

**CULTURAL HERITAGE AND THE CYPRUS
CONFLICT: A BIOGRAPHY OF THE APOSTOLOS
ANDREAS MONASTERY**

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1. Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the various meanings, values and symbolisms associated with the Apostolos Andreas monastery in Cyprus as a result of the Cyprus conflict. It deals with the ways these have been generated, manipulated or changed from the lead up to the outbreak of hostilities, as well as during the long aftermath of the conflict. Additionally, this thesis delves into the Greek Cypriots' perceptions of the monastery today and tries to trace the processes through which they have been formed. Finally, this thesis explores the processes that led to the bi-communal restoration project that the monastery is currently undergoing, traces the additional layers of meanings generated because of this project and looks into its reconciliation prospect.

Drawing on recent approaches of cultural heritage, that understand it as a continuous cultural process of (re)interpretation, meaning-making and values (re)generation (Smith 2006; Smith 2011), this thesis demonstrates that cultural heritage is affected by conflict in much more subtle yet impactful ways than usually acknowledged. In other words, this thesis mainly deals with the alterations conflict causes to the intangible nature of cultural heritage—the very matrix of its meanings and symbolisms; the ways people understand and value it. However, while this thesis primarily explores the intangible dimensions of cultural heritage and the ways in which these are affected by conflict, it acknowledges that cultural heritage, through its materiality (its location, physical properties, shape, etc.), can exercise agency (Latour 2005; Olsen 2010; Hodder 2011). In the following chapters, it is argued that the materiality of a cultural heritage site, such as the monastery under investigation, can influence people's valuation and understanding of it.

The reasons for choosing this theoretical framework for analyzing the monastery are varied. First, conceptualizing heritage as something that is constantly changing opens the way to multiple interpretations of what heritage is and does. In the context of armed conflict, such conceptualization helps us to further process and understand the ways heritage is (ab)used during conflicts and how these (ab)uses influence how people give meaning and value to their heritage. Additionally, such conceptualization highlights the need to turn our focus to the various ways conflict impacts the intangible nature of cultural heritage and the repercussions these have on the affected society and its post-conflict healing. Finally, this theoretical framework acts as an analytical tool that helps us scrutinize the interconnectedness between effects and actions in the relationship between cultural heritage and conflict.

In order to trace these processes of meaning-making, (re)interpretation and valuation, as well as the ways they have been unfolding through the ages, this thesis approaches the monastery from a so-called biographical perspective on landscapes, places and monuments (Roymans *et al.* 2009; Kolen and Renes 2015; Sørensen and Viejo Rose 2015). The biographical approach is nowadays more and more used in order to explore, reveal and analyze the effects various processes have on a place (in this case, a heritage site). Its usefulness lies on the possibilities it gives the researcher to look at a site from a broad and diachronic scope and thus explore these various changes and their impact, viewing the monument at each point in time as “layered” heritage. This approach is also in line with the theoretical framework briefly presented above, as it helps us to uncover and highlight the dynamic and fluid nature of heritage sites while emphasizing on the multiplicity of their interpretations.

In the following section I discuss the rich body of literature on the nature of cultural heritage and its relationship with conflict, hoping to establish a foundation based on which the monastery and its relationship with the Cyprus conflict will be analyzed.

1.1. Cultural heritage in armed conflict: an old relationship

The relationship of cultural heritage and armed conflict is a very complex one, that has been changing throughout time and in relation to socio-political contexts, differing social values and military technologies (Treue 1960). Throughout the ages, however, cultural heritage is consistently used during conflicts as a means to legitimize claims and showcase power, a tool to cause harm, support political demands and more. These (ab)uses take numerous forms, with the most distinct amongst them being physical destruction, looting and forced neglect (UNESCO 2015).

During the ages, research and practice have focused on preventing or mitigating the damages caused by conflict and on reconstructing cultural heritage affected by it. As a result, various academic studies have been conducted and many legal instruments, preventive policies and protective measures¹ as well as reconstruction protocols have been developed and established. These responses, however, were developed in a framework in which cultural

¹ For a concise historical overview of the various attempts to protect cultural heritage against the atrocities caused by armed conflict, please see Viejo-Rose, D. and M.L.S. Sørensen, 2015. Cultural Heritage and Armed Conflict: New Questions to an Old Relationship in Waterton, E. and Watson S. (eds). *The Palgrave Handbook of Contemporary Heritage Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. 281-296.

heritage was mainly appreciated for its material value. Therefore, they reflect and reproduce the ideology of culture as “property”; portrayed as only consisting of tangible “things” that remain passive victims during the conflict and need reconstruction after it (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015). An important issue regarding this conceptualization of cultural heritage, that is especially prominent in the earliest of these responses, is that it fails to acknowledge the innumerable ways the *intangible* dimensions of cultural heritage are also affected by conflict. Consequently, such conceptualization restraints our understanding of how to develop measures to protect cultural heritage against such (ab)uses.

More often than not, this view of cultural heritage also underlies post-conflict reconstruction initiatives. Such initiatives tend to prioritize the reconstruction of the physical aspects of the affected cultural heritage without taking into account the changes in their intangible dimension caused by conflict. In other words, they are usually not occupied with the changes that occurred during the conflict in the meanings and symbolisms that are attached to cultural heritage. Rather, they tend to treat cultural heritage as if it bears intrinsic values that exist separately from their social context and as if its reconstruction is an entirely technical process (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015, 10). Finally, such initiatives seem to not take into account that the reconstruction phase itself provokes the creation of more meanings and alters people’s perception of the specific heritage “thing” under reconstruction.

1.2. Cultural heritage: 20th century concepts

Relatively recently, our understanding of the interconnectedness between armed conflict and cultural heritage has changed dramatically due to our renewed understanding of the nuanced nature of cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is today thought to be, rather than a treasure of sorts, a part of a cultural process of meaning and values (re)generation. In this section, the most recent and widely accepted concepts of cultural heritage are presented in order to be later used as an academic groundwork on which the cultural heritage and armed conflict dyad, as well as the case study of this thesis, will be laid-out.

1.2.1. Cultural heritage as a process and the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD)

This thesis departs from an understanding of heritage as introduced by Smith (2006), as not only being a “thing” (an object, a building, a site, etc.) but also, and mainly, a cultural process; a continuous (re)generation of meanings and values. Smith (2006; 2011) argues that,

while the materiality of these “things” is important, it is only because of what goes on at them that they become heritage. Essentially, Smith supports that the places we perceive as heritage acquire the “nature” of heritage because of and during “a range of activities that include remembering, commemoration, communicating and passing on knowledge and memories, as well as asserting and expressing identity and social and cultural values and meanings” (Smith 2011, 23). Based on this conceptualization of heritage, the symbolisms wrapped around heritage “things”, the values attached, and the significance attributed to them are inextricably linked to their context and are not intrinsic to the “things” themselves.

Emphasizing the discursive layerdness of heritage is necessary in order to explore the pluralism of what heritage is and does, but also to deprivilege and denaturalize its tangible nature, that has been in the epicenter of heritage management since the 19th century through what Smith (2006) has termed the “Authorized Heritage Discourse” (AHD). The AHD, according to Smith, is a dominant western heritage discourse that “works to naturalize a range of assumptions about the nature and meaning of heritage” (Smith 2006, 4) and “promotes a certain set of Western elite cultural values as being universally applicable” (Smith 2006, 11). In essence, this discourse emphasizes the materiality of heritage “things” and assumes that they bear intrinsic cultural values deriving from their monumentality, material authenticity and aesthetics. Smith further argues that the AHD privileges the experts’ knowledge on what heritage means, promotes the idea that it is only them who can identify the innate values heritage ostensibly holds, and establishes experts as the only ones with the abilities and understanding to take care of heritage in order to be saved for future generations. Additionally, the AHD becomes further naturalized and self-evident by being institutionalized through a “range of national and international organizations and codes of practice” (Smith 2006, 28).

Understanding cultural heritage as a continuous process of meanings and values (re)generation, one safely concludes that conflict and post-conflict development initiatives deeply transform cultural heritage: they do not only change heritage physically, but also add new meanings, symbolic dimensions and values to its intangible matrix, influencing how people perceive and value it.

1.2.2. Material agency

Although exploring the discursive dimension of cultural heritage is pivotal in order to better understand what heritage is and does, one should not underestimate the impact and agency its

material dimension has. This thesis adopts the idea that a “thing’s” physical character, its shape, size and location affect the ways we interact with it, react to it and approach it (Olsen 2010; Hodder 2011), and they ultimately influence our phenomenological encounter with it (Latour 2005). In other words, this thesis adopts the idea that attributing meanings and values to a heritage “thing” is not a process irrelevant to the matter; it is deeply affected by it just as the matter is affected by the intangible.

In the context of armed conflict, it is argued here that cultural heritage has the ability to communicate the conflict and its aftermath through the tangible marks they left imprinted on it. Through its materiality, cultural heritage can be a means to call on memory and past events and to connect the affected heritage site to other sites and over generations (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose 2015, 7).

1.3. Recent theories of cultural heritage in the context of armed conflict and its aftermath

As above mentioned, the intersection of cultural heritage and armed conflict is a long-studied one, but relevant research has mostly focused on physical destructions and on the ways these can be mitigated. The one-sided emphasis put on the tangible nature of cultural heritage -and in the context of conflict- on matters of destruction and reconstruction, derives from the established and institutionalized understanding of cultural heritage as described above: being “something” that *only* consists of tangible qualities and innate values that reside in its physical properties and need to be protected. However, our renewed appreciation of the nuanced nature of cultural heritage highlights the need to delve further into this complex relationship in order to holistically examine what happens to cultural heritage during and after conflicts. Such an understanding can be achieved by identifying and analyzing the various ways these (ab)uses occur and by examining the repercussions these (ab)uses have on how heritage is perceived, understood and valued.

Conflict affects the physical integrity of cultural heritage in various ways: it is destructed, destroyed, looted or forcedly neglected, either deliberately or as a part of general violence (UNESCO 2015). Due to the tight interconnection between the tangible and intangible dimensions of cultural heritage, following the damages, new meanings, associations and symbolisms are inevitably generated while old ones fade away or get distorted. The relationship of cultural heritage and conflict, however, is not limited to this

material damage and on the moment is happening: the purposefulness and the consequences of such acts deeply affect their impact on the long term (Sørensen and Viejo Rose 2015). Cultural heritage, being not only a “site of struggle”, but also “a weapon used in the struggle”², can be destructed in order to severely harm a country’s tourism industry and economy, to destabilize societies, to destroy trust between communities, to achieve cultural cleansing and appropriate the occupied land, and more (Viejo-Rose 2011). This thesis argues that the effects of such kinds of violence are long-lasting and their impact can only be fully appreciated if investigated from a broader chronological perspective.

An important part of a site’s “biography” is its course in the aftermath of conflict, during which reconstruction efforts usually take place. It is argued here that the effects of conflict on cultural heritage are also present in the post-conflict period, as the (ab)uses it underwent during the conflict do not fade away easily: the propagandistic uses of heritage, its use as a “weapon” on the negotiation table or as mean to call on the atrocities, contaminate cultural heritage for a long period. Even if a cultural heritage site is completely reconstructed, restored, preserved in ruins or totally ignored, the effects of these actions are still present and make up the new post-conflict reality of the site (Sørensen and Viejo Rose 2015).

However, along with the old meanings and connotations, new ones are also added in the intangible matrix of the reconstructed cultural heritage. This is especially the case when the reconstruction efforts aim at the recovery of the affected society: while cultural heritage is used and transformed for such purposes, new (hopefully positive) meanings are being added to the site.

1.4. Biography of place

Biography of place, as a concept and an approach, is nowadays increasingly used to investigate the stories of cultural landscapes and other spatial environments and to, ultimately, illuminate and analyze their complex relationship with people (Gosden and Marshall 1999). Similarly to “things” in Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoffs’ (1986) important works and to landscapes, in the works of Dutch archaeologists (Kolen 1995; Kolen and Renes 2015; Roymans *et al.* 2009), approaching a place biographically can reveal the various

² Papadakis *et al.* (2006) has used these characterizations (“site of struggle” and “a weapon used in the struggle”) originally referring to history in the context of the Cyprus conflict.

processes it undergoes during its lifetime, it can help one analyze the effects that these processes have on it (physically and symbolically) and the changes they bring about in the meanings and symbolisms it bears. At the same time, a biographical approach can highlight the fluid and temporal nature of these places, that are constantly affecting, and becoming affected by, their social contexts.

This thesis argues that such an approach to the study of the Apostolos Andreas monastery allows for an understanding of the changes in the meanings and symbolisms it underwent in the years before, during and after the Cyprus conflict as well as an understanding of the processes, events and actors that led to these changes.

1.5. Scope of the thesis

The complex relationship of Cypriot cultural heritage and the Cyprus conflict is at the core of this thesis and it is investigated through the biographical study of the Apostolos Andreas monastery. The case study shows in detail how the monastery, being an ethnicized religious monument that has great significance to Greek Cypriots, has been (ab)used during the conflict and its long aftermath. Through scrutinizing these (ab)uses this thesis tries to trace the effects they had on the meanings, symbolisms and values attributed to it by Greek Cypriots over the years. Additionally, this thesis explores the ways the monastery itself, after being transformed by the conflict and its post-conflict reconstruction, influences behaviors and attitudes towards the conflict and its resolution. Finally, this thesis delves into the Greek Cypriots' perceptions of the monastery today, as documented in a questionnaire circulated for the purpose of this research and looks into the reconciliation prospect of the bi-communal restoration that the monastery is currently undergoing. It is argued that the results of this questionnaire reflect the most recent layer of the monastery's life history, that is built upon, and informed by, the earlier layers.

The reasons why this research focuses on the "Greek Cypriot" side of the monument and the interpretations and values Greek Cypriots attribute to it are varied. The monastery has been closely connected to the conflict and to the Greek Cypriot community's identity development. Being an ethnicized "Greek Cypriot" monument, the monastery is an ideal case study through which the ways conflict and cultural heritage are intertwined in the Greek Cypriot community can be illuminated and thoroughly analyzed. Additionally, the protracted conflict, the division of the island and my position in it as a Greek Cypriot, significantly expand my understanding of the perceptions Greek Cypriots have about the monastery and

further inform my analysis of the relationship between the conflict and the monastery. Nonetheless, a similar study of the Turkish Cypriot community's reading and valuation of the monastery should be added in the future as a necessary pendant of the monastery's biography. Thus, I consider this thesis to be the first step in a bigger project that will involve the changes in the Turkish Cypriots' understandings of the monastery through time as well.

1.5.1. Armed conflict and cultural heritage: the case of Cyprus

Cultural heritage destruction in Cyprus was flourishing as early as the 1960's, when the intercommunal conflict aroused. Hundreds of cultural heritage monuments were vandalized, deliberately damaged or left in decay and thousands of ancient and medieval artefacts were looted and sold in the international antiquities market (Georgiou-Hatzitofi 2000; Hadjisavvas 2001; Hardy 2009; Hardy 2010; Ismail 2001). This destruction was part of a practice of ethnic cleansing executed by extremists in both communities (Hardy 2015, 332); Cypriot cultural heritage, being ethnicized and divided in an orientalizing manner (Greek Cypriot culture being Christian and Turkish Cypriot culture being Muslim), was essentially instrumentalized to appropriate places, erase the "Other's" presence and highlight the "Self's" rights over the island.

Additionally, both communities have been widely communicating the destruction of "their" cultural heritage by means of news items, official reports, academic articles and legal cases (Committee for the Protection of the Cultural Heritage of Cyprus 1999; Chotzakoglou 2008; Jansen 2005; Knapp and Andoniadou 1998; Law Library of Congress 2009; TRNC Presidency 2006), as well as through their educational policies, all following a dominant narrative: "We" protect, "Others" destroy. Essentially, documenting and communicating the poor condition of (mostly religious) heritage sites acted as a means to emphasize a community's victimization (Constantinou *et al.* 2012, 178).

Relatively recently, cultural heritage on Cyprus has also been used in an attempt to promote peace and cooperation and to build up trust between the two communities. Such efforts include the Nicosia Master Plan, which aimed at restoring monuments and buildings (primarily churches and mosques) in both sides of the capital (Demetriades 1998, Kassinis 2015, 153) and the establishment of the bicomunal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) (Tuncay 2016), whose duties are the preservation, protection and restoration of cultural heritage monuments in Cyprus that are of significance to each community.

All in all, one could argue that even though these actions and approaches are varied, they all draw on a divisive notion of cultural heritage that derives from, and feeds into, the Cyprus conflict itself; one that portrays cultural heritage as either Greek (and Christian) or Turkish (and Muslim) (Constantinou and Hatay 2010; Demetriou 2015, 183).

1.5.2. The Apostolos Andreas monastery

The Apostolos Andreas monastery (fig. 1), dedicated to Saint Andreas the Apostle, is a highly symbolic monument to Greek Cypriots and a very important site for the Greek Orthodox Church. Other than its obvious religious significance, the Greek Cypriot population of the island attributes great historic value to the monastery that derive from its complex relationship with the island's political context. Being an ethnicized monument since its construction in the late nineteenth century, the monastery was (and still is) used as a means to prove the island's Greekness and, naturally, the Greek Cypriot rights over the island. After the island's final division in 1974, that found the monastery lying on "the other side" of the divide, it has become, more than anything else, a symbol of the Greek Cypriots' desire for "epistrofi" (in English: to return) (Tzortzis 2010, 38): a return to their lost homeland and to the situation as it used to be.



Figure 1. Apostolos Andreas monastery from above (after <https://twitter.com/undpcy/>, accessed on 28 April 2020, ©UNDP).



Figure 2. Map showing the location of Apostolos Andreas monastery on Cyprus. Google Earth (<https://earth.google.com/>, accessed on 3 October 2020).

The site is located in the easternmost point of the island of Cyprus (fig. 2), on the Karpas peninsula, which today lies within the *de facto* borders of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). The nearest village to the monastery is the village of Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz, in which a small number of “enclaved”³ Greek Cypriot local population still remains. The monastery complex includes an old small chapel that was built in the 15th century and a new church constructed in the late 19th century, as well as surrounding buildings dating in the late 19th-early 20th century that used to serve as accommodation facilities for visitors. Perhaps the most known part of the complex is the sacred spring (in Greek: ayiasmos, in Turkish: ayazma, is a spring that pours water thought to have healing properties) located at the shore next to the old chapel and believed to have been created by the Apostle himself.

Apostle Andreas is a Saint believed to be powerful and to have performed various miracles, thus many pilgrims were (and still are) seeking for his help when facing health issues. In order for their prayers to be heard, pilgrims would bring votive offerings, light prayer candles or consume the holy water. While the site has been a place of pilgrimage for

³ Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz is one of the few villages in the northern part of Cyprus that is still inhabited by a Greek-Cypriot population. Greek-Cypriots that remained in the north after the final partition of 1974 have acquired the status of the “enclaved” by the Republic of Cyprus and are provided with provisions and a monthly allowance from the state. Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz is also populated by mainland Turks (Loizides 2011; Hoffmeister 2002).

centuries, this deep interest in the monastery only aroused in the 20th century, when stories of many of these miracles were circulated among Cypriots. This interest was quickly translated into mass pilgrimage, crowded fairs and baptism ceremonies. However, every activity in the monastery was interrupted in 1974, when the final division of Cyprus (land and population wise) took place.

In the years between 1974 and 2003, when access to the northern part of the island was prohibited, pilgrims located in southern Cyprus were not able to visit the monastery. Pictures of the monastery were printed on the cover of primary school notebooks, accompanied by the “Dhen Ksehno” (in English: I do not forget) slogan, following the homonymous educational policy that aimed at the preservation of memory of children who fled from their villages, and the construction of an un-lived collective memory for children who were born in a divided island. The monastery was quickly established as a symbol of Christianity and Hellenism, “trapped” in the Turkish occupied part of the island; a lighthouse showing Greek Cypriots the way to “epistrofi” (in English: “to return”).

After the partial lifting of restrictions on movement between the two sides in 2003 and the subsequent opening of the checkpoints, the monastery became accessible again and people were allowed to visit it without any special permissions. Just like in the past, the monastery becomes quite crowded on two special occasions during the year: on August 15th (the Assumption day and the monastery’s inauguration date) and November 30th (on Saint Andreas Saint’s day). To this day, the monastery is perhaps the most popular destination for Greek Cypriots who choose to cross the divide and visit “the other side”.

But the prolonged conflict between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, lasting from the 1950’s onwards, and the years of neglect gave way to looting and destruction and let the monastery fall into decay. After many unsuccessful attempts for conservation and restoration by both sides and the United Nations (UN), and a partially accomplished project for the restoration of the chapel in 2002, an agreement was reached in 2013 between the leaders of the two communities. A restoration project, prepared by the University of Patras and undertaken by the bicomunal TCCH in Cyprus, was finally approved. The first phase of the project was completed in 2016 and the second (and final one) is expected to be completed in 2021. The project aims at not only the structural reinforcement of the monastery but also in promoting peace and reconciliation between the two communities which work together to save their “shared heritage”.

1.5.3. Problem definition

Cultural heritage in Cyprus is part and parcel of the conflict but studies dealing with cultural heritage and its politics in a critical manner are scarce. So far, research has focused on the physical damages caused to the monuments and to the looting of antiquities, and the results have been (ab)used in several ways. However, studying the politics of heritage in Cyprus can illuminate our understanding of the multiple ways cultural heritage has been (and still is) affected by the conflict as well as the ways cultural heritage itself affects the conflict and its resolution. Thus, this thesis aims to investigate how the conflict and its politics influence the ways the Apostolos Andreas monastery is perceived, valued and given meaning to through time (before, during and after the conflict) and in relation to the socio-political context, other events and factors. Additionally, this thesis aims to investigate how the monastery, being transformed by the conflict and its post-conflict reconstruction, can influence the shaping of Greek Cypriots' attitudes and behaviors toward the conflict. Thus, the over-arching research questions of this thesis are:

- **How does the conflict and its politics transform the monastery's tangible and intangible dimensions through time (before, during and after the conflict) and in relation to the political context, historic events and other factors?**
- **How does the monastery, after being transformed by the conflict and the post-conflict reconstruction it underwent, influence Greek Cypriots' attitudes and behaviors toward the conflict and its resolution?**

A number of sub-questions should be stated in order to come closer to answering this over-arching research questions:

1. How has the monastery been (ab)used and interpreted from its construction until today?
2. How does the materiality of the monastery (e.g. the tangible impacts of the conflict and the post-conflict reconstruction, the location of the site, the site's image and form etc.) influence Greek Cypriots' understanding and valuation of it through time?
3. What are the values, meanings, and symbolisms Greek Cypriots attribute to the monastery today?

Methodologically, this thesis is inspired by the works in the edited volume "War and cultural heritage: Biographies of place" (Sørensen and Viejo-Rose, 2015). My investigation,

therefore, involves a biographical study of the Apostolos Andreas monastery and examines how the political context in Cyprus, events and forces influence the ways the monastery is perceived by Greek Cypriots, as well as how the monastery itself affects Greek Cypriots' behaviors toward the conflict. This thesis is informed by the rich literature about Cyprus history and politics, especially concerning the recent history of the island (20th- 21st centuries), and by works that deal with the monastery's histories. Additionally, newspaper articles written in Greek that appeared in the Cypriot press during the period under investigation are examined, to trace the ways the press was referring to the monastery and how this has been changing through the years. Finally, an online questionnaire was created and distributed among a diverse body of Greek Cypriot public in order to obtain some sense of their experiences of the monastery and the ways they value and perceive it.

