THE CHRISTIANISATION OF THE PAGAN TEMPLES OF THE MODERN TERRITORY OF LEBANON

PATTERNS, TYPOLOGY AND TRANSFORMATION

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AZ LIBANON MODERN TERÜLETÉNEK POGÁNY TEMPLOMAINAK KERESZTÉNYESÍTÉSE

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INTRODUCTION

Background

The Roman Empire expanded to the East during the 1st century BC and influenced the region on all possible levels. Pagan temples and shrines were built in order to practice rituals and to offer sacrifices, they were considered as the structural symbolism of Paganism. During the 4th century AD, with the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337), Christianity became the Empire's official religion. The whole system got to be converted, politically, religiously, socially and architecturally. Pagan temples and shrines, being the place where notorious rituals were being practiced, were the first structural elements that got the major toll of Christian aggression. Temples were being destroyed and severally structurally damaged while others were being architecturally converted into Christian churches.

Christianity's expansion got to its peak during the 4th and the 5th centuries, hence the rapid urban development of Christian churches all around the Empire. The architectural conversion of existing pagan temples into Christian churches was the main factor that majorly assisted with Christianity's structural evolution. During the beginning of Christianity, the majority of the temples were severally damaged in order to assure their secularization, some of these structures were even totally dismantled and used as quarry to build other churches. These structurally unstable shrines were considered as available construction material ready to be re-purposed. After some period of time, with the establishment of laws and legislations, the structural aggression towards the pagan temples faded away. Shrines were rendered passive, kept structurally undamaged and were considered as an eventual option for churches construction.

Several conversion types were applied all over the Eastern Empire, hence all over the Lebanese territory. These structural mechanisms differed in their execution process and their chronology of implementation. Their usage was influenced by several factors originating from the converted site and its pre-existing pagan structure. Three main conversion types were in order; the temple churches, the temenos churches and the spolia churches. These mechanisms helped with the categorization of the religious and structural converted sites in Lebanon which eventually highlighted statistical and spatial studies. This thesis is reflected on a regional basis highlighting

the converted sites that exist on the Lebanese premises and their implemented structural mechanisms.

Evidences, information and database were gathered from all available sources, either from ancient historical references, excavations and/or documentations collected from sites visits. However, some reliable publications and documentations were reflected as major sources and were considered as the foundation from which this study was based upon. These resources and references highlighted the overall lack of a general analysis and detailed documentation of the structurally converted ancient sites of Lebanon.

Sources

The structural conversion of the pagan temples into Christian churches was a process that started since the beginning of Christianity and was enhanced in historical literary sources since then. Several references highlighted the structural process from Eusebius[1] in the 4th century which is considered one of the oldest resources concerning the Empire's conversion on all levels, until these recent years. The historical sources mentioned in details the destruction and the dismantling of the pagan temples with the beginning of Christianity, however, the description of the structural conversion process was vaguely and imprecisely highlighted. After the books of Eusebius, several articles and references tackled the Empire's religious and architectural transformation with time. Through historical and architectural resources, the conversion types and mechanisms were categorized throughout the affected sites. The classification process, that was implemented with the aim to simplify the variety and the chaos of the executed process, was enhanced primarily by Frederich Deichmann,[2] resumed by Jan Vaes[3] and was followed by the study of Michael Milojevič.[4]

Eusebius (260-339), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, is one of the oldest and most important writers of Christianity and early church. He wrote four books entitled '*Life of Constantine*' which are the most significant historical sources about the period of reign of the Roman emperor Constantine the Great and his political, social, structural and religious support to Christianity. The

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[1] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine.*
[2] Deichmann 1975.
[3] Vaes 1986.
[4] Milojevič 1997.

books were translated into English by Averil Cameron and Stuart Hall during 1999 in order to be more accessible to students and scholars. The reference highlighted the life of Constantine and the way he delt with the Empire's conversion from Paganism to Christianity. It reflected mainly the political, social, religious, architectural aspects of the conversion process and Constantine's reactions toward Pagan temples. Throughout the third book, Eusebius dealt with several pagan sites which were ordered to be destroyed by the emperor Constantine (306-337) due to the notorious executed rituals.[5] From these sites, two exist on the Lebanese territory; Venus' temple of Baalbek[6] and Aphrodite's temple of Afqa (Aphaca).[7] Both of the shrines were destroyed and severally structurally damaged, due to the notorious and disruptable rituals that were executed. However, it is mentioned that Venus temple of Baalbek was converted into a church without highlighting the structural conversion process.[8] It was mentioned throughout modern sources, that the actions described by Eusebius regarding the Christian aggression towards Paganism was exaggerated and not as thorough as implied.[9]

The '*History of Church*' books written by Sozomen (380-450) are one of the main sources from which the historical and structural evolution of this thesis is based on. He was a historian and a lawyer who wrote about the history of the church reflecting the religious, hence the structural conversion, throughout the periods of reign of several emperors. Sozomen's work was structured into 9 books and was translated from Greek into English by Chester Hartranft during 1890 in the book entitled '*The ecclesiastical history of Sozomen comprising a history of the church from A.D 324 to A.D 440.*' The most intriguing part of his work, which was mostly helpful to this thesis, was the reign of Julian the apostate in the 5th book,[10] a period of time during which paganism was restored both religiously and architecturally. After Julian's short period of reign, the following emperors had the same purpose to restore Paganism. However, even during Christianity's oppression and persecution in that period of time, Sozomen highlighted Christianity's structural, urban and demographical expansion.

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[5] Eusebius, 120-152.
[6] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[7] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.
[8] Eusebius, 144, 146-147.
[9] Bayliss 2001, 37.
[10] Idem, 199-242.

Up until the 5th century, laws and legislations were being issued in order to enhance Christians' reactions towards Paganism, either personally against the pagan believers or structurally towards the pagan temples. During 438, Codex Theodosianus[11] was published. It is a series of laws and legislations that summed up all rules issued since the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337). It was an attempt to solidify Christianity after it was assigned as the official religion of the Empire. The aim was to unify all laws even the ones that were issued since the establishment of Christianity. It covered political, social, religious and architectural subjects of the 4th and the 5th centuries. The codex was written in Latin, translated during 2001 by Clyde Pharr and published as a book under the name of '*The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions, a translation with commentary, glossary and bibliography*.' The codex is a series of 16 books divided into sections with around 2500 legislations, the 10th part of the 16th book was the one highlighting architectural laws dedicated to the Christians reaction and aggression towards the pre-existing pagan temples.[12]

Not all historians who were around during the time when Christianity was the official religion, were Christian believers, some of them were rather pagans like Zosimus (460-520), who condemned the reign of Constantine (306-337).[13] He wrote a series of 6 books entitled '*The New History*,' that were translated with commentary and were published during 1982 by Ronald Ridley under the title of '*Zosimus. New History*.' He was by no means spearing the Christian emperors from crimes executed which made his books rather doubtful and lacking credibility. However, the most helpful sections of his books were the parts in which he mentioned and described the pagan sites that he had visited and the pagan rituals that he witnessed even when the existing temples and shrines were rendered passive and were structurally damaged. This reference helped with identifying the religious and structural evolution of the affected physically converted pagan temples.

After the 6th century and following the establishment of the Christian laws and legislations, the conversion process in the Eastern part of the Empire, hence in the Lebanese territory, faded away. Resources and references showed little information about that Christian passive period of time, especially after the Islamic invasion to the region. However, travellers were at that time one of the

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[11] Pharr 2001.
[12] Cod. Theod., XVI, X.
[13] Ridley 1982.

most important sources from which we got the architectural and structural evolution of the affected converted temples. During 1860 and 1861, Ernest Renan visited the Phoenician area, from which are parts of the modern territory of both Lebanon and Syria.[14] In 1864, he published his book '*Mission de Phenicie*' in which he mentioned and described archaeological ruins and existing ancient buildings that he encountered during his visit, the area of Jbeil/Byblos was the most highlighted region. His book is a major reference of ancient pagan sites that were either directly transformed or converted while re-using ancient blocks and elements that once belonged to a roman shrine. The majority of the mentioned locations are nowadays in a poorly structural state while some others are totally dismantled as they never once existed.

During 1927, the archaeologist Réne Dussaud published his book '*La topographie historique de la Syrie antique médiévale*' which majorly highlighted the topographical history from ancient and medieval times while reflecting all of the regions going from Phoenicia to the Palmerian area.[15] In his book, he mentioned the existence of several ancient sites that he encountered during his visit. All of the historical sources concerning the converted pagan temples were more in form of literature rather than architectural documentation of the existing fabric. During the 20th century, more focus was highlighted on the architectural and archaeological documentations of the existing ruined temples, from which a big part reflected the converted pagan temples and their implemented conversion mechanisms.

The architectural and archaeological documentations on the converted temples, that this thesis is based on, started with Frederich Deichmann during 1939. It was the first publication tackling the pagan temples and shrines that were converted during a certain period of time into Christian churches. The book '*Frühchristliche Kirchen in antiken Heiligtümern*' (*Early Christian churches in Ancient Sanctuaries*)[16] was considered as a general catalogue that guided through the architectural conversion system in which Deichmann emphasized the conversion process as being an implemented phenomenon throughout the Empire. During 1990, Jan Vaes resumed the work of Deichmann after publishing his book '*Christian reutilization of the buildings of classical antiquity: an atlas*.' However, this book was based on a broader range of materials and sites in which he concluded the construction of churches with re-used ancient construction fabric. Deichmann's and

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[14] Renan 1864.
[15] Dussaud 1927.
[16] Deichmann 1939.

Vaes' studies were continued by Michael Milojevič during 1997 in his book '*Retrofit ecclesia: a non-conforming building type.*' In his studies, he highlighted the presence of 300 converted sites in the Mediterranean area, which is an exaggerated number comparing it with the actual emphasized amount of existing converted sites in that same region.[17]

During 2001, Richard Bayliss published his book '*Provincial Cilicia and the archaeology of temple conversion,*' in which he categorized the implemented structural conversion types. It is considered as the modern guide of the conversion processes and its architectural mechanisms. In his book, Bayliss highlighted the variable technics and he classified them in two main categories, the direct and the indirect types of conversion that differ in the implemented structural process of transformation. The direct one highlighted the implementation of the church of the temple's foundations, whereas the indirect one reflected the temenos and the spolia churches that were build while using construction material from the existing ancient structures.

Other scholars tackled the conversion process on more of a regional level which underlined a variability of conversion mechanisms due to local and regional circumstances. During 2009, Levon Nordiguian tackled some of the structurally Christianized temples of Jbeil district, in Lebanon, through an article entitled *La Christianization des temples païens dans l'arrière pays de Byblos* (*The Christianization of the Pagan temples of Byblos*).[18] This article was published in the 62nd volume of the journal '*Mélanges*' of the university of Saint Joseph in Beirut.

Other architects and archaeologists, visited the modern territory of Lebanon and highlighted the presence of ancient buildings without emphasizing the conversion process. These sources were considered as rich material to this thesis while cataloguing the existing pagan sites. From these books, a series of converted temples were highlighted and classified. One of the main references was the book of '*Römische Temple in Syrien*' (*The Roman Temples of Syria*) published by Krencker and Zschietzschmann during 1938 after their visit to Syria and Lebanon.[19] Their book is considered one of the most reliable sources as some of the emphasized temples are nowadays totally dismantled as if they never once existed. In their documentation, the physical presence of

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[17] Bayliss 2001, 21.
[18] Nordiguian 2009, 149-189.
[19] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938.

apses either in the temple's cella or pronaos clearly highlighted the affected temple's structural conversion.

During 2005, Levon Nordiguian published a book about the existing Roman temples in Lebanon entitled '*Temples de l'époque Romaine au Liban*' (*The Roman temples of Lebanon*). Whereas during 2009, Julien Aliquot published a book '*La vie religieuse au Liban sous l'Empire Romaine*' (*The religious life in Lebanon during the Roman Empire*) dedicated to the religious and architectural Roman life in Lebanon. Both books addressed the Roman temples that still exist on the Lebanese territory from which several were converted into churches during different periods of time while applying several types of structural conversion.

The conversion process of Pagan temples transformed into Christian churches during different periods, either being religious or structural, was tackled throughout studies of several historians and scholars. The roman pagan life in Lebanon, both religious and architectural was as well highlighted throughout many references. However, a lack of a regional general study on the converted sites that exist on the modern territory of Lebanon got to be majorly highlighted. With around 100 structurally transformed sites, this thesis addresses the converted temples and churches of Lebanon and assures a clear categorization in order to simplify the diversity of their structural conversion mechanisms.

Methodology & Objectives

A large number of structurally converted roman sites are scattered all around the Lebanese territory. Lebanon used to be a geographical part of the Roman Syrian province. During the Empire's religious transformation that officially started in the 4th century with the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337), the pagan temples were the structural elements that suffered the most. Some were destroyed and dismantled while others were structurally damaged and were eventually converted into Christian churches.

The focus in this thesis is mainly on the religious transitional period from Paganism to Christianity and its ramifications on structural and architectural dimensions of the Empire. Even though Paganism itself is not a single religion, it is highlighted during further parts of this study as an umbrella term that reflects a collection of several religious beliefs and practices that generally share same basis of reverence for nature and multiple deities. After the religious transformation of

the Empire, the Roman temples were gradually rendered passive until re-used for different purposes, either religious, social, governmental or others. However, the conversion system in this study highlights solely the structural and architectural transformation of a Roman temple into a Christian church or a basilica.

The Roman structures were transformed while applying different architectural mechanisms. What were these technics and what were the reasons and factors of their implementation?

Three main categories of architectural conversion were highlighted in this thesis; the temple church, the temenos church and the spolia church. The terminology of these technics was highlighted since the start of the Empire's religious conversion by Eusebius[20] and were recently mentioned in the book published in 2001 by Richard Bayliss.[21] However, the classifications, the sub categories, the factors and the characteristics highlighted in each mechanism in this study are proper classification of the author.

Around 80 converted sites exist all around the Lebanese territory, 17 temple churches, 7 temenos churches and around 57 spolia churches. The number of converted sites gathered throughout the years for this thesis is an assumingly accurate number. However, many converted sites are unexploited nor discovered. Thus, the number of the converted sites that exist on the Lebanese territory will be an ongoing process. Some of these existing converted temples were at some point excavated during recent times, either by the General Directorate of Antiquities or by a private institute under the supervision of the General Directorate of Antiquities. However, the resulting studies and analyses did not emphasize the structural conversion process that was implemented on the excavated site. While the rest of these converted locations got to be until our current days unexcavated, abandoned and left to decay. Until nowadays, no detailed studies were fulfilled that collect a list of the converted sites that exist in Lebanon nor any study was executed that summarize the conversion types and their implemented structural mechanisms.

Many documents helped with the categorization of the conversion typologies while others contributed in listing the converted sites that exist on the Lebanese territory. The research approach that was adopted in this study was a mixed method approach, both qualitative and quantitative. Sites were sifted, roman temples that were converted into Christian churches were the ones used

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[20] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.
[21] Bayliss 2001.

in this study from all of the pagan sites that exist in Lebanon. After gathering the study cases, they were divided and separated between each mechanism separately. Even with the presence of historical resources and reliable documentations, the majority of the converted sites lack materials and database related to their architectural and structural evolution throughout history. Other than ancient and modern documentation, the sites visits were one of the main factors that led to an accurate listing.

The religious and architectural conversion of the pagan temples started since the 4th century and lasted up until our current days. This study will cover the temples that were structurally converted during the chronological timeframe from the 4th century with the Byzantines until the end of the Ottoman's rule on the Lebanese territory during the end of the 19th century. These 70 existing converted sites are nowadays either religiously passive and in form of ruins or are religiously active and structurally stable. This fate of the converted temples was mainly influenced by the type of transformation implemented during different timeframes. 16 temple churches exist nowadays on the Lebanese territory, highlighting 3 subcategories; the cella, the pronaos and the inverted temple churches, 5 of them are structurally and religiously active whereas the other 11 sites are completely abandoned and in an unstable structural state. All of the temenos churches are currently in form of ruins, whereas, all of the spolia churches are nowadays both religiously and structurally active.

All three types of the conversion mechanisms have different subcategories, factors and characteristics, especially the temple and the temenos churches. However, the spolia churches have its conceptual implementation as a common factor with the other types. All three technics were built while using structural fabric from the existing pagan ruins. In this study, the highlighted spolia churches are solely the new Christian structures that were built on a different premise than the pagan one while using ruins from ancient destructed temples. Hence, the sited spoliated churches in this thesis are analysed and categorized as spolia churches unrelated to neither temple nor temenos churches types of architectural transformation.

Several problems and impediments were in course during the chronological timeframe of this thesis' analysis, from which mainly the international pandemic, Lebanon's economic crisis and Beirut's explosion. The pandemic that hit internationally since 2019[22] was one of the main

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[22] The end date of the pandemic would depend on how one defines its conclusion. However, the social life in Lebanon took assumingly its normal state during 2022.

problems that obstructed the path of this study. It made international visits to Lebanon harder to accomplish, and even when being physically present, due to quarantine, movement was restricted hence site's visits. The pandemic limited my research for a certain period of time, during which the study concerned solely online investigation and documentation. A second obstruction was highlighted since October 2019 which was the economic crisis that hit Lebanon. The pandemic made the site visits way harder whereas the Lebanese economic crisis made the need for excavating sites an impossible task to accomplish. During the 4th of August 2020, Beirut was struck by the second-largest non-nuclear explosion in history. This tragic event with the pandemic and the economic crisis, all at once, made the connection with all governmental sectors paralyzed. All student requirements and needs from the General directory of Antiquities became the least of priorities for a certain period of time. All governmental procedures took way longer than anticipated.

The physical site visits during the thesis' analysis, highlighted mainly after the year 2022 were one of the main features which resulted in the converted site's data collection that mainly included photography, photogrammetry with a 2D documentation highlighted by a general survey with measurements. While working on this thesis, many softwares were used in order to ensure the rendering of the data needed; AutoCAD, Agisoft Metashape, 3DMax, Sketchup and photoshop. Both historical sources and archaeological documentations will eventually highlight the study needed for an outline of the converted sites and their implemented mechanisms that exist on the Lebanese territory.

This thesis, relying on historical contexts and physical evidence, will be one of the first investigations reflecting the converted pagan sites in Lebanon. During this study, there will be a focus on the converted sites with the aim to get into a deeper understanding of the Roman and Christian context and the spatial and structural relation between each transformed site. The main objective of this thesis is to have a general overview of the converted sites that exist in Lebanon and their distribution throughout the districts. A detailed analysis of the conversion types and their structural mechanisms is in order to understand the reasons that led to the usage of each type instead of the other. Whereas the structural and social fate of the converted temples will be as well highlighted relying on the site's structural and religious features. It will eventually lead to a clearer approach of the historical and structural phase that was due between the Pagan past and the Christian future.

PART I - HISTORICAL TIMELINE & GEOGRAPHICAL SETTINGS

1.HISTORICAL TIMELINE

INTRODUCTION

The modern limits of Lebanon were inhabited since the Bronze age and throughout history. Mainly due to its geographical location, that highlighted a perfect commerce system and an economic contact over the Mediterranean, Lebanon was the centre of different civilizations who conquered its territory during a different period. Throughout the centuries, starting with the Phoenicians who originated from Lebanon, it was invaded by several conquers, from the Greeks during the 4th century BC until the Ottomans who left its premises during the 19th century after the 1st world war. A series of inhabitants with different political systems, different religions and different architectural approaches, affected either directly or indirectly on the locals who lived in Lebanon since the beginning.

Phoenicians inhabited the Lebanese territory for over 3000 years before the conquest of Alexandre the Great and the establishment of the Greeks in the region. Phoenicia is an ancient region that occupied the coast of the Mediterranean alongside the modern territory of Lebanon, Syrian ad Palestine. They were known to be the best traders, merchants and colonizers of their time, during which they built harbours and established the trading and commerce systems. Byblos was their capital, which is nowadays considered as the oldest inhabited city of the modern territory of Lebanon, whereas Tyre got to be the most famous city for its commercial port and trading hub. During 333 BC, Alexandre the Great conquered the Phoenician region and established the Greek Empire on its territory. However, it was during the entry of the Romans with Pompey the Great that left the major influence on all levels on the geographical territory of Lebanon, which was during that period of time a topographical section of the Syrian province from the Eastern Roman Empire.

Since the entry of Rome to the East,[23] from which Syria and Lebanon, in 64 BC with Pompey, until the Empire's religious conversion with the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337), the Eastern Roman Empire went through a rollercoaster of transformation, modifications and general evolution that affected all of the Empire's levels. Its impact went over the political, social, religious and architectural sectors. The eastern part of the Empire got to be eventually the main influence that affected both directly and indirectly the rest of the Roman Empire.

This chapter of the thesis will highlight the history of the eastern area, mainly the one that affected both Syria and Lebanon, from the entrance of the Roman Empire since the 1st century BC, until the entrance of the Ottoman's to the region. This section will reflect a background of the religious and structural basis of the Empire's history rather than the political and the military one. Hence all of the historical features that eventually led to the religious and structural implementation of Christianity into the Eastern Roman Empire and its durability over the centuries highlighting the presence of several other civilisations with different religions. The diversity of the civilisations that conquered the geographical region of Lebanon got to be the main reason that affected both positively and negatively on the architectural conversion process of its temples and on the structural durability and longevity of its transformed sites throughout centuries.

ROME IN THE EAST

Known to be one of the rare conquests that happened without a single blow, it is the fall of the Seleucid Empire in Syria against the Romans, the conquest led by the general Pompey the Great.[24] Before the entry of the Romans, the Seleucid Empire in the East was indirectly weakened by the Romans, after robbing its lands, its trade system and its leadership. Pompey took over the Seleucid Empire overnight, hence without a single fight he took into possession: Cilicia, Phoenicia, Palestine and all Syrian regions from the Euphrates to Egypt and the sea.[25] This conquest might have been considered as one of the greatest triumphs of the Roman Empire.

In the summer of 64 BC, Pompey's arrival to Syria highlighted the end of an Empire and the start of another. One of the greatest reasons that led to the conquest of the East had to be its wealth,

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[23] Cameron 1993. Ball 2000. Butcher 2003.
[24] Ball 2000, 10-12.
[25] Ibid.

generated mainly from commerce and trade, which was accumulated throughout centuries of civilisations. The East was civilized with settlements, commerce and wealth established after the conquest of Alexander the Great, during 334 BC, long before the entrance of the Romans to the region. Due to the endless wars of the Roman Empire, mainly in the West, which made their financial status dread, they needed a new source of income, hence the East. In addition of the eastern wealth, this area encountered the presence of another great power which is Persia, known today as Iran, Rome's greatest rivals.

Even though the eastern part influenced the Roman Empire, mainly later on through Christianity, Rome's new presence in the East affected the area on all possible levels. The Phoenician territories generally kept its native character throughout the Roman conquest while being influenced by Roman features, both religious and architectural. With Paganism being the Empire's official religion, pagan temples were built and Paganism was expanding and rooted all over the Eastern Empire. However, with the arrival of the Romans to the East, they had to abide to the idea of the presence of other beliefs which were eventually classified as private religions and were legitimately acceptable as long as they didn't interfere with the Empire's official religion, hence with Paganism.

Pagan temples were built all around the Eastern Empire, in both urban and rural settlements. The pagan sites were defined as an urban feature in which the life of the city revolved around it. The city's main temples were built on a larger scale than the others. The temple's temenos, hence the enclosure of the shrine and its altar, got to be the main factor that highlighted one of many architectural differences between the Empire's eastern and western temples. The temenos, built all around the Eastern Empire, was generally added on a large scale, imprinting a great area of the city as in the cases of Baalbek,[26] Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā),[27] Sfireh[28] and many others. Its large topographical proportion was mainly due in order to gather the biggest number of pagan believers who attended to practice rituals and to present sacrifices to pagan Gods. In the majority of the cases, the enclosure was surrounded by a portico and highlighted by one main entrance mainly

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[26] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[27] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl. 57-64, 122-138. Nordiguian 2005, 60-65. Aliquot 2009, 303-306. Yasmine 2009, 134-141. Newson & Young 2011, 257-278. Newson & Young 2015, 449-462. Newson 2019, 116-138.
[28] Renan 1864, 130-134. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 12-18, 20-34. Nordiguian 2005, 206-217. Aliquot 2009, 237-242.

facing the temple and its altar. The shrine was generally built in the centre of the temenos, axed with its entrance, however, this factor was not reflected in some other sites where the temple was added in a non-axed nor centred position as for example in the pagan complex of Chlifa.[29] The proportion of the temple and it temenos, with the topographical shape of the land in which the pagan complex was built, were the two main features affecting the position of the shrine inside of its enclosure.

The pagan temple housed the God's statue and imageries in which the priests alone were allowed to enter. The altar was built outside of the shrine, axed with its entrance, however, it was added inside of the pagan enclosure. The temenos got to be the large area that received the believers, it was the space where the infamous rituals and sacrifices were executed. The oldest temenos built in the Eastern Empire got to be the one situated in the ancient pagan site of Jerusalem. The 2nd century AD witnessed the peak of the roman construction in the Eastern part, a period of time that reflected as well a great increase of wealth in the region.

During this urban phase of structural expansion, the roman's took advantage of the pre-existence of ancient Hellenistic shrines on which they built new Roman pagan temples. Those same Hellenistic remains were found in converted sites during later times, when temples were either directly or indirectly transformed into Christian churches. In the converted site of Yanouh,[30] a Hellenistic structure still exist until our current days integrated into the pagan site. During the transformation process, the fabric from the ancient structure was used in order to build the newly added Byzantine Basilica. The same case in highlighted in the medieval spolia church of Saint Tekla in Chikhane,[31] where Hellenistic Christianized drums of columns are structurally used in the church's inner area.

The wealth of the eastern part of the Roman Empire was clearly highlighted architecturally in the newly erected cities and religious complexes. Lepcis Magna,[32] a Phoenician city in northern Africa currently situated in Libya, was a Roman city that got to its urban peak during the reign of the

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[29] Renan 1864, 314. Dussaud 1927, 411. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 152-155. Alouf 1999, 62-66. Donceel 1966, 251-252. Nordiguian 2005, 74-75. Aliquot 2009, 280-281.
[30] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.
[31] Renan 1864, 240. Nordiguian 2009, 166-168. Davie 2012, 143, 204-225.
[32] Lendering 2020. Ball 2020, 419-431.

Phoenician emperor Septimus Severus (193-211).[33] During that time, Lepcis Magna became the most monumental city in the Empire with a major eastern architectural influence. It was a Roman city with Roman architecture and standard urban features. It highlighted a Roman western architecture with a clear eastern Phoenician influence. It consisted of several typical Roman monuments; Hadrian's baths, 2 forums from which one was Phoenician and the other Roman, an amphitheatre, a circus complex, a hippodrome and an engineered water installations all over the city. The city was mainly focusing on commerce which was the essence of its wealth, hence a harbour and markets existed on the city's premises. Lepcis Magna was highlighted in this phase of the Roman empire solely due to the reign of the eastern emperor Septimus Severus who got to be the main reason for the city's importance. The embellished of Lepcis Magna anticipated the erection of a Roman Eastern capital, Constantinople, several centuries later with the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337).

Extreme wealth resulting mainly from the Empire's commerce and olive plantations, led to a rapid Roman architectural expansion, hence the lavish decorative features of the grandiose religious complex of Baalbek.[34] The religious complex of Baalbek was built and inhabited throughout the centuries, in which was found structural remains going back to the Bronze age. However, during the Roman period, the complex mainly enclosed four temples that majorly differ in proportion. To the southern easter part, the small round temple of Venus, that was converted into a church dedicated to Saint Barbre during the reign of Constantine the Great,[35] and the pseudo peripteral temple dedicated to Muse. However, to the western part of the complex, the site's two main peripteral pseudo dipter shrines reside; to the south the temple of Bachhus and to the north to temple of Jupiter. Facing the entrance of the temple of Jupiter, a monumental altar was enclosed in a square shaped plan temenos, accessible throughout a hexagonal court.[36] The whole premises of Baalbek was considered as a religious complex, as many other temples and sanctuaries were found neighbouring the main site of Baalbek.

Throughout the premises of the Eastern Roman Empire, theatres, baths, hippodromes, funerary buildings as pyramids, temples and columns and many other architectural Roman complexes were

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[33] Birley 1999.
[34] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[35] Eusebius, 144, 146-147 (III, 55, 58).
[36] Aliquot 2009, 282-296.

built. The Empire's wealth that was generated from its eastern part was mainly and majorly highlighted throughout the grandiosity and the prosperity of its architectural urban and religious buildings.

The eastern and the western parts of the Roman Empire differed in many features, either economical, religious, structural, architectural or political, especially after the official division of the Empire during the reign of the emperor Diocletian (284-305). The East and the West were two geographical parts of the same Empire and ruled by the same system, but deeply differed on many levels. However, the most significant impact, that highlighted the major difference between the two sections, was from the East on the West and on the rest of the world with the reflection of 'Christianity.' Christianity went through several major steps until it got to be implemented as the Empire's official religion during the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337). It was unified as a religious throughout the Empire's territory after the erection of the Codex Theodosianus[37] that assured its legislation and expansion.

Transformation of an Empire

The conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity was a complex and gradual process that unfolded over centuries. Although various factors contributed to this transformation, the influence of the Eastern Empire was particularly significant. According to Ball's book *Rome in the East*, the triumph of the eastern part was marked by its powerful and efficient promotion of the new religion.[38] Throughout history, different emperors took several approaches to Christianity, with some promoting it and others persecuting it. Nevertheless, several key steps were necessary before it could become the official religion of the Empire. These steps included the promotion of Christianity by certain emperors, the legalization of the religion, and the eventual establishment of it as the official religion of the Empire.

The Severan Dynasty (193-235) highlighted as one of the most successful dynasties got to be one of the first factors preparing the ground for the spread of Christianity. Septimius Severus (193-211), a Phoenician from Lepsis Magna in Africa, was an officer who ended up being assigned as the first Phoenician Roman emperor who ruled over with his Syrian wife. Septimius heard about

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[37] Pharr, 2001.
[38] Ball 2000, 450.

the Syrian Phoenician princess from Emesa, Julia Domna[39] during his visit to the East when he was a Roman officer. After the death of his first wife, he married Julia Domna and linked his Phoenician roots with one of Syria's oldest and most aristocratic families. Shortly afterwards, he conquered Rome and became the first Roman emperor with Phoenician Syrian origins. Hence Julia Domna became the 1st Syrian Roman Empress and the real power behind the reign of Septimius Severus and their son Caracalla who took over after the death of his father. Their reign got to be the first of many Syrian influence on the Roman Empire.

During 211, Septimius Severus died on a campaign, hence the Empire had to be taken over by his eldest son Antoninus know as Caracalla (211-217). He was one of Julia Domna's two sons, however, due to his irresponsible acts which made him unsuitable to held the Empire on his own, it was divided into two parts, in which Caracalla got the western section and Geta (211) the eastern. Due to his hatred for his brother, Caracalla played a role in his brother's death in order to take over the eastern part of the Empire. He then ruled over the entire Empire with treachery and violence. He married a Parthian princess as a coverage to unify the roman and the Parthian Empires, however, his proposal was an actual betrayal which resulted in massacres of the unarmed Parthian army who attended the wedding ceremony. Caracalla claimed victory over the whole eastern part, the Roman and the Parthian. On his way back to the West, he was murdered, thus leaving the throne without a direct heir to succeed him. After the death of her sons, the loss of her own power and after her sickness, the Syrian Empress Julia Domna handed the throne to an equally powerful woman, her sister Julia Maesa.

After Caracalla, the Roman Empire was taken over by one of Julia Maesa's grandsons, the high priest Elagabalus (218-222). Elagabalus was 14 years old when he ascended to the throne, however, he preferred the life of a priest to that of an emperor, which eventually made him unpopular. He was known for his arrogance and madness, particularly in his interactions with the religious sectors of the Empire, which generated negative reactions. He practiced the marriage of the deities to unify the eastern and the western parts of the Empire, and the worship of only one God while associating with the cults of the Jews, the Christians and the Samarians so that the new religious features would accommodate every religion that exists in the Empire. He was considered as one of the most hated and worst Roman emperors to have ever ruled throughout history. During

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[39] Levick 2007.

222, emperor Elagabalus and his mother were killed, the throne was succeeded by Elagabalus' cousin Alexander.

The Syrian Roman emperor Severus Alexander (224-235) was the last emperor from the Severan dynasty (193-235) to rule over the Roman Empire. He was born in 208 in Arqa, which is nowadays a part of the northern Lebanon, and was declared emperor at the early age of 16. Like his predecessor Elagabalus, Severus Alexander was originally intended to be an Emesene priest rather than an emperor. However, he had the guidance and advice of his mother Julia Mamaea the daughter of Julia Maesa. She was the last in line of powerful women who ruled alongside their sons. Severus Alexander was one of the wisest emperors of the chaotic 3rd century.[40] His reign along with that of his mother, ended after their death during a military campaign, marking the end of the Severan dynasty.

With the death of the emperor Severus Alexander, the Severan Dynasty (193-235) came to an end after its establishment during the reign of Septimius Severus since 193. The Severan Dynasty through indirect and unintentional means prepared ground for the eventual expansion of Christianity in the Roman Empire. It reflected the influence of Syrian emperors, as well as the division of the Empire between the emperors Caracalla and Geta, even if it was for a short period of time. The attempted introduction of the worship of a single God during the reign of the emperor Elagabalus also reflected the Dynasty's legacy.

After the end of the Severan Dynasty, the Roman Empire entered a period known as the crisis of the third century.[41] This period pivoted from 235 up until 284 when the emperor Diocletian took back control of the Empire. This phase was marked by frequent civil wars, economic challenges, external invasions and an overall instability. During 244 the throne was handed over to Philip the Arab (244-249)[42] who tried to stabilize the Empire, negotiated with external threats and initiated several forms of political and administrative reforms. Marcus Julius Philippus, known as Philip the Arab, was born in Shabha, nowadays in southern Syria, and became a Roman emperor during 244. He ruled for a short period of time until his death in 249 during a revolution led by Trajan Decius. Philip the Arab was debatably the first Syrian Roman emperor known to have been a

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[40] Ball 2000, 415.
[41] Rogers 1988, 1509-1526.
[42] De Blois 1978, 11-43. Ball 2000, 417-419.

Christian believer while keeping Paganism as the Empire's official religion.[43] De Blois in his article about the reign of the emperor Philip the Arabian, highlights his religion and debated it with the opinions of York and Eusebius, both of which could have been inaccurate for political reasons.[44] During the time of his reign, the Roman Empire celebrated its one-thousand-year anniversary of existence.

Until 249, with the death of the emperor Philip the Arab (244-249) and the end of his reign, the East had affected and influenced the whole Roman Empire, leaving a permanent imprint on all dimensions. The combination of Phoenician and Syrian roots while handling the Roman throne highlighted the East on the Empire's map. The enlargement and the embellishment of the Phoenician city Lepcis Magna, by the emperor Septimius Severus (193-211), anticipated the erection of another capital in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, Constantinople with the Emperor Constantine. The division of the Empire into two parts between Caracalla (211-217) and Geta (211) eventually led to Diocletian's (284-305) reform by dividing the Empire into an eastern and a western part. The religious powers were centralized by the priest emperor Elagabalus when during his reign Monotheism got to be reflected after worshiping only one God. That period allegedly reflected as well the presence of the first ever Christian emperor by faith, the emperor Philip the Arab (244-249).

Gaius Aurelius Valerius Diocletianus, known as Diocletian[45] got to be a roman emperor who ruled the Empire from 284 until 305. Diocletian was known for his reforms, his establishment of the Tetrarchy and his attempts to stabilize the Roman Empire during the Crisis of the 3rd Century.[46] However, Diocletian was mostly recognized for his hatred and persecution of Christians which got to be the worse during Christianity's history. Diocletian's persecution of Christians was called by historians as 'The Great Persecution' especially during the last 2 years of his reign before the ruling of the Emperor Constantine the Great.[47] During that time, Christians all over the Empire, especially in the eastern part that was under the direct ruling of Diocletian, deeply felt the impact of his anti-Christianity's policies. They faced persecution, imprisonment, torture, suppression and were compelled to practice pagan rituals. Christians were deprived of legal rights and privileges; house

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[43] Eusebius 1998, VI, 34.
[44] De Blois 1978, 40-41.
[45] Rogers 1988, 1515-1519. Rees 2004.
[46] Rees 2004, 24-45.
[47] Kinzig 2021, 93-124.

churches and religious Christian spaces were destructed and martyrdom got to be highlighted during that time.

On February 303, Diocletian issued the first edict initiating persecution against Christians from Nicomedia, present day İzmit in Turkey, which was the centre of his residence in the eastern part of the Empire.[48] The edict decreed that all churches should be torn down[49] and all scriptures should be burnt. It was first published in Nicomedia and its provinces, weeks later, these laws were spread and implemented all around the eastern and the western parts of the Empire. Antioch, an important city within the Roman Eastern province of Syria, being a prominent centre of early Christianity, was deeply affected by Diocletian's edicts and experienced significant persecution of its Christian population.[50] Bishops and priests from Lebanon as well were executed in Antioch; the most distinguished were the bishop Tyrannion of the church of Tyre and priest Zenobios of the church of Sidon.[51] Aggression against Christians was constant even after the end of Diocletian's rule in 305. The persecution was eventually limited and Christians were tolerated all around the empire with the emperor Constantine the Great after the Milan's edict in 313.[52]

From Paganism to Christianity

Christianity during its beginning was the religion for the lower-class people; the slaves and the servants. At first it was practiced in home churches; thus, it was considered as a private religion rather than a public one. In order to assure its spread over time, the word of Christianity needed to get to the middle and high-class people, and eventually to the Roman rulers. The spread of word was accomplished by the Christian slaves and servants and it went through a certain process until it got to the holders of official offices and to the ruling family. It is highlighted by Ball that the transition reflected a feminine triumph in this transition from servant to ruler.[53]

During 306, after the death of his father Constantius (293-305), Constantine the Great (306-337) was assigned as the new Roman emperor.[54] His period of reign was highlighted by the Empire's

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[48] Kinzig 2021, 97.
[49] Eusebius 2006, 8-2-1.
[50] Kinzig 2021, 104-105.
[51] Eusebius 2006, 8-13-1. Kinzig 2021, 112.
[52] Lactantius 2021, 48.2-12.
[53] Ball 2000, 432-433.
[54] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.

religious conversion after assigning Christianity as the official religion instead of Paganism. The transformation was not an easy task to accomplish especially with the attacks of the emperor Licinius (308-324) and the wars that followed.[55] The reasons that made Constantine transition the Empire from Paganism to Christianity are debatable, some might highlight them through political reasons while others indicate this action as a result of faith after one of his battles. However, the most certain factor is the influence of his mother the Empress Helena who was a Christian believer. She removed the temple of Aphrodite built by Hadrian in Jerusalem and built the church of the Holy Sepulchre on the same site. It is believed that she destroyed the temple in order the excavate the Saviour's cave after it was made invisible and inaccessible by the pagans to the rest of the world.[56] Constantine ordered the destruction of several other pagan temples of the Empire, especially in the eastern part of it due to the infamous pagan rituals that were executed.[57] This act resulted the destruction of several temples that became a standard practice reflected as Christian structural aggression towards the pagan shrines. The process of destructing pagan temples and converting them into Christian churches was initiated by the emperor Constantine, from which two pagan sites existed on the modern Lebanese territory; the temple of Aphrodite in Afqa (Aphaca) and the temple of Venus in Heliopolis.[58] These temples were structurally damaged and eventually converted mainly due to the notorious rituals that were executed on its premises. The temple of Venus in Baalbek[59] was converted during the reign of Constantine into a church dedicated to Saint Barbre, whereas the temple of Aphrodite in Afqa[60] was converted into a church during the medieval period. Constantine expanded his strategy all over Constantinople, that became the eastern capital of the Empire and all over the eastern provinces.

Constantine promoted the Christian church and took several measures to restrain Paganism on all of its sectors. He forbade the execution of pagan rituals and ordered the erection of churches. Eusebius (260-339), bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, documented Constantine's achievements throughout his period of reign, in which several legislations against paganism and its religious

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[55] Idem, 132-133 (I, 49-59), (II, 1-22).
[56] Idem, 89-103 (III, 26-29).
[57] Fox 1986, 625-626.
[58] Eusebius, 144, 146-147 (III, 55, 58).
[59] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[60] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.

buildings.[61] He ordered the destruction of several temples where notorious rituals were executed as he forbade the execution of pagan rituals and sacrifices. During Constantine's reign (306-337), pagan shrines were rendered religiously inactive after removing their valuables and the destruction of their altars, the stairs leading to their inner area and the adytum from the temple's cella. The access to worshiping idolatry was universally prohibited in the Roman Empire and every form or sacrifices was forbidden. Even through the aggression that was practiced against the pagans and their temples, Paganism was still being practiced and rituals were still being performed. The reign of Constantine alone was not enough in order to eradicate Paganism that was rooted in the Empire since its beginning.

Constantius II (337-361) became the Roman emperor after the death of his father Constantine the Great while ruling through his steps. Under his reign, laws were being issued promoting Christianity,[62] however that time was heavily infected with wars and invasions especially by Julian who became an emperor after the death of his cousin Constantius II in 361. During Constantius II period of reign, Christianity was expanding, both religiously and architecturally, pagan temples were being closed and churches were erected. However, the presence of Pagans was still highlighted, a fact that got to be tolerated by the emperor Constantius II. On the other hand, Judaism got to be the religion that got the major tall of aggression from the emperor Constantius II rather than Paganism.

Julian, known as Julian the Apostate, reigned throughout the Roman Empire for a short period of time from 361 till 363. His reign was highlighted by his rejection of Christianity and the revival of Paganism. When he ascended to the throne, he ordered the renovation and the reconstruction of destructed temples and the re-opening of the closed shrines while restoring the dismantled altars. He restored the practice of pagan rituals and the offerings of sacrifices.[63] However, regarding his actions toward the Christians, he openly expressed his animosity while assuring that no governmental act will be referred to them until their return to Paganism. Julian's main aim was not to execute Christians, as it only made them stronger, however he wanted to exclude them from any governing classes of the Empire. Julian's short time of reign did not have a significant impact on

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[61] Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*.
[62] Bayliss 2001, 31.
[63] Sozomen, 206-207 (V, III).

the damages practiced by the Christians on Paganism that were more structural and architectural rather than personal and individual.

The resurgence of Paganism was resumed after the reign of Julian the Apostate by the emperors Valentinian I (364-375) and Valens (364-378). During their reign, the reactions towards the Christians were violent and highlighted with persecution, especially in the East under the rule of emperor Valens. Temples were restored, churches were destructed and Christians were persecuted. Even though this period was reflected through Christian religious oppression, Christianity went through a process of urban, demographic and architectural expansion.

After the death of Valentinian I and Valens during different periods of time, the emperors Gratian (367-383) and Valentinian II (375-392) followed. During their reign, Christianity took back control, the oppression of pagans was resumed, churches were restored and practicing pagan rituals was forbidden. The attacks and the aggression against Paganism and its believers was mainly established by the Christian bishops and monks whose main aim was to eradicate any trace of Paganism.[64]

The Theodosian reign started with the emperor Theodosius I, who took over in 379 and lasted until his death in 395, and ended with the emperor Theodosius II (408-450) during which the Codex Theodosianus[65] was established. This era was considered as the most powerful period that influenced on Christianity's rooting and implementation on the Empire. Laws and legislations were issued for three main reasons; to solidify Christianity after being assigned as the official religion of the Roman Empire, to eradicate any trace of Paganism and to unify all the constitutions issued since the reign of emperor Constantine the Great (306-337). Pagan activities were eliminated through the destruction of the active temples and the preservation of the passive ones for eventual structural conversion. Pagan rituals were forbidden and entering any pagan structure was an illegal act punished by the Theodosian law.

The Byzantine Empire got to be the extension of the Roman Empire in the East, with Constantinople as its capital. It survived in the eastern part until the Ottoman's invasion to the region and the eventual fall of Constantinople, hence to end of the Byzantine Empire during 1453. However, the Arab conquest to the East during the 7th century and the weakened Byzantine

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[64] Caseau 2004, 119.
[65] Pharr 2001.

presence in the Syrian province, led to their downfall in that eastern region. Thus, after the Romans, the Syrian province got to be conquered and ruled by the Arabs.

