

Eusebius and Legio

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Eusebius' *Onomasticon* is not merely a gazetteer of the places named in the Old and New Testaments, but also, as the authors of the more recent of two recently published English translations emphasise, 'the most important book for the study of the Land of Israel in the Roman period'.¹ Several entries in the work refer to a place named Λεγέων where a new city of Maximianopolis was founded during the reign of Diocletian: hence it might seem a priori that these entries should in some way be relevant to when and how Eusebius composed the *Onomasticon* and to the question of what sources he used. However, as strictly a gazetteer of place names which occur in the Bible, the *Onomasticon* does not allot Legio any entry of its own. As a result there is also no entry for Legio in the site index of the more recent of the two recent English translations, which regrettably fails to compensate for its omission there (or to fulfill the normal expectations of those who consult such a work) by providing a complete index of places named by Eusebius.² It may be helpful, therefore, to collect together the various passages of the *Onomasticon* where Eusebius had occasion to mention Legio when fixing the precise geographical location of places which are named in the Bible for a contemporary audience:

Another Arbela is located on the great plain nine milestones³ distant from Legio (37/14.20-21)⁴

¹ R.S. Notley and Z. Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon: The Place Names of Divine Scripture, Jewish and Christian Perspectives* 9 (Boston and Leiden, 2005), xi. The cover of the volume (though not the title-page) describes it as 'a triglott edition with Notes and Commentary', but it is in fact not an edition at all: the Greek text of Eusebius and the Latin version by Jerome are reproduced from the standard edition by E. Klostermann, *Eusebius Werke* 3.1. *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, 1904), apparently without acknowledgement. There is a more reliable translation of both Eusebius and Jerome in G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville, R.L. Chapman III and J.E. Taylor, *Palestine in the Fourth Century A.D.: The Onomasticon by Eusebius of Caesarea* (Jerusalem 2003), 9-98 (by Freeman-Grenville).

² Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), 195-203. Contrast the extremely useful annotated index by Chapman in Freeman-Grenville, Chapman and Taylor, *The Onomasticon by Eusebius* (2003), 99-162.

³ On the advisability of understanding Eusebius' σημεῖα as signifying 'milestones' rather than miles, see the trenchant discussion by Chapman and Taylor, 'Distances used by Eusebius and the Identification of Sites', in Freeman-Grenville, Chapman and Taylor, *The Onomasticon by Eusebius* (2003), 175-178.

⁴ All references to the *Onomasticon* are given in the form '13/10.1' where the first number is the number of the entry in Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), which prints the Greek of Eusebius, their English translation and Jerome's Latin version in parallel, while the second pair of numbers designate the page and line numbers in the edition by

Aiphraim (Joshua 19.19) ... It is the village now called Aphraea six miles from Legio on the north (115/28.25-26)

Baithakath (2 Kings 10.12)... is a village of Samaria fifteen milestones distant from Legio in the great plain (281/56.26-58.1)

There is ... another village Gabatha in the borders of Diocaesarea lying next to the great plain of Legio (335/70.9-10)

Thanak (Joshua 12.21) ... is now at the fourth milestone from Legio (492/98.12)

Thaanach (Judges 1.27) ... Now it is a very large village three milestones from Legio (504/100.10)

Ianoun (Joshua 15.33) ... It is now the village of Ianoua three milestones from Legio to the south (544/108.5-6)⁵

Iezrael (Joshua 17.16). In the tribe of Manasseh, a different one.⁶ It exists up to the present day <as> Esdraela, a very famous village in the great plain lying between Scythopolis and Legio (547/108.12-14)⁷

Itaburion (Thabor) (Hosea 5.1) ... lies on the great plain of Legio towards the east (571/110.20-21)

Kamon (Judges 10.5) ... It is now the village of Kammona in the great plain, six milestones from Legio to the north as one departs towards Ptolemais (605/116.21-22)

Nazareth (Matthew 2.23) ... It still exists in Galilee opposite Legio about fifteen miles to the east near Mount Thabor (747/138.25-140.2).

Before the relevance of these entries to the composition of the *Onomasticon* can be evaluated properly, it is necessary to enquire into the history of the legion VI Ferrata in Eusebius' lifetime and the foundation of the city named Maximianopolis on the site of Legio.

