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A Stranger's Visit from the 'Iron Curtain'

Cyprus as an Unrealised Project of Soviet Archaeology in the 1960s

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Abstract This paper introduces a largely unknown aspect of the historical relationship between the young Republic of Cyprus and the USSR, namely the first contact established between the archaeologists of both countries in 1962, during the short visit of Prof. Sergey Kisselyoff to the island. The study is primarily based on unpublished archival materials from the Institute of Archaeology (Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow). The early years of Cypriot independence, marked by the establishment of new governmental institutions and the formation of its foreign policy, coincided with a period of relative political liberalisation in the USSR (the so-called 'Khrushchev Thaw'). This phase was also characterised by the Soviet Union's active engagement in global politics, including its use of foreign archaeological expeditions as an element of cultural policy and 'soft power'. Prof. Kisselyoff's trip diary, alongside other archive documents, provides valuable insight into his activities and contacts on the island.

Keywords Cyprus archaeology. Contemporary history. Soviet archaeology. Public diplomacy. Sergey Kisselyoff. Cyprus issue. Khrushchev's thaw. Soviet history. Cold War. Iron curtain.

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1 The Historical and Political Background of the Visit

During the Khrushchev Thaw, foreign trips of Soviet scientists, including those to non-socialist countries, became a significant phenomenon.¹ This development accompanied broader signs of relative liberalisation and the revival of public activity in academic circles. Examples of this revival include the reorganisation of Academy staff following the 1953 elections (Tikhonov 2016), a noticeable increase in Soviet academic publications on ancient history – revealed by S. Karpyuk via quantitative analysis of the obituary and festive papers of the period (1953-64) (Karpyuk 2015; 2018) –, and the increased coverage of foreign excavations in Soviet journals.² Reciprocal visits between Soviet and foreign scholars, as well as the establishment of Soviet archaeological missions abroad, further illustrate this trend (Merpert 2011, 199-213, 234-6). The Mediterranean, however, remained largely inaccessible to Soviet scholars for several decades. The last major Soviet academic to travel there before the war was Nikolay Vavilov, who was arrested in 1940 and died in prison in 1943. Another Soviet scholar, M.I. Korostovtsev, who lived in Cairo from 1943 to 1947 as a special correspondent for the TASS agency and was linked to Soviet intelligence, was sentenced to 25 years in prison (Ladynin, Timofeyeva 2014, 363-77).

In 1958, Vladimir D. Blavatsky, a leading classical archaeologist, was incorporated into the presidium of the 7th International Congress on Classical Archaeology in Rome. The same year, the Ideological Commission of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist party approved a visit to Greece by 25 Soviet specialists in ancient Greek history and archaeology (Afiani, Yesakov 2010, 936-9). Concurrently, a joint Soviet-Albanian archaeological expedition began excavating Apollonia Illyrian and Oricum, lasting two field seasons and providing Soviet archaeologists a rare opportunity to work in the Mediterranean (Blavatsky, Islami 1959, 166-204; 1960, 51-111). Participants in the first field season included V.D. Blavatsky, I.B. Zeest, M.M. Kobylina, N.I. Sokolsky, T.V. Blavatskaya, N.I. Onaiko, I.T. Kruglikova, G.A. Tzvetaeva – a significant part of the Department of Classical Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology. The Soviet partnership in the excavations of Apollonia continued in 1959-60 (Onaiko 1963, 72-8) and ended abruptly in 1961 due to political conflict between the two communist parties (the USSR and Albania).

1 On the phenomenon of the Soviet tourism and public diplomacy in more common framework, see Berton-Hogge 1982; David-Fox 2003; Gorsuch 2010; 2011; Saveliev 2013; Orlov, Popov 2016.

2 Sventitzkaya 1955; Brashinsky 1957; Sidorova 1957; 1957b; 1959; Avdiev 1962; Kachuris 1965; 1966; Marinovich 1962; 1963; Peters, Saveliev 1962.

