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The Type of the Triconch Basilica.

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Edited by

ELIZABETH S. BOLMAN

THE RED MONASTERY CHURCH

BEAUTY AND ASCETICISM IN UPPER EGYPT

AMERICAN RESEARCH CENTER IN EGYPT, INC.

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CHAPTER 5

THE TYPE OF THE TRICONCH BASILICA

Defined by its configuration of three apses or exedrae on two perpendicular axes (in plan resembling a shamrock), the triconch was a familiar form in all spheres of late antique architecture: funerary, residential, recreational, and public (fig. 5.1).¹ This is not true of the triconch basilica, which was unusual, especially in the fifth century. Unlike the standard Christian basilica with a single apse at the end of the nave, the triconch basilica conjoined what were effectively two buildings, the basilican hall and the trefoil (see fig. 17). Rather than a simple visual termination of the nave, the triconch was a space apart, with its own formal and structural integrity and conceivably its own function. The reason for combining these independent forms and the meaning of the resulting architectural type have been debated for more than a century. The Sohag churches have always been prominent in this debate because the White Monastery church, dated 447–449, is one of the oldest known examples; according to some, it is the oldest example of a triconch basilica extant.² Its reproduction in the “little congregation to the north” must have signaled the affiliation of the Red Monastery with the White one, but that is only one of the potential associations of this distinctive and fertile design.³

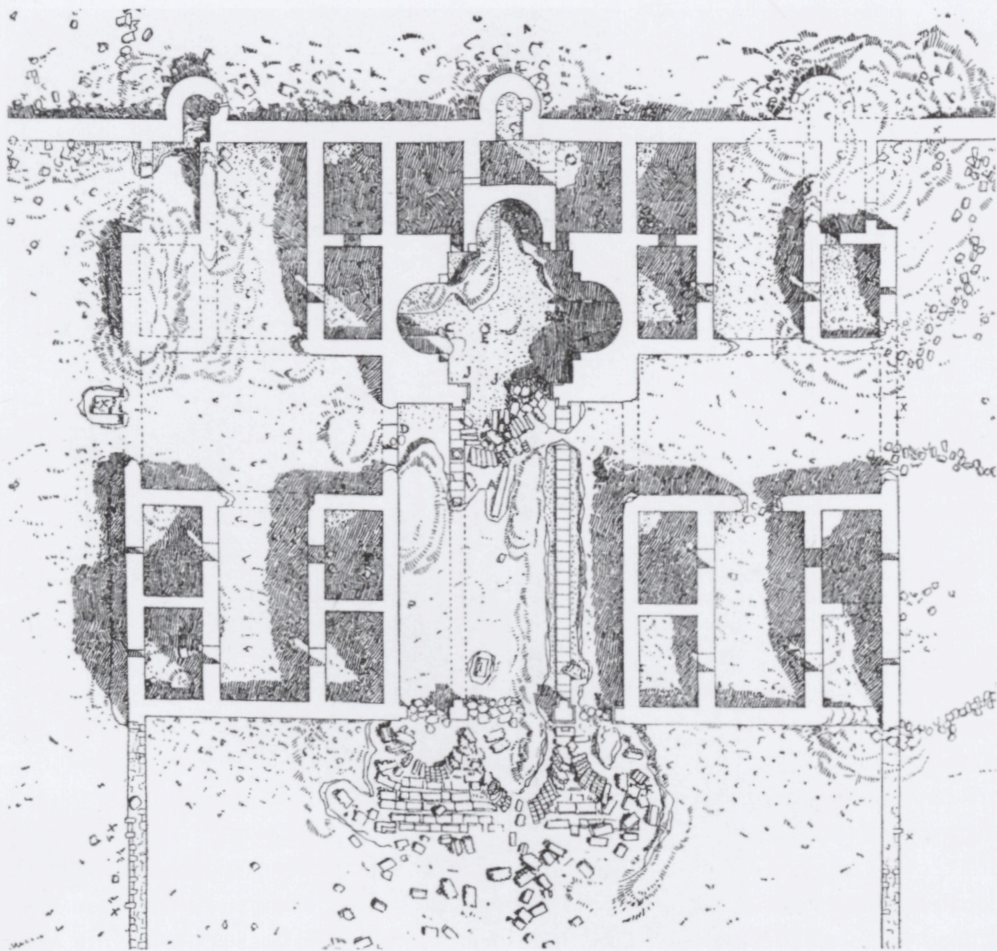
Origins: The Debates of the Twentieth Century

The triconch basilica featured in one of the formative disputes of art history, the “Orient oder Rom” controversy generated at the beginning of the last century by Josef Strzygowski.⁴ Seeking Eastern rather than Roman sources of the art of western Europe, Strzygowski first traced the triconch basilica type to Alexandria, but with the publication of Bruno Schulz’s analysis of the unfinished palace called Mshatta (in Jordan), he thought he had found proof

that the fountainhead of medieval decorative art and architecture was Mesopotamia (fig. 5.2).⁵ Strzygowski dated the palace to some time in the fourth through sixth centuries, traced its triconch-basilican throne room to the palace of Solomon, and identified the first Christian use of the form in Constantine’s basilica at Bethlehem. Opponents of his thesis argued for an origin of the Christian triconch in the realm of Greco-Roman architecture or in Constantinople.⁶ The arguments on both sides have been superseded by later discoveries. They were based on rudimentary archaeological study of the sites involved and failed consistently to distinguish the problem of the triconch from that of the triconch basilica.

Ugo Monneret de Villard (1881–1954) sought to put the discussion on a sounder footing.⁷ He identified a group of five “true basilicas with a nave and aisles and a trefoil sanctuary”: the Basilica of Saint Shenoute and the “nearly contemporary” church of the Red Monastery; the church at Dendera of the end of the fifth century; the Church of Saint Theodosios (Dayr Dosi) outside Jerusalem, circa 460–543; and the palace of Mshatta, ascribed to the sixth century.⁸ He concluded that this “Egypto-Palestinian” combination of longitudinal hall and triconch originated in the palace architecture of late antique Syria, and that the architect of both Sohag monasteries may have been Syrian.⁹ Only a few years later, K. A. C. Creswell published the conclusive arguments for an eighth-century (Umayyad) date for Mshatta, and he subsequently proposed that the influence had run the other way, from Christian Egypt to Muslim Syria.¹⁰ Creswell counted five basilicas with triconch endings dating to before the hall at Mshatta: the church built by Paulinus near the tomb of Saint Felix outside Nola, northeast of Naples, around 400; the two basilicas at Sohag;

5.1
The triconch sanctuary.



5.2
Mshatta Palace, Jordan, eighth century, plan (detail). Schulz and Strzygowski 1904, pl. I.

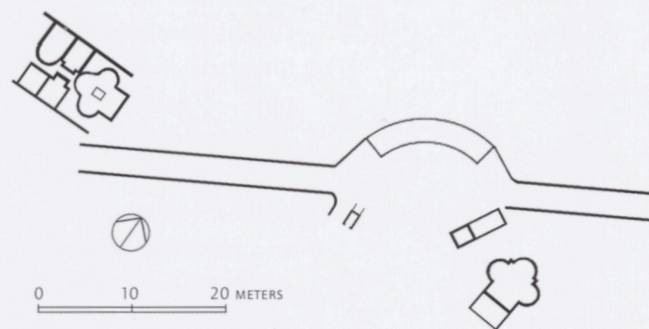
5.3
Western and eastern triconchs, Cemetery of Callixtus, Rome, late fourth century, plan. After Fasola 1980, pl. II.

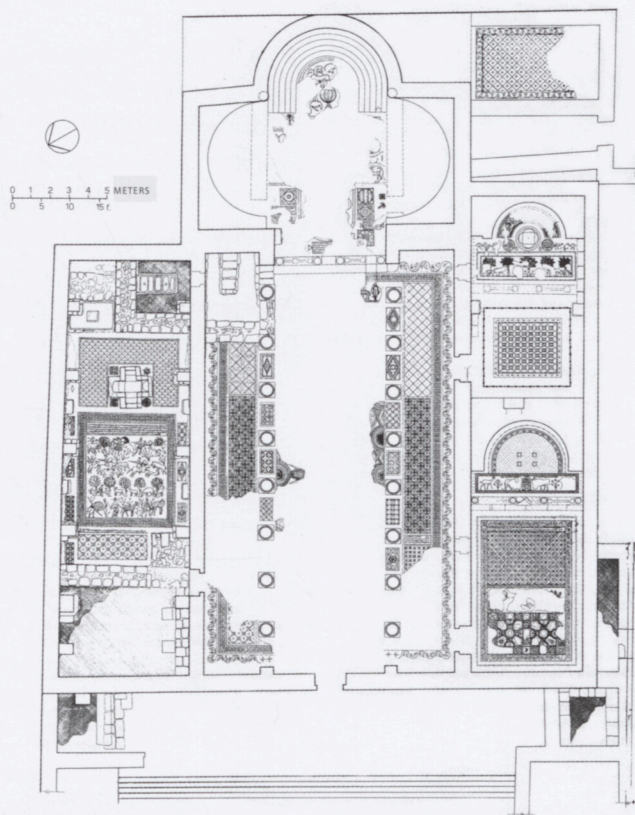
the basilica at Dendera; and the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem as rebuilt by Emperor Justinian (r. 527–565).¹¹ He concluded that although the triconch was first used as a throne room in Syria, “the further development . . . in which the triple-apsed throne room is preceded by a basilical hall, was due to Egyptian influence.”¹²