In the following chapters, I proceed in elaborating upon the results of my research while drawing on the theoretical framework presented above. In the first chapter, I give a brief introduction to the (recent) history of Cyprus in order to provide a background of the Cyprus conflict and its politics. Following, I discuss the reasons for choosing my approaches and tackle methodological matters in regard to the design, distribution and analysis of the above-mentioned questionnaire. The fourth chapter concerns the history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery in Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz. There, I approach the monastery from a so-called biographical perspective and relate its own history to the histories of the island, different actors and events. In the next chapter, the results of the said questionnaire are presented. These results, it is argued, reflect the most recent layer of the monastery's life history, that is built upon, and informed by, the monument's earlier layers. A discussion chapter is followed by the final conclusions of this thesis, in which the monastery's "biography" is unfolded.

2. A brief history of the Cyprus conflict

2.1. Setting the scene: Cyprus today

Cyprus is the third largest island in the Mediterranean, located in the “crossroad” of three continents: Asia, Africa and Europe. While the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) has *de jure* sovereignty over the entire island⁴, in practice, it only effectively controls one part of it. This is the case as the island is *de facto* divided in two main parts, commonly put as the southern and northern parts. The RoC administers the southern part of the island, which covers 61% of the island, while the self-declared Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), since its foundation in 1983, does so in the northern part of the island, which covers the remaining 36.2% (fig, 3).

The islands’ two main ethnic communities are the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots that mainly populate the respective parts. The population census carried out in December 1960, the first and only one that ever covered the entire island, indicates that during that year, circa 77% of Cypriots were Greeks, 18% Turkish and 5% others (including Maronites, Armenians, British, Gypsies and others) (<https://www.mof.gov.cy>). Today, one can only estimate the number of Cypriots living in both parts of the island as no similar population census was carried out since then, due to the inter-communal ethnic conflict that was intensified in 1963. In lieu of accurate new data, these figures are still widely cited as the approximate ones for the entire island.

Cyprus has been geographically and demographically divided as such for 46 years now as a result of long-standing inter-communal violence which peaked with the Turkish invasion in 1974. Since then, the island has been stuck in a stalemate.

⁴ The United Kingdom preserves under its control two Sovereign Base Areas on the island (Akrotiri and Dhekelia), granted to it according to the London and Zurich agreements.



Figure 3. Political map of Cyprus. ©Nations Online Project (<https://www.nationsonline.org/>, accessed on 28 April 2020).

2.2. The Cyprus conflict: an outline

The present analysis constitutes a very brief overview of the recent Cyprus history and does not aspire to record in all detail the developments that led to what we now know as the Cyprus problem. The analysis aims at outlining the social and historical events that framed the biography of the Apostolos Andreas monastery and which influenced the ways Greek Cypriots perceive the monastery throughout the years.

2.2.1. The communities: imported nationalisms and the lead up to the conflict

After the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottoman empire in 1571, many Muslims arrived at the island and were mixed with the local population, which was predominantly comprised of Orthodox Christians. It was as early as then that the island's population was divided based on religious beliefs so that administration and tax collection would be facilitated (Stavrides 2013, 115-116). Muslims and non-Muslims formed the two religious communities (*millets*) of Cyprus, with the second *millet* being administered by the Greek Orthodox Church (Stavrides 2013, 115).

When the British arrived at the island in 1878, they chose to sustain the Ottoman administrative distinction of Cypriots based on their religious beliefs while later in the colonial period the ethnic origins of each community were politicized through the establishment of the Legislative council (Ioannou 2017, 35; Bryant 2004, 15-48). By the 1920's Christians identified themselves as Greeks while Muslims determined themselves as Turks and both started reaching to their "national centers"- Greece and Turkey respectively (Loizos 2004). These nationalisms were translated in different demands for the island's faith after decolonization: Greek Cypriots were demanding *enosis*, the union of Cyprus with Greece, while Turkish Cypriots were supporting *taksim*, the island's partition. Up until the mid-20th century no violent conflict occurred between the two communities but the division between them kept increasing and being expressed on multiple levels, such as on the political and social organization, on spatial arrangements and interpersonal relationships (Ioannou 2017, 38).

2.2.2. The EOKA struggle and the TMT response

From 1955, the Greek Cypriot organization named EOKA (Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston- in English: National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) led an armed struggle against the British with the end goal being the union of the island with Greece (Hatzivassiliou 2013, 216-237). The four-year-long struggle, however, turned out to be not only a struggle against the British, but also a struggle against the ones who opposed *enosis*: the communists and the Turkish Cypriots (Drousiotis 1998; Pombouri 1994). A few years in the struggle, TMT (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı – in English: Turkish Resistance Organization), an armed organization expressing the Turkish Cypriots' demand for the island's partition, was formed. EOKA and TMT were fighting against each other while they both proceeded to multiple political assassinations of members of their ethnic communities who opposed their end goals (Pombouri 1999). As a result of instances of generalized ethnic violence, many Turkish Cypriots were forced to move from mixed villages to enclaves in 1958 (Patrick 1976). A year later, the British left the island and a treaty was signed for the establishment of an independent state, the Republic of Cyprus.

2.2.3. The independence, inter- and intra-communal conflict and the Turkish invasion

The treaty of establishment was signed on 15 August 1959 by Governor Foot, the Greek Cypriot community leader Archbishop Makarios, the Turkish Cypriot community leader

Fazil Kucuk and representatives of Greece and Turkey. Even though the constitution deemed *enosis* and *taksim* illegal, both communities were still intent upon these policies and continued working towards them with different means. The policies, which now had a strong symbolic character and ideological power among the population, were used as tools of para-state violence.

Soon after, in 1963, constitutional amendments introduced by the Greek Cypriot leadership under President Makarios led to the escalation of tension between the two communities. The Turkish Cypriots left the government as a sign of disapproving Makarios' actions and soon after, an isolated incidence of violence was followed by the eruption of generalized interethnic violence that lasted until 1967. Meanwhile, the United Nations (UN) arrives in Cyprus in 1964 to quell the violence and draws the green line: the east to west ceasefire line between the communities in Nicosia that divides the capital in two. By the end of the sixties, a few hundred Greek Cypriots were displaced from 6 mixed villages and 25.000 Turkish Cypriots were forced to evacuate their villages and move into enclaves, isolated from the rest of the island (Hardy 2015, 331).

2.2.4. The road to invasion

Both Turkey and Greece were continuously increasing their presence and influence on the island, thus undermining Cyprus' political independence. The Greek junta backed-up the formation of a paramilitary organization, named EOKA-B, that was staffed with a group of right-wing extremists still intent upon *enosis* (Ioannou 2017, 57-58). Meanwhile, the Turkish Cypriots were still isolated in enclaves, totally dependent on Turkey's support and controlled by TMT.

Disappointed on Makarios who turned away from the *enosis* rhetoric and started seeking for a more feasible solution to the Cyprus issue, EOKA-B executed a coup d'état on July 15th, 1974. The coup became the reason for the TMT-supported Turkish invasion that followed (Hardy 2010, 76). The offensive was within Turkey's right as a guarantor power of the RoC's integrity, granted to her (along with Greece and Britain) by the constitution of Cyprus. It left thousand dead or wounded and many missing, while some 45,000 Turkish Cypriots living in the south moved to the northern part of Cyprus and 165,000 Greek Cypriots living in the north were forced to move to the south. Additionally, Turkish settlers were brought from Anatolia and settled in the villages formerly inhabited by Greek Cypriots.

This is when the definitive partition of the island and its people as we know it today was completed.

No visible violent conflict occurred between the two communities since then; the dispute has been transferred into the political arena and the two communities have been facing each other with mistrust, fear and discomfort.

2.2.5. Inter-communal talks for a solution (1975-2003)

Soon after the division, the two communities proceeded to intercommunal talks with the goal of reaching a political settlement to the Cyprus issue. The first high-level agreement, defining the terms of reunification was reached by Makarios and Denktash in 1977. This agreement determined that any solution to the Cyprus problem should take the form of a bi-zonal, bicomunal federation with political equality for the two ethnic groups.

In 1983, the Turkish Cypriot authorities in the north unilaterally declared their independence and established a state under the name of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC). While the state was immediately recognized by the Turkish government, the declaration was condemned by the international community and judged invalid and illegal by the United Nations (Hadjisavvas 2015: 130, Hardy 2010: 77). Even though this move could have been a reason to halt the negotiations for a political settlement, these continued with some shorter or longer breaks, until 2017.

2.2.6. The Annan plan, EU accession and the Green line opening

A major reference point in the intercommunal talks was the jointly negotiated, UN-finalized plan for a solution, known as the “Annan Plan”, which Cypriots were called to vote on in separate referenda in 2004 (Pophaides 2009). A version of this plan was published in 2002 and, as expected, sparked a lot of reactions. In the meantime, Cyprus (solely represented by the Greek Cypriots) was approved to join the European Union (EU) as a full member, despite the on-going division on the island and the Turkish and the TRNC governments’ opposition. These developments and the reluctance of the two community leaders to reach an agreement provoked large scale protests by Turkish Cypriots, which led, in 2003, to the partial lifting of travel restrictions and the opening of the checkpoints that divide the island since 1974.

The border opening on 23 April 2003 led to an unprecedented phenomenon: thousands of Greek Cypriots seized the opportunity to cross the divide to visit their former villages and homes. Soon after, the RoC government announced that showing one’s passport

to cross the divide, which was a prerequisite in order to do so, would give validity to the “pseudo-state” and lead to the regime’s recognition. Despite these groundless warnings, an estimated amount of two hundred thousand Greek Cypriots crossed to the other side in the first two weeks after the opening. Today, it is estimated that about two thirds of the Greek Cypriot population have crossed the divide at least once (McKeown and Psaltis 2017, 395).

Even though the opening of the borders was accepted with enthusiasm, the referenda on the Annan Plan showed that a great majority of the Greek Cypriots was not yet ready to accept a solution in terms of a bicomunal and bizonal federation, or would rather prefer the *status quo* preservation. In terms of percentage 64% of Turkish Cypriots voted for the Annan Plan and 76% of Greek Cypriots rejected it. This result was, undoubtedly, a major step towards the consolidation of the island’s partition.

2.2.7. The 2006-2017 negotiations

Two years after the failed referendum, the newly elected President of the RoC and the leader of the Turkish Cypriots reaffirmed that both sides remained committed to a solution on the basis of a bicomunal bizonal federation. It is noteworthy that both Christofias and Talat were leftist politicians who were strong supporters of the two communities’ rapprochement and the solution of a bicomunal bizonal federation. However, these negotiations did not result in another plan before Dervis Eroglu, a known “hard-liner”, was elected as a President by the Turkish Cypriots in 2008.

Hopes for a solution were not raised again until the election of Akinci in the Presidency of TRNC in 2014, who defeated the right-wing Eroglu. Akinci was a left-wing, Cypro-centric politician and a strong supporter of a united, federal Cyprus. Similarly, the RoC’s President and member of the neo-liberal Democratic Rally, Nicos Anastasiades, was also in favor of finding a solution on that basis. Talks were agreed to be held in 2015 and two years later, the two leaders were holding constructive talks in Crans-Montana. However, a few weeks later the talks were brought to a halt after negotiations broke down in Mont Pelerin. Since then, the two leaders have not agreed on getting into negotiations again.

3. Methodology

As earlier mentioned, this thesis approaches the Apostolos Andreas monastery from a so-called biographical perspective in order to explore the degree to which the Cyprus conflict has affected/ affects the ways Greek Cypriots perceive and value the site today as well as the ways the monastery itself, after being transformed by the conflict and its post-conflict reconstruction, influences behaviors and attitudes towards the conflict and its resolution. For this thesis, several data sources were investigated in detail. These include:

[a] bibliographical sources:

- scholarly publications
- newspaper articles

[b] the results of a questionnaire designed for this thesis and completed by a varied group of Greek Cypriots.

This chapter will firstly explore the potential of the approach taken and then tackle methodological matters pertaining the use and analysis of the selected literature as well as the design of the above-mentioned questionnaire.

3.1. Biographical approach

The concept of biography is nowadays increasingly used outside of its original purpose, which is to present a subject's life story, and is applied to the study of landscapes, places, monuments and things. Biography of things, for example, as inspired by the anthropological study of material culture and especially the edited work of Appadurai (1986) "The social life of things" and the essay by Kopytoff (1986) "The cultural biography of things", is widely used in cultural studies today. What is argued in both works is that approaching things from a so-called biographical perspective can highlight how the life histories of things and people are intertwined, and reveal the ways a thing's values, meanings, symbolisms, and physical properties change through time. Additionally, it is argued that these things, not only bind the stories of individuals which created or used them with other individuals and whole generations but also have their own lives that run on different timescales and transcend generations and social contexts.

The concept of biography has also expanded to the study of landscapes. Of interest to this thesis is the concept of landscape biography as developed by Dutch archaeologists (Kolen 1995; Roymans 1995) in the 1990's. Similar to "things" in Appadurai (1986) and Kopytoffs' (1986) important works, it is argued that there is a strong and complex intertwining between landscapes and people, as landscapes "have the potential to absorb something of people's lives, works and thoughts" (Kolen and Renes 2015, 21) but also "shape their own life histories on different timescales, imprinted by human existence, affecting personal lives and transcending individual human life cycles" (Kolen and Renes 2015, 21). Building on these earlier works as well as on the work of the cultural geographer Marwyn Samuels (1979), this approach proceeds in studying landscapes from a *longue durée* perspective (from prehistory up to the present day), "viewing landscape at each point in time as the interim outcome of a longstanding and complex interplay between the history of mentalities and values, institutional and governmental changes, social and economic developments and ecological dynamics" (Roymans *et al.* 2009, 339). At the same time, this approach acknowledges the multi-layered nature of landscapes, viewing them at each point in time as "layered" landscapes. These layers, it is argued, are created because of, and in line with, the transformations a landscape undergoes through time, which "necessarily involve a reordering, reuse and representation of the past" (Roymans *et al.* 2009, 339). Finally, of interest to this thesis is also the acknowledgment this approach makes that "present-day heritage practices and related landscape discourses" (Roymans *et al.* 2009, 339) are also part of the reshaping and revaluing of places and landscapes and as such they need to be included in a landscape's biography as well.

Drawing on the afore-mentioned biographical approaches to things, landscapes and places, this thesis explores the life history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery, as developed from its construction until this day and views it, at each point in time, as a layered heritage site. In order to reconstruct the monastery's biography, a wide variety of written sources has been studied. The main body of them consists of scholarly literature, which includes publications on history, sociology, politics and religion in general and publications on the monastery's histories in particular. In addition to that, the approach is enriched by the study and analysis of newspaper articles (published between the late 19th century until this day) that refer to the monastery, retrieved from the archive of the Press and Information Office of Cyprus. These sources were analyzed with specific questions in mind, including: i) When was the monastery established, by whom and in which socio-political context? ii) How has the monastery been developed structurally through the ages? iii) What was the use of the

monastery and who were its users? iv) How have both the use and the users changed with time? Additionally, acknowledging that “present-day heritage practices and related landscape discourses” (Roymans *et al.* 2009, 339) are also part of the reshaping and revaluing of the monastery, this thesis explores the Greek Cypriots’ perceptions of the monastery today and looks into the reconciliation prospect of the bi-communal restoration that the monastery is currently undergoing, through the results of an online questionnaire. These perceptions, it is argued, being yet another layer of the monastery’s biography, are informed by, and built upon, its older layers.

3.2. Questionnaire

The online questionnaire⁵ was designed and distributed to the Greek Cypriot public from January 1st to February 30th, 2020.

3.2.1. Sample

The goal of this questionnaire was to create a quasi-representative sample of the population (which is, all Greek speaking Cypriot nationals with voting rights). In order to do so, the method of convenience sampling was chosen.

The sample comprises one hundred and fifty-three (153) Greek speaking Cypriot nationals that have or have not visited the monastery by the time they completed the questionnaire. Even though the questionnaire reached 175 people in total, only 153 of the completed questionnaires were selected for analysis. The criteria for choosing which questionnaires to analyze were that: i) participants have provided their background information (sex, age, and vote in the last parliament elections) in order to ensure sample diversity and to make future associations, and ii) participants have reached the end of the questionnaire (even if they left some questions unanswered). The second criterion was set in order to make sure that participants did not exit the questionnaire without reading all questions; instead while they read it through, they *chose* not to answer some of them.

In terms of sex (fig. 4), the sample consists of 66% (n=101/153) females and 34% (n=52/153) males. In terms of age (fig. 5), 17% (n=26/153) of participants are in the 18-29

⁵ Please refer to Appendix 1 for the complete questionnaire in Greek (original) or Appendix 2 for the complete questionnaire in English (translated).

age group, 26.8% (n=41/153) in the 30-44 age group, 41.8% (n=64/153) in the 45-65 age group and 14.4% (n=22/153) in the 65+ age group.

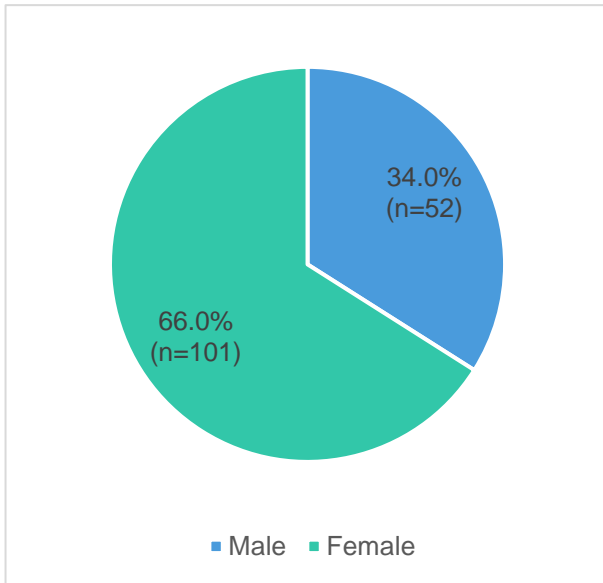


Figure 4. The questionnaire sample in percentages, classified by sex (created by the author).

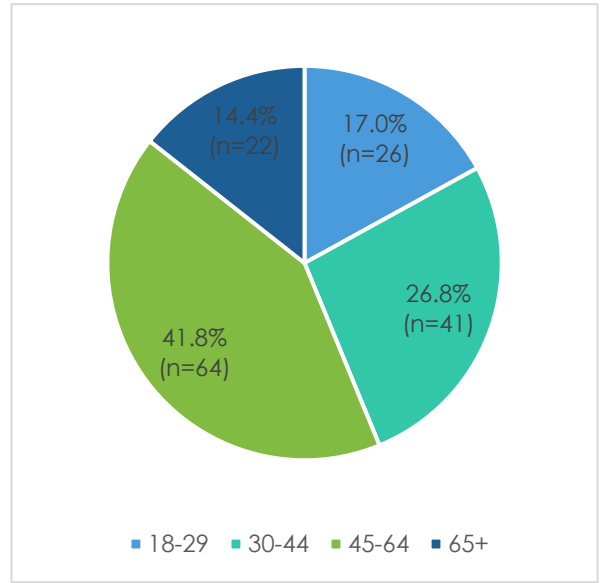


Figure 5. The questionnaire sample in percentages, classified by age group (created by the author).

3.2.2. Structure and justification

The questionnaire consisted of 16 unique questions, but not all of them were visible to all participants: some questions were only visible to participants who have visited the monastery, while others were only visible to the ones who have not. The questionnaire followed the usual online questionnaire structure, meaning a ‘page’ was dedicated to each question. The order of the questions was carefully designed so that participants would not be led to certain answers based on the way the next questions were phrased. For example, participants were first asked to express what the monastery symbolizes according to them in an open-ended question (Question 7) and were then asked to state the degree to which they think the monastery bears historic and/or religious value (Question 8). For the same reason, participants did not have the option to go “back” and edit their previous answers. In the following paragraphs the structure and justification for the questions posed will be provided.

The first page consisted of an introductory text which provided participants with some essential information about the survey, such as the questionnaire’s aim and some communication details of the researcher. Moreover, participants were informed about the

estimate time for the completion of the questionnaire and that they are free to omit any question if they so wish. Finally, they were ensured that their answers will remain confidential.

Following the introductory text, participants were asked to provide some basic identity information, such as sex and age. Additionally, they were asked to mention which party they voted for in the last parliament elections (2016). These intervals were added for sample diversity reasons as well as for making future associations.

After the introductory text and the identity enquiries was Question 1. Question 1 was a plain close-ended one, asking participants whether they have ever visited the Apostolos Andreas monastery by checking a box indicating “Yes” or “No”.

A follow-up close-ended question (Question 2) only visible to the ones who chose “Yes” was asking the approximate number of visits the participant paid to the monastery. Here, participants were only allowed to add a number.

Following, Question 3 was a close-ended one asking participants to indicate the time of their visit, with possible answers being “Before 1974”, “After 1974 and before 2003” and “After 2003”. The time periods were chosen to correspond to major events that determined the freedom of movement between the southern and northern parts of the island. The period between 1974 (when the Turkish invasion took place) and 2003 (when restrictions on movement were lifted) corresponds to the years during which the island was divided and movement between the two parts was prohibited. However, near the end of the 20th century, a number of Greek Cypriots was allowed to cross the divide and visit the monastery on August 15th each year, as part of a bicomunal agreement. Thus, a small number of Greek Cypriots had the opportunity to cross the divide and visit the monastery before the checkpoints opening. Participants were able to give more than one answer to this question.

Question 4 was a close ended one, asking about the purpose of their visit, with possible answers being “For pilgrimage”, “For a tama (in English: votive offering)” or “Other”. Participants who chose “Other” could provide the reason in the accompanying text box.

Question 5 was an open-ended question only visible to participants who have never visited the monastery, asking them for an explanation, if any.

The aim of these questions was to examine the monastery's visitation especially among the people who were born after the partition of the island, that were only able to visit it (without any special permission) post 2003. The purpose of their visit as well as the reasons for not visiting the monastery are also relevant in order to understand the ways participants interact with the monastery. This information is useful as the ways people interact with a cultural heritage site determine the values people attach to it.

Question 6 was a plain close-ended question, inquiring whether participants identify themselves as Orthodox Christians or not, by checking a box indicating "Yes" or "No". This question aimed at examining if there is any association between religious beliefs and the values attached to the monastery.

Question 7 was an open-ended one, with a maximum limit of words set to five hundred (500), encouraging participants to express what the monastery symbolizes according to them. The form of the question as an open-ended one was intentionally used in order to avoid any "leading" replies.

Question 8 was a close ended one asking participants to indicate the degree to which they agree with the statement "To me, the monastery of Apostolos Andreas is of historic value" by choosing one (1) out of six (6) options ranging from "Completely Agree" to "Completely Disagree". Using the same structure of question, participants were also asked about their perception of the monastery's religious value. This question aimed at identifying how much of a historic and religious value people attach to the monastery and compare the results to the previous question (Question 7). It was intentionally placed after Question 7, so people would not give prejudiced answers to the first one.

Question 9 was a plain close-ended one, inquiring whether participants knew that Apostolos Andreas monastery has been under restoration works by the (bicomunal) Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage in Cyprus (TCCH). The aim here was to examine how (un)known these works are among the population.

Question 10 was also a plain close-ended one, inquiring whether participants have visited the panel exhibition located at the site of the church displaying the works of TCCH. This question was only visible to participants who mentioned they knew about the works. The aim of this question was to examine how visible the exhibition is and if it plays any role in spreading the message of collaboration between the communities.

Question 11 was a close ended one asking participants how they find the fact that the restoration works have been undertaken by the bicomunal TCCH by choosing one (1) out of three (3) answers between “I like it” “I do not like it” and “Neither like it nor dislike it”. Furthermore, participants were asked to provide an explanation for their answer. This question aimed at mapping the views of the participants about the bicomunal nature of the team behind the restoration.

Similarly, Question 12 was a close ended one, asking participants how they find the fact that the restoration works have been co-founded by the Church of Cyprus and the Evkaf Foundation⁶. Participants could choose one (1) out of three (3) answers between “I like it” “I do not like it” and “Neither like it nor dislike it”. Following the same structure as the previous question (Question 11), participants were asked to provide an explanation. Question 12 had the same aim as the previous one, but it was deliberately asked separately, to examine any differences.