Another major Soviet archaeological project took place in 1961-63 in Nubia, directed by Boris Piotrovsky, as part of efforts to salvage sites threatened by the construction of the Aswan High Dam. However, the idea of establishing a Soviet Egyptological mission in Cairo had previously been independently proposed by various scholars. The first initiative came from the aforementioned M.I. Korostovtsev, and during the years of 'thaw' it was revived by N.S. Petrovsky and Prof. V.I. Avdiev (Timofeeva 2016, 324-47), who sent letters to diplomats and high-ranking party officials outlining the necessity and advantages of such a project, considering the contemporary political situation in Egypt and Near East. These initiatives were serious propositions, not mere reflections of some scientific interests which renowned Soviet scholars ventured to declare in more liberal times (Timofeeva 2018, 134-5). The Soviet academic system was centralised and controlled by several governmental and party institutions, which coordinated and approved all international activities: the State Committee for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (GKKS), the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and several intelligence agencies, among others. For Soviet authorities, the foreign contacts of the scholars served as a means of political influence – public diplomacy aimed at creating a favourable image of Soviet society abroad, demonstrating the advantages of socialism and promoting the success of Soviet (marked as Marxist) science and cultural values. In this specific historical period, the personal research interests of Soviet historians and archaeologists aligned with the political course of the ruling class.

It is noteworthy that the first overseas activity of Soviet archaeologists began in the post-war period, under Stalin's rule, within the areas of political, ideological and even military influence of the USSR. These activities took place in countries such as Mongolia,³ China and the 'people's democracy' of Eastern Europe – Bulgaria,⁴ Albania (Blavatsky, Islami 1959; 1960; Onaiko 1963), and Hungary (Kisselyoff 1950b). Following this, in the time of 'thaw' and later, Soviet archaeologists expanded their activities to developing and non-aligned countries, with the notable exception of Western Europe and North America. In these regions, Soviet scholars could attend international congresses and visit museums and monuments, but they were not permitted to conduct excavations.

The Academy of Sciences funded and coordinated these activities, and at times, Soviet archaeologist collaborated with specialists from

3 Kisselyoff 1947, 35-8; Merpert 2011; Yusupova 2018; Kudryavtsev, Volodin 2019; Kudryavtsev; Gusev 2020.

4 Artsikhovsky 1946; Bogatyrev 1947; Tokarev 1946; Tretyakov 1947; Kudryavtsev, Gusev 2020; Kudryavtsev 2020.

other fields, such as palaeontology, agriculture, ethnology and geology (Yusupova 2018). The role and scale of Soviet intelligence service in these archaeological endeavours abroad cannot be fully uncovered through open sources. However, the case of Petr D. Darovskikh, a Soviet foreign intelligence agent (PGU KGB) who served as a logistics manager for the expeditions in Nubia and Mesopotamia, demonstrates this connection (Krol 2021, 52, 171 fn. 89).

In 1961, a special group of foreign archaeology was established within the structure of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, following a decision by the Academy of Sciences dated April 25. The group was focused on three main research areas: 1) Mediterranean archaeology, 2) South-Eastern Asia and 3) Latin America. It is noteworthy that all three areas coincided with the Soviet Union's key foreign interests in the early 1960s, during the height of the 'Cold War': the Middle East and Balkans, Vietnam and Cuba (Krol 2021, 47-8).

Cyprus gained its independence on August 16, 1960, and from the outset, the new state was recognised in the Soviet Union. Remarkably, some Soviet publications about new archaeological discoveries in the Mediterranean, published before Cypriot independence, placed information about excavations on the island in chapters alongside those concerning Greece, as the Hellenic identity of the ancient culture was the main criterion for its classification as 'Greek' (Kruglikova 1947, 216-17).⁵

In a letter dated December 1961, Prof. V.I. Avdiev wrote to Mikhail A. Suslov, the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, indicating that Cyprus had officially requested the Soviet Academy of Sciences' participation in the research of Cypriot antiquities (Timofeeva 2016, 346). Although the full details of this request remained to be uncovered in both Russian and Cypriot archive sources, it is crucial to note that the interest in academic collaboration was mutual and initiated by the Cypriot side.

The year of 1962 was significant in the history of relations between the young Republic of Cyprus and the USSR. Almost simultaneously in the spring of that year, Cyprus was visited by Yuri Gagarin, the first man in space (Rossoshansky 2011, 102-3), one of the functionaries from the Central Committee of the Communist Party Alexey V. Romanov, a special correspondent of the popular Russian magazine *Ogoniok* Henrich Borovik, and the archaeologist Sergey V. Kisseloyff.