Klostermann, *Eusebius Werke* 3.1 (1904). The translations are my own, revised in the light of both the recent published versions of the whole work.

⁵ The distances from Legio in this entry and that for Thaanach (544) are erroneous: Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), 104.

⁶ That is, different from the Iezrael of Joshua 15.56 in the tribe of Judah (546/108.11). The entry for the first Iezrael has fallen out of the Greek manuscript of the *Onomasticon* and is restored from Jerome's *sed non est ipsa quae supra* (109.10), which has drifted into his entry for the first Iezrael.

⁷ The Greek has ἔστιν εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἐπισημοτάτη Ἐσδραηλὰ κώμη ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πεδίῳ, while Klostermann prints the corresponding words in Jerome as *hodieque pergrandis vicus ostenditur in campo maximo* (109.11-12). Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), 104, translate the Greek as 'Esdraelon is until now the most famous village on the great plain', stating in their note that 'the wording "famous village" is unclear'.

The name Λεγέων is a straight transliteration of the Latin word *legio* adapted to Greek by the addition of a final nu (as with the name of the emperor Nero, who became Νέρων in Greek), and the place is the modern Lejjun.⁸ Legio was a military camp with a settlement around it rather than a proper city, although it possessed a *territorium* with firmly demarcated boundaries.⁹ It derived its name from the fact that the Roman legion VI Ferrata was stationed there.¹⁰ The original name of the place is variously transmitted.¹¹ Six inscriptions survive out of an original group of twelve in which the *vici* of Pisidian Antioch honoured the consular C. Novius Priscus and his wife Flavonia Menodora,¹² whose son Novius Priscus Venuleius Apronianus had been *trib(unus) laticl(avius) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) Caparcot(nae)* before becoming quaestor (*AE* 1920.78; *ZPE* 44 [1981], 96-97 no. 3).¹³ For the name of the place where the legion was stationed, the manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* offer 'Καπαρκοτνεῖ (κώμη Καπαρτσουνή)' (5.16.4),¹⁴ while the Peutinger Table registers the station Capercotani on the road from Caesarea to Scythopolis. On the other hand, Jewish sources abundantly attest the name as כפר עותני (*K'far cOtni*).¹⁵ The recent *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and*

⁸ Hölscher, *RE* 14 (1930), s. v. Maximianopolis 4; *RE*, Supp. 5 (1931), s. v. Legeon.

⁹ M. Avi-Yonah, 'Map of Roman Palestine', *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 5 (1936), 139-193, at 168-169. For what is known of the site, see Y. Tepper, 'Lajjun-Legio in Israel: Results of a survey in and around the military camp area', in P. Freeman, J. Bennett, Z.T. Fiema and B. Hoffmann (eds.), *Limes XVIII: Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1084 (Oxford, 2002), 231-242.

¹⁰ As established by E. Ritterling, 'Caparcotna = Leggün in Galilaea', *Rhein. Mus.*, N.F. 58 (1903), 633-635; R.K. McElderry, 'The Second Legionary Camp in Palestine', *CQ* 2 (1908), 110-113.

¹¹ Y. Tsafir, L. di Segni and J. Brown, 'Tabula Imperii Romani: Iudaea Palaestina', *Eretz Israel in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Jerusalem, 1994), 170.

¹² See H. Waldman, 'Neue Inschriften aus Pisidien', *ZPE* 44 (1981), 95-102, no. 3, with full references to the five inscriptions published previously. It is not certain whether the father honoured in Pisidian Antioch is the C. Novius Priscus attested as suffect consul on 5 September 152 (*CIL* 16.100) or the Novius Priscus who was suffect consul between 165 and 168 and proconsul of Asia in the early 180's (*IGRR* 4.1201: Thyatira): see G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (Bonn, 1977), 162, 196, 227, 359-360; L. Vidman, *PIR*² N 186, 191.

¹³ Fewer letters of *Caparcot(nae)* are preserved on *CIL* 3.6814 = *ILS* 8976a; *CIL* 3.6815 + *JRS* 2 (1912), 104 no. 40 = *AE* 1914.32, cf. W.M. Ramsay, 'Colonia Caesarea (Pisidian Antioch) in the Augustan Age', *JRS* 6 (1916), 83-134, at 129-131 (Appendix I: Caparcotna); *CIL* 3.6816 = *ILS* 8976.

