayed in that junior post for three years, or to have been expected to. However, his uncle, of whom no more is heard, presumably soon died—whether in 206 or in 205 we do not know. He cannot have been defeated in battle, since that would hardly have been unreported. Presumably he died a natural death—all the more likely, we may note in passing, if he was indeed the man who had been duumvir as early as 217 (though, of course, it could have happened in any case). It is unlikely that his death conveniently occurred precisely at the end of an official year. We must assume that a temporary arrangement was necessary. And what more obvious than to let his quaestor (or proquaestor) take over his *imperium*? Commanders were in short supply, and a garrison post could safely be thus looked after. Once the arrangement worked, there was everying to be said for continuing it. This is surely the only feasible way in which Titus came to have such an extraordinary praetorian *imperium* at such an early age.<sup>41</sup>

Tarentum provides the link between 'Q. Claudius Flamen' and Titus, helping to confirm the identity of the former and to explain the puzzling early promotion of the latter. Next: how long did Titus remain in his post? The standard reference works (*RE* and *MRR*) very properly remain within the limits of the positive evidence and do not mention him after 204. Nor does Livy, less understandably. We are bound to ask: did not Tarentum need a commander until Hannibal left Bruttium, at least? Livy must have had the evidence. But in view of his unforgivable carelessness over Tarentum (the silence in 205 and partly in 208; the failure to mention a commander's death and a young man's succession), we are surely entitled to answer the question in the obvious way: he has simply failed to report Titus' prorogation for another year. After all, Titus had not suffered disaster, and the front was not a particularly active one; so, since he is not known to have done anything else in 203, we may safely assume that he stayed there. Now, Hannibal finally left Italy late in 203.<sup>42</sup> Titus' command must have been extended into that year at least. But what about 202? Again nothing is known of any other employment. Livy says nothing at all; but that, as we have seen, hardly matters. More important is the fact that Bruttium remained an armed *provincia* even after Hannibal's departure, as did Etruria after Mago's.<sup>43</sup> Surely Tarentum may be added.

Livy's lavishly attested incompetence robs us of proof. But there is no serious reason for doubt. Titus must have remained in his praetorian command, not only in 205 and 204, but from 205 (or even 206) to 203 and more probably 202. Free at last, what was the next step he could take? Normally, the aedileship. But, like Cn. Pompeius Magnus over a

<sup>38</sup> Livy xxvii, 22, 3; 36, 13.

<sup>39</sup> Livy xxviii, 10, 10 and 15.

<sup>40</sup> See n. 37. Of course, not necessarily for the whole of that year: we simply do not know when he was first appointed.

<sup>41</sup> The parallel of the great Scipio might suggest an appointment after his uncle's death, to avenge the family honour. But this is unlikely. 'Q. Claudius'

can hardly have fallen in battle, to be spectacularly succeeded by young Titus: even Livy could hardly have missed this. Both the death and the appointment must have been inconspicuous—if they came in the middle of a year, they would more easily be overlooked.

<sup>41</sup> Livy xxx, 25, *fin.* (See Weissenborn's note.)

<sup>42</sup> Livy xxx, 27 (202 B.C.).



century later, Titus was spoilt by success. A man who, while of quaestorian (i.e. non-senatorial) standing, had held praetorian *imperium* for years was not going to go through the normal *cursus* (in so far as it had developed) if he could help it. There was another reason as well. His brother Lucius, to whom—as the future was to show—he was greatly attached, was just ready for an aedileship: Titus was not going to stand in his way.<sup>44</sup> With luck and support, it was possible to aim higher: just at this time, there were models and precedents for hope. P. Scipio, elected consul 205 at the age of thirty, after six years of a special *imperium*, was an obvious one. P. Sulpicius Galba, *cos.* 211 and again 200, had held no curule office before his first consulship. In the very year of Titus' election (199), one consulship was held by a L. Cornelius Lentulus, who had returned from a Spanish *prouincia* held with a special *imperium* to walk straight into the highest office.<sup>45</sup> After nearly twenty years of war, there were opportunities for one who had quality, support and confidence in himself. But it would still need careful planning.