The modern phase of this debate began with André Grabar’s landmark publication of 1946, *Martyrium*. Disregarding the arguments initiated by Strzygowski, Grabar took an entirely different point of departure, treating triconchs as one of several types of centralized buildings—polygons, crosses, tetraconchs, etc.—that marked the presence of a martyr’s tomb or Christian holy site. According to his well-known thesis, these forms were all appropriated from pagan funerary architecture because of their common function of heroizing the deceased. Martyria enshrined “the very special dead.”¹³ In the specific case of the triconch, Grabar traced its adoption by Christians to the so-called *cellae trichorae* known from examples around Rome: the mausolea then called Santa Soteris and San Sisto in the cemetery of Callixtus and Santa Sinfiorosa on the via Tiburtina, which he dated to the third or fourth century (fig. 5.3).¹⁴ He found that martyria and their signature building types

were quickly conflated with churches for the Eucharistic liturgy, a development that was facilitated by the “theophanic martyria” in Palestine, which (like the Eucharist) marked sites of God’s appearance rather than enshrining relics.¹⁵ Also fostering the conflation was the practice of emulating Palestinian martyria elsewhere, as evidenced for Grabar by Shenoute’s exhortation to “consider the grand monasteries that he founded at Sohag Jerusalem, just as sacred as the ancient city in Palestine” itself.¹⁶ Grabar stressed the composite nature of the triconch basilica, comprising the vaulted triconch martyrium and the wooden-roofed hall.¹⁷ He surmised that the source of the triconch, as well as of its combination with the hall, was to be found in Palestine, citing Siyagha (Mount Nebo, in Jordan), where the addition of a nave to a triconch martyrium transformed the latter into a *chœur tréflé* (fig. 5.4). A derivation from such Palestinian models would explain why none of the Egyptian triconchs contained a tomb: the triconch was received in Egypt in its post-martyrial manifestation, as the sanctuary of a normal basilica.¹⁸

Grabar’s grand theory was enormously influential even if many of its claims have not held up in the light of later research.¹⁹ In the case of triconchs, his argument was vitiated from the outset by a dearth of pagan examples and by information about the Christian ones that has since been disproved.²⁰ The date of the basilican addition to the triconch on Siyagha, for example, is now held to be the second half of the sixth century, long after the Sohag churches were constructed; moreover, when the addition was made, the lateral conchs were walled off, so the basilica was effectively single-apsed (the walls are indicated by dotted lines in fig. 5.4).²¹ The enduring effect of Grabar’s publication is due not to such specific arguments but to the general proposition that martyria constituted a functional category of architecture that was identified with particular architectural forms. His insistence on this identification and on the role of form as a signifier of functional genealogy led to an expanded interest in what Irving Lavin would later term “associative architecture.”²²





5.4
Triconch Memorial of Moses,
Mount Nebo (Siyagha peak),
Jordan, circa fourth to seventh
centuries, plan, showing the
sixth phase with the addition of
the nave and aisles. Courtesy of
Michele Piccirillo.

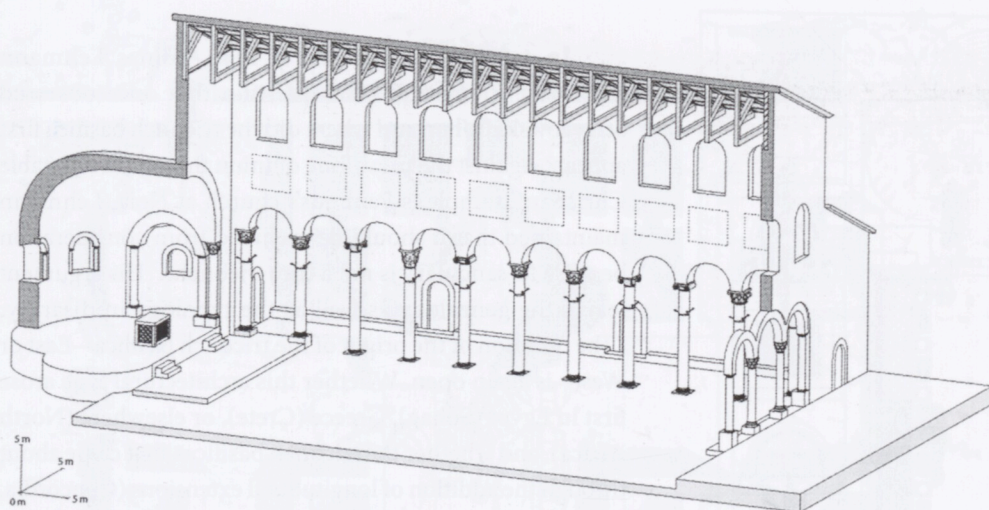
Lavin's study of 1962 was another milestone, which introduced a different point of reference for the triconch: the ceremonial dining rooms (*triclinia*) in the residences of the late antique ruling class. His analysis of the dates and geographical distribution of triconch triclinia indicated that there was a vogue for trefoil dining rooms in the western provinces of the Roman Empire in the early fifth century, before they appeared in the East in the later fifth and sixth centuries.²³ Lavin went on to suggest that because of its "aulic" associations, the triconch played a role in the adoption of centralized forms for churches, thus undermining Grabar's derivation of the same forms from martyria.²⁴ Although Lavin was not concerned with triconch basilicas (except for the late example at Mshatta), his thesis affected subsequent discussion of the type by complicating its possible genealogy. Thus, in the 1980s Nenad Cambi averred that "trefoil plans were used in [the] later Roman period for triclinia and mausolea, then in the fourth century these forms were transposed into baptisteries and martyria. During the fifth and sixth century triconchs became popular for the eastern end of basilicas."²⁵ Applying Lavin's findings to Sohag, Peter Grossmann reasoned that a direct derivation of the triconch sanctuary from triclinia is less likely than a descent from funerary triconchs like those in Rome, which also housed Eucharistic services and were thus appropriate models for the design of a church.²⁶

In a much-cited article of 1996, Tomas Lehmann refocused attention on the question that once obsessed Strzygowski: When and where did the triconch basilica first appear? Against the prevailing opinion that the first datable Christian example is Paulinus's church at Nola, Lehmann maintained that it should be excluded from consideration because its sanctuary is not a true triconch.²⁷ His argument leaves the genealogy as well as the typology in disarray: "The question of the origin of the triconch basilica—East or West—is again open. Whether this architectural type arose first in Egypt (Sohag), Greece (Crete), or elsewhere (North Africa), and whether the triconch basilicas that came about through the addition of longitudinal extensions (Concordia, Betika) preceded or followed the architectural type will not be settled conclusively without new discoveries. Equally unknown is the derivation of the triconch basilica from the 'sepulchral sphere' or from villa and palace architecture."²⁸

The implications of Lehmann's position are still being worked out. Grossmann responded dubiously to the possibility that Shenoute's basilica was the prototype of all triconch basilicas, noting its peripheral location and the fact that we know little or nothing of church architecture in the major cities of Egypt, where such inventions would more likely have occurred. At the same time he reiterated his suggestion that at Sohag, at least, sepulchral or palace buildings (or both) were the most probable source of the design.²⁹ Yannis Varalis ignored Lehmann's stricture and included Paulinus's church among the earliest known examples of the triconch basilica, along with those at Knossos (Crete), Concordia (Veneto), Betika (Croatia), and Sohag.³⁰ Varalis proposed that the architects of each of these basilicas modeled their sanctuaries on the cellae trichorae of Rome.³¹ Iris Stollmayer reviewed all late antique triconch churches known to date and concluded that there was no single architectural idea (*Baukonzept*) to which the triconch basilica corresponded; thus, the atypicality of Paulinus's building was normal. According to her, triconch basilicas were regional constellations, each with its own prototype and development. They represent a "theme" whose material realizations had no standard form or function; "no common origin or genesis can be discerned."³²

Origins: Outside Egypt

I tend to agree with Lehmann and Stollmayer that the quest for a single progenitor of the triconch basilica is fruitless, and with Stollmayer that the known examples are best explained as regional groups with separate histories. Nevertheless, it is useful to look more closely at the few cases that may have preceded Shenoute's basilica. They constitute only a small



5.5
Basilica Nova of Paulinus of Nola,
Cimitile (Nola), Italy, reconstruct-
ed section. Courtesy of Tomas
Lehmann.

fraction of the more than fifty triconch basilicas known today in the modern countries of Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Jordan, Israel/Palestine, Turkey, Armenia, Greece, Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia, Austria, Italy, and France.³³

The most securely dated and thoroughly studied of the early examples is Paulinus's Basilica Nova in southern Italy, which was "already consecrated and in use" when Paulinus described it to his friend Sulpicius Severus in 403 or 404.³⁴ Enough of the basilica survives to hazard a detailed reconstruction, but this was unknown until the latter part of the twentieth century; before then scholars relied on Paulinus's verbal account.³⁵ He wrote to Severus that the basilica had a "trichora apse" (*absidem trichora[m]*), which contained the altar.³⁶ The trichora comprised a large and "undulating" central apse with two smaller apses (*conchulis*) left and right.³⁷ The nave in front of the apse was tall under a coffered ceiling, and there were "two rows of columns running straight with one row of arches on either side."³⁸ The nave was aligned north-south and opened toward another basilica over the shrine of Saint Felix, from which it was separated by a "transenna."³⁹

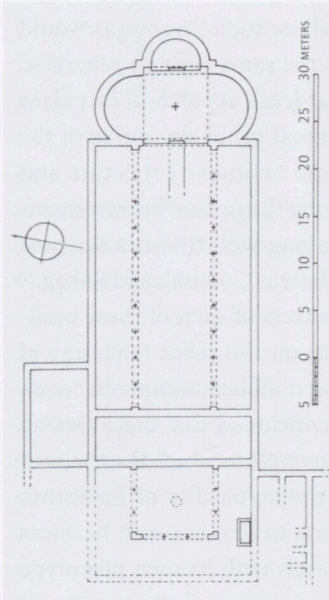
Tomas Lehmann's recent synthesis of the archaeological and written evidence permits a detailed visualization of the building (fig. 5.5). The nave was 29.65 meters (97.28 feet) long by 21.05 meters (69.06 feet) wide, including the aisles.⁴⁰ Its colonnades had eleven columns each, all spolia; pace Paulinus's mention of "twin colonnades . . . on each side," it seems that there were neither outer aisles nor galleries.⁴¹ Rather than a coffered ceiling, Lehmann inclines toward F. W. Deichmann's reconstruction of visible rafters with coffered decoration.⁴² The trichora at the north end of the nave, which survives almost intact to the level of its vault, consists of a central apse inscribing a segment of a

circle with a radius of 3.87 meters (12.7 feet) and two semi-circular conchulae with radii of 2.22 meters (7.28 feet) and 2.08 meters (6.82 feet).⁴³ Lit by three windows, the central apse is covered by a semidome that was extended as a barrel vault over the space of the altar and opened onto the nave with an arch resting on columns. The other apses are much lower, and they are framed by pairs of columns about three meters (ten feet) tall.⁴⁴ The pavement was elevated about one meter (three feet) over that of the nave.

