

# eventum

A Journal of Medieval Arts & Rituals

## The Arts and Rituals of Pilgrimage



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## *Sacred Saliences?*

### Afterlives of Archaeology in the Restoration of Medieval Shrines

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#### Abstract

Focusing on the restoration of material culture associated with pilgrimages, the authors examine how a temporally distant period might be reanimated in the present – or, by contrast, retains potential to be animated but remains dormant. They compare two pilgrimage sites, both characterized by disruptive historical caesuras that define salient periods of destruction of valued eras from the past. In Walsingham (England), the key break is represented by the northern European Reformation. At this site, the medieval remains prominent in the present, where it is repeatedly re-enacted, though in the context of loss. In the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas (Cyprus), the significant caesura is more recent, referring to the de facto partition of Cyprus in 1974. Here, the fifteenth-century chapel contained within the site has not been translated into substantial signs of medieval presence or performance. Despite their differences, both cases studied in this paper demonstrate how a caesura designates the period to be recalled and given an ‘afterlife’.

#### Keywords

Pilgrimage sites; Walsingham; Reformation; Apostolos Andreas; partition of Cyprus

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This article is concerned with pilgrimage and the medieval, but we are not attempting to take readers directly back to the arts or the rituals of a long-past period. Rather, we focus on a more modern set of medievalisms, and the ways in which a temporally distant period might be objectified, activated, reanimated in the present – or, by



way of contrast, ways in which that period retains the potential to be so animated but instead remains dormant, unrevived for the time being. In offering an analysis that is mostly ethnographic in intent we examine the ‘afterlives’ of pilgrimage rituals and arts rather literally, for we are interested in the conceptualization and experience of the ‘after’ among the people and the pilgrimages that we focus on. For our purposes, it is important that ‘after’ is an inherently relative temporal term, implying not only a ‘before’ against which it might be measured, but also an identifiable and significant dividing line between pre- and post-states. The most common implication of afterlife is perhaps that of life after death, or at least a repurposing following a point of apparent destruction. In one of the sites we examine, the Anglican and Roman Catholic pilgrimage site of Walsingham in Norfolk, England, the medieval does indeed provide the key period of ‘beforeness’ prior to its being divided from subsequent history by the disruptive caesura created by the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Northern European Reformation. We shall show how the caesura points to a state of affairs that is depicted as highly salient and desired in a present defined as a complex and conflictual aftermath to events long ago. Indeed, Walsingham is a site of pilgrimage constituted, to a large degree, by highlighting multiple signs of medieval presence within a landscape densely populated by numerous materializations of memory: connections with the past are invoked by ritual performances, archaeological ruins, and architectural restorations where links with the pre-Reformation history of the site are repeatedly asserted and re-enacted. Even the carrying out of archaeological investigation into the medieval period has at times been given a theological dimension, almost sacralizing the practice of unearthing the past. Often, however, such links do not entail a simple reinvocation of former times: rather, as we shall see, they draw on material reminders or even bundles of a before recombined with an after, a pre with a post, wholeness with fragmentation.

In the other site, history is also represented as containing a key caesura, but it is one of much more recent grounding, referring to the de facto partition of Cyprus in 1974 into the government-controlled area, which is mainly inhabited by Greek Cypriots, and the area that is de facto controlled by the Turkish Cypriots.<sup>1</sup> The Orthodox Monastery of Apostolos Andreas in Turkish-occupied Karpasia contains a church from 1867 situated just above the wall

1. The ‘Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus’ (TRNC) was illegally declared unilaterally in 1983 in the Turkish-occupied part of Cyprus and is not internationally recognized apart from by Turkey. See United Nations Security Council Resolutions 541/83 and 550/84.



of a medieval chapel most probably constructed, along with its surrounding additions, during the Frankish rule in the fifteenth century. The chapel was excavated during the monastery's restoration, but while it forms a significant archaeological background to the contemporary monastery, it has not yet been translated into substantial signs of medieval presence or performance in the present. Rather, the past that is more readily invoked by the pilgrimage site is the modern history of Cyprus' division, involving the loss of both homes and sovereignty as experienced within the memory of still living citizens.

In contextualizing such attitudes to the past, we do not attempt a comprehensive review of religious views of time. We do note, however, that ethically inflected perspectives on 'breaks' in temporal trajectories are discernible in numerous historical and ethnographic materials relating to Christianity. Quite apart from the apocalyptic and eschatological perspectives evident in both Old and New Testaments, evangelical traditions of dispensationalism have emphasized the possibility of seeing human history in terms of distinct 'phases' of relationship to divine will. Furthermore, within the anthropology of Christianity, much discussion has also revolved around whether conversion to the faith – particularly in its missionary, Pentecostal forms – entails acceptance of complete 'rupture' with the non-Christian past (e.g. Robbins). However, while dispensationalism tends to perceive time in terms of linear stages, and the Pentecostal notion of rupture looks forward to the possibility of salvation, our interlocutors at both sites look more positively towards the past – not in comfortably nostalgic terms, but with a powerful sense of urgency. The caesuras that they identify entail a 'cutting' into history – with all its literal and metaphorical violence – highlighting the unwanted interruption of a still valued state of affairs.<sup>2</sup> Their hope remains that the consequences of such disruption need not be permanent, and that some degree of restoration, even redemption, is possible.

2. 'Caesura' is not a term used by our informants, but it does cover what is meant when they deploy such words as 'break', 'destruction', and even 'Reformation'.