In 201 we at last have incontestable news of Titus. Henceforth there is no more uncertainty. For it was in 201 that he served on the commission elected to assign land to Scipio's veterans in southern Italy: territory that he knew well. The commission was an important one. Among Titus' senior colleagues were three consulars and one of the consuls of the year.<sup>46</sup> In the following year (200), there is a truly astonishing development: while still on the land commission, Titus was concurrently appointed to the commission of three that was to settle the colony of Venusia.<sup>47</sup> Gundel, in *RE*, rightly notes the cumulation of offices, in his case alone. Plutarch stresses the enthusiastic support of the colonists for the young man in his candidature for higher office, and its value to him. We may surely take his word for it. Indeed, it should be clear that this cumulation was intended to procure precisely this support. It was in the very next year (199) that, relying on the commissions and the support they had brought him, he stood for the consulship. When two tribunes objected (obviously, in view of the irregularities we have noticed, demands for an enforced *cursus* were already being raised), the Senate persuaded them to drop their objection.<sup>48</sup> Clearly, Flamininus was *intended* to succeed. There was a job to be done in the East, and it looks as if the Senate was now agreed on the man who was to do it.

Titus had spent some years in the most Hellenic city in Italy.<sup>49</sup> He had shown himself capable beyond his years of winning the good will both of Greek civilians and of Roman soldiers. Both would be needed in the East. The war was going badly. No Greek allies of importance had joined; the front was stationary, and the lack of success had led to serious mutiny in the ranks of the legions.<sup>50</sup> The situation was dangerous and unusual measures were needed. Fortunately, as we have seen, the long war against Hannibal had made men used to the unusual. Like Pompey in his day, a young man who had had a striking and unorthodox early career (through a mixture of good fortune and ability) was sent to set things right. Perhaps we can now begin to see how he came to be in the right place at the right time. If so, the loss of the historic haircut is a small price to pay.

#### APPENDIX: TITUS' BROTHER

The earliest information we have on the *cursus* of L. Flamininus (see *RE*, s.v. 'Quinctius', no. 43) is unspectacular: aedile in 201, he was praetor in 199 and would presumably have been ready for a consulship (if he succeeded) in 197. In fact, he had to wait until 192, owing to his absence on service with his great brother in the East—which shows, as Titus' intervention on his behalf was later to show, the unusually close connection between the two brothers. Hence Titus' omission of the obvious step of seeking an aedileship for 201 should at least in part be ascribed to this cause.

<sup>44</sup> On L. Flamininus see Appendix.

<sup>45</sup> Scipio: *RE*, s.v. 'Cornelius', no. 336. Galba: Livy xxv, 41, 11. Lentulus: *RE*, s.v. 'Cornelius', no. 188. (According to Livy, he had held a curule aedileship in absence in 205; which, if true and not due to confusion, must show special influence.)

<sup>46</sup> *MRR* i, 322.

<sup>47</sup> *MRR* i, 325. (Cf. p. 326, n. 7.) Livy xxxi, 49, 5 makes it clear that the board of ten on which Titus

was already serving, far from being disbanded, was given a new task at the very time of the appointment of the commission for Venusia. It follows that Titus served on both simultaneously.

<sup>48</sup> Livy xxxii, 7, 8 f.

<sup>49</sup> Duly noted, in passing, by Niese, *Gesch. d. griech. u. mak. Staaten* ii, 609.

<sup>50</sup> Livy xxxii, 3.

Were this all, we should have no hesitation in regarding Lucius as the younger brother: Titus bears the father's *praenomen* and obtains a consulship, not only before his brother, but a year before his brother could normally expect it at the best; and Lucius accepts subordination to his brother for several years, and postponement of his own chance. The date of his aedileship is not helpful. P. Scipio Africanus was aedile in 213, hence at the age of about twenty-two (*MRR* I, 263). This, as hostile tribunes said, was too young. (On this claim, see Mommsen, *Staatsr.* I<sup>3</sup>, 564, rightly denying that there was any legal basis for the claim, despite Livy's anachronistic wording. But one must consider the possibility that the whole incident is fictitious, part of the later development of the Scipio legend.) Since nobody objected to L. Flamininus' aedileship, he must have been older, hence born before 223 and probably some years before. But there is no objection to (say) 227 or 228 (which is possible: see n. 35), and nothing to exclude his being younger than Titus.