THE ARAB CONQUEST TO THE EAST

The 7th century, especially between the years 610 and 630, was majorly highlighted in the eastern part of the Empire, with continuous wars and conflicts between the Byzantines and the Persians. Due to interior conflicts and civil wars as well, the Byzantine Empire was weakened, especially in the Syrian province. During the middle of the 7th century, the Arabs entered the region of Syria. Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and Jordan were well known, during that period of time, for their prosperous commerce and trade system. These regions were considered as a fertile ground for expansion.

The locals, who lived in the eastern area throughout centuries and throughout all invasions, were tolerant to any alien religion and political system that was by force implemented on their territory. The 7th century reflected conflicts between the Umayyads and the Byzantines that ended with a peace treaty between both parties. The Umayyads, being the second caliphate after the death of the Islamic prophet Mohamed, paid a heavy tribute to the emperor Justinian II (685-695, 705-711). The Byzantines left the Syrian region that was eventually invaded and conquered by the Umayyads, hence the Islam. With the entry of the Umayyads to the region, Islamic got to be the official religion instead of Christianity.

With the entry of the Arabs to the Syrian region, Christianity was an uncertain religion. However, after couple of years of the Arab's invasion, the Umayyads had to tolerate the presence of Christians in governmental positions; Christianity became a powerful religion.[66] It was their occurrence that led to the region's stability and the system's prosperity after the withdrawal of the Byzantines. During the 7th century, the Maronites were the Christian sect that had a bigger local impact due to their presence next to the Islamic. The Umayyads and the Maronites cooperation led to the region's flourishing on all levels.

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[66] Salibi 1977, 47-51.

The Maronite[67] sect of Christianity was the sole religion that was implemented in the Syrian region during the same time of the Islamic invasion. It originated during the 5th century, from the northern part of Damascus, by the students and followers of Saint Maron who died during the first of the 5th century. They were considered as separate sect from the Byzantine Christianity; hence they erected their first patriarch during 680. They built churches and Maronite monasteries in Syria. During the end of the 7th century, they started expanding and resided at first in the coastal area of Lebanon before moving to its mountainous region. The Maronites entered Lebanon and assigned John Maroun I as their first patriarch in Kfarhay in Batroun.[68] After some period of time, around the 8th century, the Maronite patriarchate moved to the mountainous area of Yanouh with the patriarch John Maroun II, where 23 consecutive patriarchs resided. Yanouh[69] is known with its pagan complex that was religiously and architecturally converted since the 5th century. It was the same site that got to be inhabited by the Maronites with the urban and architectural expansion of churches highlighted throughout that period. During the 11th century, the patriarchate moved from Yanouh to the region of Mayfouk where they established a Maronite monastery in which they resided.

During the Umayyad's reign of the Syrian region, the Shiites were expanding especially in the southern area of the Lebanese territory. After the weakening of the Umayyads, the Abbasids took over the area in 750, during which they tried to enforce the region. However, the economical degradation, especially in the coastal area, led to the complete failure of the system after the middle of the 8th century.

During two consecutive centuries, the Abbasids tried to maintain the regional limits of the Syrian province against the Qarmatians, a sect from the Ismaili Shiites, during which the Umayyads as well tried to re-conquer the area without any success. By the end of the 9th century, the Qarmatians defeated the Abbasids and conquered the region. During that period, Syria witnessed an incomparable phase of prosperity and wealth until the last quarter of the 10th century. With the presence of the Shiites and during the middle of the 10th century, the region went through a period of political chaos. The Abbasids and the Umayyads tried to invade the area and defeat the

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[67] Chartouni 1890.

[68] Estephan Al-Duwaihi, 50. Lammens 1914, 53.

[69] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

Qarmatians, however, during the end of the 10th century, the Fatimid Caliphate was the one who defeated the Qarmatians and took over the region.[70]

The Fatimids were an Ismaili Shiite Caliphate, they made of Tripoli, due to its geographical location, the base of their political and military activities. Whereas, during the 10th and the 11th century, Beirut got to be flourishing after being assigned the centre of commerce and trade of the region. After the year 973, they took Cairo as their base, which they conquered and where they resided until their eventual defeat by Salaḥ Din ʾal ʾayyoubi during 1171. In 975, the Byzantines took over the Syrian region and a part of Palestine, during which Tripoli was maintained under the Fatimid's control. The Fatimids changed allies, updated their technics and with the help of the Turks that were a part of their military campaigns, defeated the Byzantines and re-conquered the Syrian and the Palestinian regions.

The Fatimids relation with the local Maronites was complex and differed with time, it was generally a mix of tolerance and persecution. During the Fatimid's first periods of ruling the Lebanese area, the local Christians were tolerated, during which they lived with autonomy and protection under the Shiites. However, later on, they suffered from a period of persecution and violence from the Fatimids, during which Christian rituals were forbidden and churches were structurally damaged and destructed.

During the middle of the 11th century, due to the retraction of the Fatimid's power in the south and the declination of the Byzantine's strength in the north, with the expansion of the Ayyubids limits and the military pressure by the Seljuks from the east; the presence of the Fatimids in Syria and their assets were gradually fading away. In 1071, the Seljuk Empire expanded its limits into the eastern part of Anatolia, which initiated wars between the Seljuks and the Byzantines that eventually was in favour of the Sunnis. The Seljuks were Sunni Muslims with Turkish and Persian origins. They conquered a part of Syria and expanded their limits until 1097 with the entry of the first Crusaders to the region. The Seljuks imposed their control over the middle eastern countries between 1040 and 1157, during which various art forms, artifacts and architectural features were popularized.

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[70] Salibi 1977, 80-92.

THE CRUSADERS IN LEBANON

At the time when the Crusaders entered the Lebanese territory, the Fatimids had taken over Palestine, conquered Jerusalem and expanded their limits until the Dog River (Nahr ʾal kaleb) to the north of Beirut. The mountainous regions of Lebanon were inhabited by the Maronites and other Christian sects, whereas the coastal regions were occupied by the Sunnites. When the Seljuks took over Anatolia, during 1095, the first crusaders began after they were called, by the Romans of Constantinople, for a military expedition for the Byzantine Empire. The main aim was to help the Byzantines fight the Seljuks and reclaim the previous territories of the Levant, especially the provinces of Syria and Palestine. At first the European's goal, after their entry to Antioch, was to conquer Jerusalem from the Fatimids. In 1097, the Franks, hence Western Latin Christians, entered Antioch and occupied it after wars and conflicts against the Turkish Sunnites of the Seljuks. They resumed their invasion through Lebanon with the aim to conquer the Holy Land of Jerusalem.[71] Hence, Lebanon got to be in the main path of the Crusader's first military advance to Palestine. The start from the Lebanese premises was doomed to be from Arqa (ʿarqā), in the North, which eventually ended in the South, in Tyre.

With the entry of the Franks to Antioch, the Christians with all their sects were the first in line to offer their support,[72] and the locals did not tend to fight their presence. However, the Sunnites who inhabited the coastal areas were the most resistant and reluctant against the Franks, they planned and fought throughout the long war between the two parties until their eventual conquer over the Latin Christian power.[73] Whereas the Fatimids showed minimal military confrontation, especially during the wars between the Crusaders and the Seljuks during which they considered helping the Franks against the Sunnites. However, the situation changed when the Franks approached the Palestinian territory.

The Franks entered the Lebanese territory, in February 1099, from the North through Arqa (ʿarqā),[74] which was known during that time with its 'marvellous fortifications.' The Crusaders stayed in Arqa (ʿarqā) for four months trying to conquer it; however, without any success they left to Tripoli in May 1099. The governor of Tripoli made a treaty with the Franks, during which they

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[71] Foster 2002, 2-3.
[72] Abraham 2012, 64.
[73] Salibi 1977, 238.
[74] Foster 2002, 4-8.

paid them Gold, horses, food, silk and artifacts. After this agreement, the Crusaders spared Tripoli, Arqa (ʿarqā) and Byblos from any invasion and resumed their conquest south through the coastal line of the Lebanese territory. During their journey, they passed through Batroun, Byblos, Nahr Ibrahim, and Beirut in which the governor offered them money for them to spare the region's crops and trees. They moved to Sidon where they stayed for on night. The governor of Sidon decided to harass the Frankish army, mainly as an attempt to fight the Crusaders and stop them from entering Palestine which got to be a majorly failed effort. They passed through Sidon and Tyre, and after around two months, on the 15th of July 1099 Jerusalem was taken by the first Crusaders.

At the end of the 11th century, The Crusaders took control over the Lebanese premises, mainly the mountains. During that period of time, Lebanon was considered as a part of the Crusader's state south-eastern part. Even after their conquer, Muslim princes remained masters of their lands and estates and the newcomers established their communities differently in each region. The situation got complicated during which shifting allies was mainly highlighted, former enemies fought next to the Franks whereas allies transformed into opponents. The north of Lebanon was incorporated into the county of Tripoli, that was initiated in 1190, whereas the south was merged with the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was founded during 1099.

Over the Crusader's reign on the Lebanese territory, their relation with the local Maronites was complex and differed over time. The Maronites were considered as a separated sect of Christianity who were isolation through centuries in the Lebanese mountains. During their entry to Lebanon, the Maronites considered the Franks as potential allies especially against the Muslim rulers, whereas the Crusaders welcomed the support of the Maronites which during that time offered military assistance.[75] The Maronites were a part of the Eastern Catholic church that was independent of the Roman Catholics and had its own rituals and traditions.[76] These religious differences between the two sects led to accumulated tensions and eventual complications. Throughout the coexistence, the Maronites became more integrated into the Christian world, they were influenced by the Western religious costumes while maintaining their own traditions and practices. The relationship between the Maronites and the Crusaders over time got to be highlighted by tension, conflicts and eventual cultural exchange.

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[75] Abraham 2012, 64.
[76] Salibi 1958, 92-99.

During the Crusader's journey throughout Lebanon, they mainly brought war, destruction, disorder and diseases to the region. However, during their reign, the trade system in the country was flourishing, the locals were allowed to remain true to their religious faith as they were allowed to retain their local political authorities and their justice systems. During their presence on the Lebanese territory, the Crusaders built fortified castles all along the coastal line which is one of their enduring structural legacy in Lebanon. These fortresses, even though being reconquered by other captors, are still structurally stable until our current days. The Beaufort Castle, the Byblos castle and Sidon castle are some of the most famous crusader's fortifications that remained until our current days.[77] The Beaufort Castle, [78] known as the Qalʿat ʾal Shaqif, in the south of Lebanon, is one of the Europeans highlighted architectural examples of the region. It was built, during the 1st half of the 12th century, on a hill to protect the area while overlooking the Litani river and the surrounding region. The castle's architecture is highlighted by a rectangular shaped plan and 4 towers on each of its corners. The Beaufort castle, same as all of the Crusader's castles in Lebanon, were conquered many times and went through several structural alterations with each invasion, either with the Mamluks or with the Ottomans as well. It was conquered by Salaḥ ʾal Din by 1190, was re-occupied by the Crusaders until its eventual invasions by the Islamic. The Castle of Byblos, known as the castle of Gibelet,[79] was built during the early 12th century while using construction material from pre-existing ancient roman temples. It overlooked the Mediterranean Sea and took role as a defensive feature during the Crusader's period of reign. It was captured by Salaḥ ʾal Din's troops in 1188 until its re-occupation by the Crusaders. The castle's architecture reflects the remains of Roman, Byzantine and Islamic features implemented into its fabric. The Sidon's Sea castle[80] was built during the 13th century as the fortress of the Holy Land. It was built on an island 80 meters far from the shore of Sidon and linked with the plain surface by a bridge. The fortification was added on the remains of some pre-existing ancient structures, from which Roman columns were structurally implemented in the fabric of the newly built castle. It went through several structural modifications through time, during which the lower part was built by the Crusaders, the upper part added during the Mamluks and a mosque with its dome was built in the upper part during the reign of the Ottomans. The Crusade's architecture that exists in Lebanon is

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[77] The Lebanese premises are highlighted with several Crusader castles and fortresses other than the ones mentioned, as the fortress of Tripoli known by the Citadel of Raymond de Saint Gilles for example.
[78] Kennedy 1994, 41-49, 127-128. Yasmine & Grussenmeyer 2003, 322-327. Nicolle 2004, 60.
[79] Nicolle 2004, 11, 59.
[80] Idem, 13, 15, 21, 45.

a mix of different styles and structural influences that reflects the inhabitancy of several civilisations and the implementation of different religions throughout centuries.

Over the years, the Muslims re-conquered several regions that were captured by the Crusaders; however, it was Salaḥ ʾal Din who had the biggest victory over the Europeans.[81] In 1187, Salaḥ ʾal Din's launched a campaign to re-capture Jerusalem from the Crusaders through the battle of Hattin that was highlighted with the Islamic victory over the Christians. Salaḥ ʾal Din became famous throughout the Muslim world after he his re-conquer of Jerusalem for his defence of Islam. During that same period of time, he was able to conquer Beirut as well from the Christians, however, he did not extend his limits on the whole region, his focus got to be reflected mainly on Palestine. The Crusaders established their control over the county of Tripoli and over Antioch, which were eventually conquered by the Mamluks during the 13th century.

Between 1280 and 1290, the Muslims reconquest over Lebanon began with the Mamluks who ruled over Egypt, Lebanon and Syria until 1517.[82] The Mamluks; which means the slaves in Arabic language, are members of slaved armies who were either captured or bought through time. They took over Egypt, where they originated, and eventually conquered both Lebanon and Syria after driving the Latin Christian Crusaders out of Egypt and the Levant.[83] During the reign of the Mamluks, Lebanon was divided into several provinces where local autonomy for rulers was strictly limited, however, the inhabitants of the interior areas were independently left to manage their own subjects. They encouraged commerce, from which the region of Tripoli, that flourished during their presence.

During the Mamluk's reign, their relation with the local Maronites was complex, which varied between times of peace and other times of conflicts and violence. In the end of the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, due to political and economic instabilities, some of the Maronites, led by their patriarchs, rebelled against the Mamluks, which resulted in violence and persecution against the Christians. This system was not a constant policy between the two parties. However, in later periods, the locals assisted the Muslims and served as governors and officials in the administrative system. Even though this period was highlighted by conflicts and unstable relations with the Mamluks, the Maronites got the chance to maintain a level of political and cultural

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[81] Hindley 1976. Al-Zayn 1986.
[82] Hillenbrand 1983.
[83] Stowasser 1984, 13-20.

autonomy within the Islamic complex. The relation between the Mamluks, who were Sunnites, with the local Shiites was similar with their relation with the Maronites, it was mainly a mix of tolerance and violence. During the beginning of the Mamluks invasion, the Shiites offered military assistance which highlighted a time of acceptance and peace between the two sects. However, the turbulence and the tension began after imposing heavy taxes on the local population.

The Mamluks were known for their historical achievements in writing, their attempt at socio-religious reform and architectural features. They built mosques, monasteries, khans, schools, that mainly taught the Islamic religion, and tombs, especially the tomb mosques that were known by their stone domes and geometric carvings. They left major architectural impact of the castle of the Beaufort,[84] in Nabatiyeh region, that was built during the Crusader's reign. The fortress became eventually a combination between both the Crusaders and the Mamluks architecture. The Mamluks, with their structural achievements all over the conquered Lebanese areas, affected generally the structural imprint of the Lebanese architecture through history. The Mamluks, during their reign, converted some of the existing Christian churches into Islamic mosques. The mosque of Al-Omari in Beirut got to be the perfect example of an ancient mosque that was built during the Islamic invasion in the 7th century, converted into the church of Saint John during the 12th century by the Crusaders and was eventually restored into a mosque by the Mamluks.[85]

THE OTTOMANS

During the early 16th century, the Ottoman's, after their rapid expansion, entered the regions of Egypt and the Levant where they defeated the Mamluks who were taking control since the 13th century. The Ottoman's ruled over the area from the 16th century until the World War I. The Mamluk sultanate even though being eradicated in the Levant, kept its position and influence in Egypt. After the Ottoman's victory in 1517, the Mamluk soldiers and officials stayed in Egypt with minimal political positions and with time were eventually integrated into the Ottoman's administrative system.[86] The defeat of the Mamluks marked the end of a significant interval in the history of the Levant and the start of a more influential and powerful period.

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[84] Kennedy 1994, 41-49, 127-128. Yasmine & Grussenmeyer 2003, 322-327. Nicolle 2004, 60.
[85] Enlart 1904, 121-133.
[86] Salmon 2007, 17-86.

During the Ottoman's reign over the Lebanese territory, Lebanon had its own social and political system.[87] At first it was a part of the Damascus province, however, after the 17th century, Tripoli governed the north, Sidon the south. Both the Lebanese coastal line and the Beqaa (ʾal Biqaʿ) areas were directly ruled from Constantinople, which is nowadays Istanbul. Whereas Mount Lebanon had a semi-autonomous status. The inhabitants of Lebanon were spread throughout its separate regions; the Shiites got to be rooted in the South from which the Druze left to the southern area of Syria and the Maronites expanded in the mountains and went south into the areas that were inhabited previously by the Druze. This system gave the different religious sects, that exist in Lebanon, autonomy in maintaining order in their regions and communities, in exchange of their loyalty to the Empire.

The Ottoman's period of rule in Lebanon, was highlighted by a complex status of economic, political and cultural developments. Beirut was the city that went through economical and cultural flourishing through the emerging of its trade centre and its educational system. However, the Empire imposed heavy taxes on the population and limitation on local political activities, which eventually led to tension and uprising revolts, between the different local religious sects against the Ottomans. The semi autonomy that was consecrated for the locals was the main factor that reflected development on different sectors.

The Ottomans were influenced by the Christian Maronites that were expanding either demographically or structurally throughout all over the Lebanese territory, starting from the mountains, moving to the south until getting to the coastal regions. Monasteries and churches were built all over the Christian villages. During the Ottoman's reign in Lebanon, the Maronites were considered as a separated religious sect from the Orthodox community, which gave them some relative autonomy to build Christian structures. However, this system was not as easy as highlighted, major restrictions and limitations were applied. The Maronites needed to obtain permission from the authorities to be able to build churches and monasteries, which was a long, costly and dreadful procedure. Despite these difficulties, Christians got to reflect their indirect structural expansion throughout centuries. Architectural conversion during that period was majorly highlighted. Remains from ancient pagan structures were discreetly re-used in order to build and to erect new spoliated churches which gave the structure an ancient visual appearance. Overall,

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[87] Miller 1966, 298-318.

the Maronite's Christian architecture in Lebanon reflected different structural features influenced mainly by the diversity of styles and traditions that were implied during that period of time.

With the presence of several civilisations before the Ottoman's, its architecture got to be a mix of Islamic, Turkish and Levantine styles. Lebanon was highlighted throughout the Ottoman's reign, which lasted from the 16th until the 20th century, with a significant architectural development through centuries. The Empire's structural legacy got to be reflected until our days on the Lebanese territory as a relatively rich architectural heritage. Some of their main structures in Lebanon got to be highlighted as the Khan of Al Franj in Sidon[88] and the Ottoman's bath in Tripoli as some of the main architectural examples. The Ottoman's re-used the majority of the structurally stable Crusader's fortresses for several needs. The castles of Sidon and Beaufort were re-inhabited for military defensive purposes, where many architectural modifications were implemented. Whereas both the castles of Byblos and Tripoli were re-used as administrative centres. These castles and fortresses were as well re-purposed before the Ottoman's reign by the Mamluks.

The Ottomans, in general, structurally re-used the existing buildings, either religious or secular, instead of constructing new ones. Other than castles and fortresses, they were established as well on the sites and complexes of early pagan structures, such as the religious complex of Baalbek, that was used for military and defensive purposes.[89] The Ottoman's initiated major restorations on site, to mainly the temples of Jupiter, Bacchus and Venus which were used during that time as facilities for storing and for military services. Other buildings were added to the south of Jupiter's temple. An Ottoman palace was built, during the 18th century, adjacent to the temple of Bacchus, for the governor of the region of Baalbek. During the 19th century, a mosque was built in the complex. Since the Ottoman's appropriation Baalbek, the site was fortified to protect it from further attacks, walls, towers and gatehouses were built. The remains of the Ottomans architecture on the site of Baalbek are still until our current days structurally highlighted. The Ottomans, same as the Mamluks, religiously and structurally converted as well some of the existing Christian churches, in some of the Lebanese areas, to mosques.

Throughout all of the 400 years during which the Ottoman's conquered the Lebanese territory, they took advantage of all structurally stable buildings, either religious or secular, in order to re-

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[88] Weber 2010, 179-240.
[89] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.

use their foundations and their construction materials, when available. They expanded their urban development with less cost possible. The Ottomans established their military and administrative systems in Crusader's fortresses, whereas they re-used some of the existing pagan complexes as defensive structures. They benefited from the fact that Lebanon was inhabited since the ancient times during which civilizations throughout centuries were structurally established.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Lebanon is currently inhabited by different religious sects scattered all around its territory. The Christians, both Catholic and Orthodox, form around 38% of the local population whereas the Sunnis and the Shiites are almost equally demographically present with 27% each, the Druze highlight around 5% of the locals and the minorities of 3% represented by the Alawites, the Protestants and the Jews. These religious factions are differently geographically dispersed through the Lebanese territory. The Christians are mainly concentrated in the Mount Lebanon and the Metn areas, in parts of Beirut and its suburbs, in the cities of Keserwan, Jbeil and Baabda. They are as well present in the northern part of Lebanon and in some of its southern cities like in Tyre and partially in Sidon. Whereas the Sunnis are dispersed through the northern areas, especially in Akkar and in Tripoli, where some others are based in Beirut and in the Beqaʿ valley. The Shiites in Lebanon, are based in the south, mainly in Sidon, Tyre, Nabatiyeh, southern suburbs of Beirut and in the Beqaʿ valley as well. These religious demographical distributions are general patterns that were a result of the presence of several civilisations with different religious affiliations throughout the centuries. Some variation in the distribution within some of the Lebanese territories was in order, which is highlighted for example with the presence of Shiite population in Jbeil that is reflected as a Christian region or with the inhabitancy of Christians in the south of Lebanon mainly populated by the Shiites.

Throughout the centuries and throughout the inhabitancy of the Lebanese territory by several invaders, starting with the Romans until the Ottomans, Lebanon was deeply affected and influenced by each civilisation on all of its possible levels. However, the sector that got to be majorly affected was the structural and the architectural part. With the diversity of the religious affiliations that inhabited the Lebanese territory, during the same time, several religious architectural types of buildings coexisted. Even when rendered religiously passive, temples,

churches and mosques, either ruined or structurally stable, existed in the same period of time. The highlighted feature got to be the re-usage of the already existing structure, disregarding its structural type or its religious origin, used to build new structures that reflected the adopted religion of each concerned region. Churches were being built while using blocks and structural elements from existing pagan temples, while mosques were added on the foundations of existing churches. Even the secular military structures, as the fortresses that were built during the Crusaders, were highlighted with re-used fabric from ruined temples, such as the castle of Sidon,[90] and were accordingly re-purposed during the reign of the Mamluks and the Ottomans who followed. The diversity of the civilizations that conquered and inhabited the Lebanese territory, since the Bronze Age until our current days, got to be the main feature that affected the religious and secular site's structural endurance over the centuries.

One of the main historical phases that deeply affected the architectural features of the Lebanese territory, got to be the Roman period and the time of its religious and architectural conversion which affected either directly or indirectly the Syrian province, the Eastern Empire and the whole world. It is highlighted by Ball that Rome's fascination with the East started during the reign of the first Christian emperor the Syrian Philip the Arab, during which Rome celebrated her 1000 years of existence.[91] The West was the origin of the Roman Empire and existed long before the East was conquered, hence the West should have had the biggest impact on the rest of the Empire. However, the East triumphed over the West, especially after the Empire's religious and architectural conversion due to Christianity's expansion. Christianity was the major result that originated from the East leaving the biggest impact on the whole empire. It was a private religion since the 1st century AD; however, it went gradually throughout an expansion until it got to be the official religion of the Empire instead of Paganism.

The East had its own architectural identity even before the Roman's conquest, hence after their entry major differences were highlighted between the eastern and the western Roman architecture. The proportion got to be one of the main differences; the eastern temples had a bigger geographical imprint than the western ones, especially with the presence of the temenos in the East with its absence in the western part. Differences in construction materials used affected their similarities, the temples of the West were built using brick while in the East stones were the most used

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[90] Nicolle 2004, 11, 59.
[91] Ball 2000, 417-418.

construction material. With the Empire's religious and architectural conversion from Paganism to Christianity, the structural transformation originated from Constantinople rather than the Syrian regions. Hence, the newly built churches had more of a western architectural influence rather than an eastern imprint.

Christianity reached its peak of expansion during and after the Theodosian reign, who assured its unity all over the Empire. However, it got to its lowest, after some period of time, during the Islamic conquest in the East with the Umayyads. Christianity's implementation had its ups and downs after it was restored later on and re-established during the Medieval period. The structural survival of the pagan temples and their architectural conversion got to be one of the steadiest processes that was practiced throughout all of the centuries.

Christianity's activities over the centuries were mainly affected by the Christian's relation with the conquerors, hence the local Maronites. Throughout the history, the Maronites faced periods of political and religious stability, whereas in other times they went through tensions, violence and persecution. Churches constructions and structural conversions were mainly relying on the political relations with the invaders.

During the Islamic conquest, constructing Christian churches got to be a rather limited activity. However, when the Maronites were established in the mountains, an enhanced autonomy was highlighted which was mainly reflected with the Christian's religious and structural expansion in the mountains. During that period and in some cases, invaders conquered some of the Christian religious spaces in which some were converted into mosques. Structural remains going back to the Umayyads were found inside of Yanouh's[92] temenos area, which indicate that the Islam might have taken over the site. This time was highlighted by the relocation of the Maronite Patriarchate from Yanouh to Mayfouq.

After the entry of the Franks, the Maronites were considered as a support to the Crusaders, mainly due to their religious affiliation. However, during the medieval period, the overall region of Lebanon was not politically unified under the same ruling dynasty. It was ruled by several rulers in different regions, which indicate the Christian expansion in some regions and their persecution

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[92] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

in others, all during the same chronological timeframe. The Crusaders built churches, monasteries and castles; it was a period of religious and military architectural expansion through the Lebanese territory.

During the Mamluks and the Ottoman's periods, the Christians went through major events of violence and persecution, paralleled with some years of stability and autonomy. Even though building churches during that time, was a limited and very restricted option under the Islamic rule, the local Christians were able to expand by structurally converting existing ancient pagan temples into Christian churches. The conversion system differed from adding an apse into a structurally stable temple to completely dismantling the ruined shrine and re-use its construction material to build several other churches. During the Mamluks and the Ottomans, the conversion was not limited to Paganism and Christianity; Christian churches were as well transformed into Islamic Mosques and Pagan temples were functionally transformed into military camps or were dismantled and used in order to build spoliated fortresses. The architectural diversity during that period got to be a mix between religious entities which inhabited and influenced Lebanon's heritage; Paganism, Christianity and Islam.

Since the entry of the Romans to the East, and the conversion of the Empire from Paganism to Christianity, temples that existed were transformed into churches either directly, by embodying its foundations, or indirectly, by considering the shrine as a structural quarry. However, with the Arab invasion to the area, either with the Umayyads, the Mamluks or with the Ottomans, Islamic structures and mosques were being built as well, leaving a structural religious imprint on the affected area. With the Islamic-Christian coexistence on the territory of one country throughout the ages, an urban and architectural mix of the established structural heritage got to be majorly reflected through its regions.

2.GEOGRAPHICAL SETTINGS

Lebanon is a small country of the Middle East, on the Mediterranean coastline, with an area of 10452 square kilometres and the city of Beirut as its capital. It has a roughly rectangular shape with a length of around three times its width. Lebanon is bordered with the Mediterranean Sea from the west, Syria from both the north and the east and Israel from the south. The country's location since the ancient times made it the most suitable for commerce and trade as it was considered as a link between the Mediterranean area with India and Asia.

Lebanon is considered until nowadays as a Phoenician country as it was inhabited since the beginning of ages, mainly since 3000 BC. The Phoenician Empire corresponds nowadays of parts of the modern Syria from the north, the modern territory of Lebanon and parts of the modern Israel from the south (Map 1). The limits of the Empire differed with time, as it expanded during its peak and shrank during its lowest, however, some regions were considered as Phoenicia's main cities such as Byblos, Tyre, Sidon and Beirut.

THE PHOENICIAN EMPIRE (3rd century BC)
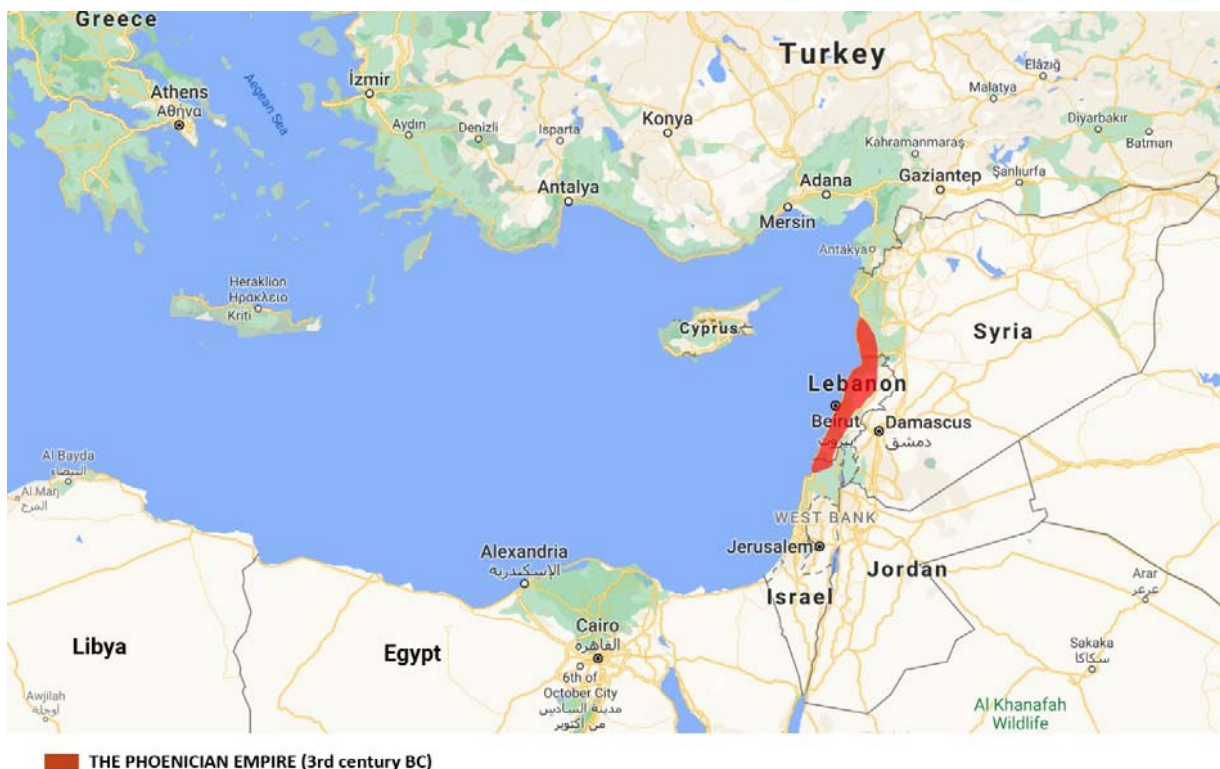
Map 1: The limits of the Phoenician Empire

After the entry of the Roman Empire to the East in 64 BC by the general Pompey the Great, the modern territory of Lebanon was incorporated into the Syrian Roman province (Map 2). The cities of Tyre, Sidon and Beirut were self-governed. The geographical limits of the province differed with time depending on the Empire's conquests and on the province's expansion that differed throughout the reign of each emperor. However, during the Roman reign, the two most important cities of the modern territory of Lebanon were Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Berytus (Beirut).

■ THE SYRIAN ROMAN PROVINCE (2nd century AD)

Map 2: The limits of the Roman Syrian province

Lebanon was inhabited throughout all of the centuries in which several invasions and conquests occurred. Its limits differed with each period through its conquerors; during the Byzantine period, the Islamic invasions, the presence of the Umayyads, the Crusaders, the Mamelukes and during the Ottoman's reign. Lebanon got its independence and its current geographical limits after the French mandate in 22nd of November 1943. Nowadays the modern territory of Lebanon is divided into 8 governorates; Akkar, Baalbek Hermel, Beirut, Beqaa, Mount Lebanon, Nabatiyeh, North and South, and it is subdivided into 25 districts (**Error! Reference source not found.**).

The religiously and architecturally converted roman temples are scattered all around the Lebanese territory, while being more condensed in some areas rather than the others (Map 3). The gap of the converted sites' geographical distribution was majorly affected with the religious Christian

continuity in each area. The distribution of the converted sites highlights geographically the religious and architectural history of the region. The highly presence of the transformed sites in Byblos and Batroun, for example, reflects the continuity of Christianity throughout time, whereas its total non-existence in the southern region indicates the presence of non-Christian population throughout the centuries.

Map 3: The modern map of Lebanon with the converted sites

PART II – PAGAN/EARLY CHRISTIAN ARCHITECTURE

1.TEMPLE'S CONVERSION

INTRODUCTION

The 4th and 5th centuries, reflected Christianity's aggressive social, architectural and structural reaction towards Paganism, especially after being declared the Empire's official religion. From the times of emperor Constantine (306-337) until emperor Theodosius II (408-450), laws were being issued to convert Paganism's existing memory. Constantine started his religious campaign with one main purpose to dishonor the rituals,[93] while Theodosius concluded this movement by issuing the Codex Theodosianus[94] reflecting official legislations against Paganism and its believers. Christianity's relation with Paganism went from being individually violent to being structurally aggressive against pagan architecture and related artifacts.

The visual and physical elements were the main targets in order to ensure the cities' religious conversion, thus the visual destruction would reflect the ending of its pre-converted memories. Pagan temples and shrines, were the first elements that got affected with the Empire's religious conversion, being the visual reflection of Paganism. They were either being destroyed or dismantled, while others were abandoned and rendered inactive. Many factors affected on the temple's final fate, however, a large amount of these shrines got converted into Christian churches through several timeframes while applying different types of conversion.

Disregarding the pagan temple's final fate, each shrine got through several phases to achieve its secularization before being either structurally converted into a church or destroyed, dismantled and eventually totally abandoned. This chapter will highlight the diversity of religious and social factors and changes that affected the temple's structural and architectural fate.

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[93] Eusebius, 146 (III, 57).
[94] Cod. Theod., XVI 472-475.

THE START OF THE END

Christianity took several directions before getting her roots imprinted into the Roman society. Even though it started with emperor Constantine the Great (306-337) during the beginning of the 4th century, however the pagan temples got through resurgence after that. The crucial phase that led to the official end of Paganism, in the first half of the 5th century, existed between the emperors Theodosius I (379-395) and Theodosius II (408-450).

The religious and architectural conversion process started discreetly, since the 3rd century, with the destruction of the domestic pagan shrines.[95] However it went from a religious domestic and unnoticeable destruction to a public one after being set as an example by the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337). During the beginning of the 4th century, Constantine started in Jerusalem with the total destruction of the assumingly once existing temple of Aphrodite built by Hadrian and the construction of the Holy Sepulcher church on the same site. The main reason of this temple's removal was the excavation of the Savior's cave that was made invisible by the pagans to the rest of the world.[96] This act resulted with the legitimate destruction of the temple in order to proclaim an important Christian site, thus the expulsion of the pagan spirits and the construction of a Christian church. Constantine concluded his strategy all over Constantinople and over the provinces as well. He ordered the destruction of several pagan sites which were known for their infamous rituals,[97] however each one of these locations was differently treated.

The modern territory of Lebanon, contains two pagan sites which were ordered to be destructed by Constantine and highlighted by Eusebius; Aphrodite's temple of Afqa (Aphaca) and Venus' temple of Heliopolis in Phoenicia (Baalbek).[98] The temple of Afqa,[99] even though located '*off the beaten track away from main roads and junctions*',[100] was one of the sites which were ordered to be destructed due to the execution of prostitution rituals. As mentioned by Eusebius, Constantine sent soldiers to the site of Afqa in order to ensure its complete destruction and the removal of its dedications. However, the temple got his activity back according to Zosimus during his visit in the

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[95] Caseau 2004, 113.
[96] Eusebius, 132-133 (III, 26-29).
[97] Fox 1986, 625-626.
[98] Eusebius, 144, 146-147 (III, 55, 58).
[99] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.
[100] Eusebius, 144-145 (III, 55).

end of the 5th century, where he witnessed the execution of pagan activities on site.[101] Pagans considered all-natural sources around the temple as sacred elements; trees, caves, water sources… thus even with a destructed shrine, rituals were still being performed. This is the case of most of the temples that got destructed during the reign of emperor Constantine but got through resurgence after that.

Venus' temple of Heliopolis,[102] was as well one of the temples that got destructed with the official beginning of Christianity. *'Heliopolis in Phoenicia, where those who worshipped unbridled pleasure under the title of Aphrodite had in the past allowed their wives and daughters without restraints to act as prostitutes.'*[103] Constantine (306-337) had forbidden the execution of any old notorious customs and ordered the erection of a new church in the center of Aphrodite's shrine, thus causing structural damages and eventually converting it into a church. However, even after religiously and physically converting the temple of Venus, the site of Baalbek, consisting of several other shrines, remained an active pagan center until the end of the 6th century. This religious duality was as well highlighted in the site of Faqra[104] where Paganism was still active even after the conversion of the existing structurally damaged small temple into a temenos church.[105] During the reign of emperor Julian (361-363), as by Sozomen,[106] he took revenge after the conversion of the temple by restoring the shrine, resuming the vicious sacrifices to pagan Gods and the prostitution rituals as well. Paganism existed for a long time before Christianity and laws alone could not ensure the Empire's religious transition. Like most conversions, it was meant to be a slow, gradual and steady procedure.

Religiously converting an entire society, destructing all the Empire's temples and banning the practice of all pagan rituals was an impossible task to accomplish during the chronological reign of Constantine (306-337). According to Eusebius; Constantine sent his emissaries to every dark cave and every temple's recess in order to forbid the execution of their rituals,[107] which is not as thorough as implied. Cult acts were limited and some temples had a big share of demolition,

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[101] Zosimus, I LVIII.
[102] Collart 1951, 241-259, Ragette 1980, Nordiguian 2005, 18-45, Vann 2006, Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[103] Eusebius, 146-147 (III, 58).
[104] Renan 1864, 335-339. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 20-26, 40-55. Nordiguian 2005, 150-159. Aliquot 2009, 261-267. Newson 2019, 116-138.
[105] Aliquot 2009, 264.
[106] Sozomen, 199-242 (V).
[107] Eusebius, 145-146 (III, 57).

especially after being legislated as one of the first laws against Paganism by Constantius II (337-361) during the middle of the 4th century.[108] However, a time lag existed between the legislation and the implementation. Paganism had its continuity, and rituals were still being executed. Moreover, Paganism went back to being the official religion of the Empire, during the reign of emperor Julian who ensured the pagan's religious and architectural restoration. He ordered the re-opening of all temples, the renovation of all the neglected and destroyed shrines, as well as restoring all altars and resuming the sacrifice's offerings.[109] However Julian's short time of reign had no big impact on the damage accomplished by the Christians, which were more architectural and structural rather than individual. Paganism's resurgence existed after Julian with both emperors Valentinian I (364-375) and Valens (364-378) who continued his strategy. Even though highlighted by persecution, this period reflected Christianity's expansion as well.[110]

Christianity took back control with both emperors Gratian (367-383) and Valentinian II (375-392) when religious and architectural persecution against Paganism was resumed. The attacks were mainly achieved by the monks and bishops with the aim to eradicate the pagans by destroying temples and building churches.[111] However the Theodosian reign, was the one that brought back Constantius' efforts on legally imprinting Christianity into the Empire. The Codex Theodosianus[112] came to life in 438, as a collective legislation that sums up all the Christian laws made from its beginning. The end of the 4th century encountered the implementation of the issued laws against the pagan structures, its practiced rituals and against its religion as an institution. All private and public sacrifices were banned, any notorious offerings were punished by the confiscation of private properties,[113] and rural temples were to be destructed.[114] The limitation of the ritual's performance, stripping all support and funding needed for the shrine's maintenance as well as the structural attacks applied on the temples were the main elements that resulted a permanent damage on Paganism. As mentioned by Bagnall; '*it is not belief that was lost but cult as an organizing*

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[108] Bayliss 2001, 31.
[109] Sozomen, 206-208 (V III).
[110] Idem, 242-312 (VI).
[111] Caseau 2004, 119.
[112] Pharr 2001.
[113] Cod. Theod., XVI 10, 12.
[114] Idem, XVI 10, 14; XVI 10, 16.

principle in society was lost. ’[115] It was a process to ensure the Empire's religious and architectural conversion which gradually led to the end of institutional Paganism.

During this procedure to disconnect the temple as an architectural element from its religious duty, each one of the shrines got through dissimilar procedures that led to its eventual physical and religious fate. Some were ultimately dismantled, others got converted during different timeframes while the rest got through complete abandonment. Most of the temples that were converted during Constantine's reign got through resurgence, however most of these shrines often had its inevitable Christianisation, which is the case of both of Afqa's[116] and Baalbek's[117] sites mentioned above. Although each shrine got through a different scenario and had a different changing process, some general steps were applied in order to ensure a proper and official transformation that undoubtedly affected the temple's structural longevity.

Secularization and purification

After the beginning of Christianity, pagan temples were either completely destroyed, abandoned, or acquired for new types of usage; either religious, social or even official. However, regardless of its structural fate, many scenarios were provided to highlight its religious compliance with Christianity. Even though each temple was treated differently, secularization was one of the first steps adopted on the majority of the pagan shrines with the aim to eradicate any trace of Paganism. Secularization is the process through which religious establishments, such as the pagan temples lose its values and significance towards secular and non-religious institutions.

Christians' main aim was to secularize the pagan shrines, render them non-religious before re-sacralizing and Christianizing them. The level of actions taken to ensure the temple's spiritual cleansing varied from the shrine's violent structural deconsecration to its minimal purification. Many factors affected the degree of secularization accomplished; the chronology of the temple's deconsecration as well as the types of pagan rituals practiced before the Empire's Christianisation.

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[115] Bagnall 1993, 268.

[116] Aphrodite's temple of Afqa, initially destructed by Constantine, was finally converted into a church during the medieval ages by adding a Christian apse into its *cella*.

[117] Baalbek's site was fully Christianized during Byzantine times, assumingly between the 5th and the 6th centuries. Venus's temple, originally converted during the reign of emperor Constantine, was dedicated to Saint Barbara and a Byzantine Basilica for Saint Peter was built by the emperor Theodosius II in the temenos area of Jupiter's temple.

Between the 4th and 5th centuries, most pagan temples were being deconsecrated either before their destruction or before its structural conversion, which was mainly accomplished by monks and bishops.[118] However, during this procedure, some of the temples were left to decay before their eventual secularization. These shrines, either in the end of the Byzantine period or during the medieval one, were either majorly damaged and used as quarries or, if structurally stable, were purified and converted into Christian churches afterwards.

The infamous pagan rituals and their notorious services, such as prostitution and blood sacrifices, were one of the main reasons leading to some violent structural engagements towards the pagan shrines. The more vicious and bloodier the pagan ceremonies were, the more severe the actions had to be taken in order to secularize the temple. It varied from having some minimal structural reactions towards the temple to completely dismantling the building.

