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THE MAGISTRI OF CAMPANIA AND DELOS

BY A. E. R. BOAK

The similarity between the several groups of magistri, or Masters, which have been revealed through the recent excavations on Delos and those previously known from Campanian inscriptions has long been recognized, and, consequently, parallels have been drawn between these two sets of Masters in their relationship to the communities in which they respectively officiated. This latter question is not unimportant, because upon the view which we take of the position of the Masters in the Italian community at Delos depends our conception of the organization of this and other similar settlements of Romans and Italians throughout the Mediterranean world in cities outside the sphere of Roman administration. As there is by no means a unanimity of opinion in the discussions with regard to the status of the Masters in Delos and Campania, another investigation of their position will not be out of place. This examination I shall preface with a brief summary of the chief views that have so far been advanced upon the subject in question.

Mommsen,¹ in his introduction to the inscriptions from Capua, suggests that when the Romans in 211 B.C. deprived Capua of its municipal organization, treating its territory as the property of the Roman people administered as a conventus through Roman prefects, the communal interests of the surviving population centered in various pagi or cantons, pre-existent or newly created, over which magistri presided, as was the custom in other Italian cantons.² In addition to these Masters who stood at the head of each pagus there were others, annually appointed in colleges usually numbering twelve, to care for such shrines or temples as were situated within the bounds of the several cantons. The latter Masters are to be regarded as occupying a position analogous to the magistri ad fana, templae, delubra in the municipalities, known to us through the Lex Coloniae

¹ CIL, X, pp. 365 ff.
² Paulus, Epit. 126 M.; Festus, 371 M.; Marquardt, Staatsverwaltung, I, 1 ff.; Schulten, "Die Landgemeinden im römischen Reich," Philologus, LIII, 632 ff.
Genetivae Juliae. With regard to the Delian Masters Mommsen's views have not, to my knowledge, been published.

While accepting in the main Mommsen's ideas regarding the Masters in Campania, Schulten\(^2\) believes that the entire *conventus* of Capua was embraced in one canton, the *pagus Herculaneus*, presided over by one Master and having various colleges of Masters appointed for the care of its shrines. He also thinks that the community of the Italians on Delos was similarly organized, with a quasi-magisterial Master at its head and colleges of Masters as *curatores fanorum*, and is convinced that he has found record of one of these Masters who presided over the Italian community in an inscription of a certain Lucius Orbiius.\(^3\)

Again, Kornemann\(^4\) has advanced the view that the Italians at Delos were organized as a religious fraternity or college directed by a board of priestly Masters composed of three groups called respectively Hermaïstai, Apolloniastai, and Posidonistai. This conception of the Delian community he seems to have discarded later\(^5\) and to have accepted in its place the ideas of Schulten, at least in so far as the colleges of Masters are concerned. However, he refuses to consider the *magister pagi* of Campania as the same as Schulten's *magister (Italicorum)* of Delos and holds that it is impossible to establish any relationship between the officials of the *pagus Herculaneus* in Campania and the *conventus* of Capua as a whole.

These older theories have recently been severely criticized by Hatzfeld in an article on "Les Italiens résidants à Delos," published in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* for 1912. In this article Hatzfeld denies the existence of any common organization, and consequently of a *conventus*, of the Italians at Delos and tries to prove that they were grouped in three separate colleges devoted to the

\(^1\) *CIL*, II, 5439, *ca. 128.

\(^2\) *De conventibus civium Romanorum* 44 f., 57 f.; Pernier in "De Ruggiero," *Dizionario Epigrafico*, II, 1620 f., *s.v. Delus*, agrees with Schulten in considering the Delian colleges of Masters as representing the whole community of the Italians in the care of its public cults, those, namely, of Mercury, Apollo, and Neptune. But he does not think it possible to determine definitely the political organization of the Italian colony.

\(^3\) *CIL*, III, 7225 = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, VIII, 145. Cf. for the name Lucius, not Marcus as in the *CIL*, *BCH*, XXXVI, 61.

\(^4\) *De civibus Romanis in provinciis imperii consistentiibus*, 60 f.

\(^5\) Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, IV, 1188 f., *s.v. conventus*. 
worship, or under the protection, of Mercury, Apollo, and Neptune, and presided over by Masters who were called Hermaístai or magistri Mercuriales, Apolloniastai or magistri Apollonis, and Poseidonastai or magistri Neptuni. These Masters are held to be the equivalents, not of the municipal magistri or curatores fanorum, but of the magistri who were the presidents of the religious colleges so common throughout Italy. In addition to these three colleges just mentioned it is shown that there were other associations among the Italians, such as those of the Pompeiastai and the ἐλαυστώλαι, which were organized on a different basis, but it is not made clear whether the members of these latter unions are supposed to have been at the same time enrolled in three religious colleges; in other words, whether these are to be thought of as including all the Italici on the island. In this connection Hatzfeld also discusses the colleges of the Campanian Masters and attempts to show that they, too, are nothing more than the presidents of religious gilds, while the magister pagi, whom Mommsen and others regarded as the chief local official in the canton, is degraded to the position of a subordinate financial officer of such a college.

Finally, shortly after the publication of Hatzfeld’s article, Ferguson in his Hellenistic Athens¹ gave the following view of the organization of the Italian community at Delos. The Italians, he says, formed a loose semi-political association, presided over by magistri who were attached to the service of the deities Mercury, Apollo, and Neptune, and who acted conjointly as a committee of the Italici. This association of the Italians is not thought of as a religious or mercantile gild, although such organizations doubtless existed within its ranks.