Question 13 was also a plain close-ended one, inquiring whether participants knew that the monastery has been and still is a holy place for the Muslim community of the island as well. Participants were asked to answer this question by checking a “Yes” or “No” box. This question aimed at identifying possible patterns between the (un)awareness of the significance the monastery has to Muslim population and the (un)likeness of the bicomunal nature of the restoration works. It was deliberately placed after Questions 11 and 12, in order to produce as honest replies as possible.

Question 14 was a close-ended one and sought to introduce the idea of a connection between cultural heritage and peacebuilding in communities affected by conflict. After a short reference to relevant studies and to the aims of the TCCH, participants were asked if they believe that this is or could be a successful practice in the case of the Apostolos Andreas monastery. Participants were able to choose one (1) out of six (6) options, ranging from “I completely agree” to “I completely disagree”. Furthermore, they were asked to provide an explanation of maximum five hundred (500) words.

Question 15 was a close-ended one, asking participants whether they have any personal memories of the monastery. Some examples were provided for clarification reasons. Participants could answer the question by checking a “Yes” or “No” box, while the ones who

⁶ Evkaf is a Muslim institution in Cyprus, which was founded in 1750 and handles property donations made by believers.

answered positively were able to add an explanation. This question aimed at examining if there is a pattern on the ways people who have never visited the monastery have memorialized it (e.g. through pictures or stories told by their parents, etc.).

Finally, Question 16 was a close-ended one asking participants whether they have noticed any significant change in the ways Greek Cypriots give value or meaning to the monastery, or in the ways they perceive the monastery, over the years. Participants were able to choose between a “Yes” and “No” answer. The ones who replied positively, were asked to provide an explanation.

The questionnaire ends with a ‘Thank you very much for your participation’ note.

4. The history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery

The Apostolos Andreas monastery, once a widely visited site of great religious value, is today considered the most powerful symbol of the Greek Cypriots' struggle for "*epistrofi*" (return, in English): a return to a lost land, to a situation, to Cyprus as it used to be. Delving into the history of Apostolos Andreas monastery, this chapter aims to show how the connections between the social and political context, the monastery's material agency as well as the uses of it by various actors and in different situations, affect the ways Greek Cypriots perceive and value it through time. Additionally, this chapter aims to illustrate how the monastery itself, after being transformed by the conflict, influence Greek Cypriots' attitudes and behaviors toward the conflict. These will be illuminated through the use of scholarly literature and archival work and, later in this thesis, with the results of a relevant questionnaire. The changing meanings of the monastery and the processes and mechanisms behind them are brought to the front through the analysis of these data.

The chapter is divided in five parts which are mainly organized in historical sequence. The first part introduces the reader to the monastery's location and the most widely accepted story of its establishment. The second one explores the monastery's history from its establishment in 1867, up to the period that it became one of the most popular pilgrimage sites of the island in the early 20th century. The third part analyzes the monastery's subtle contribution in the Cyprus conflict, from the period right before the anti-colonial struggle to the Turkish invasion in 1974. In part four, the period between 1974 and 2004 is explored, in order to trace the process of ruination that the site has been through, as well as the ways the site has been presented and used by the Greek Cypriot media and official education. The last part focuses on the period between 2004 and 2020, during which the final agreement on the monastery's restoration by the bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) was signed after years of negotiations. During this period, a large part of the restoration project, which aimed, amongst others, at establishing the monastery as a symbol of peace and cooperation between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, was completed.

4.1. Location and foundation narrative

The Apostolos Andreas monastery is located in the Karpas peninsula, in the easternmost tip of the island and is part of an area included in the Natura 2000 network. The monastery is

within the administrative boundaries of Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz. Before the island's partitioning in 1974, the village was solely inhabited by Greek Cypriots, while nowadays its population is comprised of mainland Turks and a small number of "enclaved" Greek Cypriots.

The stories behind the monastery's foundation are varied, vague and incoherent. However, the most widely accepted one supports that Saint Andreas found his way to the island accidentally, after he was forced to flee from Palestine for being one of Christ's students. According to the legend, during his stop on the island he miraculously created a sacred spring (in Greek: ayiasmos, in Turkish: ayazma) in the dry rock that is flowing to this day. Returning to the ship by which he traveled there, he used the water to cure the captain's blind son, who is said to have later built a temple at the site to honor the Apostle (Klirides 1952, 78-81). Even though Jeffrey (1918, 257), a British architect at the time, argues that this legend is not mentioned by the ancient chroniclers, this myth fed the belief that the water pouring from this spring has the power to heal all eye diseases.



Figure 6. The sacred spring (in Greek: ayiasmos, in Turkish: ayazma) at the Apostolos Andreas monastery (2016). Photo by the author.

Before the mid-19th century, the only constructions in the area were the old 15th century chapel and some huts used as shelters by Rizokarpasites (the inhabitants of Rizokarpaso) dealing with agriculture in the nearby fields (Kokkinoftas 2009, 21). This old chapel is located in close proximity to the sea and it is enclosed to the east by a tall masonry

wall for protection reasons. On the other side of this masonry wall and 2 ½ meters below, lies the Apostolos Andreas sacred spring (fig. 6). The new temple was completed in 1867 and is a typical example of Cypriot temple architecture of the mid-19th century, assimilating forms of local traditional architecture with neo-Gothic, neo-Renaissance and neo-Classical influences (fig. 7).



Figure 7. Apostolos Andreas monastery from above (after <https://twitter.com/undpcy/>, accessed on 28 April 2020, ©UNDP).

4.2. Becoming a Pancyprrian pilgrimage site

Cypriots' interest in the monastery sparked in the early 20th century because of a “miracle” the Saint was said to have performed at the time (Luke 1914, 158). The story takes place in March 1912, when a woman from Asia Minor “miraculously” found her lost son, who was kidnapped and converted to Islam by the Turks in the age of twelve. According to the story, the woman saw a person in her sleep, whom she identified as being Saint Andreas, telling her that if she wanted to hear from her son she would have to go for a pilgrimage in the Saint’s monastery on Cyprus. On her way to the island, she met a young dervish who turned out to be her lost son. This “miracle” was cited in various newspapers of the time (Empros 22 March 1912, 2; Foni tis Kyprou 6 April 1912, 24; Eleftheria, 6 April 1912, 24) and became the main story of poems written and performed by Cypriot popular poets (in Greek:

“poietarides”).⁷ The popularity of the monastery during that time was also translated in some structural additions to the complex: functional rooms were constructed on the three sides of the temple, supported by arcade galleries, while later in the 20th century, a rectangular building which used to house the synodical and other formal rooms (1914), an accommodation building for visitors and an octagonal fountain in the western yard of the monastery (c. 1920) were also built.

Apostolos Andreas never followed any characteristics of a monastery organized and inhabited by a monastic fraternity, thus pilgrims were able to visit without any restrictions. Pilgrims would visit the monastery throughout the whole year, but it used to become quite crowded on two special days: November 30th, on Saint Andreas saint’s day and August 15th, on the anniversary of the monastery’s inauguration. The highlight of these celebrations was a big fair (in Greek: *paneyiri*, in Turkish: *panayır*) that used to attract thousands of people. During the fair, visitors would exchange products but also be entertained in groups, listen to music, sing and dance (Vassilis and Lazarides 2006, 53). While the fair is not taking place nowadays, Turkish retailers have established semi-permanent constructions in the monastery’s courtyard in which they exhibit and sell their products daily (fig. 8).



Figure 6. The semi-permanent stalls of Turkish retailers in the courtyard of the monastery (2018). Photo by the author.

⁷ A *poietaris* is a popular poet who would not only write poems but also tour around towns and villages, usually taking advantage of large gatherings (such as festivals and fairs) where he would recite or sing poems.

Based on the widely acceptable belief that the Apostle could heal any diseases, pilgrims were bringing offerings (in Greek: *tamata*) made of wax, silver or other (precious) metals, in the shape of the deceased body part or in the shape of a person, and were placing them in front of the Saint's icon, hoping that he will heal them (Tsiknopoulos 1967, 36). Additionally, pilgrims would visit the monastery to consume and collect water from the spring that is thought to be sacred, lit candles and make wishes in regard to their own's or close relatives' health. Even though this belief and traditions still exist to this day, the offerings are considerably less than in the past (fig. 9).



Figure 7. Votive offerings (Harmanşah 2016, 487).

4.3. Ethnic identity, *enosis* and the monastery

Although the monastery started out as a monument of great significance to the Christian population of the island, and one to which its users mainly attributed religious values, the meanings and symbolisms associated with it today are undoubtedly much more varied and complex. This is the case because the monastery's own biography did not develop independently of context; it emerged as a part of the wider framework of the island's sociopolitical events, in which the monastery itself was directly or indirectly involved.

The development of the Greek and Turkish ethnic nationalisms on the island in the early 20th century (with which Christians and Muslims, respectively, identified), found the

monastery acquiring an ethnic (Greek) character as well. During the first half of the 20th century, for example, miracles performed by the Saint concerning Greeks who were vindicated, after being harmed by Turks, flooded the press and became the inspiration for poems and songs that were reproduced throughout the island⁸. At the same time, the monastery was contributing to the diffusion of these nationalistic ideologies among the population. Following the policies of the Church of Cyprus, which during the British/colonial period was identified ideologically, historically and practically with Greek education, the monastery undertook the protection of the primary school of the village and provided aid to the community for the foundation of a secondary school. As the schools' protector and main benefactor, it made sure that Greek history, Christian indoctrination and ecclesiastical music were added as courses in the curricula (Kokkinoftas 2007,186).

Additionally, during the first half of the 20th century, following other monasteries on the island and the Church of Cyprus' official policies, Apostolos Andreas contributed financially to initiatives that promoted the Greek Cypriot demands for *enosis* on an international level. Indicatively, it participated in the fundraiser for the Greek Cypriot delegation that would travel to the UK to communicate the Greek Cypriot demands on the national issue, in view of a Congress in Paris about the future of Europe in 1914 (Neon Ethnos 26 December 1914, 13; Foni tis Kyprou 26 December 1914, 13). Later, it provided fund support to the delegation formed by the bishop of Kition, Nikodimos Mylona, (1918-1937) and Stavros Stavrakis, a member of the Legislative Council, who traveled to the United Kingdom in 1929 to promote the Greek Cypriots' national demands (Eleftheria 13 July 1929, 1). Additionally, the monastery donated money to an initiative supporting Greece's struggle against Italy during World War II (Neos Kypriakos Fylax 20 December 1940, 3), as the collaboration of Greece and Britain made the prospect of *enosis* as a post-war settlement to appear likely in the minds of Greek Cypriots (Yiangou 2014, 107).

The end of World War II found Greek Cypriots disappointed as their demands were not met. Almost a decade later, these were expressed through the EOKA (Ethniki Organosi

⁸ See for example the abovementioned miracle that bolstered the monastery's popularity early in the 20th century. For more examples, please see: Kokkinoftas, K. 2009. I Moni tou Apostolou Andrea. Nicosia, p. 124 (n.42) and p. 127 (n.58). Another interesting "miracle" took place in 1941, when an old lady said that the saint miraculously threw her on the floor and while they were conversing he told her to shout out loud three times "Zeto i Ellas" meaning "Long live Hellas" (see: Kypriakos Fylax 19 August 1941, 1). It seems that these miracles were responding to the Greek Cypriots' need for national validation, simultaneously feeding into the nationalistic discourse that wants Greek and Turkish Cypriots as eternal rivals.

Kyprion Agoniston- in English: National Organization of Cypriot Fighters), struggle, which lasted until 1959. The Church of Cyprus had already reaffirmed its position in the leadership of the struggle and supported it in practice. The Apostolos Andreas monastery did not remain uninvolved: not only did it contribute financially to the struggle, but it also became a shelter for persecuted EOKA fighters. This seems to have been known to the British security forces, as they would carry out investigations in the monastery to search for the perpetrators after received attacks. An example of such an investigation took place in 1956, after a bomb attack to a British military camp in the nearby village of Yialousa/ Yeni Erenköy, that caused injuries to two British soldiers (Alithia 05 March 1956). Additionally, in November 1956 the Greek Cypriot press reports a similar, thorough investigation that aimed at finding hidden ammunition and wanted persons (Eleftheria 25 November 1956).

On an ideological level, the monastery was being established as a symbol of Hellenism and thus a proof of the island's Greekness, justifying the Greek Cypriot demands for *enosis*. This process was not only developed on a systematic level but also by individual, symbolic moves. Examples of such individual moves include EOKA fighters who made an "offering" (in Greek: *tama*) to travel to the monastery on foot when approaching to the struggle's end, as a way to express their gratitude to the Saint (Ethnos 11 April 1959; Ethnos 12 April 1959; Eleftheria 23 April 1959; Phileleftheros 10 May 1959).

4.4. Independence, inter- and intra-communal violence, and the monastery

The failure of the EOKA struggle and the birth of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960 did not put a halt to the Greek Cypriots' aspirations for *enosis*, even though the policy was considered illegal by the Constitution. The monastery, as well as other cultural heritage monuments, served as a tangible proof of the island's Greekness, granting a validation to the Greek Cypriot demands. The alleged validity of these demands also meant that Turkish Cypriots' desire for *taksim* and double union, expressed through the intercommunal conflict that was taking place between 1963 and 1967, was unjust.

This correlation of the monastery with Hellenism was not only expressed by members of the disappointed Greek Cypriot population but also by the authorities. During the monastery's centenary celebrations in 1967 and after an initiative taken by the President of Cyprus himself, a fair was organized for which the Saint's skull would be sent to Cyprus

from Patras, Greece. On October 7th of the same year, the skull arrived by sea on a Greek cannon-class destroyer and was transported to the monastery via a motorcade passing through Karpas villages adorned with raised Greek flags. At the monastery, a military procession by soldiers of ELDYK (Elliniki Dynami Kyprou, in English: Hellenic force in Cyprus) attributed homage to the Saint's relic (Kokkinoftas 2009, 175-179). President Makarios' speech at the monastery would leave no doubt that the islands' political leadership was still intent upon *enosis* while simultaneously condemning the Turkish Cypriots' desire for *taksim* and double union, as expressed during the intercommunal conflict:

"This monastery, located on the edge of Cyprus, which is now blessed through Saint Andreas' holy relic, is the southernmost geographical border of Greece. It is a border that was created and defined by the blood of Saints and of the Nation's martyrs. We will never accept cropping and limiting these borders. Faithfull to our religious and ethnic ideals, from which we draw courage and strength, we will continue to fight until Greek Cyprus becomes part of the indivisible and unified space of Greece, until this Greek megalonisos (in english: the big island)⁹ is united with the Great Homeland, Greece." (Kyprios 09 October 1967, 1).

In the meantime, due to the rapid popularity the monastery was gaining, more accommodation buildings, a restaurant for the pilgrims as well as the Archbishop's palace were raised after the end of the colonial rule in the 1960's. By then, the monastery had the capacity to accommodate around 400 visitors.

4.5. The monastery as a symbol of Greek Cypriots' struggle to "return"

Seven years after Makarios' speech and the temporary halt put on the intercommunal fights, on July 15th, 1974, a criminal coup d'état backed up by the Greek Junta and executed by EOKA B' was the pretext for the Turkish invasion that followed. During the Turkish advance in the peninsula the monastery was used as a shelter for the inhabitants of the nearby villages but a few days after the second part of the Turkish offensive, on August 19th, the Turkish troops entered the monastery (Zarvos 1990, 106).

After the Turkish invasion in 1974, the island's final partition and the forced population movements, the monastery, which was by then part of the occupied territory, was

⁹ Μεγαλόνησος/megalonisos (in English: the big island) is an adjective commonly used by both Greeks and Greek Cypriots up to this date to describe Cyprus: it implies that Cyprus is the biggest amongst the Greek islands.

neglected and left in decay. Even though Father Zaharias, an “enclaved” Greek Cypriot from the nearby village of Yialousa/ Yeni Erenköy, moved to Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz and undertook the monastery’s protection, it never again operated as usual. Since then and until the partial lifting of restrictions on movement in 2004 news on the monastery’s condition were limited and unreliable¹⁰.

The fact that Greek Cypriots living in the south could not cross the divide to visit the monastery for decades¹¹ and did not have a clear picture of what was taking place there, contributed to their growing concern about the monastery’s condition. It was only until the 15th of August 1997, when some 600 Greek Cypriots were allowed to visit the monastery after an intervention of the United Nations (UN) (Phileleftheros 22 April 1997, 3; Phileleftheros 17 August 1997, 14). Since then and until the lifting of restrictions on movement in 2003, a number of Greek Cypriots were allowed to visit the monastery every year on November 30th and August 15th. The longing for visiting the monastery again was strong: a newspaper article reports that some 10,000 applications for a visit were submitted in the first year this policy was applied, while only 600 of them were going to be accepted. (Phileleftheros 08 October 1997, 1).

Although being a historical moment of showing respect to the Christian users of the monument, the decision to cross the divide with the “permission” of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) authorities provoked reactions among Greek Cypriots. The members of the Pancyprian Anti-Occupation Movement (in Greek: Pankyprio Antikatoxiko Kinima) (PAK), the association Unconquered Kerynia (in Greek: Adouloti Kyrenia) and relatives of the missing persons, expressed strong opposition to the organized visit to Apostolos Andreas monastery on September 13, 1998, during the annual anti-occupation event at the Ledra Palace checkpoint. The PAM President, Aris Hadjipanayiotou, mentioned that *“the religious visits to the Apostolos Andreas monastery are only made possible with the permission of the occupying regime and by buses owned by the pseudo-state”* (Phileleftheros

¹⁰ See for example: Phileleftheros 18 November 1976, 1 “The Dektash administration seeks to convert the Apostolos Andreas monastery into a nightclub; Simerini 26 September 1986, 14 and Phileleftheros 27 September 1986, 5 “Animals will be enclosed by fences and a zoo will be constructed for touristic reasons in Apostolos Andreas monastery”; Simerini, 30 November 1988 “Shock. The Attilas turned the Apostolos Andreas monastery into a pigsty”.

¹¹ Even though the service never stopped taking place after 1974, as Father Zacharias remained in the monastery, “enclaved” Greek Cypriots were not allowed to attend the service until 1978 (See: Simerini 02 December 1978, 1; Ammochostos, 19 August 1978, 2; Kyprios 02 February 1976, 4). Since then and almost every year on August 15th and November 30th, the monastery was open to the “enclaved” Greek Cypriots of the Karpas peninsula.

07 September 1998, 14). He further argued that the organized visit to the monastery is an indirect recognition of the pseudo-state (Phileleftheros 10 September 1998, 1). This kind of rhetoric, that wants people who cross the divide symbolically “recognizing” the illegal and internationally not-recognized TRNC by showing their passports, is very popular to this day. However, before entering the sphere of the symbolic, recognizing TRNC by showing your passport was a real fear, spread by many voices of politicians and the media. The spreading of this fear by mainstream politicians stopped soon after the cross points’ opening, when Alekos Markides, the former Attorney General, explicitly stated that no citizen has the ability to recognize a state (Ioannou 2019, 100).

When the TRNC unilaterally declared independence in 1983, the monastery was already established as a source of faith and hope and a symbol of the Greek Cypriots’ struggle to “return”¹². Around the same time, the “I do not forget” (in Greek: “Dhen Ksehno”) slogan has been introduced as the description of Cyprus’ new educational policy. This policy aimed at producing *unlived* collective memories of the war and the occupied territories to younger generations (Zembylas *et al.* 2016, 61). “I do not forget” was expressed through abundant photographs depicting civil and religious monuments “left” in the north as well as through references to the war and the “lost lands”, displayed in educational spaces and described in educational material (Zembylas *et al.* 2016, 61). The Apostolos Andreas monastery is one of those monuments whose picture is reproduced on the cover of all primary school notebooks and is accompanied with the slogan itself. The monastery, being a site loaded with symbolisms, is once again mobilized for ethno-didactic purposes: it is a site symbolizing the violence against “Us” and simultaneously representing the barbaric “Other”.

4.6. The monastery in decay: heritage politics and peace-building efforts

In the years between 1974 and 2003, when access to the northern part of the island was prohibited, Greek Cypriots’ concern and uncertainty pertaining the condition of the monastery and its treatment (or the lack thereof) by the TRNC was continuously growing.

¹² For a number of newspaper articles referring to the monastery after 1983 as a symbol of “return”, please see: Phileleftheros 29 November 1983, 10; Phileleftheros 30 November 1984, 4; Phileleftheros 27 November 1985, 8; Simerini 19 April 1986, 10; Simerini 14 August 1986, 1; Simerini 14 August 1987, 12; Aneksartitos 30 November 1987, 3; Simerini 30 November 1987, 1; Simerini 26 November 1988, 11; Simerini 30 November 1988, 12; Phileleftheros 14 August 1992, 20).

Naturally, the trust between the two communities was even more broken as the lack of conservation was translated into a lack of respect. However, while the monastery and other cultural heritage monuments in the north were in dire need for restoration, the government of the Republic of Cyprus, the sole internationally recognized authority on the island, citing the Hague Convention of 1954, declared any professional works regarding the protection, preservation and restoration of antiquities by the TRNC administration an illegal activity. The chance that the monastery would not collapse was thus eliminated. Nonetheless, the TRNC Department of Antiquities did some conservation and restoration works; but they were not enough (Simerini 26 January 1990, 16; Phileleftheros 09 July 1995, 36).

By the end of the 20th century, the United Nations decided to simultaneously repair the Apostolos Andreas monastery and the Hala Sultan mosque in Larnaca, aiming at creating a “positive climate” before the second round of negotiations for a solution kicked off later in the year (Phileleftheros 18 January 2000, 24). For the next couple of years, both monuments underwent some conservation works that were unexpectedly suspended due to oppositions raised by the Greek Cypriot community in relation to the official restoration plan. According to the International Religious Freedom Report published on the United States (US) Department of State website:

“Despite agreement between the Government of Cyprus and the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus on the particulars of the Apostolos Andreas restoration project, some Greek Cypriots oppose the plan to remove some relatively recent construction on top of the monastery in order to enable experts to best preserve the historic structure underneath. Pressure from those opposing the official restoration plan has resulted in suspension of work at the monastery.” (US 2004).

More specifically, the study by the Italian expert Giorgio Grossi suggested demolishing the rooms above the arcades of the monastery in order to preserve and strengthen the masonry and the roof to be effective. According to assessment studies, these rooms were of no significant archaeological value as they dated from the 1930’s, and thus built later than the rest of the building. The opponents of this view (the locals, archaeologists, organized groups of people and others) supported that the temple and the rooms comprised a single architectural set that should be preserved as a whole. The demolition of a part of the whole, according to them, would change the monastery’s image and shape (as preserved in the personal and collective memory of Greek Cypriots), alter the monastery’s unique identity, and damage its authenticity. A year later, the elaboration of a new plan was assigned to a

team of experts from the University of Patras in Greece¹³. However, Greek and Turkish Cypriot politicians did not manage to agree on the project's administration and since then, the attempts made for restoration were in vein.

The partial lifting of restrictions on movement to and from the territories administered by the TRNC in April 2003 found thousands of Greek Cypriots crossing to visit the monastery and express their faith in the Saint. For the first time after 37 years, Greek Cypriots witnessed the crumbling monastery; the demand for its restoration was escalated and the feelings of disappointment and anger for the authorities' delays were risen.

4.7. The bi-communal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage and the Apostolos Andreas monastery

Eventually, the project prepared by the University of Patras was approved in February 2013 after the signing of two historical contribution agreements between the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Church of Cyprus and the Evkaf administration, that made it the first ever heritage project being fully funded by bodies of the two communities (UNFICYP 2013). The project, organized by the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) with the support of the European Union (EU) and UNDP did not only aim at protecting, restoring and conserving the monastery, but also at promoting cooperation between the two communities and contributing to peace building.