The first target to deconsecrate any temple, was the Pagan statues, which were removed from the interior area of the cella, publicly humiliated as 'demonic',[119] purified by Christian crosses (Figure 8, Figure 9, Figure 11), then either severely damaged or completely destroyed.[120] A large amount of the statues were decapitated and re-purposed for religious, artistic or even structural purposes. In Saint Elie medieval spolia church of Blat[121] in Lebanon, a decapitated roman statue is structurally used in the inner western wall of the church (Figure 10). The pagan shrines were as well despoiled from all the wealthy items, which were mainly removed from the temples and recycled into Christian artifacts. Stripping the shrine from its imageries and valuable objects, hence its pagan symbolism, acquired the Christians an important amount of wealth, led to temples' deconsecration and eventually to the end of institutional Paganism. Other than materialistic damage, the secularization of temples led to architectural and structural destructions from which the degree differed from site to another. Pagan temples had two main sacred spaces, which where the focus of the ceremonial and ritual practices: the altar and the adytum. The altar that mainly faced the roman temple, is an open-air structure, accessible for public, on which the pagan rituals were practiced and the sacrifices were offered. The adytum, existed in the inner area of some temples, especially the ones existing in the Eastern Empire, it mainly housed the God's statue and was only accessible by the pagan priests. The altar and the adytum, highlighting the temple's most

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[118] Caseau 2004, 116-118.
[119] Fox 1986, 628-629.
[120] Bayliss 2001, 37, 39.
[121] Renan 1864, 223-226. Nordiguian 2005, 182-183. Aliquot 2009, 251. Nordiguian 2009, 163-166.

sacred spaces, were damaged and dismantled in many cases due to Christian aggression. The temple of Yanouh (Yānūḥ)[122] had its altar and adytum removed in order to be secularized during the site's first Christianisation in the 5th century. The shrine was afterwards architecturally converted during the 12th century, by adding an apse into its pronaos. In order to render all pagan sites non-religious and achieve their secularization, the structural Christian aggression varied all over the Empire, from the removal of the altar and adytum, to the building's complete destruction.

Christian monks, being '*the supreme destroyers of paganism*,'[123] had one main purpose to convert the Empire into Christianity. They were determined on damaging the pagan shrines, deconsecrating them, converting some of them into churches while constructing some new ones. They started with either secularizing the temples by causing some architectural damage, or purifying them by adding Christian symbols into its structure. Purification, having a lower structural impact on the temple's architecture rather than the secularization, helped indirectly with the extension of the shrine's structural longevity.

Pagan structures could have been purified throughout several scenarios; either on pagan sites where no blood sacrifices were practiced, during the temple's partial destruction or dismantlement, after its isolation or neglect and during its architectural conversion. Purification was mainly adopted to reflect Christianity's spiritual victory over the pagan temples. It was practiced by either engraving crosses on the shrine's architectural elements, by structurally adding a Christian church into its inner area or by applying both measurements. The purification process was assumingly accompanied by chanting rituals practiced by Holy men, for which the main reason was to prevent the return of the '*pagan demons*.'[124] The engraved Christian crosses were mainly emphasized on the temple's doorways and visible masonry in order to keep the demons away from entering its structure even after a certain period of isolation and abandonment. When the pagan shrine got to be structurally unstable after its deconsecration, it was dismantled and used as a quarry especially for new church's construction purposes. Its masonry was generally purified before being structurally re-used, which is highlighted in the spolia church of Saint Tekla in Chikhane.[125] The

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[122] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[123] Fox 1986, 381.

[124] Bayliss 2001, 40.

[125] Renan 1864, 240. Nordiguian 2009, 166-168. Davie 2012, 143, 204-225.

inner space of the medieval spolia church is divided into three naves separated by Hellenistic columns. These re-purposed drums were dismantled from a once existing pagan shrine and were purified during a certain period of time, either during the temple's deconsecration or just before their structural re-usage, with engraved Christian crosses (Figure 9). The purification procedure of a pagan structure is demonstrated as well by its religious and architectural conversion after adding a Christian church into its premises. The transformation process can be applied using different structural types of conversion, which will be reflected later on.

The church was considered as an unpolluted structure that ensured the space's spiritual cleansing from pagan rituals highlighted as demonic bloodshed.[126] Purification by structural conversion occurred during different timeframes. It started during the beginning of Christianity, when the main purpose was to purify the pagan sites by structurally adding a Christian church into its structure, which is the case of the temple of Venus in Baalbek that got through conversion during the reign of Constantine (306-337). During the medieval period, abandoned and isolated temples did not acquire the same amount of attention to purification as those deconsecrated during the tension of the Empire's religious transformation.[127] The main target got to be the need of a space to practice Christian rituals rather than for deconsecration purposes.

Purification and deconsecration became a standard practice in order to purify each pagan site before either abandoning it or converting it into a Christian church. During the medieval period, the abandoned pagan temple of Bziza[128] was converted into a church by adding two apses oriented perfectly to the east protruding with an angle from the cella's northern eastern wall. Some engraved crosses were found on the temple's structural masonry which might have been added during the site's purification before its architectural conversion. Two forked crosses were found; on the central western column's drum and on the inner side of the northern apse (Figure 8). The site was purified by adding some crosses and by removing all of Paganism's symbols, either architectural or materialistic. The temple's purification was ensured by applying some minimal structural damage that eventually led to the site's architectural and functional conversion, hence its physical longevity and structural durability.

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[126] Eusebius, 279.
[127] Bayliss 2001, 38.
[128] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwagi-Janho 2020, 249-303.

Temple's destruction

The act of destroying a pagan temple and rendering it religiously passive during the Roman period was never an intentional practice unless being an inevitable result from a natural disaster. However, it became a standard practice with the beginning of Christianity, especially during the 4th century. Constantine ordered the demolition of several shrines mainly where prostitution and orgiastic rituals were executed. The pagan rituals were still being practiced which led to uncontrollable and chaotic structural aggression towards the shrines. A legislation was in place during that time to structurally save the temples and ensure their physical continuity even when eradicating Paganism was the main target.

The Christian monks and bishops were the main anti pagans' destructors who always had an undisputable reason to cause structural damage to the shrines. The monks considered the temples as '*real dwellings of Demons*,'[129] which is a view of the pagan shrines that originated mainly from the eastern monastic life rather than the western one. The presence of demons in the pagan structures was way more emphasized than needed, it was more as publicity and a reason to destroy temples. Eradicating Paganism was in order especially during the 4th century due to believes in the healing abilities of the shrines. Hence, their main aim was to destroy the temples as they were considered the house of the pagan Gods and the center of all demons; a structural aggression that was looked as a great achievement.

During 438, a series of laws were established by emperor Theodosius II and went into force in both the eastern and the western Empires in 439. A vast amount of materials were collected since the reign of emperor Constantine until Theodosius II to codify regulations and to assemble what was to become the Theodosian code. The code is a series of 16 books and more than 2500 laws that covered political, cultural, socioeconomical and religious subjects of the Roman empire during the 4th and the 5th centuries. Section 10 of the 16th book was dedicated to the pagans and their temples and reflected laws concerning the structural conversion of the shrines. This section was issued especially after the uncontrollable structural aggression from the Christians towards the pagan temples. The sacrifices and rituals were forbidden and sentences were in order to everyone practicing un-famous rituals. '*Let the madness of sacrifices be abolished*.'[130] Pagan temples should be closed and religiously passive, hence, no destructions or structural damage should be deducted.

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[129] Wiśniewsky 2016, 111.
[130] Cod. Theod., XVI 10, 2.

The altar, being the main physical element where pagan rituals were being executed, should be demolished in an effort to ban any further sacrifices. It was issued that no vacant temple should be demolished or damaged, nonetheless it should remain intact for further re-usage.[131] The codex granted the local bishops the power to forbid the execution of any pagan rituals,[132] a law that was emphasized a bit differently than entitled. Different attitudes were taken towards the execution of the laws of the codex Theodosianus. Whenever the chances permitted to, structural damage and demolitions were executed on pagan sites especially when peaceful ways of persuasion were insufficient to terminate the act of celebrating pagan sacrifices and rituals.[133] Even though the degree of destruction differed from site to another, general structural steps were in order.

The fate of the temples depended on structural, religious, social, urban and practical considerations. However, the majority had a series of structural damage that influenced on its architectural and functional fate. The structural attacks against pagan temples started during the 4th century, temples were being burnt down, torn down, dismantled and/or purified after the erection of a Christian church on its premises. The altar and the adytum were the first physical elements that were demolished, they were considered as the essence of Paganism. With their removal, celebrating pagan sacrifices would have been harder to practice. It was forbidden to any member to enter the temples, thus, the stairs leading to the pronaos were dismantled as well. The majority of the shrines were burnt which led to the destruction of the timber roof and the entrance door. All the attempts were taken, both structurally and socially to eradicate Paganism and to ensure the eventual abandonment of temples. Destroying the temples and/or architecturally converting it into a Christian church was a powerful feature that led to the assuming religious and structural triumph of Christianity against Paganism.

Resistance, Abandonment & Continuity

Even though Constantine's reign (306-337) ensured the official foundation of Christianity, pagan temples were still active and rituals were still being performed during the 4th century. Christian structural aggression towards the pagan temples got to its peak during that period, a phase that

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[131] Idem, XVI 10, 18.
[132] Idem, XVI 10, 19, 3.
[133] Saradi 1990, 49.

assumingly caused a social conflict between pagans and Christians.[134] During the end of the 4th century, laws were being issued in order to protect temples. It was initiated by Constantius II (337-361), who ordered the preservation of all temples outside of the city's walls, '*they shall remain intact and uninjured.*'[135] However, no accountability was in order when the laws were neglected.

Emperor Julian took over the Roman empire from 361 until 363, his time of reign was dedicated solely for Paganism's restoration through a series of temple's reconstruction and church's destruction. He started with the execution of Christians, he banned the practice of Christian rituals, re-opened the pagan temples, and concluded with the celebration of sacrifices. Many cities ignored the emperor's orders on restoring paganism and shrines, as many others ignored the demands regarding the temple's closure during the start of Christianity. The shortness of Julian's reign did not affect the empire on a wide range as he could not restore the Paganism's full power during this short period of time. However, his presence and laws to maintain Paganism as the official religion, put a hold on the increasing policies against the pagans and their temples, either religious, social or structural. If it wasn't for his and his predecessor's reign, eradicating Paganism were to be a faster procedure. He is partially responsible for the eventual preservation and the structural survival of pagan temples.

After the reign of emperor Julian, Christian dominance was gradually rising as its population grew during that period of time, which led to tension and conflicts between Christians and pagans that escalated accordingly. The conflicts that arose in Alexandria during in 391AD that led to the destruction of Serapeum[136] is the perfect example that highlighted the main events of that period. Between 381 and 391AD, the emperor Theodosius I (379-395) issued a series of edicts that prohibited the practice of pagan rituals, mandated the closure of all shrines and the destruction of pagan statues and icons. After the issuing of the edicts, the bishop of Alexandria, Theophilus got from the emperor a permission to destroy and convert pagan temples into Christian churches. While structurally eradicating paganism, the Christians publicly displayed and humiliated the pagan statues which arose the anger of the pagans and highlighted tension and conflicts between them. According to the Christians actions against paganism, the pagans of Alexandria while taking refuge in the Serapeum physically attacked the Christians, killed some of them and wounded

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[134] Bayliss 2001, 42.
[135] Idem.
[136] Rufinus XI, 23. Socrates V, 17. Sozomen VII, 15. Theodoret V, 22. Trombley 1995, I 129-145.

others.[137] Abiding by the laws issued by Theodosius I (379-395), the Roman authorities besieged the Serapeum and restored order around the area. The Serapeum was afterwards deconsecrated after destroying the God Serapis' statue and removing all pagan artifacts from the temple's inner area. Sozomen highlights that after the deconsecration of the temple, it was converted into a Christian church.[138] However, it was archaeologically proven that during that time, a church was built next to the Serapeum not even inside of its temenos.[139]

After the fall of Serapeum in Alexandria, it is highlighted by Rufinus that structural aggression towards pagan temples spread throughout the region.[140] Even with Christian dominance, there were still pagans in the cities who tried to defend their beliefs and the shrines where they practiced their rituals. Conflicts expanded gradually around Alexandria, getting through Gaza, Syria, Lebanon and all over the eastern part.[141] Bishops and monks around the Empire made it their duty to structurally eradicate Paganism and Christianize temples. It was during the end of the 4th century that structural actions towards the temples gradually decelerated. The main goal became to abolish the practice of all pagan rituals and destroy their idols while keeping the temple structurally stable for future public purposes.[142]

The 5th century got to be the time when the temple's preservation was ensured, especially after the erection of the codex Theodosianus. The shrines had structural protection with stricter punishment to anyone neglecting the laws. Since the beginning of Christianity, the main aim was to ensure the temple's secularization to make them unreligious. However, the pagan shrines were doomed with either being destructed and dismantled or religiously and architecturally converted which ensured their eventual preservation. After the 6th century, the temples were religiously passive, they were either destructed and severely damaged, converted into Christian churches or abandoned and rendered unfunctional. During that time until the medieval period, destroying existing and abandoned temples was not the priority anymore, however, they were considered as abandoned structures available for re-purpose. This led to the eventual conversion and functional durability of abandoned temples during the medieval period.

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[137] Sozomen VII, 15.
[138] Idem.
[139] Wiśniewski 2016, 16.
[140] Caseau 2004, 120.
[141] Sozomen VII, 15.
[142] Saradi 1990, 49.

The Theodosian legislations

The Theodosian legislations, reflected as the Codex Theodosianus,[143] is a compilation of laws and regulations of the Roman Empire that were issued since the start of Christianity by Christian emperors. Laws against pagans were erected since 311 during the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337), during which political, religious, structural and social actions against Paganism as an institution were applied. The Codex was issued in 438 during the reign of the emperors Theodosius II (408-450) and Valentinian III (425-455).

During March 429, the emperor Theodosius II announced his intentions to form a series of legislations, the Codex, that had one main purpose to unify all the laws that were issued since the official start of Christianity, hence from the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337) until the reign of both emperors Theodosius II (408-450) and Valentinian III (425-455). In that same year, two teams of 22 scholars were assigned on assembling all imperial constitutions since the reign of Constantine, a mission that went on for 9 consecutive years.[144] During 438, the legislated codex was published and was established all over both of the Eastern and the Western Empires. The resultant product was a series of 16 books and around 2500 laws that covered religious, political, socioeconomical, architectural and structural subjects of the Roman Empire's 4th and the 5th centuries.[145] It was written in Latin language and referred to both of the Empire's capitals, Constantinople in the East and Rome in the West. Theodosius' main objective was to solidify Christianity as the Empire's official religion as he was attempting as well to create a simplified single code to be used as a legalized reference for the empire.

The 16th book of the constitution is the one that mainly highlighted the moral code of the Catholic Christian behaviours while enlisting laws and restrictions against pagans, Jews and generally the heretics with their religious activities and rituals. Richard Bayliss divided this part of the Codex into three sections;[146] laws that encouraged the religious and the structural conversion from Paganism into Christianity of the whole Empire including the administrative and the aristocracy subjects, laws and punishments against religious activities that are other than Christianity and laws concerned about implementing the laws. It generally reflected the will of the Empire's to unify the practice of Christianity '*and that everyone should believe in the single Deity of the Father, the Son*

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[143] Harries & Wood 1993. Matthews 2000. Pharr 2001.
[144] Lenski 2003, 337-340.
[145] Matthews 2000, 10-18.
[146] Bayliss 2001, 238.

and the Holy Spirit, under the concept of equal majesty and the Holy Trinity.'[147] The ones who followed the rule were entitled as Catholic Christians, however, everyone who did not comply to the laws, was adjudged as demented and insane.

The pagans, the Jews, the Samaritans and the heretics, hence everyone who did not submitted to Christianity, were described in the Codex as *dangerous specs* for whom laws were issued in order to restrict their activities. They were considered as *enemies*. No offices nor administrative services were submitted to them, as it was legislated that they will never become the executors of the Empire's laws nor will have the power to judge against Christians. No religious buildings other than churches should rise and everyone who taught or practiced evil over Christianity, was subjected to death sentence while confiscating his wealth.[148]

The 10th section of the 16th book reflected laws against pagans specifically, their rituals and their sacred temples. This category was mainly specified for the religiously active pagans who were still visiting temples and practicing unfamous rituals. Eradicating Paganism and abolishing sacrifices were the main aim. The legislations were solely directed to the religiously active temples, whereas the passive shrines, disregarding their locations, were ordered to be structurally preserved and to be remained untouched.[149] The passive, 'unpolluted' temples were considered as the perfect options to be directly converted into a church during a certain period of time. The active temples should be closed as it was forbidden to access its premises. All of the pagans that were found practicing rituals should be *slain by the sword of vengeance,*[150] and the ones who were engaged in any rites or entered any temple should pay 15 pounds of gold.[151] In further laws, it was ordered that pagans who were caught practicing rituals will be subject to capital punishment, the confiscation of their goods and their enforced exile. In the section 16 of the 10th part, it was ordered that temples should be *cast down* and then *lifted up* to eliminate any factor of superstition. However, it was highlighted in section 18, that no vacant and unused pagan temple should be destructed or structurally damaged. Both private and public shrines were eventually claimed for public use. Altars, where sacrifices were executed were destructed and dismantled, whereas the religiously passive building itself was transferred to convenient usage, either converted into a

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[147] Cod. Theod., XVI, 1, 2.
[148] Idem, XVI, 4-8.
[149] Idem, XVI, 10, 3.
[150] Idem, XVI, 10, 4, 5, 12.
[151] Idem, XVI, 10, 10-11.

Christian structure or for secular purposes. Local bishops were assigned for establishing the new codes and laws issued against the pagans and their temples by the Empire. The pagans were socially separated from other men, they were considered as a threat that might present a temptation or that might leave an unholy effect on others.

It is clearly highlighted throughout the codex the repetition of laws, especially the ones concerning the pagans and the temples in which they practiced unfamous rituals. This recurrence was differently interpreted throughout time; Jones referred to it as a sign of a general failure and inefficacity of the system.[152] However, Harris highlighted this repetition differently; he suggested that it was as a sign of confirmation of the indicative legislations concerning the sacrifices.[153] It was as well as a periodic subject with the inauguration of each emperor to add the same law in order to enhance its importance.

The Theodosian code was issued in order to codify the laws of the Empire and to unify Christianity as the Empire's official religion. However, the application of these constitutions was not as thorough as implied and was open to a great deal of variability all over the premises of the Empire. It was differently executed throughout each Roman city and each province. *Behind the code was a world of fluidity and diversity*.[154] The codex was not directly implemented throughout the provinces, and many factors delayed its execution. *Paganism was a multiplication of varied and flexible belief systems with stubborn roots that could not be pulled down with one tug.*[155] The province's prefects and governors were benefiting from the execution of pagan rituals, from temple estates and their social prestige that derived from the public religious ceremonies. That was the main factor that delayed the implementation of the codex's legislations all over the provinces and one of the main reasons that led to the construction of churches during the 4th and the 5th centuries as a sign that the provinces were complying with the rules. During the end of the 4th century, pagan sympathizers were still in governmental position of power and in offices closely related to the emperor. Purging a large number of employed pagans from governmental positions was an impractical subject even with the issuing of the legislations. Pagans were still found in governmental offices even during the 6th century, both locally and imperially. If not publicly in

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[152] Jones 1973, 938.
[153] Harris 1993, 15.
[154] Harries & Wood 1993, 95. Bayliss 2001, 245.
[155] Prag 1996, 148-150.

temples and shrines, privately paganism was still being practiced and sacrifices were still being executed in small houses, or near natural sources.

In other parts of the Empire, Christian extremists implemented the codex differently than it was anticipated. They always found a way to destruct temples and shrines even the ones that were closed and religiously passive. It is throughout the historical resources and archaeological studies which reflected the structural damages and aggression that was applied from the Christians against the pagan temples. Their main aim was to eradicate any trace of Paganism. They destructed temples, dismantled them and re-used their fabric to build new churches. Shrines were deprived from their God's statues and imageries, from which some got to be publicly humiliated.[156]

The level of execution of the Codex Theodosianus differed throughout each city and throughout each Roman province. The implementation of the constitutions, during the beginning, was more on a local level, generalizing it on the Empire's provinces was a slow and gradual process. However, applying it was an inevitable result that led in the eventual religious and architectural Christian expansion all over the Empire.

THE ARCHITECTURAL CONVERSION

Terminology

The religious transformation and its transition from Paganism to Christianity, affected the Roman Empire on all levels, from which the architectural one. The religious transformation led to the architectural conversion of the pagan temples and transforming them into Christian churches after implementing different structural mechanisms. The terminology of the temple conversion used in this thesis, reflects the conversion of the temple into a church or a religious function related to it; given that we have insufficient information about the transformation of a temple into anything other than a church.

It is important to categorize the conversion types in order to understand their variety. Richard Bayliss, in his book *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of temple conversion,*[157] divided the conversion types into two general categories; the direct and the indirect ones. The direct type of

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[156] Fox 1986, 628-629.
[157] Bayliss 2001.

conversion concerns the temple church mechanic which mainly reflects the structural integration of an apse into the foundations of an existing shrine. The indirect category is related mostly to the temenos church and the spolia church mechanisms. The temenos church is the act of building a de novo church on the premises of a pagan site, whereas the spolia church is the re-usage of structural elements from a ruined temple to build a de novo church. Even though the indirect type of conversion has a wide range of structural scenarios, it is in most cases not architecturally nor structurally influenced with the pre-existing temple. Whereas the direct one, having the church fully integrated into the temple, is totally influenced by the shrine's original architecture, orientation and by its existing limits and foundations. In the following, the conversion types won't be divided into two main categories, however, each of the mechanisms will be highlighted with a separate analysis.

Each one of the conversion types differs through its structural mechanisms that were implemented on the converted site and the chronology of their structural execution. However, it is important to have them categorized with the aim to separate each case from the other. Some of the transformed sites that exist in Lebanon have all the conversion types implemented on their territories, which is highlighted in the converted site of Yanouh,[158] discussed in part III of this thesis. Hence, throughout the categorization procedure, the religious and architectural converted sites spread all over the Lebanese territory will be divided accordingly.

The chronology of conversion

Historical sources were one of the main features that led to the definition of the site's destruction and conversion timing, however, these sources are not as accurate as emphasized. Even though in some references the destruction procedures were very well defined with details, however, the lack of exact date of conversion is mostly highlighted in the majority of the converted sites. The terminology of conversion highlighted in historical sources can be misleading and unclear. It does not necessarily mean the site's direct conversion; however, it might be indicated as either the direct or the indirect one. Its terminology reflects the affirmative religious transformation rather than the specification of the type and procedure of the architectural conversion that occurred. The majority

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[158] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

of the converted sites that exist in Lebanon mainly either lack historical sources that defines its exact date of conversion or lack archaeological excavation on site which might ensure some more accurate data about its conversion's timeline. Epigraphic evidence, resultant church's architectural features and archaeological evidence found during excavation are the main features that can mainly reflect a specific dating of the temple's structural transformation.

The procedure of the physical conversion from pagan temples to Christian churches was rarely mentioned and emphasized in historical references, despite the fact that it was considered during the beginning of Christianity as a standard practice across the Empire. From historical resources, certain steps were followed during the Empire's architectural conversion. Temples were closed, after causing some structural damage or were completely destroyed and dismantled, and then they were converted into either secular usage or into a church. These sources hardly provided clear data to specify the date of the site's structural conversion. Nevertheless, some factors and scenarios existed which led to the specification of the conversion's chronology.

The direct conversion, emphasized with the temple church type of transformation, was one of the first scenarios adopted especially during the reign of Constantine (306-337) when the conversion procedure was encountered as secularization for the pagan temples. However, these converted sites were either restored into Paganism or were rendered religiously passive after a short period of time. Before the erection of the codex Theodosianus, aggression towards the pagan temples was hazardous and chaotic, shrines were being severally structurally damaged. They were being dismantled and used in building de novo churches. The 4th and 5th centuries were highlighted with a high level of spoliation. These actions were limited after the assembly of the codex during the 5th century, which mainly ordered the preservation of the temple's structure after rendering them religiously passive. The main reason for the shrine's preservation was to be directly converted into a church after some period of time. The indirect conversion, either the spolia or the temenos churches, had a wider timeframe that started since the 4th century. After the 6th century and mainly during the medieval period, the structural fate of the pagan temples was not the center of attention anymore. Abandoned temples were re-purposed in two main scenarios: the shrines that were structurally stable were converted by adding a church in their inner area, highlighting the direct transformation, whereas the severally damaged ones were dismantled and re-used in the newly erected spolia churches.

The mechanisms

The structural conversion is a '*mainstream architectural activity*'[159] that went through all over the Empire, hence all over the Lebanese territory. Three main techniques were executed, the temple church, the temenos church and the spolia church. Each one of these mechanisms was differently influenced from the existing ruined pagan shrine. However, the physical features of the resultant church after the conversion, which was built mainly from the temple's remains, highlight the dissimilar characteristics of each structural mechanic executed.

The direct type of conversion, reflected as the temple church mechanic of structural transformation, is the act of building a church inside of the shrine's area while using its in situ fabric. The damage caused on the existing temple after applying this type of conversion varied from minor to major structural changes, depending mostly on two main factors, the shrine's original orientation and the timeline of the transformation's execution. The temple church type of conversion is divided into three categories, the cella church which caused the least obtrusive damage, the pronaos church and the inverted church. The cella and the pronaos churches reflected the location of the apse inside of the transformed temple which got to be oriented to the East due to the requirements of the Christian congregational space. However, the inverted church is the act of converting a temple into a Christian building after maximizing the shrine's original inner space while using some of its in situ structure. These three categories even though they belong to the same type of conversion, differ in the orientation of the pre-existing temple, the structural modifications applied and the physical shape of the resultant church. The temple church's architecture might either be totally influenced by the physique of the existing temple; it can have a basilica-temple hybrid architecture[160] or it can reflect a newly added structure while maintaining some of the shrine's in situ fabric.

The temenos church type of architectural conversion is the act of building a church inside of the temple's closed enclosure, while being either structurally dependent or independent from the existing temple's and/or temenos' structure. Many scenarios could have been applied, where the church can have a flexible architecture unrelated to the existing ones. The church can be built

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[159] Milojević 1997, 343.
[160] Bayliss 2001, 73.

outside of the temenos while structurally using its wall as her own as in Yanouh (Yānūḫ),[161] or it can be added inside of the enclosure while transforming the temple into its own functional area as in Faqra[162] or in Chhim[163] (Shḥym) where the temple was used as the church's baptistery. When applying the temenos church type of conversion, the church's architecture has the option to be fully flexible and totally independent from the temple. It was mainly used during the start of Christianity when the temple was either damaged and structurally unstable or had a smaller proportion than needed. The resultant temenos church got to be built from the remains of the existing ruined shrine.

The spolia church is the most spread type of conversion used across the Lebanese territory. It is the act of using the ruined temple as a quarry while using its own blocks in order to build de novo churches. With the beginning of Christianity, rapid spoliation occurred as a result from the aggression that was happening against the pagan temples. However, it was used afterwards as it is one of the most economically efficient ways of building new Christian buildings. No remains should go to waste, hence the temple's structure was considered and used as raw materials. It is one of the mechanisms that has the widest timeframe starting from the 4th century until our current days.

The conversion practice is a nonstop architectural procedure that went throughout all periods of time due to two main features that differed over the centuries. With the beginning of Christianity, converting a temple into a church was mainly to ensure the existing shrine's secularization. However, after the 6th century, when the aggression towards the pagan temples faded away, structural conversion got to be the most adequate economical solution in order to maximize the number of churches. Even when funds were ensured, architecturally transforming a temple into a church was way less costly than building a de novo structure.

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[161] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[162] Renan 1864, 335-339. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 20-26, 40-55. Nordiguian 2005, 150-159. Aliquot 2009, 261-267. Newson 2019, 116-138.

[163] Waliszewski & Perisse 2004, 411-418. Nordiguian 2005, 126-131. Waliszewski & Perisse 2005, 411-420. Aliquot 2009, 272-276. Butcher 2013, 202-204.

CONCLUSION

The conversion is a dynamic system that affected the Empire on all possible levels, especially on the architectural and structural ones. Even though eradicating Paganism was the focus during the transformation, converting the temples into churches was an inevitable process that started since the beginning of Christianity. The shrines suffered the most from the start, as they were the fundamental visual component of any pagan city where blood sacrifices and infamous rituals were practiced.

Several scenarios were adopted with the aim to secularize the temples from Paganism, the main goal was to render them secular and ensure their purification. The level of secularization and structural aggression executed differed with time, as it got to its peak during the 4th and the 1st half of the 5th centuries. During the beginning of Christianity, most of the temples were deliberately structurally damaged, especially where prostitution rituals and blood sacrifices were practiced. The more vicious the performed rituals were, the more damage was executed. The level of destruction varied through sites, and the scenarios adopted that led to the end of institutional Paganism differed. However, all the pagan temples, were stripped from their imageries and valuable objects. In the majority of the temples, the altar was dismantled, the adytum was removed and the stairs leading to the inner area of the temple were destructed. All efforts were applied to forbid access to the temples and to ban the practice of the pagan rituals.

Some of the shrines had more structural damage than the others, depending on the type of rituals executed. These temples were destroyed, dismantled and used as quarry in order to build some de novo Christian structures. The temple's physical annihilation and destruction requested the presence of craftsmen and stone masons, which required funds in order to ensure the shrine's dismantlement and re-usage in other structures. In other cases, churches were built next to standing ruined temples after re-purposing some of the existing materials. The temples that were rendered inactive and that had unstable structure were either dismantled and used in building other structures or were left to decay and eventual deterioration. However, the temples that were structurally stable were either converted during the 5th century into churches or were secularized, abandoned and eventually converted during the medieval ages.

The erection of the codex Theodosianus was mainly due to the chaotic structural aggression towards the pagan temples. These buildings needed to be protected for future functional re-usage.

Some assume that the direct type of conversion started after issuing the codex, which is not as accurate. Even though the indirect conversion had a wider timeframe, the execution of temple churches started from the beginning of the 6th century and was more emphasized after this period when the focus on destructing temples faded away.

Converting a temple into Christian religious purposes ensured the shrine's structural longevity, mentioning that the pagan structures that were not converted hardly survived through time. Disregarding the type of architectural conversion applied, the temples were the starting point in building churches. The usage of their remains, either by applying the direct or the indirect types, facilitated the Empire's conversion process. No material nor standing structure should have been left to waste.

The type of the conversion applied, even though mostly relying on the structural state of the pre-existing temple, was the main factor that influenced the eventual physical fate of the shrine. It mainly consisted on the degree of transformation applied during the site's transformation. The direct type of conversion, especially the cella church, is the mechanic that caused the least level of structural alterations on the existing structure. When adding the apse into the cella part of the temple, the sole element that needed to be altered was the roof that might have been anyway torn down during the site's secularization. However, the pronaos and the inverted churches from the direct type of conversion caused some major changes, especially the inverted one which led to the re-shaping of the ruined shrine. The indirect type of conversion if not applied during the start of the Empire's religious transformation was used when the existing temple had an unstable structural state which led to its dismantling and re-usage in the construction of de novo churches. Some exemptions were in order as the site of Yanouh (Yānūḫ)[164] that will be later on discussed in part III. The site consisted of all the conversion types executed on its premises. The temenos church was the first one added, whereas the direct conversion of the existing temple was executed afterwards. This process indicated the presence of a newly added Christian church when a stable secularized temple existed meanwhile. Baalbek[165] is another exception where some might indicate that the main temple was used for Christian religious purposes before building a temenos church

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[164]Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[165] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.

facing it.[166] The increasing Christian demand necessitated a bigger area than the existing temple, which is one of the main reasons to build a new church inside of the temenos' area next to a standing secularized pagan structure.

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[166] Bayliss 2001, 116.

2.TEMPLE CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

The pagan temples, in all of the religious roman sites, were considered as the essence of Paganism as they embodied the area that enclosed the God's imagery. With the beginning of Christianity between the 4th and the 5th centuries, all pagan traditional religious practices were abolished in the aim of serving the 'Christian' city and its new rituals. The pagan temples and shrines were the monuments that structurally suffered the most. They took the major tall of the Christian structural aggression being the public place that originated the pagan worship actions. Almost all of the temples were secularized and then either completely destroyed, dismantled or abandoned. These pagan structures were rendered religiously and socially passive unless when being architecturally converted into a church.

The degree of destruction of which the temples were rendered inactive had a big variation throughout all the Empire, many were entirely ruined while others were detached from their cult statues and pagan imagery. These ruined secularized temples became a wealthy resource for the builders of late antiquity who invested differently in each one of them. With Constantine being the emperor during the 4th century and with Christianity as the official religion of the Empire, the secularization, destruction and conversion of the pagan temples became a standard practice.

A significant number of the roman temples that exist in Lebanon were converted into churches during a certain period of time, either during the Byzantine period with the beginning of Christianity or during the medieval times. It is impossible to have a precise number of the converted temples on the Lebanese territory, noting that those that were not converted hardly survived. One of the most spread conversion types that exist in Lebanon is the temple church type of architectural conversion with 17 temple churches scattered around its territory (Map 4, Table 1).

In this chapter, I will be examining the temple church type of conversion and its changing mechanisms. In his book *Provincial Cilicia and the Archaeology of Temple Conversion*,[167] Richard Bayliss categorized the types of conversion as being either direct or indirect, with the temple

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[167] Bayliss 2001.

church as the only direct type of architectural transformation. The temple church mainly highlights the usage of the standing, in situ materials from the ruins of a pre-existing pagan Roman structure. It is conceptually where the church takes place inside the temple itself, integrating its cella and its pronaos in the structure's re-design.

LOCATION			SITE NAME	CHURCH NAME	CONVERSION DATE	TYPE OF CONVERSION
AKKAR	Akkar (Halba)	1	Maqam el Rabb (Maqām ʾal Rabb / مقام الرب)	Temple of Maqam el Rab	Medieval period	Temple pronaos church
BAALBEK -HERMEL	Baalbek	2	Baalbek (Bʿalbak / بعلبك)	Temple of Aphrodite	306-337	Temple church
		3	Deir el Ahmar (Dayr ʾal ʾaḥmar / دير الأحمر)	Our Lady	19th century	Temple church
		4	Ras Baalbek (Ras Bʿalbak / راس بعلبك)	Saint Barbre		Temple church
		5		Monastery of our Lady		Temple monastery
MOUNT LEBANON	Jbeil	6	Ain Kfaa (ʿayn Kfāʾ / عين كفاع)	Saint Rouhana		Temple inverted church
		7	Afqa (ʾafqā / أفقا)	Temple of Aphrodite	Medieval Period	Temple cella church
		8	Chamat (Shāmāt / شامات)	Saint Tekla & Stephan	1st: Byzantine period 2nd: 12th-13th century	Temple inverted church
		9	Maad (Mʿād / معاد)	Saint Charbilius	1st: 5th-8th century 2nd: 1243	Temple inverted church
		10	Yanouh (Yānūḥ / يانوح)	Saint Georges the Blue	12th century	Temple pronaos church
	Keserwan	11	Ghineh (Ġyne / غينة)	Temple of Ghineh	Byzantine period	Temple cella church
		12	Sarba (Ṣarbā / صربا)	Monastery of our Saviour	19th century	Temple monastery
		13	Yahchouch (Yaḥshūsh / يحشوش)	Saint Georges	19th century	Temple inverted church
	Metn (Jdeideh)	14	Beit Mery (Bayt Mery/ بيت مري)	Monastery of the Fortress	1750	Temple monastery
		15	Zekrit (Zekryt / زكريت)	Our Lady of Rosary		Temple inverted church
NORTH	Batroun	16	Hardine (Ḥardyn / حردين)	Temple of Mercury		Temple church
		17	Bziza (Bzyzā / بزيزا)	Our Lady of Columns	12th-13th century	Temple cella church

All of the cited converted sites are sorted alphabetically by district.
The converted sites are gathered from references, historical sources and site visits.

Table 1: The Temple churches of Lebanon

The church got to be integrated into each temple differently relying on several factors, which will be discussed later on, however, it was mainly incorporated into either the temple's cella or pronaos. The portico with its columns were as well updated as per the new imposed Christian design. The church could have been added while using a section of the in-situ temple and almost entirely upgrading its structure. In this case, the church's design would rely on an in-situ corner while having the option and flexibility to re-design the whole building. In either case and by applying

either of the options, the proportion of the temple would be in some cases majorly upgraded and the church would become progressively larger than the temple that it imbodied. However, in all of the temple churches, it was the existing temple that generally imposed its shape and architecture into the newly erected church.

Map 4: Temple churches/monasteries of Lebanon

THE TEMPLE CHURCH

Christians needed a sacred place to practice their rituals; the churches, which were constructed on either new sites or on the remains of older ones using the ruins that already existed. With the beginning of Christianity, the temples were the main focus, they were considered as the essential element that needed to be destructed in order to end Paganism. Although it was differently executed throughout each site, secularization was the first action accomplished on the pagan structure before either being totally destructed, dismantled or religiously converted. Architecturally transforming the temple into a church was one of many ways that assured the definite termination of Paganism.

The direct temple conversion is an architectural modification of the shrine's original structure. As a result, the Christian church is reusing the in situ structure and remained elements of the ruined temple in a way that it had to be suitable for the liturgical requirements of the Christian congregational space. The churches built in the 4th century, on the existing pagan shrines, had a flexible architecture. It was mostly determined by the existing shape and type of the Roman temple, its original orientation as well as the date of its transformation.

The general form of the church was mainly influenced by the architectural diversity of the Roman temples, knowing that its types, forms, and proportions differed through all over the Empire. This variety, even though being related mainly to the site's topographical characteristics, exists heavily in Lebanon. Due to the dissimilarities of the architectural conditions of each temple, the conversion procedure, even when the same transformation type was used, was differently executed. Three main architectural types of Roman shrines exist in Lebanon; the in antis[168] temples, the prostyle[169] temples and the peripteral[170] ones with some sites that have the pseudo-peripteral plan. As it is known, the temples in the eastern part of the Roman Empire generally have a rectangular shaped plan which is divided into three parts: the pronaos that indicate the entrance, the cella that housed the cult image of the deity, and the adytum, a sacred elevated platform in the cella, that is only accessible for the pagan priests. These three architectural compositions were the main elements of the temple that physically influenced the integration of the church.

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[168] Converted temples in-antis: Chlifa - Qasr el Banat, Hosn Niha, Chhim, Sfireh.
[169] Converted temples prostyle: Niha, Afqa, Yanouh, Faqra, Beit Mery – Deir el QalÝa, Bziza.
[170] Converted temples peripteral or in some cases pseudo-peripteral: Makam el Rab – Beit Jallouk, Baalbek, Hardine, Sfireh.

The structural conversion from a Roman temple into a church mainly began with the integration of the apse in one of its parts. The main factor that structurally affected the placement of the apse, was the original orientation of the temple itself, which was the main feature that stimulated the shrine's major structural modifications during the conversion. The 4th century apostolic constitutions, declared that the apse should be oriented to the East[171]. During the 1st century B.C, Vitruvius recommended that, if allowed by the geographical nature of the site, the temple should be oriented to the East so that the cult statue situated in the cella faces the West.[172] This requirement was emphasized so that when making sacrifices, the people face the east towards the rising sun just behind the cult statue from where it seems to emerge. If the topographical features were an obstruction, it was preferable to build the temple on an east west alignment. The orientation of the Roman temples differed from a region to another where the geographical limitation of the site, on top of its topographical compositions, had a major influence on its orientation. Most of the converted temples that exist in Lebanon have an east west alignment where the apse was added to the cella or to the pronaos in accordance with its orientation. The physical tradition of having an eastern oriented church took some time until it was structurally fully established as it is highlighted in the temenos church of Baalbek.[173] The basilica, dedicated to Saint Peter, was built in front of the Jupiter temple, after the destruction and the dismantling of its altar during the Byzantine period and had a western orientation. However, the apse was later on dismantled and then re-built to the eastern side of the church, after removing the temple's stairs, in order to comply with the apostolic constitutions.[174] It seems that during a certain period of time, the church's orientation was a mandatory feature which in some places was taken seriously. This factor is perfectly highlighted in the medieval temple church of Bziza (Figure 12).[175] The tetrastyle prostyle temple was built on a north west to south east alignment. It was converted during the medieval period when two apses were inscribed at an angle with the cella in order to have a perfect eastern orientation (Figure 13). The temple had two entrance openings from the pronaos, however, a third one was added in the southern western wall facing the apses (Figure 14). The adytum was dismantled, either during the temple's secularization with the beginning of Christianity or during the site's structural conversion,

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[171] Mâle 1960, 54, ANF07, *Apostolic teaching and constitutions*.
[172] Vitruvius, IV 5.
[173] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[174] Aliquot 2009, 284-289.
[175] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwaji-Janho 2020, 249-305.

hence the inner part of the temple got bigger. After modifying the roofing system, pillars, that separated the added apses, were structurally needed to hold the roof. As for the pronaos' part of the temple, it was walled up and used as the church's porch (Figure 15).

Beginning from the Romans until the medieval period and even during the ottoman's reign, the remains of the pagan sanctuaries as well as for its base structure, were the starting point in the construction of Christian churches. Many features influenced the church's architectural form, however, the chronology of the temple's conversion into a church, hence its structural state during the transformation was one of the main factors that affected its physical shape. The structural status of the shrine differed with time depending mostly on the degree of destruction that occurred; either with the structural aggression and secularization during the beginning of Christianity or after a certain period of neglect and abandonment. The church would either re-use the whole inner area of the shrine or it would re-use the in situ remains of the destroyed temple. The temple churches of Yanouh (Yānūḫ),[176] Bziza,[177] Maqam el Rab[178] and others were converted after adding an apse in the interior space of the building either in the cella or in the pronaos, depending on its orientation. Even in the temple church of Afqa (Aphaca),[179] the space was converted during the medieval period by adding an apse in the first half of the cella after the destruction of the second one, including the adytum, due to a landslide. All of the above-mentioned sites went through destruction either due to structural secularization or due to natural disasters but kept their original shape which led to the architectural dependence of the resultant church to the temple's general figure. The temple churches of Maad (Mʿād),[180] Chamat[181] and others, re-used some of the temple' in situ remains instead of the shrine's whole inner area. In Maad (Mʿād), the resultant church had a bigger proportion than the temple itself, based on the analysis and the temple's reconstruction accomplished by Hany Kahwagi-Janho.[182] It was converted at first during the Byzantine period, which is highlighted with the presence of the in situ mosaics in the church's narthex, and then

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[176] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[177] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwaji-Janho 2020, 249-305.

[178] Dussaud 1927, 95, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52, Nordiguian 2005, 220-225, Aliquot 2009, 233-235.

[179] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.

[180] Renan 1864, 240. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 152. Kahwagi-Janho 2016, 95-135.

[181] Renan 1864, 233. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 156. Kahwagi-Janho 2018, 111.

[182] Kahwagi-Janho 2016, 95-135.

structurally updated during the 13th century. The pronaos' threshold, the south eastern corner and the church's flooring are the temple's features that were kept in situ after the conversion. In the temple church of Ain Kfaa (ʿayn Kfã),[183] the existence of in situ megalithic stones in the church's south western corner which assumingly belonged to a Roman temple, solely indicates its direct conversion.