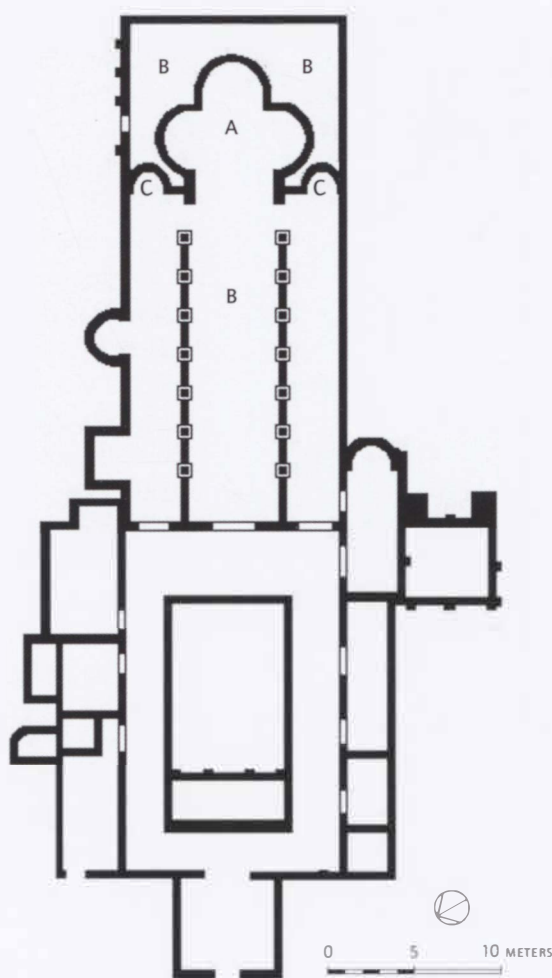
As Lehmann observed, the trichora is not a normal trefoil but is more accurately described as an apse on the plan of a stilted circle with absidioles in its lateral walls. The form is unique in ancient architecture.⁴⁵ Paulinus called the little apses *secretaria* (sacristies) and described their functions. During the celebration of the Eucharist, one "offer[s] place to the priest when he makes the offer[ings] of jubilation and the other receiv[es] the praying congregation behind the priest in a spacious bend."⁴⁶ Perhaps this odd arrangement, with the priest in the eastern absidiole and the congregation in the western one behind him, compensated for the position of the main apse at the north; it allowed everyone to pray facing east. When the trichora was not in liturgical use, the absidioles served the purposes of the later *prothesis* and *diaconicon*, the right one containing the reserved host and Eucharistic vessels and the left one housing holy books, which "anyone" was invited to read.⁴⁷

The Basilica Nova was a personal project of Paulinus.⁴⁸ He paid handsomely to have the church constructed, designed its figural decoration, and covered it with poetic inscriptions that provided literal or symbolic explanations of what he had wrought.⁴⁹ The idiosyncratic design was probably his own, entrusted to builders rather than an architect to realize. The execution was "slipshod" in places, but its roughness was masked by lavish decoration, especially in the trichora, which had a splendid opus sectile pavement, marble mural revetments, and an elaborate figural mosaic in the vault of the central apse.⁵⁰ The basilica and its *absis trichora* were known directly to the eminent visitors Paulinus received on the site and indirectly to the readers of his correspondence, which circulated widely in the Latin-speaking West.⁵¹

The other triconch basilicas datable to before 450 are in Crete, northern Italy, and Istria. The Cretan example was discovered at Knossos in 1978 and quickly excavated before it disappeared under the new home of the university's Faculty of Medicine.⁵² Its rising walls and foundations were completely destroyed, but A. H. S. Megaw was able to reconstruct it on the basis of the foundation trenches (fig. 5.6). It was a large basilica, 44 meters (144 feet) long including



5.6
Triconch basilica, Knossos,
Crete (Greece), early fifth
century, plan. After Megaw
1984, fig. 2.



5.7
Triconch basilica, Betika, Croatia, fifth century, plan, showing (A) the triconch (phase 1), (B) the addition of the nave and aisles (phase 2), and (C) apses (ninth century). After Marušić and Šašel 1986, fig. 2.

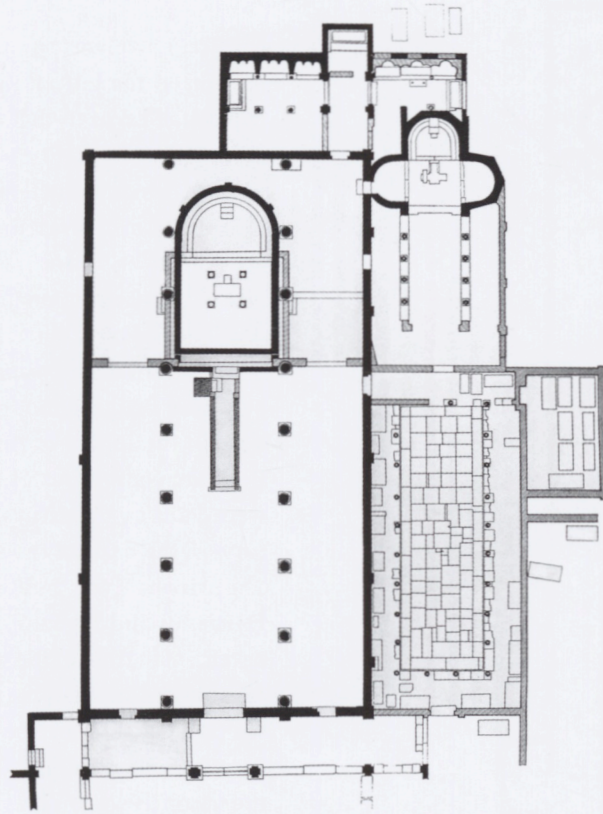
the narthex, and it had two aisles.⁵³ The lateral apses of the triconch were tangent to the end walls of the aisles, and, unlike Paulinus's conchulae, they were larger than the central apse.⁵⁴ Megaw supposed that all three apses were covered by semidomes and posited a pyramidal wooden roof over the central space.⁵⁵ The triconch was barred from the nave by a chancel, and traces of a *solea* were found in front of it. Remains of steps indicated that the pavement in the center of the triconch was higher than that in the nave, and the pavement of the axial apse was higher still. The basilica was richly decorated with marble columns and paving, marble and mother-of-pearl wall revetments, and figural mosaics.⁵⁶ A coin or coins found at the bottom of the foundation trench at the juncture of the north colonnade and the north apse of the triconch established a terminus post quem of circa 400 for the construction. Megaw argued for a date close to that of Paulinus's basilica, "early, rather than late, in the fifth century."⁵⁷

The Knossos basilica stood in an ancient cemetery amid a small cluster of recent Christian tombs, none of which seems to have been "special"; it was a funerary

basilica, not a martyrium.⁵⁸ Megaw supposed that it might have been the gift of a single wealthy donor.⁵⁹ He compared its design to that of the so-called Kruse Basilica at Chersonesos in Crimea—also mentioned by Monneret de Villard—which seemed to him to have a similar "experimental" quality, in contrast to the "fully integrated trefoil sanctuaries" at Sohag.⁶⁰ More recent study of the Kruse Basilica has placed its construction in the years around 500, however, so it will not be considered here.⁶¹

The triconch *basilichetta* at Iulia Concordia and the basilica at Betika in modern Croatia, not far from Pula, were both in the sphere of Aquileia and have similar histories. Both are composites of two phases. At Betika the phases were dated by the excavator to the early and mid-fifth century on the basis of the style of their mosaic pavements.⁶² The triconch was built first, perhaps by the lay donors Felicianus and Ingenua, whose inscription appears in the pavement in front of the southern apse (fig. 5.7, A).⁶³ An altar stood in the center of the triconch over a large sunken tomb, which is taken to be the repository of the "blessed saints" mentioned in the donors' inscription and an indication that the triconch was built as a martyrium.⁶⁴ The structure was soon enlarged (presumably in response to the success of the cult) by the addition of a nave and aisles, the outer walls of which continued around the triconch to envelop it with an irregularly shaped space (fig. 5.7, B).⁶⁵ The new building was close to the size of Paulinus's basilica, but it had only seven columns on each side of the nave.⁶⁶ The excavator suggested that the nave might have been unroofed.⁶⁷ Its mosaic pavement was donated by multiple benefactors, including a presbyter named Dalmatius and at least two lay families.⁶⁸