The opposing conclusions reached in these two most recent discussions warrant another investigation of this subject. This I shall now attempt, postponing, however, a criticism of any of these conflicting views until an independent examination of the evidence has been made in each case, first with regard to the Campanian, and secondly with regard to the Delian, Masters.

Our information about the Masters in the conventus of Capua comes from a series of fifteen inscriptions dating between 112/11

¹ Pp. 355 ff., 396 ff., 452 f.
and 71 B.C. 1 Of these, two 2 mention magistri pagi, and all have lists, more or less complete, of colleges (collegia) 3 of magistri who designate themselves by the names of various divinities. Thus we know of Masters of Jovius Compagus, 4 Spes, Fides, and Fortuna, 5 Venus Jovia, 6 Castor and Pollux, 7 Ceres, 8 Diana Tifana, 9 Juno Gaura, 10 and Jovius. 11 The question then arises what is the position of these two classes of Masters in the pagus; but before answering this it is necessary to discuss briefly the pagus itself.

One canton, the pagus Herculaneus, is evidenced by an inscription, 12 but the name of none other occurs, although the phrases ex pagi scitu 13 and magister pagi 14 are found elsewhere. Mommsen 15 held that there were several pagi, in one of which the shrine of Diana Tifana was situated, and this he called the pagus Dianae Tifanae. In this he is followed by Hülsen 16 and others. Schulten, 17 however, believes that the whole conventus was embraced by the pagus Herculaneus. The view of Mommsen is the more probable, judging from the extent of territory concerned, but in any case we are completely in ignorance as to the relation of the canton or cantons to the conventus viewed as a Roman administrative district. 18 It does not seem to me, therefore, that the number of the pagi materially affects the relative position held by the two classes of Masters under consideration within the limits of the individual pagus. We may, then, proceed to the Masters themselves.

1 CIL, X, 3772, 94 B.C.; 3774, 112/11 B.C.; 3775, 110 B.C.; 3776 = 3777 = Ephemeris Epigraphica, VIII, 460, 108 B.C.; 3778, 106 B.C.; 3779, 106 B.C.; 3780, 104 B.C.; 3781; 3782; 3783, 71 B.C.; 3785; EE, VIII, 473, 84 B.C.; 474; Notizie degli Scavi, 1893, 164. Similar inscriptions, dating after the foundation of the Julian colony, 59 B.C., have been passed over for the present.

2 CIL, X, 3772; EE, VIII, 474. The second is fragmentary, having in the first remaining line /ag magist/, and in the second the word magistri, below which was once a series of names. The restoration is obvious. In the first line, (p)ag(i) magist(er) is to be read, and the other magistri are to be regarded as a college of Masters.

3 Conlegium seive magistrii Josai Compagii, CIL, X, 3772.

4 CIL, X, 3772.

5 Ibid., 3775.

6 Ibid., 3776.

7 Ibid., 3778.

8 Ibid., 3779, 3780.

9 Ibid., 3781.

10 Ibid., 3782(?) , 3783.

11 Ibid., 3785, EE, VIII, 473.

12 Ibid., 3772.

13 Ibid., 3783.

14 EE, VIII, 474.

15 CIL, X, p. 367.

16 P–W, III, 1558, s.v. "Capua."

17 De conv. 57.

18 Kornemann, P–W, IV, 1189.
The position of the Masters is best seen from the inscription CIL, X, 3772, of 94 B.C., which reads as follows: *Pagus Herculaneus scivit a o. x. terminalia, conlegium seive magistrei Jovei Compagei (sunt) utei in porticum paganam reficiendam pequiniam consumerent ex lege pagana, arbitratu Cn. Laetori Cn. f. magistrei pagei; uteique ei conlegio seive magistri sunt Jovei Compagei locus in theatro esset tam quam sei sei ludos fecissent*—with a list of the names of twelve Masters and the consuls of 94 B.C. It is apparent that we have here the record of a decree of the *pagus Herculaneus*, passed upon the suggestion of a *magister pagi*, whereby the twelve *magistri* or *collegium* of Jovius Campagus, according to the law of the *pagus* which evidently regulated the services required of them by the community, have been instructed to expend upon the repair of the public portico a sum of money, perhaps a *summa honoraria* in consideration of the honor of their appointment, instead of furnishing theatrical exhibitions, and to receive a seat of honor in the public theater just as if they had provided such exhibitions. The decree was set up by these Masters as a warrant for their action and they appended their names to the inscription.

From this document I think we may draw the following conclusions. First, the *pagus Herculaneus* had at its head, as its executive in the conduct of affairs of communal interest, an official called *magister pagi*. This we may infer from the meaning of the title itself and, by analogy, from the position of officials bearing the same titles in other *pagi*, at Rome, throughout Italy, in Africa, and in Gaul. In none of these latter cantons are the Masters anything else than the presidents of the community, exercising, however, functions that are fundamentally of a priestly character and only in a secondary sense political and administrative. It is true that the inscription quoted gives no real clue as to the duties of the Master of the *pagus* in question, but the phrase *arbitratu magistri pagi* is in accord with the explanation of his position given above. Furthermore, this Master was not one of the twelve Masters of Jovius Compagus, as his name does not reappear in their list and he was a freeman while they were all *liberti*. These considerations would prevent us from seeing in this college of Masters the chief officials

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1 Cf. the references on p. 25, n. 2.
of the pagus and from making the magister pagi their subordinate. Secondly, the magistrei Jovei Compagei were subject to the will of the community expressed in a pagi scitum and to the more general regulation of a lex pagana which, probably, had inaugurated their office. Thirdly, it was the duty of these Masters to provide performances in the theater, but, if the pagus so decided, the money to be spent in this way could be devoted to other purposes. The fulfilment of this obligation secured them a place of honor in the theater. Finally, these twelve Masters formed a college (conlegium) intrusted with the supervision of the cult of Jovius Compagus, as is to be seen from the phrase conlegium seive magistrei Jovei Compagei. It seems impossible to regard these Masters as the presidents of a religious college when we read that the college, i.e., the Masters, are to receive special seats in the theater of the pagus. This would preclude the possibility of the college being a larger corporation.