However, a L. Quinctius Flamininus was coopted into the augural college in 213 (Livy xxv, 2, 1). Bardt (*Priester d. vier gr. Coll.* 18 f.) rightly rejected the grandfather as a possibility, since the death of the man concerned is reported in 170 (Livy XLIII, 11, 13, with a sad lacuna). He also rejects Titus' brother as too young for appointment and opts for an unknown uncle. Münzer (*Röm. Adelsp.* 118 f.) opted for Titus' brother, arguing that, if Lucius was born in 229, sixteen would be old enough for entering the augural college. (In fact, of course, he might be a year or two older.) Now, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus entered the college in 204, *admodum adulescens* (Livy xxix, 38, 7): Livy adds that he comments on the age because this was very rare at the time. We do not know how old Ti. Gracchus was, since we cannot tell at what age boys received the *toga uirilis* at this time, or what (if any) offices Ti. Gracchus held. (He is not, as has been thought by some, to be identified with Ti. Sempronius P.f. Gracchus, the famous father of the two tribunes, since Livy tells us that the augur died in 174: see, on all this, *Arethusa* I, 1968, 32 f.) The fact that no comment of this sort is made on L. Flamininus does not exclude his also being very young: it could well be no more than the accident of what Livy's source happened to preserve. Entrance to the college at a very young age (presumably straight after taking the toga) was at any rate possible, and would be all the more so at a time when the War had drastically reduced the number of older candidates.

As for uncles of Titus, we have already placed one: K. Flamininus, the duumvir. He, clearly, cannot be the augur. Nor can another putative uncle, 'Q. Claudius Flamen'; for he must be presumed to have died at Tarentum c. 206 B.C., while the augur died in 170. Of course, if these two are identical (and it has been argued above that this is quite possible), the existence of a third brother named Lucius is by no means impossible. But it is odd that he should have lived until 170 without reaching the praetorship, or indeed being identifiably mentioned in any other connection. (Odd, but not impossible, as the existence of the Ti. Gracchus referred to warns us.) Hence Titus' brother is the obvious candidate.

We do not know when the *toga uirilis* was usually conferred, in the Roman aristocracy, during the Second Punic War: like the first military service (see n. 35), it might be at an earlier age than was later normal. It could, in any case, vary. Macrobius puts the official age of puberty for boys at fourteen (*Sat.* VII, 7, 6), and there must have been at least some boys who received the toga soon after: it was all in the father's *iudicium* (Cic., *Sest.* 144). If the rules on the military tribunate were observed in his case, Titus, who was tribune in 208, must have done his first service in 213, i.e. received the toga in his fifteenth or sixteenth year; Lucius, presumably, would do the same. Stray evidence shows ambitious boys in the same position later: Ti. Gracchus the tribune, born 162 (*RE*, s.v. 'Sempronius', no. 54), was made augur in 147, straight after he had received the toga, and before his campaign under Aemilianus (Plut., *Ti. Gr.* 4, 1 f., explicitly: rejected, for no stated reason, *RE*, l.c.). There is no reason why Lucius, born (say) 228/7, could not have been made augur in 213. Nor will the argument that the elder brother ought to have had first claim to that dignity hold water. In 195, C. Claudius Ap. f. was coopted into the same college. He was the youngest of three brothers, sons of Ap. Claudius (*cos.* 212). Neither of the others is known to have held any priesthood. (See *RE*, s.v. 'Claudius', nos. 294, 300, 305.)

The identification of L. Flamininus the augur is fairly secure. But it does not follow (as Münzer thought) that he was the elder brother, overtaken in his career by the younger Titus. The issue, strictly speaking, must remain open. But since it is perfectly *possible* for him to have been the younger, I have preferred to regard him as such, in view of the patterns of the later careers and the relationship of the two brothers, as set out above.