At Iulia Concordia (Veneto) the triconch likewise had a sunken repository for relics in the center surmounted by an altar (fig. 5.8).⁶⁹ Its east apse, which protruded into a pre-existing cemetery, was larger than the others and its external wall was semi-octagonal (rather than semi-hexagonal as on the south); it also contained a masonry clergy bench and a raised *cathedra*, believed by some to be later additions.⁷⁰ A marble slab in the pavement of the south apse could mark the site of a sarcophagus, while a door in the north apse communicated with an adjacent rectangular basilica, built at roughly the same time as the triconch.⁷¹ Subsequently the triconch was extended by a nave and two aisles. The extension is relatively small, 18.1 by 8.9 meters (59.4 by 29.2 feet), with colonnades of only four columns, each ending in L-shaped piers.⁷² Italo Furlan's suggestion that the nave was unroofed may have influenced the similar proposal for Betika, but few others have accepted it.⁷³ In a western "outer narthex" excavators found a sarcophagus inscribed



5.8
Triconch basilica, Iulia Concordia,
Italy, fourth and fifth centuries,
plan. After Bertacchi 1980, fig.
XXIX.

5.9 OPPOSITE
Triconch basilicas in Egypt, recon-
structed ground plans to common
scale. Key: (A) White Monastery,
(B) Red Monastery, (C) Dendera,
(D) Dayr Abu Fana, (E) Dayr Abu
Matta, (F) Dayr Anba Bakhum,
and (G) White Monastery funerary
chapel of Shenoute.

with the name of Maurentius, “lying at the threshold of the Apostles.”⁷⁴ The inscription supports an identification of the triconch or the adjacent basilica (or both) as the Basilica Apostolorum, dedicated by Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia (388–407/408), with relics of two apostles, Andrew and Thomas, and other saints.⁷⁵ The relics had been acquired by a citizen of Concordia who became its bishop upon the church’s dedication.⁷⁶ It is easy to see the triconch, with its cruciform cavity for relics, as the apostles’ martyrrium.⁷⁷ If this identification is correct, the triconch would have been built toward the end of the fourth century; its basilican extension is generally ascribed to the first half of the fifth.⁷⁸

Three of these early fifth-century triconch basilicas were erected in cemeteries (Nola, Knossos, and Concordia). Two were martyria (Betika and Concordia); two had no tombs and were set up for normal Eucharistic services (Nola, Knossos). Three were foundations of lesser clergy or lay donors; one was episcopal (Concordia).⁷⁹ Two originated as simple triconchs; two were designed as triconch basilicas. Despite the multiple overlapping characteristics, there is no evidence that any of these examples was directly connected with any other, and none offers a close precedent for the more complex plans and elevations at Sohag. All of them may have recalled funerary cellae trichorae, as Varalis maintained, but there is no compelling reason to trace them to particular models in Rome, even if at least two of the Roman triconchs housed venerated tombs.⁸⁰ The

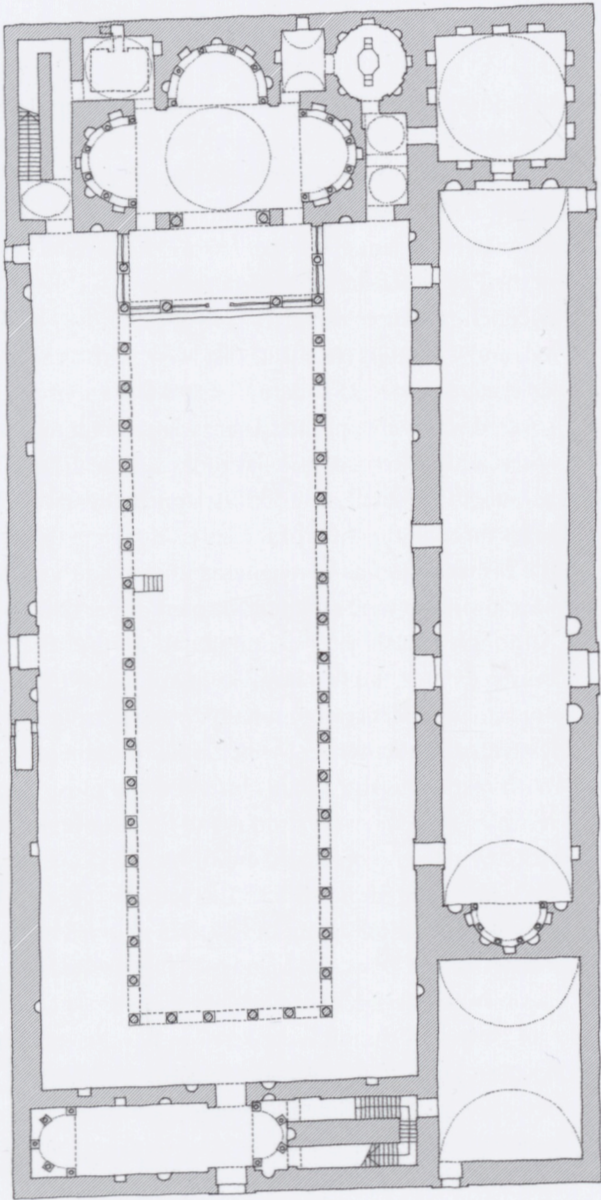
relationship between the triconch and the triconch basilica seems to have been more abstract. This is especially true of Paulinus’s basilica, whose sanctuary was, as Lehmann insists, trichora only in name.

Origins: Within Egypt

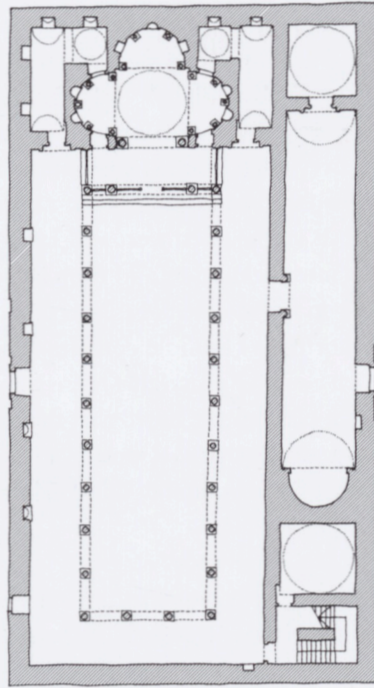
The few known triconch basilicas in Egypt are generally considered derivative of the White Monastery church and therefore of later date (fig. 5.9). Grossmann dubbed them a “school.”⁸¹ Only one, at Dendera in Upper Egypt, is comparable to the Sohag basilicas in complexity and quality of execution.⁸² Its remains stand within the precinct of the Temple of Hathor aligned with two birth houses (*mammisi*), one from the time of Nectanebo I (381–364 B.C.E.) and the other from the first and second centuries C.E.⁸³ The builders of the church plundered the later *mammisi* to reuse its sandstone blocks, some of which are as much as 7.25 meters (23.8 feet) long.⁸⁴ Like all Egyptian triconch basilicas, the Dendera church was enclosed by a high rectangular wall that surrounded the triconch and other subsidiary spaces (see fig. 5.9C). The dimensions of the rectangle are 36.33 by 17.86 meters (119.2 by 58.6 feet), smaller than the Red Monastery, but the size of the triconchs is identical.⁸⁵ Generally speaking, the church resembled the Red Monastery basilica closely in its eastern part, less so in the nave and aisles, and not at all in the western block of ancillary spaces. The eastern end featured the same L-shaped rooms surrounding the triconch, but they were entered through passages on the axes of the lateral apses rather than through their eastern sides, as at Sohag. The apses were covered by sandstone semidomes, and both Grossmann and Ramez Boutros suppose that a full dome rose over the central space.⁸⁶ Grossmann suggested that the altar stood under the dome.⁸⁷ Clergy benches ran along the bases of all three apses. The central apse was adorned with niches, but—in a significant architectural difference from the Sohag triconchs—there was no colonnade and entablature against the wall. The western arch facing the nave was screened by chancels, which were part of an enclosure that stood on a raised platform occupying the entire east bay of the nave. An opening between the chancels led into the triconch, and passages in the western sides of the lateral apses connected the triconch to the outer parts of the platform.⁸⁸

The nave and aisles of the Dendera basilica were shorter and proportioned differently from those at Sohag, the colonnades consisting of only six columns. As at Sohag, there was a transverse aisle at the west. Pilaster responds occurred on the walls surrounding the colonnades, and handsome niches in the north and south walls are aligned with the second, fourth, and sixth intercolumniations.