¹⁴ See the new critical edition by A. Stückelberger and G. Grasshoff, *Klaudios Ptolemaios: Handbuch der Geographie* 2 (Basel, 2006), 572.

¹⁵ G. Reeg, *Die Ortsnamen Israels nach der rabbinischen Literatur*, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) Nr. 51 (Wiesbaden, 1989), 361-363, who provides a detailed bibliography of modern discussions of the site and its names.

Roman World accordingly enters the name of the place as Legio / Caporcotani / Maximianopolis.¹⁶

The legion VI Ferrata, which had been stationed in Syria during the first century, was transferred (it seems) to the new province of Arabia shortly after its annexation in 106, and it was stationed there for some years before being transferred again to Judaea, where it may have arrived before the Jewish rebellion of 132-135, rather than during or immediately after it, as used to be believed.¹⁷ Thereafter, the legion VI Ferrata is listed with the legion X Fretensis as forming the garrison of the province of Syria Palaestina later in the second century (*CIL* 6.3942 = *ILS* 2288), and it remained in the province permanently into the third century (*CIL* 8.5362; Dio 55.23.3). It is not at all clear what happened to the legion thereafter. Emil Ritterling believed both that coins of Damascus show that veterans of VI Ferrata were settled there and that this proved that the legion was stationed in the province of Phoenice, to which (he conjectured) it had been transferred by Severus Alexander. Further, since Ritterling also believed that the latest attestation of the legion VI Ferrata could be dated to 273 (*IGRR* 3.1107), while its absence from the army lists in the *Notitia Dignitatum* indicated that it no longer existed when the lists were drawn up, he deduced that the legion must have disappeared under Aurelian, under Diocletian or in the fourth century.¹⁸ Hannah Cotton has rightly disputed Ritterling's reconstruction of the history of the legion after the early third century, observing that there is neither evidence nor any cogent a priori reason for believing that VI Ferrata was ever transferred out of Syria Palaestina to another province.¹⁹ Moreover, Ritterling's inference from the *Notitia Dignitatum* was long ago silently rejected by Dieter Hoffmann in the volume of notes to his study of the Late Roman army (though not in his text volume): Hoffmann assumed that a mention of the legion had simply fallen out of the list of troops in Palaestina through an accident of textual transmission (at *Oriens* 34.29-30).²⁰ Although there is no obvious sign of omission in the text and the lists appear to be complete or virtually complete for the provinces of Egypt, the Thebaid, Phoenice, Syria, Palaestina, Osrhoene, Mesopotamia and Arabia (*Oriens* 28, 31-37), Hoffmann could theoretically be correct, and his

¹⁶ R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton and Oxford, 2000), Map 69 4B.

¹⁷ On the history of VI Ferrata, see E. Ritterling, *RE* 12 (1925), 1587-1596; H.M. Cotton, 'The Legio VI Ferrata', *Les légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire*, Actes du Congrès de Lyon (17-19 septembre 1998), ed. Y. Bohec (Lyon, 2000), 1: 351-357. There appear to have been two legions in the province of Judaea from 117 onwards, but VI Ferrata was not one of them in the earliest years of the reign of Hadrian: B. Isaac and I. Roll, 'Judaea in the Early Years of Hadrian', *Latomus* 38 (1979), 54-66, reprinted with a postscript in B. Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule: Selected Papers*, Mnemosyne, Supplement 177 (Leiden 1998), 182-197; W. Eck, 'Zum konsularen Status von Iudaea im frühen 2. Jh.', *BASP* 21 (1984), 55-67.

¹⁸ Ritterling, *RE* 12 (1925), 1593-1594.

¹⁹ Cotton, *Les légions de Rome* 1 (2000), 351.

²⁰ D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum: Epigraphische Studien* 7. 2 (Düsseldorf, 1970), 91 n. 225: 'Palaestina (Or. 34,30: [Leg. VI ferrata in Legio (El Ledjun am Rande der Ebene Jesreel in Galiläa) und] Leg. X fretensis in Aila-Aelana (Akaba-Elat)'. The main text mentions only X Fretensis (*Bewegungsheer* 7.1 [1969], 232).

hypothesis should be considered by Roman military historians, who have so far silently dismissed it. It may be profitable, therefore, to reassess the evidence for the last explicitly attested commander of the legion.