As ethnographers, we are not attempting a straightforwardly archaeological or historical reconstruction of what 'really' happened in the periods highlighted by our interlocutors – exploring whether the cuts in history were as radical as they surmise. What interests us are the perceptions of disruption centring around material reminders of loss that may also function as harbingers of restoration. Our juxtaposition of two

sites prompts us to ask about the afterlives and affordances of archaeology in relation to pilgrimage shrines, and more specifically, whether and how the medieval becomes an active medium for contemporary sacred performances and aspirations towards restoration, or simply constitutes background signs of a venerable though unremarked past. We therefore anatomize not only the notion of the ‘after’, but also the notion of ‘life’. If Walsingham, rather than Apostolos Andreas, presents a living medievalism, how does archaeology (and associated antiquarianism) contribute to the process of revival in one case, but not, so far, in the other?

In posing this question, we are inspired less by writings on new animisms (e.g. Durrant) than by work carried out in a seemingly very different analytical realm involving the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai’s ongoing engagement with the notion of the “social life of things” (*Social Life*; “Thing”), and in particular his concern with the ways in which, as he puts it, “all things are congealed moments in a longer social trajectory” (“Thing” 15; see also Kopytoff). Appadurai emphasizes that we can trace how a given object shifts identities and social lives over time – for instance from art object to junk, from commodity to singularity. In his words (“Thing” 15): “The corrosion of history only supports and intensifies the inherent tendency of things to move on to some new state in their social lives.” We choose to apply Appadurai’s argument about object circulation and the transformation of values to the products and processes of archaeology itself, as it provides the raw materials to highlight a given period of the pilgrimage past and to afford the possibility of (re-)constructing the social saliencies of ancient objects in the present.

In adopting this approach, we acknowledge Cornelius Holtorf’s (170) critique of a “hermeneutics of recovery”, which he sees as characteristic of the archaeological obsession with origins and reconstruction of meanings from the past. Rather than focusing only on the initial creation of monuments, Holtorf calls for an understanding of their transformations of material form and meaning over time (168). For this reason, he regards the word ‘afterlife’ as an inappropriate description of the inherently ongoing existence of sites such as megaliths, which may well have been designed to outlive their builders. In practice, Holtorf’s stance

does not quite apply to the cases we describe. We are specifically interested in how our interlocutors conceptualize what they themselves see as a fixed point in time – one commemorating not so much the creation of material culture but the moment in history at which such culture was destroyed or rendered inaccessible. That said, we do concur with Holtorf's observation (171) that any given landscape must be understood to be multi-temporal, constantly mixing old and new in ways salient to any given period. For those whom we study, what matters is how the present and potentially the future can be made no longer distant from, but rather proximate to and interacting with, a given era from the past.<sup>3</sup>

3. Holtorf (170) draws on Michel Serres' reference to the parable of the handkerchief to describe similar objections to linear ways of ordering time: "If you take a handkerchief and spread it out in order to iron it, you can see in it certain fixed distances and proximities. If you sketch a circle in one area, you can mark out nearby points and measure far-off distances. Then take the same handkerchief and crumple it, by putting it in your pocket. Two distant points suddenly are close, even superimposed. If, further, you tear it in certain places, two points that were close can become very distant. [...] As we experience time [...] it resembles this crumpled version much more than the flat, overly simplified one" (Serres and Latour 60). Charles Stewart also writes about the idea of "linear histories", which he juxtaposes with "topological histories" (Stewart, "Uncanny History" 132) or "topological and affectively driven forms of historicizing" ("Uncanny History" 140). "[T]opology allows consideration of shapes that have been bent and not merely stretched" ("Uncanny History" 141 n. 1); "temporal topologies" in this sense are "cases where the past, present, and future may be bent around one another rather than ordered linearly" (ibid., abstract). See also Argenti.

Of course, just as objects can have many forms of existence over time, so sites can undergo different types of restoration – can indeed turn into different kinds of object. For instance, in writing of various strategies applied to previously abandoned medieval monasteries in Cyprus, Maria Philokyprou and Eleni Petropoulou (108) refer to the dilemmas that frequently emerge under such circumstances: whether to preserve monasteries "in their ruinous condition as found or restore them completely". Nowadays, in their view, the museum-like, "passive" maintenance of existing building complexes is rarely favoured and gives way to a "dynamic maintenance" approach according to which "any intervention should aim at returning monuments to society, as living complexes" (ibid., 109). Philokyprou and Petropoulou promote a sense of restoration as reuse, as catalyzing a form of life that returns us to Appadurai's social life of things where the values put on such objects can rise, fall, and rise again. Their argument also recalls a point made by Victor Buchli and Gavin Lucas in their book *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*, that archaeologists not merely uncover, but also actively constitute things in the present, conceptually as well as materially. According to such a view, archaeology might come close to a kind of art or performance, or at least "a creative materializing intervention" with its own redemptive and therapeutic powers and the potential to help communities express dilemmas and contradictions "that otherwise would remain unarticulated" (17). Yet, as we shall see in the cases we examine, such reuse, such social life, such redemption, may also depend on the specific social salience provided by the period of history that the ruins represent.