¹³ For parts of this discussion see Phileleftheros 15 November 2002, 13; Phileleftheros 14 July 2002, 24; Phileleftheros 17 October 2003, 3; Phileleftheros 28 October 2003, 28; Phileleftheros 30 September 2003, 6; Phileleftheros 10 May 2003, 4; Phileleftheros 06 July 2003, 6; Phileleftheros 08 July 2003, 28; Phileleftheros 22 October 2003, 28.



Figure 8. Restoration works in progress (2016). Photo by the author.

The first phase of restoration works lasted until 2016 and included, amongst other things, the full restoration of the church, the extension of the existing women's gallery (in Greek: gynaikonitis), the restoration of the ambon, the iconostasis and of 58 icons (fig. 10). Currently the project is in Phase B, that aims at the restoration of the old chapel and the fountain and is expected to be completed by 2021.

On the ceremony for the completion of the first phase of restorations, Takis Hadjidemetriou and Ali Tuncay (co-chairs of the TCCH) commented:

"Together, as Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots, we are sending out the message that culture has no political or religious borders. I am not saying that we never had problems, but we always did our work with love. What shines bright at Apostolos Andreas now, is the glory of our cooperation." Takis Hadjidemetriou (Chair of the TCCH)

"In nearby geographies, we are watching as cultural heritage is ruthlessly destroyed. We are sending a different message: cultural heritage, when used correctly, has the potential to serve to bring different societies and cultures together." Ali Tuncay (Chair of the TCCH)

From this time on, numerous announcements by the UNDP and TCCH as well as public comments and newspaper articles refer to the monastery as a "symbol of peace and cooperation".

4.8 Conclusion

As this bibliographic survey illustrates, while the Apostolos Andreas monastery was, for a short part of its early history, a monument mainly associated with religious values, the meanings and symbolisms attributed to it through its life history are undoubtedly much more varied and complex. This chapter revealed how the Cyprus conflict and related sociopolitical events, in which the monastery itself was directly or indirectly involved, have influenced the meanings and values Greek Cypriots attribute to the monument through the ages. Additionally, the chapter illuminated how the monastery itself, through its material agency (e.g. the tangible impacts of the conflict on the monastery, the location of the site, the monastery's image and form etc.) played an explicit role in the development of the conflict.

More specifically, "The history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery" chapter revealed how the monastery, being an ethnicized monument already since its foundation, served as a proof of the island's Greekness and granted a validation to the Greek Cypriot demands for *enosis* with Greece, both before and after the island's independence in 1960. In the context of the intercommunal conflict that was taking place between 1963 and 1967, the alleged validity of these demands also meant that Turkish Cypriots' desire for *taksim* and double union was unjust. After all, according to Makarios, the monastery's location in the easternmost tip of the island indicated that Cyprus was Greek from coast to coast.

However, as indicated in the bibliographical survey, the most obvious changes in the meanings and symbolisms attributed to the monastery occurred after the island's division. The survey illustrated how the monastery, because of its location in the northern part of the island, became a symbol of the Greek Cypriots' struggle to "return". Additionally, the monastery, used as a symbol of the violence against "Us" and a representation of the barbaric "Other", further contributed to the broken trust between the two communities. What was also illustrated in this chapter is that the poor condition the monastery was left in for decades and the years of neglect were translated by Greek Cypriots as a lack of respect on behalf of the Turkish Cypriots, further bridging the gap between the two communities.

5. Greek Cypriots' perceptions of the monastery

The current chapter includes the results of the questionnaire completed by a varied group of Greek Cypriots. The (online) questionnaire seeks to examine the extent to which the Cyprus conflict affects the values, meanings and symbolisms attached by Greek Cypriots to the Apostolos Andreas monastery in Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz today, as well as the ways in which it does so. These values, meanings and symbolisms, it is argued, being yet another layer of the monastery's biography and being created because of and in line with the transformations the monument underwent through time, are informed by, and built upon, the monastery's older layers. Thus, it is argued that the results of this questionnaire add to our knowledge of earlier layers in the monument's history, as transformations "necessarily involve a reordering, reuse and representation of the past". Finally, the results of this questionnaire should be read as indicative of the last (most recent) layer of the monument's biography.

In order to examine the extent to which the conflict in Cyprus affects the values, meanings and symbolisms attached by Greek Cypriots to the Apostolos Andreas monastery in Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz today, as well as the ways in which it does so, the visitor flows to the monastery are examined, the ways participants interact or not with the monastery are explored and the participants thoughts about the monastery's values and symbolisms are analyzed. Additionally, participants' views on current issues related to the monastery, like its restoration by the bicomunal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) are explored. In the following pages, participants' responses are presented using graphs and analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively. The simple results of each question are presented first, followed, in some cases, by an analysis of a combination of questions clustered by the author afterwards.

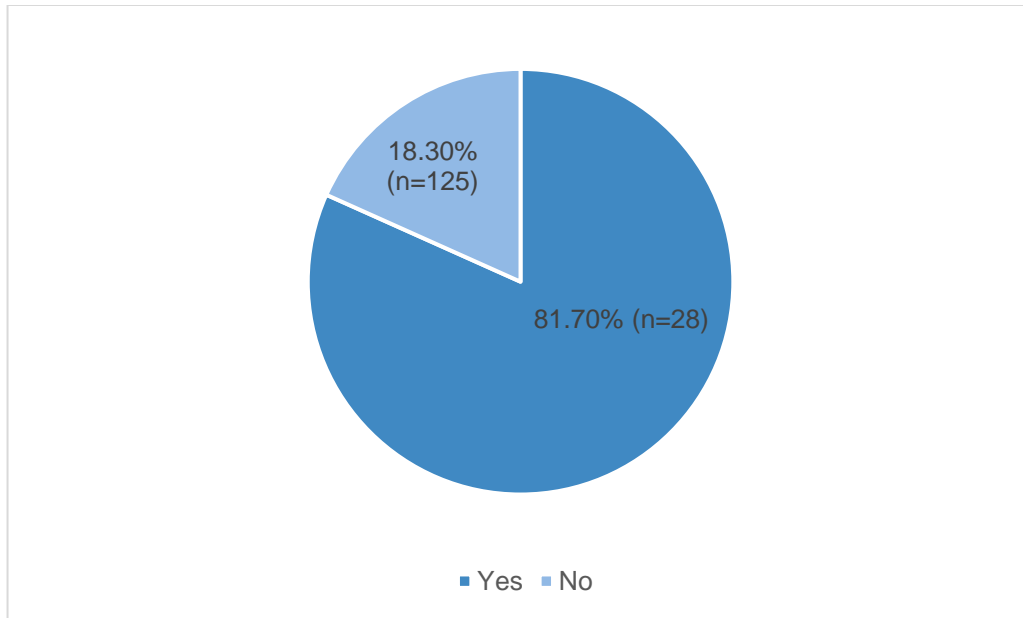


Figure 9. "Have you ever visited the Apostolos Andreas monastery?" (Question 1): results (created by the author).

In the first question (*Question 1*), asking participants whether they have ever visited the Apostolos Andreas monastery or not, all 153 participants have given an answer. The question aimed at examining the visitor flows to the monastery. As indicated in figure 11, an 81.7% ($n=125/153$) of all participants stated that they have visited the monastery before, while the remaining 18.3% ($n=28/153$) stated that they have not. The high percentages suggest the importance of the monastery to the questionnaire participants and could reflect, to a certain extent, the significance of the monastery to Greek Cypriots in general. This significance is also suggested by the results of a survey conducted on May 1st 2003 (a few days after the partial lifting of restrictions and the opening of the crossings), which showed that 96% of Greek Cypriots who crossed the divide on that day mentioned the monastery as their destination (<https://churchofcyprus.org.cy/9184>).

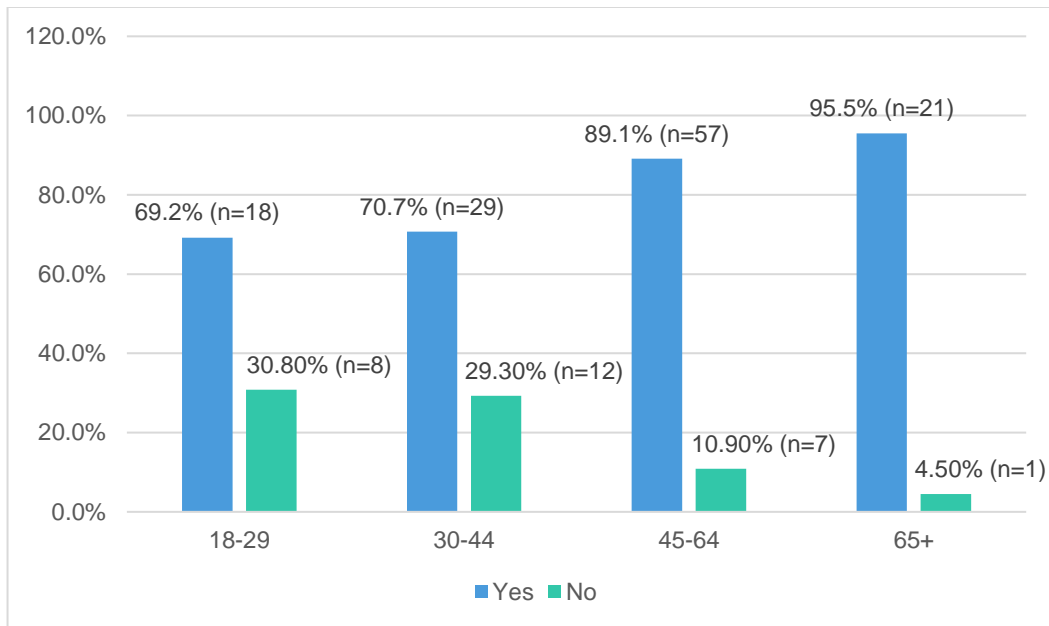


Figure 10. "Have you ever visited the Apostolos Andreas monastery?" (Question 1) in relation to the participants' age (created by the author).

When looking more closely to the results in relation to participants' age, one could see that around 30% of participants from the 18-29 (n=8/26) and 30-44 (n=12/41) age groups have not visited the monastery, while only 10.90% and 4.50% of participants in the 45-64 (n=7/64) and 65+ (n=1/22) age groups respectively stated having done so (yet). This could have multiple explanations, including the long distance or the reduced interest in religious monuments, but these cannot be fully explored using the data available. However, very probable that perhaps one of the most important factors for not visiting the monastery today is the existence of the division. One should not forget that younger Greek Cypriots must cross through the checkpoints (and show their passports) in order to visit the monastery, while the older ones had the chance to do so before 1974 (thus, before the island's division).

In support of this view, studies have shown that about one third of Greek Cypriots have never crossed the divide since the opening of the checkpoints (McKeown and Psaltis 2017, 395) and one of the main reasons for that could be because some political parties (and their voters) in Cyprus support that doing so would mean a symbolic recognition of the internationally non-recognized state in the north and an act of offering support to it (Demetriou 2007). This reasoning is also evident in the findings later in the questionnaire, as many of the participants stated that they have never visited the monastery because they consider crossing the divide an immoral action, even if the visit is for pilgrimage reasons.

Question 2 and Question 3 were only visible to participants who have visited the monastery, asking the approximate number of times they paid a visit, as well as the period they have visited it, respectively. In Question 2 participants were only able to add a number, while in Question 3 they could choose one or more answers between “Before 1974”, “After 1974 and before 2003” and “After 2003”.

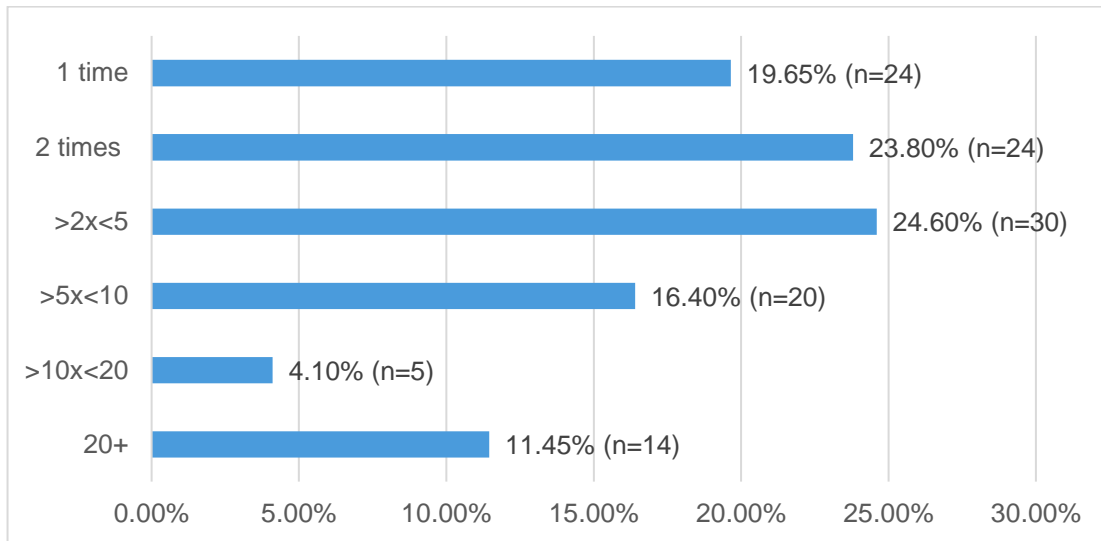


Figure 11. “How many times?” (Question 2): results (created by the author).

Question 2 was answered by 79.8% (n=122/153) of participants and their answers were clustered afterwards as shown in figure 13. Participants who have only visited the monastery once make up the 19.65% (n= 24/122) of the sample and those who have visited twice the 23.8% (n=29/122). Slightly higher is the percentage of participants who have visited the monastery more than two times and less than five, reaching 24.6% (n=30/122) of the sample. Participants who have visited the monastery more than five and less than ten times make up the 16.4% (n=20/122) of the sample. Even though the percentage of participants who have visited the monastery more than five and less than ten times might seem relatively high, one should take into account that the monastery celebrates yearly on August 15th and it is quite common among Greek Cypriot Orthodox Christians to visit the monastery at this day of the year. Additionally, before 1974, these celebrations meant the host of a *panegyris* (a festival/ feast), which, as explained in the “The history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery” chapter was an event that was attracting a vast number of visitors yearly. Thus, it is very likely that many of the participants would have visited the monastery for pilgrimage during the celebrations.

This could have also been the case for participants who have visited the monastery more than ten and less than twenty times, that make up the 4.1% (n=5/122) of the sample and the ones who have visited it more than 20 times, that reach an 11.45% (n=14/122). However, taking into account that the journey to the monastery from the closest checkpoint of the divide takes a minimum of two hours (Deryneia checkpoint) and from the farthest major town (Paphos) takes a maximum of three hours and forty-five minutes, one could assume that participants who have visited the monastery so many times might be internally displaced Greek Cypriots originating either from the village of Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz or nearby villages in the Ammochostos/ Gazimağusa district, who are highly attached to the place.

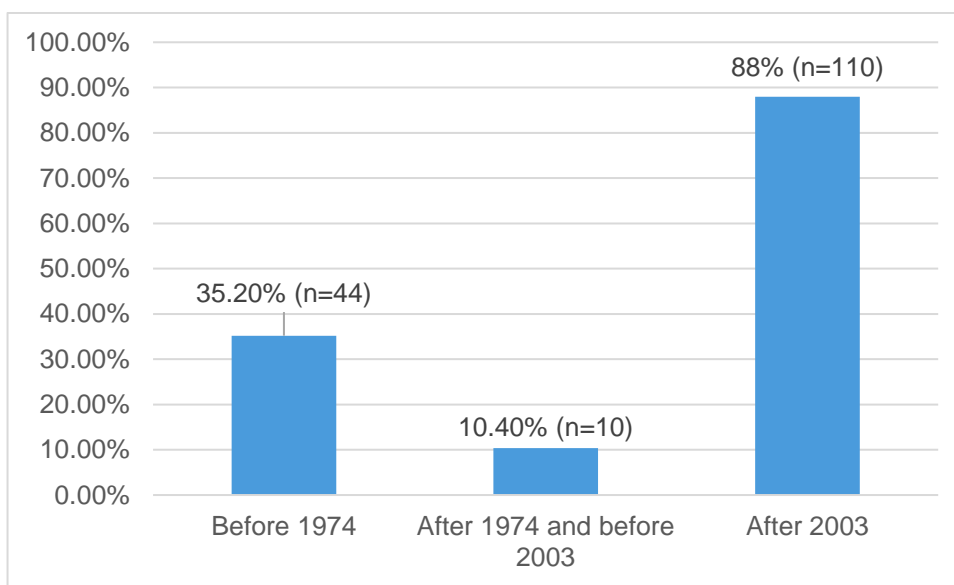


Figure 12. "When did you visit?" (Question 3): results (created by the author).

Question 3 was answered by all 125 participants who stated that they have visited the monastery in Question 1 and their answers are shown in figure 14. Here, participants were able to choose more than one answers. Of them, 35.2% (n=44/125) stated that they have visited the monastery before 1974 and an 88% (n=110/125) after 2003. In a first glance, the results suggest that the monastery has been a more popular destination after the checkpoints opened. However, one should take into account that participants who answered this question and age between 18 and 44 years old (thus born after the final division of 1974) make up the 37.6% (n=47/125) of the sample. Additionally, younger participants in the 45-64 age group would have probably not been able to visit the monastery before 1974 as they were born one to a few years before the final division.

Figure 14 also shows that an 8.5% (n=10/125) of the sample has visited the monastery “Between 1974 and 2003”. As explained earlier in the chapter “The history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery”, even though access to the northern part of the island was generally prohibited before 2003, in 1997 a special agreement was reached between the two communities, according to which a number of Greek Cypriots would be allowed to visit the monastery for pilgrimage on August 15 each year (in the first year 600 Greek Cypriots were allowed to do so). In return, a corresponding number of Turkish Cypriots would be allowed to visit the Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca, on November 22 every year. It should be mentioned though, that a percentage as high as 8.5 suggests that the sample may have been biased towards Greek Cypriots that feel more strongly attached to the monastery.

Question 4, asking participants the reason why they have visited the monastery was also answered by all 125 participants who answered Question 1 positively. Here, participants could choose one answer among “Pilgrimage”, “Votive offering” (*tama*) and “Other”. Participants who chose “Other” were asked to explain in words what the purpose of their visit was.

As shown in figure 15, 69.6% (n=87/125) of participants have visited the monastery for pilgrimage, 10.4% (n=13/125) for a votive offering and a 20% (n=25/125) of them chose “Other” as an answer.

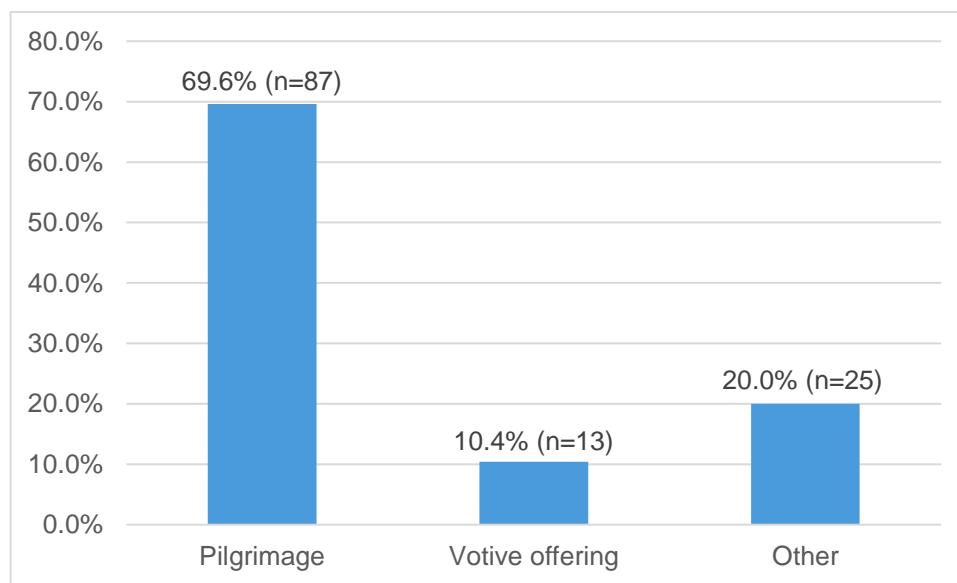


Figure 13. “What was the reason for the visit?” (Question 4): results (created by the author).

The high percentage of participants visiting the monastery for religious reasons (both “Pilgrimage” and “Votive offering”) is of no surprise, as the island’s Greek Cypriot population is known to be very religious. Additionally, the monastery is an extremely important site of pilgrimage to Orthodox Christians and every Greek Cypriot is expected to have visited it at least once (churchofcyprus.org.cy).

As explained in the chapter “The history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery”, which reviews the period between the construction of the monastery until the completion of the first phase of restoration works in 2016, Saint is very much known about his healing abilities. In the past, Greek and Turkish Cypriots alike used to offer either statuettes made of wax or silver which depicted the “sick” part of the body that they wanted the Saint to heal, or plain candles of various sizes so the Saint would hear their prayers. This was a very common practice especially before 1974: according to the last monastery Keeper before 1974, Kleopas Karouzides, the wax recycled every year from these offerings was usually weighing over two tones (Eleftherotypia 30 November 1993). If one visits the monastery today, one can see this kind of offerings hanging from the Saint’s holy picture on the *iconostasis*, but they are considerably less than in the past.

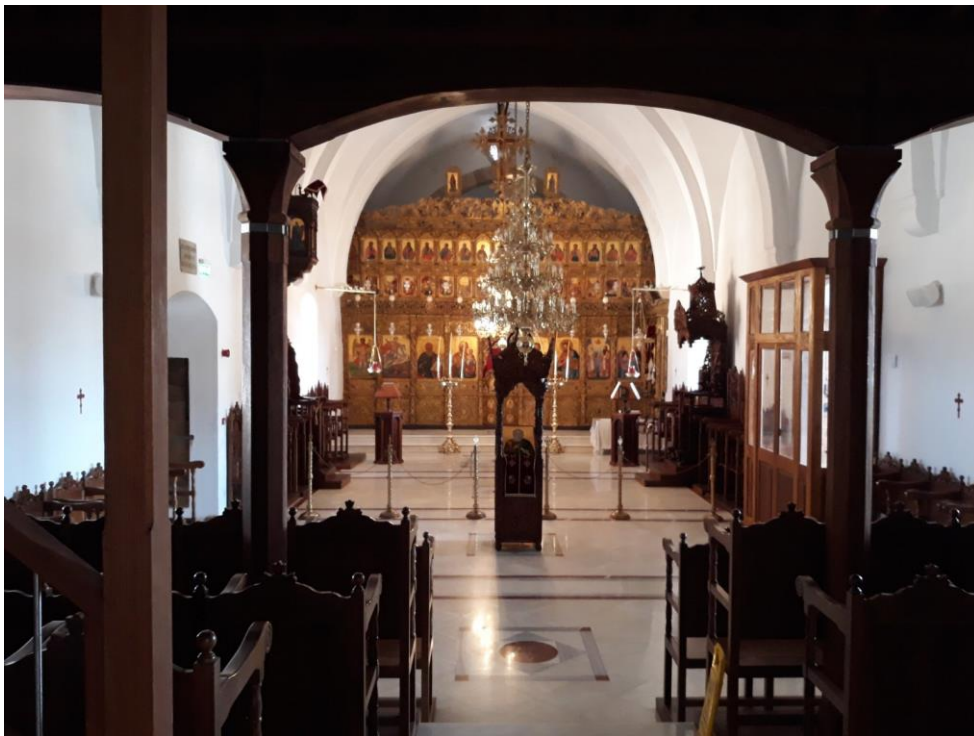


Figure 14. Inside of the church after the restoration works (2018). Picture by the author.