For his conjectured transfer of the legion to Phoenicia, Ritterling adduced an inscribed lintel found at Doueir er Remmane, about ten miles south-south-east of Beirut, by Ernst Renan, who published it in 1864.²¹ Renan's text reads as follows:

[θε]ῶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ἰουσημαῖος (?) Σαλαμάνους οἰκονόμου

2 [καὶ Ἡρακλείτου ἡγεμόνος λεγ(ιώνος) σ' τὸν οὐδὸν εὐ[ξ]άμενος ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας
τῶν υἱῶ[v]
ἀνέθηκεν.

Associated with this dedication is another inscription which carries the date of year 321, Panemos 16.²² What local era is being employed here? Ritterling assumed that it was the era of Antioch, which counted from Julius Caesar's victory over Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 B.C., so that the Julian equivalent was 16 July 273. But the era could equally well be the era of Tyre, which yields a Julian date of 16 July 196.²³ Moreover, Renan's supplement of [καὶ] at the beginning of line 2 seems questionable, even gratuitous (it is removed in *IGRR* 3.1107): a name such as Ἰουλ(ίου) might have stood there, and the fact that the son of a man who was or had been steward of a commander of the legion VI Ferrata provided a lintel for a temple or temple building near Berytus surely tells us nothing whatever about where the legion was stationed. As it happens, a Julius Heraclitus is attested at Si'a in the province of Arabia, where he was responsible for the construction of a gateway and an enclosure.²⁴ Two stones of a pilaster have inscribed on them nine short lines which William Prentice transcribed and edited as follows:

ΠΡΟΝΟΙ / ΙΟΥΑΙΟΥ / ΠΑΚΛΙΤΟ / ⁴ Υ Δ Η Η / ΚΤΙΣΘΗ / ΝΑΙΘΥ / ΚΑΙΤΟ /
⁸ ΕΡΙΒΟ / Λ Ο Ν.

Προνοί[α] Ἰουλίου [Ἡ]ρακλίτου Δ(λι) ἡκτίσθη[σα]ν αἰ θύ[ραι] καὶ τὸ [π]ερίβολον.²⁵

Prentice noted that 'there may be an Y at the end of the third line, and in any case one would naturally read [ε]ὐ(χ)ή(ν) in the fourth; but the Δ in this line is certain'. Hans-Georg Pflaum, who has been followed unquestioningly in recent lists of governors of Arabia and subsequent prosopographical manuals, supplemented line 4 very differently from Prentice as '[το]ῦ δ(ιασημοσάτου) ἡ(μῶν) ἡ(γεμόνος)', that is, 'our distinguished governor'; and on this basis Julius Heraclitus has been registered as an equestrian governor of Arabia between 264 and 284.²⁶ On the other hand, Prentice took Julius

²¹ E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris, 1864), 676-677, cf. Planche LVII.3.

²² *IGRR* 3.1107 misleadingly prints the date as if it is certainly part of the same inscription.

²³ So *PIR*² H 89.

²⁴ On the site, see J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* (Princeton, 1972), 820.

²⁵ W.K. Prentice, *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900*, Part III (New York, 1908), 329 no. 431 (with reference to previous publications by J. Mordtmann and C.S. Clermont-Ganneau).

²⁶ H.-G. Pflaum, 'Les gouverneurs de la province romaine d'Arabie de 193 à 305', *Syria* 34 (1957), 128-144, at 143 no. 32; *PIR*² J 351; PLRE 1.418, Heraclitus; M. Sartre, *Trois études*

Heraclitus as a local benefactor and conjecturally restored his name in the fragmentary inscription on a stome which appears to be an architrave from the same gateway as follows:

[Ἰούλιος Ἡράκλιτος, φιλοτιμησάμενος Διὶ μεγίστῳ τὸν] πύλον ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔκτισεν.²⁷

Moreover, the first person ‘ἦ(μῶν)’ in Pflaum’s restoration seems gratuitous in a context where it has no obvious or defined reference.