The remaining inscriptions bear out these conclusions as to the position of the Masters. The same distinction between a magister pagi and a priestly college of Masters seems implied in a second, very fragmentary inscription. The Masters of Juno Gaura are likewise directed by a pagi scitum. Colleges of Masters of Ceres, Venus Jovia, and Castor and Pollux have recorded their presentation of theatrical performances, and, again, others, possibly Masters of Juno Gaura, provided for the erection of two sections of seats in a theater.

The connection of the Masters with the cults of these various deities is shown more specifically by their supervision of the maintenance and augmentation of the property sacred to the divinities and by their control of the expenditure of the stips or temple treasure. The erection of an altar by the Masters of Jovius and the dedication

1 EE, VIII, 474.
2 CIL, X, 3783, ex pagei scitu.
Ibid., 3779, 3780?.
4 Ibid., 3776.
5 Ibid., 3778. Loido fecerunt is the formula.
6 Ibid., 3782, (cune)os duos in theatro faciendos coeraver(e).
7 Ibid., 3775, 3776, 3778, 3779, 3780, 3785, etc.
8 Ibid., 3781, . . . et locum privatum de stipe Dianae emendum (et f)aciendum coeraver(e): EE, VIII, 473, lacum de stipe et de sua pec(unia) f(acie)nd(um) coeraver(e).
9 CIL, X, 3785.
of a chapel by the Masters of another college are additional reasons for regarding these magistri as magistri fani.

The number of Masters in these colleges was regularly twelve. Sometimes they were all freemen, at other times all freedmen, and again both classes were represented in the same college, as when six ingenui and six libertini were Masters of Castor and Pollux, and nine freedmen and three freemen Masters of Juno Gaura. Since at one time the college of the Masters of Ceres was composed entirely of freemen, and at another time entirely of freedmen, it would seem that no distinction was observed between these social grades. Also from these same two inscriptions, which date from 106 and 104 B.C. respectively, we learn that the Master's office was not a permanent one, and, indeed, it was probably annual.

To the preceding view of the Campanian Masters, which agrees essentially with that of Mommsen, Hatzfeld, who approached this problem with the conclusions reached by his Delian studies in mind, makes the following objections. The character, he says, of the dedications made by the colleges of Masters, such as porticos, walls, sections of a theater, and a shrine, is too varied and elaborate to admit of their being erected at the expense of the Masters themselves if they were mere curatores or magistri fani. Further, the frequently recurring phrase faciendum coiravere shows that in the majority of cases the Masters were but executors of the will of a larger organization which furnished the funds they administered. Again, the celebration of ludi does not accord with the office of magistri fani. Since, then, these colleges of Masters are not to be regarded as magistri fani, they must be looked upon as the presidents of larger corporations organized as religious colleges. These larger groups

1 CIL, X, 3787, dedicat(a) aedis, much later than 59 B.C., but belonging to the same series of inscriptions as the others.
2 Ibid., 3772, 3776, 3778, 3780, 3783; EE, VIII, 473. CIL, X, 3779, has thirteen names, but one is that of a magister suffectus. The other lists are fragmentary.
3 Ibid., X, 3776, 3780, 3784.
4 Ibid., 3772, 3779, 3785; EE, IV, 873.
5 CIL, X, 3778. 6 Ibid., 3783. 7 Ibid., 3780. 8 Ibid., 3779.
9 This would seem to follow from a comparison of the lists of the Masters of Ceres for the years 106 (CIL, X, 3779) and 104 B.C. (CIL, X, 3780).
10 BCH, XXXVI, 184 ff.
were, in his opinion, the pagi themselves, each of which had a semi-religious organization. Mommsen's view\(^1\) that several colleges of Masters of various fani belonging to one pagus had built sections of a common wall at a point where these shrines were located Hatzfeld modifies so far as to make the Masters in question the Masters of separate pagi, each pagus having but one such college and it being, to his mind, more natural for several pagi to have a common center for their cults than for the one pagus to have several shrines within the one precinct. Finally, if these points be conceded, there is no room for a magister pagi at the head of the cantons, and, therefore, he is degraded to the position of a subordinate officer in charge of finances. The specific objections to regarding the magister pagi as the highest official of the pagus are that one would naturally expect two such officials acting conjointly and that the title is too rare in these inscriptions for a position of such importance.

We shall try to answer this last criticism first, since, if the magister pagi of CIL, X, 3772, was really the chief official of the pagus Herculanus, it is impossible to regard the whole pagus as a semi-religious organization presided over by the college of twelve Masters. Some reasons have been given already for thinking that Hatzfeld's view of the magister pagi as a financial officer is impossible. In addition, at Rome,\(^2\) in Africa,\(^3\) and in Gaul\(^4\) there seems to have been regularly but one Master for each pagus, and, in view of the fact that the total number of inscriptions from this period is so small, the scarcity of inschional evidence can hardly be used as an argument for determining the nature of this office. Further, there seems to be no good reason why, if the twelve Masters were really the presidents of the pagus, they should not have been styled magistri pagi instead of magistri Jovei Compagci. Hatzfeld's theory presupposes the organization of the inhabitants of this district into religious unions before the formation of the territorial entities called pagi. This does not appear likely, although it is not to be denied that, as we

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\(^1\) CIL, X, p. 367.