When it comes to participants that chose “Other” as an answer, their replies were analyzed qualitatively and clustered in groups. It should be noted that the fact that participants could only choose one answer was a mistake in the questionnaire’s design, as participants could have visited the monastery for more than one reasons. This was also evident in the explanations given by some of the participants who chose “Other” as an answer.

Other: *explanations*

As shown in figure 15, the number of participants who chose “Other” as an answer reaches a 20% (n=25/125). However, only 52% (n=13/25) of them provided an explanation. Of them, a 53.8% (n=7/13) stated that the visit was paid for touristic reasons (thus, not necessarily for pilgrimage) and a 15.4% (n=2/13) that they have visited the monastery with their parents, during a trip to their parents’ (nearby) village of origin. A 23% (n=3/13) of participants who gave an explanation to their choice of “Other” as an answer, said that they themselves got baptized or got their children baptized in the monastery before 1974. Getting your child baptized in the Apostolos Andreas monastery was quite common before the final division, as the Apostle was known as the children’s protector Saint (Tsiknopoulos 1967, 35). Many women having a difficult labor were also “dedicating” their unborn child to the Saint, in order to help them going through the labor and deliver healthy children (Papacharalambous 1965, 37-39). Most of them were showing their thankfulness to the Saint by naming their children after him. This is one of the reasons why the name Andreas is the most common name for Greek Cypriot males and Andria/ Androulla (the female versions of it) is the third most popular for Greek Cypriot females (<https://www.mof.gov.cy/>)¹⁴. Finally, a 15% (n=2/13) of participants stated they had visited for professional purposes and 7.7% (n=1/13) provided “for sentimental reasons” as an answer.

The next question (*Question 5*), asking participants to provide the reason why they have not visited the monastery yet, was only asked to participants who answered Question 1 negatively. The question was an open ended one, so participants were able to express the reasons behind their decision in words. Out of the total number of participants to whom the question was visible (n=28), an 82% (n=23/28) provided an answer.

¹⁴ However, it is highly probable that not all of them were named after the Apostle directly- children in Cyprus are traditionally named after their grandparents’ names.

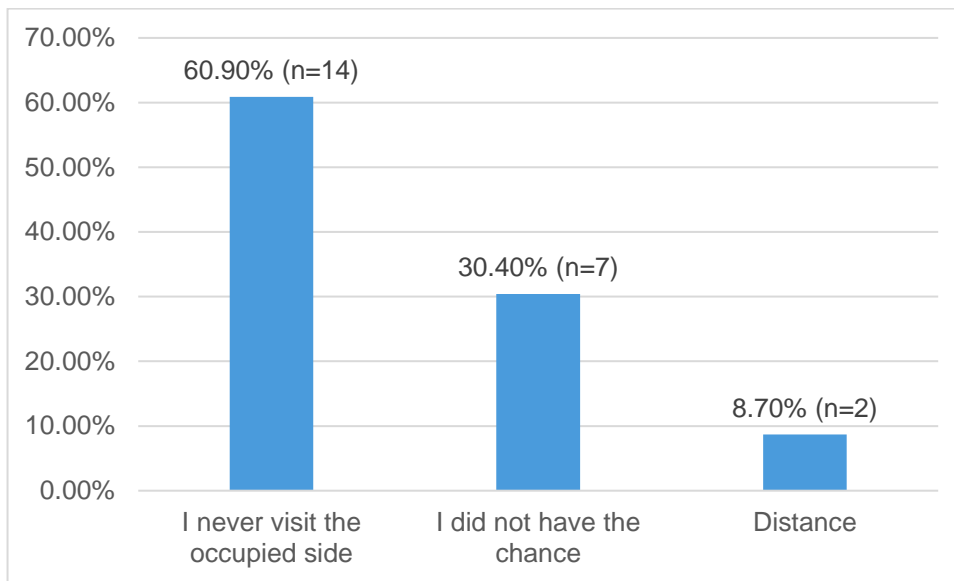


Figure 15. “What is the reason for not visiting the monastery yet?” (Question 5): results (created by the author).

The answers were quite similar, thus were easily clustered afterwards. As shown in figure 17, an 8.7% (n=2/23) stated long distance as the reason. Following, 30.4% (n=7/23) said they have not had the chance to visit the monastery yet and some of them mentioned that they would like to go eventually. The most interesting, yet least surprising, answers came from the remaining 60.9% (n=14/23) who said they had never crossed to the other side and do not aim at doing so. All of them referred to moral reasons behind their refusal to cross the divide.

*“Although I really want to go, I do not want **to show my passport** to visit my own country. **I do not forget (Dhen Ksehno)** that the occupation still exists!! I don’t judge anyone having the desire to go for a pilgrimage, it is just that I cannot accept the idea that the invader (in Greek: *o katakhtitis*) will give me **a permission to pass**. On the other hand, I would really like to worship the holy picture of the Saint and the Holy lands of our homeland. I have not figured out yet what is the right thing to do.”*

Showing one’s passport to cross the divide has come to be an act of symbolically recognizing the internationally not-recognized Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), and thus an act considered immoral by many Greek Cypriots. This view is also present in the language used widely by Greek Cypriots when describing the TRNC: it is a *pseudo-state*, with a *pseudo-president*, a *so-called* Department of Antiquities and the like. However, before entering the sphere of the symbolic, recognizing TRNC by showing your

passport was a real fear, spread by many voices of politicians and the media. The spreading of this fear stopped soon after the cross points' opening in 2003, when Alekos Markides, the Attorney General at the time, explicitly stated that it is not citizens who have the ability to recognize states; it is only states that can recognize other states (Ioannou 2019, 100).

Other than an act of a symbolic recognition, crossing the divide is also considered an act of *actual* (financial) support to the TRNC. The most indicative example of (in)directly blaming the Greek Cypriots who choose to cross to the other side that they support the TRNC, is the presentation of the annual report of JCC, the company that performs the electronic transactions on Cyprus, by the majority of Greek Cypriot media on the island. "Greek Cypriots are spending millions in the occupied territories" (www.sigmalive.com) and "Transactions worth of €6 million with credit cards in the occupied territories and Turkey" (www.eurokerdos.com) are some of the headlines.



Figure 16. The "I do not forget" (in Greek: *Dhen Ksehno*) symbol, as designed in 1974 by Nikos Demou (<http://www.ndimou.gr/en/>), accessed on 28 April 2020.

Dhen Ksehno (meaning "I do not forget") is also a phrase that has been reoccurring often in participants' replies. The specific Greek Cypriot slogan is one reproduced quite often in different occasions and environments: from school notebooks, to national parades and on stickers on the walls of traditional coffeeshops. The slogan along with a depiction of Cyprus being stabbed and divided by the Attila line (which is visualized as a slow flux of blood ebbing down the island) was designed by the Greek author Nikos Demou and produced by his advertising agency on August 14, 1974, the day of the second wave of the Turkish military offensive (<http://www.ndimou.gr/en/>). Since then the symbol has become a public

domain and the slogan perhaps the most reproduced one (in relation to the events of 1974) in the Greek Cypriot society.

Papadakis (2006, 7) describes the slogan's meaning as follows:

The Greek Cypriot official reference to social memory is encapsulated [in the slogan] 'I Don't Forget (Δεν Ξεχνώ)'. This refers to 1974 and the refugees who 'don't forget their homes and villages in the occupied areas'. [...] The focus of Greek Cypriot social memory is 1974 and the suffering brought about by the Turkish military offensive (...).

As Bryant (2012, 31) further suggests about the slogan, not forgetting (thus, remembering) is expressed as a moral and hence, a political duty, which sustains the hope of return.

A decade after the dislocation of 1974, the "I do not forget" slogan has been introduced as the description of Cyprus' new educational policy, that aimed in producing *unlived* collective memories of the war and the occupied territories to younger generations (Zembylas *et al.* 2016, 61). "I do not forget" was expressed through abundant photographs depicting civil and religious sites in the north and other references to the war and the "lost lands", displayed in educational spaces and material (Zembylas *et al.* 2016, 61). Indicatively, the front cover of all primary school notebooks was covered with such pictures, which were accompanied with the slogan itself. On one of those notebooks, the Apostolos Andreas monastery is depicted (fig. 19).

It is evident in the participants' replies that the impact of this slogan on the Greek Cypriot society is of profound significance.



Figure 17. Picture of the front cover of a primary school notebook depicting the Apostolos Andreas monastery under the “I do not forget” slogan (<https://elamcy.com/to-den-ksechno-ksechastike/>, accessed on 28 April 2020).

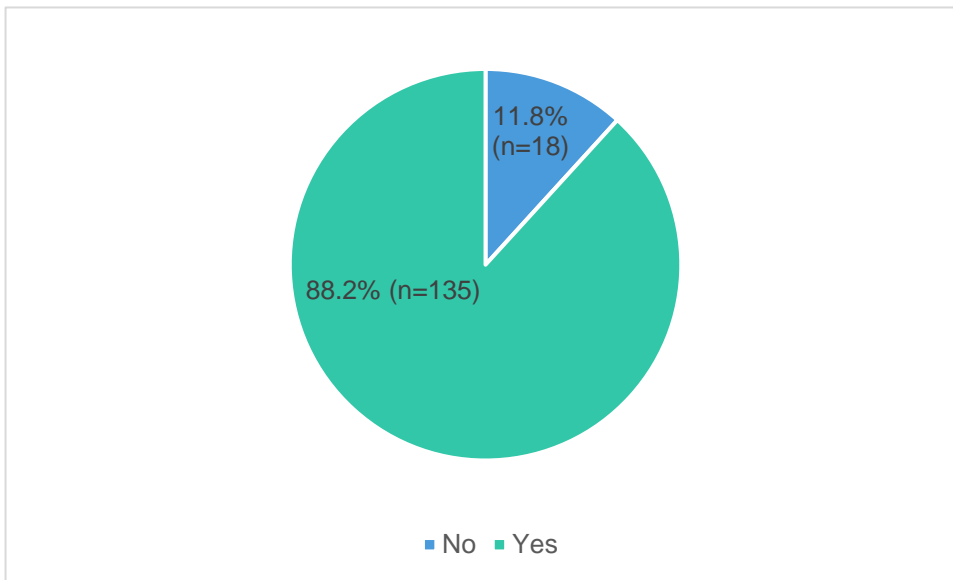


Figure 18. “Do you identify as an Orthodox Christian?” (Question 6): results (created by the author).

Question 6 was a close ended one, asking participants whether they identify as Orthodox Christians or not. All 153 participants have given an answer to this question. As shown in figure 20, an 88.2% (n=135/153) chose “Yes” and an 11.8% (n=18/153) chose “No”. As mentioned earlier, it is widely known that Greek Cypriots are very religious. The validity of these results is checked against the results of a 2010 Eurobarometer poll according to which 88% of (Greek) Cypriots stated “I believe there is a God” (<https://ec.europa.eu/>).

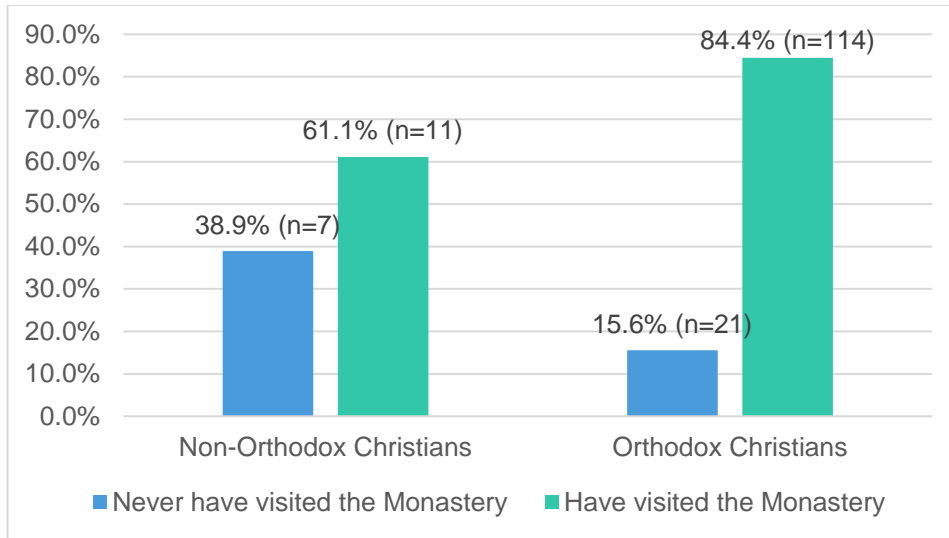


Figure 19. "Have you ever visited the Apostolos Andreas monastery?" (Question 1) in relation to participants' answers to "Do you identify as an Orthodox Christian?" (Question 6) (created by the author).

The importance of the Apostolos Andreas monastery to participants who identify as Orthodox Christians is suggested by figure 21, which shows that only 15.6% (n=21/135) of them have never visited the monastery. When compared to the percentage of participants who have never visited the monastery and do not identify as Orthodox Christians, which is considerably higher (38.9% (n=7/18)), one could assume that the difference between the two groups of participants is the religious value the first attaches to the monastery. Additionally, the fact that a percentage as high as 61.1% of non-Orthodox Christians of participants have visited the monastery suggests that it also probably bears other values, beyond the religious one.

Question 7 was an open-ended one with a maximum limit of words set to five hundred (500), encouraging participants to express what the monastery symbolizes according to them. Most 82.4% (n=125/153) participants have provided an answer to this question.

The answers were interpreted and grouped based on their content under 9 categories, created afterwards. It should be mentioned that many participants referred to more than one dimensions of the symbolism and values the monastery bears according to them; thus, the total number of answers after the categorization does not correspond to the total number of participants who have provided an answer in Question 7.

*"It is a reference point for every **Orthodox Christian**"*

*“(...) the greatness of the **Orthodox faith**.”*

50.4% (n=63/125) of the participants that provided an answer to this question, mentioned that the monastery for them is a symbol Christianity and/or the Orthodox faith. A higher percentage of participants attributing religious value to the monastery was expected due to the fact that Apostolos Andreas monastery is a functional religious monument and that it should bear some religious value to a population whose vast majority is made up of Orthodox Christians. This relatively low percentage of participants who value the monastery as a symbol of Christianity could perhaps be the result of the impact the turbulent history of the island (i.e. its inaccessibility for a period of almost 30 years) and the political uses of this monastery, as well as of all cultural heritage sites located in northern Cyprus, has had during these years.

*“(...) It also symbolizes our desire **to return** to our occupied homeland. (...)”*

*“(...) it (the monastery) is the beacon of **“epistrofi” (in English: return)**.”*

*“(...) He (the Saint) waits for us to celebrate **the resurrection of the Lord, as we used to do, and our freedom**.”*

Following, 19% (n=24/125) of participants said that the monastery symbolizes the Greek Cypriots desire for “epistrofi” and/or freedom. The Greek word “epistrofi”, which translates as “return” in English, has come to be used as a slogan by all Greek Cypriots, especially the internally displaced ones. “Epistrofi” is a right, which is “part of a universal justice that has been denied to them” (Bryant 2012, 3). It does not simply include a resettling to the Greek Cypriots’ homes: it primarily entails the reconstruction of lost communities, a return to a situation, to Cyprus as it used to be (Bryant 2012, 169-170).

“The occupying regime.”

*“Our **disputed right to exist** in our homeland.”*

According to 18.3% (n=23/125) of the participants, the monastery also symbolizes and reminds Greek Cypriots of the Turkish invasion and occupation. Participants who referred to the conflict and its consequences were using harsh words to express their

thoughts. One participant went as far as to say that the monastery symbolizes the occupying regime itself, while others used words expressing contrast, like below:

*“It symbolizes the (...) bastion of Christianity in our **Turkish-held homeland.**”¹⁵*

*“(...) a site of resistance to the **Turkish invader.**”*

16.7% (n=21/125) of participants’ responses described the monastery as a symbol of ethnic and religious identity. The inclusion of participants’ responses in this group, apart from the ones that explicitly referred to the word “identity”, was a result of the subjective interpretation of said responses by the author. The criteria used were that responses should include words used to distinguish from the ethnic or religious “Other” (in this case, the Muslims and Turks) or words used to highlight the ethnic or religious “Self”.

*“Our **national and religious identity.**”*

*“(...) **the border of our Greek identity.** It is a symbol of faith and Orthodoxy but also a symbol of our homeland and **proof of our Greek origins.** (...) Its location is a **proof that this is where the religion and origins of this people begins.**”*

*“(...) It also **proves the Greekness of the island,** something that Turkey tries to alter.”*

In the case of the Cypriot society, as well as in other societies affected by ethnic conflicts, there occurs a phenomenon called “history fetishism”. This “fetishism of history” arises when history is used as the battleground for the legitimization of opposing political claims, for example claims to sovereignty and statehood (Papadakis *et al.* 2006). In the comments cited above, it is obvious that the monastery, as a cultural heritage site which is part of the island’s history, has come to be a weapon used in the struggle; a tangible evidence of the Greek Cypriots’ rights over the island.

*“(...) it is the border of Cyprus, that is Greek Cypriot as well, **like Keryneia.** Cyprus is one and must be undivided.”*

¹⁵ This comment was included in both the first category (religion) and this one (occupation/conflict)

Here, another slogan widely used by Greek Cypriots is reproduced. Keryneia, a harbor city in the north of Cyprus, has come to *de facto* be a part of the TRNC after the island's division. The city lies on the northern shore of the island, thus forming a natural border of the island and a *de jure* border of the Republic of Cyprus. "Our borders are in Keryneia" is amongst the most popular slogans used by Greek Cypriots to show their disapproval of the TRNC and how they find it illegal: it is a pseudo-state with pseudo-borders. The Apostolos Andreas monastery, located in the easternmost part of the island, forms a natural border as well. And according to the participant, this border "*is Greek Cypriot as well, like Keryneia.*".

Following, 11.1% (n=14/125) find the monastery symbolizing culture and/or tradition. However, other than a few exceptions that only referred to the monastery as a symbol of culture and tradition, the rest of the participants included words that also fall into some of the above-mentioned categories. One of these exceptions is the following:

*"It symbolizes the Greek Christian influence on our island, that remains indelibly rooted at the political and social levels. However, in a world ever developing, where the ideas about ethnic and religious identities are more and more playing a secondary role, **the monastery rather symbolizes an archaeological/ cultural monument.**"*

Here, the participant is critical of the strong influence the ideas of ethnic and religious identity have on the island's politics and social life. Opposing to the described reality, the participant finds the monastery only being a symbol of the islands' cultural heritage.

*"(It symbolizes) **my life before 1974.**"*

*"**I have been baptized in the monastery, and a day after that the invasion took place.**"*

6.3% (n=8/125) of participants relate the monastery to their personal memories. Some of them referred to childhood memories and gave examples such as memories of visiting the monastery with their parents during Easter. The rest only mentioned the words "personal memories" without describing any of them or giving examples.

Following, 4.8% (n=6/125) of participants find the monastery symbolizing unity and reconciliation with the Turkish Cypriots or refer to Turkish Cypriots' faith in the Saint.

"(...) It is a political symbol showing that Cyprus is united and belongs to all Cypriots."

Here, participants' responses are probably influenced by the work of the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) at the monastery that is encouraging reconciliation and peace building between the two communities. As explained in the chapter "The history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery", the bi-communal works on the monastery, undertaken by the TCCH and supported by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) aimed at making the monastery a symbol of peace and cooperation while reinforcing the peacebuilding and reconciliation processes on the island. The committee itself is comprised of both Greek and Turkish Cypriot experts, similarly to the team of professionals that have worked for the monastery's restoration. While the committee has undertaken numerous restoration projects in various religious and civic monuments around the island, the restoration project of the Apostolos Andreas monastery is the only one yet that has been fully funded by the two communities. At the date that this thesis is finished, the Church of Cyprus has already donated 3,46 million Euro and Evkaf Administration 3,67 million Euro for the implementation of the project.

Apostolos Andreas Monastery: a symbol of peace and cooperation in Cyprus

Nov 8, 2016



Figure 20. UNDP press release November 8th, 2016 (<https://www.cy.undp.org/>, last accessed 28 April 2020).

For all these reasons, the Apostolos Andreas monastery has been characterized as a “symbol of peace and cooperation in Cyprus” by UNDP (fig. 22) and the TCCH. However, the questionnaire shows that, at least among the participants, these values are hardly attached to it today. In contrast, the most common values attached to the monastery are values interwoven with the conflict rather than with these peacebuilding initiatives.

“It is the trademark of Karpas peninsula. Our Saint.”

3,2% (n=4/125) of participants said that the monastery symbolizes Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz (the village in which the monastery is located) and/or the Karpas peninsula (the peninsula where the village lies), pointing to the locality of the monument. The significance

of the Apostolos Andreas monastery for the Karpasites is also evident when in discussion with them. Whenever I visit the village with my father, everyone is asking if we are visiting The Saint (“paeis ston Agio?”), meaning “are you visiting the Saint?”. This also happens with the Turkish inhabitants of the village, who are either asking the same question in the Greek Cypriot dialect or in mainland Turkish¹⁶.

*“It is a monastery in the **most beautiful part of Cyprus.**”*

Responses that were not easily grouped were included in the “Other” category. These make up the 12.7% (n=16/125) of participants’ responses and include references to the monument’s aesthetics, mainly in relation to the nature surrounding the monastery but also to the beauty of the monument itself. They also include descriptions of how being in the monastery used to make them feel, using words that express love, peace of mind and awe. Finally, one participant referred to the common belief that Saint Andreas is the protector and helper of the villagers of the Famagusta/ Gazimağusa province and Cyprus in general.

Question 8 was a closed ended one, asking participants to indicate the degree to which they agree with the statement “To me, the Apostolos Andreas monastery is of historic value” by choosing one (1) out of six (6) options ranging from “Agree completely” to “Completely Disagree”. Using the same structure of question, participants were also asked about their perception of the monastery’s religious value.

A 97,4% (n=149/153) of the total number of participants answered this question stating their (dis)agreement to the first statement, while 74.5% (n=114/153) of participants stating their (dis)agreement to the second one.

¹⁶ Rizokarpaso is only inhabited by “enclaved” Greek Cypriots, Turkish settlers and their descendants.

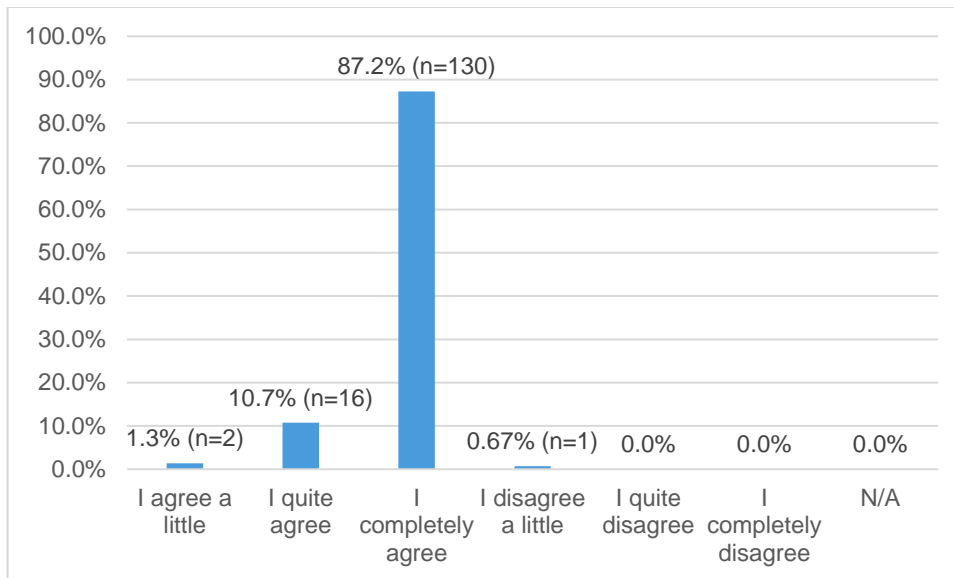


Figure 21. "To me, the Apostolos Andreas monastery is of historic value" (Question 8a): results (created by the author).