If Julius Heraclitus is not a governor of Arabia after 260, then he could be the same man as the Heraclitus who commanded the legion VI Ferrata at an unknown date in the third century. In the present context, fortunately, it is not necessary to decide whether the two Heracliti are identical or two different men. It will suffice to repeat Cotton’s observation that there is no conclusive evidence that the legion VI Ferrata ever moved away from northern Palaestina; indeed, there seems to be no explicit evidence whatever for the legion later than Cassius Dio, whose statements about the distribution of Roman legions probably reflect conditions of the 220s.²⁸

Whatever the ultimate fate of the legion VI Ferrata, a new city was formally founded on the site of Legio towards the end of the third century. The city of Maximianopolis in Palestine is first attested in the surviving evidence in 325 when its bishop Paulus attended the Council of Nicaea,²⁹ while a few years later in 333 a pilgrim from Bordeaux passed through the *civitas* Maximianopolis on his journey to Jerusalem: he reports that Maximianopolis was eighteen miles beyond Caesarea and that he travelled ten miles more to the *civitas Isradela* and another twenty two before he reached Scythopolis (CCSL 175.13 = 586.3 Wesseling). Its name makes it clear that the new city was founded by the emperor Galerius, whose full official name was C. Galerius Valerius Maximianus,³⁰ and it may be assumed that the new city incorporated as the nucleus of its population the civilian settlement which had grown up around the legionary camp.

The introduction to the more recent of the two recent English translations of the *Onomasticon* makes a sorry mess of its treatment of Legio and Maximianopolis. The translators contradict themselves on the date at which the legion VI Ferrata departed from the place where it had been stationed since the 130s and the place to which it was transferred: the same page informs readers that ‘at some time in the second half of the

sur l’Arabie romaine et byzantine. Collection Latomus 178 (Brussels, 1982), 98 no. 53; B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidium 1* (Gothenburg, 1984), 336 no. 48.

²⁷ Prentice, *Inscriptions* (1908), 329-330 no. 432.

²⁸ For the hypothesis that Dio did not publish any of his history during his lifetime, but continued revising it up to his death shortly after 229, see T.D. Barnes, ‘The Composition of Cassius Dio’s *Roman History*’, *Phoenix* 38 (1984), 240-255. In any event, Dio cannot have written this passage on the distribution of legions in his own day any earlier than c. 216: A.R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain* (Oxford, 1981), 168-172; *The Roman Government of Britain* (Oxford, 2005), 333-336.

²⁹ H. Gelzer, H. Hilgenfeld and O. Cuntz, *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* (Leipzig, 1898; reprinted photographically with a ‘Nachwort’ by C. Marksches, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1995), lxi no. 35.

³⁰ T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass., 1982), 4, 7-22 nos. 1-4, 6-8.

third century, the VI Legion was transferred from Legio to Arabia', that 'the *Onomasticon* gives expression to the military deployment in the south, with the transfer of the X and VI Legions there', and that 'this change occurred approximately at the end of the reign of Diocletian'.³¹ The translators mistakenly assume that the Maximianus who gave his name to the city must be the western emperor Maximian, who never set foot in the eastern part of the Roman Empire after Diocletian raised him to the imperial purple in 285.³² From this false premiss they deduce that 'the city was established in his [sc. Maximian's] honor during his reign, not later than 305 CE' and they use the entries naming Legio as evidence for determining the date at which Eusebius composed the *Onomasticon* by arguing that 'the absence of Maximianopolis marks the latest date for [its] redaction'.³³ But the Maximianus who founded the city was without any doubt Galerius, not Maximian,³⁴ and the most plausible hypothesis is that he gave orders for its foundation on one of the occasions when he passed through Palestine, either on his way to Egypt in 293 or after his return from Egypt and before the Persian War, which began in 296.³⁵ Moreover, since (to use the translators' own formulation) 'the name Legio remained the name of the settlement for centuries after the departure of the legion',³⁶ Eusebius' failure to use the name of the recently established city need have no chronological implications at all.

How exactly then are Eusebius' references to Legio relevant to the question of how the *Onomasticon* was composed? Eusebius' knowledge of the geography of Roman

³¹ Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), xiii.

³² Barnes, *New Empire* (1982), 56-60, as modified in 'Emperors, Panegyrics, Prefects, Provinces and Palaces', *JRA* 9 (1996), 532-552, at 544-546; 'Christentum und dynastische Politik (300-325)', *Usurpationen in der Spätantike*, ed. F. Paschoud and J. Szidat, *Historia Einzelschriften* 111 (Stuttgart, 1997), 99-109.