\(^2\) Ibid., VI, 2219, 2220, 32452, 32454.

\(^3\) Ibid., VIII, 5075, 5683, 5884, 6267–71, 6273–97, 6339, 7070, 10368, 17257, 17258, 19135, 19199; Revue archéologique, 1893, p. 267; 1902, pp. 221, 222. An exception is Thibilis which had two magistri pagi (CIL, VIII, 18896, 18900).

\(^4\) Ibid., XIII, 5, 412, 604, 1670, 2507.
learn elsewhere, the main activities of the magistri pagi themselves were concerned with the religious interests of their respective communities.¹

However, if these arguments are not in themselves convincing, the other objections raised by Hatzfeld also admit of answer. First, in reply to the assertion that the dedications of the colleges of Masters were of too expensive a character to be erected at the cost of these men alone, it may be said that, as Mommsen pointed out,² the cessation of municipal offices would make the most wealthy and influential men in the community candidates for these priesthoods. However, in the majority of cases, the Masters appear only to have superintended the expenditure of funds supplied by some larger aggregation, as is evident from the use of the phrase faciendum coiraverunt. Now, while I do not share Hatzfeld’s view that a pagus, having other officials, would not place funds at the disposal of the Masters of one of its shrines, and that therefore, if a pagus supplied these funds, it must be regarded as a quasi-college presided over by these Masters, it does not seem necessary to me to suppose that the canton made special grants of money for the Masters to expend upon their monuments. For the latter, it must be observed, had other resources at their disposal. Acting in the capacity of curatores fanorum they had under their charge the revenues of the shrines, including the stips or temple treasure. Indeed, we have record of the Masters of Diana³ and those of Jovius⁴ actually supervising the expenditure of the stips of these two deities for such purposes. In this way the phrase faciendum coiraverunt finds an explanation.

Again, Hatzfeld objected that the presentation of ludi does not accord with the position of magistri fanorum. However, we know that this was a duty enjoined upon such Masters in the municipalities,⁵ and an inscription dating shortly after 58 B.C. from Rome records that the Masters of a shrine of Heracles, elected by one of the city pagi, gave a celebration of this nature.⁶ This connection

¹ Cf. Marquardt, StV, III, 201; Schulten, Philol., LIII, 636.
² CIL, X, p. 367.
³ Ibid., X, 3781, de stipe Dian(ae) emendum (faci)endum coiraver(unt).
⁴ EE, VIII, 473, lacum de stipe et de sua pec(unia) f(acie)ndum coiraver(unt).
⁵ Lex Coloniae Genetivae Juliae, ca. 128; Mommsen, EE, II, 128 ff.
⁶ CIL, VI, 30888.
with *ludi* explains why the Masters of Juno Gaura¹ built sections of seats in a theater.

Further, I confess that I cannot see why the porticos, walls, columns, statues, altar, and other works erected under the supervision of these colleges of Masters may not be considered as appropriate to shrines and sacred property in general, and, therefore, as fitting objects for the attention of *magistri* or *curatores fanorum*.

Finally, after the restoration of municipal government to Capua by the foundation of the Colonia Julia in 59 B.C., there appear Masters who are called *magistri fani Dianae Tifanae.*² There seems no reason to doubt that this was the shrine of Diana which was formerly in the care of a college of twelve Masters. The title *magistri fani* probably came to be regularly employed to designate the true position held by these Masters at the time of the reorganization of municipal life in the *conventus.* It may seem strange that the number of Masters in charge of this shrine had dwindled to two,³ but a similar phenomenon is observable in the case of another college,⁴ which in 15 A.D. had but six members. The explanation of this is probably that the new municipal offices exercised a powerful attraction upon the ambitions of the leading members of the community who had been forced hitherto to content themselves with the social distinction conferred by a religious office and that the revival of interest in city life caused a corresponding diminution in the attention paid to the rural shrines.⁵

A position similar to that of these *magistri fanorum* was held by the college of *ministri* at Capua. In 98 B.C.⁶ they, twelve in number, superintended the erection of something, a shrine or altar possibly, to the Lares. A similar college of twelve is known from the year 26 B.C.⁷ In 98 B.C. the *ministri* included one freedman and eleven slaves, while in 26 B.C., besides two *liberti* and nine *servi,* there was also a Freeman. The *ministri* supervised the cult of the Lares, the deities of the *compita* or crossways,⁸ and are paralleled by many

colleges of Masters of the Lares or Lares Augusti in the Italian municipalities. As the Lares were in a special sense the guardians of the lower classes of the community, it is only natural that in any center where there were considerable numbers of slaves we should find a college chosen from the ranks of this class to attend to the cult of these divinities.

Having thus, as it seems, made adequate answer to the objections of Hatzfeld against regarding the Campanian Masters as magistri fanī, we may now turn our attention to the Masters at Delos.

Thanks to the most recent investigation, it now seems fairly certain that the settlement of the Italians at Delos did not form a regular conventus, but was a community devoid of any political organization. Whether the Italians had a common organization for other purposes and, if so, what its character was, depends upon the rôle played by the colleges of Masters whose presence there has been revealed by inscriptions. What is known of the Delian Masters has been well put together by Hatzfeld in his article on "Les Italiens résidant à Délos," and by W. S. Ferguson in his chapter on "Athens and Delos" in Hellenistic Athens. In brief, it is as follows:

By the middle of the second century B.C. there existed in the Roman community at Delos a college of six Masters bearing the Greek name of Hermaĩstai in inscriptions in that language, but appearing in Latin inscriptions simply as magistri without further qualification. However, by the opening of the first century the number in this college had diminished to two. But, at the same time, there appeared two other colleges of Masters, called Apolloniastai or magistri Apollonis, and Poseidoniasiastai or magistri Neptuni. The former college had six members, and the latter had four, so that there were twelve Masters of this type in the