As shown in figure 23, 1.3% (n=2/149) of participants agree a little with the statement "To me, the Apostolos Andreas monastery is of historic value", 10.7% (n=16/149) quite agree with the statement and 0.67% (n=1/149) disagree a little. The vast majority of participants, reaching 87.2% (n=130/149), completely agrees with the statement.

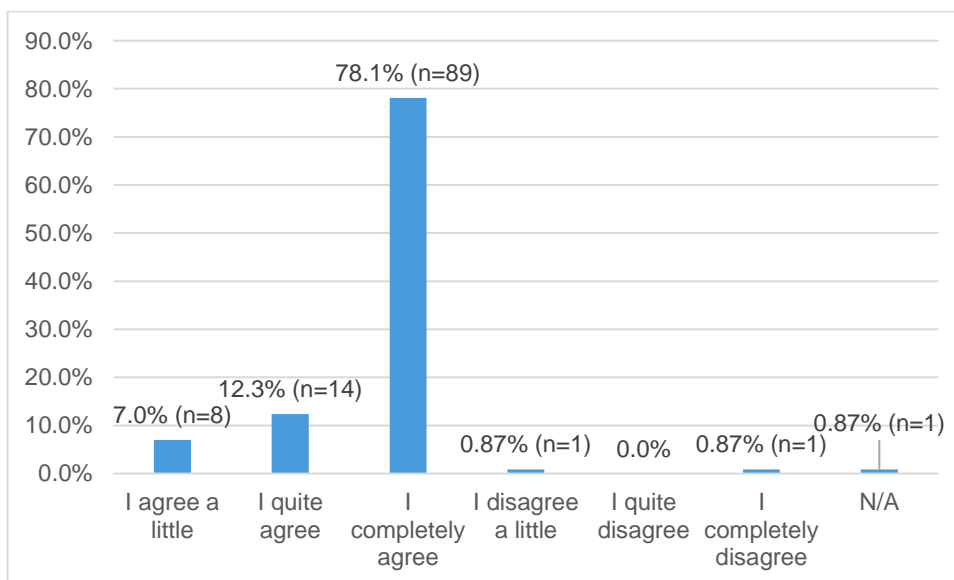


Figure 22. "To me, the Apostolos Andreas monastery is of religious value" (Question 8b): results (created by the author).

When it comes to the statement about the religious value of the monastery, 7% (n=8/114) of participants agree a little and 12.3% (n=14/114) quite agree with the statement.

A percentage of 0.87% (n=1/114) of participants stated that they disagree a little, while the same number of participants completely disagree or chose “I do not know, I do not reply”. Finally, a 78.1% (n=89/114) of participants completely agrees with the statement.

Interestingly, the percentage of participants who attribute religious value to the monastery is much higher in this question, than in the (open ended) Question 7. There, only 50% of participants highlighted the monument’s religious value.

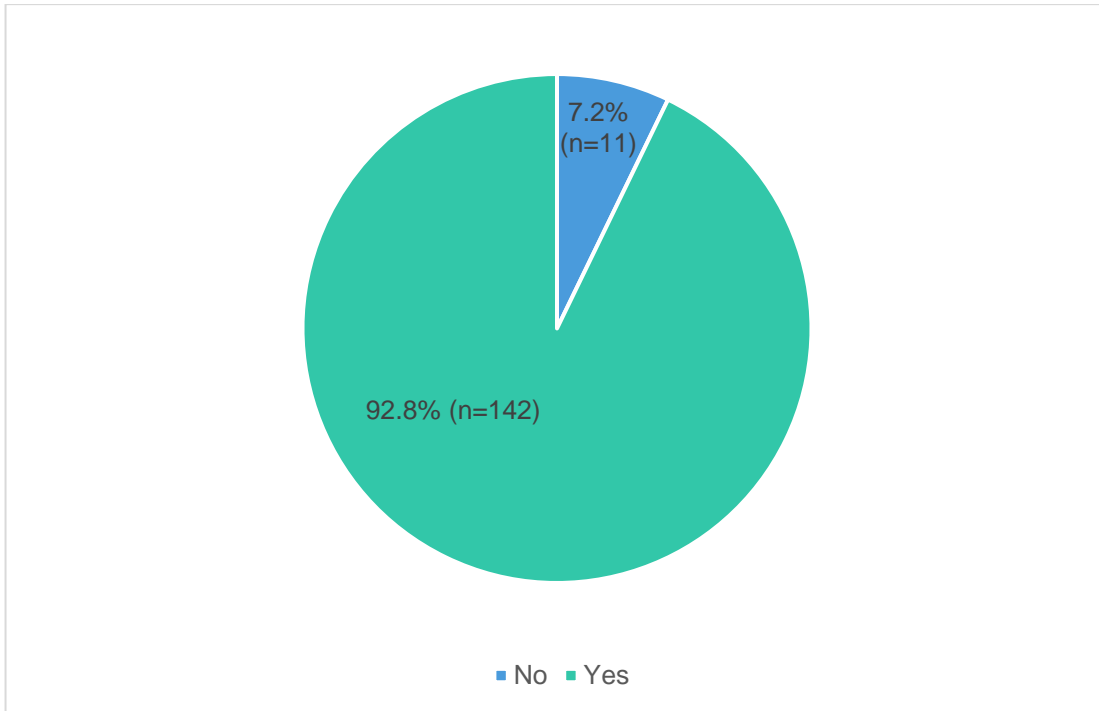


Figure 23. “Did you know that the monastery has been under restoration works by the (bicomunal) Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage in Cyprus?” (Question 9): results (created by the author).

The next question (**Question 9**) was a close-ended one asking participants whether they knew or not that the monastery has been under restoration works by the bicomunal TCCH. All 153 participants have answered this question and, as shown in figure 25, only 7.2% (n=11/153) stated that they did not know about the works.

The next question (**Question 10**) was only visible to the remaining 92.8% (n=142/153) of participants who stated they knew about the works. This question was asking if they have visited the panel exhibition about these works, which is located at the side of the church (fig. 27). The question was answered by 83% (n=118/142) of them and the results are shown in figure 26 below.

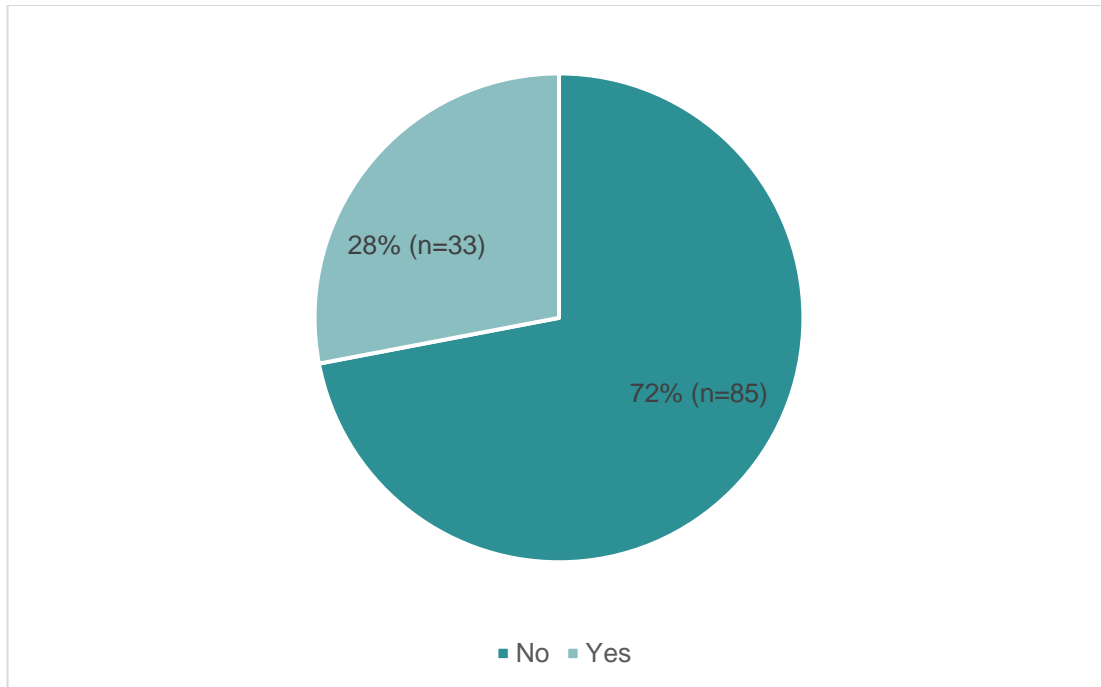


Figure 24. "Have you ever visited the panel exhibition located at the site of the church displaying the works of TCCH?" (Question 10): results (created by the author).

Out of the participants who answered Question 10, 72% (n=85/118) have not visited the panel exhibition, while the remaining 28% (n=33/118) have. This implies that the exhibition is not very visible to the public and that participants were informed about the works by other means of communication.



Figure 25. The panel exhibition located on the side of the church (2019). Photo by the author.

Question 11 was asking participants how they find the fact that the restoration works have been undertaken by the bicomunal TCCH by choosing one (1) out of three (3) options (“I like it”, “I do not like it”, “Neither like it nor dislike it”). Furthermore, participants were asked to provide an explanation for their answer. The close-ended question was answered by 98% (n=150/153) of participants while the explanation part was completed by 52.3% (n=80/153) of participants.

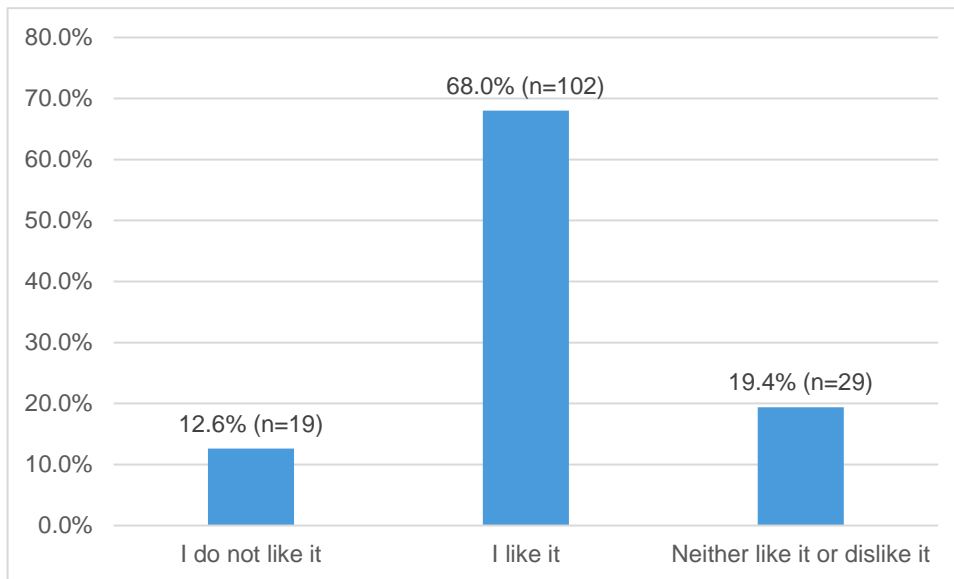


Figure 26. “How do you find the fact that the restoration works have been undertaken by the bicomunal TCCH?” (Question 11): results (created by the author).

As shown in figure 28, 12.6% (n=19/150) of participants chose “I do not like it”, 68% (n=102/150) of participants chose “I like it” and the remaining 19.4% (n=29/150) chose “Neither like it or dislike it”.

I do not like it: *explanations*

When asked about an explanation, only 63% (n=12/19) of the total number of participants who chose ‘I do not like it’ provided one.

*“I disagree **with any involvement** of the Turkish Cypriot side.”*

*“I would prefer it to be reconstructed **by Orthodox Christians alone!**”*

Of them, 66.7% (n=8/12) would prefer only Greek Cypriots to be involved, as the monastery and all Orthodox Christian churches only belong to the Greek Cypriots. Following, 25% (n=3/12) believe that Turkish people are taking advantage of the works either financially or politically. Finally, 8.3% (n=1/12) believes that United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) should have undertaken the works (perhaps the participant was pointing to the independence/ neutrality of the body).

I like it: *explanations*

Out of all participants who chose “I like it”, 54% (n=55/102) have provided an explanation.

*“It shows the **acceptance and respect** for the **common history** of the two communities in practice.”*

*“This cooperation contributes to **the better communication** between the two communities, to a **peaceful solution** to the Cyprus problem and the **reunification** of the island (...).”*

Of them, 67.3% (n=37/55) stated that the works prove that collaboration is possible between the two communities. They also mentioned that the works show how the two communities respect each other and enable rapprochement and trust building. Some of them also mentioned that this is the way towards the reunification.

“(...) Moreover, due to the occupation, the Greek Cypriot side could not carry out the work on its own.”

Following, 25% (n=14/55) of participants who chose “I like it” and provided an explanation mentioned that the collaboration was inevitable, as there was no other way of preserving the monastery; thus, it is better to cooperate than leaving the monument in ruins. Finally, 7.3% (n=4/55) of participants who provided an explanation, held a neutral stance, supporting that cultural heritage should be protected anyway.

Neither like it nor dislike it: *explanations*

Of the total amount of participants who chose “Neither like it nor dislike it”, only 45% (n=13/29) have provided an explanation. Here, similar to the explanations participants who like the works have given, 54% (n=7/13) believe the collaboration was inevitable, as there is no other way of preserving the monastery. Thus, they support, it is better to cooperate than to leave it in ruins. Following, 31% (4/13) of participants believe it was a necessary step to take but they have serious doubts about the Turkish motives. Finally, 15% (n=2/13) of participants who chose “Neither like it nor dislike it” and have provided an explanation, mentioned that they do not know if it was right or wrong.

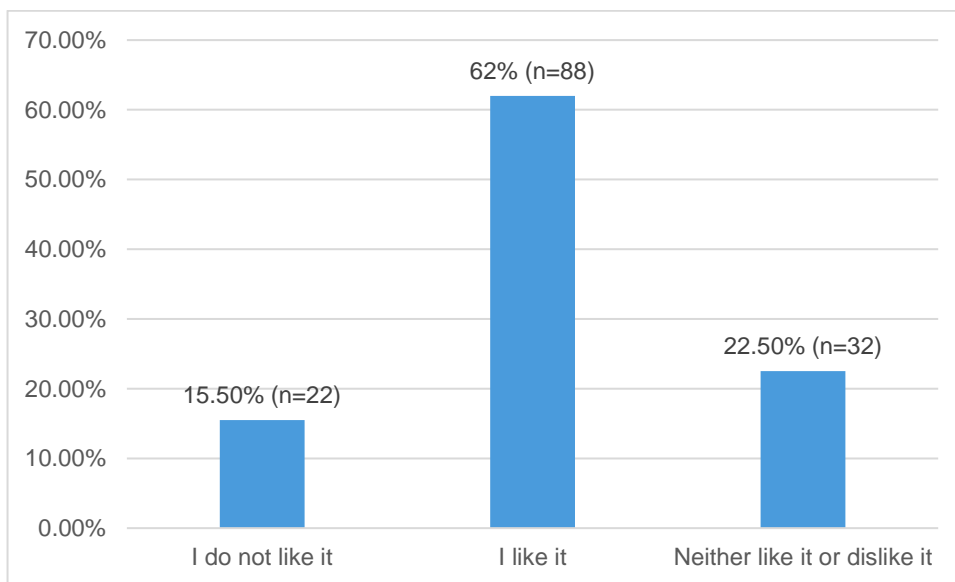


Figure 27. “How do you find the fact that the works on the monastery are co-funded by the Church of Cyprus and Evkaf administration?” (Question 12): results (created by the author).

The next Question (**Question 12**) was a close ended one, asking participants how they find the fact that the works on the monastery are co-funded by the Church of Cyprus and Evkaf administration. After they chose an answer between “I like it”, “I do not like it” and “Neither like it nor dislike it”, they were also asked to provide an explanation, if any.

Question 12 was answered by 92.8% (n=142/153) of the total sample. Of them, 15.5% (n=22/142) chose “I do not like it”, 62% (n=88/142) chose “I like it” and 22.5% (n=32/142) “Neither like it nor dislike it”. Moreover, when asked for an explanation, only 77% (n=109/142) have provided one.

I do not like it: *explanations*

Of the total number of participants who chose “I do not like it” only 54.54% (n=12/22) provided an explanation.

“The Archbishop could have donated the money. We didn't need the help of the Muslim community. We just want them to respect our temples and not desecrate them!”

58.33% (n=7/12) of the participants stated that only the Church of Cyprus should have funded the works as it is an Orthodox monastery.

“Evkaf has no obligation or rights to the monastery.”

Following, 33.33% (n=4/12) said that the Turkish Cypriots, Evkaf and/or Muslims should have not been involved in the funding. Finally, 8.33% (n=1/12) said that it is solely the Turkish that should have funded the works as it is them that destroyed the monastery.

I like it: *explanations*

When it comes to the participants who chose “I like it”, only 49% (n=43/78) provided an explanation.

“Religious as well as cultural heritage belong to the Cypriots regardless of ethnicity and religion.”

“(…) Also, since religion plays an important role in both communities (more in the Greek Cypriot one), the cooperation of their religious institutions is useful in this regard.”

(participant is referring to the rapprochement of the two communities)

Of them, 60.5% (n=26/43) believe that the co-funding of the works shows how the two communities respect each other's cultural and religious heritage and how well they can cooperate despite the situation. Similar to the answers on the previous question, some participants believe that this is the way we should be following for the solution of the Cyprus problem, as cooperation is *“a balm that bridges enmities and hate.”* Following, 21% (n=9/43) of participants believe that it is self-evident that cultural heritage should be protected and *“it is everyone's responsibility to contribute to its preservation.”* An 11.6% (n=5/43) of participants who provided an explanation liked the fact that Evkaf has contributed financially

to the works, as this way *“the monastery’s value is highlighted.”* The rest 6.9% (n=3/43) of participants who provided an explanation mentioned that even though they like the move, they still have doubts and concerns about the motives behind the funding by the Evkaf administration, stating Evkaf *“either gave it for propaganda or exploitation purposes, since the monastery is occupied by the Turks!”*

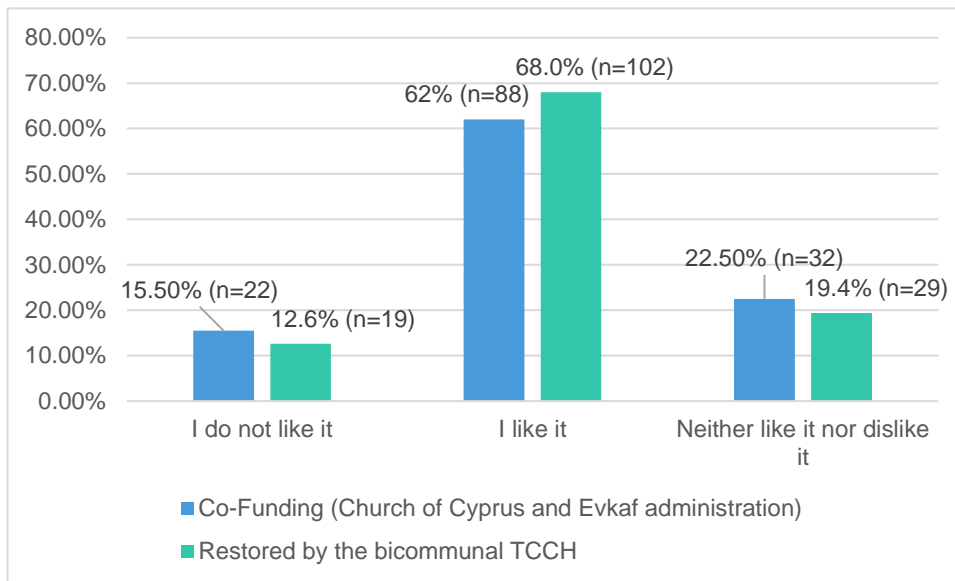


Figure 28. “How do you find the fact that the works on the monastery are undertaken by the bicommunal TCCH?” (Question 11) in relation to “How do you find the fact that the works on the monastery are co-funded by the Church of Cyprus and Evkaf administration?” (Question 12) (created by the author).

When put against the answers of the previous question, one could see that the percentage of participants who do not like the fact that the works are co-funded by the Church of Cyprus and the Evkaf administration, is higher (15.5% v. 12.6%) than the percentage of participants who do not like the bicommunal nature of the works. The same goes for participants who neither like nor dislike the funding policy (22.5% v. 19.4%). Accordingly, the percentage of participants who like the fact that the works are co-funded by the Church of Cyprus and the Evkaf administration is lower than the percentage of participants who like that the works are conducted by both communities (62% v. 68%). These results suggest that the participants are perhaps more comfortable with the practical cooperation of the two communities than the financial one.

Question 13 was a plain close-ended one, inquiring whether participants knew that the monastery has been and still is a holy place for the Muslim community of the island as well. Participants were asked to answer this question by checking a “Yes” or “No” box. Out

of the total sample, 99.3% (n=152/153) answered this question. As shown in figure 31, 55.3% (n=84/152) chose “Yes” and 44.7% (n=68/152) chose “No”.

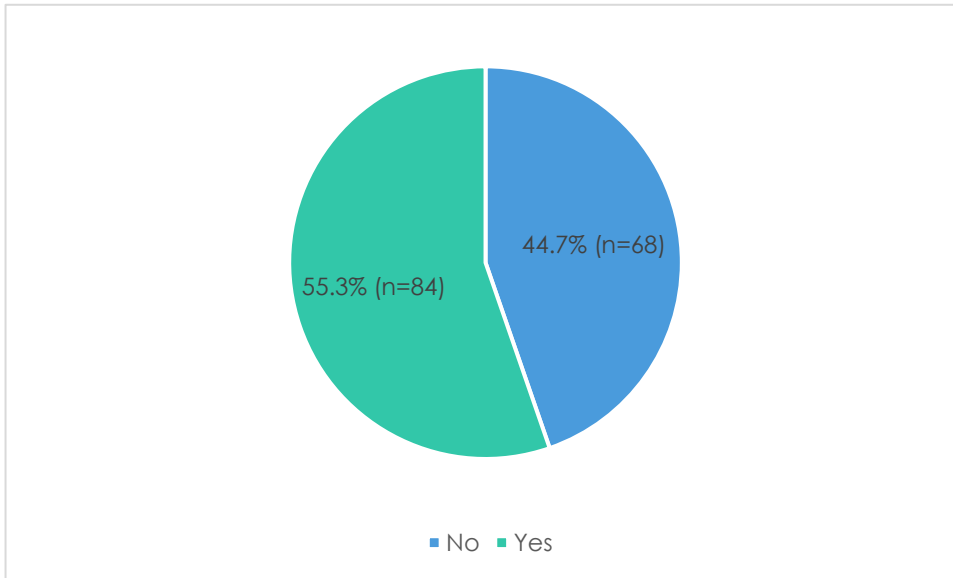


Figure 29. “Did you know that the monastery has been and still is a holy place for the Muslim community of the island as well?” (Question 13): results (created by the author).