## Walsingham: On Absences, Presences, and Absent Presences

Walsingham is a picturesque village in North Norfolk, situated in the eastern bulge of England. It serves as both a religious site and a popular spot for local holidaymakers. The permanent population of the village is under 1,000, but in a good year perhaps as many as 300,000 visitors pass through, some staying for a few hours, others joining regular parish groups who might come for up to a week. While the antiquity of the village is evident in its medieval houses and archaeological ruins, the precise historical details of its origins as a shrine are less clear. According to a fifteenth-century text called “The Pynson Ballad”, a vision of the Virgin Mary was granted to a local noblewoman, Richeldis, in 1061. The vision instructed Richeldis to build a replica in Norfolk of the house in Nazareth where Mary had received the visitation from the Angel Gabriel, telling her that she would conceive a son. Richeldis duly assembled a ‘Holy House’ in which a statue of Mary and Child came to be placed. As the fame of Walsingham and its miracle-working spread during the medieval period, this relatively modest edifice was accompanied in the village by other, grander buildings, including two monastic houses. However, the shrine’s sixteenth-century supporter-turned-nemesis Henry VIII ordered its destruction during the Dissolution of the Monasteries, so that little remained in the post-Reformation period other than the East window of a priory and the ruins of a friary.

Michael Rear reports that interest in Walsingham’s religious history reawakened in the nineteenth century (169). In 1835 the writer Agnes Strickland even penned a three-volume novel *The Pilgrims of Walsingham: or Tales of the Middle Ages*, and in 1853–54 test excavations of the presumed site of the pre-Reformation pilgrimage were conducted by Reverend Canon James Lee Warner, local vicar and regular contributor of pieces to archaeological societies, whose own family had been linked to the village since the sixteenth century. In the late 1890s a model of the Holy House, based on a version located in Loreto, Italy, was constructed at one side of the new Roman Catholic Church of Our Lady of the Annunciation in King’s Lynn, a nearby town in Norfolk. At Walsingham itself, at about the same time, a wealthy benefactress and eventual convert to Roman Catholicism, Charlotte Boyd, negotiated the purchase of

4. The term 'Slipper' may refer to a pilgrimage practice of taking off shoes on the pilgrims' final leg of their journey to the shrine, or it may refer to the old English word 'slype', meaning a place or passageway in between.

a fourteenth-century chapel that had served as the final stopping-place for medieval pilgrims before entering the village, and which constituted the only complete building left from the medieval pilgrimage. The so-called Slipper Chapel,<sup>4</sup> at one point nearly derelict and being used as a barn, was eventually restored and declared a National Shrine in 1934, embodying the slow emergence of English Roman Catholicism from its position as isolated, fortress church into a more mainstream presence in the country. Since then, building around the Slipper Chapel has continued, creating a shrine complex that includes a larger chapel built to resemble local vernacular architecture, stations of the cross, offices, a cafe, and shop. While the Slipper Chapel therefore shares its location with a number of buildings, owing to its proximity to the road it is still the first that the pilgrim is likely to encounter as they proceed from the village.

5. Anglo-Catholicism is a branch of Anglicanism that emphasizes the Catholic heritage and ritual forms of the church. It is particularly associated with the Oxford Movement of the nineteenth century in England but retains varieties of supporters to the present day.

The Anglican part of the story of revival of pilgrimage to Walsingham had rather different theological and cultural resonances as well as material consequences. It owed much to the controversial vision of one man, Father Hope Patten, who in 1922 announced the re-establishment of devotion to Our Lady of Walsingham at the village to which he had come as vicar just a year earlier (Yelton). For Patten, a deeply committed Anglo-Catholic,<sup>5</sup> revival meant a controversial return to a medieval model of the church, albeit one that for the time being remained distinct from rival Roman Catholic practices. He found himself reconstructing a pilgrimage tradition in response to a period marked by intense debates over the status and legitimacy of so-called 'ritualist' practices within the Church of England that had sometimes resulted in physical attacks by Protestant raiders who delighted in smashing up material sites of Anglo-Catholic revival (Yates 139). A sense of being ritually beleaguered has remained among some Anglican pilgrims to Walsingham, reinforced by the occasional presence even today of hostile evangelicals shouting insults at processions that they regard as sheer idolatry.

This is a brief summary of a long history, but the observation we emphasize is that of the constant reminder of that historical caesura associated with the Reformation in much of the revival of Walsingham, as carried out by both varieties of Catholicism. It is embedded in the contemporary village as dual pilgrimage

destination, as host of revived sites of ruination, as catalyst for enactments of a medievalized processional culture regularly enveloped by the verbal violence of those evangelicals who see themselves as true representatives of Protestant reform. What is notable about this caesura from the perspective of pilgrimage practices is the clean break it appears to assert within English history: it lays out a direct juxtaposition of medieval and modern, with relatively little emphasis on what happened in between. The contemporary period becomes defined as the time of a revived consciousness combined with an aspiration that the damage done by the Reformation can be reversed. Indeed, a sense of the close adjacency of modern to medieval has become part of the refoundation myth of Walsingham. In 1934, when Roman Catholics met at Walsingham to re-establish their presence at the village, the priest Father Vernon heralded “the first national pilgrimage to the Walsingham neighborhood since the Reformation” while proclaiming his sense that Roman Catholic repossession of the Slipper Chapel meant precisely that “the mind [could be taken] back immediately 400 years to those last days when other Catholic crowds of pilgrims thronged this place, gazed on the same walls that we have looked upon, and passed the very door that we passed”.<sup>6</sup> Father Vernon’s account of these conjoined visions that constituted Roman Catholic presence entailed an erasure of centuries of English history from his perspective of the 1930s, but it received a curious echo some sixty years later when Simon interviewed the then administrator of the Anglo-Catholic shrine,<sup>7</sup> and heard the latter’s reference to Walsingham as “a place where pilgrimage has been happening ever since 1061 with a short gap of 400 years which we’ve now got over”.