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1 Ibid., 1881 ff.
2 Especially Hatzfeld, BCH, XXXVI, 146–53.
3 Ibid., 153 ff.
4 346 ff.
7 BCH, XXXI, 442, No. 33.
8 Ibid., XXXIII, 501, No. 17. BCH, XXXIII, 503, No. 18, has six names, but is rather an incomplete list of all the Masters than one of the Poseidoniasiastai alone.
community, frequently acting in concert, and all alike designated by the common term *magistriai.* In the sack of Delos by the forces of Mithradates in 88 B.C. the Italian colony suffered severely, but later partially revived, and the colleges of Masters were in existence in 74 B.C., while *Hermaistai* are recorded for 57/55 B.C.³

Contemporary with the appearance of the *Apolloniastai* and the *Poseidoniastai* is that of another college, which, however, is never included among the twelve Masters. Its members are styled *Competaliastai* and are first mentioned in inscriptions dating from the close of the second century B.C.⁴ The number of these *Competaliastai* was at first five or six,⁵ but in 99/98 B.C. it had been increased to ten,⁶ and in 93 B.C. to twelve,⁷ a total equal to the number of the Masters (of the *Italici*).

The colleges of Masters were recruited from among both men of free birth and ex-slaves. The earlier inscriptions of the *Hermaistai* regularly show an equal representation of each of these classes.⁸ Later a college of freedmen⁹ and an individual Freeman¹⁰ are known. The separate list of the *Apolloniastai* shows only freedmen,¹¹ but the *Poseidoniastai* have in their ranks two freemen and two *liberti.*¹² The combined colleges of 113 B.C. had five freemen and seven freed-

¹ This combination of the colleges is revealed by six inscriptions falling between 113 and 74 B.C. These are *BCH,* XXXIII, 493, No. 15, 113 B.C.; XXXIII, 496, No. 16; I, 87, No. 36, ca. 100 B.C.; VIII, 185–86 = XXXIV, 404, No. 54, ca. 100 B.C.; IV, 190, 97 B.C.; VIII, 145–46, 74 B.C. Sometimes they have the full title *magistriai Mitrquiri, Apollonis, Neptuni (BCH,* XXXIII, 493, No. 15), at other times they are merely called *magistriai* (*ibid.,* XXXIII, 496, No. 16; XXXIV, 404, No. 54). The Greek form is regularly of *'Ερμαίσται καὶ Ἀπολλωνιασταὶ καὶ Ποσειδωνιασταὶ* (*ibid.*).

² *BCH,* VIII, 145–46.

³ *Ibid.,* XXXIII, 504, No. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.,* XXIII, 62, No. 10; 63, No. 11; 64, No. 12, 99/98 B.C.

⁵ *Ibid.,* XXIII, 62, No. 10; 63, No. 11.

⁶ *Ibid.,* XXIII, 64, No. 12. This number also appears in XXIII, 67, No. 14, 94 B.C., and in XXXI, 441, No. 32, between 97 and 94 B.C. *BCH,* VII, 12, No. 5, 97/96 B.C., has only nine *Competaliastai,* but it is possible that there was some irregularity in this case.

⁷ *Ibid.,* XXIII, 70, No. 15.

⁸ Three of each class in *BCH,* I, 284; XXIII, 56, No. 1; in XXXIV, 402, No. 52, only one of each class can be distinguished; *ibid.,* No. 53, is incomplete; VIII, 118, has apparently two of each class.

⁹ *BCH,* XXXI, 439, No. 30.


men;¹ some years later there were six of each class,² in 74 B.C. there were four ingenui to eight liberti,³ and at another time the proportion was three of the former to nine of the latter.⁴ Again, in a list where one name is apparently lacking the freedmen number five and the freedmen six.⁵ The Competaliastai whose names have been preserved were all freedmen, Italiot Greeks, or slaves.⁶ The large proportion of freedmen among the Masters must have been due to a large majority of those of similar status in the Italian colony,⁷ while the fact that the Competaliastai represented solely the lower classes of the community will seem natural when we come to consider the deities in whose service they were engaged.

As Hatzfeld⁸ has pointed out, the Greek titles of the Masters fail to translate accurately their Latin designations and, therefore, are of little use in determining the character of the offices held by the Masters, although the word γενόμενοι in such phrases as 'Εφραίσται γενόμενοι shows that it was not a permanent, but probably an annual, charge. However, both Greek and Latin titles indicate clearly that the Masters were in some way concerned with the cult of the deities Mercury, Apollo, and Neptune. Like the Masters in Campania, they were designated by the name of the god whose interests they served, or under whose protection they stood. In the case of the Masters of Neptune the form magistri Neptunales,⁹ appearing in addition to that of magistri Neptuni, would admit of these Masters being at the head of a college of Neptunales. However, it is only from an examination of the acts undertaken by them in their official capacity that we can reach an accurate conclusion regarding the position of the Masters in the Italian colony.