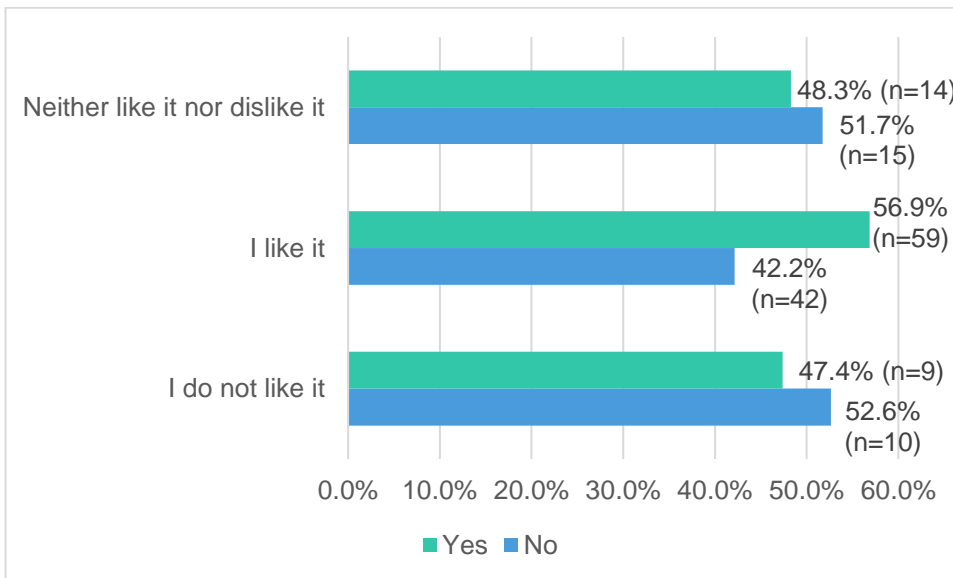


Figure 30. “Did you know that the monastery has been and still is a holy place for the Muslim community of the island as well?” (Question 13) in relation to “How do you find the fact that the restoration works have been undertaken by the bicomunal TCCH?” (Question 11) (created by the author).

When put against the data generated by Question 11 (“How do you find the fact that the restoration works have been undertaken by the bicomunal TCCH?” with possible answers being “I like it”, “I do not like it, “Neither like it nor dislike it”), the results are

interesting. As shown in figure 32, more of the participants who like the bicomunal nature of the works knew that the monastery is a holy place for the Muslim community of the island, while the majority of the participants who do not like that the works are bicomunal, or neither like it nor dislike it, did not know that the monastery is a holy place for the Muslim community of the island as well.

Question 14 was also a close-ended one and sought to introduce the idea of a connection between cultural heritage, peace and trust building in communities affected by conflict. After a short reference to relevant studies and to the aims of the TCCH, participants were asked if they believe that this is/could be a successful practice in the case of the Apostolos Andreas monastery. Participants were able to choose one (1) out of six (6) options, ranging from “Completely agree” to “Completely disagree”. Furthermore, they were asked to provide an explanation of maximum five hundred (500) words. Out of the total sample, 98,7% (n=151/153) of participants have answered this question. Of them, only 43.7% (n=66/153) provided an explanation.

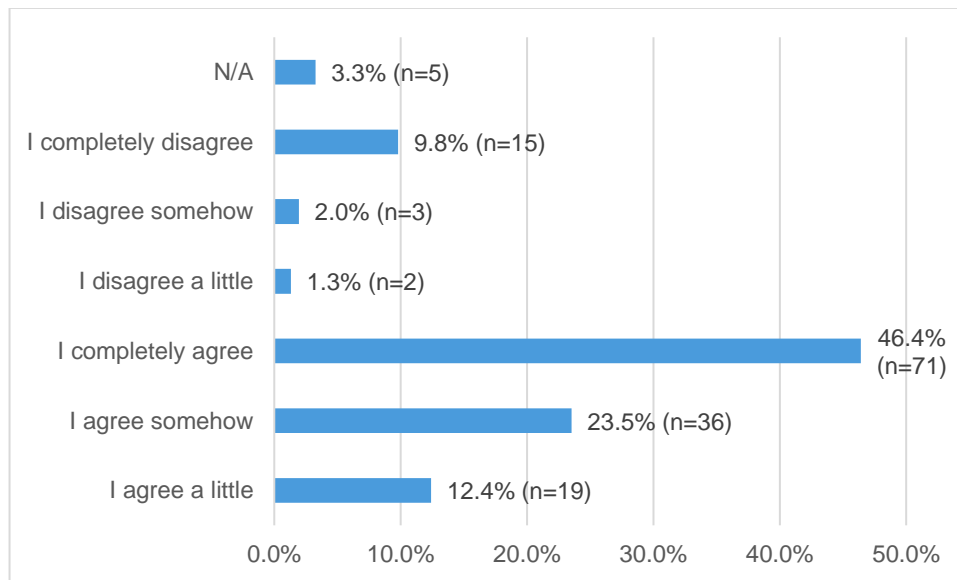


Figure 31. “Studies have shown that cultural heritage can be used for reconciliation, peace and trust building in communities affected by conflict. To what degree do you agree that this is/could stand true in the case of the Apostolos Andreas monastery? (Please explain)” (Question 14): results (created by the author).

As shown in figure 33, 3.3% (n=5/151) of participants chose “N/A”, 9.8% (n=15/151) “I completely disagree”, 2% (n=3/151) “I disagree somehow” and 1.3% (n=2/151) of participants chose “I disagree a little”. Following, 46.4% (n=71/151) chose “I completely agree”, 23.5% (n=36/151) “I agree somehow” and 12.4% (n=19/151) of

participants chose “I agree a little”. What is seen here is that a clear majority of participants completely agrees or agrees somehow with the idea introduced about the relationship between peacebuilding and cultural heritage, and its prospects for success in the case of Cyprus.

N/A: *explanations*

When asked for an explanation, only 40% (n=2/5) of participants who chose “N/A” provided one. Both expressed their doubts about finding a solution to the Cyprus problem in general:

“I want to believe it, but we’ve heard a lot from 1974 until today and no solution has been found yet. I see people ‘leaving’ and nothing happens. (...) I was 19 when I became a refugee and I am 65 now.”

I completely disagree: *explanations*

Out of all participants who chose “I completely disagree”, 53.33% (n=8/15) provided an explanation. The vast majority of them, reaching an 87.5% (n=7/8), said that Turkish people are not trustworthy and there is no chance we can live together anyway. Participants used slogans that are popular amongst Greek Cypriots who oppose a solution, like the following:

WARNING: The following quotes may be disturbing or upsetting to some readers, as they contain harsh language and references to war crimes and violence against women.

“There is no trust in the Turk. They have always been and will be insidious, sneaky and enemies of Hellenism and Orthodoxy.”

“There is no mutual respect, it's just another way to fund the Turkish regime.”

“The Turk will always be a Turk. The Turk who raped my grandmother, took my mother's house, kept my uncle in captivity.”

One was a bit more moderate, reproducing another popular way of thinking, that wants Cypriots helpless, as it is only the “big ones” (those in power) who can decide about the island’s faith. Thus, any effort put by the people of both communities is in vein.

“If the Cyprus problem (...) was just an issue to be solved between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots it would have ended years ago, but unfortunately, it is others who make decisions”

I disagree somehow: *explanations*

Out of all participants who chose “I disagree somehow”, 66.66% (n=2/3) provided an explanation. One of them supported that Evkaf has solely financial motives and wants to exploit the monastery. The other one argued:

“The fact that these procedures are being followed for the Apostolos Andreas monastery does not mean that the numerous churches located in the occupied territories, which ended up being in ruins, being used as stables and places of Muslim worship, etc. will be forgotten.”

Here, the participant argues that restoring a monastery does not make up for everything that has been done to other cultural and religious heritage monuments. As explained in the “Introduction” chapter, the destruction of cultural heritage in the northern part of the island, being it deliberate or not, has been widely used (and is still used, in a lesser extent) as a weapon in the struggle. In fact, both communities have been widely communicating the destruction of “their” cultural heritage, following a dominant narrative: “We” protect, “Others” destroy.

I disagree a little: *explanations*

Out of all participants who chose “I disagree a little”, 50% (n=1/2) provided an explanation. The participant was skeptical about the applicability of these studies’ results in the case of Cyprus:

“Although the works could, as mentioned in these studies, help to improve relations between communities, this is not in line with my own logic: it does not change the fact that the monastery is still under occupation.”

I completely agree: *explanations*

Out of all participants who chose “I completely agree”, 43.66% (n=31/71) provided an explanation. Most of them mentioned that collaboration, contact and the creation of interpersonal relationships through these works is a way to bridge the gap created by the years of division. Moreover, some mentioned that showing and receiving respect, especially about religious matters and cultural heritage, is a way of building trust between the two communities.

“Every collaboration leads to an environment of trust and brings about progress for a solution.”

This way of thinking is indeed in line with these studies: heritage experts and peacebuilding specialists do not claim that the act of preserving cultural heritage has, in itself, healing prospects for the affected communities. Peace and trust are built in the processes of collaborating, setting common goals and showing interest and respect for something so symbolic and important for a community, such as cultural heritage (Giblin 2013; Bohlin 2012).

I agree somehow: *explanations*

Out of all participants who chose “I agree somehow”, 41.66% (n=15/36) provided an explanation. Of them, 53.4% (n=8/15) supported that bicomunal works on the restoration and preservation of cultural heritage sites are not enough for achieving reconciliation:

“If a committee of individuals from both communities decides to take steps to preserve the island's cultural heritage, then the result will be exactly that: the preservation of the cultural heritage. They may make a very, very small and indirect contribution to what we call reconciliation, but not something that would bring actual results, in my opinion. Reconciliation is something very different that would require much more drastic actions, and I'm not sure if that's possible.”

Following, 40% (n=6/15) of participants support that the works could help building mutual respect and understanding between the two communities while 6.6% (n=1/15) argues

that a solution is not possible anyway, even though “*the people from both sides have come closer*”.

I agree a little: *explanations*

Out of all participants who chose “I agree a little”, 36.85% (n=7/19) provided an explanation. Of them, 43% (n=3/7) argued that there are major discrepancies that are difficult to overcome in order to achieve reunification. These, they further argued, are not issues that could be solved only by this kind of collaboration:

“I believe that no matter how much this contributes to the "reconciliation" of the two communities, there are major political and economic issues which unfortunately do not allow for a substantial reunification of our island.”

One of them also expressed concerns about the adequacy of religious monuments for reconciliation purposes, as the conflict is very much based on religious differences as well. Following, 28.5% (n=2/7) of participants expressed their disagreement in the use of the monastery for purposes other than these of religious nature:

“The Apostolos Andreas monastery is a property of the Greek Cypriots with great historical and emotional value. Using it for other reasons is offensive to me and I believe it will lose its prestige as an emblem of Orthodox Christians.”

The remaining 28.5% (n=2/7), similarly to some explanations in previous questions, argued that however hard we try to achieve reunification, it is not in people’s hands to do so.

Question 15 was a close ended one, asking participants whether they have any personal memories of the monastery either through a personal visit in the past, through pictures or any kind of memory. Participants could answer the question by checking a “Yes” or “No” box, while the ones who answered positively were able to add an explanation. A 98% (n=150/153) of the total sample answered this question.

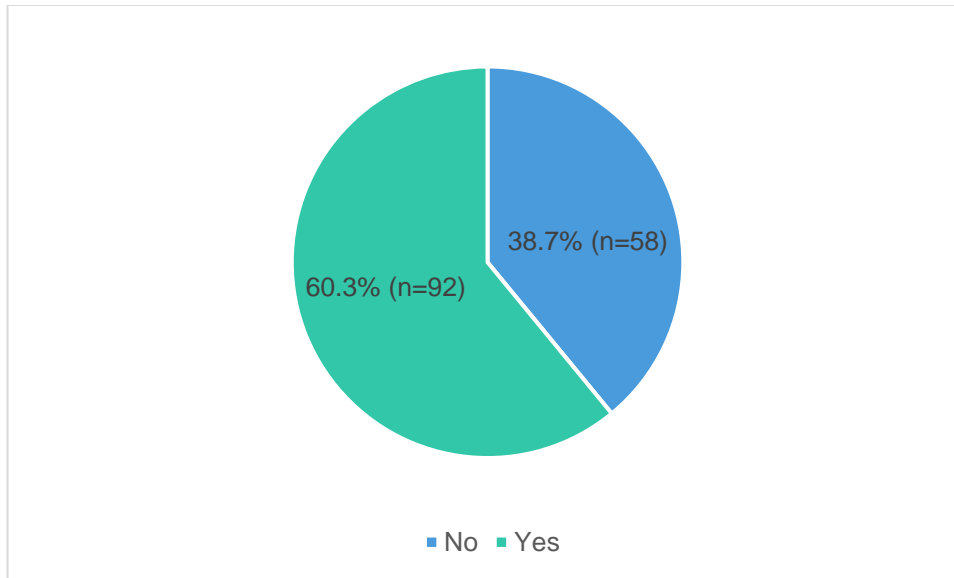


Figure 32. "Do you have any personal memories of the monastery? (personal visit in the past, pictures, etc). Please explain." (Question 15): results (created by the author).

As shown in figure 34, 60.3% (n=92/150) of participants stated that they have personal memories of the monastery, while 38.7% (n=58/150) stated that they have not.

Yes (I have personal memories of the monastery): *explanations*

Only 57.8% (n=52/92) of participants who chose "Yes" provided an explanation. Some of them have mentioned more than one memory, thus the total number of explanations will be higher than the total number of participants who provided explanations. Most participants (50.3% (n=30/59)) mentioned that they have personal memories of visits to the monastery in the past (both before and after 1974). The visits were paid either for pilgrimage or for making votive offerings. A 22.1% (n=13/59) of participants mentioned that their memories (also) come from photographs, either taken by them or by older relatives who visited the monastery in the past. Following, a 10.3% (n=6/59) of participants who provided an explanation recalled memories of overnight stays in the monastery:

"We were going often, especially during the Easter holidays. We were spending some nights there, with other families with whom we formed great friendships. In the morning we were eating the well-known little breads of Apostle Andreas."

Another 10.3% (n=6/59) have memories of either their own or their children's christening in the monastery. As explained earlier, Saint Andreas was known among Greek

Cypriots as the children's protector; thus, many were the parents who were either getting their children baptized in the monastery or naming them after him (Tsiknopoulos 1967, 35).

Following, a 3.5% (n=2/59) mentioned memories from stories told by their parents:

"My only memories are the pictures from my christening and the narration about it by my parents: the trip, etc. Indicatively, a bus had started from Parekklesia (Limassol) with relatives and friends and on that day, many other children were baptized as well. Arriving at the monastery and after the completion of the sacrament, a small lunch was provided. Visiting the monastery or being baptized there was like going to the Holy Land. Very important and very sacred."

Finally, another 3.5% (n=2/59) mentioned that their only recollection of the monastery comes from their school notebooks, where a photo of the monastery is placed under the "I do not forget" slogan

"I have memories from a visit but a more vivid one is the "Dhen Ksehno" school notebook. At least, they succeeded in making us not to forget, and to learn how Apostolos Andreas looks like. (...)."

The widely distributed pictures of the monastery after 1974 played a major role in the preservation, construction or reconstruction of Greek Cypriots' memory of it. As discussed in the "The history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery" chapter, since the disapproval of the first restoration designs by Giorgio Crozzi in the early 2000's, it was made clear that any restoration works on the monastery should respect and follow the monastery's image and form because these are tightly connected to "its identity, the island's tradition and the people's memory" (Kokkinoftas 2009, 223).

Question 16 was a close ended one asking participants whether they have noticed any significant change in the ways Greek Cypriots give value or meaning to the monastery, or in the ways they perceive the monastery, over the years. Participants were able to choose between a "Yes" and "No" answer. The ones who replied positively, were asked to provide an explanation. A 94.8% (n=145/153) of the total sample has given an answer to this question.

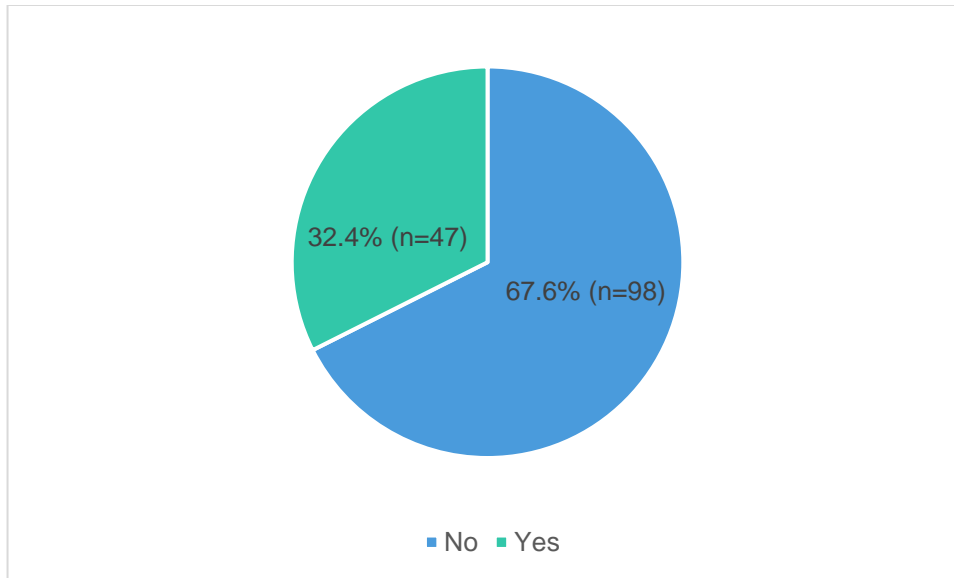


Figure 33. "Have you noticed any significant change in the ways Greek Cypriots give value or meaning to the monastery, or in the ways they perceive the monastery, over the years?" (Question 16): results (created by the author).

As shown in figure 35, 67.6% (n=98/145) chose "No" while 32.4% (n=47/153) chose "Yes".

Yes (I have noticed a significant change in the ways Greek Cypriots (...) the Monastery, over the years): *explanations*

Out of the participants who have noticed any change in the ways Greek Cypriots give value or meaning to the monastery, or in the ways they perceive the monastery, only 57.5% (n=27/47) provided an explanation. Of them, 40.1% (n=11/27) have noticed that, today, in contrast to the years between 1974 and 2003 when the monastery was inaccessible, the religious value of the monastery has risen. They notice more and more organized excursions taking place as well as more individual pilgrims visiting the monastery. Following, a 37% (n=10/27) of participants noticed a change in the reasons why the monastery is considered important today: it has become a reference point because of its location in the occupied part of the island. Finally, 22.2% (n=6/27) support that after the conflict and division, the monastery has become a symbol of freedom and "return".

5.1. Conclusion

In this chapter, the results of the questionnaire completed by a varied group of Greek Cypriots were presented. As the results indicate, the Cyprus conflict and the monastery's direct or indirect involvement in it, led to the development of a web of symbolisms and values the Greek Cypriots attribute to the monument today. This is especially prominent in questions such as Question 7 (What does the monastery symbolize, according to you?) where participants associated the monastery with values and meanings related to their ethnic identity, the conflict and their desire to return as well as to the feelings of injustice and the lack of trust towards the Turkish Cypriots. The results, however, also illustrate how the post-conflict restoration of the monastery by the TCCH has contributed to the emerging of new meanings that associated the monastery with the concepts of peace and reconciliation. Furthermore, the results of the questionnaire also inform us about the approximate success of the peace-building project.

6. Discussion

Putting the biography of Apostolos Andreas monastery in the context of the Cyprus conflict enriches our understanding of how this site embodied certain discourses and emerged as a very powerful symbol of the freedom the Greek Cypriots long for. The analysis of the available data, including scholarly literature, newspaper articles and the results of the questionnaire, provides an insight on how and why the symbolic meanings the monastery bears today were born, evolved and sustained. Additionally, the results of this thesis suggest the extent to which the efforts for peace building through the monument's restoration have born fruits. Here, after providing a short summary of the thesis results, a commentary on the restoration project undertaken by the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) and its effectiveness pertaining the peacebuilding goal it aimed to achieve will be made. Finally, suggestions for future research and major follow up studies will be provided.

The Apostolos Andreas monastery, perhaps Cyprus' most iconic Christian monument, had become a Pancyprian pilgrimage since its establishment in the late 19th century. Various factors, some of them explored earlier, made the monastery unique and sparked the islanders' love and interest since its foundation. Some of these factors seem to be the numerous miracles Saint Andreas is said to have performed and the strong belief in his healing powers, the monastery's relationship with the community, as well as its idyllic location on the easternmost tip of the island. Although the monastery is today located in the area administrated by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) and does not operate as it used to before the catastrophic events of 1974, it still has a special place in the hearts of Greek Cypriots. Indicatively, in the questionnaire conducted for this thesis, a majority of participants still visit the monastery for pilgrimage today, bring offerings and lit candles to honor the Saint.

As the bibliographic survey shows, the monastery started out as a monument mainly associated with religious values. However, both the bibliographical survey and the questionnaire indicate that the sociopolitical events framing the monastery's own history, as well as its involvement in the currents of the island, led to the development of a palimpsest of meanings and symbolisms that are attached to the monastery today. Early in the 20th century and parallel to the development of the Greek and Turkish ethnic nationalisms on the island (with which Christians and Muslims, respectively, identified) the (Christian) monastery started acquiring an ethnic (Greek) character as well. As part of the Church of Cyprus, which

headed the nationalist movement on the island, the monastery contributed to the diffusion of nationalistic ideologies amongst the Greek Cypriot population. Additionally, throughout the first half of the 20th century, the monastery contributed financially to a number of initiatives that aimed at promoting the Greek Cypriots' demands for *enosis* on an international level, supported financially the EOKA (Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston- in English: National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) struggle and became a shelter for persecuted EOKA fighters. Essentially, when the Greek Cypriots' struggle for liberation from the British and for union with Greece burst out in 1955, the monastery was already loaded with symbolisms and values pertaining its Greekness- and naturally proving the Greekness of the island itself.

The failure of the EOKA struggle and the birth of the Republic of Cyprus (RoC) in 1960 did not put a halt to the Greek Cypriots' aspirations for *enosis*, even though the policy was considered illegal by the Constitution. Some seven years later and near the end of the events of generalized intercommunal violence which had been in progress since 1963, President Makarios would preach from the monastery's pulpit:

"This monastery, located on the edge of Cyprus, which is now blessed through the Saint Andreas' holy relic, is the southernmost geographical border of Greece. It is a border that was created and defined by the blood of Saints and of the Nation's martyrs. We will never accept cropping and limiting these borders. Faithfull to our religious and ethnic ideals, from which we draw courage and strength, we will continue to fight until Greek Cyprus becomes part of the indivisible and unified space of Greece, until this Greek megalonisos (in English: the big island) is united with the Great Homeland, Greece." (Kyprios 09 October 1967, 1).

The monastery was, more than ever, used as a proof that the island has always been Greek; thus, *enosis* is the only way forward. At the same time, Makarios was critical of the Turkish Cypriots' desire for *taksim* and a double union. Today, with the *enosis* ideology being dead (on both the state and civil society levels), this same rhetoric is used as a means to prove that the monastery, the Karpas peninsula in which it is located, and ultimately the occupied territories in their entirety, are Greek; thus, Turkey, the Turkish settlers and in some (extreme) cases Turkish Cypriots should leave and give this land back to its original and legal owners. Interesting but of no surprise is that many of the questionnaire participants have expressed a connection of the monastery to their ethnic identity or articulated the belief that the monastery is the border of (Greek) Cyprus and a proof of the island's Greekness (condemning the Turkish presence on the island).