A travelogue written by A.V. Romanov after his visit was published as a brochure by Politizdat, the governmental publisher of political

5 The same story with Asia Minor, when archaeological discoveries in Old Smyrna are also included in the review of the new archaeological discoveries in Greece (Pogrebova 1950, 212-21).

literature, with a circulation of 50,000 copies (Romanov 1964). A significant amount of material, financial and human resources were devoted to Cyprus: the West German Embassy expressed concern over the Soviet Embassy's attempt to employ 130 Cypriots (Sammoutis 2007, 18). After the conclusion of a trade agreement in December 1961, the USSR acquired 2/3 of Cyprus's raisin production (Skettou 1984, 40-54). Many Cypriots went to the USSR for the education – these are just a few examples of the broad political campaign orchestrated by the Soviet government to increase its influence in the Eastern Mediterranean.

In this context, we must consider the inclusion of the Cyprus in the activities of the Soviet Institute of Archaeology in Moscow. One particular case is especially instructive. In autumn 1961, Yuri A. Saveliev, a young post-graduate student, applied to the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow to pursue classical archaeology and requested scientific supervision from Professor Vladimir D. Blavatsky, the director of the Department of Classical Archaeology (Saveliev 1961a). Saveliev passed all the entry exams successfully and planned to conduct research on the tile stamps of the Bosphorus Kingdom, given his prior experience in this field and his frequent participation in excavation at ancient Panticapeum and Phanagoria (Antonova, Demskaya 1961), besides his research on the collection of stamps in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts (Saveliev 1961b). However, by early spring 1962, his research topic was changed. Saveliev was reassigned to the Foreign Archaeology Group and began studying Cypriot culture of the Early Iron Age (Saveliev 1962), as instructed by the Institute's authorities.⁶ The timing of this change coincides closely with Prof. S.V. Kisselyoff's preparation to visit Cyprus, suggesting that the Institute's plans for collaboration with Cyprus were well underway, and the need for specialists in this area was urgent.

2 The Visitor

Professor Sergey Vladimirovich Kisselyoff (1905-1962)⁷ was not chosen by chance for establishing the first contact between Soviet and Cypriot archaeological institutions. By the beginning of the 1960s he had already become a prominent Soviet archaeologist, vice-director of the Institute for the History of Material Culture (since 1959 – the Institute of Archaeology) in Moscow (1945-51), specialising in the archaeology of the Neolithic and Bronze Age, and worked as

⁶ Andrey Agafonov, pers. comm; Herold Vzdornov, pers. comm.

⁷ VDI 1963; Passek 1963; Kyzlasov 1995; Formozov 1995; Klein 2014, 363-72; Merpert 2005; Devlet 2019.

professor at the Moscow State University, where he taught courses in the archaeology of the Bronze and Iron Ages.

The rise of his academic career was related to the Second World War when, during the Nazi assault on Moscow in autumn 1941, most of the academic staff was evacuated to the Soviet Republics of Central Asia and to the Ural region. Kisselyoff stayed in Moscow and was involved in the work of a special commission for the study of the history of the Great Patriotic War, including describing the destruction of historical monuments and other damage caused by Nazi troops (Karpyuk 2019a, 172-5; Kudryavtsev, Volodin 2020). He also continued teaching archaeology at Lomonosov Moscow State University and revived archaeological practice for students as early as the summer of 1942 (Merpert 2011, 84-5). In these years, the centre of Soviet academic archaeology moved from Leningrad (first weakened as a result of Stalin's repressions in the 1930s and then depopulated because of the war, blockade and evacuation) to Moscow (Karpyuk 2019b, 120). In 1945, Kisselyoff became the vice-director of the Institute for Material Culture History (since 1959 – the Institute of Archaeology), which, in fact, led almost all archaeological activity in the Soviet Union. Within the organisational structure of the Institute, he created a special department – a 'sector' – for the study of the Neolithic and Bronze Age, becoming its director and involving his graduate students in its work.

For his studies in the ancient history of South Siberia, he was awarded the Lomonosov (1946) and Stalin State (1950) prizes (Kisselyoff 1951). Between 1950-54, Kisselyoff was Academic Secretary of the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, and in 1953 he became a corresponding member of the Academy. For a long period (1949-62) he was also the editor in-chief of the main Soviet academic journal in ancient history – *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii* (Journal of Ancient History/Revue d'Histoire Ancienne). This position gave him the opportunity to be in touch with a wide range of leading Soviet specialists across different research areas, from classical antiquity to the ancient Far East.