The direct temple conversion is the church that preserved some in situ ruined elements from an existing Roman shrine in its structure. However, it is important to categorize this type of conversion in order to simplify its variety. In the following, three categories will be mentioned; the cella church, the pronaos church and the inverted church (Figure 1), which differ in the orientation of the existing temple, the physical shape of the resultant church and the degree of structural modifications that occurred on the converted temple.
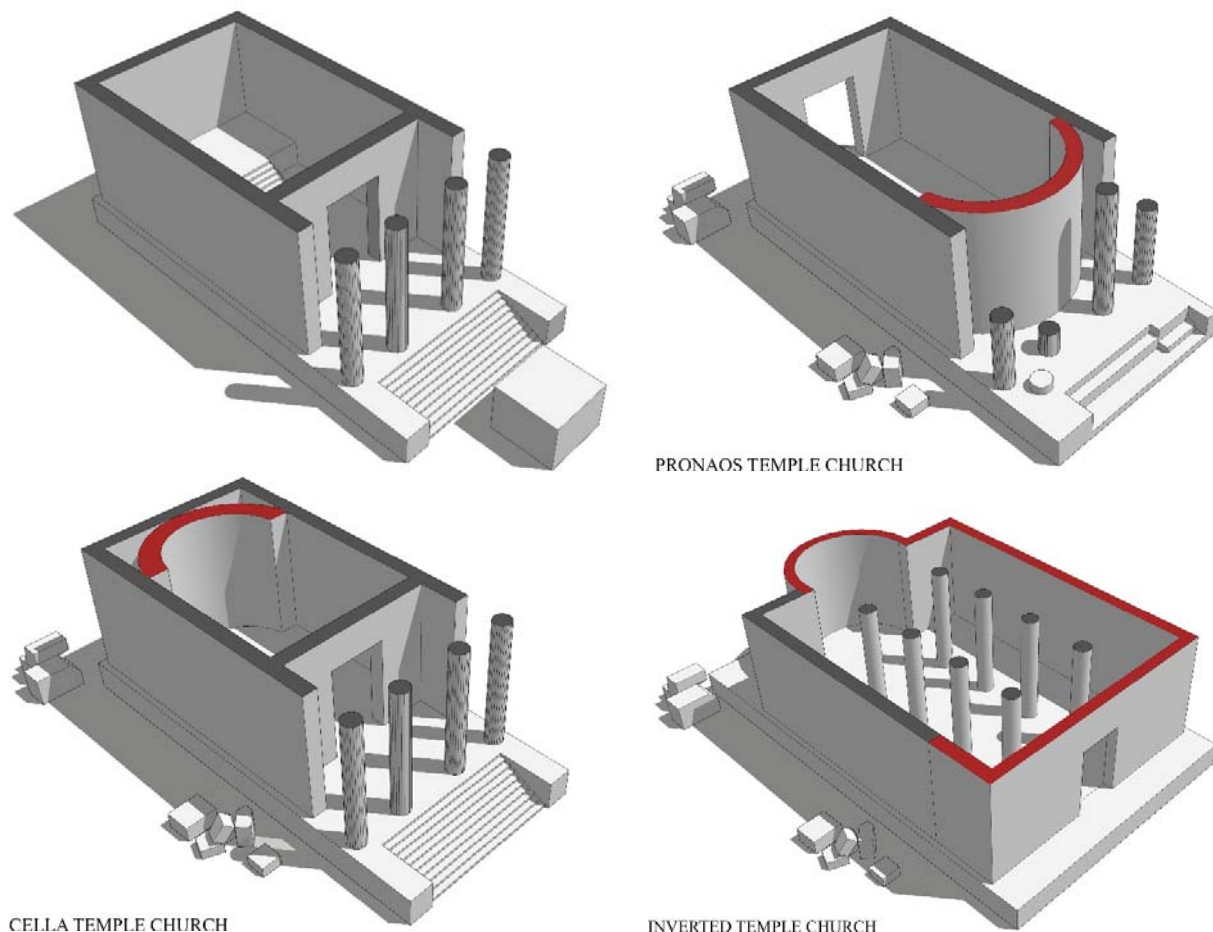

Figure 1: The temple church mechanism

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[183] Renan 1864, 243. Nordiguian 2005, 185. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 184-185.

The Cella Church

The cella church type of direct transformation, is the physical integration of an apse into the cella part of the temple, which assured its ultimate conversion. In most of the cases in Lebanon, this type of alteration is adopted when the temple is oriented to the east, as in Afqa (Aphaca),[184] or to the south east, as in Bziza, so that the church, as specified by the constitutions, will have an eastern orientation. Even though this template is the best one adopted, with around 3 cases scattered around the Lebanese territory (Table 1), due to its generally minimal physical modifications, it had some several factors that influenced the church's architectural compositions.

After integrating the apse into the cella, the pronaos was the only architectural part of the pagan temple that kept its main function without any structural modifications. The pronaos is the interior space of the portico leading to the inner area of the cella. In most of the sites, the pronaos had one main entrance door from which the access to the cella was assured. However, in some cases as in the temple church of Bziza, two door openings highlight the eastern wall of the pronaos. After the cella church conversion, these entrances, either being one or two door openings, were kept with their main purpose to ensure the entrance into the church's inner area.

The adytum is a sacred elevated platform in the inner area of the cella, it is the farthest from the temple's entrance and accessible by a flight of stairs. It is the place that reflected the divine imagery and housed the statue of the worshiped God, the public access was denied, however, only reserved for the priests. The adytum was added in nearly all of the eastern Roman temples, where in some, a *crypt* existed, which is a closed sacred area under the platform. Its size and level from the cella depended mostly on the temple's structural proportion. During the beginning of Christianity and with the structural aggression that occurred, the adytum was one of the first architectural parts of the temple that was either heavily damaged or completely destructed and dismantled. Being the house of the pagan God, its removal was the essence of any temple's secularization. If it structurally survived the hostility, the shrine's direct conversion might have led to its definite removal. During the conversion, when the apse was added in the cella, the adytum was effectively completely destructed and levelled down for the purpose of adding the Christian apse and maximizing the inner area of the converted temple. In the case of the cella church of Afqa (Aphaca), the adytum was completely destroyed before the conversion due to a landslide, therefore

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[184] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.

the apse was added in front of the sacred part,[185] in the centre area of the cella. The removal of the adytum was inevitable, it was religiously essential in order to accomplish secularization and architecturally crucial to maximize the inner area of the resultant church. The construction materials of the dismantled adytum were eventually re-used while building the apse of the resultant church during the temple's conversion.

The orientation of the temple was the main factor that affected on the degree of the shrine's structural modifications during the conversion. The majority of the cella churches that were oriented to the east in Lebanon, had no major external transformations, it only consisted of adding the apse into the cella, with no threat on the temple's structural stability. The pronaos kept its original function by assuring access to the inner area, and the adytum was completely dismantled and re-used as a quarry to build the new integrated apse. As an exception, the temple of Bziza[186] was structurally highly affected during the conversion in the medieval period, due to its north west to south east orientation. The temple was converted after adding two apses into its cella making it a temple cella church type of conversion. The cella's northern eastern wall had a major reconstruction, it was totally dismantled and replaced with two protruding apses. The apses, that were built using construction materials from the adytum's and the temple's northern wall, were built at an angle with the cella to have the perfect eastern orientation (Figure 12/Figure 13). Pilasters were added in the inner area of the church, to divide the apses and to hold the newly built roof after the temple's structural conversion. Even though the pronaos had two door openings that assured the entrance from the pronaos to the inner area of the church, another one was added to the southern western wall facing the apses. These structural transformations, which were mainly originated by the temple's original orientation, hence the added angled apses led to a huge impact on the temple's architecture after the conversion, on its roofing system as well as on its structural stability. The apses still exist on site until our current days, the northern one is highlighted with two rows of in situ blocks whereas the eastern one preserved eight rows of in situ elements in its structure with a height of around 3.5m. The pilaster between the two apses has a height of 3.95m formed out of around 9 blocks.

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[185] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, taf. 27.
[186] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwagi-Janho 2020, 249-303.

The cella in the eastern Roman temples, had generally one main structural opening, which is the door entrance leading from the pronaos into the temple's inner space. The resultant obscurity needed to be reversed during the conversion from the temple into a church. Some windows or openings were meant to be added, unfortunately the cella churches that exist in Lebanon are in total ruin, hence the absent documentation about any added openings. Some exceptions exist, as the above-mentioned temple of Bziza where another entrance was added into the wall facing the apses. Two main openings existed in the pronaos' northern western wall before the conversion, a central one with a width of 2.6m and a height of 4.35m, whereas the second one that exist to the north of the central door with a distinctive smaller proportion, a width of 0.75m and a height of 1.45m (Figure 14). As the two existing openings in the pronaos were not facing the apses after the conversion, another one was added in order to assure access from the western southern wall. The new door was built during the conversion in the medieval period to the church's southern western wall, 2.45m distant from the cella's western corner. The added door has a width of 1.2m and a height of 2.2m from the inner level of the cella. Therefore, during the temple's conversion, a new door opening was added into the cella for two main reasons; either to face the newly built apse or to shift the main entrance into the cella in the case of a pronaos church where the apse was added into the pronaos. In the case of the temple church of Yanouh,[187] two openings already existed in the temple's lateral elevations. These openings assured visual access to the inner area of the cella as well as enough lighting when needed in the space of the resultant church.

The roofing system in the Roman temples, if not heavily damaged, had a low chance of surviving during its conversion into a cella church. Although, if it was structurally conserved, it was differently affected in each converted temple due to the integration of the apse into the interior space. When incorporating the apse without exterior structural modifications, a vaulted barrel re-roofing could be added to the converted temple instead of the original one, after either lowering or maintaining the height of its existing walls. However, if during the conversion, the apse was protruding from the temple's original architectural template, as in the temple of Bziza, the roofing system would be updated accordingly.

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[187] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

The architectural modifications adapted into the cella church type of conversion were majorly influenced by the orientation and the proportion of the eastern Roman temples. All the above-mentioned converted temples, with either minor or major alterations, were structurally affected. Whether it's the removal of the adytum, the physical integration of the apse, the architectural inner and/or outer modifications, the additional interior structural openings and the suitably updated roofing system, made the cella as a never unmodified temple's part during its conversion. However, if no outer structural adjustments were added, the cella church would have been the only type of the temple's direct conversion that perfectly maintained the physical general shape between the temple and the church.

The pronaos Church

When transforming a temple into a church, regardless of the chronology of its conversion, an apse was physically integrated into the existing shrine. The temple churches of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb)[188] and Yanouh (Yānūḫ)[189], were oriented to the west, thus due to the liturgical requirements of Christian congregational space,[190] the church was added in an opposite alignment with the original temple (Table 1). Therefore, the apse was added to the pronaos part of the temples in order to have an eastern orientation. Even though this type of direct conversion has the same conceptual architectural execution as the cella church, the temple was affected by some major structural modifications.

The pronaos was usually the area assuring the main entrance into the Roman temple, however when the apse was built in it, other ways of access into the church were architecturally added. In the pronaos churches, the adytum, if not dismantled before the temple's conversion, was generally removed to assure an access to the interior space from the western wall facing the apse. However, in Lebanon the sites highlighting this type of transformation have two different structural interactions with the adytum and the provided entrances. In the temple church of Yanouh (Yānūḫ), the adytum was heavily destructed and then completely dismantled during the site's secularization

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[188] Dussaud 1927, 95, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52, Nordiguian 2005, 220-225, Aliquot 2009, 233-235.
[189] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.
[190] Mâle 1960, 54, ANF07, *Apostolic teaching and constitutions*.

before its direct conversion, however no door access was structurally added to the cella's western wall. Two door openings existed in the lateral northern and southern walls of the temple that might have assured the main access to the inner area of the newly added church.

In the temple of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb), the *crypt*, defined as the area under the adytum, was preserved inside of the temple even after its conversion (Figure 16, Figure 17). In this case, the adytum was not disassembled, however, it went through secularization by removing the stairs leading to its platform and destroying any pagan related imageries. The *crypt* might have been kept and presumably re-used as a service area for the newly added church. With the presence of the *crypt*, no door openings were added in the temple's western wall facing the apse. This site, as mentioned in the description of Krencker and Zschietzschmann's visit,[191] was neglected and hardly preserved, no door openings were found amongst the remains, however one door lintel existed on the temple's premises (Figure 18).[192] The eastern wall of the temple was blocked by the apse and the western wall by the *crypt*. The site's ruins preserved three transversal rows from the southern wall with no openings in it, thus the entrance of the church was presumably provided from the northern wall of the converted temple (Figure 19). In the pronaos churches that exist in Lebanon, regardless of the adytum's structural fate, no door openings were added into the western wall facing the apse which was a mandatory feature in the cella churches. Their main entrances were presumably assured from the converted temple's lateral elevations.

Regarding the temple's proportions, as recommended by Vitruvius,[193] the pagan shrine's width should be half its length and the pronaos must be a quarter shorter than the width of the temple. The religious and functional purposes of the temple's architectural parts were related to their own proportion. The cella, by enclosing the imagery of the worshiped pagan God, got to have the most significant proportion of the overall temple, it had the main religious function in the sanctuary. The cella enclosed, in the majority of the Eastern pagan temple, an adytum highlighting the God's imagery placed on a heigh platform which embodies around a third of the cella's inner area. In some other cases, a crypt existed under the adytum. As for the pronaos, it only reflected the space needed to assure the entrance into the cella with a functional purpose rather than a spiritual one. During the direct conversion of the temple and after integrating the apse into the pronaos, the

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[191] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52.
[192] Donceel 1966, 222-261.
[193] Vitruvius, IV 4.

temple's inner architectural parts with their functional and spiritual purposes merged to a single combined religious area. After merging the spaces of the cella and the pronaos, the interior area of the church was proportionally maximized when being compared with the temple's original religious area.

During the implementation of the pronaos church type of conversion, the temple's physical structural modifications differed due to the diversity of its architectural types. The pronaos is a rectangular shaped area forming a portico in the outer space of the temple. It is delimited by a front wall, which assured the access to the interior space of the cella and is surrounded by a certain number of columns depending on the temple's type. During the integration of the apse, the interior space of the porch was meant to be walled up in order to enclose the pronaos. In the converted tetrastyle prostyle temple of Yanouh (Yānūḫ), based on the site's 1st documentation by Krencker & Zschietzschmann,[194] an apse shaped wall was added to the east of the pronaos, assuring the physical enclosure of the church regardless of the columns fate and usage, which might have been architecturally reused or kept in situ.

The pronaos church type of direct conversion is the least spread type of religious and architectural temple transformation on the Lebanese territory, which was mainly affected by the original orientation of the converted pagan shrine. After having some major structural modifications, as adding an apse, assuring new door openings, secularizing or dismantling the adytum, enclosing the pronaos as well as maximizing the temple's inner space, the overall original shape of the shrine was hardly conserved.

The Inverted Temple Church

The inverted temple church type of direct conversion is the act of religiously transforming a temple into a church while structurally increasing the spatial proportion of the affected pagan building. This type of the temple church conversion system is the most popular from all other temple church types with around 6 sites scattered around Lebanon (Table 1). Richard Bayliss used the terminology of the 'inverted transformation' exclusively for the direct structural conversion of the peripteral temples,[195] where the columns got structurally incorporated into the church's layout as

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[194] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19.
[195] Bayliss 2001, 89-92.

separators between the aisles. In this analysis of temple's conversion types, the inverted temple church mainly corresponds to the act of maximizing the inner area of the church while maintaining in situ structural remains from the fabric of the converted temple. The fairly small proportion of the converted temple and its structural state before its transformation were the two main reasons that led to the execution of the inverted temple church type of conversion.

The limited proportion of many Roman temples in Lebanon, has led to a restricted interior space of the resultant church, a factor that highlighted the absence of aisles in the majority of the converted temples. During the roman period, the pagan rituals were executed inside of the temenos which is the surrounding exterior zone of the temple itself, hence the bigger space was needed outside of the shrine in order to handle the large number of pagan believers. However, after the religious transformation, the Christian rituals were shifted into the inner area of the building, hence the biggest space was needed inside of the church rather than the outside. '*The Christian basilicas often dwarfed their pagan predecessors.*'[196] Hence, a relatively big area should have been assured while building the new church.

The vast majority of the pagan temples went through structural aggression, from Christians, especially during the beginning of Christianity when structural secularization was one of the first steps executed. In the East, most of the roman temples that once existed were either severally damaged, totally knocked down or architecturally and religiously transformed. The converted sites that survived until these days have two different architectural categories, these temple churches are either in form of ruins, due to lack of preservation and renovation, or are still physically religiously active. Three main factors affected directly the structural fate of the converted sites; the natural disasters, the early conversion that was followed by abandonment, or a series of several structural conversions of the same site during different periods of time. The inverted temple church might have been applied on a ruined abandoned site, where some of the temple's in situ remains got incorporated, or executed on an already converted pagan site, as a second type of structural transformation.

Several inverted temple churches exist on the Lebanese territory where different structural scenarios were applied depending mainly on the existing temple's structural and architectural characteristics during the conversion. The inverted temple church of Saint Charbel in Maad

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[196] Bayliss 2001, 89.

(Mʿād)[197] is nowadays a religiously active church, that went through several structural conversions during the byzantine and the medieval period (Figure 20, Figure 22). Hany Kahwagi-Janho made a complete architectural analysis[198] of the church from which he made a theoretical reconstruction of the original temple (Figure 21). The church was explored during 1947 by the General directorate of Antiquities in Lebanon, which led to eventual excavations on site. The exterior shape of the church, reflecting some re-used ancient physical elements, does not evoke the original shape of the temple which was built during the 2nd century AD. However, the ruins that exist in its interior space, emphasize its conversion procedures mainly during three different phases. The first conversion occurred during the Byzantine period between the 5th and the 6th centuries whereas the final one was executed during the 1st half of the 13th century in which the inverted temple church type of conversion was applied. The in situ remains and the re-used fabric of the once existing pagan temple were the crucial features that helped with the identification of the church's structural evolution. The current church has three apses oriented to the east, three aisles separated by two rows of re-used Christianized columns, a narthex highlighting the church's entrance and three annex rooms to the east of the apses. The original threshold with its continuous wall, that once indicated the entrance from the temple's pronaos to the cella area, was located in the eastern annex behind the central apse. The interior pavement of the current church, which was found after the excavations, reflect the original one that once belonged to the cella. The northern wall of the eastern annex, which is indicated by the limit of the extended wall of the threshold, emphasize the limits of the temple's original northern wall. During the temple's conversion, the southern wall of the shrine was shifted to the south to enlarge the interior space and to add three aisles accordingly. Some in situ byzantine mosaics were found in the church's narthex as well as for medieval frescoes in the main apse. The temple's in situ structural fabric and the shifting of its southern wall in order to have a bigger area for the church highlight the usage of the inverted temple church type of conversion.

The temple church of Saint Tekla and Stephan in Chamat[199] even though having the same chronology of the conversion procedures as Saint Charbel church in Maad (Mʿād), have a different transformation scenario (Figure 23). The once presence of the pagan temple is mainly highlighted

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[197] Renan 1864, 240. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 152. Kahwagi-Janho 2016, 95-135.
[198] Kahwagi-Janho 2016, 95-135.
[199] Renan 1864, 234. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249-250. Nordiguian 2009, 156-160. Kahwagi-Janho 2018, 111-113.

by the in situ northern and southern walls extended from the current borders of the church, indicating the original walls of the pre-existing ancient structure.[200] The site was first Christianized during the Byzantine period, referred by the in situ mosaics in the interior space of the church. During the Medieval ages, the Christianized structure suffered a total remodelling and was transformed into a double church dedicated to both Saint Tekla and Saint Stephan. The interior space is divided into two naves, each one ending with an apse oriented to the east and both faced with entrances in the western wall. The naves are separated with arcades on re-purposed roman columns, where the eastern one is topped with a Doric capital. Roman sarcophagi were dedicated to the doors lintels and the column's drums were structurally used in the fabric of the church. The medieval church has a smaller proportion than the earlier one, as Byzantine in situ mosaics were found under the southern entrance's threshold and on the exterior limit of the eastern southern apse as well. Hence, the limits of the original mosaics were bigger than the length of the current church, thus the pre-existing structure that was presumably structurally unstable during the conversion covered a wider area than the existing one.

The inverted temple church type of conversion can be majorly highlighted by a large amount of in situ fabric belonging to a roman temple as it was seen in the churches of Maad (Mʿād) and Chamat. However, the same type of conversion is as well reflected in sites where a part of the temple's in situ corner, foundation or even a section of its wall got incorporated into the church's structure as the churches of Saint Rouhana in Ain Kfaa (ʿayn Kfāʿ),[201] the church our Lady of Rosary in Zekrit and the one of Saint Georges in Yahchouch.[202] The inverted temple church of Saint Rouhana in Ain Kfaa (ʿayn Kfāʿ) occupy the in situ southern western corner of an assumingly once existing temple's cella. A baptismal font that might go back to the Byzantine period is highlighted in the southern eastern exterior area of the church. It was mentioned by locals that Roman and Byzantine structural remains existed all over the premises until their confiscation and structural re-usage in building the region's houses. The church of our Lady in Deir el Ahmar[203] has the inverted temple church type of conversion applied where the whole Christian complex was built on the foundations of a destructed roman temple. The shrine was dedicated to Jupiter[204] and might have been

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[200] Kahwagi-Janho 2018, 111-113.
[201] Renan 1864, 243. Nordiguian 2005, 185. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 184-185.
[202] Nordiguian 2005, 161. Aliquot 2009, 260.
[203] Aliquot 2009, 280. Salloum 2016, 278-297.
[204] Aliquot 2009, 280.

destructed in the 1ˢᵗ century AD due to the earthquake that hit the area.[205] The current church of Our Lady was built during the end of the 19ᵗʰ century; however, it is highlighted by Laure Salloum in her article dedicated to the site of Deir el Ahmar, that the area was re-used during the Byzantine period.[206] Large blocks of limestone that once belonged to the temple are scattered all around the area, however, the architectural conversion is highlighted by the presence of in situ beds of rocks that belonged to the temple's foundations in the church's reception hall. The inverted conversion is reflected with the re-usage of the site after it was found destructed and structurally unstable to be fully architecturally converted.

TEMPLE MONASTERY

The presence of destructed temples was the perfect opportunity to re-purpose the building's remains and foundations for religious and architectural conversion into Christian usage either for churches or monasteries. In Lebanon, 3 Christian monasteries were built on the foundations of already existing pagan shrines making them temple monasteries; the monastery of our Lady in Ras Baalbek, the monastery of our Saviour in Sarba and the monastery of the fortress in Beit Mery (Table 1). Even though it has a general structural and conceptual resemblance regarding the system of its transformation with the temple church type of architectural conversion, it differs in the basis of its conversion's execution. The main features that led to the application of the temple monastery type of transformation instead of the temple church are the religious function needed of the resultant building and the structural proportion of the converted temple itself.

The terminology of this type of conversion depends mostly on the religious function of the resultant building after the transformation. Thus, the temple monastery is the act of building a Christian monastery with its correspondent church on the in situ foundations of a destructed pre-existing pagan temple. The monastery of Saint John of the Citadel in Beit Mery[207] is one of Lebanon's distinctive Christian complexes that went through the temple monastery type of structural conversion (Figure 24). The converted tetrastyle prostyle temple, having an ionic order, was assumingly built during the 1ˢᵗ century AD.[208] The identification of its construction chronology

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[205] Salloum 2016, 284.
[206] Idem, 287-289.
[207] Renan 1864, 353-359. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 1-3, pl. 2. Nordiguian 2005, 132-141. Aliquot 2009, 268-271.
[208] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 3.

relies mostly on the absence of its podium. The shrine had a pronaos that assured its main entrance, a rectangular shaped cella and an adytum built on a higher platform. It has a south east to north west alignment. Depending on inscriptions found on site, the temple was dedicated to Jupiter Balmarcod as it was a part of a bigger agglomeration containing two other small pagan temples and a roman byzantine settlement.[209] The temple was converted during the 1750s[210] when a church was built inside of its cella and a monastery was added on site in which the pronaos was incorporated. The temple has a length of around 43m and a width of 17m and constructed with megalithic limestones. The church was added in the first half of its cella overlapping with the temple's southern western and northern western walls. It has a rectangular shaped plan with a length of around 17m and a width of 10m. It has the same orientation as the original temple, its entrance was assured from the pronaos' wall where it overlapped with the remains of its in situ podium and one row of blocks. The church has one main apse with an east west orientation, divided into two sections separated by pilasters and a protruding service room from the church's eastern northern wall. Half of the cella's area was mainly structurally occupied with the church and its service room, whereas its eastern southern area got to be abandoned limited with the remains of two rows of the temple's foundations kept in situ. The temple had a meaningful large area, so during its conversion the added church was not in need of the whole space, it operated in almost the half of it and left the other part unexploited. The monastery was built to the north of the temple while incorporating the northern half of the pronaos with its columns and their bases left in situ. A byzantine basilica with three naves was found on the premises[211] of the monastery which theoretically indicates that the temple itself was not architecturally converted before the execution of the temple monastery. However, it mainly reflected the Byzantine presence on site, hence its religious and architectural conversion. The main temple was assumingly structurally secularized during the overall site's religious conversion, then left abandoned, dismantled and eventually used as a quarry.

The monastery temple of the Holy Saviour in Sarba[212] has the same conceptual conversion as the one in Beit Mary, with less structural remains from the Roman period that identified the once presence of a roman temple. No evidence nor structural remains were found on site that highlight

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[209] Nordiguian 2005, 132.
[210] Aliquot 2009, 269.
[211] Idem, 271.
[212] Renan 1864, 328-332. Colonna-Ceccaldi 1872, 225-251. Nordiguian 2005, 146-147. Aliquot 2009, 260-261.

activities during the Byzantine period. The monastery was built on the foundations of a pagan temple's podium which is clearly highlighted from the two rows of megalithic grey limestones in the structure of the building's northern wall with the podium's moulding. Above the platform existed the remains of two rows of big blocks built with different material than the ones of the temple's podium. The rest of the monastery is built using small proportioned elements of yellowish stones. The temple was mentioned by Renan[213] during his visit to Sarba before its conversion, however, during that time the temple was structurally unstable and in bad shape. Couple of years later, the shrine was visited as well by Colonna-Ceccaldi, during which the podium, before its conversion, was highlighted. Colonna-Ceccaldi drawn the northern elevation of the existing podium with the remains of the roof's corniches found on site. The pagan shrine was structurally converted by adopting the temple monastery type of conversion assumingly during the 19th century[214] when a monastery was built in the inner area of the structurally unstable cella after using its in situ foundations as the monastery's own structure. An altar, that might belong to the temple of Sarba, dedicated to the God Zeus, was found next to the shrine's podium.

A similar case was reflected in the temple monastery of Our Lady in Ras Baalbek[215] which was built on the remains of an existing ancient Roman temple. A single in situ row of yellowish stone blocks is clearly highlighted in the building's southern elevation. The monastery was built during several periods of time, a theory that was mostly based on the difference of materials and proportion of the blocks used in its structure. The site might have been occupied during the Byzantine period, relying on the presence of several ancient blocks with engraved Christian crosses found on the premises. Megalithic stone blocks that once belonged to the converted pagan temple are found scattered around the site with some structurally re-used blocks in the inner area of the monastery.

CONCLUSION

The infamous and notorious rituals practiced in the Roman temples, as prostitution and blood sacrifices, were one of the main aspects that led to its destruction or its structural conversion. These physical manifestations were configuring the Empire's cities religious and architectural

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[213] Renan 1864, 328-332.
[214] Nordiguian 2005, 147.
[215] Ghadban 1978, 269-275. Aliquot 2009, 279.

transformation from Paganism to Christianity, which eventually brought the Pagan beliefs, cults, worships, hence Paganism to an end. The temple's physical conversion into a church started with Constantine the Great (306-337) and was set as an example to be followed.

The temples that were converted into Christian churches had a bigger chance of architectural preservation and religious continuity. However, the majority of these sanctuaries had a decayed gapped period between their secularization during the 5th century until their structural conversion into Christian churches during different periods of time. A specific number of converted temples that exist in Lebanon have their structural evolution dated due to an undisputable historical resource or after an excavation that was accomplished on site. Most of the sites that went through a passive period of time were fairly structurally preserved which led to their eventual conversion. In the case of the cella church of Afqa (Aphaca),[216] the site was left during the 5th century after its secularization. It was then partially destructed by a landslide and was eventually transformed into a church by adding an apse into its cella despite its overall structural damages. The pre-existing pagan temples, when being physically damaged, demolished or even partially dismantled, formed the structural foundations of inverted temple churches and temple monasteries.

Even though having the same type of conversion; the correspondent sites were structurally converted either with the beginning of Christianity with the Byzantines, during the medieval period or even during the early modern times. The chronology of the conversion and the structural state of the converted structure were the two main features that affected the physical and religious fate of the Christianized temples. The pagan shrines that were converted during the byzantine period had a lower chance of durability due to structural deterioration with time especially when being religiously passive after their transformation as the temple church of Ghineh.[217] However, some of the transformed Byzantine temples were re-converted during the medieval period and went through a total re-modelling while maintaining some of the temples in situ foundations. The type that embodied this case is the inverted temple church type of conversion that is mainly highlighted in the churches of Chamat,[218] Maad (Mʿād)[219] and Deir el Ahmar[220] where remains from the

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[216] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.
[217] Nordiguian 2005, 160-161. Aliquot 2009, 260.
[218] Renan 1864, 234. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249-250. Nordiguian 2009, 156-160. Kahwagi-Janho 2018, 111-113.
[219] Renan 1864, 240. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 152. Kahwagi-Janho 2016, 95-135.
[220] Aliquot 2009, 280. Salloum 2016, 278-297.

Byzantine era were found. These churches are currently religiously active while being structurally stable after completely updating the original physique of the pagan temple. The majority of the religiously transformed temples that exist in Lebanon were converted during the medieval period either by adding an apse to its area or by re-shaping it while keeping some of its in situ structure. Some were rendered religiously passive after some time such as the converted sites of Afqa (Aphaca), Bziza,[221] Yanouh (Yānūḥ)[222] and Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb)[223] and got to be eventually destructed. The inverted temple churches and the temple monasteries in Lebanon that were transformed during the medieval period by re-shaping the destructed roman temples and keeping their in situ structure are until nowadays in use and religiously active.

In the East, most of the roman temples that once existed were either totally knocked down, with no current physical evidence of its existence, or were architecturally and religiously transformed, which had the biggest chance of endurance. The converted sites that survived until these days have two different architectural categories, these temple churches are either in form of ruins, due to abandonment, lack of preservation and renovation, or are still physically religiously active. One of the main factors that affected the functional durability of the resultant temple churches besides the chronology of their conversion is the religious continuity in the area of each converted temple. This difference of fate exists heavily in Lebanon, as it is highlighted for example in the temple of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb) which is totally ruined and the church of Saint Charbel in Maad (Mʿād). These examples had a sequence of conversions that began during the period of the Romans and the Byzantines as well as in the medieval times where some new physical modifications occurred. The present general shape of these converted temples is unrecognizable for the majority of the temple churches, however its in situ foundations highlight the shrine's original existence. The Paganism with its rituals, acts and worships eventually got to an end, however it had a physical continuity from antiquity until our current days. This religious architectural endurance is referred

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[221] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwagi-Janho 2020, 249-303.
[222] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.
[223] Dussaud 1927, 95, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52, Nordiguian 2005, 220-225, Aliquot 2009, 233-235.

by Renan's description of the Lebanese churches, quoting; '*Humanity from its origin has prayed in the same place.*'[224]

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[224] Renan 1864, 221.

3.TEMENOS CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

During the beginning of the Empire's religious conversion, the Christians' main focus was the structural destruction of all pagan architecture. The temple and the altar were the main elements that took the major tall of the Christian aggression. The majority of the pagan religious sites, especially in the eastern Empire, had a temenos that enclosed both the temple and its altar. Even though having a bigger pagan role that the Christians took structural actions upon, the temenos, when existed, was generally conserved without being totally destructed. It was considered with the temple as two different entities during the Empire's architectural conversion.[225]

The majority of the temples in Lebanon, both rural and urban had a sacred enclosure dedicated to audience participations and mass pagan worship. Even though being a rather typical structural element of the eastern roman temples;[226] the temenos was mainly dedicated to large and important temples that existed on major urban centers or significant religious sites. Due to its rather significant area, the precincts made the temples of the Eastern empire larger than the average pagan roman temples.

The temenos had an important physical, social and religious pagan role before Christianity, however during the conversion, it was one of the least affected areas. Even though it was not the main target during the destruction of all pagan architecture, the temenos got through religious structural conversion.

The temenos church type of conversion is one of the least types of architectural and religious conversion that exist in Lebanon (Map 5) with 7 temenos churches scattered around its territory (Table 2), yet it is chronologically one of the first ones mechanisms applied. It is the act of building a new church in the temple's temenos area. Many scenarios were applied where the new structure is built with or without any structural relation with the temenos' in situ walls. In all cases, the new foundations of the church were built coordinately with the temenos that was mainly used as a part of the new Christian design scheme. The new resultant church could have been built by integrating

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[225] Malalas 318.
[226] Ball 2000, 318.

it into the temenos' walls as it is the case of the temenos church of Yanouh (Yānūḥ),[227] or built inside the temenos' courtyard as for the temenos church of Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā),[228] and many other sites in Lebanon that embody one of these two options.

LOCATION			SITE NAME	CHURCH NAME	CONVERSION DATE	TYPE OF CONVERSION
BAALBEK -HERMEL	Baalbek	1	Baalbek (Bʿalbak / بعلبك)	Basilica of Saint Peter	379-395	Temenos church
		2	Chlifa (Shlyfā / شليفا)	Temple of Chlifa	Around year 635	Temenos church
BEQAA	Zahle	3	Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā / حصن نيحا)	Temple of Hosn Niha	6th century	Temenos church
MOUNT LEBANON	Chouf	4	Chhim (Shḥym / شحيم)	Temple of Chhim	5th century	Temenos church
	Jbeil	5	Yanouh (Yānūḥ / يانوح)	Byzantine Basilica	5th century	Temenos church
	Keserwan	6	Faqra (Faqrā / فقرا)	Temple of Atargatis	5th century	Temenos church
NORTH	Batroun	7	Hardine (Ḥardyn / حردين)	Medieval church	Medieval period	Temenos church

All of the cited converted sites are sorted alphabetically by district.
The converted sites are gathered from references, historical sources and site visits.

Table 2: The Temenos Churches of Lebanon

The difference of scenarios used while applying the temenos church type of conversion is mainly related to each site and its structural and religious characteristics that will be highlighted later on. All of these newly erected churches were built while using structural remains from the affected site, either from the temple, from the temenos or from any other existing structure on the premises. Even though these structures were spoliated, during this following chapter, the temenos churches are analyzed as a separate type of conversion.

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[227] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.
[228] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl. 57-64, 122-138. Nordiguian 2005, 60-65. Aliquot 2009, 303-306. Yasmine 2009, 134-141. Newson & Young 2011, 257-278. Newson & Young 2015, 449-462. Newson 2019, 116-138.

Map 5: Temenos churches of Lebanon

THE PAGAN TEMENOS

The religious pagan sites were the integral parts of the social and architectural fabric of any Roman city, either rural or urban. It mainly consisted of a sanctuary, its altar and a temenos that enclosed the space wherever the area permitted to. The temple's compound was the reason for the massive scale of the eastern pagan religious sites, as it was the main feature that differentiated the eastern from the western temples. It generated the core of any roman city.

The temenos

The temenos is the structural enclosure that defined and protected the sacred place, it is the precinct that encloses both the temple and its altar. The temenos, when existed, was the main element of the pagan site rather than the sanctuary itself. '*The enclosure was more than just a perimeter wall between the city and the temple: it was the temple.*'[229] The shrine was the house of the pagan God, whereas the precinct got to be the place where the sacrifices in honor of the temple's deity took place as well as where the mass worships were performed.

The temenos is the temple's congregational area that was used for everyday prosaic and religious rituals. It is reflected as the physical structural connection between the sacred and the unsacred spaces, between the social and the religious one. Its architectural characteristics differ from site to another; however, it generally consisted of a propylaeum highlighting its entrance and a colonnaded portico with statuaries in its inner walls. It is a big courtyard able to fit a large number of people making sacrifices to the altar in honor of the temple's deity. The altar is usually situated in its center facing the temple. The temenos was the spiritual center of each pagan religious site as it is the place where all the sacrifices and pagan rituals occurred.

Size and proportion

The size and the proportion of the temenos differed from an area to another. It mainly had a rectangular plan which enclosed the temple and its altar and had similar proportion and

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[229] Ball 2000, p. 324.

architectural features with the shrine. The pagan site of Yanouh (Yānūḥ)[230] is a converted one that consisted of a rectangular shaped temenos with a length of 51.2m and a width of 28.4m. The shape of its enclosure was bounded by the site's topography that reflected a flat horizontal platform. Its entrance was from the east and had a portico with columns that surrounded a prostyle tetrastyle pagan temple with its altar. However, in some cases, the temenos got to have an unregular shaped plan. The site's topography and the existence of ancient structures were the two main factors that affected the enclosure's unregular shape and size.

The pagan site of Faqra[231] is extended from the north by a tower and an altar, and to the south by two temples and a basilica. The site is highlighted by its topography from which the unregular shaped temenos is a natural large outcrop of bedrock. This naturally formed precinct enclosed the main temple with its altar, a small temple and a proto-byzantine basilica. The main pagan prostyle hexastyle temple with a length of 36.2m and a width of 16.5m, dedicated to Jupiter Heliopolitan, was built during the 1st century AD, and consists of a pronaos, a cella and an adytum. It was built to the northern part of the site, between the small temple and the tower, and had an east-west orientation. The main temple had a separate enclosure from the rest of the buildings that was divided into two types, a natural part of bedrock forming the western side of its temenos whereas the eastern one was built from carved rocks. To the south of the main temple, a small shrine was dedicated to Atargatis. Built during the 1st century AD in the site's southern part, it has a cella and an adytum surrounded from the west by the natural precinct. It had a rectangular shaped plan with a length of 18m and a width of 9m. During the 5th century AD, a basilica was built between the main and the small temple structurally using this last northern wall. In this case, the church was built inside of the naturally formed precinct, making it a temenos church type of conversion. Throughout the transformation, the small temple was destructed and then re-used as the church's baptistery. The temple had a rectangular cella with an entrance from its eastern wall and an adytum in its interior area accessible from the cella by a door. The interior elevations of the temple had some lateral recesses that are mainly used when a crypte existed. Krencker suggested a theory which highlight that the crypte was dismantled during the conversion in order to use the adytum

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[230] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.
[231] Renan 1864, 335-339. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 20-26, 40-55. Nordiguian 2005, 150-159. Aliquot 2009, 261-267. Newson 2019, 116-138.

as a baptistery.[232] The presence of a baptismal font inside of the temple emphasize the re-usage of the temple for religious Christian purposes.[233] The resultant church had a bigger proportion than the temple itself. It had an eastern orientation same as the temple and was divided into three naves separated by re-used columns.

The irregular plan of the temenos can be as well affected by the ancient structure that existed before the site's construction which is the case of the pagan site of Chhim[234] (Shḥym) where some Hellenistic structural ruins and artifacts dating back to the Bronze age existed. The site's fundamental architectural composition and flexibility is owed to the pre-existing structures from the 1st century B.C. The roman proto-byzantine site is divided into three sections, the main one consists of a temple, a tower and a basilica all enclosed inside of a temenos, the second area is the surrounding village to the north and the third one is the roman necropolis to the western northern side. The temenos was built outside of the village but bordered by some pre-existing structures that defined its shape. It was accessible by a stair of 6 steps[235] from its southern wall and by a door from its northern one. A cistern and some other structures existed inside of its premises from which some were dismantled during the 2nd century A.D in order to add other buildings such as a small Corinthian temple. The temple was built to the southern western corner of the temenos, having its southern and western walls overlapped with the ones of the enclosure. It is a tetrastyle prostyle shrine that consists of a pronaos, cella and an adytum oriented to the west. It had a length of 11m and a width of 9.25m. The temple was built through two stages, in which the cella with its adytum were first added and then complemented with a pronaos. During the 3rd century, a colonnaded path was added in front of the temple's pronaos leading to a tower that was built to the eastern wall of the temenos. The tower might have been functioning as a base for the altar that was placed on its upper part in order to practice the pagan rituals on high grounds.[236] Between the 3rd and the 5th centuries the temple was abandoned, secularized and got to be religiously passive without being destructed. However, during the 5th century, the site got through religious and architectural conversion by adding a proto-byzantine basilica to the northern eastern corner of the temenos. It used the enclosure's northern and eastern walls and the tower's northern wall as its own structure.

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[232] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 46-47.
[233] Aliquot 2009, 264.
[234] Waliszewski & Perisse 2004, 411-418. Nordiguian 2005, 126-131. Waliszewski & Perisse 2005, 411-420. Aliquot 2009, 272-276. Butcher 2013, 202-204.
[235] Waliszewski & Perisse 2004, 413-414.
[236] Aliquot 2009, 275.

The eastern oriented basilica had a rectangular shaped plan with a length of 18.4m and a width of around 13m, as it was built using architectural elements from the temenos, the tower and the temple. It is a spoliated church built inside of the site's enclosure, making this case a temenos church type of conversion. The usage of the temenos' wall in Chhim (Shḥym) during the transformation is similar to the case of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) where the added church used the outer side of the temenos' wall instead of its inner one. The basilica had three naves and three apses protruding from the temenos' eastern wall that had the same architectural compositions of the temple church in Ghineh.[237] Byzantine mosaics existed in the interior space of the church as highlighted in an inscription going back to 498 A.D.[238] During the site's Christianisation, the temple was dismantled and used as a quarry to build the church. In the 6th century, it was used as an olive and wine press which was proven by the presence of a basin and a pressing stone inside of the temple's cella.[239] After using the northern wall of the tower as the basilica's southern wall, a door was added as an access between the two buildings. The tower was used after the conversion as a service space for the ecclesiastical complex.

Although having different topographical characteristics that resulted with different sizes and proportions, all of the mentioned sites had the temenos church type of conversion applied. However, several processes of structural transformations were implemented. In Yanouh (Yānūḥ), a rectangular shaped enclosure was converted by adding a church outside of its temenos while physically using its southern wall. Whereas in Chhim (Shḥym) where the temenos had an unregular shaped plan, the same procedure was adopted but by adding the church inside of the temenos while structurally using both of its northern and eastern walls. The case of Faqra is conceptually different from the rest, while building the church inside of the naturally formed precinct, it used the temple's wall rather than the temenos' that was not structurally possible in this case. The churches during the conversion were built inside of the temenos and in direct structural relation either with the temple's walls or with the temenos'. Even though most of the temples had no major structural damages in all of the mentioned converted sites, the preferred option was not the direct conversion of the temple by adding an apse into its inner area, however, the indirect one by applying the temenos church type of conversion.

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[237] Renan 1864, 290, 293-295. Nordiguian 2005, 160-161. Aliquot 2009, 260.
[238] Aliquot 2009, 275.
[239] Idem.