After the Turkish invasion in 1974, the island's final partitioning and the forced population movements, the monastery, which was by then part of the occupied territory, was neglected and left in decay. Even though Father Zaharias, an "enclaved" Greek Cypriot from the nearby village of Yialousa/ Yeni Erenköy moved to Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz and undertook the monastery's protection, it never again operated as usual. When the TRNC declared its independence in 1983 the monastery was already established as a symbol of the Greek Cypriots' struggle to "return" and a bulwark of Hellenism in their Turkish occupied homeland. This feeling was amplified by the presence of "enclaved" Greek Cypriots in the Karpas peninsula villages who were highlighted as the heroes guarding the Thermopylae. Around the same time, the "Dhen Ksehno" (in English: I do not forget) slogan was introduced as the description of Cyprus' new educational policy, which, as mentioned in earlier chapters, aimed at producing *unlived* collective memories of the war to younger generations. The picture of the Apostolos Andreas monastery was by then reproduced in the covers of primary school notebooks along with the slogan itself thus entering the daily life of thousands of Greek Cypriot students. The monastery, being a site loaded with symbolisms, was once again mobilized for ethno-didactic purposes: it was a site symbolizing the violence against "Us" and simultaneously representing the barbaric "Other".

Especially during the first half of the decade after the partitioning, the local press would often publish articles pertaining the poor condition the monastery was left in, thus adding to the growing concern and uncertainty among the Greek Cypriots about its treatment (or lack thereof) by the TRNC. At the same time, the government of the RoC, the sole internationally recognized authority of the island, citing the Hague Convention of 1954, declared any professional works regarding the protection, preservation and restoration of antiquities by the TRNC administration an illegal activity, thus eliminating the chances the monastery had in not collapsing.

It was not until 1999, when United Nations (UN) decided to simultaneously repair the Apostolos Andreas monastery and the Hala Sultan mosque (in Larnaca) in an effort to create a "positive climate" for the two communities in the second round of negotiations of the same year. However, oppositions raised by the Greek Cypriot community pertaining the official restoration plans resulted in the suspension of the works a couple of years later. According to the opponents of the plans, the demolition of parts of the monastery would not only distort the monument's authenticity but also alter its image, as reflected in the personal and collective memory of Greek Cypriots; essentially, they were trying to protect the

monastery's power to exercise agency through its image, produce emotions and regenerate memories.

After the partial lifting of restrictions on movement to and from the territories administered by the TRNC in April 2003, thousands of Greek Cypriots visited the monastery to express their faith in the Saint. They also witnessed, after 37 years, the condition the monastery was in; the public demand for the monastery's restoration was escalated and the feelings of disappointment and anger for the authorities' delays were risen. However, the multiple attempts for restoration were in veins.

The contestation over the monastery's restoration was over in 2013 when the bicomunal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) announced that the project, as designed and prepared by the University of Patras had been approved; works commenced shortly after. The Church of Cyprus and the Evkaf Administration agreed on contributing financially to the project, making it the first heritage restoration project on the island that was fully funded by bodies from both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and one of the key confidence building projects of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Cyprus. The first phase of the project lasted until 2016 and its second (and final) one is ongoing and expected to be completed in 2021.

The restoration project in the Apostolos Andreas monastery aimed at establishing it as a symbol of peace and cooperation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities of Cyprus. The extent to which this was achieved, though, can only be roughly estimated: UNDP and/or the TCCH did not conduct any survey that aimed at identifying and evaluating the values Cypriots attached to the monastery *before* the restoration works, neither have they conducted an equivalent one *after* the works. The absence of these data prevents us from drawing any safe conclusions about the impact these works have had on the monastery's values.

The questionnaire conducted for the purpose of this thesis could help in indicating the approximate success of the project amongst Greek Cypriots in relation to its major goal. Based on the questionnaire results, only a fraction (4.8% n=6/125) of participants find the monastery symbolizing peace, reconciliation, cooperation and/or trust. Even though quite low, the percentage is encouraging, considering that before the works none would attach to the monastery values such as the ones above mentioned. It is, however, of no doubt that there

is still a long way until the monastery abolishes all the “negative” connotations it has assembled through the ages. The question is: can this be achieved, and if so, how?

Keeping in mind the earlier analyzed palimpsest of meanings and strong symbolisms the monastery has developed through the years, undergoing physical changes at the same time as well, one could argue that a monastery (or other religious specific monuments) is not the most appropriate site to be highlighted as a shared heritage site in a society as religious as the Cypriot one. In other words, choosing such monuments for restoration naturalizes a rather Orientalizing view of culture that wants Greek Cypriot culture as Christian and Turkish Cypriot as Muslim (Demetriou 2015, 183). It is my assessment that one will never be able to escape the underlying connotations the project promotes on its very basis. Instead, I believe that better results pertaining the promotion of peace and reconciliation could be achieved when more emphatically stressing the sharedness of culture between the two communities.

For a more complete understanding of how the works have impacted the ways Cypriots perceive and value their cultural heritage in general and the Apostolos Andreas monastery in particular, a similar research should be conducted that will address the Turkish Cypriot community. Additionally, an equivalent, comparative research in other monuments conserved by the TCCH, such as the Hala Sultan Tekke in Larnaca or the Mosque in Deneia, would definitely add to our understanding of how Cypriot cultural heritage is affected by the conflict and peacebuilding initiatives that aim to help in resolving it.

7. Synthesis: the monastery's "biography"

While cultural heritage in Cyprus is part and parcel of the conflict, the studies dealing with their relationship in a critical manner are limited in number and scope. This thesis aspired to delve further into this complex relationship and investigate it through the biographical study of a highly symbolic monument that is of great significance to Greek Cypriots: namely, the Apostolos Andreas monastery in Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz. Through this work, our understanding of the multiple ways cultural heritage has been (and still is) affected by the Cyprus conflict, and the ways cultural heritage itself affects the conflict and its resolution were illuminated.

The overarching aims of this thesis were to investigate how the Cyprus conflict and its politics influence the ways the monastery is valued, given meaning and symbolisms to through time (before, during and "after" the conflict) and in relation to the socio-political context on the island, other events and factors. Additionally, this thesis aimed at investigating how the monastery, being transformed by the conflict and its post-conflict reconstruction, can influence the shaping of Greek Cypriots' attitudes and behaviors toward the conflict and its resolution. In order to trace these changes in the values, meanings, symbolisms and behaviors, this thesis approached the monastery from a so-called biographical perspective. The sources investigated include literature on the Cyprus history and politics, works that deal with the monastery's histories, newspaper articles that appeared in the Cypriot press during the period under investigation and an online questionnaire completed by a diverse group of Greek Cypriots.

In this final chapter, the main research questions and sub-questions posed at the start of this research will be answered and put in the wider theoretical framework presented in the "Introduction" chapter.

- **How does the conflict and its politics transform the monastery's tangible and intangible dimensions through time (before, during and after the conflict) and in relation to the political context, historic events and other factors?**
- **How does the monastery, after being transformed by the conflict and the post-conflict reconstruction it underwent, influence Greek Cypriots' attitudes and behaviors toward the conflict and its resolution?**

1. How has the monastery been (ab)used and interpreted from its construction until today?
2. How does the materiality of the monastery (e.g. the tangible impacts of the conflict and the post-conflict reconstruction, the location of the site, the site's image and form etc.) influence Greek Cypriots' understanding and valuation of it through time?
3. What are the values, meanings, and symbolisms Greek Cypriots attribute to the monastery today?

The Apostolos Andreas monastery has been one of the most popular and beloved monasteries on the island since its construction in the late 19th century. What seems to have made the monastery unique and sparked the islanders' interest in it since its foundation were, amongst others, the strong belief in Saint's Andreas healing powers and the innumerable miracles he was said to have performed, the monastery's close relationship with the community and its idyllic location on the easternmost tip of the island. Even though today the monastery does not operate as it did before the events of 1974, as it is located in the area administrated by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC), it seems to still hold a special place in Greek Cypriots' hearts. The questionnaire conducted showed is that a majority of participants still visits the monastery for pilgrimage today, bringing offerings and lighting candles to honor the Saint and attributing religious values to it.

While the religious values attached to the monastery are still strong, the sociopolitical events framing the monastery's own history as well as its involvement in the currents of the island, led to the development of other (non-religious) values, meanings and symbolisms that are attributed to the monastery today.

In the first decades of the 20th century and in accordance to the development of the Greek and Turkish ethnic nationalisms on the island, the monastery (as well as all other Orthodox Christian monuments on the island) started acquiring an ethnic (Greek) character as well, feeding into Greek Cypriots' nationalistic discourse. The monastery itself, as a part of the Church of Cyprus (which headed the Greek Cypriot nationalist movement on the island) contributed to the diffusion of such nationalistic ideologies amongst the Greek Cypriot population and offered practical aid to the Greek Cypriots' fight for liberation from the British and union with Greece. Thus, by the end of the EOKA struggle, the monastery was already loaded with symbolisms and values pertaining its Greekness.

Similar to other cultural heritage sites on the island, the monastery was used by Greek Cypriots not only as a proof of Cyprus' Greek character, but also as an argument against Turkish Cypriots' demands for *taksim* and double union. Located in the easternmost part of the island, this Greek-Orthodox monument was used as a marker showing who the island's "real" owners are and where the island's boundaries lie. It is evident that the location of the monastery, as part of its materiality, plays a crucial role in the ways Greek Cypriots give meaning and attach symbolisms to it. Up to this day, that the monastery lies at the "other side" of the divide, many Greek Cypriots build on this argument when expressing themselves against the *status quo*. Their argument, formed in the framework of ethnic nationalism, supports that the monastery, the Karpas peninsula in which it is located, and ultimately the occupied territories in their entirety, belong to their ethnic community. This argumentation is present in many of the participants' responses to the questionnaire and expresses a connection of the monastery to their ethnic identity or articulate the belief that the monastery is the border of (Greek) Cyprus and a proof of the island's Greekness.

Being "trapped" in the northern part of Cyprus after the island's division in 1974 and unreachable by its original users, the monastery was quickly established as a symbol of the Greek Cypriots' struggle to "return" and a bulwark of Hellenism in their Turkish occupied homeland. This feeling was propelled, amplified and sustained through the ages with the introduction of the "Dhen Ksehno" (in English: I do not forget) educational policy a few years after the division, which, as mentioned in previous chapters, aimed at producing *unlived* collective memories of the war to younger generations. A picture of the monastery taken before the division is printed in the cover of every primary school student notebooks along with the slogan itself (fig. 19). The image of the "enclaved" monastery is thus daily mobilized for ethno-didactic purposes: it is a symbol of the violence against "Us" and simultaneously represents the barbaric "Other".

The poor condition the monastery was left in and its treatment (or lack thereof) by the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) was adding to the growing concern of Greek Cypriots who were not able to visit the monument. Many attempts for restoration were in vein, including one initiated after the intervention of the United Nations (UN) in 1999. The monastery, as well as the Hala Sultan mosque (in Larnaca) would be simultaneously repaired in an effort to create a "positive climate" for the two communities in the second round of negotiations of the same year. Soon after, however, the works were suspended due to

oppositions raised by the Greek Cypriot community pertaining the official plans. What Greek Cypriots were supporting was that the demolition of parts of the monastery would alter the image that was reflected in the personal and collective memory of Greek Cypriots; essentially, demolishing the tangible parts of the monastery would take away the monastery's power to exercise agency through its image, produce emotions and regenerate memories.

With the partial lifting of restrictions on movement to and from the territories administered by the TRNC in April 2003, thousands of Greek Cypriots visited the monastery and witnessed the poor condition the monastery was left in. The public demand for the monastery's restoration was quickly escalated and the feelings of disappointment and anger for the delays were risen, but every attempt for restoration after the checkpoint's opening was in vein. After many years and multiple attempts, the contestation was over in 2013 when the bicomunal Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (TCCH) undertook the works. The first phase of the project was over in 2016 and the second one starts in 2021.

The project in the Apostolos Andreas monastery did not only aim at the restoration of the monument but also at establishing it as a symbol of peace and cooperation between the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities of Cyprus. Thus, both the Church of Cyprus and the Evkaf Administration agreed on contributing financially to the project, making it the first heritage restoration project on the island that was fully funded by bodies from both the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities and one of the key confidence building projects of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Cyprus.

However, the absence of data regarding the values Cypriots attached to the monastery *before* and *after* the works prevents us from drawing any safe conclusions about the degree to which the peacebuilding aim of the project was or will be achieved. The questionnaire conducted for the purpose of this thesis can indicate the approximate success of the project amongst Greek Cypriots. Based on the questionnaire results, only a fraction (4.8% n=6/125) of participants feel that the monastery symbolizes peace, reconciliation, cooperation and/or trust. It was argued here that, even though the percentage is quite low, the results are still encouraging, considering that before the works none would attach to the monastery values such as the ones above mentioned. It is, however, of no doubt that there still is a long way to go until the monastery abolishes all the "negative" connotations it has assembled during this eventful life history.

Abstract

This thesis investigates how the Cyprus conflict and its politics influence the ways the Apostolos Andreas monastery (Rizokarpaso/ Dipkarpaz) is perceived, valued and given meaning to by Greek Cypriots through time (before, during and after the conflict) and in relation to the socio-political context, other events and factors. Additionally, this thesis explores how the monastery, being transformed by the conflict and its post-conflict reconstruction, can influence the shaping of Greek Cypriots' attitudes and behaviors toward the conflict. Using the concept of the biography of place as an analytical tool, this thesis explores the life history of the Apostolos Andreas monastery, as developed from its construction until this day and views it, at each point in time, as a layered heritage site. In order to reconstruct the monastery's biography, a wide variety of written sources has been investigated, including scholarly literature and newspaper articles. Additionally, the results of a questionnaire completed by 153 Greek Cypriots were analyzed in order to explore the Greek Cypriots' perceptions of the monastery today. The results of this thesis show that the sociopolitical events framing the monastery's own history, as well as its involvement in the currents of the island, led to the development of other (non-religious) values, meanings and symbolisms that are attributed to the monastery today. Additionally, it is demonstrated that the tangible impacts of the conflict and the post-conflict reconstruction, the location of the site, the site's image and form also influence the Greek Cypriots' understanding and valuation of the monastery through time. What is more, it is illustrated that the most recent layer of the monument's biography is built upon and informed by the earlier layers in the monastery's history. As such, it is of no doubt that there still is a long way to go until the monastery abolishes all the "negative" connotations it has assembled during its eventful life history.

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Figure 35. “Have you noticed any significant change in the ways Greek Cypriots give value or meaning to the monastery, or in the ways they perceive the monastery, over the years?”

(Question 16): results (created by the author). _____ 80

Appendix

Appendix 1. Word version of the complete questionnaire (in Greek, original) _____ 105

Appendix 2. Word version of the complete questionnaire (in English, translated) _____ 108

Appendix 1. Word version of the complete questionnaire (in Greek, original)

Ευχαριστώ για την αποδοχή συμμετοχής σε αυτή την έρευνα, τα αποτελέσματα της οποίας θα ενημερώσουν τη διπλωματική εργασία της Μαρίας Στεφανή, φοιτήτριας στο ερευνητικό μεταπτυχιακό με τίτλο 'Archaeological Heritage in a Globalizing World' (Αρχαιολογική κληρονομιά σε μια παγκοσμιοποιημένη κοινωνία) του Πανεπιστημίου του Λάιντεν στην Ολλανδία.

Η παρούσα έρευνα εξετάζει το βαθμό και τους τρόπους με τους οποίους, το Κυπριακό Πρόβλημα επηρεάζει τις αξίες, τα νοήματα και τους συμβολισμούς που επισυνάπτονται από τους Ελληνοκύπριους στο Μοναστήρι του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα στο Ριζοκάρπασο. Εκτιμάται ότι θα χρειαστείτε 5-7 λεπτά για να συμπληρώσετε το ερωτηματολόγιο. Βεβαιώνεται ότι όλες οι απαντήσεις θα χαιρούν άκρας εμπιστευτικότητας. Μπορείτε να παραλείψετε οποιαδήποτε ερώτηση, εάν επιθυμείτε.

Γενικές πληροφορίες

Φύλο:

Θήλυ
Άρρεν
Άλλο

Ηλικία:

18-29
30-44
45-64
65+

Ψήφος στις προηγούμενες βουλευτικές εκλογές (2016):

-ΔΗΣΥ -ΑΚΕΛ -ΔΗΚΟ -ΕΔΕΚ -ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ -ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗ -
ΟΙΚΟΛΟΓΟΙ
-ΕΛΑΜ -ΑΛΛΟ -ΑΠΟΧΗ -ΛΕΥΚΟ/ ΑΚΥΡΟ

1. Επισκεφθήκατε ποτέ το Μοναστήρι του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα;

Ναι Όχι

2. (Αν η απάντηση είναι ναι) Πόσες φορές; (κατά προσέγγιση)

3. (Αν η απάντηση είναι ναι) Πότε; (επιλέξτε όσα ισχύουν)

Πριν το 1974
Μεταξύ 1974 και 2003
Μετά το 2003

4. (Αν η απάντηση είναι ναι) Για ποιό λόγο έγινε η επίσκεψη (ή οι επισκέψεις);

Για προσκύνημα
Για τάμα
Άλλο (παρακαλώ εξηγήστε)

5. (Αν η απάντηση είναι όχι) Για ποιό λόγο δεν επισκεφθήκατε το Μοναστήρι ακόμα;

6. Αυτοπροσδιορίζεστε ως Χριστιανή/ός Ορθόδοξη/ος;

Ναι Όχι

7. Τί συμβολίζει το Μοναστήρι του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα, κατά την προσωπική σας άποψη;

8. Παρακαλώ σημειώστε το βαθμό στον οποίο συμφωνείτε ή διαφωνείτε με τις παρακάτω δηλώσεις:

Για μένα, το Μοναστήρι του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα έχει Ιστορική Αξία

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα Συμφωνώ αρκετά Συμφωνώ λίγο Διαφωνώ λίγο
Διαφωνώ αρκετά Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

Για μένα, το Μοναστήρι του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα έχει Θρησκευτική Αξία

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα Συμφωνώ αρκετά Συμφωνώ λίγο Διαφωνώ λίγο
Διαφωνώ αρκετά Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

9. Γνωρίζετε ότι το Μοναστήρι του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα βρίσκεται υπό εργασίες αποκατάστασης και συντήρησης από την (δικοινοτική) Τεχνική Επιτροπή για την Πολιτιστική Κληρονομιά?

Ναι Όχι

10. (Αν ο συμμετέχοντας έχει επισκεφθεί το μοναστήρι) Έχετε επισκεφθεί την περιοδική έκθεση που αφορά αυτές τις εργασίες και βρίσκεται στο πλάι της εκκλησίας;

Ναι Όχι

11. Πώς σας φαίνεται το γεγονός ότι οι εργασίες συντήρησης και αποκατάστασης στο Μοναστήρι εκτελούνται από τη (δικοινοτική) Τεχνική Επιτροπή για την Πολιτιστική Κληρονομιά; (παρακαλώ εξηγήστε)

Μου αρέσει Δεν μου αρέσει Τίποτα από τα δυο

Επεξήγηση:

- 12. Πώς σας φαίνεται το γεγονός ότι οι εργασίες συντήρησης και αποκατάστασης στο Μοναστήρι συγχρηματοδοτήθηκαν από την Εκκλησία της Κύπρου και το Μουσουλμανικό Ίδρυμα ΕΒΚΑΦ;**
Μου αρέσει Δεν μου αρέσει Τίποτα από τα δυο

Επεξήγηση:

- 13. Γνωρίζατε ότι το Μοναστήρι ήταν και είναι ιερός χώρος και για την Μουσουλμανική κοινότητα του νησιού;**

Ναι Όχι

- 14. Μελέτες δείχνουν ότι η πολιτιστική κληρονομιά μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για σκοπούς συμφιλίωσης και οικοδόμησης ειρήνης ανάμεσα σε κοινότητες που έχουν πληγεί από συγκρούσεις. Σε ποιο βαθμό πιστεύετε ότι αυτό θα μπορούσε να ισχύει και στην περίπτωση της συντήρησης και αποκατάστασης του Μοναστηρίου του Αποστόλου Ανδρέα από τη (δικοινοτική) Τεχνική Επιτροπή για την Πολιτιστική Κληρονομιά;**

Συμφωνώ απόλυτα Συμφωνώ αρκετά Συμφωνώ λίγο Διαφωνώ λίγο
Διαφωνώ αρκετά Διαφωνώ απόλυτα

Επεξήγηση:

- 15. Έχετε προσωπικές αναμνήσεις από το Μοναστήρι; (π.χ. επίσκεψη στο παρελθόν, μέσω φωτογραφιών κ.λπ.). Αν ναι, παρακαλώ αναφέρετε.**

Ναι Όχι

Επεξήγηση:

- 16. Έχετε παρατηρήσει κάποια σημαντική αλλαγή στους τρόπους με τους οποίους οι Ελληνοκύπριοι δίνουν αξία/ νόημα στο Μοναστήρι ή στους τρόπους που αντιλαμβάνονται το Μοναστήρι, ανά τα χρόνια; Αν ναι, παρακαλώ εξηγήστε.**

Ναι Όχι

Ευχαριστώ πολύ για τη συμμετοχή σας!

Appendix 2. Word version of the complete questionnaire (in English, translated)

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this survey that investigates the ways in which the Cyprus' conflict affects the values, meanings and symbolisms attached by Greek-Cypriots to the Apostolos Andreas Monastery in Rizokarpaso, Cyprus. The results of this questionnaire will inform the Research Master's thesis of Maria Stefani, student of "Archaeological Heritage in a Globalizing World" at the Leiden University in the Netherlands. The questionnaire should only take 5-7 minutes to complete. Be assured that all answers you provide will be kept in the strictest confidentiality and feel free to omit any question, if you wish so.

Background information

Sex:

Female

Male

Other

Age:

18-29

30-44

45-64

65+

Vote in the last parliament elections (2016):

-DISI -AKEL -DIKO -EDEK -SYMMACHIA POLITON

-ALLILEGGYI -OIKOLOGOI -ELAM

-OTHER -ABSENTION/INVALID

1. Have you ever visited the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas?

Yes

No

2. (If the answer is yes) How many times? (approximately)

3. (If the answer is yes) When did you visit?

Before 1974

Between 1974 and 2003

After 2003

4. (If the answer is yes) What was the reason for the visit?

For pilgrimage

For a votive offering (tama)

Other (please explain)

5. (If the answer is No) What is the reason for not visiting the monastery yet?

6. Do you identify as an Orthodox Christian?

Yes

No

7. What does the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas symbolize, according to you?

8. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements:

To me, the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is of Historic value:

Agree completely Agree somewhat Agree a little Disagree a little
Disagree somewhat Disagree completely

To me, the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is of Religious value:

Agree completely Agree somewhat Agree a little Disagree a little
Disagree somewhat Disagree completely

9. Did you know that the Monastery has been under restoration works by the (bicomunal) Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage in Cyprus (TCCH)?

Yes No

10. (If participant has visited the monastery before) Have you ever visited the panel exhibition located at the site of the church displaying the works of TCCH?"

Yes No

11. How do you find the fact that the restoration works have been undertaken by the TCCH? (Please explain)

Like completely Like somewhat Like a little Dislike a little
Dislike somewhat Dislike completely

Explanation:

12. How do you find the fact that the works on the monastery are co-founded by the Church of Cyprus and the Evkaf Foundation? (Please explain)

Like completely Like somewhat Like a little Dislike a little
Dislike somewhat Dislike completely

Explanation:

13. Did you know that the monastery has been and still is a holy place for the Muslim community of the island as well?

Yes No

14. Studies have shown that cultural heritage can be used for reconciliation, peace and trust building in communities affected by conflict. To what degree do you agree that this is/could stand true in the case of the Apostolos Andreas monastery? (Please explain)

Agree completely Agree somewhat Agree a little Disagree a little
Disagree somewhat Disagree completely

Explanation:

15. Do you have any personal memories of the monastery? (personal visit in the past, pictures, etc) (If yes, please explain)

Yes No

Explanation:

16. Have you noticed any significant change in the ways Greek Cypriots give value or meaning to the monastery, or in the ways they perceive the monastery, over the years? (If yes, please explain)

Yes No

Explanation:

Thank you very much for your participation!