6. See Eastern Daily Press, 20 August 1934, quoted in McDonald 45.

7. Interview with Father Martin Warner, 11 September 1995.

In these accounts the link to the past defined by the caesura of the Reformation is made immediate; but these assertions of temporal proximity to medieval worship are both invoked and complicated by the materiality and archaeology of the village. What Father Vernon did not mention were some spatial dynamics that still rankle to this day among Roman Catholic pilgrims, nearly a century after his announcement: the fact that to reach the Slipper Chapel pilgrims must process *away* from the medieval centre of the village. The only fully restored piece of authentic medieval architecture is ironically displaced from Walsingham itself, made into a slightly skewed Roman Catholic recapitulation of history as it is incorporated into

a new social life as part of a redesignated ritual centre.

Admittedly, at the time when Father Vernon was addressing his Roman Catholic flock in the mid-1930s, nobody was quite sure where the original medieval Holy House had been placed. The location was finally confirmed in the early 1960s by a secular office holder, Charles Green, archaeological consultant to the Ministry of Works. Green managed to identify traces of the Holy House in the centre of the village, close to the remains of the ruined Priory. Yet, when Simon first came to Walsingham in the 1990s and informed people that he was an anthropologist, he was regularly told by Roman and Anglo-Catholics that his chief task should be to pick up trowel and shovel and find the ‘true’ location of the House. Gradually, it became clear that definitive discovery was not necessarily what was desired: for some interlocutors at least, irresolution kept the narrative of destruction and disappearance alive, maintaining the sense that there was still much to be discerned under the surface of the ground.

A rather different stance had been articulated by yet another exploratory venture under the Walsingham turf, and one that had been attempted at a historical juncture situated in between the efforts of Lee Warner and Green. Indeed, this ‘dig’ had been commissioned in the 1930s, at about the same time as Father Vernon was claiming the ability to see the landscape through medieval Roman Catholic eyes. Workers hired by the Anglo-Catholic Father Patten came across an ancient well at yet another site, a little further away from the Priory, while preparing to erect a building that would soon come to contain an impressive but new replica of Richeldis’ Holy House. Few people seem to have given the idea much credulity, but Patten appeared for a time to be convinced that the presence of the well signalled the very close proximity of the medieval shrine to the location that he had chosen for its restoration in the modern day. Elsewhere, Simon has termed Patten’s stance a form of “archaeo-theology” (Coleman), and the point is that Patten’s Anglo-Catholic sensibilities clearly encouraged attempts to reach beyond a secular archaeological hermeneutics. Digging underground was not just a practical matter; it was also a means of engaging with what lay below outward reality, as well as laying oneself open to a seeming serendipity that could take on further meaning – encountering a find that was divinely intended to be unearthed for spiritual as well

as scholarly purposes, just as the legend of finding lost relics has fuelled the restoration of other European pilgrimage sites in the post-Reformation period.

8. *Furta sacra* is a phrase referring to the appropriation of relics by medieval shrines, often given theological justification through the reasoning that a powerful relic would not permit itself to be moved unless its appropriation were morally justified.

What is still more significant for us here, however, is what Patten did with his site and more particularly his model of the medieval Holy House. The latter was quite obviously a modern construction, in contrast to the legend of the building that was said physically to have flown from the Holy Land and eventually landed in Loreto; but Patten added to the outside walls of his replica many stones taken from monasteries and other buildings destroyed at the Reformation. There was perhaps a hint of *furta sacra* here,<sup>8</sup> as little information exists on how he obtained some of his finds. More generally, the original function of any given architectural or archaeological fragment mattered little: what was significant was that it came from an authentically old building. The nature of assimilation into the Holy House was also noteworthy: Patten's stones are not kept behind glass cases, but are incorporated into the body of the replica, and many of them remain within touching height. Their material locations and affordances grant them a new social life, a new set of ritual relationalities within a shrine that attempts to re-form the medieval *after* the Reformation, but also of course conjoins medieval *spolia* with a modern building. In doing so, they also, fascinatingly, conflate Philokyrou and Petropoulou's two forms of restoration (108): ruin is not separated from rebuild, but made part of it. Any close viewer of the stones can perceive that they are part of a complete structure but also commemorate the dissolution of multiple other buildings. Pre and post are bundled together, both revealing the effects of a destructive historical caesura and suggesting that the gap that it created can indeed be bridged.