As an archaeologist, Prof. Kisselyoff organised excavations in South Siberia, the Altai, and Central Asia. In the winter of 1946-47, he was sent to Mongolia to prepare for the large-scale archaeological exploration of this country. The joint Soviet-Mongolian expedition worked under his direction during two field seasons, 1948-49, and discovered the capital of the medieval state of Genghis Khan – Karakorum – and other settlements in Mongolia – both medieval and ancient.⁸ This expedition had a significant impact on

⁸ Kisselyoff 1947; Merpert 1995; 2011, 133-66; Kudryavtsev, Volodin 2019; Kudryavtsev; Gusev 2020.

the development of the national school of Mongolian archaeology, and some participants of the excavation went to the USSR to continue their education at Moscow State University.

Afterwards, in early spring 1950, immediately after the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance between the USSR and the People's Republic of China, Prof. Kisselyoff visited China as a member of an official delegation of Soviet scientists, where he met a wide range of the scientific community and university students and had the opportunity to promote the successes of Soviet historical science (Myasnikov 2009). The composition of the academic delegation, which included an archaeologist (Prof. Kisselyoff), an agronomist (Prof. N.I. Nuzhdin), and a lecturer in the political economy of the transition to socialism (M.F. Makarova), reflected the Soviet vision of China as an agrarian society with an ancient cultural tradition aiming to build socialism. The visit lasted two months and provided a good opportunity to see several museums and archaeological sites and to establish contacts in local academic circles.⁹

In the same year (1950), Kisselyoff was appointed executive secretary of the Soviet academic delegation that attended the 125th anniversary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest (Kisselyoff 1950b).

In 1956 he participated in a meeting of historians from three countries (USSR, Mongolia, China) to write the fundamental *History of the Mongolian People's Republic* (Kisselyoff 1956), and in November-December 1959 he again visited China for about a month to study museum collections and archaeological sites (Kisselyoff 1960). From this second trip to China three volumes of diary entries have been preserved, which offer interesting material for comparison with the diary of the scientist's trip to Cyprus (Kisselyoff 1959).

In all these foreign trips, beyond the study of archaeological sites and museum collections, he fulfilled important official functions as a representative of Soviet academic science, established collaborations with scholars from abroad, and developed cultural diplomacy.

Mediterranean archaeology became an area of interest for Kisselyoff by the late 1950s, when he entrusted his younger colleague Valery Titov (employed at the institute since July 1959) with the task of collecting information on the archaeology of Neolithic and Bronze Age of Anatolia, the Levant, the Aegean and the Near East. The professor planned to write general study titled *The Bronze Age of the Old World*, aiming to synthesise his personal perspectives and experience from the Far East to Europe.

It is evident that, for the scholar, this was not merely a scientific research trip, but also a mission of responsibility as part of Soviet

9 AN SSSR 1950.

cultural diplomacy. Prof. Kisselyoff's diary records that he met not only archaeologists in Cyprus, but also local authorities, officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture, politicians of various rank, and members of the AKEL party.

To conclude, Prof. Kisselyoff can be regarded as a typical representative of the Soviet academic functionary of the thaw period: his mentality was formed in early Soviet society; he made his career during the political and wartime turbulence of Stalin's era but managed to maintain an optimistic outlook on the future; he mastered the 'Marxist-type' authoritarian discourse and knew the *modus operandi* in dealing with Soviet state structures and different levels of power; he had leadership experience, having held directive positions in the Institute of Archaeology and in the editorial board of *Vestnik Drevney Istorii*. Elsewhere in the Academy, he tried to act as a protector for his younger colleagues.¹⁰ His broad research interests and erudition gave him a unique perspective on his Cypriot foreign mission. After the 1956 declaration of peaceful coexistence with the capitalist world, Soviet public diplomacy needed actors like him.