THE TEMENOS CHURCH

The presence of a temenos in any pagan site affected indirectly the procedure of its architectural conversion. Instead of using the temple church type of conversion by building a church inside of the temple's structure, the temenos church type was implemented. It is mainly the act of building a new church either intra mural, structurally dependent or independent to the temenos' and the temple's walls, or extra mural physically dependent to the enclosure's walls (Figure 2). Many scenarios were adopted relying on several features, however, in all cases, the pagan complex was religiously converted and used as a functional system to the newly added Christian religious space.
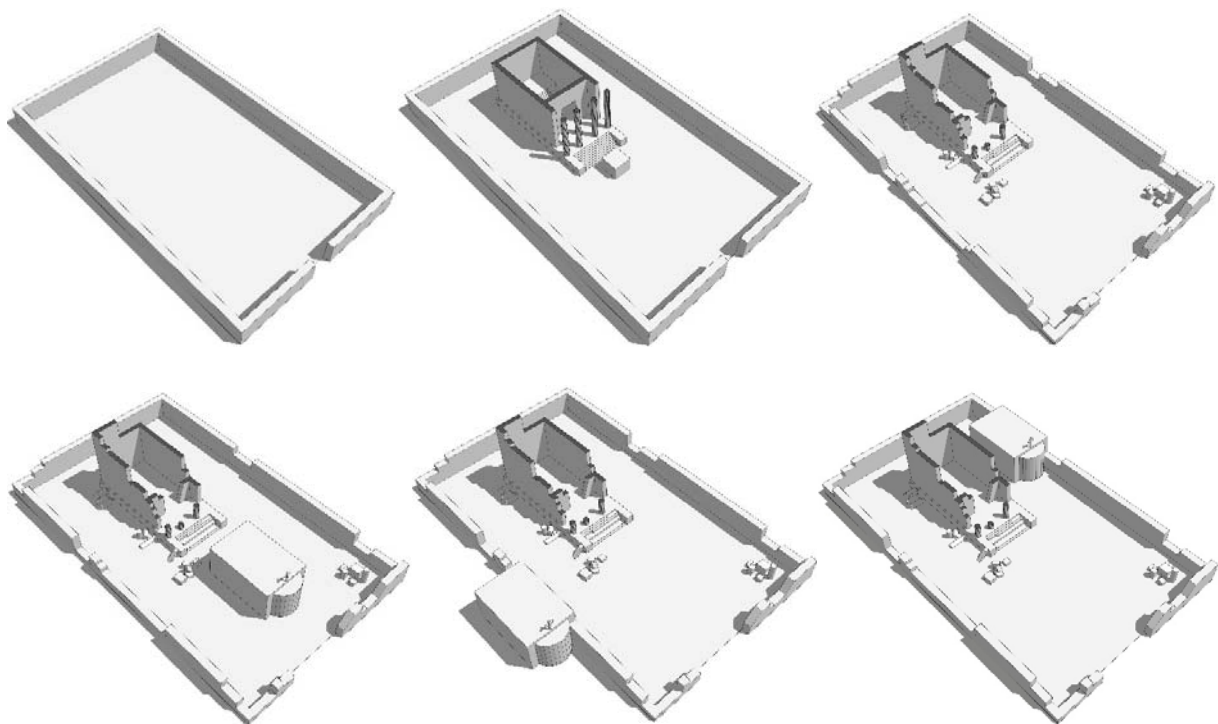
Figure 2: The temenos church mechanism and its scenarios

The conversion

The temenos church type of conversion is generally considered as an indirect type of architectural conversion where the newly added structure has the option to be totally independent from the existing buildings of the pagan complex. However, many cases exist in Lebanon where the church was built in direct structural relation with the temple's walls or with its temenos'. Several scenarios were implemented; the church could have been added in the center area of the temenos facing the site's main temple, it could have been built inside of the enclosure structurally using one of the

temple's walls or outside of the temenos structurally dependent to its walls (Figure 2). The first case is the converted pagan site of Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā)[240] that consists of the main temple, a small shrine, a byzantine basilica with its baptistery and other structures. The site's topography, that overlooked the ancient village, has affected the temenos' shape and proportion. From the north, the temenos is naturally reflected by a sloped outcrop of bedrock used as a quarry.[241] From the west, a sharp slope downward existed just above a stream which highlighted the added retaining wall that supported the pagan site. At odds with the south and the east, where a gentle downhill occurred, hence the added temenos wall.[242] The main tetrastyle prostyle temple was built during the 2nd century AD to the site's western side, which was on a higher platform than the rest of the area, and was dedicated to Mifsa.[243] It was built on a 40m long podium, it had a cella, a crypte underneath an adytum and a pronaos accessible by a vast flight of 18 stairs facing the temple's altar. The main temple had a rectangular shaped plan with a length of 28.7m and a width of 14.35m. It overlooked the pagan complex and was built on a perpendicular axe with a smaller pre-existing shrine that existed before the main temple's construction. A small *in antis* temple existed to the eastern side of the temenos where the entrance of the complex is highlighted. It was built during the site's first structural stages in the 1st century AD. It consisted of a pronaos, accessible by a flight of stairs from its southern elevation, and a square shaped cella.[244] Both of the temples were religiously active during the first three centuries and were severely damaged and destructed during the earthquake of 551.[245] After the destruction of the temples, during the byzantine period, the site was religiously and architecturally converted by adding a basilica facing the main shrine and built in the center area of the temenos just above the temple's altar. It was independently built without using any of the temples or the temenos' walls and converted the site by applying the temenos church type of conversion. The same procedure was used in Baalbek[246] where a structurally independent byzantine basilica was added in the center area of the temenos facing the main temple and built just above the altar (Figure 26). The eastern oriented basilica of Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā)

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[240] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl. 57-64, 122-138. Nordiguian 2005, 60-65. Yasmine 2005, 301-316. Yasmine 2007. Aliquot 2009, 303-306. Yasmine 2009, 134-141. Newson & Young 2011, 257-278. Newson & Young 2015, 449-462. Newson 2019, 116-138.
[241] Yasmine 2009, 135.
[242] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 122-123.
[243] Aliquot 2009, 304.
[244] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 133-134.
[245] Yasmine 2009, 140-141.
[246] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.

had three naves with one main apse, a baptistery to its northern corner and a sacristy to the church's eastern part. Some mosaics were found inside of the baptistery with a font used during the Christian religious rituals. The church was mostly built with structural elements from the destructed temples and their temenos.[247] In recent years, a detailed study of the converted pagan site of Hosn Niha was accomplished by Jean Yasmine, highlighting a reconstruction of the site during the Roman period and after its religious and architectural conversion.[248] The Byzantine Basilica that was added on site was built while re-using construction material from the existing structures. Both of the temples were structurally damaged before the site's Christianization, mainly due to natural disasters. However, in this case, after the damaging of the temples, it might have been economically suitable to build a new church instead of converting the existing main pagan building. The structural restoration of the temple got to be more costly than building a new church. The added basilica and the main temple have nearly the same proportion, and were both built on the same western eastern alignment; hence an apse could have been added in the pronaos of the existing shrine without having the need to build a new structure. The temple's structural stability got to be the main factor that led to the application of the temenos church type of conversion instead of the temple church. However, with the dismantling of the existing ruined pagan temples, structural fabric in order to build the church were assured and the site got to be eventually secularized by the destructed shrines and the Christian church's erection.

In Baalbek, even with the implementation of the same conversion scenario, different structural paths were implemented. The Basilica was added, same as in Hosn Niha, in the middle area of the temenos, structurally independent while facing the main temple. It structurally overlapped the site's monumental altar which led to its complete dismantling. The newly added structure was built by materials from the fabric of the once existing altar and of the neighboring temple of Jupiter. Both the added church and the existing temple of Jupiter have the same eastern western alignment. As it was mentioned, the basilica had structural modifications after its first erection when it had a western orientation. The apses afterwards were removed and re-added in order to have an eastern direction to comply with the liturgical requirements of the Christian congregational space. However, both the church and its facing temple had different proportions, where the basilica got to be bigger than the existing temple. Several factors might have led to the execution of the temenos

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[247] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 132.
[248] Yasmine 2007.

church type of conversion instead of structurally converting the temple into a Christian church, mentioning that the temple was re-used during a certain period as a Christian function. The temple, that got to be eventually smaller than the added church, might have been structurally unstable during the church's construction; however, its fabric was carved out of its structure to be used in the basilica's. It might have been in this case and during the reign of the emperor Theodosius, as a structural highlight, in the pagan complex, of the Christian triumph over the Paganism.

The second scenario is highlighted with the converted site of the above mentioned Chhim (Shḥym).[249] The pagan complex consisted of a temple, a tower and other structures all enclosed inside of a temenos. The site was religiously and architecturally converted during the 5th century AD by adding a basilica to the northern eastern corner of the temenos making it a temenos church type of conversion. The new structure used the temenos' northern and eastern walls as its own. In this case the church was mostly structurally dependent on the existing enclosure and built using the lasts and the temple's architectural elements. The temple was later on used as a wine and oil press.[250] A door was added to the northern wall of the tower making it accessible from the church and was used as its service area.

The same case is highlighted in Yanouh (Yānūḥ)[251] as well, however, the structural transformation was differently executed. The converted pagan site of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) consists, from south to north, of a Hellenistic structure, a small Roman temple, a proto-byzantine basilica, the main site's Roman temple and a medieval church. The precinct had a rectangular shaped plan that was built mainly to enclose the main shrine. The process regarding the conversion of this site will be later on highlighted in detail as it consists of several types of religious and architectural conversion all implemented in one site. During the site's Christianisation in the 5th century, a proto-byzantine basilica was built to the southern part of the temenos. The newly added structure was built to the exterior area of the temenos, instead of being added intra mural as in Chhim (Shḥym), while structurally using its southern wall as its own, making this case a temenos church type of conversion. The basilica was oriented to the east and had three naves, separated by pillars, with

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[249] Waliszewski & Perisse 2004, 411-418. Nordiguian 2005, 126-131. Waliszewski & Perisse 2005, 411-420. Aliquot 2009, 272-276. Butcher 2013, 202-204.
[250] Aliquot 2009, 275.
[251] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

one main central apse and another small one to its south. The entrances are highlighted by two openings: one from the southern part of its western wall, where the small Roman temple got incorporated, and another one from its northern wall, hence the temenos'. When the church was added, the enclosure had a different architectural setting from its origin, the western part of its southern wall was removed in order to ensure accessibility to its inner area and to provide a social and visual link with the added church. The newly erected church that had a bigger proportion than the existing temple, used 18m of the temenos' perimeter that had a thickness of around 1.1m.

Instead of being structurally dependent on the temenos' walls as in the cases of Chhim (Shḥym) and Yanouh (Yānūḥ), the newly added church could be dependent to the temple's walls as well. In the converted site of Faqra,[252] a byzantine basilica was added to the northern part of the small temple by using its northern wall as its own, making it a temenos church type of conversion. The existing temple was destructed before the conversion; hence it was used as a quarry for the new structure and was later on used as a baptistery for the church.[253] In this case the church had no direct structural relation with the temenos but it existed inside of its premises and was structurally dependent on the existing shrine.

On a high mountainous platform exist the converted site of Chlifa[254] that highlights the same scenario as Faqra. It consists of a pagan temple and a small church enclosed inside of a temenos. The precinct's southern, eastern, and western walls are parallel to the temple unlike the northern one that was built on an angled axe to the shrine. The temple, which was not built in the center area of the temenos, had a pronaos, a cella and an adytum that is nowadays completely destructed. The site of Chlifa lacks excavations and documentations in order to process the conversion stage. However, as highlighted by Krencker and Zschietzschmann,[255] a small proportioned church was added to the southern part of the temple. The ruins of the church's northern wall are around 2m distant from the temple's southern wall, which indicates that the newly added structural might have used the existing temple's southern wall as its own. It has one main nave with one apse oriented to the east. The site might have been transformed into a monastery for the nuns during the medieval

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[252] Renan 1864, 335-339. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 20-26, 40-55. Nordiguian 2005, 150-159. Aliquot 2009, 261-267. Newson 2019, 116-138.
[253] Aliquot 2009, 264.
[254] Renan 1864, 314. Dussaud 1927, 411. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 152-155. Alouf 1999, 62-66. Donceel 1966, 251-252. Nordiguian 2005, 74-75. Aliquot 2009, 280-281.
[255] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 155.

ages. No documentations exist until nowadays about the social nor the religious function of the temple during the site's Christianisation. Having a bigger proportion than the added church, the temple might have been destructed and left inactive after the site's conversion or it could have had other social functions that served the converted complex.

Several scenarios were adopted during the site's conversion into a temenos church; however, many factors affected the execution of each one. The temenos that exist in Lebanon differ in proportion, orientation and architectural characteristics that mainly influenced the conversions' structural procedures. Yet, the topography of the site and the presence of pre-existing structures were the main constraints that affected the temenos' physical features. The enclosure could have an irregular shaped plan after being formed by a natural outcrop of bedrocks as in Faqra or it could have a rectangular shaped plan on a one leveled area as in Yanouh (Yānūḫ). In all cases, the temenos church type of conversion was the one applied, with the structural placement of the church as the only architectural feature that differed from each site to another.

During the conversion, the enclosure was functionally transferred to Christian usage by either being structurally affected or kept in situ, it became the service area as the church's exterior courtyard. In all adopted scenarios, the temenos and its temple, that was generally rendered inactive during the site's transformation, were considered as a rich source for the builders who incorporated its standing masonry to the church's structural fabric, which was considered as an economical contribution when building any new structure.

CONCLUSION

The temenos church type of architectural conversion is the act of building a new church intra or extra mural, either independently or structurally related to the enclosure's walls. The majority of the pagan sites that exist in Lebanon have a temenos, it is the space that enclosed both the shrine and its altar. Even though the temple existed next to the newly erected church, many factors led to the implementation of the temenos church type of conversion instead of the temple church.

The pagan rituals were generally practiced inside of the temenos, which had a bigger area than the temple itself, in contrary to the Christian services that were shifted to the inner area of the church. During the site's Christianisation, either during the byzantine period or the medieval one, the proportion of the temple's interior space or its structural state, might not have been adequate for

its direct conversion. Thus, a new structure was needed instead of using an already existing one. The main temple of Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā) was destructed and structurally unstable due to the earthquake that happened before the site's conversion, which led to the construction of a new church facing the temple. The same case was reflected in Faqra, where a new church was added to the north of the existing temple as it was destructed before the site's transformation. Even when the temples were structurally stable as in both of Chhim (Shḥym) and Yanouh's sites, they were rendered passive and new churches with bigger proportions were added. In these cases, the temples were later on re-used for different purposes, depending on the site's needs during that certain period of time.

The temenos church type of conversion is one of the first templates adopted during the beginning of the Empire's Christianisation. When Christianity became the official religion during the 4th century, temples were being ordered to be destroyed and pagan rituals were banned from being practiced. In order to change a religion in any society, it needed several generations so it would be fully adopted with faith. Christianity started officially with Constantine (306-337), but was fully and legally applied during the reign of Theodosius II. The population during that transitional time was trying to abide and adapt to the new religion and its beliefs. However, the respect that they had to Paganism still existed even during the implementation of the religious and architectural conversion. This factor was reflected in the site of Yanouh (Yānūḫ), where during its first Christianisation in the 5th century, a new basilica that had a bigger proportion than the existing temple was built outside of the temenos structurally dependent to its southern wall, applying the temenos church type of conversion. However, the site had its second conversion during the medieval period where the main temple was converted by adding an apse into its pronaos. Hence, two types of conversion were applied on site with only a couple of meters distance between each structure but during different chronological frames. The same case might have been applied on the site of Chlifa as the newly erected church was added to its south. However, the added structure had a fairly smaller proportion than the temple itself which led to the assumption that the temple might have been structurally unstable or left inactive until the site's abandonment. The presence of a Christian church in the premises of any pagan site, was a part of the site's secularization process.

In the majority of the cases, disregarding the reasons for the usage of the temenos church type of conversion instead of the temple church, the temple either destructed or left inactive was mainly

re-used, for religious or non-religious purposes. In Faqra, the small temple even though being destructed was re-used as the church's baptistery.[256] The temple of Chhim (Shḥym) was left inactive for a certain period of time and was afterwards re-used as a wine and oil press.[257] The site of Yanouh (Yānūḫ) was converted during several period of times and reflected all three types of conversion. However, during the byzantine period, the main temple was secularized, then left passive with no structural damages. During the medieval period it was converted into a church after adding an apse into its pronaos. In all other cases, the temple might have been structurally unstable which led to the usage of its material in order to build the newly erected church, in this case the temple was left in ruined and was then used as a quarry. After the site's overall religious and architectural conversion, the functional fate of the temple differed from each site and depended as well on the chronological frame of the conversion. It either kept a religious role that was shifted into Christianity or was completely transformed and was re-used as a secular building that functionally satisfied the site's needs. In the most dramatic scenarios, the temple, when being extremely damaged might have been totally dismantled and used as a quarry.

The temenos church type of conversion is fairly the least spread types of conversion in Lebanon with around 7 sites scattered all around its territory (Map 5, Table 2). The implementation of this type of transformation and not the temple church template depended mostly on the structural state of the temple and on its general proportion. However, disregarding the purpose of the re-usage as well as the chronology of the site's conversion, the process started with the destruction of the temple in order to achieve its secularization, then the construction of a new church next to the existing foundations using the ruined temples and the temenos' architectural fabric. The site's classification depending on the type of conversion is mixed as all of the temenos churches contain a fair degree of re-used and re-located materials reflecting the spolia church type of conversion.

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[256] Aliquot 2009, 264.
[257] Idem, 275.

4.SPOLIA CHURCH

INTRODUCTION

The act of spoliation started with the official beginning of Christianity in the 4th century and got to its peak during that period. It is one of the widest and most spread used type of conversion all over the Empire. Since the start, pagan temples took the major tall of Christian structural aggression, from which some were totally dismantled while others were damaged but remained structurally stable with time. Some of the ruined shrines went through a period of isolation and neglect before being converted. However, these abandoned and ruined temples, especially those with unstable structure, were considered as the perfect and most suitable source of building material to build de novo churches.

Since the start of Christianity, even though pagan temples were considered as polluted structures, they were a rich source in several domains making the architectural and structural spread of Christianity an easier task. All of the temple's artifacts were removed and re-used for Christian purposes, all pagan religious lands were confiscated and shrines were severally damaged and chaotically dismantled until laws were being issued in order to protect these structures. After a while, through the codex Theodosianus,[258] it was forbidden to destroy and dismantle pagan temples, not as an act of respect towards Paganism but as an act of convenience for further and more planned structural re-usage.

The spolia church mechanic is the most spread type of architectural conversion all over the Lebanese territory (Map 6) with around 57 spoliated churches scattered around its territory. The spoliation of the churches is a mechanism that is visually highlighted through the re-usage of big blocks, architectural and decorative elements, ancient inscriptions, column's drums, and other features that structurally originated from a certain dismantled pagan temple. These shrines are, nowadays, ruined and structurally damaged or are totally dismantled as they never once existed. The spolia church of Saint Elias in Bziza[259] was built using the existing temple's construction materials that is neighbouring the added church. The temple of Bziza,[260] which was used as a

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[258] Cod. Theod., XVI, 10.
[259] Nordiguian 2015, 397-405.
[260] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwagi-Janho 2020, 249-303.

quarry, is currently in ruin but was directly converted into a church during the medieval period. The spolia church of Our Lady in Qassouba[261] was built while using the fabric of the pagan temple of Qassouba. However, the temple of Qassouba is nowadays totally dismantled as it never once existed. The spolia churches that exist in Lebanon, even though having the same type of conversion differ in their structural execution where each resultant church is architecturally different from the other.

LOCATION			SITE NAME	CHURCH NAME	CONVERSION DATE	TYPE OF CONVERSION
AKKAR	Akkar (Halba)	1	Akroum (ʾakrūm / أكروم)	Saint Chamchoum		Spolia church
		2	Qubayyat (Qubayyāt / قبيات)	Saint Challita		Spolia church
BAALBEK -HERMEL	Baalbek	3	Nabha (Nabʿa / نبعة)	Byzantine church	6th century	Spolia church
BEQAA	Zahle	4	Deir el Ghazal (Dayr ʾal ġazāl / دير الغزال)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		5	Niha (Niḥā / نيحا)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		6		Saint Doumet		Spolia church
MOUNT LEBANON	Jbeil	7	Aabaydat (ʿbaydāt / عبيدات)	Saint Osapius		Spolia church
		8	Amchit (ʿamshyt / عمشيت)	Saint Georges	Medieval Period	Spolia church
		9		Saint Sophia		Spolia church
		10	Behdaydat (Beḥdaydāt / بحديدات)	Saint Nicolas & Lady of Bzez		Spolia church
		11		Saint Theodore		Spolia church
		12	Bejjeh (Bejjeh / بجّه)	Our Lady of Harvest		Spolia church
		13	Blat (Blāṭ / بلاط)	Saint Elie	Medieval Period	Spolia church
		14		Saint Saba		Spolia church
		15		Saint Tekla	12th-13th century	Spolia church
		16	Chikhane (Shyẖān / شيخان)	Lady of Dormition	19th century	Spolia church
		17		Saint Simeon Stylites	14th-15th century	Spolia church
		18	Chloumas (Shlūmāṣ / شلوماص)	Saint Elias		Spolia church
		19	Chmout (Shmūt / شموت)	Saint Fawka		Spolia church
		20	Dmalsa (Dmalsā / دملسا)	Saint Nohra & Sophia		Spolia church
		21		Saint Georges	19th century	Spolia church
		22	Eddeh (ʿeddeh / إده)	Saint John & Theodore		Spolia church
		23		Saint Lisha		Spolia church

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[261] Renan 1864, 199-207. Ronzevalle 1903, 404-410. Ronzevalle 1930, 141-153. Nordiguian 2009, 160-163, 179-181. Aliquot 2009, 250-251.

MOUNT LEBANON	Jbeil	24	Fghal (Fġāl / فغال)	Saint Nohra & our Lady		Spolia church
		25	Gharzouz (Ġarzūz / غرزوز)	Lady of Dormition	1807	Spolia church
		26	Hakel (Ḥāqel / حاقل)	Our Lady of the Almond		Spolia church
		27	Hosrayel (Ḥoṣrāyel / حصرايل)	Saint Theodore		Spolia church
		28	Hsarat (Ḥṣārāt / حصارات)	Saint Ghaleb		Spolia church
		29	Jbeil (Jubayl / جبيل)	Saint Simeon Stylites		Spolia church
		30	Mastita (Mastītā / مستيتة)	Saint Saba		Spolia church
		31	Mechane (Meshān / مشان)	Our Lady Mother of God		Spolia church
		32	Monsef (Monṣef / منصف)	Saint Sergio & Bakhos		Spolia church
		33	Qassouba (Qaṣṣūbā / قصوبا)	Saint Nohra		Spolia church
		34		Our Lady	13th century	Spolia church
		35	Rihane (Al-Riḥāne / الريحانة)	Saint Theodore		Spolia church
		36	Tartej (Tartej / ترتج)	Saint Sarkis & Bakhos		Spolia church
		37		Saint Georgios		Spolia church
		38	Yanouh (Yānūḥ / يانوح)	Medieval church	Medieval Period	Spolia church
	Keserwan	39	Ashkout (ʿashqūt / عشقوت)	Saint John the Baptist		Spolia church
		40	Maarab (Meʿrāb / معراب)	Saint Grigorios & Basilios		Spolia church
		41	Raachine (Raʿshyn / رعشين)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		42	Yahchouch (Yaḥshūsh / يحشوش)	Saint Simeon		Spolia church
	Metn (Jdeideh)	43	Broumana (Brommāna / برمانا)	Monastery of Saint Chaaya		Spolia church

NORTH	Batroun	44	Boxmaya (Boxmāyā / بوكسمايا)	Saint Simon		Spolia church
		45		Our Lady of Bzez		Spolia church
		46	Dael (Dāʿel / داعل)	Saint Tedros		Spolia church
		47	Halta (Ḥaltā / حالتا)	Saint Aabda		Spolia church
		48	Kfarhelda (Kfarheldā / كفرحيلدا)	Our Lady of Qaleaa		Spolia church
		49	Kfifen (Kfyfān / كفيفان)	Our Lady of Agriculture		Spolia church
		50	Koubba (Kūbā / قوبا)	Saint Jacob		Spolia church
		51	Mrah el Chdid (Mrāḥ ʿal shdyd / مراح الشديد)	Saint Sarkis & Bakhos		Spolia church
		52	Smar Jbeil (Simār Jubayl / سمار جبيل)	Saint Nohra		Spolia church
	Bcharri	53	Hadchit (Ḥadshit / حدشيت)	Saint Sarkis & Bakhos		Spolia church
		54		Our Lady		Spolia church
	Koura (Amioun)	55	Amioun (ʿamyūn / أميون)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		56	Bziza (Bzyzā / بزيزا)	Saint Elie	1st: 12th century 2nd: after 1950	Spolia church
	Koura (Amioun)	57	Ain Aakrine (ʿayn ʿaqryn / عين عقرين)	Saint Jacobs		Spolia church

All of the cited converted sites are sorted alphabetically by district.
The converted sites are gathered from references, historical sources and site visits.

Table 3: The Spolia churches of Lebanon

Map 6: Spolia churches of Lebanon[262]

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[262] Each red dote highlight a spoliated church or several churches that exist in the same region.

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THE SPOLIA CHURCH

The spolia church type of conversion is the act of building a de novo church while using the structural blocks and elements from a destroyed ruined temple (Figure 3). Being a structural mechanic of the indirect type of architectural transformation, the spolia church is a regular practice in cases where the existing temple suffered structural damages, either through human aggression or natural means. The spoliation was never a random process; however, it was the fact of using the temple as a quarry as no physical material should have gone to waste. This template is logically one of the most spread types on the Lebanese territory, as the remains of a single ruined shrine can contribute the construction of several other newly erected churches.
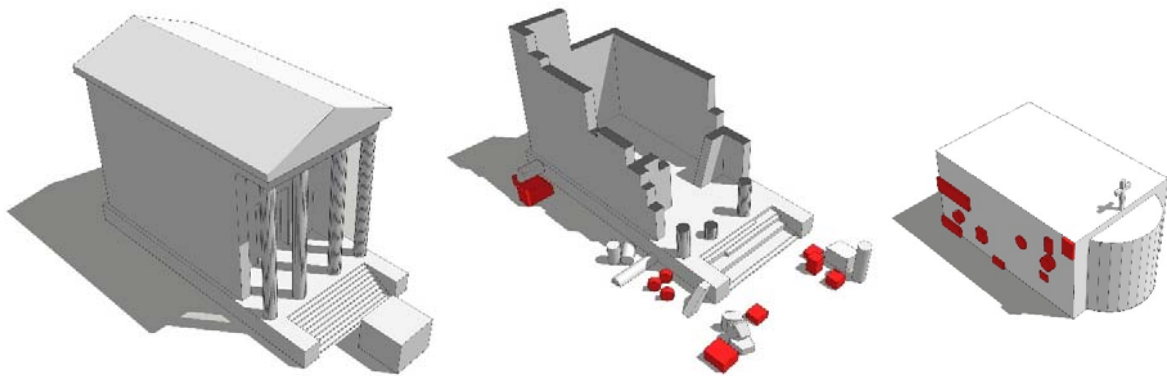
Figure 3: The spolia church mechanism

Historical sources vaguely mentioned the temple's architectural conversion process; however, the construction of churches after the temple's destruction was frequently reported. Since the start of Christianity, destroying the pagan temples was a standard practice all over the Empire. The shrines during that time should have been severally damaged in order to accomplish their secularization. The ones that took the major tall of Christian aggression were completely destroyed and dismantled without leaving any trace of their existence. These structures, having a chaotic visual look after their destruction, were dismantled and re-used in building new churches, hence the spolia churches.

Even though the same type of conversion was executed throughout the majority of the structurally converted sites, each spolia church differed from the other. Three main features led to the visible difference from each structure; the chronology of which the site was converted, the level of the church's spoliation and the architectural characteristics of the resultant Christian structure. The chronology of which the spolia church was newly built, directly affected the level of its spoliation

that went from being totally built with ancient re-used blocks to having a couple of re-purposed material in its whole structure. The level of spoliation, with the re-used blocks highlighted in the spolia church, might be the main feature that leads to the geographical and religious source of these ancient elements. The level of spoliation has as well affected the architectural characteristics of the resultant church that even though using the fabric of classical monuments had a flexible and asymmetric structure without respecting nor appreciating the aesthetical and architectural principals of its classical source.[263]

The Chronology

The spolia church type of conversion, comparing it with the other architectural mechanisms, had the widest timeframe of execution. It started since the beginning of Christianity, went through the medieval ages, and lasted until the Ottomans period. During the official start of Christianity, the main aim was to eradicate Paganism mainly by deconsecrating, destroying and converting their visual architectural symbol; the pagan temples. Destroying temples, dismantling them and re-using their materials in order to build new churches was a standard, chaotic and uncontrollable process. The existing pagan shrines during that period of time, went through structural damages in order to ensure their secularization. The destruction process differed through sites; it went from knocking a statue down from its pedestals to completely dismantling the building. Christian aggression towards the pagan temples got to be the main cause of the high and rapid spoliation that occurred during the 4th and the 5th centuries.[264] These actions were accomplished without any limits or official restrictions neither on urban nor on rural pagan temples. The Codex Theodosianus during the 5th century, was put in place with the aim to forbid the acquisition of construction materials from intact, secularized and religiously passive buildings.[265] These laws were issued to protect the existing preserved temples from denudation to eventually accomplish their structural direct conversion. Even though destroying temples was illegal during that period of time, structurally damaging religiously active pagan temples, where unfamous rituals and sacrifices were still being practiced, was a lawful and legalised process.[266]

After the 6th century, the Christian aggression towards the pagan temples faded away, secularizing and destroying shrines was not the main focus anymore. The majority of the preserved temples

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[263] Saradi 1990, 52.
[264] Bayliss 2001, 117.
[265] Cod. Theod., XVI 10, 3, 18.
[266] Idem, XVI 10, 19-2.

went through some period of isolation and neglect before being re-used or converted into a Christianized building. Some of these structures got to be in state of collapse and decay, which were the most adequate sites used as quarry. During the medieval ages, these ruined temples were the essence and the starting point for building new churches, either on the same or a nearby site. The spoliation was a used process throughout the Ottoman's reign as well, during which building new churches was a forbidden act, especially in the coastal area of Lebanon. During that time, ruined and abandoned temples were dismantled and re-used while discreetly building new churches, which eventually gave them the resultant structure with ancient visual effect.

The spolia churches that were built since the start of Christianity had a lower chance of structural endurance until our days, especially if they were rendered religiously passive with time and were left to decay. However, several religiously active converted spolia churches exist on the Lebanese territory, built during either the medieval or the Ottoman's period. The medieval spolia church of Saint Tekla in Chikhane[267] is an eastern oriented structure divided into three naves and one main centred apse (Figure 27). The church is majorly influenced by the re-usage of ancient blocks, mainly in its inner area. The naves are separated by ancient Hellenistic re-purposed columns with engraved crosses that might have been added during the site's construction to ensure the ancient blocks purification. The columns were built using between 3 to 4 re-purposed drums, with a heigh of each drum varying from 0.2m to 0.7m and a diameter of around 0.5m. The engraved crosses were added on a heigh of around 1.6m from the church's level. Davie indicated the existence of 8 engraved crosses across the inner area of the church so that the newly erected structure resists any upcoming disasters (Figure 28).[268] The central northern column is topped with a Doric capital (Figure 29). The apse was built with some ancient elements, and some frescoes going back to the medieval period were reflected on the northern wall. A Greek inscription and a small Corinthian capital, with an engraved cross on its upper surface, are found around the western entrance of the church. Two other spolia churches exist in Chikhane dedicated to Our Lady and to Saint Simeon Stylites (Figure 30).[269] These structures were built after the 15th century having a couple of purified reused blocks in their fabric. Even though Chikhane is rich with its spolia churches, no ancient ruined structure that might have belonged to a Roman temple was found in the region.

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[267] Renan 1864, 240, Nordiguian 2009, 166-168, Davie 2012, 142-143, 216-225.
[268] Davie 2012, 142-143.
[269] Ibid, 204-215.

The spolia church of Our Lady of Dormition in Gharzouz[270] was built during the 19th century (Figure 31), couple of centuries after the construction of Saint Tekla in Chikhane. The exterior fabric of the church was built with regular sized structural elements; however, it's exterior physic is highlighted with some architectural re-used blocks which some of them goes back to the Hellenistic period. An ancient block, with engraved solar disk, is structurally used between the 7th and the 8th row of the eastern southern corner of the church (Figure 32), this element is similar to the one that was found in Saint Georges spolia church[271] of Eddeh in Jbeil and is currently in the museum of the Louvre. Another re-purposed block is implemented in the eastern part of the church's southern wall, which reflects the chest of a decapitated statue (Figure 33). The northern entrance door is limited with a large re-used limestone with an engraved cross on its surface. A couple of bossed blocks are structurally integrated to the eastern elevation that originated from an ancient structure. The re-used blocks of the spolia church of Our Lady of Dormition in Gharzouz might have belonged to an earlier Christian structure built during the 18th century.[272]

The level of spoliation

Applying the spolia church type of conversion, gave the resultant church an overall flexibility and an asymmetric visual outline. However, the main factor that differentiated each spolia church from the other is the level of spoliation visually highlighted in its structure. Deichmann concluded throughout his work on the spolia constructions, which were executed during the 4th and the 5th centuries, that the re-used materials for a newly built church originated from a sole pagan source structure.[273] This hypothesis might be hardly emphasized on the converted spolia churches of the medieval and the Ottoman's times. Knowing the origin of each re-used block during that later period is a hard task to accomplish. The majority of the de novo spolia churches that were erected during the beginning of the Empire's religious and architectural conversion, might have been rendered passive after some period of time or dismantled and re-used in order to build other churches. These same re-purposed ancient blocks, used in building several churches during

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[270] Renan 1864, 221, Davie 2012, 142, 226-235.
[271] Renan 1864, 227-229, Nordiguian 2005, 185, Aliquot 2009, 250, Nordiguian 2009, 169-171.
[272] Davie 2012, 233.
[273] Deichmann 1975.

different timeline, were spread from site to another and probably lost their structural identity and geographical source.

The historical resources, the type of the re-used architectural elements and occasionally the location of the converted temple, are the main factors that might trace the historical and the geographical source of the re-purposed blocks. The historical sources highlighted the temple's destruction and deconsecration process in details whereas the structural conversion system was generally and vaguely mentioned. However, it reflected building churches next to destroyed shrines, hence, if these churches and temples still do exist until our days, the origin of the re-used blocks is logically traceable. The type of the re-purposed blocks, either highlighted with inscriptions and/or masonry marks, might be one of the main factors that led to their original one or several sources. The re-used blocks engraved with inscriptions might indicate the timeline when the dismantled temple, the source of the ancient blocks, was erected and to whom it was dedicated, from which in some cases would be possible to highlight its geographical location.

The medieval spolia church of Saint Elias in Blat,[274] assumingly built during the 13th century,[275] is an eastern oriented structure divided into three naves with one main apse (Figure 34). The church is heavily spoliated and mainly highlighted with the re-usage of several blocks engraved with inscriptions. Seven inscriptions in total were found on site, four from these blocks indicated the date of the construction of the original temple from which these architectural elements originated. Hence the main temple was built during 148-149AD.[276] Three inscriptions were structurally used in the exterior fabric of the church, the first one as the lintel of the western entrance door (Figure 34), the second as the lintel of the southern entrance (Figure 35), whereas the third one was engraved on a decorative frieze with carved foliage placed on the 4th row to the east of the second lintel. The church is almost completely built with big limestones from which the majority are bossed blocks. A decapitated sculpted block is structurally used in the inner part of the western wall (Figure 10). Two other inscriptions were implemented in the inner area of the church's northern wall in its 3rd row of blocks. Other than the structural implementation of the inscriptions, the church's overall physic is majorly spoliated. The structure's four corners were built using big ancient re-purposed blocks. The western elevation has the first 5 rows spoliated with big blocks,

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[274] Renan 1864, 223-226, Alpi & Nordiguian 1996, 5-14, Nordiguian 2005, 182-183, Aliquot 2009, 251, Nordiguian 2009, 163-166.
[275] Nordiguian 2009, 165.
[276] Renan 1864, 223-226, Alpi & Nordiguian 1996, 5-14, Aliquot 2009, 251.

from which several are bossed, however, the fabric above the entrance door is highlighted with elements of smaller proportion. The northern elevation was built with both small and big proportioned fabric, from which its door entrance reflects the re-usage of an ancient lintel. The eastern elevation is visibly divided into two sections; the northern one was built using different material than the rest of the church with regular proportioned carved blocks whereas its southern part was majorly spoliated. The church's southern elevation is around 75% spoliated while structurally using big ancient limestones, bossed elements, two inscriptions and one decorative frieze in its 4th row, whereas its western part was built using small elements. The re-usage of ancient big proportioned blocks is clearly highlighted as well in the church's inner area (Figure 36) with the presence of the remains of some medieval frescoes.[277] The Renan mentioned that the dismantled temple, from which the re-used blocks originated, might have been located in Jbeil, however, he opposed his hypothesis due to the long distance and impractical road between the two sites.[278] Nordiguian concluded that if blocks were transported from Qassuba to Amshit,[279] then transporting structural elements from Jbeil to Blat, having the same distance, is not an impossible task to accomplish.[280]

The medieval church of Our Lady in Qassouba,[281] is a one nave spoliated church with one main apse oriented to the east. The structure is built using fabric from a ruined pagan temple (Figure 37). The difference of the proportion of the re-used blocks is clearly highlighted in its southern and western elevations, mentioning that column drums are structurally reflected in the southern area. Whereas the other two elevations, the eastern and the northern, were built using both small and ancient big blocks. A re-purposed small altar is placed inside of the church in which two re-used column's drums were added to hold the main Christian altar. The church was assumingly built using remains of a once existing temple in Qassouba that was as well used as a quarry for building several other spolia churches in other regions. The church of Our Lady of Qassuba was built distanced of around less than a hundred meters to the west of the once existing temple (Figure 38).[282] That same ruined shrine was assumingly used to build the spolia church of Saint Georges

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[277] Nordiguian 2009, 165.
[278] Renan 1864, 223.
[279] Idem, 199-207.
[280] Nordiguian 2009, 166.
[281] Renan 1864, 199-207. Ronzevalle 1903, 404-410. Ronzevalle 1930, 141-153. Nordiguian 2009, 160-163, 179-181. Aliquot 2009, 250-251.
[282] Nordiguian 2009, 161.

in Amshit.[283] However, the affected temple is nowadays totally dismantled, as it never once existed, due to the region's current urbanisation that was expanded while using the temple's construction materials. Its structural presence was highlighted throughout historical sources especially through the writings of Renan[284] and Ronzevalle.[285] Two inscriptions were found highlighting that the temple of Qassouba was built by the architect Dionysios Aspas to a certain God and to his family. The temple had an adytum and was oriented to the east.[286] Ronzevalle highlight the presence of several altars on the site of the shrine from which one was dedicated to the God Helios. During his visit in 1903, he mentioned the presence of a wall of around 35m of perimeter that could have been belonging to the site's ionic temple. The shrine was almost totally dismantled, since its last visit by Renan in 1864, but its grandiosity and its lavish decoration could have been clearly highlighted from the capitals that were still on site. The temple might have been enclosed inside of a temenos that surrounded the shrine on top of the hill of Qassouba.[287]

The presence of an existing ruined shrine next to a spoliated church is the factor that leads to the undoubtable tracing of the re-purposed structural blocks. Saint Elias medieval spolia church[288] in Bziza, is built neighbouring the roman tetrastyle prostyle temple of Bziza,[289] which in his turn was converted into a temple church during the medieval times. The church was built using re-purposed blocks originated from the main temple's located around a hundred meters to its east (Figure 39). The structure went through several major structural modifications that led to its current state, hence an overall small church with a width of 3.6m and a length of 7.5m (Figure 40). The church is on a lower level from the site and is solely accessible from its western elevation by an entrance door and a flight of 5steps. It has one nave with one main apse protruding from the eastern wall. The church's northern wall reflects the presence of two arcades recently structurally blocked. Its southern wall is prolonged to the west and highlight some medieval frescoes still existing until current days. The existence of the blocked arcades from the inner area and the frescoes on its outer elevation, indicate the proportion of the original structure, which once existed, that was bigger than

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[283] Renan 1864, 223.
[284] Idem, 199-297.
[285] Ronzevalle 1930, 141-153.
[286] Jalabert 1906, 143-146. Jalabert 1907, 265. Aliquot 2009, 250-251.
[287] Nordiguian 2009, 162.
[288] Nordiguian 2015, 397-405.
[289] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwaji-Janho 2020, 249-305.

the current church. The frescoes were added during the second half of the 12th century,[290] which indicate the date of the original medieval church. The ancient blocks highlighted in the structure of the current Saint Elias church, mainly on its southern wall, have the proportion of about 1.35x0.6m and 1.15x0.52m which is similar to the proportion of the blocks of the main temple of Bziza. The church's northern elevation has some re-used ancient blocks protruding from its limits from which several decorative architectural elements (Figure 41). The interior northern arcades are based with re-purposed pilasters decorated with two rectangular mouldings separated by a recessed cut strip.

The spolia church of Saint Jacobs in Ain Aakrine (ʿayn ʿakrīn) is a part of the same mechanic. The newly added structure was added around 30m to the east of the existing ruined pagan temple of Ain Aakrine (ʿayn ʿakrīn).[291] It has one nave with one main eastern oriented apse. The small church and its exterior porch were built from structural blocks of the main temple. It's four corners are completely spoliated, whereas its elevations were built mixed between small and big limestones. However, no architectural nor decorative elements originating from the main neighbouring shrine were structurally implemented. Its interior space was built from regular carved stones with a complete absence of re-used architectural blocks and medieval frescoes that could have precisely dated the building of Saint Jacobs church which was assumingly added during the medieval period. The location of the added church is the main element that majorly affected the level of its spoliation. However, either being built geographically near or far from a ruined pagan temple, it is visually clear that some of the church's materials derive from an older structure.

The level of spoliation in the newly built church differed from being minimal with the presence of negligeable amount of re-purposed blocks to being majorly and almost completely spoliated. The location of the newly erected spolia church, the availability of construction materials and the proportion of the built church were the main features that affected the building's degree of spoliation. The geographical location of the newly added churches, hence their spoliation level differed chronologically. During the start of Christianity, the majority of the newly erected and spoliated churches were built on the same premises of a religiously active temple, mainly in order to ensure the site's purification after destroying the existing pagan shrine. These structures, due to

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[290] Dodd 2004, 229.
[291] Renan 1864, 135-136, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 8-19, pl. 5-11, Nordiguian 2005, 200-205, Aliquot 2009, 242-245.

their near location to the destroyed ruined temple, were majorly spoliated after re-using and integrating its architectural elements into the new structure. After some time, these re-used blocks were spread through several locations which made their geographical presence far from their original source, hence the minimal spoliated churches.

The medieval church of Saint Georges in Eddeh[292] Jbeil, is one of Lebanon's most spoliated medieval churches which is almost completely built with ancient re-used blocks (Figure 42). Due to its high spoliation, the General Directorate of Antiquities excavated the site in hope to get the foundation of the main temple and categorize the church as a temple church, however the results were not as hoped.[293] The structure is a spolia church with no pagan roman foundations found on site. It is almost completely built with big ancient blocks and some re-purposed decorative architectural elements highlighted in its fabric. Until 1860, the western entrance door had an ancient lintel that dated back from the Hellenistic period. The lintel had an engraved solar disk, an inscription to its lower part and engraved crosses added during the proto byzantine period,[294] which indicate its re-usage throughout several periods of time. The block was highlighted during Renan's visit in 1860, and was afterwards transferred to the museum of Louvre. The church has one nave with one main apse oriented to the east. It is accessible by two entrance doors from its northern and western elevations. A third way of entrance was available through a door in its southern elevation that was blocked after the excavation that occurred to the church's southern area. The church's corners are heavily spoliated and completely built with big ancient limestones. The northern elevation has some architectural elements protruding from its limits; an ancient architrave on the 2nd row and some re-purposed column's drums, on the 3rd and 4th rows of the elevation, mainly originating from a once existing dismantled roman temple (Figure 43). The western elevation is reflected with its entrance door limited with re-used ancient blocks, to the northern part of the door, a protruding ancient element exist between its 5th and 6th rows with an engraved cross on its surface (Figure 44) and another Christianised block to the door's southern part. The southern elevation is highlighted with a column drum implemented between its 12th and 13th rows of blocks. The entrance is highlighted by two capitals laying on the ground and two others located one meter to the north of the northern elevation. During the site's excavation by the General Directorate of Antiquities, the foundation of the church that was built during the Byzantine period

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[292] Renan 1864, 227-229, Nordiguian 2005, 185, Aliquot 2009, 250, Nordiguian 2009, 169-171.
[293] Nordiguian 2009, 171.
[294] Aliquot 2009, 250.

was uncovered,[295] highlighting its remained structure to the current church's southern side (Figure 45). The original in situ pavement that once belonged to the ancient Christian structure was found after the excavation with a threshold highlighting the entrance from the south. Two doors ensured access, a main one to the east of the southern elevation and another smaller one to its west. Two rows of columns with their bases exist on the ancient pavement dividing the inner area of the excavated ancient church into three naves. The ancient columns were Christianised by crosses during their structural implementation into the church. It is highlighted by Nordiguian that the ancient church, probably built during the early Byzantine period had a north south alignment which contradict the majority of the eastern oriented churches built during that time.[296] However, the current resultant church of Saint Georges, that might have been altered during the medieval times, has an eastern orientation and is almost completely built with elements originating from the ancient church. However, that same church, assumingly during the Byzantine period, was built after completely dismantling a Roman pagan temple and used it as a structural quarry.

The proportion of the newly built church affected differently as well the level of its spoliation. When building a church next to an existing small proportioned temple, especially during the beginning of Christianity, a larger structure might have been needed to hold the biggest number of Christian believers. The small temple's material might not be enough to build a new structure, hence, fabric from new sources should have been assured. Hence when the newly built church was bigger than the existing ruined temple with its construction material, the resultant church's spoliation level got to be eventually lower than other spolia churches. However, in some cases, when building a small de novo church, it could have been completely built while using fabric from a dismantled ancient pagan shrine, as it is the case of the spolia church of Saint Elias in Chloumas. The church has one main apse, oriented to the east, and one nave with the entrance highlighted from the western elevation. It has an area of around 20m^2 and is almost completely built with large grey limestones. However, no architectural nor decorative re-used blocks were found implemented in its fabric.

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[295] Nordiguian 2009, 171.
[296] Ibid.

The resultant church

The first and foremost structural advantage that came from destroying and damaging ancient pagan temples was assuring construction materials in order to build de novo churches. The spolia church type of conversion had led to the construction of asymmetric and flexible Christian structures, which is one of the main structural and visual differences between the spolia and the temple churches. However, the main result concluded after executing the spolia church type of conversion is the total absence of appreciation for the artistic values of the ancient blocks originated from classical pagan monuments. In most of the converted sites, the re-used architectural elements, either decorative or neutral, were arbitrary implemented in a way to be structurally suitable in the fabric of the new built church.