In a book on temporality and art that contains reflections on Walsingham's Holy House, Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood contrast two basic models of understanding a work of art's relationship to both time and material creation. What they call a "substitutional model of production" is one that implies a given object or work can be replaced wholly or altered gradually yet continue to garner the same attention and appreciation from audiences (16). Indeed, they state, "the work that manage[d] to retain its identity despite alteration, repair, renovation, and even outright replacement was a sustaining myth of art in premodern



Europe” (8). By contrast, an “authorial” or “performative” model emphasizes the necessity of preserving the original artefact and, by implication, its connection with a specific creator: the object is valued as something unique that did not exist before the definitive point of its production. Its creation cuts into time in a way that the ongoing, continually renewing logic of substitution does not (15). While it is tempting to see authorial models as embodying a Renaissance attitude that superseded a substitutional sensibility, in practice the two have often coexisted and co-competed in artistic and ritual contexts. Nagel and Wood see pilgrimage sites as providing especially privileged “theatres” for the “artifact’s crisis of legitimacy” in the sense that shrines have tended to dramatize the *non*-substitutability of such objects. Indeed, when Erasmus chose to satirize the pilgrimage to Walsingham he did so by penning a satirical dialogue suggesting that its relics, whatever their provenance, had been replaced and repaired out of their original existence (12–13). Much later, when Patten came to produce his own replica of the Holy House, he copied a physical building that expressed the tensions between substitutionary and authorial narratives of creation. The medieval story of Loreto – of the house that literally flew from the Holy Land to its new location in Europe – could be seen as “an emblem of the increasing vulnerability of the substitution model if there ever was one. For if a replica were just as good as an original, there is no need to send in the original by airlift” (195).

Here we focus on how the tensions between these two models might be explored further in the light of Patten’s remaking of the Holy House. *Contra* Loreto, he made no pretence that his edifice was anything other than a new construction, though the fact that it followed the Loreto dimensions relatively closely meant that the building could offer broadly the same experience to the pilgrim – a sense of being enclosed in a womb-like vessel. As we have seen, Patten also came to believe that his Holy House occupied the original location of the medieval original, lending weight to his conviction that he was a human agent of divine will, much as Richeldis had been in the eleventh century. Admittedly, the ancient stones embedded in modern bricks did not come from Walsingham itself, but the fact that they came from a wide variety of ruins emphasized the importance of contemporary Walsingham as the place where they could be gathered together. More significant for our purposes,

however, was the temporal work performed by Patten's stones. They may have been derived from disparate locations, but they all converged on a single point in time – the moment not of their original creation but of their destruction, the caesura in English religious life that Patten wanted both to recall and, effectively, to erase. Their very bundling together with modern masonry – with all its ambivalence and awkwardness as a form of restoration – still suggests that there is much still to do in reconciling past with present. After all, the Holy House is not a place only to view: it is a place of prayer, of individual contemplation, of collective ritual. While the Roman Catholic shrine does not contain any counterpart to the Holy House, it does maintain an intriguing material presence in the village's High Street: the Museum of the Blessed Virgin Mary, containing not stones but multiple original statues, postage stamps, postcards, and other artefacts related to the Virgin. These items were collected not by a priest but by a pious layman, Peter Sibley, who had kept the collection in his own home in another part of England before it was gifted to the shrine at his death. While maintaining its identity as a museum, the collection keeps some of its statues out of cases and again within touching reach, blurring the boundaries between touristic observation and a more tactile, devotional engagement. Even as it displays Marian materials from around the world, the museum's building contains a further message, expressed in material form: its back wall directly abuts the grounds containing the original Holy House.

Although the point is not generally made explicit at Walsingham, the sense of an ongoing trauma to be addressed, of a destruction to be redressed again and again through devotional efforts and accumulations, is also expressed in the ritual processions that both Anglo- and Roman Catholics arrange through Walsingham, whether flanked by roaring evangelicals or not. On certain days such processions do end up at the spot identified by Green as the location of the original Holy House, perhaps marking the blank space in the turf with the replica of a statue or an outdoor mass. What such occasions share with the stones on the wall of the modern replica (and perhaps also with the statues of the Virgin, removed from their original churches) is not only a play between the material affordances of archaeology and the ritual affordances of contemporary worship, but also what Ewa Domanska (345–46) has suggestively called “a past that is non-absent”, in other

9. For a balanced discussion of this issue, see Rear appendix 3.

words one whose absence is made manifest. The medieval is recalled to life within the same object or action that is recalling its destruction. It is in this friction, this continued paradox of discovery and loss, that ritual and history seem both to propagate each other and come to life. Fascinatingly, also, in recent years amateur Roman Catholic historians have suggested that what appears to be complete destruction may be secular misunderstanding.<sup>9</sup> They argue that Richeldis' Holy House may be gone but that its medieval statue was not in fact burnt at the time of the Dissolution; rather, it can be found – in plain sight but unrecognized, unacknowledged, rendered untouchable by secular scholars – in a glass case in the Victoria and Albert Museum. For such supporters of Walsingham, it remains a matter of frustration that the museum does not currently countenance any further historical investigation into claims that may represent contemporary forms of the 'archaeo-theological'. Even now, the hope remains that scientific methods of testing will demonstrate how the multiple replicas of a medieval statue might finally be complemented by a further, dramatic challenge to the violence of the Dissolution: the suggestion that destruction of the original object never actually took place.

## The Monastery of Apostolos Andreas

The Monastery of Apostolos Andreas in the Mediterranean island of Cyprus is a site marked by a different caesura than Walsingham: one recalling events within living memory. Following the Turkish invasion in 1974 and the subsequent occupation of almost one third of the island, Cyprus has been divided along ethnic and geographical lines, with its two main communities, the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot, mainly residing in the southern and northern parts respectively. The Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is located near the Cape of Apostolos Andreas, on the north-eastern end of the island, in the Turkish-occupied peninsula of Karpasia. The area is associated by tradition with Apostolos Andreas (Kokkinoftas 14), and its nearest village is approximately 20 km away. Unlike Walsingham, the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is not built in the middle of a village but on a remote and rather isolated location, the journey to which was long and difficult, something that is

recalled by the Greek Cypriots who visited it from different parts of Cyprus before the war.