3 The Evidence

The presented paper is based primarily upon testimonies preserved in the personal files of Prof. S.V. Kisselyoff, which are stored in the Archive of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow. The file devoted to the Cyprus voyage contains the trip diary, a number of photographs taken by Prof. Kisselyoff in Cyprus and in Greece (some of them marked in pencil on the reverse side), tourist maps of Cyprus, Athens and Austria, tourist leaflets issued by the Department of Antiquities, postcards with representations of museum items and views of the land and cityscapes of Cyprus, Athens and Austria, visiting cards of Soviet, Cypriot and Greek diplomats met by the professor during his journey, travel documents, museum tickets, hotel vouchers and leaflets, some small sheets of paper with short notes (Kisselyoff 1962).

The diary occupies 118 pages of a special notebook issued by the Academy of Sciences for the needs of field scientists. The title page indicates who owned the diary, when and where the trip was, and there is also a request for any person who found this document to transfer it to the USSR Embassy in Nicosia (1).

A detailed description of the circumstances of the flight from the Soviet Union to Cyprus and the first days of the visit to the island is provided, followed by a detailed description of the Cyprus Museum

¹⁰ Kuz'mina 2008, 15-16; see also Klein 2014, 364, 368-71; Yelnitsky 2014, 56, 65, 88, 93-4.

exposition. Then there are records of the move to Athens, as well as a similar detailed description of the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Some pages of the diary are filled with short notes and sketches for recalling specific moments of the visit (conversations, meetings, etc.) and the list of personal names of the people met by Kisselyoff in Cyprus and Greece. Most of the notes are in pencil, following the rules of field documentation used in the USSR. Many notes are complemented by drawings, which Kisselyoff did with his own hand on the spot.

All this evidence, taken as a whole, helps to reconstruct the details of this trip and to consider it as the first case of academic contact between Soviet and Cypriots archaeologists in the first years of Cypriot independence.

3.1 The Visit

As can be seen both from his diary and the existing ticket, Kisselyoff's voyage began on Thursday the 3rd of May 1962. The departure time was 09:25 in the morning and the Professor had seat 6a, close to the plane's window, and could watch the landscape passing by and make some notes about it in his diary (2).

As there was no direct connection between Cyprus and the USSR at that time, the travel from Moscow to Nicosia was complex: at first S.V. Kisselyoff went to Prague, where he changed planes and departed for Zurich, where he had 7 hours to wait for a new plane to Athens. He stayed in Athens for one night at the Lido Hotel, and early in the morning took off for Nicosia, where he finally arrived at about 8:00 a.m. on Friday, the 4th of May.

As can be seen from the notes in Prof. Kisselyoff's diary, this long journey to Cyprus, during which he could see three other foreign countries (Czechoslovakia, Switzerland and Greece) impressed him very much. In his short remarks he mentions the picturesque land and riverscape of the Vltava River in Prague, the uniform (with *magendawid*) of the Israel airlines stewardess, the unusual hats of men from Bayern or Tirol, the famous Türlers watch shop, the monument to Oscar Bider in the airport of Zurich, and the sunrise over Athens in the morning (3-4). In the airport of Athens, he copied three inscriptions which he saw: "ΑΠΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΤΑΙ Η ΕΞΟΔΟΣ", "ΑΠΑΓΟΡΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΠΝΙΣΜΑ" and "ΠΥΛΗ 4" - with translations into Russian - trying in that manner to take his first steps in learning modern Greek.

The seat which the professor took on Scandinavian Airline System (SAS) aeroplane offered him the opportunity to view Cyprus from above. When they approached in from the bay of Morphou, he noted:

We are passing over a plain, which is limited from the South and from the North by rather high mountains. The villages are surrounded with gardens, the fields are bare; apparently rich in sand and clay. (4)

At the airport of Nicosia, he was warmly welcomed by a group of Cypriots from the Friendship Society, who honoured him with a bouquet of roses. Among this group there was the Russian-speaking Cypriot communist Christophoros Ioannides, who later accompanied Kisselyoff as an interpreter in his journey across Cyprus. Member of the Central Committee of the AKEL party, he had studied history and archaeology in Prague and spoke English, Czech and Russian. In the 1970s he was the permanent representative of AKEL on the editorial board of *The World Marxist Review* (also known as *The Problems of Peace and Socialism*) in Prague.¹¹

There were also two representatives of the Soviet embassy – Boris Andreyevich Morozov and Anatoly Vladimirovich Pripisnov (both the third secretaries of the Embassy of the USSR). The former is mentioned in Kisselyoff's diary several times and his visiting card is also stored among Kisselyoff's files. Morozov was evidently responsible for minding the professor and accompanied him during the whole visit.