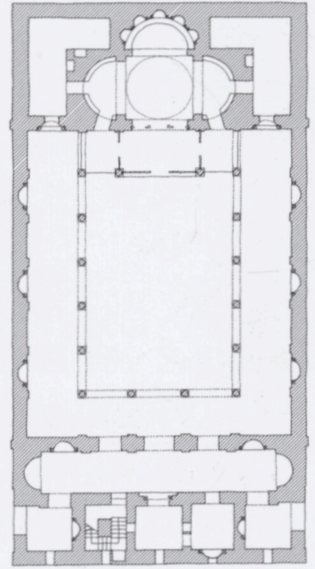
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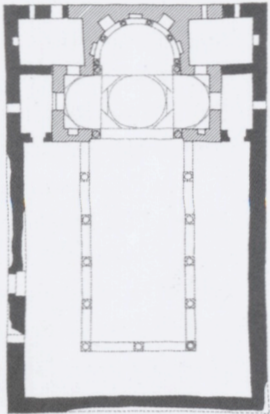
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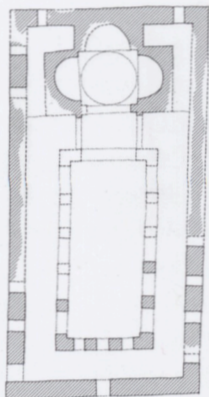
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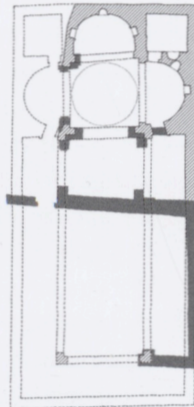
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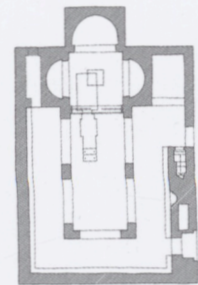
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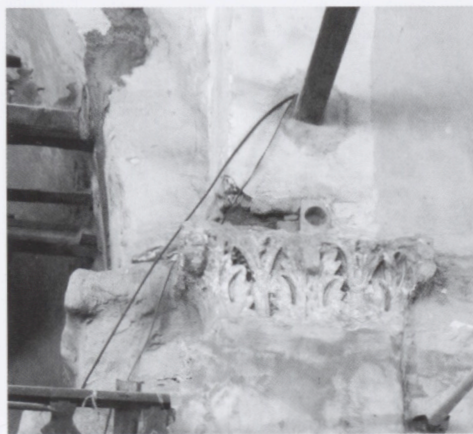


F



G





5.10
Pilaster capital under the arch
of the south apse, Dayr Anba
Bakhum. A second capital, covered
with plaster, supports the east apse.

Boutros proposed that the aisles were covered with flat ceilings and the nave with a pitched roof or wooden vault.⁸⁹ The two-storied block of spaces at the west contained a long narthex and five square rooms. The outermost rooms led visitors from the only entrances into the basilica, at the northwest and southwest corners, into the narthex and from there through three doors into the nave. The room adjoining the northern vestibule contained a staircase, which could be a sign that there were galleries

over the aisles, but Grossmann noted that the columns in the nave seem too small to have supported an upper story, and Boutros did not find any capitals that might have come from a gallery colonnade.⁹⁰

The church at Dendera was elegantly designed and abundantly decorated with geometric, floral, and animal forms carved in sandstone. The style of these reliefs—on niche heads, lintels, cornices, and pilaster capitals—is unrelated to the sculpture of the Red Monastery. Judith McKenzie compared it convincingly to the decoration of the church outside the pylon of the Temple of Amun at Luxor, and Boutros cited the ornament of the nearby church at Tod (Roman Tophium).⁹¹ The comparanda identify a regional style but do not establish the date of the building; Grossmann assigned it to the early sixth century.⁹²

The remaining Egyptian triconch basilicas are less impressive. One, Dayr Anba Bakhum, is geographically close to Sohag, on the other side of the Nile eight to twelve kilometers (five to seven miles) north of Akhmim (Panopolis).⁹³ Dedicated to the martyrs Pachomios and Dalusham, it is in use as a church and difficult to study.⁹⁴ Grossmann surveyed it in 1978 (see fig. 5.9F).⁹⁵ Only the southeast corner of the late antique building survives, comprising the central and south apses of a triconch and part of the enclosing rectangular wall. The triconch was on the same scale as that of the Red Monastery basilica, but the rectangle was smaller and tangent to all three apses; thus, the spaces behind the apses were square rather than L-shaped.⁹⁶ Both of the surviving apses have niches; Grossmann observed three in the east conch with alternating rectangular and semicircular bases, as at Sohag, and one rectangular niche in the center of the south conch.⁹⁷ The niches are framed by rough versions of the composite pediments in the White and Red Monastery churches, and a pilaster capital under the arch of the south apse appears to be not only of the same type as the medium-sized capitals in the Red Monastery but very similar in execution (fig. 5.10). Without saying why, Grossmann proposed a seventh- or eighth-century date for Dayr Anba Bakhum, whereas Gillian Bowen, equally

without explanation, puts it in the fifth century.⁹⁸ The few remaining bits of sculpture would support the earlier date.

Bowen excavated the remains of another triconch basilica, Dayr Abu Matta in the Dakhla Oasis, about 350 kilometers (220 miles) west of Luxor.⁹⁹ It is a reduced version of the Red Monastery/Dendera solution (see fig. 5.9E). The triconch measures 6 meters (19.7 feet) on its north-south axis and 5.7 meters (18.7 feet) east-west, with a central space 3.5 meters (11.5 feet) square.¹⁰⁰ The walls are of mud brick covered with white plaster. There were semidomes over the apses, and Bowen posits a flat roof over the aisles. Perhaps because of the small scale of the triconch, there were no passages through the walls of the apses, nor were there niches; the L-shaped rooms were entered only from the aisles. The nave and aisles were separated by piers rather than columns. Although burials later accumulated around the church, Bowen did not find that it was built originally in a cemetery, nor is there evidence of a monastery; she associates the basilica with a “settlement” of which other buildings survive.¹⁰¹ With respect to the Sohag churches, the most important result of Bowen’s excavation is the fifth-century date provided by a deposit of fourth- or fifth-century ceramics under the west wall of the basilica.¹⁰² This is the first good archaeological evidence for dating an Egyptian triconch basilica, and it suggests that Dayr Abu Matta predated the Red Monastery church and possibly the White one as well.

A fourth church considered to have been a triconch basilica, Dayr Abu Fana, was recently excluded from the category by Grossmann (see fig. 5.9D). Located in the ancient diocese of Hermopolis (Ashmunayn), 300 kilometers (186 miles) south of Cairo, this monastery church is in poor condition and has been extensively rebuilt; only the central apse and two rectangular exedrae survive from the earliest phase. The most recent excavator of the site, Hans Buschhausen, described it as “an imposing memorial church from the time around 450, of the size of the Church of Saint Katherine at Mount Sinai: nave and two aisles, an additional western aisle, six bays, . . . pitched roof, irregular triconch with a dome at the east.”¹⁰³ The arches under the dome are pointed, however, and must be medieval (fig. 5.11). A cornice above the western arch exhibits patterns like those in the slit-modillion cornices of the White Monastery, which initially led Grossmann to propose a sixth-century date for the original construction.¹⁰⁴ He subsequently reconsidered, deciding that the two rectangular exedrae were not part of a notional triconch but are the ends of the transverse space characteristic of later Coptic churches, called a khurus. The khurus would indicate a date after the mid-seventh century, so the early cornice blocks must have been reused.¹⁰⁵ Whatever its original date, it is worth noting that Dayr Abu



5.11
The sanctuary of the church of
Dayr Abu Fana, looking east.

Fana is the only Egyptian triconch except those at Sohag to have both niches and a framing order of columns, albeit only in the east apse. Grossmann described them as engaged columns carrying arches under an architrave comprising a vine scroll frieze and crowning cornice.¹⁰⁶

Also to be excluded from the list of Egyptian triconch basilicas, pending more definitive information, is the structure over the crypt on the grounds of the White Monastery recently identified as the tomb of Shenoute. The crypt seems to have been surmounted by a triconch, and in Warner's conjectural reconstruction the triconch was preceded by a two-bay space divided by piers (see fig. 5.9G). Even if this reconstruction is correct, the anterior space was too small to be considered a basilica.¹⁰⁷

The Egyptian triconch basilicas form a small but more coherent group than the non-Egyptian basilicas reviewed in the previous section. Elements of a type can be discerned: rectangular enclosure, L-shaped rooms, niched apses, passages through the lateral apses leading to a sanctuary platform or the aisles. Not all elements occur in every example, or not in the same way, but in whatever combination these features more closely recall the Red Monastery church than the White (see fig. 5.9A–B). The resemblance is confirmed by size: two examples (Dendera and Dayr Anba Bakhum) have triconchs identical in size, or nearly so, to that of the Red Monastery. The triconch in Shenoute's basilica is much larger and of a different form. It has been partially decomposed by the transversal elongation of the piers at

the corners of the central space, which detaches the north and south conchs from the central one. The center space is rectangular rather than square. The rooms in the block surrounding the triconch are more numerous and diverse than those in the other examples, including a grand staircase and a niched round baptistry. The more compact and symmetrical plan of the Red Monastery triconch can be interpreted as a revision of its less unified predecessor. The early date assigned to Dayr Abu Matta suggests another possibility, namely, that the White Monastery triconch does not represent the origin of the type but is a modification of a preexisting pattern, which was adhered to more faithfully in the Red Monastery.

The Type and Its Associations

The Egyptian type of the triconch basilica is defined by form rather than function, unlike the non-Egyptian examples, which vary in form but seem to have a common association with the dead. This finding fits well with Stollmayer's formulation: outside Egypt, the triconch basilica was a "theme" open to formal variations; within Egypt it was a *Baukonzept*, an architectural type. Did the theme precede the type or vice versa? Paulinus of Nola wrote as if his "trichoral apse" required explanation, so perhaps the theme did not yet exist around 400. The accidental triconch basilicas at Iulia Concordia and Betika, which came about when a nave and aisles were adjoined to an independent triconch, do not prove the existence of the theme because they were not planned as units. Only the basilica at Knossos, in which the integration of triconch and basilica seems to have been the original intention, suggests that the theme was available to architects before the type appeared at Sohag. Whether or not he invented it, Paulinus's verbal image of the apsis trichora may have been one of the means by which the theme came into being.

Themes are abstract and can be verbally transmitted; architectural types are concrete and must be transmitted by physical or mechanical means. A theme is an idea; a type is a design. The design of the Sohag basilicas is unique, especially the elevations of the triconchs. Late antique triconchs were generally thin-walled buildings with superficial decoration—opus sectile, painting, mosaic—adhering to cylindrical walls. The Sohag triconchs, by contrast, are highly three-dimensional, displaying two levels of pedimented niches separated by two orders of columns carrying entablatures (fig. 5.12). These elements constitute a "tabernacle facade," a widespread feature of public architecture in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries.¹⁰⁸ The well-known nymphaion at Jerash (Gerasa, in Jordan), dated 190 or 191, is an especially relevant example



5.12
Eastern and southern lobes of the triconch. Portions of the east lobe, level I, are not conserved. The floor installed in the 1980s is still in place.