Considering, then, the activities of the Masters revealed in the inscriptions, we find that the Hermaistai, prior to the appearance of the other colleges, had erected or superintended the erection of a small shrine to the deities Mirquirius and Maia,¹⁰ statues of the same divinities,¹¹ the west portico of the agora of the Italians,¹² and a small

¹ BCH, XXXIII, 493, No. 15.
² Ibid., 496, No. 16.
³ Ibid., VIII, 145–46.
⁴ Ibid., XXXIV, 404, No. 54.
⁵ Ibid., I, 87, No. 36.
⁶ Ibid., XXXVI, 158.
⁷ Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 402.
⁸ BCH, XXXVI, 153 ff.
⁹ Ibid., XXXIII, 501, No. 17.
¹⁰ Ibid., XXXIV, 402, No. 52.
¹¹ Ibid., XXIII, 56; I, 284, No. 6.
¹² Ibid., VIII, 118.
chapel in Ionic style.¹ Hatzfeld² also attributes to them a series of other monuments, including a circular temple, an altar and statues, a column and a wall of inclosure (περίβολος), which Ferguson³ holds to have been given by “certain public-spirited Italians.” I think that the latter interpretation is the better because, besides the fact that there were present many similar donations from private individuals, acting singly or in groups, the dedicators do not call themselves Hermaístai, and one of them was a slave,⁴ whereas there is no evidence that this class was represented among the Masters.

After the reduction in their numbers the Hermaístai presented a laconicum to the Italians,⁵ and some time after the catastrophe of 88 B.C. set up a chapel and statues to their patron deity.⁶ The Poseidoniastai erected a statue in honor of Poseidon,⁷ and the Apolloíastai honored Apollo in like manner.⁸

The board of Masters, comprising the members of all three colleges, likewise set up many monuments, which included statues in honor of Juppiter Secundarius,⁹ Hermes and Apollo,¹⁰ Hercules,¹¹ Hercules and the Italici,¹² to Apollo and the Italici,¹³ and to Neptune.¹⁴ In addition they contributed to the construction and adornment of the Italian agora and bore the expense of the celebration of ludi.¹⁵ This exhausts our knowledge of the official activities of these colleges of Masters, and it will have been noticed that the character of these acts is the same as that of the actions of the Campanian Masters revealed by the inscriptions from Capua.

With regard to the Competaliastai, their name indicates their office more clearly than is the case with the other colleges. This title is a Greek derivative from the Latin word compitum and hence they are to be regarded as the officials of the compitum, and consequently of the guardian deities thereof, the Lares, whose chapel

¹ BCH, XXXIV, 402, No. 53. This may possibly be of later date, Ferguson, op. cit., 398, n. 3.
² BCH, XXXVI, 164 f.
³ Ferguson, op. cit., 356.
⁴ BCH, XXXVI, 164, n. 5.
⁵ Ibid., XXXI, 439, No. 30.
⁶ Ibid., XXXIII, 504, No. 19, 57/55 B.C.
⁷ Ibid., 501, No. 17.
⁸ Ibid., XXXI, 442, No. 33.
⁹ Ibid., XXXIII, 496, No. 16.
¹⁰ Ibid., I, 87, No. 36.
¹¹ Ibid., XXXIII, 493, No. 15.
¹² Ibid., IV, 190.
¹³ Ibid., VIII, 145–46.
¹⁴ Ibid., XXXIII, 503, No. 18.
¹⁵ Ibid., XXXIV, 404, No. 54.
was situated there.\(^1\) The title Competaliastai does not appear in Italy, but is very closely paralleled by that of \textit{magistri vici et compiti}\(^2\) from Pompeii.\(^2\) Throughout Italy the cult of the Lares of the \textit{compita} was supervised by \textit{magistri} or \textit{magistri} and \textit{ministri} \textit{Laru},\(^3\) of the latter of which we have had an example at Capua. The inscriptions reveal that the Competaliastai apparently connected with the supervision of the cult of the Lares that of several other divinities, namely, Maia, Minerva, Hercules, Roma, Fides, Zeus Eleutherius, and Dionysus, for they erected statues of these deities in their \textit{compitum}.\(^4\) The Competaliastai who dedicated the latter of these statues also erected a chapel, a horologium, and an altar.\(^5\)

The question now is: What conclusions regarding the status of these Masters in the community of the Italians are we able to draw from these inscriptions of which the content has been summarized above? As has been indicated early in this article, the Masters, in the opinion of the majority of those who have discussed this problem, were \textit{magistri fani}, i.e., annual officials appointed by the Italian colony at Delos to supervise the shrines and cults of certain divinities especially honored by the whole body of Italian settlers, or, in other words, they held in Delos a position which corresponded to that of the \textit{magistri fani} in Campania. However, Hatzfeld's opinion,\(^6\) as we have seen before, based on the inscriptions of which the content has been summarized above, is that the Masters were the annual presidents of several colleges, whose basis of organization is uncertain, but which stood under the protection of the divinities Mercury, Apollo, and Neptune. This divergent view, with which is coupled a criticism of the older theories, merits, accordingly, a closer examination.

The arguments which Hatzfeld adduces to support his position in this case are, with the necessary local modifications, the same ones which have been considered in connection with the Campanian Masters. They are the following: (1) The dedications of the Masters

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\(^1\) Cf. Ferguson, \textit{op. cit.}, 401.  
\(^2\) CIL, IV, 60.  
\(^3\) Cf. Roscher, \textit{Lexicon der Mythologie}, II, s.v. "Lares."  
\(^4\) The statue of Fides was erected in 97/96 B.C. (\textit{BCH}, VII, 13); that of Roma in 94 (\textit{ibid.}, XXIII, 67, No. 14); that of Hercules in 93 (\textit{ibid.}, XXIII, 70, No. 15); those of Zeus and Dionysus at an uncertain date (\textit{ibid.}, XXXIII, 505, No. 21); cf. Ferguson, \textit{op. cit.}, 401.  
\(^5\) \textit{BCH}, XXXIII, 505, No. 21.  
\(^6\) Ibid., XXXVI, 167-73.
are too numerous and of too expensive a nature to permit of their being erected by mere curators of shrines. (2) The occurrence of the phrase faciendum curaverunt in at least three inscriptions\(^1\) indicates that the Masters in these cases, and presumably in others, merely executed a commission at the expense of some larger groups, which can only have been colleges of a religious or other character. (3) In these activities the Masters did not represent the Italian community as such because none of the dedications that they set up was made by or on behalf of the Italici, whereas on three occasions groups of Masters,\(^2\) and once a single Master,\(^3\) made dedications to the Italici. (4) The Hermaïstai set up monuments to other divinities than Mercury and Maia, and the Competaliastai dedicated statues of other gods than the Lares, which would be impossible had these colleges been composed of magistri fani dedicated to the cult of special deities. (5) The character of some of the monuments erected by the Masters and Competaliastai, such as a portico, a bath, a water-clock, and the exhibition of ludi, are not what one would expect of magistri fani. Further, the position of many of these monuments forbids their being considered as dedications of magistri fani, for they were not set up in the immediate vicinity of the shrines to which the Masters are supposed to have been attached.