A Pancyprian pilgrimage site before 1974, which was also visited by Muslim Turkish Cypriots, the monastery was rendered largely inaccessible to most Greek Cypriots living in the south up until 2003, when the opening of the checkpoints allowed Cypriots to cross the dividing line. During the period of its inaccessibility to the south,<sup>10</sup> the monastery – one of the very few Christian religious sites in the north to remain functional (Hatay 83–84) – acquired a central position in Greek Cypriot collective memory and imagination, becoming emblematic of the occupied areas and of Cyprus more generally. Its gradual ruination owing to the erosion of the sea, the passing of time, and accumulated neglect only added to its powerful symbolic value – a value that shaped both the pilgrimage revival after the opening of the checkpoints and attempts to restore the monastery. Owing to the context of unresolved conflict in which revived pilgrimages to Apostolos Andreas take place, the site cannot become a venue for local holiday-making, not for Greek Cypriots at least, who today spend around 30–45 minutes there, performing their devotions, taking *ayiasma* (water from the holy spring) and pictures at the site.

The monastery comprises a building complex that contains a medieval chapel most probably constructed, “along with its surrounding additions”, “during the Frankish rule in the fifteenth century”. “The old church”, as the chapel is often referred to, is complemented by “the new church” from 1867, which is situated just above its wall.<sup>11</sup> This latter construction is linked with Father Ioannis Diakos<sup>12</sup> (Kokkinoftas 21; Myriantefs 120), who in order “to fulfill an older vow [*tama*] and build a church dedicated to the Apostle” returned to his native Karpasia after some time spent at the Monastery of Kykkos.<sup>13</sup> Father Ioannis settled in the area where the “old church” was located (Kokkinoftas 23), and despite having failed to secure permission,<sup>14</sup> began to construct a fresh one.

According to Kokkinoftas (27), Father Ioannis envisioned the monastery as a pilgrimage site for the ministering and spiritual renewal of the faithful and therefore “did not give it the characteristics of a Monastery, in which a monastic fraternity would live”. The endeavour was successful, and the place did become an important

10. Greek Cypriots were only allowed to travel to it from the south on limited occasions before the opening of the checkpoints (i.e. on pilgrimages that were agreed upon by the government and the Turkish Cypriot authorities).

11. UNDP Cyprus, *Restoration*. For extensive descriptions of the monastery complex, see Myriantefs; Kokkinoftas 33–43; Tsiknopoullos 8–9, 16–17.

12. This is the monastery’s founder (*ktetor/κτήτορας*) and treasurer (*oikonomos/οικονόμος*).

13. Located in the Greek-Cypriot western part of the island.

14. There is a distant parallel here to Father Patten, who defied the opposition of his local bishop in constructing a shrine church and Holy House.

destination, with several physical expansions and additions being made to it soon after the construction of the new church (see for example Myrianthefts 126) and all the way up to the 1960s (141–44). In the 1940s the medieval chapel had also undergone renovation (Kokkinoftas 35; Tsiknopoulos 16; Foulías 80). Three wells were unified, and underground pipelines were created “for the drainage of the water of the source-*ayiasma*” (Myrianthefts 114) which end up at “a [...] concrete fountain with three taps” (Kokkinoftas 35; Tsiknopoulos 17) still in existence today.

Works such as the ones described here, as well as published pictures of the chapel’s interior,<sup>15</sup> point to the fact that the building was still in use after the “new church” was built. Never having been (intentionally at least) destroyed, unlike much of Walsingham, the fifteenth-century chapel at Apostolos Andreas appears to have been integrated into the pilgrimage. In fact, it was still being visited by travellers to Apostolos Andreas as part of their journeys in 2015, when the chapel became inaccessible owing to excavation and restoration works that commenced in 2014.<sup>16</sup> The restitution of the monastery had been announced by the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage<sup>17</sup> two years before,<sup>18</sup> and it included the restoration of both the 1867 church and the ancient chapel.<sup>19</sup>

According to the United Nations Development Program’s (UNDP) document on the specifications for the chapel’s restoration, works on it include reconstructions, reproductions, and new constructions such as the “reconstruction of cornice”, the construction of “a new [simple] Altar” and a new icon screen, and the manufacturing of a wooden copy of the existing door.<sup>20</sup> The envisioned reconstructive restoration therefore mixes original and copy, construction and reconstruction. It remains to be seen if and how the restored chapel will have an active “social life” through extensive reuse. For now, however, it does not hold a central position in the imagination of contemporary pilgrims – not as a medieval site, at least. The past that is relevant and invoked by the pilgrimage is the history of Cyprus’ division. This is visible, for example, in the ways in which the restoration of the monastery as a whole, as “the first heritage conservation project in Cyprus to be fully funded by both communities”,<sup>21</sup> explicitly addresses the trauma of the war by being linked by the UNDP to processes of reconciliation and peacebuilding in Cyprus.<sup>22</sup> In this manner, the wider project of

15. See for example photographs republished from Wideson in Foulías 82 and Myrianthefts 110.

16. Evgenia would like to thank Doria Nicolaou for this information.

17. This is a bi-communal committee, and it was established in 2008 with the mandate of preserving Cyprus’ cultural heritage. For more information on the committee and its work, see UNDP, CY. The restoration of the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas is co-funded by the Church of Cyprus and the EVKAF Administration, with a small contribution by the US Agency for International Development via the United Nations Development Programme-Partnership for the Future. For more information on the restoration project see UNDP, *Restoration*.