Spoliating a church influenced the general form and architectural composition of the resultant structure. The re-used elements might have kept their original structural purpose in some of the converted sites, whereas in others it might have been arbitrary added without any consideration of its main structural role. In the spolia church of Saint Tekla in Chikhane,[297] ancient re-purposed columns, Christianised with crosses, were structurally used inside of the church in order to hold its vaulted roof. Whereas in the spolia church of Our Lady in Qassouba,[298] column drums are re-used to hold the Christian altar inside of the church. In the spolia church of Saint Georges in Eddeh[299] the columns were divided into drums and were perpendicularly integrated in its northern elevation whereas a decorative architrave was used to fulfil a large portion in the church's northern elevation as well. Another re-used element is protruding from the church's western elevation purified with a cross, having a depth larger than the one of the churches. In the case of the Saint George's church of Eddeh, the drum, the architrave and some other re-used blocks were used and placed as ordinary construction materials instead of keeping their original structural role. In general, some of the structural elements that were dismantled from an ancient pagan temple might have been modified and re-shaped before being re-used for other purposes.[300] In the spolia church of Saint Nohra in Smar Jbeil (Figure 46), ancient columns were implemented in the structure's inner southern wall (Figure 47), whereas some other drums were perpendicularly integrated in the southern elevation outer area (Figure 48). The columns added in the church's interior space were

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[297] Renan 1864, 240, Nordiguian 2009, 166-168, Davie 2012, 142-143, 216-225.
[298] Renan 1864, 199-203. Nordiguian 2009, 160-163, 179-181. Aliquot 2009, 250-251.
[299] Renan 1864, 227-229, Nordiguian 2005, 185, Aliquot 2009, 250, Nordiguian 2009, 169-171.
[300] Bayliss 2001, 95.

at some time Christianised while engraving crosses on its surfaces. The church might have been built on the foundations of an ancient Christian structure, that might go back to the late Byzantine, early medieval period, highlighted through the remains of one main apse protruding from the eastern elevation (Figure 49). The columns in this case were used structurally integrated inside of the wall instead being used as separators between the aisles. The church has one main apse, oriented to the east, with three naves and one main entrance from its western elevation. In other cases, some of the blocks were re-positioned in the spolia church while reflecting their original placement from when being used in a temple. These elements were carved from the beginning to fulfil their positioning, which is visually clear in the spolia church of Our Lady in Hadchit where its western northern corner might have been a part of the structural corner of a dismantled temple's cella.[301]

During the start of Christianity, the need for a place to practice Christian rituals increased and with the number of Christian believers getting higher, bigger religious structures were in order. The majority of the spolia churches built during the beginning of the Empire's conversion process were larger and bigger than their predecessors, hence the dismantled pagan temples. The need for a bigger area might have been another reason to execute the spolia church type of conversion instead of structurally adding an apse inside of the temple itself and applying the temple church type of transformation. When building a church that has a bigger proportion than the temple itself, the dismantled shrine's materials won't be enough. In this case the re-usage of the temenos and its blocks, when available, will be one of the best solutions to ensure enough construction materials to build a bigger and larger Christian structure. This factor is majorly highlighted in the temenos spolia church of the converted complex in Yanouh (Yānūḥ).[302] The basilica was built during the 5th century while structurally using the temenos' southern wall as her own. However, materials from both the temenos' and its temple were used in order to build the newly erected Christian structure. In this case, the feature leading in visually differentiating between the origin of the material is that in the case of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) the temenos and the temple's portico were built using yellowish sandstones, whereas the roman structures, either the main or the small pagan

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[301] Ibid.
[302] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

temples were built using grey limestones. This difference of materials is visually clear in the inner area of the added spoliated Basilica.

The re-usage of the temple's materials in building churches highlight the indifference the Christians had towards the classical architecture and their aesthetic effects, especially during the beginning of Christianity. The ancient materials originating from dismantled and destroyed pagan temples were placed arbitrary in the majority of the spolia churches with no prior design planning. These blocks were purified by Christian crosses and structurally integrated into the newly added building. Building symmetric structures was the least important feature when adding a de novo church during the 4th and the 5th centuries, especially when it was a structural result from using temple's fabric. '*Christian architects no longer appreciated the artistic value of classical monuments.* '[303]

CONCLUSION

The spolia church type of conversion is the indirect continuity between the pagan and the Christian religious and architectural occupation. It is the act of using structural elements from a damaged and destroyed shrine to build de novo churches which led in *producing distinctive textural variability*.[304] Abandoned and structurally unstable pagan temples were the perfect source of construction materials. All available fabric was re-used, either structural blocks and columns or architectural and decorative elements, no material should have been left to waste.

At the beginning of Christianity, pagan temples were being intentionally destroyed assumingly in order to ensure their deconsecration. However, the level of destruction differed throughout each site, mainly due to the types of pagan rituals executed; the more vicious the acts and rituals were, more structural damages were in order. Through the Empire's conversion process, churches were built to practice the Christian rituals. With the existence of damaged and destroyed temples, several architectural scenarios were adopted from which the spolia church type of conversion. The availability of construction material and the presence of a vacant land ensured the building of a spoliated church, which was the most adequate act that made the expansion of Christian structures an easier procedure especially that the fabric of only one temple can contribute to the construction

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[303] Saradi 1990, 52.
[304] Bayliss 2001, 96.

of several churches. During the medieval and the Ottoman's period, the reasons for applying the spolia church type of conversion differed, it was more due to the availability of construction material rather than for secularisation purposes. However, even when building a church during the medieval period, each re-purposed block was Christianized after engraving a cross of its surface, disregarding the fact that if the ruined and dismantled temple went through the secularization process or not.

Either being built during the Byzantine, the medieval or the Ottoman's periods, the spolia church type of conversion was mainly executed for one main practical reason, which was the economical convenience of re-using existing structural elements instead of assuring new ones.[305] As an alternative of creating a regular structural quarry, the temple itself was considered as an architectural source from which construction materials were ensured. Preparing fabric from an existing ruined temple to be implemented in newly built churches was less costly than assuring material from scratch. Building a church next to a ruined temple was one of the most economically suitable scenarios due to the near availability of construction material, which is the case of several spolia churches in Lebanon, from which the spolia churches of Saint Elias in Bziza[306] and Saint Jacobs in Ain Aakrine (ʿayn ʿakrīn).

The boundaries of classification are blurred as many temple churches and temenos churches with their different structural processes are technically considered as spolia churches. The temple churches either applying the cella, the pronaos or the inverted church type of conversion, the apse, which was added inside of the shrine, was built using the temple's own structural blocks. When the temple itself went through a series of structural modifications, it was re-built while using its own structural fabric. While implementing the temple church type of conversion, the spolia church is directly highlighted by the re-usage of the temple's, the altar's and/or the temenos' fabric. In the temple church of Bziza[307] or in other cases where an adytum existed inside of the cella, the adytum was dismantled during the site's secularization, however, during the temple's conversion, an apse was built using the adytum's construction material. In the pronaos churches, such as the converted

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[305] Saradi 1990, 52-53.
[306] Nordiguian 2015, 397-405.
[307] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwaji-Janho 2020, 249-305.

sites of Yanouh (Yānūḥ)[308] and Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb),[309] the apse was built using the fabric of the temple's destructed adytum and the pronaos' dismantled eastern wall, in which the apse was structurally added. The inverted temple churches got to be the structures the most spoliated between all of the categories of the directly converted temples. The inverted temple church of Saint Tekla & Stephan in Chamat[310] even though being built on the foundations of an existing ancient shrine, was majorly constructed while using re-purposed elements from the ancient ruined temple. Its inner area is highlighted with the re-usage of ancient columns that were Christianized, either during the temple's secularization or during its structural conversion. The columns divided the interior space into two naves with two apses and two entrances from its western elevation making the church a double one dedicated to two Saints, both Saint Tekla and Saint Stephan. Its southern elevation was built while using two column drums implemented in its fabric, whereas its northern one contains five drums and another one was integrated in its western wall as well. The church's entrance doors are highlighted with ancient sarcophaguses used as the door's lintels. The fabric of the Christianized structure was built almost entirely with re-used blocks with different proportion. The inverted temple church of Saint Rouhana in Ain Kfaa (ʿayn Kfāʿ),[311] embodied the corner of a temple's cella and made it its own western southern corner. Which is the case of the inverted temple church of Maad[312] as well. It was almost entirely built using blocks from the fabric of the destructed temples from which the foundations were still in situ.

The temenos church type of conversion consisted of adding a new church inside the premises of a pagan enclosure, either being dependent or independent of its structure. The resultant church was mostly built while re-using the fabric from the existing pagan site. In some cases, as in the site of Yanouh (Yānūḥ),[313] that went through all of the conversion types, the temenos church added during the Byzantine times had a bigger proportion than the main temple itself. Constructing the new

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[308] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[309] Dussaud 1927, 95, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52, Nordiguian 2005, 220-225, Aliquot 2009, 233-235.

[310] Renan 1864, 234. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249-250. Nordiguian 2009, 156-160. Kahwagi-Janho 2018, 111-113.

[311] Renan 1864, 243. Nordiguian 2005, 185. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 184-185.

[312] Renan 1864, 240. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 152. Kahwagi-Janho 2016, 95-135.

[313] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

church requested the usage of material not just from the temple, that in his turn was converted into a church, but from the temenos' wall that was partially dismantled and from the once existing temple's portico as well. In other cases, as in the temenos church of Baalbek,[314] the temple of Jupiter was carefully dismantled, block by block by stonemasons, in order to implement its material in the newly added church which adopted as well the fabric of the altar that was destructed during the basilica's construction. In the case of the temenos churches, their near location to the pagan temple got to be the main feature that directly affected its high level of structural spoliation in its fabric. There was no need to assure construction material from other sources when it got to be available on the same site where the church was built as in the case of the temenos church of Faqra[315] where the affected temple was already destructed before the erection of the basilica that was entirely built from the shrine's existing fabric.

The fabric of only one pagan structure got to be eventually the starting point in building several Christian churches. Even though it is visually clear that some of the ancient material integrated into the newly added church derived from an older structure, the source of the re-used material got to be unclear and hard to track. Two scenarios were in order; when a spolia church is highlighted through a temple or a temenos church, the source of the material is logically trackable from the temple of the same converted site. However, when a spolia church is built on an unspoiled land, the chronology of the execution of the spolia church, its geographical location and the type of the architectural elements re-used, were the main features that led to the tracing of the re-used blocks original source. The analysis of these features makes the tracking process easier but not certain nor definite. The inscriptions that were structurally implemented in the spolia church of Saint Elias in Blat[316] led to the date during which the original temple was built without highlighting its geographical location. Whereas in the spolia church of Saint Georges in Eddeh,[317] the discovery of the ancient church's foundations to the south of the current structure highlighted the geographical origin of the spoliated blocks without clearly indicating the date during which the ancient church was built.

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[314] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[315] Renan 1864, 335-339. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 20-26, 40-55. Nordiguian 2005, 150-159. Aliquot 2009, 261-267. Newson 2019, 116-138.
[316] Renan 1864, 223-226, Alpi & Nordiguian 1996, 5-14, Nordiguian 2005, 182-183, Aliquot 2009, 251, Nordiguian 2009, 163-166.
[317] Renan 1864, 227-229, Nordiguian 2005, 185, Aliquot 2009, 250, Nordiguian 2009, 169-171.

The spolia churches are scattered all over the Lebanese territory (Map 6) with the biggest number of converted sites comparing it with the temple and the temenos churches. However, the largest amount of spolia churches got to be highlighted in the district of Jbeil. This high level of spoliation in Jbeil indicates the once existence of many Roman pagan temples in that area, from which the majority were totally dismantled with no in situ trace of their once existence. These pagan sites suffered structurally during ancient and medieval times, from either early abandonment since the Empire's conversion to complete dismantlement and eventual structural integration in newly added Christian structures. This hight level of spoliation in the churches of Jbeil indicate as well Christianity's religious continuity throughout centuries, either after the Arab conquest, during the medieval period and even during the Ottoman's reign.

PART III – THE CONVERTED SITE OF YANOUH

INTRODUCTION

The site of Yanouh[318] (Yānūḥ) is one of Lebanon's pagan sites that got religiously and architecturally converted into a Christian complex. However, it is one of the rarest places where all three main types of conversion, temple church, temenos church and spolia church, were executed on its premises. It was converted during different timeframes, starting with the byzantine and ending during the medieval period.

Yanouh's Christianisation started with the Maronites during the 10th century when according to the patriarch Estephan al-Duwaihi (ʾIṣṭifān ʾal Duwaihī) it became the second Maronite patriarchate in Lebanon after Kfarhay in Batroun.[319] The last patriarch that resided in Yanouh (Yānūḥ) left to Mayfouk during the 13th century, however, the site was reinhabited later on when it witnessed several structural and architectural modifications. The Maronites and the Shiites moved from the coastal region to the mountainous area of Jobbet el Mnaytra (Jobbet ʾel Mnaytra) away from the Mamlouk and Ottoman's reign. However, between the 15th and the 16th century, conflicts erose between the Shiites of Lessa and the Maronites of Aqoura (ʿaqūrā). During the 17th century the region of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) was reinhabited and got to be highlighted during the Ottoman's period through its agricultural activities.

Yanouh (Yānūḥ) is nowadays recognized for the architectural remains of its converted pagan complex that includes the main temple, the small shrine, the Hellenistic structure as well as for the byzantine basilica and the medieval church (Figure 50). The site was mentioned during the 1860s after Renan's visit,[320] however, it was first documented during 1938 by Krencker & Zschietzschmann in their book dedicated to the Syrian temples.[321] In the course of the site's restoration and excavation, led by the General Directorate of Antiquities under the management of the engineer Haroutine Kalayan in 1960, a topographical survey was highlighted. During 1999, an analysis of the site's evolution throughout history was the result of archaeological studies and

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[318] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[319] Estephan al-Duwaihi, 55.

[320] Renan 1864, 301.

[321] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 19, 35-37.

documentations accomplished by Pierre Louis Gatier under the management of the university of Saint Joseph. The studies were published accordingly as articles in BAAL (Bulletin d'archeologie et d'architecture Libanaise).[322]

The complex of Yanouh (Yānūḥ), is situated on the parallel hill of the pagan site of Afqa (Aphaca) (Figure 51) which is as well converted into a temple cella church during the medieval period.[323] It got to be analyzed separately as it is one of the rarest sites that structurally still reflects the presence of all three types of architectural conversion; the temple church, the temenos church and the spolia church. This chapter will aim to highlight the site's Christianisation through centuries and how it has directly affected its architecture and its structural longevity. The site of Yanouh got to be compared later on with the sites of Baalbek[324] and Hardine,[325] which according to historical evidence were as well converted while applying all types of conversion. However, the lack of structural evidence of their multiple transformation made the site of Yanouh the sole case in Lebanon that went through all conversion mechanisms.

The site's current state

The converted pagan complex and its resultant basilica and church are currently structurally unstable and in total ruin (Figure 52). However, the site's structural state was much worse before it was restored by the General Directorate of Antiquities between 1960 and 1999. The Hellenistic structure has solely its platform still in situ whereas the site's small temple to its east, that was incorporated to the Basilica, is clearly highlighted through its high platform, that is accessible by a damaged flight of stairs.

The temenos' northern wall is totally dismantled, whereas its eastern one still preserves a single in situ row of the enclosure's eastern southern corner. 18m of the eastern part of the temenos' southern wall, hence the section that was used when adding the basilica, is structurally preserved with a heigh of 3m (Figure 53), whereas the western part of its southern wall is in total ruin. The

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[322] Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-258.
[323] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.
[324] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[325] Renan 1864, 139. Nordiguian 2005, 188-189. Aliquot 2009, 247-248. Yasmine 2009.

enclosure's western wall, with a heigh of around 3m, is still intact as it is structurally used as a retaining wall with the neighboring agricultural land.

The main temple has its adytum with its platform, its stairs leading to its pronaos, the temenos' portico and its altar totally dismantled as they never once existed. The shrine's protruding apse, that was added after the temple's direct conversion, with its eastern wall are as well totally destructed. The remains of the pronaos' main wall are protruding from the cella's inner northern and southern elevations highlighting its limits. The temple's northern and southern elevations with their openings are structurally stable while preserving around 6 rows of blocks above the shrine's podium. The western wall, highlighting the once existing adytum has the niche restored with 7 rows of blocks from the cella's level.

The Byzantine Basilica, to the south of the site's main temple, has 2 to 3 rows of blocks still in situ. Its door entrance from the temenos' wall is completely preserved whereas the entrances from the southern and western elevations are highlighted through passages between the remained blocks. The basilica's pillars, that separated the inner area into three naves, are intact while preserving 2 rows of blocks. The main apse is highlighted through one remaining row, same as the smaller one to its south.

The medieval church built to the north of the main temple was added on a higher level than the rest of the structures. Its eastern protruding apse is defined with laid blocks whereas the church's entrance is highlighted with large in situ re-used elements. The church's southern, western and northern elevations, that were built using yellowish sandstones with small proportion, are preserved with around 2m of height. The eastern part of the ruined complex is reflected throughout several blocks laid on ground that were once structurally implemented into the main temple's fabric. The blocks are mainly decorative originating mainly from the shrine's entrance door, roof and architrave.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTINGS

Yanouh (Yānūḥ) is a village located in Byblos district of Keserwan-jbeil governorate. It stands on a platform above Adonis River known today as the river of Ibrahim (ʾibrāhīm) and it is on a middle distance between the ancient sites of Jbeil and Baalbek. The archaeological complex of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) is surrounded by many other ruined ancient sites. It resides facing the roman pagan site

of Afqa (Aphaca)[326] which, due to its geographical location next to the source of Nahr Ibrahim, was the attraction for many historians and archaeologists who travelled around the area (Figure 51). Both of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) and Afqa have some similar architectural characteristics and were both converted, during different periods of time, either directly or indirectly into Christian churches.

The main site of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) is surrounded from all directions with ruined ancient sites that mainly go back to the medieval period (Figure 52). To the north of Yanouh's pagan site, three medieval churches exist: Saint Elias which is the most structurally conserved and still religiously active, Saint Doumet and Saint Jacob. Whereas to the east, the ruins of the medieval church of the forty martyrs[327] is highlighted. To the south of Yanouh's site, exist a hill named tell of Al Kharayeb (Tal ʾal ḫarāyeb),[328] it is believed that it is the oldest area that was inhabited since the bronze age.[329] Due to agricultural expansion, a ruined church was found in the Tell ruined with two other religiously active churches still intact, the church of Our Lady Red (Saydet ʾel Ḥamra) and the church of Saint Barbara. A large number of tombs exist all around the main roman site that were called as the 'Yanouh type of tombs' due to the resemblance and similarity of their characteristics.[330]

THE ROMAN SITE OF YANOUH

The roman site of Yanouh[331] (Yānūḥ) consists of five ruined structures: a Hellenistic building, the main roman temple with the remains of its temenos, the small roman shrine, the byzantine basilica and the medieval church. An excavation and a topographical survey were accomplished on its premises during the 1960s, however, a more detailed documentation was completed in 1999. During these studies, a series of articles were published highlighting the site's architectural and structural features throughout centuries, from the Hellenistic period, to the roman, going through

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[326] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.
[327] Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 231.
[328] Idem, 231-233.
[329] Gatier 2001, 104-105.
[330] Idem, 105-106.
[331] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

the byzantine until the medieval. Even though being structurally and religiously active throughout the centuries, the series of conversion started after the roman period while taking the roman buildings in situ as a conceptual and structural base of further constructions.

The Hellenistic structure

The most ancient building that exist on the site Yanouh (Yānūḥ) is a Hellenistic structure that was added during the 2nd half of the 2nd century BC. [332] The Hellenistic structure is located to the southern western area of the site's main temple and is currently heavily damaged. The building was built on a platform of 7.2m length and a width of 5.7m. It was accessible by a flight of stairs from which 3 steps are nowadays left in situ. The structure was built with yellow sandstone and assumingly had religious purposes by consecrating it to a local God. [333]

The Roman temple

The roman temple and its enclosure were built during the 2nd century AD on a plain land where some Hellenistic structures and agricultural installations existed which were eventually removed in order to add the newly erected pagan site.[334] The temple was built inside of a rectangular enclosure with a length of 51.2m, a width of 28.4m and a thickness of 1.1m. The western wall of the temenos was extended to the north by 15m and then headed to the east forming another enclosed area to the northern side of the temple that might have been used as an enclosure for another structure.[335] The roman shrine is structurally built on a central axis with the temenos, however, shifted to its western part leaving some area to its eastern side where an altar facing the shrine's entrance was added. The temenos was built using large blocs with height varying between 0.7 and 0.9m (Figure 53).[336] On the site's eastern and northern elevations, the enclosure's wall is nowadays almost totally dismantled while it's being conserved with a height of around 3m to the west and incorporated into the added basilica during the 5th century to the south. The temenos had a portico surrounding its walls from the inner area, however, it was dismantled during the site's

[332] Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 254.
[333] Charpentier 2020, 79.
[334] Aliquot 2009, 253.
[335] Aliquot 2009, 254.
[336] Gatier 2001, 139.

conversion. Its once existence got to be highlighted throughout its column's re-usage to build the basilica during the 5th century.

The temple was built on a rectangular podium with 20.3m length, 9.65m width and 1.6m height (Figure 52). It is divided into three beds of rocks with chamfered crown mouldings and constructed using grey limestones, whereas the temenos itself was mainly built using yellow sandstones. The difference of the materials used, even when it gives aesthetic and duotone effect, might highlight the importance of the temple itself instead of the temenos; as it could indicate as well the construction of the site in different phases.[337] The podium had a monumental flight of 9 steps that assured accessibility to the temple's pronaos, these stairs got totally dismantled during the conversion of the temple into a church during either the byzantine or the medieval ages.

Yanouh's site was documented by Krencker and Zschietzschman during 1938, when they classified the temple as distyle. However, this hypothesis was controverted during the 60s when the site and its surrounding were excavated under the supervision of the general Directorate of Antiquities. The temple was restored and highlighted as having a prostyle tetrastyle type of plan. The columns and their Corinthian capitals nowadays do not exist on site, but the imprint of the column's bases reflect their existence. The temple is divided into three architectural parts; the pronaos, the cella and its adytum. The temple's plan is generally preserved, even if it's missing its monumental exterior stairs and the adytum from its inner space. A squared shape altar existed to the temple's exterior area, in the temenos, facing the shrine's entrance door, however, it was totally dismantled during the site's 1st architectural and religious conversion. It seems that it was built by an even grid of a 3.6m width forming all of its architectural parts.

The pronaos, oriented to the east, solely assured accessibility to the temple's inner area by a monumental door. It had four columns facing the stairs and two pillars on its elevation. Two door windows exist on the temple's lateral elevations, these openings were not added as entrances to the temple as no trace of stone stairs were found,[338] however, they guaranteed visible accessibility from the enclosure to the shrine's inner area.[339] The existence of these openings is not highlighted in the classical roman temples but it is not a rare feature in the Syrian temples.[340] The door windows

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[337] Nordiguian 1999, 581.
[338] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 36.
[339] Aliquot 2009, 255-256.
[340] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 36.

are framed with mouldings and topped with a decorative lintel with a frieze, dental work, modillion bordered by corbels terminated by spirals and a corniche overhead. From the inner part of the cella, the elevation of these openings is neutral with no decoration nor mouldings.

The cella is divided into three sections where the first two, situated on a lower level than the third part, are axed to the north and to the south by the lateral openings. A flight of stairs composed of eleven steps exists on its second part which assured accessibility to the temple's adytum. The adytum with its stairs were dismantled during the site's religious and architectural conversion, however, their imprints on the inside of the northern southern and western walls highlight their existence. Based on the excavation that happened in the temple's inner northern western corner, a *crypt* never existed under the adytum. The platform had a length of 7.1m and a depth of 3.6m while having a 1.92m height from the inside level of the cella.[341] A very well decorated niche is recessed and centred in the cella's western wall facing the temple's entrance. It has a depth of around 0.6m which might have been adequate to house the God's imagery, as it was placed at a height of 1.3m from the level of the adytum. The niche was framed by a pediment overhead which was supported by two small columns and their Corinthian capitals.

The main temple of Yanouh (Yānūḫ) was considered to be a typical roman shrine, it is a medium sized temple, built on a podium with a tetrastyle prostyle plan and a Corinthien order. It respected the 'Vitruvian's' proportions while preserving an adytum inside of the cella, to add the lateral openings and the cella's recessed niche. Considering how the temple was built, its norms and characteristics, it is believed that the shrine might have been built by a roman architect from Beryte.[342] The temple got through several architectural and structural modifications, since the site's first conversion until it got to its current state. However, during the roman period Yanouh's main roman temple was paired by another small shrine built to its southern side, outside of the enclosure.

The small roman temple

The small roman temple, added on an angled axe with the site's main shrine, to the south of the enclosure, is nowadays in total ruin. The temple was built during the 2nd century AD, superposed to the east of the existing Hellenistic structure and leaned on the temenos' southern wall. The

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[341] Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 213-217.
[342] Aliquot 2009, 259.

building's northern elevation exists on a 1.5m distance from the enclosure's southern wall. Its northern elevation had no decoration nor existing openings which indicates that the small temple might have been added after the main shrine and its enclosure. During the medieval period and in the course of the site's conversion, the shrine got structurally incorporated into the added basilica, which led to its dismantling and the re-use of its elements inside of the basilica itself.

The foundation of the temple, built using sandstones, is a rectangular shaped plan that is until nowadays intact and conserved. It has a length of 7.5m and a width of 4.15m. It's upper bed of rocks is on the same level as the temenos' and slightly lower that the main temple's, which indicates a homogeneous accessibility and circulation between the three buildings during the roman period. The re-purposed blocks found inside of the added basilica during the 5th century and the existence of the temple's foundation until nowadays, helped restore the once existing building.

The small shrine has a north south orientation and is built on a podium of 6.3m length, 3.9m width and a height of around 1.1m. It was solely accessible from the south by a flight of six steps to its pronaos, the stairs were destroyed during the site's conversion and re-used inside of the added basilica.[343] It is a prostyle tetrastyle temple with four columns on its southern elevation, pilasters on the pronaos' northern elevation, highlighted by a Corinthian order and built using grey limestones. The inner area consists of a squared cella with no adytum, no openings other than its main entrance nor any recessed niches. The temple's mouldings and decorative elements have the same characteristics as the main shrine but different sizes and proportions.

Regardless if being built around the same period of time, the two temples have several main architectural differences, like the presence of an adytum, the lateral openings and the structural proportion itself. Hence, the two roman temples have the same structure but scaled in half. These shrines still do exist until nowadays even if in ruins, however, the main feature that led to their structural durability is their physical re-usage by their conversion into Christian churches during the site's Christianization.

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[343] Gatier 2001, 143-144.

YANOUH'S CHRISTIANISATION

After the empire's religious conversion during the 4th century, the site of Yanouh (Yānūḥ)[344] (Figure 4) underwent religious conversion, hence architectural and structural transformations that followed through many centuries. During the proto-byzantine period, in the 5th century, the site got its first religious and architectural conversion. A byzantine basilica was built to the south of the temenos, which led to several structural damages and changes to the existing roman temples (Figure 5). During the 7th century, the basilica was architecturally altered to have three naves and the small temple was structurally incorporated into its area (Figure 6). The site got its last Christian transformation during the end of the 12th century where the main temple itself was converted into a church by adding an apse into its pronaos and a medieval church was constructed on the site's northern part (Figure 7). Each architectural conversion causing structural changes and damages to the existing buildings, had its own imprint to the site which is highlighted by each type of conversion applied.

1. Hellenistic structure
2. Temenos
3. Main roman temple
4. Small roman temple
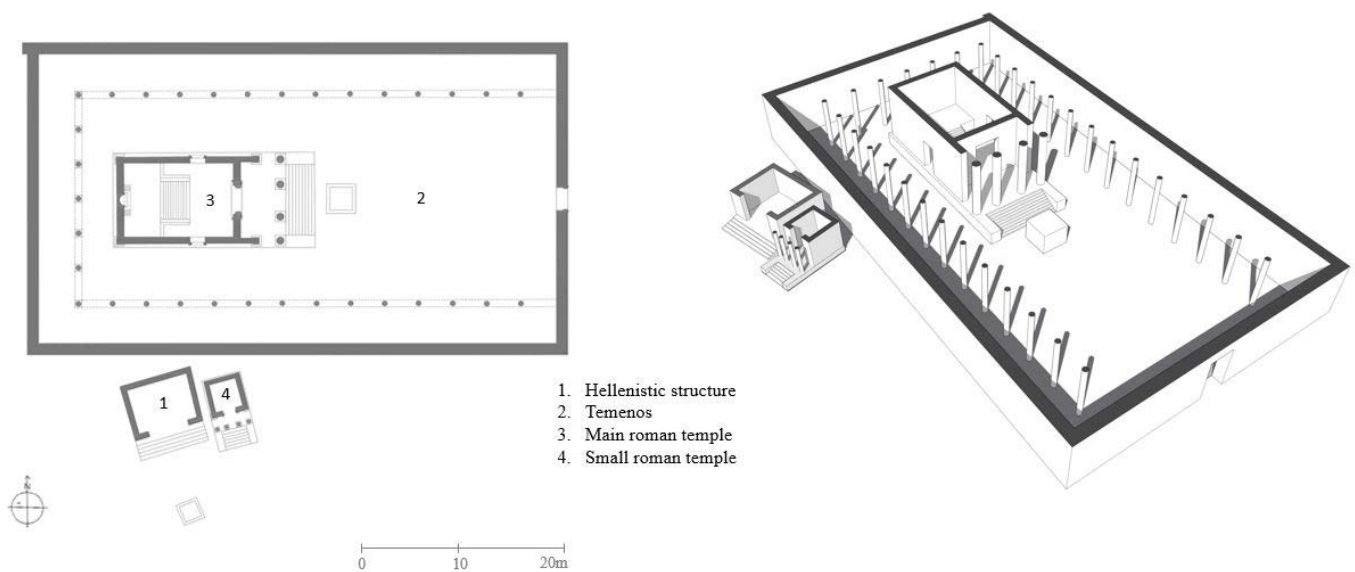
Figure 4: The site of Yanouh (during Roman period)

[344] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

1. Hellenistic structure
2. Temenos
3. Main roman temple
4. Small roman temple
5. Byzantine church
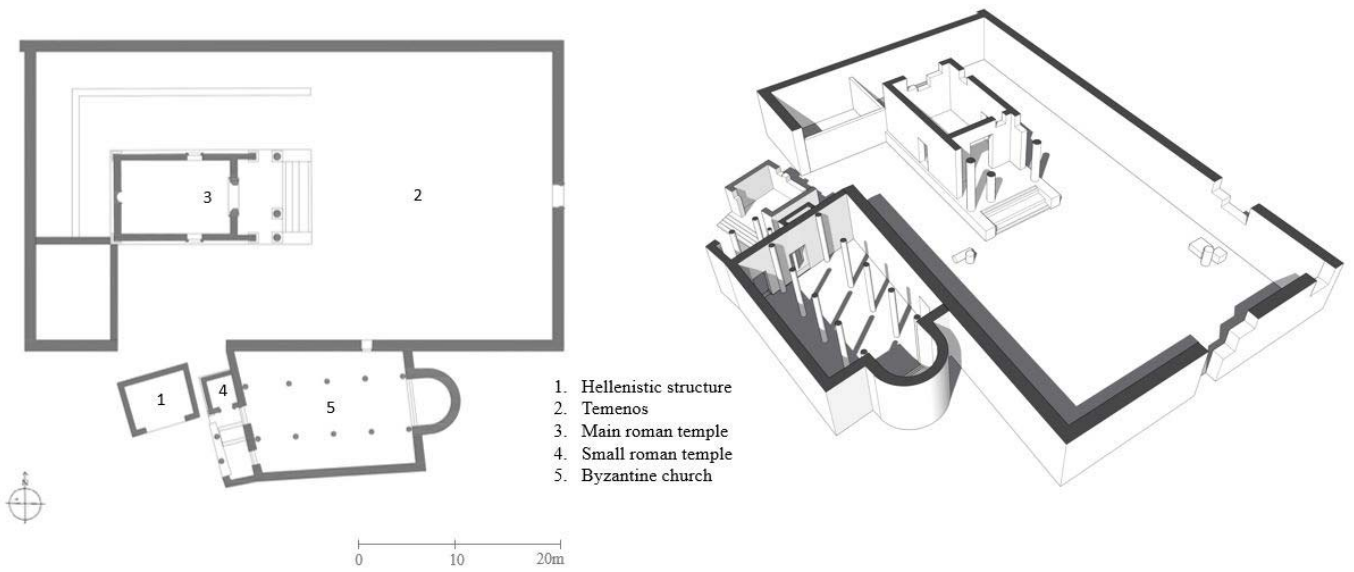
Figure 5: The site of Yanouh (during the 5th century)

1. Hellenistic structure
2. Temenos
3. Main roman temple
4. Small roman temple
5. Byzantine church
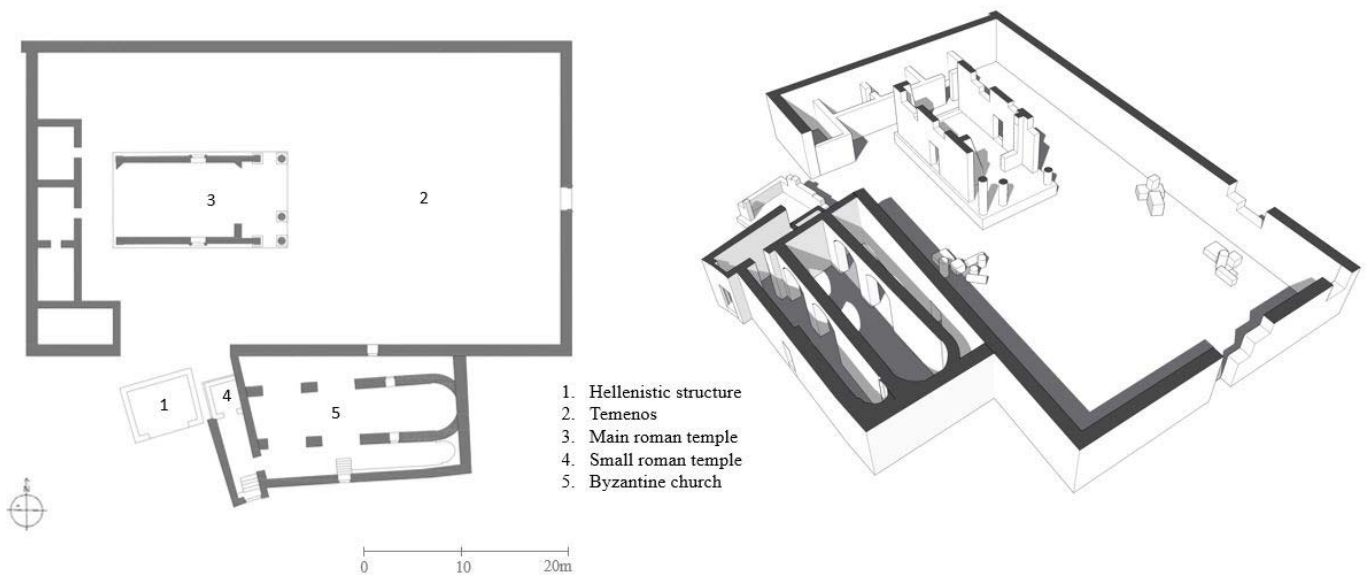
Figure 6: The site of Yanouh (during the 7th century)

1. Hellenistic structure
2. Temenos
3. Main roman temple
4. Small roman temple
5. Byzantine church
6. Medieval church
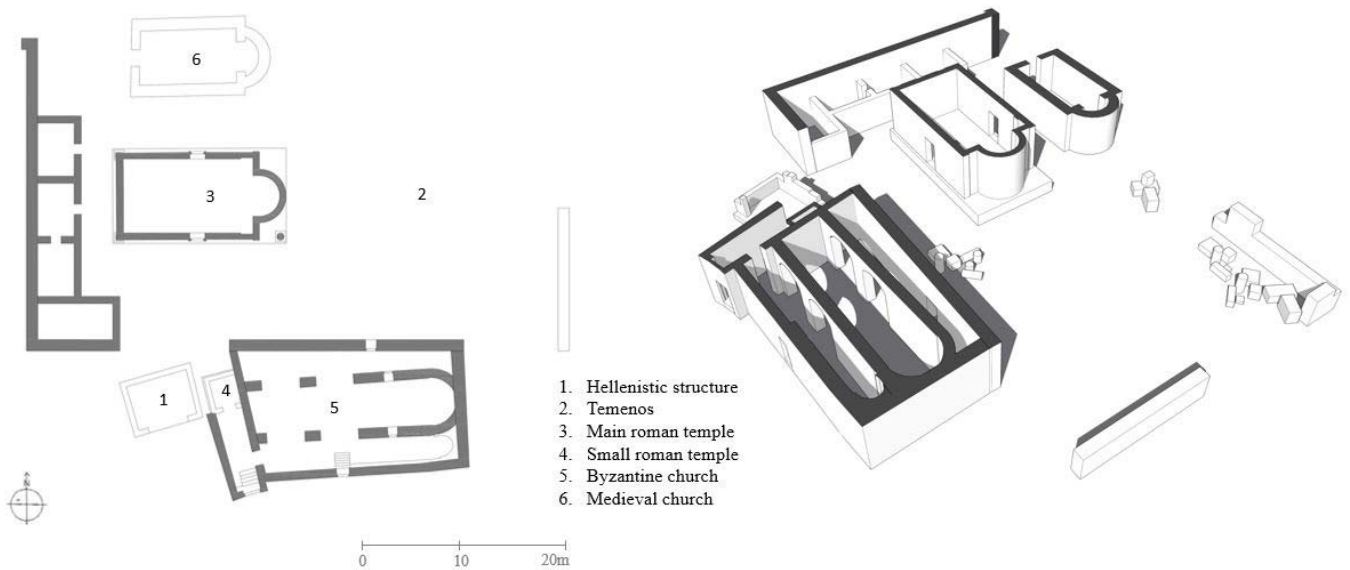
Figure 7: The site of Yanouh (during the 12th century)

The temenos church type of conversion

During the 5th century, the site underwent its first religious and architectural conversion. A Christian Basilica was added to the south of the main temple, outside of the enclosure's wall.[345] The excavations that were carried since the 1960s and even during 1999 and 2000, highlighted the presence of three structural stages in the basilica's construction that went through many centuries.

During the end of the 5th century, the basilica was built to the southern side of the main temple by using the temenos' southern wall as its own structural wall. During that time, the roman site was severally damaged, however, 18m of the temenos' southern wall was kept in situ to be used in the church's construction. By the usage of this wall, the temenos church type of conversion got to be the first type of structural modification applied on the premises (Figure 5). Hence a newly erected church was added after using the temenos' wall as structurally her own. To the north, the wall of the temenos was repurposed and used in the church, as for the west, the small temple's platform was used by transforming it into the basilica's portico where two small re-purposed columns were added. The church had an eastern orientation, where one main apse was protruding from its eastern wall. The interior was formed out of three naves with one main nave in the centre axed with the apse. The naves were each separated by five columns distanced by 1.6m each. These columns are

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[345] Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 217-223. Aliquot 2009, 258. Charpentier 2020, 13-22.

repurposed drums from the main temple's portico that was dismantled during the site's conversion. The church had two door openings on its western wall, where the main entrance was axed with the middle of the main nave, whereas the second door existed to its south. Another opening was added to the temenos' wall to the north of the church, that assured accessibility from the inner enclosure to the church's interior area.

By the end of the 7th century, the basilica got to have some structural modifications which mainly included the removal of the columns in the inner area and their replacement with pillars instead (Figure 6). Two arcades were added from each pillar between the naves from the church's centre to its western part. The church's northern and southern walls were extended to the east and another wall was added that englobed the existing apse. An eastern oriented small apse was added to the south of the existing one. The portico that once assured the entrance to the church was transformed into a narthex accessible from the south by a flight of five steps leading to the church's main entrance that got to be in the southern part of its western wall. Two lateral doors were added inside of the church in each of the walls separating the naves.

During the medieval period, between the 10th and the 11th century, an entrance was added to the southern wall of the church with a flight of 5 steps that assured accessibility from the higher exterior area to the church's inner space. This was the last structural alteration applied on the church before its complete abandonment. The current state of the ruined church reflects its third and last architectural modification.

After all the physical transformations of the resultant church throughout the site's religious conversion, it highlights a trapezoidal plan with a length varying between the northern and the southern walls from 23m to 20.75m and a width between its eastern and western walls shifting from 12.55m to 13.95m. The resultant church has as well three naves, separated by pillars and arcades, one main apse in the centre of the church and a secondary small one to its southern part. The thickness of the church's peripheric walls differs through each one; the northern and eastern walls have a thickness of around 1.1m, similar to the temenos', whereas the southern and the western ones have around 0.9m.

The church's structure was based on the temenos' southern wall that initiated its architecture. Until today we can see the temenos' in situ wall formed out of 5 beds of rocks that were originally built since the roman period (Figure 53). During the site's Christianisation and in between the building's

dismantling, 18m of the southern temenos' wall was kept intact to be used in the construction of the newly erected basilica. The structure remained the same with some minor changes during the church's structural modifications. The in situ wall has a height of around 3.5m and was built with yellowish sandstones. An opening was added to its elevation during the site's Christianisation, either during its erection or during its second modification in the 7th century. The usage of this wall in the structure of the basilica was what made this case a temenos church type of conversion.

The temenos churches that exist in Lebanon differed while applying several structural scenarios which are related with the church's placement and its structural relation with the existing structures, either with the temple or with the temenos. The temenos church that has the most similar structural scenario as the one in Yanouh (Yānūḥ) is the converted site of Chhim (Shḥym).[346] The church of Chhim was added while using the temenos' inner southern and western walls as her own, as it used the tower's northern wall as her southern one. The church was added while being almost completely structurally dependent from the temenos and the existing structure. The temenos church in the case of Chhim was added to the inner area of the complex rather than its exterior area as in the converted site of Yanouh. The intra mural construction was adopted mainly due to the enclosure's bigger proportion that structurally framed the added church.

The spolia church type of conversion

The basilica was mainly built using the yellowish sandstones, same material as the temenos itself. However, the inner area of the church was mostly built with re-used elements from the main temple, the small shrine, the temenos' walls and even the portico that was totally dismantled during the site's conversion. This newly erected church is mostly built using existing architectural elements from the site, applying the spolia church type of conversion.

Despite being built almost entirely with yellowish sandstones, some grey limestones were found in the structure of the church's inner area. These elements mainly originated either from the main or from the small roman temples and added either during the 1st or the 2nd phase of the church's construction. During the first phase, the temenos' portico was completely dismantled and its columns were re-used inside of the basilica in order to separate the three naves. These columns

[346] Waliszewski & Perisse 2004, 411-418. Nordiguian 2005, 126-131. Waliszewski & Perisse 2005, 411-420. Aliquot 2009, 272-276. Butcher 2013, 202-204.

were removed during the second phase of construction where the church's inner area was transformed into pillars. Three drums of yellowish columns were found in the church's structure, two of them are incorporated into the narthex's western wall and the third one is embedded inside of the western pillar of the church's northern nave (Figure 54). The two columns found in the narthex' western wall are the ones that formed the church's portico built in the 5th century during the 1st phase of construction. These re-used columns were incorporated inside of the wall during the 2nd phase when the portico was transformed into a narthex. They have a diameter of 0.52m and a 1.9m distance between each other's. The third drum was embedded in the western pillar of the northern nave, placed parallel to the floor, on the third bed of rocks with a length of 0.98m. Even though the two drums were kept in their places since the 1st phase of construction, the third one was re-placed during the 2nd phase after being part of the colonnades that separated the church's three naves. The origin of the third drum was reflected by a severely damaged limestone column's base used in the 1st church that was found integrated with the flooring aligned with the southern wall of the main apse. The plinth has a squared plan with a length of 0.72m whereas the circular base has a diameter of 0.54m. The re-used grey limestones were spread inside of the church and were showing as well in its western elevation where during its 1st phase two door openings were added to assure the entrance from the portico. The northern opening was blocked during the 2nd phase whereas the southern one was used as the main entrance throughout the following centuries. The base of the southern opening was built using re purposed grey limestones as it is highlighted by the presence of two stones on the door's northern jamb. These elements are vertically overlapping where the lower one, the pilaster, belonged to the small temple where the other similar one still exists *in-situ* on the temple's southern western angle. The opening's threshold is as well made out of grey limestone; however, it is divided into two parts highlighted with marks of cuts. The inner wall of the main apse built during the 1st phase is as well highlighted by re-used grey limestones generating from the small temple as reflected mainly by their proportion.