(fig. 5.13).¹⁰⁹ It was an apse like those of the triconchs, with a semidome over a curved wall. The wall contained two levels of alternately rectangular and half-round niches carrying broken pediments in the upper level. Framing these niches were two stories of freestanding columns with Corinthian capitals.¹¹⁰ Tabernacle facades were made for the display of luxurious materials and honorific statues and are an anomaly in Christian architecture. McKenzie implies that the Sohag elevations had precedents in Alexandria and represent continuity with the capital's Ptolemaic past, but the evidence for this comes down to a few ornamental motifs.¹¹¹ We must contend with the possibility that the tabernacle facade was appropriated for Christian architecture by the architect or planner of Shenoute's basilica.

Measured by cost and scale, the White Monastery basilica was one of the most significant architectural com-

missions of the fifth century. An inscription scratched into a reused lintel over the inner face of the south entrance commemorates "Komes Kaisarios, son of Kandidianos, the founder" (see fig. 1.4).¹¹² Although this graffito is a memorial and not a founder's inscription, it is generally taken to mean that Kaisarios, attested in other sources as the military commander (*comes et dux*) of the Thebaid around the middle of the fifth century, provided the funds for the construction.¹¹³ Presumably he was an intermediary, and Ariel López has argued that the real donor was the emperor Theodosios II (r. 408–450).¹¹⁴ If López is right, we might imagine a scenario like that described in the *Life of St. Porphyry of Gaza*, in which the empress Aelia Eudoxia (d. 404)—the mother of Theodosios II—sent to Porphyry not only the precious materials for his new cathedral in Palestine but its plan. The plan showed a cross-shaped building: like the triconch, a



5.13
Nymphaion, Jerash, Jordan, circa
190 C.E.

theme. It was realized by an Antiochene architect hired by the bishop.¹¹⁵ The elevation might have been determined largely by the materials provided (which included thirty-two “enormous columns”), but it was nonetheless the architect’s interpretation of the theme.

The architect of the White Monastery basilica could have been chosen by Shenoute or Komes Kaisarios or someone else; this is unknown. López suggested that the church was built by the army—the only credible explanation of its rapid construction—and, if so, the architect may have been in the military.¹¹⁶ In any case he was not necessarily local, or from Alexandria, or even from Egypt. Military architects moved around. It is not impossible—as Monneret de Villard suggested long ago—that his interpretation of the theme assigned to him derived from his own experience of the tabernacle facades of Roman Syria; but it equally could have reflected a prototype closer to Sohag in time and space. This too is unknown, which complicates the problem of associations.

The associations of any building are coded in its plan, elevation, materials, decoration, and furnishing; they are decoded by memory, experience, and the expectations created by context. For late antiquity most of these factors are unrecoverable, and retrospective interpretations of associative meaning tend to be partial and reductive. Since elevations are rarely preserved our interpretations usually depend on the ground plan, but at Sohag we can see that the plan and elevation would have had different audiences and concomitantly different associations. The exquisite vision of the trefoil was available only from within the sanctuary, while those standing outside it could view the elevation, or part of

it, through the western arch (see figs. 6.24, 6.25). Outsiders might not have shared the architect’s knowledge of the prototype (if there was one) or recognized a “tabernacle facade.” For them the elevation was what López describes as the backdrop for the spectacle of Shenoute’s distribution of his monastery’s miraculous abundance.¹¹⁷ Participants in this spectacle could have responded to the backdrop’s generic qualities: monumentality, ornateness, Romanness. These qualities spoke of a certain political order and of wealth, thereby reproducing not just the form of the old tabernacle facades but the meanings associated with them: blessings, prosperity, euergetism.¹¹⁸

The trefoil is much more abstract (see fig. 25). It represents a number (three) and a shape (τρίκογχος), and it might evoke any or all of their connotations. Paulinus sought to limit the observer’s associations by means of an inscription (*Pleno coruscat trinitas mysterio*) and a mosaic depicting the Trinity in the central apse.¹¹⁹ The monks who formed the audience of the Sohag triconchs must have made the same association. For them the Trinity was colored by polemic. Cyril of Alexandria (patriarch 412–444) was a prominent voice in the empire-wide debates over the relation of two of its persons, Jesus and God the Father, and Shenoute insistently preached the Alexandrian position: “It is manifest that when we say ‘Jesus,’ we speak of the consubstantial Trinity.”¹²⁰ A triconch sanctuary symbolized this consubstantiality, whether or not the designer intended it to do so.

Not only the theme but the particulars of its realization were eminently suited to the context of the White Monastery, which tends to confirm the traditional view that the Egyptian type of the triconch basilica originated there. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 7, however, the elevation of the Red Monastery triconch is notably different: more crowded, muscular and three-dimensional, and closer in form and effect to the Roman tabernacle facade than its presumptive model. Either its architect revised the design of the White Monastery triconch or, as suggested earlier, he was more faithful to an unknown prototype. The triconch of the basilica at Dendera is simpler, with fewer niches and no columnar articulation, and could be a reduction of the Sohag paradigm or an independent variation on a common source. The *lex parsimoniae* favors the first alternative, but the conflicting evidence prohibits a firm conclusion. In any case it seems that the architect of the Red Monastery triconch saw through the imperfections of the White one to the forms behind it: the three contiguous lobes of a trefoil and the grandiose tabernacle facade. The monks of the “little congregation to the north” were privileged to enjoy the more satisfying realization of the type.

- 48 Lubomierski 2007.
- 49 VS 2; Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:8; Bell 1983, 41.
- 50 VS 6; Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:10; Bell 1983, 43 (see also 95, n. 13).
- 51 VS 117; Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:54; Bell 1983, 75–76.
- 52 VS 138; Leipoldt 1906–1913, 1:61; Bell 1983, 80.
- 53 Wessely 1917, 131, n. 289 = K 9706 and K 9717; they comprise pp. 1–2, 11–12, 55–56, and 73–74 of the original manuscript.
- 54 In this way they are similar to the antiphons found in the Coptic *Difnar*; see Ishaq 1991. One tenth-century example from the Monastery of Saint Michael in the Fayyum (M 574) shows that such antiphonal forms (also called psalis) were used as part of the service in other monasteries as well; Cramer and Krause 2008.
- 55 Wessely 1917, n. 289 = K 9706 and K 9717: pp. 1–2 (to the cross), 11 (to Saint Menas), 56 (to Saint Shenoute), and 73 (to the Resurrection).
- 56 BN, Paris, Copte 68, ff. 4r–141v, at 4r; for additional fragments of the same manuscript, see Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, Insinger, no. 44; Pleyte and Boeser 1897, 244–246. For analyses of this text, see Quecke 1970, 488–505; Quecke 1978, esp. 191–192; Timbie 1995; Timbie 1998; Grossmann 2004; Davis 2008, 114–123.
- 57 BN, Paris, Copte 68, f. 4r.
- 58 For a discussion, see Davis 2008, 115–116.
- 59 BN, Paris, Copte 68, f. 32r; Timbie 1998, 430–431.
- 60 BN, Paris, Copte 68, ff. 50r–64v. Other fragments of this sermon survive in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, no. 105, ff. 184–185; Leipoldt 1906–1913, 4:68; and in BN, Paris, Copte 1305, f. 78; Leipoldt 1906–1913, 4:173–176; discussed in Emmel 2004a, 2:675, 862–863.
- 61 BN, Paris, Copte 68, f. 65r; Timbie 1998, 432–436. Grossmann 2004, 93–103, has argued that *thalassa* is a reference to the monumental well at the White Monastery.
- 62 BN, Paris, Copte 68, ff. 100r, 137r–139r.
- 63 Meinardus 1999, 229–230.
- 64 BN, Paris, Copte 68, ff. 4v–7v.
- 65 BN, Paris, Copte 68, ff. 32r–34r and 34r–35v.
- 66 BN, Paris, Copte 68, ff. 66v–68v.
- 67 BN, Paris, Copte 68, ff. 128v–131v.
- 68 Quecke 1970, 97–100; Quecke 1983 (with a list of typika containing *hermeneiai*); Quecke 1994.
- 69 Brakmann 2004a, 148.
- 70 Paul Connerton has described this type of “habitual skilled remembering” as an “incorporating practice”; Connerton 1989, 72. The corporeal dimension of monastic worship is in fact attested in some of the Pachomian *hermeneiai* (lists of scriptural passages organized by key word). Two Coptic terms recur often in the rubrics: *shto* (Sahidic *jto*, to lie down) and *hmoos* (to sit down). The first must indicate a prostration; Crum 1939, 792b; Urbaniak-Walczak 2004, 651. The second may be associated with the act of taking one’s seat; Quecke 1983, 195; an analogy of function might be drawn to the *kathisma* in the Byzantine office. On the function of these terms, see Urbaniak-Walczak 2004, 651.
- 71 In line with Connerton’s analysis of social memory, the production of such liturgical texts may be described as a kind of “inscribing practice”; Connerton 1989, 73–74.
- 72 On this subject, see Brakmann 2005; Zanetti 1995; and for the Byzantine rite, Taft 2004.
- 73 See Brakmann 2004a, 168, with concrete examples on 169, 171.
- 74 Zanetti 2008, 203, 206. For more in-depth studies of Coptic lectionaries, see Zanetti 1985; Zanetti 1996b; Depuydt 1993; Schüssler 1995–2011; Schüssler 2002. Important studies of *hermeneiai* include Quecke 1970, 97–100; Quecke 1983; Quecke 1994.
- 75 Zanetti 2007b; Zanetti 2008, 203.
- 76 On writing considered as a form of Christian piety, see Krueger 2004.
- 77 For a historical discussion of the use of incense in churches, and the relationship between sanctity and appealing smells, see Harvey 2006, esp. 75–90, 99–100, 181.
- 78 Here we follow Niklas Luhmann’s call for a shift of attention “from the observation of *what* to the observation of *how*” (“von der Beobachtung des *Was* zur Beobachtung des *Wie*”) (his emphasis); Luhmann 1990, 95; see also Luhmann 2001, 321. Along these same lines, James A. Francis emphasized “the dynamic nature of seeing and being seen, the variety of ways of seeing and the ability of images to convey multiple meanings”; Francis 2009, 285. See also Roland Barthes on “the variety of modes in which [an image] can be seen”; Barthes 1993, 12.
- 79 Lanne 1958, 292.
- 80 Lanne 1958, 292.
- 81 Lanne 1958, 320 (see Lanne 1958, 386, for a nearly identical prayer). A similar but elaborated litany appears in another (otherwise unknown) anaphora, beginning with “our holy fathers, the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, the martyrs, the confessors, the preachers, the proclaimers, the evangelists, and every righteous one (*dikaïos*) who has been perfected in the orthodox faith” and concluding with “the holy Mother of God, Mary, St. John the Baptist the Forerunner of Christ, the virgin and martyr, and St. Stephen the archdeacon and protomartyr, and all the choir of saints”; Lanne 1958, 340–342.
- 82 Lanne 1958, 322.
- 83 Lanne 1958, 300. This litany comes from an acephalous anaphora in the *Great Euchologion*. For a related discussion, see Zanetti 1991b.
- 84 For more detailed analysis of the paintings and their accompanying dipinti, see Bolman, Chapter 10, and Dilley, Chapter 13 in this volume.
- 85 See Bolman and Szymańska, Chapter 12 in this volume.
- 86 See Bolman and Szymańska, Chapter 12 in this volume. On a similar iconographic conflation in an eleventh-century wall painting at the Monastery of the Archangel Gabriel (Dayr al-Malak) in the Fayyum, “where the image of the [Alexandrian] patriarch Peter I is actually assimilated to that of the apostle Peter” and where the figure is depicted holding a biblical roll labeled as the “Epistle of Peter,” while wearing the robe of a bishop and a monk’s hood, see Davis, 2004, 131.
- 87 “Abba Basil, Bishop” (Ts.I.5.i-1); see Lanne 1958, 322.
- 88 Doresse and Lanne 1960, 5 (for the date of the manuscript), 14–32 (for the edition of the text); the rest of the book is a commentary; Jasper and Cuming 1990, 67–73.
- 89 On the function of mimesis in Egyptian monastic contexts, see Bolman 1998; Davis 2013.
- 90 See Matthew 19:28 and parallels.