18. Announcement of the Technical Committee on Cultural Heritage (22 February 2012).

19. Restoration of the Holy Monastery of Apostolos Andreas – Project Document UNDP, *Restoration*. See also Kokkinoftas 23, 26, 29, 37.

20. UNDP, *Procurement Documents*.

21. UNDP, CY 46.

22. UNDP, *Restoration*.

restoration alludes both to the recent history of Cyprus' division and also to an aspirational future, transforming the monastery into a symbol of intercommunal collaboration and, as the former UNDP Cyprus Senior Program Manager Tiziana Zennaro said in a speech she gave upon the completion of phase 1 of the restoration, of "perseverance, unity and peace" (2016).

The temporal period being invoked by journeys to the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas also becomes visible in the ways in which such travels are partly motivated by the memory of the 'living' past that they help evoke, preserve, and transmit. For people who were born before the division of Cyprus, especially those who had travelled to the monastery before the war, pilgrimages become means to remember, re-enact, and reconnect with a past that is not nearly as distant as that of the medieval chapel. What is most salient is a proximate, personal, as well as collective and reclaimable past. For people born after 1974, meanwhile, "[t]he past gains further weight", as Lowenthal notes, because places are conceived "not only as we ourselves see them but also as we have heard and read about them" (6). These later generations maintain their own connections with the occupied areas or, rather, what Sant Cassia calls "imagined memories" (76). Such memories do not emerge from direct experience but have been formed through familial narrations, education, and visual representations of "I Do Not Forget". In these terms, pilgrimages to Apostolos Andreas become an opportunity to learn about the occupied part of Cyprus, which for many years people based in the south could only hear and read about or see in pictures (Mesaritou): occasions of viewing the landscape not through imagined medieval eyes, as in Father Vernon's case, but through the eyes of their parents, schoolteachers, and younger selves. For both generations, then, the past that becomes relevant is that constituted by the 'before' and 'after' of the de facto partition of Cyprus in 1974. It is this history that memories of the site both store and restore.

The pre-division past and the aspiration for a future re-unification therefore mix in ways that produce a multi-temporal pilgrimage experience. As Nicolas Argenti notes, when the past is "ongoing" and still urgently relevant in the present, "past, present, and future become mutually juxtaposed and intertwined" (9). This point is reflected in the route that Greek Cypriots travelling to the

Monastery of Apostolos Andreas usually follow. With its images of unkept plains and fields, of sites ruined or eroded by time, of new settlements, universities, hotel units, and merged and/or enlarged villages, the landscape traversed gives rise to contrasting experiences of time, which is sometimes felt as having stood still, and at other times as having moved forward in the absence of those who had previously inhabited it. Images recalling the Cyprus of the 1970s, along with representations of “development” that make the present palpable, give rise to thoughts about the future; areas that have been thus transformed after the war cause people to think that they will most likely not be returned to the Greek Cypriots in case of a future solution to the “Cyprus Problem”. Recent past, present, and future therefore merge in forming a pilgrimage experience that is inevitably framed by unresolved tension.

The Cyprus conflict also lends importance to claims over ‘precedence’ and ‘ownership’ of the site (see Harmansah 482). Noting two scholars’ claims that the Monastery of Apostolos Andreas had been built over an Islamic tomb, Rabia Harmansah talks of an “attempt to prove the ‘original’ Islamic character of the site” (481), linking this development with claims over precedence which, as she notes, are important “in a nation’s linear conception of historical time” (482).<sup>23</sup> As we have shown in this article, however, time is not necessarily experienced as linear by people for whom the past remains very much present for at least as long as the caesuras that have marked their lives remain unredeemed. Paradoxically, it is the break in what is thought to be linear time where past, present, and future are seen as distinct that brings their actual blurring into stark relief.

As Victor Roudometof and Miranda Christou (2016) point out in discussing 1974 as a “cultural trauma” (164), “1974 did not simply deprive people from homes, fields, and orange groves; it also unsettled deep-seated cultural constructions of time and continuity” (167). The ways in which Greek Cypriots born before 1974 nostalgically recount their pre-war pilgrimages as part of a lifestyle that is long gone reveals the experience of 1974 as a caesura: the time when many lost their homes and became refugees, the time when they lost access to their grandparents’ villages, their beloved places of worship, and the holiday places of their childhood and youth, places to which they could not

23. The reactions to both the claims and the resulting demands to build a mosque near the monastery were mixed (Harmansah 481). According to Foulías (93–102), who cites various pieces of evidence disputing these claims, not only did the excavation works performed during the monastery’s restoration “not locate a Muslim tomb [...] but archaeological evidence [...] reinforce[d] the likelihood that the worship of the First-Called [Apostolos Andreas] existed there since the paleo-Christian period (4th–7th century)” (Foulías 100). The claim of an Islamic tomb existing at the site may be seen as disputing the very existence of the caesura by appearing to ‘restore’ the site’s original character in ways that also legitimize “Turkish control over the land” (Harmansah 482). This assertion can be linked to the different ways in which Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots perceive and narrate history. While Greek Cypriots begin the island’s history with “the arrival of ancient Greeks in Cyprus”, Turkish Cypriots begin “with the arrival of the Ottomans in 1571 ACE” (Bryant and Papadakis 10).