³³ Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), xiii. In their commentary these writers state that 'the emperor Maximilian (sic) ruled approximately 299-304, and the city ... had not yet become established in the time of Eusebius' (15, on no. 27).

³⁴ For cities with the name of Maximianopolis in other eastern provinces, see A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*² (Oxford, 1971), 24 (Rhodope), 144 (Pisidia), 222 (Osrhoene), 285-286, 288-289 (Arabia), 343 (Egypt).

³⁵ On the movements of Galerius, see T.D. Barnes, 'Imperial Campaigns, A.D. 285-311', *Phoenix* 30 (1976), 174-193; *New Empire* (1982), 62; 'Damascus or Demessus?', *ZPE* 151 (2005), 266-268; cf. J.R. Rea, R.P. Salomons and K.A. Worp, 'A Ration-warrant for an adiutor memoriae', *Yale Classical Studies* 28 (1985), 101-113, whence *Sammelbuch XVIII* 13857. The warrant published by Rea, Salomons and Worp shows that Galerius was in Egypt on or shortly after 6 December 293.

The transmitted place of issue of the edict prohibiting incestuous marriages (*Lex Dei* 6.4 = *CJ* 5.4.17) should be emended from *Damasco* to *Demesso* and the edict should be attributed to Diocletian, not Galerius (as was proposed in *New Empire* [1982], 62). Demessus lay between Singidunum and Viminacium: S. Dušanić, 'Aspects of Roman Mining in Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia and Moesia Superior', *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* 2.6 (Berlin and New York, 1977), 52-94, at 55, 78.

³⁶ Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), xiii. On the phenomenon of double and even triple names for cities in the Late Roman Near East, see briefly G.W. Bowersock, *Mosaics as History. The Near East from Antiquity to Islam* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, 2006), 85-87.

Palestine reflects both a general awareness of contemporary reality and the use of written sources, which included Josephus and perhaps official documents available in Caesarea.³⁷ Hence it is mistaken to assume that all Eusebius' references to Legio, to Roman troops in Palestine and to settlements of his own day must derive from written sources.³⁸ On the other hand, since the new city of Maximianopolis continued to be called Legio in popular parlance, Eusebius' use of Legio as a geographical point of reference provides no assistance in determining the precise date of the *Onomasticon*, which remains uncertain. Eusebius dedicated the work to his friend Paulinus (2.3-5 Klostermann), who is presumably the same Paulinus who was bishop of Tyre in the second decade of the fourth century and briefly bishop of Antioch,³⁹ and, according to Jerome's preface to his translation, Eusebius compiled the *Onomasticon* after his *Ecclesiastical History* (3.1-2 Klostermann). But the date of the first edition of the *Ecclesiastical History* is itself disputed.⁴⁰

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³⁷ For discussion of the sources of the *Onomasticon*, see T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 106-110; B. Isaac, 'Eusebius and the Geography of Roman Provinces', in D.L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the East*, JRA, Supplementary Series 18 (Ann Arbor, 1996), 153-167, reprinted in Isaac, *The Near East under Roman Rule* (Leiden 1998), 284-306.

³⁸ As do Notley and Safrai, *Eusebius' Onomasticon* (2005), xiii-xv.

³⁹ Barnes, *Constantine* (1981), 162, 204-205, 228, 241, 264.

⁴⁰ In *Constantine* (1981), 110-111, I dated the completion of both works before the onset of the Diocletianic persecution in 303. Many of my arguments have been disproved by R.W. Burgess, 'The Dates and Editions of Eusebius' *Chronici canones* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*', *JTS*, N. S. 48 (1997), 474-501; R.W. Burgess, *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronology*: 1. *The Chronici canones of Eusebius of Caesarea — Structure, Content, and Chronology, AD 282-325*. 2. *The Continuatio Antiochiensis Eusebii — A Chronicle of Antioch and the Roman Near East during the Reigns of Constantine and Constantius, AD 325-350*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 135 (Stuttgart, 1999), 21-98. But placing the conception and the whole of the composition of the *Ecclesiastical History* during the Diocletianic persecution fails *inter alia* to explain why Eusebius' history of the Christian church in Books I-VII concludes c. 280.

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