During the 2nd phase of the church's construction in the 7th century, several re-used grey limestones were added in the inner area of the basilica, mainly in the naves and their pillars. These elements have bigger proportion than the ones added during the 1st phase which indicate that they were mainly originated from the main temple after its dismantling. Two blocks from the re-purposed elements are part of the main temple's architrave as it is highlighted by their dimensions and decorative elevation. One of these blocks exist on the base of the northern door of the northern

nave whereas the second one is highlighted in the narthex's western wall on its 1st bed of rocks (Figure 55).

The presence of the re-used elements helped with the identification of the church's construction phases, as well as all its architectural transformation with time. The presence of the column's base identified the existence of the colonnades during the 1st phase as well as for the two drums of columns found in the narthex which highlighted the once presence of the portico. The dimensions of these drums and their material reflect their origin from the temple's portico that was dismantled during the 5th century when the site was first converted. The usage of the main temple's elements in the church's pillars, used during the second phase of construction, indicates that the main temple was destructed and dismantled during the 7th century. Hence, the site's main roman temple was closed and religiously passive during the 5th century without being neither destructed nor dismantled.

Between the 12th and the 13th centuries, while directly transforming the main temple into a church by adding an apse into its pronaos, a medieval small church was added to the northern part of the site. The church overlapped the temenos' northern wall that was dismantled either before or during the church's erection. It was built on a higher level than the rest of the structures, however on the same one as the inner area of the main temple's cella. The added Christian structure had a rectangular shaped plan with a relatively small proportion. The church had one main nave with one apse protruding from its eastern wall. It is considered as a spolia church due to the re-purposing of two large blocks highlighting the structure's entrance. The re-used blocks are yellowish sandstone that might have been originated from the temenos' walls that were constructed using the same material. Whereas the structure's elevations were built using small sandstones newly carved for the church's construction.

The temple church type of conversion
Ernest Renan was amongst the first who mentioned the temple of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) being converted into a church named after Saint Georges the bluish, from which the colour of the temple's limestones, during his visit in 1864.[347] However, it was first documented by Krencker &

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[347] Renan 1864, 301.

Zschiestmann in 1938 when they highlighted that the main temple had an apse in the pronaos which led to its architectural conversion into a Christian church.[348] When the site was first excavated during the 1960s, the ruins of the apse were completely dismantled which led to the uncertain dating of the temple's architectural conversion. It is mentioned by Nordiguian that the apse was removed in a failed attempt to rebuild the temple's stairs.[349]

During the excavations that occurred during 1999 and 2000, a pit was dug in the western northern angle of the cella where a tomb was found. The tomb was added after the removal of the temple's adytum and after its conversion into a church. Some remains of pottery were found inside of the pit that goes back to the medieval period as well as a piece of a bronze cross. The dating of the temple's structural conversion is therefore related to the tomb's dating that goes back to the 12th century.[350]

During the temple's Christianisation in the 12th century, an apse was added into the shrine's pronaos in order to have an eastern orientation causing some severe structural damages into the temple's original structure. The pronaos was transformed into an apse, hence another way of entrance into the temple was assured. Generally, an entrance should have been added into the converted temple's western wall facing the apse. However, in the case of Yanouh (Yānūḫ), the presence of the lateral openings that exist in the temple's northern and southern elevations might have assured the entrance into the church's inner area. Other structures were added to the west of the main temple during the byzantine and the medieval period that might have blocked any chance of adding an entrance from the temple's western wall. In other similar conversion sites, the temple of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb)[351] was converted by adding an apse into its pronaos. Exceptionally in this case, the entrance could not have been located due to the site's bad structural state. However, the unusual existence of a crypt in its western elevation indicates the presence of added entrance to either one of the temple's lateral elevations.

Either before or during the site's structural conversion, both the adytum, from inside the temple, and the stairs, leading to the inner area of the shrine, were dismantled. The adytum is considered one of the main architectural features that highlight each roman temple, as it is the house of the

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[348] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl 19.
[349] Nordiguian 1999, 583.
[350] Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 215-217.
[351] Dussaud 1927, 95, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52, Nordiguian 2005, 220-225, Aliquot 2009, 233-235.

pagan God. As for the stairs, they assured the access to the pronaos, hence to the inner area of the shrine. These two structural elements were mainly the architectural essence of any roman shrine. In the case of Yanouh (Yānūḥ), they were removed either during the erection of the basilica between the 5th and the 7th century or during the temple's conversion in the 12th century. Some blocks were found inside of the basilica that belonged to the main temple, which indicates that the temple was structurally damaged during the church's construction. Hence both of the adytum and the stairs were removed between the 5th and the 7th century. Their removal assured the temple's secularization from Paganism as well as it made it religiously passive by removing any access of entering the inner area of its cella.

While structurally converting the temple into a church, several structural modifications were in order. After adding the apse into the pronaos, the roof, if it was still structurally stable after the site's secularization, might have been modified into having a vaulted barrel roofing system. The columns of the tetrastyle prostyle temple, might have been kept in situ after the structural conversion. The adytum that had been destructed before the shrine's direct conversion, had led in the enlargement of the temple's inner area.

CONCLUSION

The archaeological studies and documentations accomplished on site helped with analysing the site's chronological evolution through centuries. The site of Yanouh (Figure 56) was inhabited since the Bronze age, which was highlighted due to the pottery found on site during the excavations.[352] The Hellenistic structure that was existing before the roman temples, was built during the 2nd century BC. In the 2nd century AD, the main roman pagan temple (Figure 57) was built with its altar and its temenos, with the small shrine that was added afterwards. The chronology of the temple's construction was indicated by the small distance separating the small temple and the temenos as well as the northern elevation of the neutral and non-decorative small temple.

During the 5th century, with the religious and architectural conversion of Yanouh (Yānūḥ), a byzantine basilica (Figure 58, Figure 59) was built to the south of the main temple after structurally using the temenos' wall and integrating the small temple into the church's portico. The church had

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[352] Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 237-238, 241-242.

an eastern orientation, with one main apse, columns separating three naves and two entrances from its western wall. During that period, the basilica was built using elements from the temenos' portico and from the small temple, hence these structures were destructed and dismantled during the site's Christianisation. However, no blocks from the main temple were found inside of the church, thus during the church's first phase of construction, the main temple was still structurally conserved but religiously passive. During the 7th century the site had an upgrade where several architectural and structural modifications were accomplished on its structure. During that phase of the church's construction, many blocks going back to the main temple were found. Therefore, the main temple was destroyed and dismantled while using its elements to build the second phase of the church during the 7th century. The structural usage of the temenos' wall and the incorporation of re-used elements and blocks belonging to the roman temples highlight two types of conversion, the temenos and the spolia churches both incorporated into the same structure.

During the 12th century, the main temple itself was converted into a church by adding an apse into its pronaos. In this case, the lateral openings might have been used as entrances to the inner area of the church. The adytum was probably removed during the 7th century when the main temple had some severe structural damages. By adding the apse into the temple's pronaos, the main stairs leading to the shrine's inner area are dismantled as well, however, these stairs might have been removed either during the 1st or the 2nd phase of the church's construction to stop people from accessing the temple. By adding the apse into the temple's pronaos, the third type of conversion is highlighted on Yanouh's premises which is the temple church type of architectural conversion. During that same period of time, a medieval church was built to the northern side of the temple on the same level of the temple's cella. The church has one main apse protruding from its eastern wall with one main nave. The newly erected church is built using yellowish sandstones highlighted by their small dimensions; however, the large blocks reflected on the church's entrance are re-used elements with bigger proportion than the rest of the structure. These re-used blocks might belong to the temenos' wall having the same material and same proportion. With the existence of the medieval church with re-used blocks in its structure, the spolia-church type of conversion has a dual effect on Yanouh's site, on both the byzantine basilica and the medieval church as well.

All three types of architectural conversions were executed in the site of Yanouh (Yānūḥ), highlighting several types of structural modifications. Chronologically, the temenos church type of conversion was the first one adopted in the byzantine period, during which the temple was left

structurally conserved. It could have been secularized after the removal of its main stairs and the adytum; however, it was dismantled during the 7th century until it was converted into a church during the 12th century. The conversion of the temple in a later period of time might have been due to several theories. The basilica was built during the time where the Maronites were moving to Yanouh, hence a bigger area was needed. The main temple had an area of around 200m^2 which was smaller than the added church with a surface around 320m^2, without disregarding the aggression the Christians had against Paganism during the beginning of Christianity. Each pagan structure was either destructed, dismantled, rendered inactive and eventually converted during later period of time in order to secularize each pagan site. The spolia church type of conversion is the one used at all centuries and in all phases of newly added constructions. It was used while building the byzantine basilica, even when the temple was converted by using its own blocks in order to add an apse into the pronaos. It was as well used in the latest addition to the site with the medieval church.

The converted pagan complex of Yanouh (Yānūḥ) is considered to be one of the rarest sites in Lebanon that structurally adopted all of the architectural transformation types. However, two other cases in Lebanon assumingly are in the same category. The pagan complex of Baalbek[353] (Figure 26) was converted throughout several centuries, the transformation process started when Christianity was assigned as the Empire's official religion. The emperor Constantine the Great (306-337) ordered the destruction of several temples, from which the temple Venus of Heliopolis. Eusebius mentioned that the shrine was converted into Christian usage after adding a church inside of the temple, without going through any structural damages making this case a temple church type of conversion.[354] However, the site consisted of other pagan temples that were religiously active even after the Empire's religious conversion the structural transformation of Venus' temple. During the reign of the emperor Julian (361-363), the church was destructed and the temple got back its pagan activities. The complex remained pagan until the end of the 4th century, when during the reign of emperor Theodosius II (408-450), a Byzantine Basilica was added facing the temple of Jupiter. The newly built church, inside of the site's temenos, structurally overlapped the location of the altar that was destructed during the conversion and made this case a temenos church type of conversion. The church went through several structural modifications, from building an apse

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[353] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[354] Eusebius, 144, 146-147.

oriented to the west to changing the church's orientation and moving the apse to the east. During the site's architectural conversion, the temple of Jupiter went through some structural damages and was used as a quarry in order to build the new Byzantine Basilica.[355] Hence the added church was built using construction materials from the dismantled altar and the destructed temple of Jupiter making it a spolia church. Some might assume that the temple of Jupiter was converted into a church and was religiously active during a short period of time, during which the need for a bigger space was highlighted and eventually led to the construction of the basilica in the temenos area.[356] Hence the converted pagan complex of Baalbek assumingly had a temple church and a temenos spoliated church.

The converted site of Hardine[357] might as well belong to this same category. A pseudo peripteral Roman temple, having a north south orientation, was built in the northern western corner of an almost squared shaped temenos. The enclosure had a width of 63m and a length of 60m and assured an entrance to the site from its southern western elevation. The temple had a peripteral plan with two rows of 6 columns on the pronaos' elevation. It was accessible by a massif flight of stairs, leading to its pronaos and to the temple's inner area highlighted by a cella and an adytum. During the Byzantine period, the temple went through several structural modifications that were assumingly accomplished due to the shrine's structural conversion into a church, hence a temple church was added.[358] Dents were found on the column's bases which highlight the once added wall that enclosed the pronaos' area of the peripteral. Bases and pilasters were carved to add entrance doors. 8 small doors were built and one main entrance door was added in the central area of the pronaos. The pronaos was converted into the church's narthex and a church was assumingly added inside of the temple's cella.[359] The site went through some major structural damages, mainly due to earthquakes between the 6th and the 13th centuries, that eventually destructed the main temple. During the medieval times the site was re-inhabited. A monastery with its church, dedicated to Saint Richa, were built inside of the temenos' southern eastern corner.[360] Hence the converted site of Hardine had a temple church and a temenos church in its premises.

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[355] Bayliss 2001, 60.
[356] Lassus 1947, 246.
[357] Renan 1864, 139. Nordiguian 2005, 188-189. Aliquot 2009, 247-248. Yasmine 2009.
[358] Yasmine 2009, 130-133.
[359] Aliquot 2009, 248.
[360] Yasmine 2009, 133.

Both the temples of Baalbek[361] and Hardine[362] were assumingly converted by adding a church inside of the temple, these assumptions are either from architectural findings or are highlighted throughout historical sources. The architectural modifications, that were implemented into the temple of Hardine during the Byzantine period, were in order to transform the temple into either secular or religious usage. However, no accurate proof of a structural church inside of the temple highlights its definite conversion. The reconstruction might not have been completed before the site's destruction. If the assumptions were correct and the temples were indeed directly converted, the chronology of their structural transformation during the Byzantine period might have affected their structural longevity. Even though in Baalbek and Hardine, the temple's direct conversion was only an assumption, both of the site's were highlighted through their temenos' transformation after adding churches *intra mural,* either during the Byzantine or the medieval periods.

The converted complex of Yanouh (Yānūḫ), even though having a much smaller proportion then Baalbek and Hardine, is considered one of the rarest sites that was converted using all the structural conversion types. The usage and the implementation of all three types of conversion, during different timeframes, was the main feature that eventually led to the site's structural endurance, as it was inhabited throughout all of the centuries. Architectural and archaeological evidences were the main reason that helped with the reconstruction of the once existing structures. Due to their incorporation, a chronological study shed the light on the site's structural evolution throughout history.

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[361] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.
[362] Renan 1864, 139. Nordiguian 2005, 188-189. Aliquot 2009, 247-248. Yasmine 2009.

CONCLUSION

OVERVIEW

The majority of the pagan sites underwent structural processes that started since the beginning of Christianity during the 4th century and faded away after the 6th century. It was considered as a standard practice until modern times. The 4th century reflected the peak of the Christian aggression that was transitioned from being personal against pagan believers to being structural against pagan temples. The Eastern Roman Empire was the regional territory from which Christianity originated, hence the place where the religious and structural transformation initiated. The process differed throughout each site; however general steps were in order that directly affected the eventual structural fate of each pagan temple.

Deconsecrating the pagan temples was the first structural act against Paganism, the main aim was to render all shrines religiously passive and to eradicate any physical or religious trace of Paganism. The level of secularization applied on each temple differed from site to another. It started with the removal of the pagan God's statues and imageries and the confiscation of any valuable object. Christians tried to forbid access to the temples, hence they destroyed any means of entrance highlighted generally by the dismantlement of the temple in all of the affected sites. All sacred spaces were meant to be destroyed in order to forbid the execution of any pagan rites on site. The altar, facing the temple, where sacrifices were being offered, and the adytum, inside of the temple, being the main sacred area, were destroyed and dismantled. Pagans found all-natural sources existing near the shrines as a religious sacred factor, so even with the deconsecration process that was going throughout the majority of the pagan temples, some of the sites were still religiously active and rituals were still being performed. These religiously active shrines got the major toll of Christian aggression and were severally damaged from which some were totally dismantled with no physical evidence of their once existing. The more vicious the pagan rituals were, the more damages were to be applied on the temples.

The level of secularization varied all over the Empire, it was mainly related to the type of rituals executed on site. The deconsecration process varied from the structure's minimal purification to the building's complete dismantling. In most of the pagan sites that went through minimal structural damages, purification was in order to forbid the entrance of the pagan 'demons' and to

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ban Paganism's religious restoration. The process got to be the act of engraving crosses on the temple's structural fabric, either on its entrance or in its interior area, on elements that were either kept in situ or that were dismantled and re-used in building other structures.

The deconsecration process became a chaotic and arbitrary practice throughout the Empire. Even though ruined temples were considered as a rich source of construction material, they were as well a convenient option to be directly converted into a Christian structure. Laws were being issued to protect these existing structurally stable buildings. During 438, a series of laws and legislations were issued through the Codex Theodosianus from which a major section that reflects and limits a certain structurally harmful behaviour towards the pagan shrines.[363] Part 10 of the 16th book reflect laws practiced that should eventually result in the temple's structural durability for eventual re-usage. No passive pagan temple was meant to be destroyed, otherwise, punishments were acquired.[364]

After the 6th century, the focus on the temple's deconsecration faded away. Secularizing and structurally damaging the shrines for religious purposes was not the centre of attention anymore. During that period, temples were divided into two sections in which different scenarios were in order. In all cases after the 6th century, the majority of the existing temples went through a period of abandonment and isolation. The ones that were structurally damaged during their secularization became unexploitable after that time. These structures being unstable and inadequate for direct usage were dismantled and used as quarry, the temple's fabric was delt with as available construction material. The rest of the shrines were divided into two categories; the temples that were converted since the beginning of Christianity were re-converted after some period of time and the ones that had some minimal structural damages were considered as the perfect option for being structurally directly converted. The level of deconsecration and the duration of the abandonment, hence the human and/or the natural means that went through during that phase were the main factors that directly affected on the existing shrine's eventual structural fate and durability.

During the medieval period, a while after some time of isolation and neglect, the temples were considered as available structure and material to be exploited and converted either directly or

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[363] Cod. Theod., XVI 10.
[364] Idem, XVI 10, 18.

indirectly for Christian usage. The main aim of the conversion process was for convenience and financial reasons rather than for deconsecrating and purifying pagan structures. Structurally stable temples were restored and directly converted into Christian churches by applying the temple church type of architectural conversion. However, in the cases of poorly maintained shrines, they were considered as quarries and were dismantled to be indirectly re-used in building other Christian structures by applying both the temenos churches and the spolia churches types of conversion. The structural transformation process was an inevitable result with the presence of an existing ruined structures with available building material and architecturally convenient for being re-purposed.

ARCHITECTURAL CONVERSION

Terminology & historical sources

The Empire's religious transformation led to the eventual end of constitutional Paganism, hence the end of the temple's usage for religious purposes. Pagan shrines, during a certain period of time and in some cases were converted into a secular usage rather than churches. During the beginning of Christianity as well, churches used all different pagan structures, other than temples and shrines, and established their religious rituals.[365] However, the conversion terminology in this study highlights the sole conversion of a pagan temple into a Christian church through the application of several types of structural transformation. Throughout this diversity it was an urge to categorise the conversion types in order to simplify its variety. The conversion mechanisms that were executed on the Lebanese territory, are divided into three main categories, and each of them subdivided into different scenarios. The temple church reflects the structural embodiment of the church on the foundations of an existing structurally stable pagan temple. The temenos church is the act of adding a Christian structure in the premises of a pagan enclosure either dependently or independently of the temenos' or the temple's structure. The last mechanic and the most spread one is the spolia church type of conversion which is the fact of using the existing ruined temple as a structural quarry in the sole purpose of integrating its elements while building new churches. Each one of these types had subcategories relying on several factors that eventually affected the architecture of the resultant church and highlighted the reason of the usage of each type.

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[365] Bowes 2014, 126.

The historical sources even though highlighting in details the destruction of the pagan temples during their secularization process especially during the 4th and the 5th centuries, their elaboration on the temple's conversion was majorly limited. Eusebius mentioned that during the reign the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337), temples were being destroyed and churches were being built while being vague about the subject, highlighting that it went on to being a standard practice across the Empire.[366] During the 5th century, Sozomen highlighted the Christian's religious expansion even during Paganism's restoration during the reign of Julian.[367] The religious Christian expansion could not have been in order without building new churches, hence Christian architectural development, a process that was never elaborated by Sozomen. Zosimus, a historian that lived between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century was a pagan believer. In his book the *New History*, he visited some deconsecrated pagan temples and highlighted their active rituals still being performed during the 6th century.[368] Historians and historical sources helped in some cases the identification of the structural past of some temples and in other cases they highlighted the architectural evolution that led to the temple's final fate. The pagan temple Afqa[369] (Aphaca), dedicated to Aphrodite, is the perfect example for which its evolution was highlighted through historical sources. It was mentioned by Eusebius that Constantine sent his soldiers to destroy the temple of Afqa and remove its dedications due to the notorious pagan rituals that were being executed.[370] During the 5th century, Zosimus visited the site of Afqa and noticed the execution of pagan rituals next to the ruined shrine.[371] A source of water existed next to the temple of Afqa, which demonstrate the fact that the pagans did consider all-natural sources as a sacred space, especially after the destruction of their temples and altars. The temple went through some period of isolation and was converted into a Christian church during the medieval period. The historical sources were an undeniable factor that led to the assumed identification of each temple's structural evolution throughout history. However, the historical sources joined with archaeological excavation led to a clearer documentation and categorization of the temple's chronological structural evolution.

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[366] Eusebius, 145-146 (III, 57).
[367] Sozomen, 199-242 (V).
[368] Ridley 1982.
[369] Renan 1864, 296-301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 56-64, pl. 27-30. Deichmann 1939, 107-108. Lipinski 1995, 105-108. Nordiguian 2005, 178-179. Aliquot 2009, 258-260.
[370] Eusebius, 144-145 (III, 55).
[371] Zosimus, I LVIII.

Chronology

The religious and architectural conversion started since the official beginning of Christianity with the emperor Constantine the Great (306-337) during the 4th century. However, each type of structural conversion was executed during a different period of time. The historical sources mentioned the transformation of a pagan temple into a church without amplifying the conversion procedure, hence the execution of the temple church type of conversion was roughly never the case during the start of Christianity. The temenos churches and the spolia churches were the first and oldest types implemented on the pagan sites. Throughout history, the reasons of applying each type of conversion differed, however, in the majority of the converted sites each conversion type was applied during a determined period of time.

The converted pagan site of Yanouh (Yānūḥ),[372] having its structural evolution analysed in part III of this thesis, is the perfect example where the chronology of which each type executed got to be clearly highlighted. As mentioned in the overview, a certain chronological scenario was reflected in the majority of the pagan sites. The temples were deconsecrated and purified, some were dismantled and converted while applying either the temenos or the spolia churches types of conversion whereas the rest were left to decay. After some period of time, the converted temples were modified, the abandoned shrines that were structurally stable were directly transformed into churches and the unstable ones were dismantled and re-used in building new churches. The same scenario was applied in Yanouh. The site was purified by the dismantlement of the temple's altar and the adytum and got its first structural conversion during the 5th century. A temenos church was added while structurally using the enclosure's southern wall as its own northern one. During that period of time the temple was damaged, rendered passive and was left to decay. Between the 7th and the 12th centuries, the existing Byzantine Basilica went through several structural modifications that affected its overall physic. During the medieval period, in the 12th century, the site's main temple itself was converted into a church after applying the temple pronaos church type of conversion. An apse was added in the pronaos area due to the temple's orientation to the east. During that same period of time, a spoliated medieval church was built as well to the northern part of the existing converted temple.

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[372] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

The complex of Yanouh got to be converted during several phases due to many reasons; the proportion of the pre-existing temple and the religious traditions adopted during that same period of time. When the basilica was built during the 5th century, it had a bigger proportion than the pre-existing temple as it was financially convenient to use the temenos' wall as its own while dismantling the site's portico and integrating its material into the newly added structure. The added basilica was eventually built while using construction material from the site's available ruined structures. However, it could have been financially better to use the temple itself that was eventually directly converted later on. Other than the temple's proportion, the religious traditions adopted during the beginning process of the conversion caused obstacles and led to the delayed temple's direct transformation. The temples during the beginning of Christianity were considered as a polluted structure ruled by 'demons', deconsecrating their structure and leaving their physic unbothered was, during that time, the most suitable option in some cases. The main focus was to secularize the pagan shrines, render them passive and religiously inactive rather than directly converting them, even when highlighting otherwise. During 391, the Christians of Alexandria removed the God's statue and imageries from the Serapeum after a series of conflicts with the pagans.[373] It was highlighted that a Christian church was built using the temple's structure after deconsecrating it, however, the church was rather built outside of the temple's enclosure out of fear from the pagan's 'spirits.'[374]

The conversion scenarios are highlighted all over the Lebanese territory where each is reflected differently. The converted sites of Yanouh (Yānūḫ),[375] Baalbek,[376] Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā),[377] Faqra[378] and Chhim[379] (Shḥym) were structurally converted into Christian sites while applying the temenos church type of conversion. All of the mentioned cases were converted by adding a newly built church in the premises of the temenos' either during the 4th or the 5th century. These converted

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[373] Rufinus XI, 23. Socrates V, 17. Sozomen VII, 15. Theodoret V, 22. Trombley 1995, I 129-145.

[374] Wiśniewski 2016, 16.

[375] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[376] Wiegand 1925. Collart 1951, 241-259. Ragette 1980. Bayliss 2001, 45, 60, 69, 93, 98-100. Nordiguian 2005, 18-45. Vann 2006. Aliquot 2009, 282-296.

[377] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl. 57-64, 122-138. Nordiguian 2005, 60-65. Aliquot 2009, 303-306. Yasmine 2009, 134-141. Newson & Young 2011, 257-278. Newson & Young 2015, 449-462. Newson 2019, 116-138.

[378] Renan 1864, 335-339. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, pl 20-26, 40-55. Nordiguian 2005, 150-159. Aliquot 2009, 261-267. Newson 2019, 116-138.

[379] Waliszewski & Perisse 2004, 411-418. Nordiguian 2005, 126-131. Waliszewski & Perisse 2005, 411-420. Aliquot 2009, 272-276. Butcher 2013, 202-204.

temples were differently transformed highlighted throughout several scenarios. The temenos church of Yanouh was built to the exterior area of the enclosure while structurally using 18m of its southern wall. The temenos churches of both Baalbek and Hosn Niha were built facing the main shrines structurally independent from the existing structures. However, the temenos church of Faqra was added to the temple's northern side while structurally using the small shrine's northern wall, the temple itself was used later on as the church's baptistery. In Chhim (Shḥym) the added temenos church used the enclosure's eastern and norther walls. The sites of Chlifa[380] and Hardine,[381] which chronologically differed in the timing of their execution, were assumingly converted during the medieval period while applying the temenos church type of conversion. In Chlifa, a small church was added to the south of the existing temple while using its southern wall as its own. Whereas in Hardine, a medieval church was added to the south of the existing ruined temple, inside of the enclosure and structurally independent from both the temple's and its temenos.

The spolia churches are considered the first conversion type applied all over the Empire, while acknowledging that both of the temenos and the temple churches are spoliated in second bases as all conversion types were structurally executed by using construction material originating from the pagan site itself. The majority of the spolia churches built during the early Byzantine ages were structurally modified after some period of time in which some were even completely re-shaped. The medieval spolia church of Saint Georges in Eddeh[382] Jbeil is the perfect example. A newly added church almost fully spoliated was built during early Christian times while using construction materials from an existing ancient shrine. That same spolia church was structurally modified during later times and resulted into another spoliated medieval Christian structure highlighting the current Saint Georges church. The original church might have been modified for several reasons, either for its rather small proportion and the need for a bigger one with the expansion of the believer's number or due to its poorly maintained structure which led to its eventual dismantlement. The spolia churches are the most spread type of structural conversion that exist on the Lebanese territory as it is the most adequate and convenient one. It started since the beginning of Christianity when secularization was in order, temples were destroyed and new churches were

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[380] Renan 1864, 314. Dussaud 1927, 411. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 152-155. Alouf 1999, 62-66. Donceel 1966, 251-252. Nordiguian 2005, 74-75. Aliquot 2009, 280-281.
[381] Renan 1864, 139. Nordiguian 2005, 188-189. Aliquot 2009, 247-248. Yasmine 2009.
[382] Renan 1864, 227-229, Nordiguian 2005, 185, Aliquot 2009, 250, Nordiguian 2009, 169-171.

built on the same premises, hence the temenos spolia churches. However, after the 6th century, when the focus of destructing temples faded away, abandoned shrines, especially the structurally unstable and the ones that were unfit to be directly converted, were considered as rich source for construction material. During the medieval times, spolia churches were executed either as independent structures or while applying the temple churches that in their turn were built using the temple's own materials, hence they were considered as temple spolia churches. The execution of the spolia churches lasted up until the Ottoman's period when building new churches was a forbidden act to accomplish.

The historical sources mentioned the execution of the temple churches since the 4th century with the official beginning of Christianity; however, their terminology was differently reflected. The architectural vocabulary used during that time about the conversion of a temple emphasize the structural transformation of the whole site and not necessary the temple's direct conversion. The temple church type of conversion might not have been fully adopted up until the end of the 5th century. These sites that were converted since the beginning had a lower chance of durability especially if they went through a long period of structural isolation afterwards. The temple churches that were implemented during the Byzantine period had two scenarios highlighting their structural fate. These Byzantine converted sites were either totally ruined and religiously passive as the temple cella church of Ghineh[383] or are now structurally stable and religiously active as the inverted temple churches of both Saint Charbel in Maad (Mʿād)[384] and Saint Tekla and Stephan in Chamat (Chart 1).[385] These two temples were converted during the same timeline, however, Ghineh was abandoned after some period whereas the church of Maad (Mʿād) had several continuous structural modifications through history that led to its current active state. Both of these temple churches have byzantine mosaics on the remains of their in situ ancient floor which highlights their first conversion period. The majority of the temple churches that exist on the Lebanese territory were converted during the medieval era. During that period of time, the temples were considered as a rich source of construction material and were structurally embodied with churches in their inner area with financial convenience as the main reason.

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[383] Nordiguian 2005, 160-161. Aliquot 2009, 260.
[384] Renan 1864, 240. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249. Nordiguian 2009, 152. Kahwagi-Janho 2016, 95-135.
[385] Renan 1864, 234. Nordiguian 2005, 184. Aliquot 2009, 249-250. Nordiguian 2009, 156-160. Kahwagi-Janho 2018, 111-113.
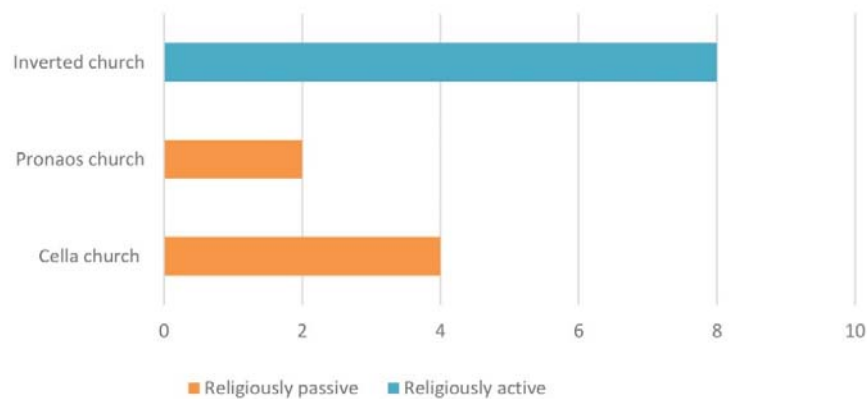
Chart 1: Religious state of the temple churches of Lebanon

The temple monasteries that exist in Lebanon have a series of structural modifications that went on through centuries and eventually led to the existence of three religiously active temple monasteries in Lebanon. These sites were converted during the Byzantine times, went through a period of neglect and were eventually restored during the medieval period which led to their current structural shape. The different sub-categories that are highlighted through the temple church type of conversion were executed during different timeframes. Two main timings got to be reflected. The cella and the pronaos churches, highlighting the presence of the apse inside of the temple and mainly influenced by its original structure, are the scenarios which might have been implemented during the late Byzantine era and early medieval one. Whereas the inverted temple church type of conversion was applied during either the medieval or the Ottoman's periods when existing temples were converted into churches. The inverted temple churches were executed while keeping some in situ fabric from the pre-existing structure and causing some major architectural transformation making the original shape of the converted temple unrecognizable. The temple church might have been executed since the beginning of the conversion system, however, due to financial convenience and availability of land and stable structures, it was heavily adopted during the medieval period.

In all cases and in all types of conversion either being generally executed since the beginning or during later times, exceptions were always in order. The temenos churches were generally executed during the Byzantine times, however both of the temenos churches of Hardine and Chlifa were added during the medieval period. The temple churches were generally adopted during the medieval times, however, the temple churches of Ghineh, Saint Charbel in Maad (Mʿād) and Saint

Tekla and Stephan in Chamat were converted during the Byzantine times, reflected with the presence of in situ Byzantine mosaics.

Structural conversion

The Empire's structural conversion and its architectural types were the main features that affected Paganism and led to its institutional end. It's a system that started since the beginning of Christianity and lasted up until recent times. Two main reasons led to converting pagan temples into Christian churches. Deconsecrating and purifying pagan temples, adding to that economical convenience and availability of construction materials that were the main factors which led to the eventual architectural conversion. Either being transformed during the Byzantine or the medieval period, re-used structures and elements were purified with Christian crosses. The structural result got to be the same when reasons of converting temples differed. During early Christian times, converting temples into churches led to two main scenarios, deconsecrating and purifying pagan buildings as well as urbanely expanding Christian structures due to the availability of land and construction materials after the destruction of temples. Whereas during the medieval period, the main aim was to build Christian churches when the availability of construction materials was overflowing and financial funding was lacking.

The majority of the churches that are a physical result of a temple's structural conversion owes their shape and architecture to the pre-existing original shrine. The temple churches are the most influenced from the architecture of an existing temple as it directly embodied its own in situ foundations. The structural and architectural characteristics of the temple were generally transferred to the church from which several factors affected its eventual appearance. The orientation of the existing temple was one of the main elements that influenced the church's shape, a factor that is majorly highlighted in the converted temple of Bziza[386] where two apses were added at an angle with the cella's northern wall in order to have a perfect eastern orientation. The openings that are existing in the temple's elevations remained the same, however, their structural role got to be altered as in the temple of Yanouh (Yānūḥ).[387] Yanouh's pagan shrine had two pre-

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[386] Renan 1864, 134-135, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 4-8, pl. 3-4, Nordiguian 2005, 192-199, Aliquot 2009, 245-247, Nordiguian 2015-2016, 391-397, Kahwaji-Janho 2020, 249-305.
[387] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

existing openings in its lateral elevations which led to their presumable re-usage during the site's conversion as entrances into the church's inner area. The proportion of the existing temple was as well one of the main factors affecting the church. In the majority of the temples that went through a direct conversion, the adytum inside of its cella was generally removed in order to have a bigger inner space which was the case in both temple churches of Bziza and Yanouh (Yānūḫ). However, in the temple of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb),[388] the adytum was remained intact even after the site's structural conversion. The adytum in this case was on a higher level and had a crypte underneath it. During the site's transformation the stairs leading to the adytum's platform were dismantled whereas the crypte was left in situ and might have been used as the church's service area.

The temenos and the spolia churches were as well majorly affected by the re-usage of the temenos' and the temple's blocks. The indirect types of conversion had a more flexible architecture than the direct one. The temenos churches that were added during the early Byzantine period, even though built from the remains of the ruined pagan structures, had a symmetric and flexible design such as the temenos churches of Baalbek and Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā). However, the temenos churches of Chhim (Shḥym), Yanouh (Yānūḫ), Faqra and assumingly Chlifa were structurally related to either the temple's or the enclosure's walls making them dependent structures with a flexible architecture. Design flexibility was the key in the structural development of Christian architecture especially when applying the spolia churches type of conversion that led to the eventual nonconformity. Spolia churches resulted in an asymmetric appearance filled with structurally integrated 'anomalies.' The spoliated churches had some unregular architectural ancient blocks implemented in its fabric. An architrave was added in the northern elevation of Saint Georges medieval spolia church,[389] whereas a block with inscription was used as a lintel for the entrance door of Saint Elias medieval spolia church.[390] These re-used blocks were considered as unusual anomalies but acceptable result of structural conversion.

The architectural reaction with the temples differed with time, it started with being aggressive when the appreciation for the classical buildings was perishing. After the 6th century, the focus on

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[388] Dussaud 1927, 95, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52, Nordiguian 2005, 220-225, Aliquot 2009, 233-235.
[389] Renan 1864, 227-229, Nordiguian 2005, 185, Aliquot 2009, 250, Nordiguian 2009, 169-171.
[390] Renan 1864, 223-226, Alpi & Nordiguian 1996, 5-14, Nordiguian 2005, 182-183, Aliquot 2009, 251, Nordiguian 2009, 163-166.

destroying temples faded away, ruined shrines were considered as aesthetically unpleasing and were dealt as being available construction materials ready to be confiscated and used in building new churches. Elements were structurally re-used without maintaining their aesthetical nor their structural ancient function. The conversion types varied and the architectural features of the resultant churches differed in times when building a de novo church got to be a much harder and costly task than the structural conversion of an existing temple.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION

All of the conversion types exist on the Lebanese territory; however, several factors affected the choice of the type structurally executed. The chronology of the conversion, the temple's proportion, the religious traditions established during the transformation period and the shrine's structural state led to the selection of the most adequate type of conversion that differed through each site. All of the mentioned factors that affected the choice of the implemented type of conversion were indirectly linked. If the conversion got to be applied during the Byzantine or during the medieval period, the choice of the type of conversion differed accordingly. The majority of the temples that were converted during the beginning of Christianity were indirectly transformed either after applying the temenos or the spolia church type of conversion. However, when converting during the medieval period, the temple church got to be the most adequate transformation.

The temple church type of conversion was not implemented during the Byzantine period as it got to be during the medieval era due to several factors. The temple might have had a smaller proportion than the area needed as it was in the case of the converted site in Yanouh (Yānūḥ).[391] However, it could have been as well due to religious faith and traditions established during the site's conversion period. Structurally and politically converting an Empire during a short period of time was in fact a doable task, however, it needed some time to be established with faith. Directly converting a temple during the beginning of Christianity was not a standard practice[392] as

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[391] Renan 864, 301. Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 35-37, pl. 19. Deichmann 1939, 120. Nordiguian 1999, 579-594. Gatier 2001, 93-152. Gatier & Charpentier 2002, 211-217. Nordiguian 2005, 170-175. Aliquot 2009, 253-258. Butcher 2013, 204-207.

[392] Historical sources, from the 5th century, mentioned the conversion of temple when the structural fact in the majority of the sites got to be the execution of either the temenos or the spolia church rather than the temple church type of conversion.

emphasized mainly due to the religious faith and fear from ancient rites that were still deeply rooted during that period of time.

The structural stability of the temples, that were mainly a result from either Christian structural aggression while secularizing the existing shrines or from natural means, might have led in the execution of the temenos or the spolia churches instead of implementing the temple church mechanic. Both of the indirect types of conversion were achievable in all of the scenarios highlighting the temple's structural transformation. Thus, with the presence of ruined unstable ancient temples and the availability of vacant land and construction materials, a high number of spoliated churches should have been reflected accordingly.

The structural scenarios that were adopted on existing pagan sites that were eventually converted for Christian usage, highlight a set of technics that at some point reflect an implemented architectural tradition. Conversion became a standard practice accomplished as a regional trend.[393] These structural traditions were affected by several factors leading to differences between each region; availability of vacant lands, presence of resources and construction materials and the design traditions adopted in each region during a certain period of time. These factors either directly or indirectly affected the level of architectural design flexibility when converting a classical structure into a new church.

The mentioned regional factors led to differences in the conversion process from each area and affected mainly the template of the existing temple and the structural church resulting from the conversion. The temple churches, being the ones that structurally embodied the foundations of an existing pagan shrines were the ones that were mainly influenced by the architectural template of the pre-existing temple. The cella churches and the pronaos churches are the converted structures from which we can nowadays identify the template of the transformed shrine. The inverted temple churches causing some major modifications in the shape and architecture of the original temple, made its template harder to classify. The majority of the converted cella and pronaos churches are tetrastyle prostyle temples with the presence of some peripteral and in antis shrines (Chart *2*).

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[393] Bayliss 2001, 228.
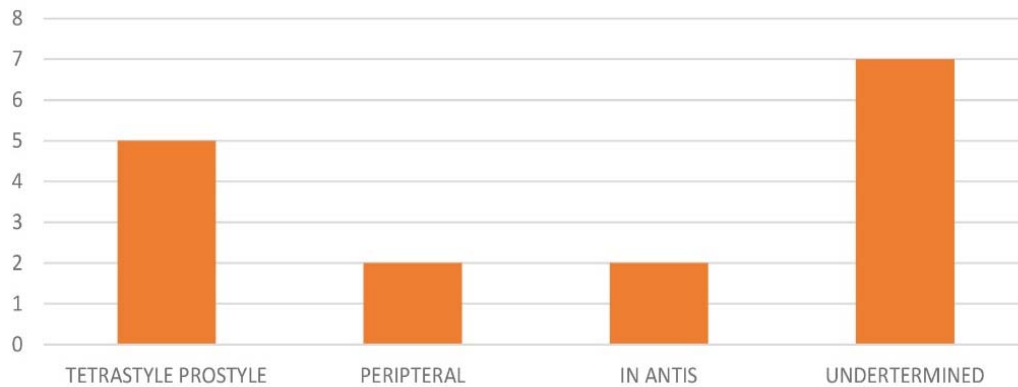
Chart 2: Templates of temples directly converted in Lebanon

The architectural template of each temple affected the final outcome of the conversion process; however, the result of this outcome could not have been widely highlighted through the converted temple churches that exist in Lebanon. The temple church of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb)[394] is one of the rarest peripteral temple churches in Lebanon that does not have the tetrastyle prostyle template, yet during its conversion the same process was applied after adding an apse into its pronaos. The site is nowadays ruined and in bad structural state, it lacks detailed studies and excavation to have more documentations about the site's structural conversion. The temple of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb) was described and documented during the visit of Krencker and Zschietzschmann in 1938[395] when they mentioned the presence of a destroyed apse in the temple's pronaos which highlight its once conversion into a church. However, the site was never excavated nor studied in order to analyse the existing ruins and link it with the occurred transformation process. The site of Hardine[396] having the same template as the one of Maqam el Rab (Maqām ʾal Rabb) temple, was assumingly converted into a temple church after adding an apse into its inner area. Its peripteral was walled up during that process to functionally divide the church's inner space.[397] The temple of Ghineh,[398] even though having an in antis template, was structurally converted while adding an apse into its cella without any structural differences with the other cella temples. The rest of the temple churches, when having an identifiable template, are tetrastyle

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[394] Dussaud 1927, 95, Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52, Nordiguian 2005, 220-225, Aliquot 2009, 233-235.
[395] Krencker & Zschietzschmann 1938, 102-104, pl. 52.
[396] Renan 1864, 139. Nordiguian 2005, 188-189. Aliquot 2009, 247-248. Yasmine 2009.
[397] Aliquot 2009, 248.
[398] Nordiguian 2005, 160-161. Aliquot 2009, 260.

prostyle temples structurally converted into churches after adding an apse into either the shrine's cella or into its pronaos.

The structural planning and the architectural design of the newly built church was majorly influenced by the existing pagan temple and its available material when structural conversion was an adopted option. The convenience of a vacant land with its proportion and orientation, the availability of construction material with its architectural characteristics, the design traditions adopted during that region and during that period of time were the main factors affecting the level of flexibility to design a new church from existing classical fabric.

The converted sites are spread all over the Lebanese territory, however, the distribution of the structural mechanisms leading to conversion differed through districts, even the temples with proximate localities were differently converted (Map 7).

Regional characteristics are the reason that led to this large gap between the distribution of the conversion types through districts. 58% of the Lebanese spolia churches exist in the region of Mount Lebanon, especially in Jbeil, whereas in the Southern district no spolia churches were highlighted (Chart 3). The temple churches are similar to the spolia churches in their regional distribution process. Hence, from 17 temple churches that exist in Lebanon, 10 of them are located in the Mount Lebanon district. The same applies to the temenos churches which 3 out of 7 sites exist in Mount Lebanon as well.