Chapter 5. The Type of the Triconch Basilica

- 1 Deichmann 1954; Morvillez 1995; Lehmann 1996; Gattiglia 1998, 190–192.
- 2 On the date, see Grossmann 2008.
- 3 On the filiation, see Layton 2002, 26–29; the quotation is from Shenoute’s *Canons* 5: “also our little congregation, which is to the north of this one.”
- 4 On the controversy, see Marchand 1994.
- 5 Strzygowski 1903, 27; Schulz and Strzygowski 1904.
- 6 Weigand 1914–1919; Strzygowski 1915; Vincent 1920.

- 7 Monneret de Villard 1925–1926, 1:48.
- 8 Monneret de Villard 1925–1926, 1:54–55. For Dayr Dosi (not a “true basilica”) see Ovadiah 1970, 46–47, n. 32, pl. 16; Stollmayer 1999, 148, n. 30; Grossmann and Severin 2003, 136.
- 9 Monneret de Villard 1925–1926, 1:59–60.
- 10 Creswell 1932, 1:390–405; Creswell 1939. Creswell’s arguments for an Umayyad date recapitulate those of Ernst Herzfeld. The Umayyad dating still prevails: Bisheh 1987; Creswell 1989, 211–212; Hillenbrand 1994, 45, 388; Bujard 2008, 29–30.
- 11 Creswell 1932, 1:385; Creswell 1939, 38–42; Creswell 1989, 213. The dating of the trefoil remodeling of the Nativity Church in Bethlehem is disputed; for a résumé see Weiland 1998. Ovadiah 1970, 36, n. 1, cites evidence for two phases of the triconch termination, both attributed to Justinian; Alchermes 2006, 358, follows Krautheimer 1986 (“perhaps as late as 600”).
- 12 Creswell 1932, 1:386; repeated in Creswell 1989, 213–214.
- 13 One of the many memorable phrases coined by Peter Brown; Brown 1981, 69–85.
- 14 Grabar 1943–1946, 1:102–105; Stollmayer 1999, 156–157, nn. 80, 81, 82. For more recent opinions see n. 80, below.
- 15 Grabar 1943–1946, 1:326–327.
- 16 Grabar 1943–1946, 1:328, loosely paraphrasing Amélineau’s translation of the Arabic *Life of Shenoute*; Amélineau 1888–1895, 1:392–393.
- 17 Grabar 1943–1946, 1:384.
- 18 Grabar 1943–1946, 1:385.
- 19 Ousterhout 2014.
- 20 Except for the second-century Mausoleum of Claudia Antonia Sabina in Sardis (Grabar 1943–1946, 1:116; Lehmann 1996, 324–325), Grabar’s pagan funerary triconchs were found among the ground plans of Giovanni Battista Montano (d. 1621). The buildings are unidentified, undatable, and partly imaginary. Fairbairn 1998, 541–553, 632–633 No. 1052, 642–643 Nos. 1075–1076, 682–683 No. 1185, 742 No. 1075; Campbell 2004 1:30–31, 38–39; 2:454–455 No. 152, 476–478 No. 167.
- 21 Piccirillo 1989, 88; Alliata and Bianchi 1998, 171–176; Stollmayer 1999, 148 No. 28 (with older literature); Michel 2001, 33, 328–335, 339; Grossmann and Severin 2003, 135–136.
- 22 Lavin 1962, 12. Richard Krautheimer’s theory of an “iconography” of medieval architecture, published around the same time as *Martyrium*, was equally influential in this development; on the coincidence see Krautheimer 1969, 149.
- 23 Lavin 1962, 4–5, 10–12. The corpus of Western examples was updated by Morvillez 1995.
- 24 Lavin 1962, 15–21. The study of triconch trichinia was taken in a different direction by Dunbabin 1996, followed by Ellis 1997 and many others.
- 25 Cambi 1984, 53–54.
- 26 Grossmann 1992b, 190. Lavin 1962, 21, n. 170, made a similar connection between cellae trichorae and commemorative meals (*agapae*).
- 27 Lehmann 1996, 335–352.
- 28 Translated from Lehmann 1996, 352.
- 29 Grossmann 2002b, 123–124.
- 30 Varalis 1999 also included the memoria on Mount Nebo, which, as noted above, does not fit the category.
- 31 Varalis 1999, 206–213.
- 32 Stollmayer 1999, 137–141; translated passage at 141.
- 33 Stollmayer 1999, 143–157.
- 34 Stollmayer 1999, 155 No. 72. Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.10; Hartel 1894, 286; Goldschmidt 1940, 39. The basilica must have been constructed between 400 or 401 and 403; Trout 1999, 151, n. 93; Lehmann 2004, 193.
- 35 Creswell 1939, 38–41. On the history of the archaeology see Lehmann 2004, 15–29.
- 36 Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.10; Hartel 1894, 286: “intra absidem trichora sub altaria.”
- 37 Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.13; Hartel 1894, 288: “cum duabus dextra laeuaque conchulis intra spatiosum sui ambitum absis sinuata laxetur.”
- 38 Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.12; Hartel 1894, 287; Goldschmidt 1940, 41.
- 39 Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.13; Hartel 1894, 288.
- 40 Lehmann 2004, 241. The dimensions are internal.
- 41 “Geminis utrimque porticibus”; Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.12; Hartel 1894, 287; Paulinus 1966–1968, 2:146. See Lehmann 2004, 169–173, 241, 247–248, contra Herbert de la Portbarré-Viard 2003, 39 and n. 19, who maintains that there must have been four aisles. On the columns and other marbles, see Pensabene 2003, 136–139, 180, 182–183, 186.
- 42 “Alto et lacunato culmine”; Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.12; Hartel 1894, 287; Deichmann 1982b, 217–218; Lehmann 2004, 169, but cf. 247: “it cannot be decided” whether there was a ceiling or visible rafters.
- 43 Lehmann 2004, 92–94.
- 44 Lehmann 2004, 93, 101. The present columns are replacements set up in 1958–1959.
- 45 Lehmann 2004, 93–94.
- 46 Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.13; Hartel 1894, 288; Goldschmidt 1940, 41–43.
- 47 Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.16; Hartel 1894, 291; Lehmann 2004, 187–188.
- 48 Lehmann 2004, 141–147.
- 49 On the use of his own funds see Trout 1999, 149–159; Lehmann 2004, 145–146; on the inscriptions see Lehmann 2004, 160–168, 173–175, 178–188.
- 50 On the execution see Lehmann 2004, 255.
- 51 Trout 1999, 128–129, 242–243; Lehmann 2004, 146, 193, n. 326.
- 52 Catling 1979, 43; Megaw 1984; Stollmayer 1999, 151 No. 49; Laskaris 2000, 46–51.
- 53 Megaw 1984, 324. Catling 1979, 57, gave the dimensions as 40 × 18 m (131 × 59 ft.); Varalis 1999, 197, 46.3 × 17.4 m (151.9 × 57.1 ft.).
- 54 Varalis 1999, 202.
- 55 Megaw 1984, 324.
- 56 On the mosaics see Sweetman 2004, 1182–1183.
- 57 Megaw 1984, 329 (see 323, “a coin ... datable within a few years of A.D. 400,” and 328, “early fifth-century coins from the foundations of the church”); followed by Varalis 1999, 199 (“première moitié du Ve siècle”) and Laskaris 2000, 51.
- 58 Laskaris 2000, 47–50.
- 59 Megaw 1984, 327.
- 60 Monneret de Villard 1925–1926, 1:57; Megaw 1984, 327.
- 61 Binding and Wessel 1986, 1383 (fifth century); Pülz 1998, 69–70 (ca. 500); Carter and Mack 2003, 112 (fifth to seventh century); omitted by Stollmayer 1999.
- 62 Marušić and Šašel 1986; Bratož 1989, 2379–2380. Cuscito 1993 largely repeats the 1986 report, often verbatim. Stollmayer 1999, 153 No. 62.
- 63 Marušić and Šašel 1986, 331: “[In] honore beat(orum) [sa]nctorum [Fe]licianus et [Ing]enua pecca[tores...] tis fec(er)u(nt).” Cuscito 1993, 37, emends “tis” to “[ni?] imis.”
- 64 Marušić and Šašel 1986, 312.
- 65 Marušić and Šašel 1986, 328, fig. 2.
- 66 Cuscito 1993, 39, gives the dimensions as 29 × 11.1 m (95.1 × 36.4 ft.).
- 67 Marušić and Šašel 1986, 323.
- 68 Marušić and Šašel 1986, 330.
- 69 Stollmayer 1999, 155 No. 73.
- 70 Flora 2001, 26–27; the total internal dimensions are 8.7 m (28.5 ft.) wide × 7.3 m (23.9 ft.) deep. According to Flora, the central apse was semi-decagonal, but published plans and photographs show five sides of an octagon.
- 71 Flora 2001, 29–32.