All these apparent contradictions between the position of the Masters and their activities would disappear, Hatzfeld declares, if the Masters were recognized as the officers of several colleges. However, I think it is possible to show that these contradictions between the actions of the Masters and the position of magistri fani do not really exist, and, therefore, that it is both unnecessary and unwarranted to believe in the presence of the colleges over which he would have the Masters preside.

In answer to (1), it may be urged that, as there were no political officers of the Italians at Delos, it would be only natural for the wealthiest and most influential among them to seek the only offices which could be regarded as the recognition of popularity and influence and which would give an opportunity for that display of munificence which characterized the holders of Roman municipal offices,

\(^{1}\) BCH, XXXIII, 493, No. 15; 503, No. 18; 34, 404, No. 54.
\(^{2}\) Ibid., IV, 190; VIII, 146; XXXI, 440, No. 30.
\(^{3}\) Ibid., VIII, 145, L. Orbius M. f. mag. Italiciis.
religious and secular alike. So it would not be strange to find such men as Lucius Orbius, who in 88 B.C. organized the resistance against the Athenian expedition,\textsuperscript{1} and who made a dedication to the Italici,\textsuperscript{2} holding the position of a magister fani. On these grounds the dedications made by the Masters and the ludi presented by them impensa sua\textsuperscript{3} cannot be regarded as undertakings too burdensome for the resources of mere magistri fani.

With regard to (2), the use of faciendum curaverunt, as has been observed before, does not necessarily imply the presence of a college which furnished its Masters with the money for the dedications that they made. The use of the treasure (stips) of the shrines and their revenues, if expended by magistri fani, would be acknowledged in this way. Further, there is every reason to suppose that contributions were made by the Italians to erect monuments of various sorts,\textsuperscript{4} and why should not the magistri fani in the absence of all other officials in the colony be intrusted with the outlay of such sums?

In replying to (3), I would adopt a point of view directly opposed to that of Hatzfeld and hold that the dedications of the Masters and the Competaliastai to the Italians go far to prove that the latter as a whole and not special colleges were in a certain sense their constituents. For if the Masters were presidents of colleges, they would undoubtedly have made their gifts to their respective associations and not to the Italici as a whole. And as it was the custom for both public officers and those of private corporations to make some sort of donation to the community or organization in which they held office, in recognition of the honor thus conferred upon them,\textsuperscript{5} and since we find that the Masters made such dedications to the Italici and to them alone, it seems reasonable to suppose that these as a body were responsible for the appointment of the colleges of Masters. If the Italici themselves do not appear as the dedicators in any of the inscriptions left by the Masters, no more do any colleges or other associations.

\textsuperscript{1} CIL, III, 7224; BCH, XXXVI, 61; Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, 445–46.
\textsuperscript{2} BCH, VIII, 145; cf. p. 26, n. 3.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid., XXXIV, 404, No. 54.
\textsuperscript{4} E.g., CIL, III, 7237, 7240.
As to (4), there appears to me nothing in the fact that the Masters conjointly, or the Hermaïstai or Competaliastai separately, set up statues to other divinities than those for whom shrines had been provided to prevent us from looking upon them as the curators of these shrines. Certainly neither Mercury and Maia nor the Lares could complain of having been neglected on this account by the Hermaïstai or Competaliastai, and the only dedications of the Apolloniastai and Poseidoniastai as separate colleges are to Apollo and Neptune. Indeed, the Hermaïstai, if one does not accept the view of Hatzfeld regarding the donators of a series of statues set up in the agora of the Competaliastai,¹ have no statue to their credit besides those of their patron god and goddess. And as for the combined board of Masters, we find that Juppiter Secundarius and Hercules were the only divinities whom they honored, outside the circle of those to whose service the separate groups of Masters were dedicated. But, further, why should not these Masters set up statues to other divinities whom some of the Italians wished to honor but for whose permanent cult the whole of the community did not desire to undertake the responsibility? As Ferguson has pointed out,² nothing could be more reasonable, in view of the social and political status of the class with whom they were associated, than for the Competaliastai to erect statues of Roma and Fides, and, one might well add, of Zeus Eleutherius, and for the worship of these divinities to be associated with that of the Lares. For such action on the part of magistri fani one may easily find a parallel at Rome, where the magistri vici, although definitely associated with the shrines and cult of the Lares and the Genius Augusti, frequently erected statues and chapels to other deities.³

Finally, (5) has been answered in part already, when, in the case of the Campanian Masters, it was shown that the character of the monuments which they set up and the presentation of ludi were in full accord with their position as magistri fani. It is true that some of the memorials left by the Masters and Competaliastai at Delos, such as a sweat-bath and a water-clock, have apparently no connec-