	AKKAR	BAALBEK/HERMEL	BEIRUT	BEQAA	MOUNT LEBANON	NABATIEH	NORTH	SOUTH
Temenos churches	0	2	0	1	3	0	1	0
Temple churches	1	3	0	0	10	0	2	0
Spolia churches	2	1	0	3	38	1	20	0
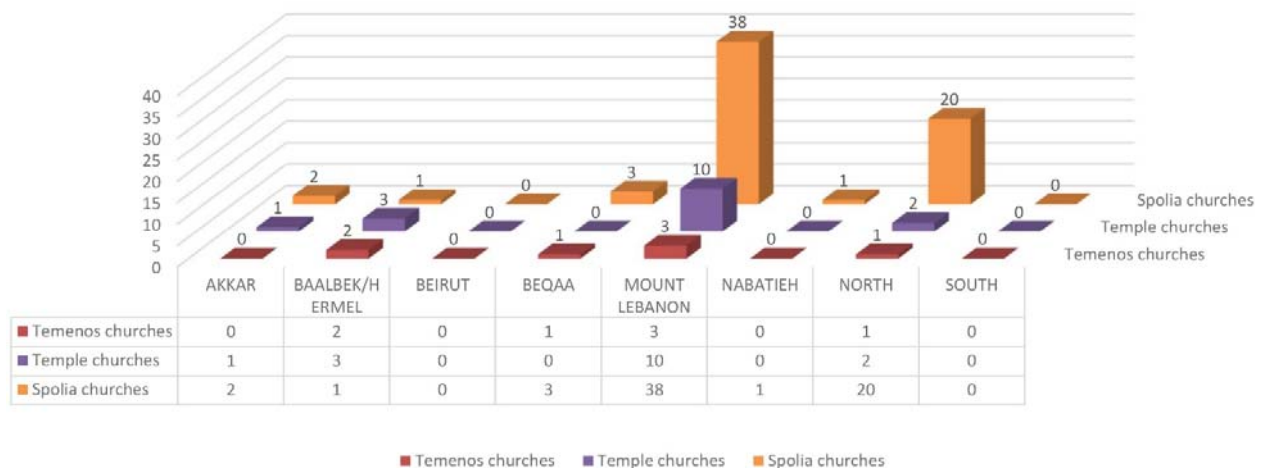
Chart 3: Regional Distribution of converted sites in Lebanon

Map 7: The converted sites of the modern territory of Lebanon

Several scenarios might have led to this major interval with the regional distribution of the conversion mechanisms. Bayliss reflected this variation as being a regional trend throughout each

district.[399] Even though it could have been the case, historical and structural factors might have been clearer evidences. One of the features that led to this uncertainty is the major presence of the spolia churches which reflect the type that is the most difficult to track. Historical events that occurred either during the Byzantine or the medieval period could have been the main factor that directly affected the presence of Christian structure in each district. The high existence of churches reflects the religious Christian continuity that arose in each affected area, hence, the Christian community in Mount Lebanon during the medieval and the Ottomans periods might have been more active than in the other parts of Lebanon.

This gap between the number of types in each district does not indicate the absence of pagan temples in the affected area. However, it could indicate the continuity of religious life that occurred in each region. This hypothesis is directly related to the invasions that happened during early times just after the start of the Empire's conversion. Several scenarios were in order; the people who invaded each area might have had a different religion than the Christians or the areas with the absence of converted structures might have been abandoned for a long period before being re-established during modern times. The Roman Empire was spread through all sectors of the Lebanese territory, however, this religious continuity, hence the structural one might not have been balanced all over its premises. A theory that is historically highlighted throughout the regional distribution of the conversion mechanisms.

Identifying all of the conversion types found on the Lebanese territory was not an easy task to accomplish, historical resources and field visits were the major site guides throughout this thesis. It is unfortunate at this period to have a large number of un-studied converted sites from which little material about the temple's structural conversion is tangible. The archaeology of each site individually and the observation of the diversity of mechanisms executed through regions provided this study with a deeper understanding of the architectural conversion process with its variety and structural scenarios highlighted in the Lebanese urban and rural complexes. The context might have been different from what was mentioned in historical sources as it can be different from further studies. However, during this period of time it enabled observation about the structural continuity leading to patterning the religious and social one throughout each region. During the beginning of Christianity, all efforts were emphasized in order to end Paganism and convert the

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[399] Bayliss 2001, 229.

Empire, however the physical and structural continuity of the pagan temples got to be the most highlighted factor in all of the conversion types.

INDEX OF SITES

LOCATION			SITE NAME	CHURCH NAME	CONVERSION DATE	TYPE OF CONVERSION
AKKAR	Akkar (Halba)	1	Akroum (ʾakrūm / أكروم)	Saint Chamchoum		Spolia church
		2	Maqam el Rabb (Maqām ʾal Rabb / مقام الرب)	Temple of Maqam el Rab	Medieval period	Temple pronaos church
		3	Qubayyat (Qubayyāt / قبيات)	Saint Challita		Spolia church
BAALBEK -HERMEL	Baalbek	4	Baalbek (Bʿalbak / بعلبك)	Temple of Aphrodite	306-337	Temple church
		5		Basilica of Saint Peter	379-395	Temenos church
		6	Chlifa (Shlyfā / شليفا)	Temple of Chlifa	Around year 635	Temenos church
		7	Deir el Ahmar (Dayr ʾal ʾaḥmar / دير الأحمر)	Our Lady	19th century	Temple church
		8	Nabha (Nabʿa / نبعة)	Byzantine church	6th century	Spolia church
		9	Ras Baalbek (Ras Bʿalbak / راس بعلبك)	Saint Barbre		Temple church
		10		Monastery of our Lady		Temple monastery
BEQAA	Zahle	11	Deir el Ghazal (Dayr ʾal ġazāl / دير الغزال)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		12	Niha (Niḥā / نيحا)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		13		Saint Doumet		Spolia church
		14	Hosn Niha (Ḥosn Niḥā / حصن نيحا)	Temple of Hosn Niha	6th century	Temenos church
MOUNT LEBANON	Chouf	15	Chhim (Shḥym / شحيم)	Temple of Chhim	5th century	Temenos church
	Jbeil	16	Aabaydat (ʿbaydāt / عبيدات)	Saint Osapius		Spolia church
		17	Ain Kfaa (ʿayn Kfāʿ / عين كفاع)	Saint Rouhana		Temple inverted church
		18	Afqa (ʾafqā / أفقا)	Temple of Aphrodite	Medieval Period	Temple cella church
		19	Amchit (ʿamshyt / عمشيت)	Saint Georges	Medieval Period	Spolia church
		20		Saint Sophia		Spolia church
		21	Behdaydat (Beḥdaydāt / بحديدات)	Saint Nicolas & Lady of Bzez		Spolia church
		22		Saint Theodore		Spolia church
		23	Bejjeh (Bejjeh / بجّه)	Our Lady of Harvest		Spolia church
		24	Blat (Blāṭ / بلاط)	Saint Elie	Medieval Period	Spolia church
		25		Saint Saba		Spolia church
		26	Chamat (Shāmāt / شامات)	Saint Tekla & Stephan	1st: Byzantine period 2nd: 12th-13th century	Temple inverted church
		27		Saint Tekla	12th-13th century	Spolia church
		28	Chikhane (Shyḫān / شيخان)	Lady of Dormition	19th century	Spolia church
		29		Saint Simeon Stylites	14th-15th century	Spolia church
		30	Chloumas (Shlūmāṣ / شلوماص)	Saint Elias		Spolia church
		31	Chmout (Shmūt / شموت)	Saint Fawka		Spolia church
		32	Dmalsa (Dmalsā / دملسا)	Saint Nohra & Sophia		Spolia church

MOUNT LEBANON	Jbeil	33		Saint Georges	19th century	Spolia church
		34	Eddeh (ʿeddeh / إده)	Saint John & Theodore		Spolia church
		35		Saint Lisha		Spolia church
		36	Fghal (Fġāl / فغال)	Saint Nohra & our Lady		Spolia church
		37	Gharzouz (Ġarzūz / غرزوز)	Lady of Dormition	1807	Spolia church
		38	Hakel (Ḥāqel / حاقل)	Our Lady of the Almond		Spolia church
		39	Hosrayel (Ḥoṣrāyel / حصرايل)	Saint Theodore		Spolia church
		40	Hsarat (Ḥṣārāt / حصارات)	Saint Ghaleb		Spolia church
		41	Jbeil (Jubayl / جبيل)	Saint Simeon Stylites		Spolia church
		42	Maad (Mʿād / معاد)	Saint Charbilius	1st: 5th-8th century 2nd: 1243	Temple inverted church
		43	Mastita (Mastītā / مستيتا)	Saint Saba		Spolia church
		44	Mechane (Meshān / مشان)	Our Lady Mother of God		Spolia church
		45	Monsef (Monṣef / منصف)	Saint Sergio & Bakhos		Spolia church
		46	Qassouba (Qaṣṣūbā / قصوبا)	Saint Nohra		Spolia church
		47		Our Lady	13th century	Spolia church
		48	Rihane (Al-Riḥāne / الريحانة)	Saint Theodore		Spolia church
		49	Tartej (Tartej / ترتج)	Saint Sarkis & Bakhos		Spolia church
		50		Saint Georgios		Spolia church
		51	Yanouh (Yānūḥ / يانوح)	Saint Georges the Blue	12th century	Temple pronaos church
		52		Byzantine Basilica	5th century	Temenos church
		53		Medieval church	Medieval Period	Spolia church
	Keserwan	54	Ashkout (ʿashqūt / عشقوت)	Saint John the Baptist		Spolia church
		55	Faqra (Faqrā / فقرا)	Temple of Atargatis	5th century	Temenos church
		56	Ghineh (Ġyne / غينة)	Temple of Ghineh	Byzantine period	Temple cella church
		57	Maarab (Meʿrāb / معراب)	Saint Grigorios & Basilios		Spolia church
		58	Raachine (Raʿshyn / رعشين)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		59	Sarba (Ṣarbā / صربا)	Monastery of our Saviour	19th century	Temple monastery
		60	Yahchouch (Yaḥshūsh / يحشوش)	Saint Georges	19th century	Temple inverted church
		61		Saint Simeon		Spolia church
	Metn (Jdeideh)	62	Beit Mery (Bayt Mery / بيت مري)	Monastery of the Fortress	1750	Temple monastery
		63	Broumana (Brommāna / برمانا)	Monastery of Saint Chaaya		Spolia church
		64	Zekrit (Żekryt / زكريت)	Our Lady of Rosary		Temple inverted church

NORTH	Batroun	65	Boxmaya (Boxmāyā / بوكسمايا)	Saint Simon		Spolia church
		66		Our Lady of Bzez		Spolia church
		67	Dael (Dāʿel / داعل)	Saint Tedros		Spolia church
		68	Halta (Ḥaltā / حالتا)	Saint Aabda		Spolia church
		69	Hardine (Ḥardyn / حردين)	Temple of Mercury		Temple church
		70		Medieval church	Medieval period	Temenos church

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NORTH	Batroun	71	Kfarhelda (Kfarḥeldā / كفرحيلدا)	Our Lady of Qaleaa		Spolia church
		72	Kfifen (Kfyfān / كفيفان)	Our Lady of Agriculture		Spolia church
		73	Koubba (Kūbā / قوبا)	Saint Jacob		Spolia church
		74	Mrah el Chdid (Mrāḥ ʿal shdyd / مراح الشديد)	Saint Sarkis & Bakhos		Spolia church
		75	Smar Jbeil (Simār Jubayl / سمار جبيل)	Saint Nohra		Spolia church
	Bcharri	76	Hadchit (Ḥadshit / حدشيت)	Saint Sarkis & Bakhos		Spolia church
		77		Our Lady		Spolia church
	Koura (Amioun)	78	Amioun (ʿamyūn / أميون)	Saint Georges		Spolia church
		79	Bziza (Bzyzā / بزيزا)	Our Lady of Columns	12th-13th century	Temple cella church
		80		Saint Elie	1st: 12th century 2nd: after 1950	Spolia church
	Koura (Amioun)	81	Ain Aakrine (ʿayn ʿaqryn / عين عقرين)	Saint Jacobs		Spolia church

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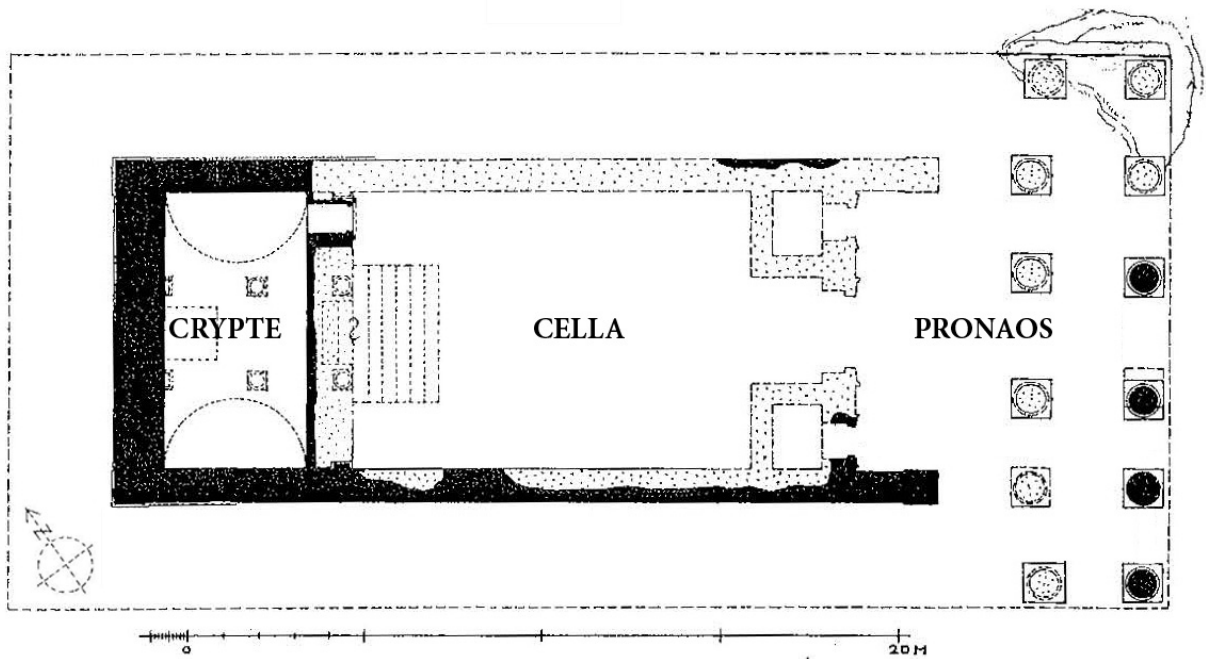

Figure 11: Saint Georges spolia church of Eddeh
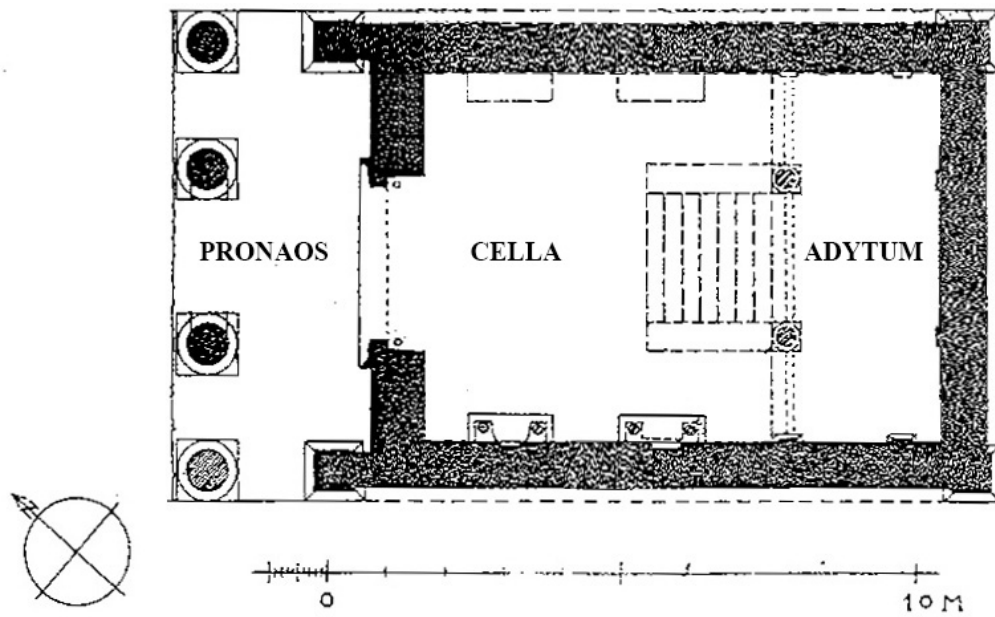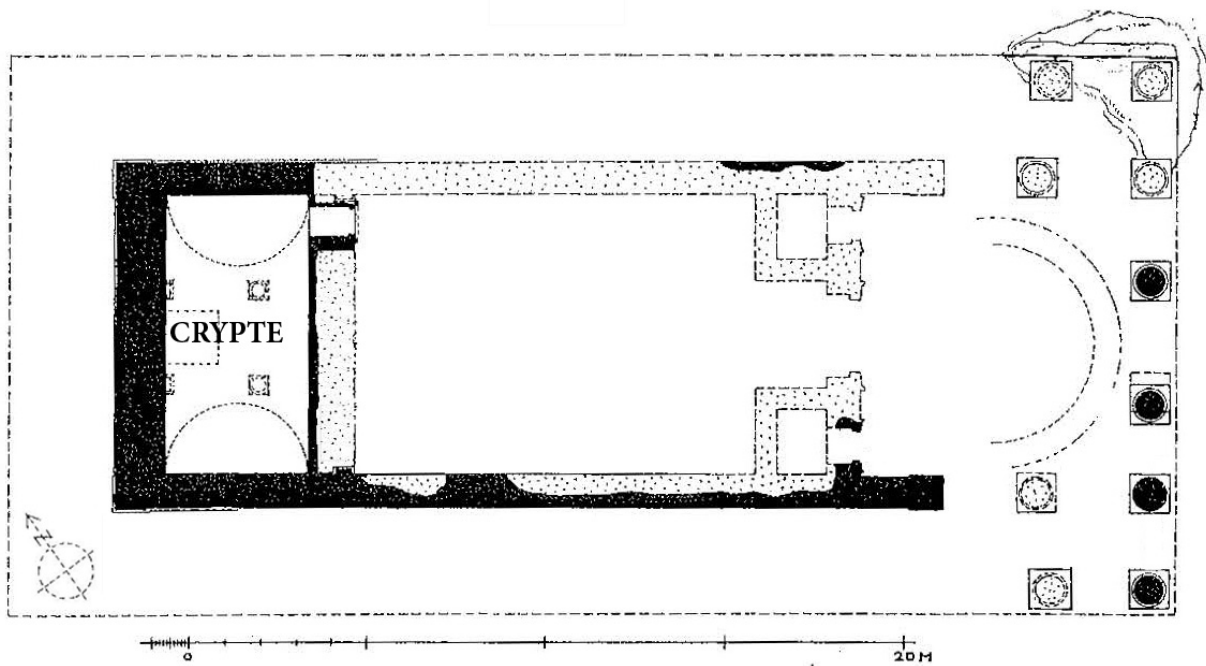
Figure 12: Temple of Bziza - Before its conversion
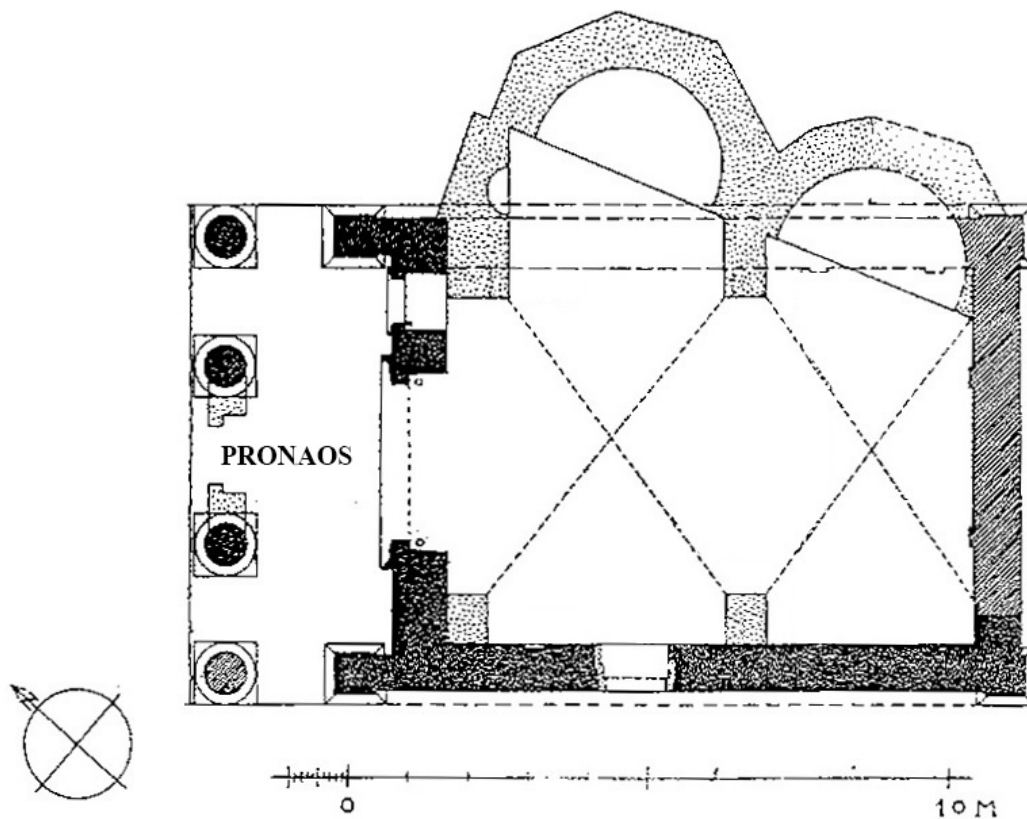
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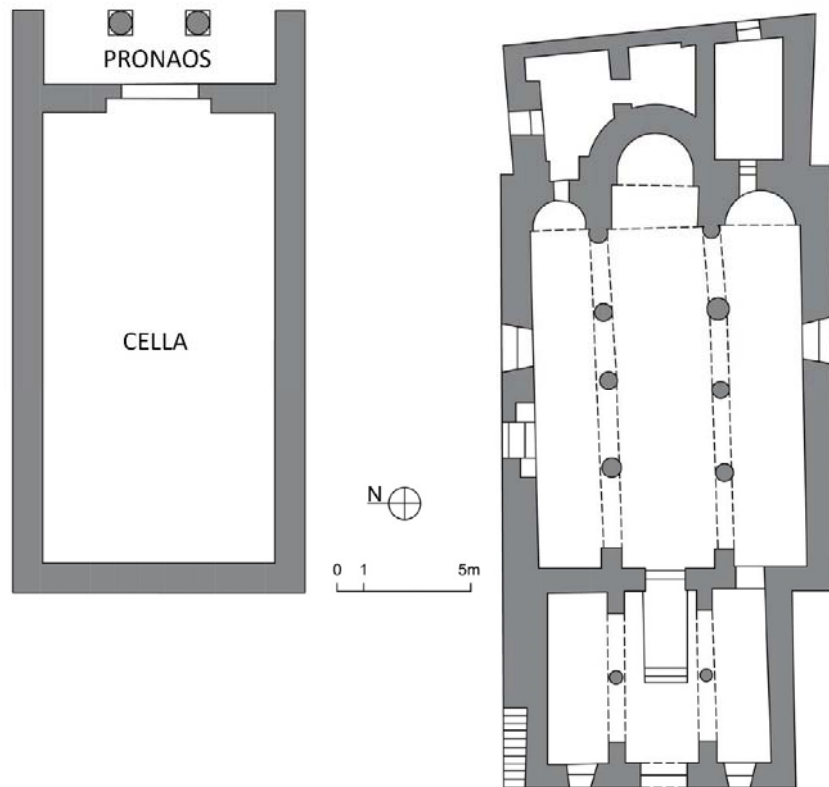
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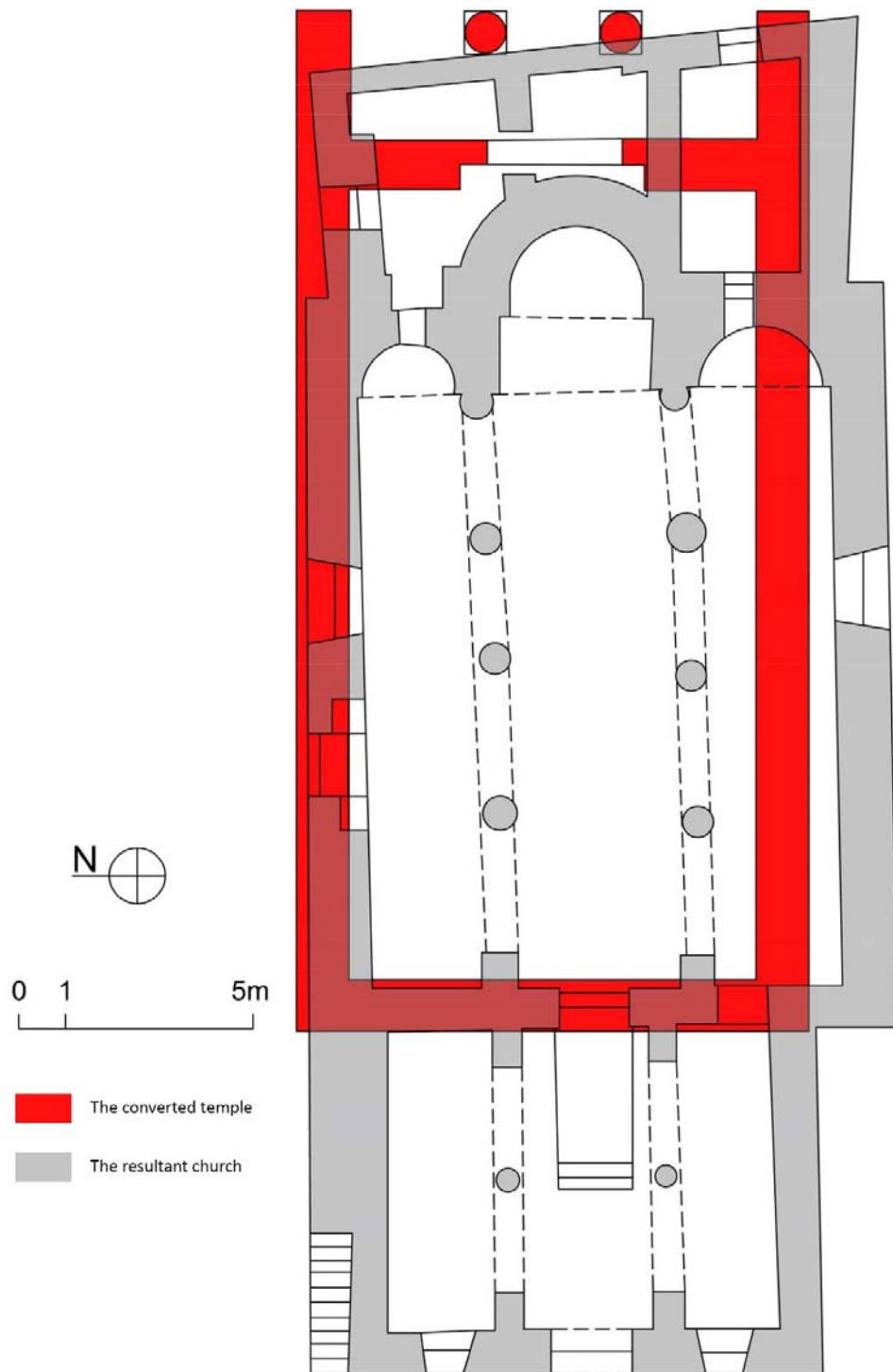
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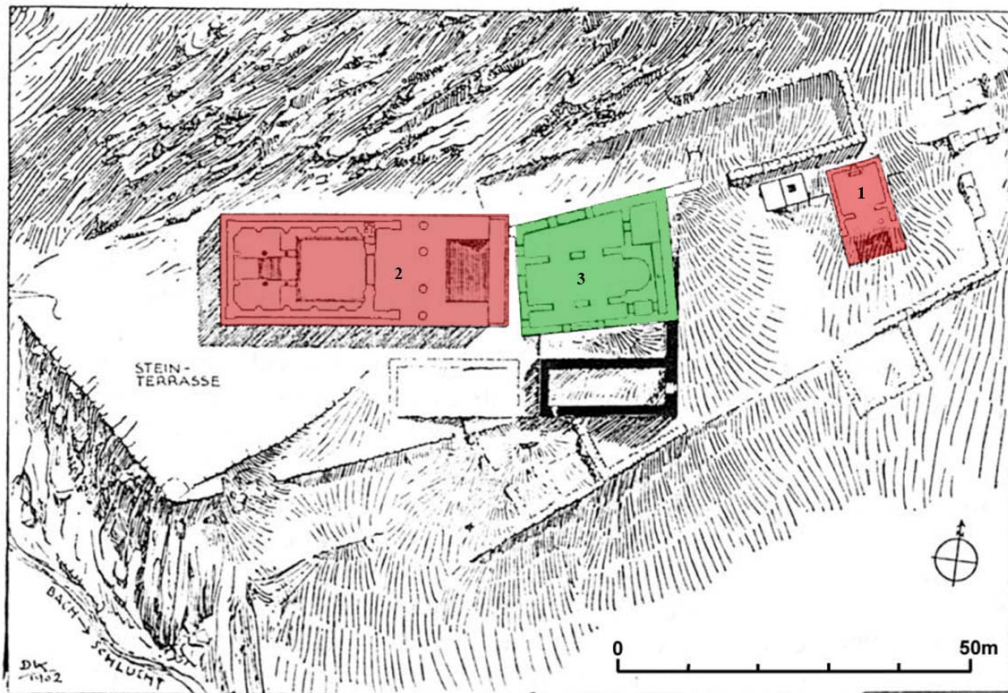
1 - Small Temple
2 - Main Temple
3 - Byzantine Basilica

ROMAN PERIOD
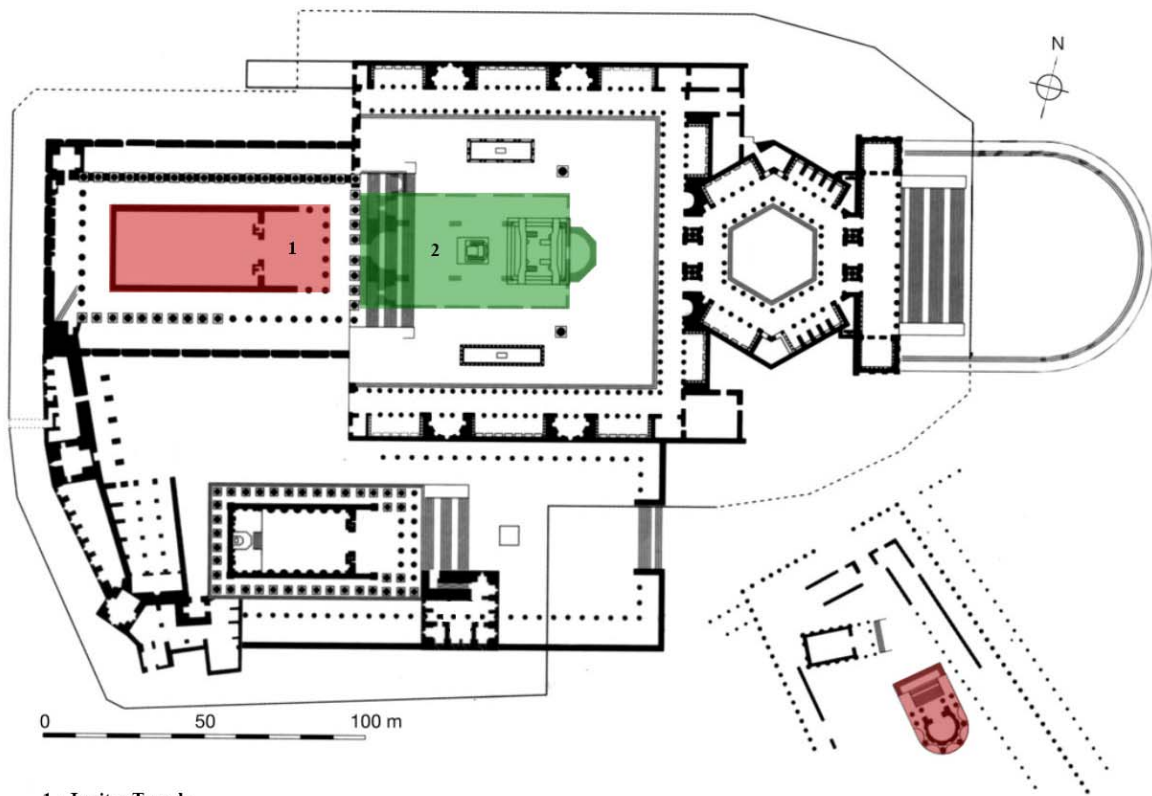BYZANTINE PERIOD
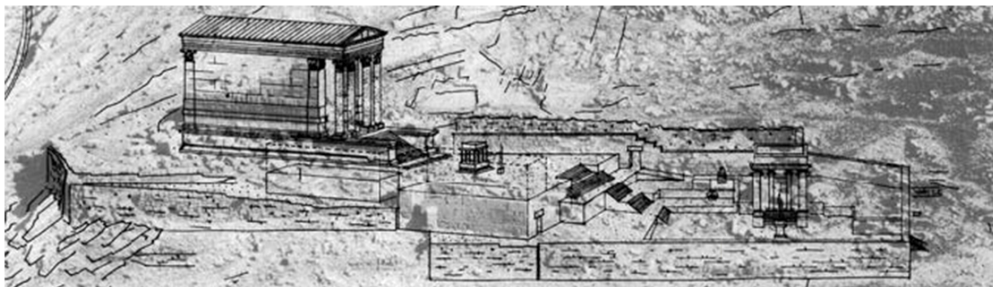
HOSN NIHA SITE - BEFORE THE CONVERSION
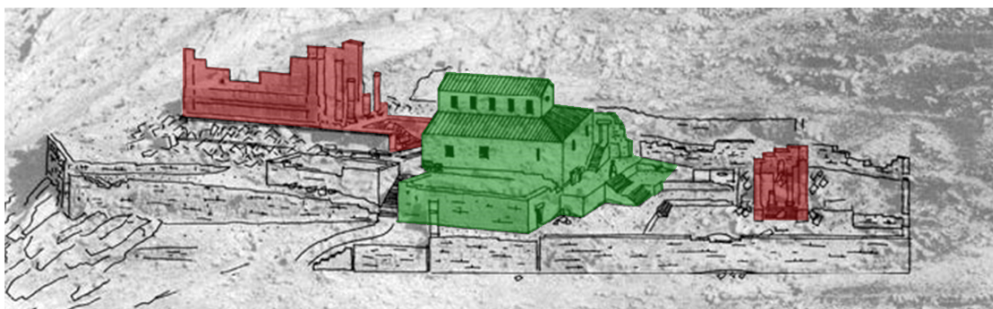
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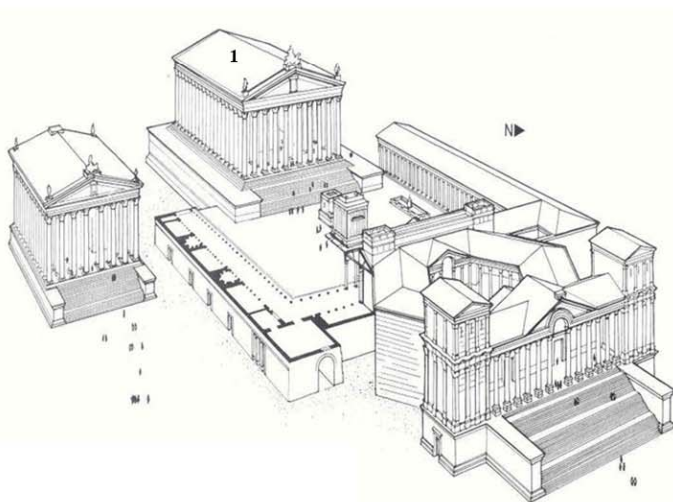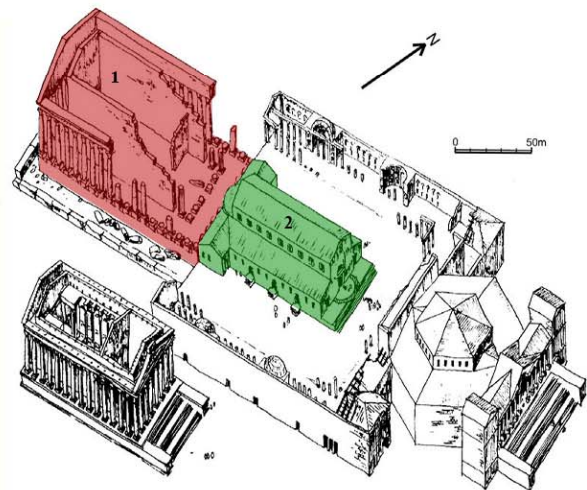
1 - Jupiter Temple
2 - Saint Peter Byzantine Basilica

■ TEMPLE CHURCH*
■ TEMENOS SPOLIA CHURCH

*The temple of Jupiter was assumingly converted into a temple church.

BAALBEK COMPLEX - BEFORE THE CONVERSION

BAALBEK COMPLEX - AFTER THE CONVERSION

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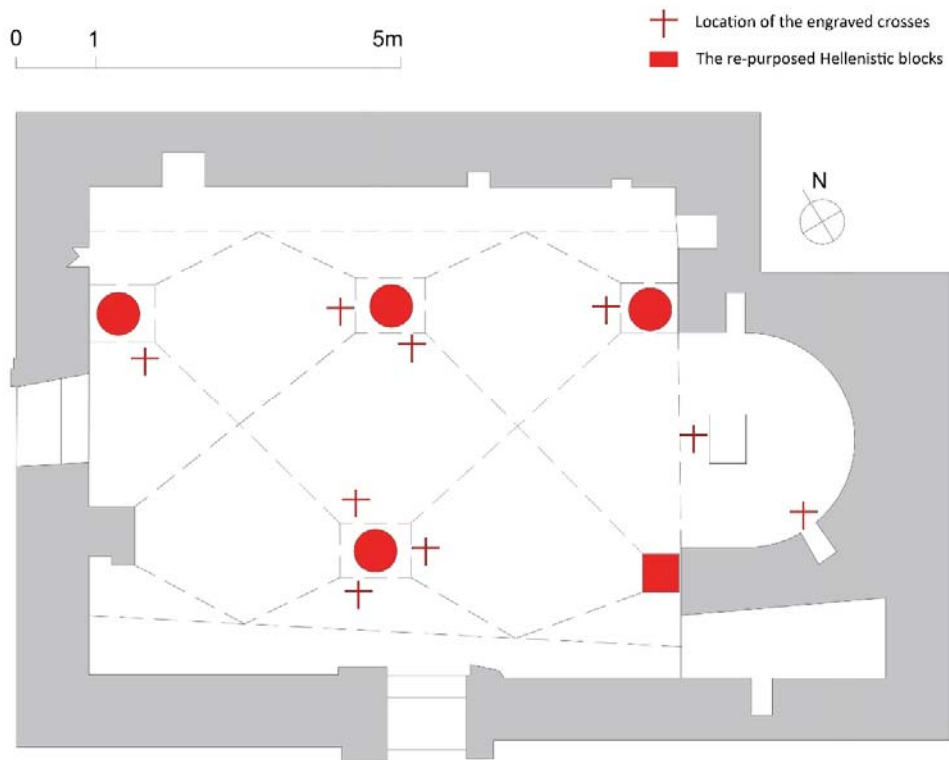

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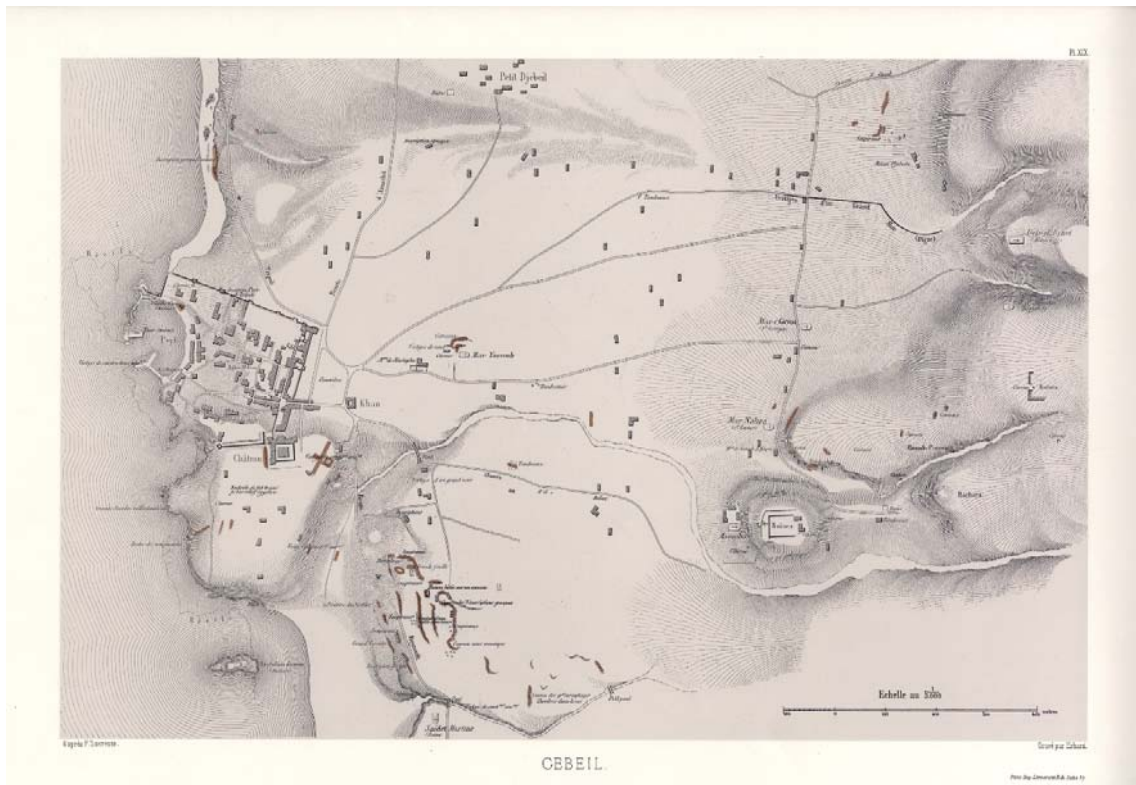
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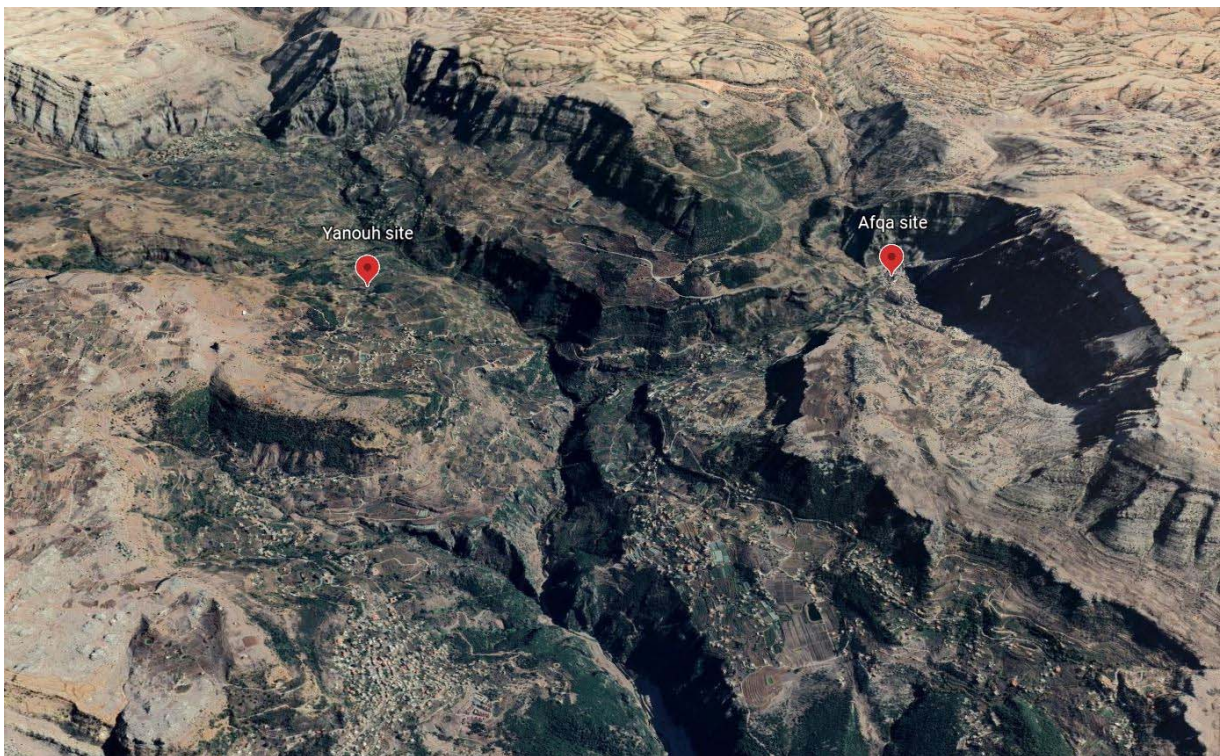
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