‘return’ for almost thirty years. When they finally did, places were no longer the same, or had remained exactly the same, both states becoming evocative of the caesura. But the caesura is not only experienced through the transformed landscape that is traversed. It is also enacted as something open and still in need of a resolution. The nostalgia expressed in relation to the pre-war past “leads to a nearly messianic expectation of restoring the lost grace of that era as part of the future” (Roudometof and Christou 167). It is this expectation that transforms the caesura into an unfinished state in which temporalities merge, making the past as well as the future urgent in the present.

## Concluding Remarks

This article has presented histories of two shrines, two trajectories of archaeological research and restoration, broadly defined. Our aim has been to suggest some of the key components of two models of material and ritual afterlife, and to suggest how the medieval is placed strategically close to the modern in one model, yet remains latent, as if cryogenically frozen, in the other. The focus of our analysis has not been on the logistical details of archaeological excavation by professionals, but rather on archaeology as a practice that may or may not be deployed to intervene in certain concerns of the present.

Of course, history can be defined in numerous ways, through chronological progression, the reigns of monarchs, spiritual dispensations, and so on. Here, we have emphasized the analytical figure of the caesura – a potentially violent cut in time, commemorating significant and consequential events but also, in the cases we examine, rendering the ‘prior’ time distant yet desired. Seen in this way, the caesura resists the assumption that time, or in Stewart’s words “lived temporality” (“Uncanny History” 2017, 139), is inevitably linear, or at least suggests the possibility of direct juxtaposition between salient past and the present, with the suggestion that the latter may be able to redeem elements of the former.<sup>24</sup> At both Walsingham and Apostolos Andreas, a living history is created out of emphasizing the importance of a historical caesura whose nagging presence requires continued action – ultimately resulting in its own erasure. As a result, a “short gap” of

24. Stewart notes how “[e]xperientially [...] events can be felt as compacted into one present swirl [...]. Each phase is co-present, embedded into the others, giving a multi-temporal emotional resonance to [...] present moment[s]” (“Uncanny History” 138–39).



400 years at Walsingham takes on a striking parallel to what is a relatively brief historical gap in the biographies of still living Greek Cypriots. In neither place is history allowed to settle, so that the caesura embodies a cut whose traumas are still being felt. Indeed, what matters in forming the social lives of objects and sites in these two cases are not the physical ages of the archaeology or ruins or history in play, but their sacred saliences in relation to liturgical and political work that is oriented not merely to the past or even the present, but also to urgent projects of the future.

The notion of ‘afterlife’ therefore takes on particular meaning in our analysis. It acknowledges but goes beyond the assumption of the ongoing existence of objects, even ones that are ruined and/or underground. It lays more emphasis on the labour that goes into ensuring the commemoration of a particular point after which history was changed, not necessarily for the better. It goes on to assert the possibility of a form of revival. Animation in our terms therefore implies a form of unsettlement as well as displacement, whose continued trauma is expressed through material affordances ranging from ruined or neglected sites to patrolled sites of crossing. The caesuras we refer to are reminiscent of Stewart’s (“Dreams” 285) characterization of “[i]nvasions, occupations, and ethnic cleansings” as “punctuation marks in the past that give rise to the sequences and time frames of subsequent historicizations”. They are not, however, only contained in historical narratives, but are also embodied in the material culture of pilgrimages that are both about returning to, and being kept away from, one’s true ‘home’. Their power lies in their ability directly to juxtapose the present with a desired yet lost past, which may nonetheless be retrievable.

While we have emphasized the similarities between Walsingham and Apostolos Andreas in terms of the overall thrust of our analysis, we have also learned from the many differences between the two cases. Both are Christian in identity, yet the specifically spiritual character of redemption is stressed more at the English site than the Cypriot one. Walsingham as pilgrimage site is about the reversal of a Reformation history that may ultimately have been about the assertion of regal sovereignty but had the consequence of creating a division between two forms of Christian devotion. Apostolos Andreas encourages pious practices to be sure, and it takes on significance as a Christian focus of worship within Muslim-controlled space, but it also adopts a more diffuse role in marking

out a territory where abandoned homes are at least as important as lost places of worship. This is also one reason why Apostolos Andreas, unlike Walsingham, cannot readily become a holiday destination for ‘returnees’; the sheer recentness of the caesura for Greek Cypriots affords different modes of engagements with the site.

Exercise of memory also differs in key respects between the two cases, reflecting the length of times that stretches back to their respective caesuras. More ritual and ideological work must be done at Walsingham to convince potential visitors of the continued relevance of what are perceived to be past outrages; across Cyprus the memories of separation and exile are retained within still living persons, whose everyday lives contain numerous reminders to the next generation of experiences of painful displacement. In both cases, however, “material memory”, as “the result of an engagement with and the affordance” of things (Pétursdóttir and Olsen 8), becomes important. While in Walsingham such memory revolves around medieval ruins and stones from medieval European buildings and monasteries, in Apostolos Andreas it revolves *not* around the medieval chapel as such but around the pilgrimage complex as a whole. Just as certain pasts become more valuable than others in the present (see Stewart, “Dreams” 283; Argenti 16), so do some materialities become more affective and resonant, especially if they can arouse afterlives that challenge the seemingly definitive character of previous, violent, cuts into history.

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