- 72 Flora 2001, 36.
- 73 Furlan 1972, 83; Flora 2001, 33–34.
- 74 Brusin and Zovatto 1960, 88–89; “iacet ante limina domnorum apostolorum in propria sepultura sanctus Laurentius presbiter.” Flora 2001, 37.
- 75 Chromatius, Sermon 26; Chromatius 1974, 119–122; Chromatius 1971, 92–101. Flora 2001, 20–23, argues that the Basilica Apostolorum was the triconch; Cantino Wataghin 2008, 350–354, supposes that the basilica and the triconch were a unit.
- 76 On the relics see Thelamon 2011, 326–331.
- 77 Zovatto 1965, 28, and nearly unanimously since.
- 78 The terminus ante quem for the triconch would be the dedication of Aquileia cathedral in 394; Thelamon 2011, 325.
- 79 Paulinus counts as a clerical rather than an episcopal donor, as he did not become bishop of Nola until 413.
- 80 The triconchs in the cemetery of Callixtus once identified as chapels of Saint Soteris (d. 304) and Pope Sixtus II (r. 257–258) are now neutrally designated the “east” and “west” triconchs and dated to the late fourth century. The west triconch may have enclosed the shrine of Pope Zephyrinus (r. 199–217) and the martyr Tarcisius. Fasola 1980, 255–278; Spera 1999, 113–117; Spera 2004, 34–36, 40–41; Spera 2008a; Spera 2008b. The triconch basilichetta on the via Tiburtina is still recognized as the martyrrium of Saint Symphorosa and her sons and is generally dated to the end of the third to mid-fourth century. Chiumenti and Bilancia 1979, 578–579; Moscetti 2008.
- 81 Grossmann 2002a, 120.
- 82 Stollmayer 1999, 126, 147 No. 24; Capuani 2002, 223–224; McKenzie 2007, 282–284.
- 83 On the date of the northern mammisi, see Arnold 1999, 255–257.
- 84 Boutros 2010, 83.
- 85 For the overall measurements see Boutros 2010, 83.
- 86 Grossmann 2002a, 444; Boutros 2010, 89.
- 87 Grossmann 2002a, 444.
- 88 Grossmann 2002a, 444.
- 89 Boutros 2010, 89.
- 90 Grossmann 2002a, 445; Boutros 2010, 87.
- 91 McKenzie 2007, 282, 312, figs. 523–525; Boutros 2010, 91–92.
- 92 Grossmann 2002a, 443.
- 93 McNally 1998, 87; Stollmayer 1999, 147 No. 23; Capuani 2002, 208.
- 94 I am grateful to Nicholas Warner for his effort to find and photograph the church in November 2013.
- 95 Grossmann 1980.
- 96 Warner calculated the diameter of the dome as 4.4 m (14.4 ft.).
- 97 Grossmann 1992a, 151; Grossmann 2002a, 540.
- 98 Grossmann 2002a, 541; but see Grossmann 1992b (second half of the sixth or seventh century); Bowen 2012, 449.
- 99 Grossmann 1991b (late sixth century); Stollmayer 1999, 146 No. 20.
- 100 Bowen 2012, 434. The overall dimensions are 24.0 × 10.35 m (78.7 × 34.0 ft.).
- 101 Bowen 2012, 448–449.
- 102 Bowen 2012, 439, 449.
- 103 Buschhausen 1998, 162–163; Capuani 2002, 173–175.
- 104 Grossmann 1991a, 700.
- 105 Grossmann 2002a, 519.
- 106 Grossmann 2002a, 519.
- 107 Bolman, Davis, Pyke, et al. 2010.
- 108 Dorl-Klingenschmid 2001, 48–55; Berns 2002; Burrell 2006; Richard 2011.
- 109 Kraeling 1938, 54, 406–407 No. 69.
- 110 Fisher 1938, 21.
- 111 “Flat grooved modillion cornices and . . . broken pediment niche heads”; McKenzie 2007, 261, 279–281; see Burrell 2006, 250; Grossmann 2007, 115.
- 112 Lefebvre 1920a, 472; Lefebvre 1920b: Αιώνια μνήμη τοῦ μεγαλοπρ(επεστάτου) κόμετος Καισαρίου, τοῦ υἱοῦ Κανδιδιανού, τοῦ κτίστου (to the eternal memory of the most illustrious Komes Kaisarios, son of Kandidianos, the founder).
- 113 Grossmann 2008.
- 114 López 2013, 66.
- 115 Mark the Deacon, *Life of St. Porphyry of Gaza*, 75, 78, 84; Mark the Deacon 1930, 59–60, 62–63, 66; Mango 1972, 30–32; Kinney 2008, 249–250.
- 116 López 2013, 66.
- 117 López 2013, 49.
- 118 Burrell 2006, 460–462; Piras 2006, 399–400; Richard 2011.
- 119 Paulinus, *Epistula* 32.10; Hartel 1894, 286; Goldschmidt 1940, 39.
- 120 Shenoute, “I Am Amazed,” 803; Davis 2008, 284; see also 28–38, 77–79.

Chapter 6. Architectural Survey

- 1 See Warner and Meurice, Chapter 18 in this volume, for documentation of an enclosing wall, and see fig. 18.8.
- 2 For a more comprehensive account of the reconstruction of the church, see Warner forthcoming b.
- 3 Grossmann 2002a, 13–15.
- 4 See, for example, church plans illustrated in Grossmann 2002a, pls. 157, 158, 160, 162, 163, 164, 165, 172, 180.

- 5 Traces of earlier mud-brick walls passing under the enclosure have been observed by Michael Jones (personal communication 2013). The sanctuary of the church has mud-brick foundation courses, revealed during repaving work in 2013.
- 6 See Török 2005, 163–164.
- 7 These are slightly smaller than the bricks used at the White Monastery church, which measure about 28 × 14 × 7 cm (11 × 5.5 × 2.75 in.).
- 8 Hans-George Severin observed that the brick exterior walls of the church were not original to the building, but had been constructed at a later date. He did not specify exactly when the new walls were built, however. Severin 1998b, 320–322.
- 9 For the architectural origins of the pointed arch and a chronology of its appearance in the Near East, see Creswell 1932, 2:278–280. For further detail see Warner forthcoming b.
- 10 Severin 2008, 109.
- 11 Severin 2008, 109.
- 12 Gayet 1902, 149, illustrates a small door in this location but must have been mistaken.
- 13 This practice is widely attested in Upper Egypt. See Blackman 2000, 199.
- 14 Poggi 2008b, 25–26.
- 15 Clarke 1912, 167, refers to the entrance being “as dark as night.”
- 16 Grossmann 1991a, 740.
- 17 Poggi 2008b, 25.
- 18 See Warner and Meurice, Chapter 19 in this volume, for further details.
- 19 The earlier form of the church is recorded in the 1962 survey of the Darmstadt Technische Hochschule.
- 20 See Bolman, Chapter 16 in this volume, for further details. See also Poggi 2008b, 25.
- 21 Grossmann 2002a, pl. 155, following Evers and Romero 1964, 179, pl. G.
- 22 Grossmann 2002a, pl. 155.
- 23 Cited by Bock 1901, 63. Thanks to Peter Sheehan and Mohammed Khalifa for undertaking the search.
- 24 For Hermopolis Magna, see Bailey 1991, 46.
- 25 Commencing with Monneret de Villard in 1925–1926.
- 26 Wace et al. 1959, 37.
- 27 For further details of alternative reconstructions of the nave, see Warner forthcoming b.
- 28 Severin 2008, 81; Kinney, Chapter 5 in this volume.
- 29 See Pyke 2013 for a detailed account of the exposed archaeology within the sanctuary and its associated spaces.