¹ BCH, XXXVI, 164 f., discussed in the text above.
² Hellenistic Athens, 401.
³ CIL, VI, 763, 764, 765, 766, 801, 802, 35, 760, 283.
tion whatever with sacred edifices. However, even these will not seem inappropriate if we consider them to have been erected by *magistri fani* for the benefit of the Italians as a whole, in recognition of the honor of their election. It is more difficult to reply to the charge that the monuments erected by the Masters were not in such close proximity to the shrines as would be expected if the dedicators had been *magistri fani*. In reaching a decision in regard to this statement, individual taste as well as an intimate acquaintance with the topography of the town of Delos are the chief factors. Nevertheless, it seems from Hatzfeld's own account\(^1\) that these monuments were fairly well concentrated at three definite points, (a) the *agora* of the Competaliastai, where their *compitum* was situated, (b) the new *agora* or *statio* of the Italians, which became the center of the life of the Italian community at the end of the second century B.C., and (c) the square of Theophrastus, where perhaps the shrine of the Masters of Neptune was located. It is very probable that the Italians, who were rapidly becoming the most influential element on the island, chose the sites for their dedications with the aim of impressing upon the observer the importance of the position of the donors as well as with the object of adorning the city which they were making their home.\(^2\)

Thus it seems that there are no valid objections to the view that the Delian Masters and Competaliastai were *magistri* and *ministri fani*. The theory that they were not Masters of religious colleges or similar associations is further strongly supported by the complete absence of any reference to the existence of such organizations among the Romans on Delos, if we except the professional corporations which cannot be drawn into connection with the Masters in question.\(^3\)

Since, then, there is nothing to support the view that the Masters were the presidents of colleges, and since, further, it is impossible to suppose that they were political officials, and because their titles and their activities show their intimate connection with the cult

\(^1\) *BCH*, XXXVI, 172–73.

\(^2\) Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 432 f.

\(^3\) As, for example, the Pompeiastai and *olearii* (*BCH*, XXXVI, 158–59), and the *collegia* referred to in *CIL*, III, 7235, although the latter inscription, which reads *L. Cornelius L. f. Sulla pro cos. de pecunia quam collegia incommune conlatam*, may quite possibly refer to the colleges of the Masters; cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 452.
of particular divinities, we are led to consider them as *magistri fani*. This view is supported by the analogies which are apparent between their position and that of the colleges of *magistri fani* in Campania. And in this capacity the Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai were the deputies of the Italians, while the Competaliastai represented only the lower classes of the Italian community.¹

However, there still remains something to be said with regard to the relations between these Masters and the Italian community as a whole. We know from inscriptions that the *Italici* at various times co-operated as a unit in the erection of monuments and on such occasions designated themselves as *Italicei, quei Deli consistunt,*² or *quei insula negotiantur.*³ Also that those standing outside of their circle regarded them as forming a distinct unit of the population of the island and as such made them the recipients of dedications.⁴ And further it is clear that the *Italici* were able to make decisions which could effect even the action of the Athenian governor of Delos.⁵ In the light of these considerations it seems almost inconceivable that they should have been entirely without official representation when the necessity of carrying out the wishes of the colony, in such cases as have just been mentioned, arose. As there were no political officials of the *Italici*, it is almost certain that on such occasions, when common action on their part was necessary, the colleges of the Masters acted as their representatives.⁶ So, in this sense, the board of twelve Masters, with its subcommittees of Hermaistai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai, may be said to have stood at the head of the Italian colony at Delos. In this honor, as representing only the lower elements of the community, the Competaliastai did not share.

It is quite possible that similar colleges of *magistri fani* were found in other commercial centers beyond the limits of the *imperium*

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¹ See above with regard to the dedications to the *Italici*.
⁴ E.g., *BCH*, VIII, 128, Philostratus Ascolonita τραπεζιτείων ἐν Δήλῳ . . . . "Δαπάλλων καὶ Ἰταλικῶν.
⁵ *BCH*, XVI, 150; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 434.
⁶ Cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 398, where the development of the several colleges of Masters is fully discussed in such a way as to obviate the necessity of tracing this development here.
Romanum, where, as at Cirta, there was a large Italian settlement. Indeed, it is very probable that the Masters of the Lares Augusti in the Roman conventus at Marseilles\(^1\) form a parallel to the Competaliastai at Delos.

It will not seem strange that officials whose office was of a character essentially religious should thus be the leaders in such a community if one considers the important part played by the “national” church in the life of the settlements of foreigners at the present day in the large cities of Europe and America. Were it not for the presence of the consulates in these cities, the officials of these various churches would be regarded by the members of the “colonies” themselves and probably by the local authorities as those best qualified to act as the spokesmen of the foreign communities.

In conclusion let us consider once more the parallel between the Masters of Campania and Delos. In their capacity as magistri fani the Hermaïstai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai correspond to the colleges of the Masters of Jovius Compagus, Diana Tifana, Ceres, etc. Likewise the Competaliastai are matched by the ministri Larum. Also the various professional gilds at Delos, such as the olearii, find a duplicate in the college of the mercatores\(^2\) at Capua. And, in general, it may be said that the position of the Athenian epimeletai at Delos is paralleled by that of the Roman praefecti in Capua. However, the organization in pagi, under officials called magistri pagi, which the Campanians had in common with the majority of the Italian peoples, is not reproduced and has no equivalent in the community of the Italian traders at Delos. It was the absence of any similar officials who might act as the executors of the will of the Italians in matters concerning themselves alone or in those where their relations to the rest of the inhabitants or the governors of the island were involved that lent peculiar importance to the rôle played by the Delian magistri fani.

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\(^1\) CIL, XII, 406.
\(^2\) Ibid., X, 3773.