Professor Kisselyoff stayed in the best and most fashionable hotel in Nicosia – the Ledra Palace – and resided in room 138, which cost £2 and 607 mils,¹² with meals and tax included. It is remarkable that among the photos taken by the professor in Cyprus, the first five frames represent different views of the hotel, and one cadre is marked: "My room is on the second [i.e. the first in Russian denomination] floor on the corner" (4).

After six hours of rest, Kisselyoff once again met the representatives of the Friendship Society, which elaborated the preliminary program of the visit for the next 9 days, taking into account that after the meeting with P. Dikaïos (expected for the next day) there could have been some changes to the itinerary. The plan presumed that almost every day, from the 5th until the 13th of May, the professor would visit a different region of Cyprus and see monuments in the following order: Kyrenia, Larnaca, Paphos (2 days), Choirokoitia, Salamis, Vouni, and Soloi. Thursday the 10th of May and Saturday the 12th of May were reserved for the Cyprus Museum, where some lectures were expected (probably Kisselyoff himself gave lectures on the actual issues of Soviet archaeology, as he did during his visits to China and Hungary). As we can understand, from both the short

¹¹ Sophokles Sophokli, pers. comm.

¹² Cyprus had prices in pounds and mils from 1955 until 1981.

notes in the diary and the photos, the main features of this plan were successfully realised.

After these preparations Kisselyoff went to see Nikolay Vasilyevich Aksenov, the KGB agent, who had worked in Cyprus since February 1961.¹³ "A pleasant general talk. The force of democracy. Letters. I stay to attend the report on the USSR" (5). The last phrase presumes that this meeting took place in some official or public place (probably in the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Nicosia or in the headquarters of any Soviet organisation in Cyprus). According to unwritten rules, the official position of Prof. Kisselyoff required such consultations with representatives of the Soviet intelligence service and control over him. As for the 'letters' mentioned in the note, it is not possible to be sure, but considering that Kisselyoff was a member of Communist Party and has already been abroad with responsible missions, it should not be excluded that the occasion of his visit has been used to transfer some delicate sealed messages either from the USSR or back home. It is noteworthy that, for all this 'pleasant talk' Kisselyoff uses the expression "the power of democracy", as Soviet official and unofficial foreign policy considered the independent Republic of Cyprus to be the result of a progressive union between the local working class, an anti-imperialistic circle of intellectuals, studying youth, and even clergy who achieved the liberation of their country from the control of the UK.

At the end of the evening the professor visited his new fellow B.A. Morozov's place, drinking a dry white wine called 'Aphrodite' - this episode has been curiously summarised with a short note: "A night of torments".¹⁴

The next morning, the 5th of May, at Ledra Palace, started with an English breakfast - a new type of meal for the Soviet voyager, and thus specially noted in the diary. By 9:00 a.m. the professor and his company went to the Department of Antiquities and met its Director, Porphyrios Dikaïos. Kisselyoff characterised him as "a courteous European" and added that the books brought from Moscow as a gift had certain influence and made their communication more friendly and close. During this conversation, Vassos Karageorghis joined them and was also introduced to the foreign guest, the colleagues discussed the plan of Kisselyoff's visit and after that they took a short

13 In his notes Prof. Kisselyoff simply called him by his official full name, without any rank and other concretisation, but this person is mentioned in the secret report on the President J.F. Kennedy's assassination detecting all Soviet military and secret service officers with the surname Aksenov (mentioned in the CIA release on the 23rd of March 1964: 104-10006-10037, 3: <https://www.archives.gov/files/research/jfk/releases/104-10006-10037.pdf>, see also Bagley 1964).

14 It should be noted that Prof. Kisselyoff had some problems with health, which brought him to unsuccessful medical operation and finally to death.

tour through the Cyprus museum. Kisselyoff enjoyed the exposition very much and, despite the relatively short time at his disposal, the scholars found several topics for discussion, such as the ornament of Neolithic *Combed Wares* (Kisselyoff named it "spur-like ornament"), bronze daggers, the carbon dating of Choirokoitia layers, and the discoveries of Schaeffer in Ras-Shamra. Dikaïos was pleased when Kisselyoff recognised the clay model of the sanctuary from Vounous, published in the French archaeological magazine *Syria* (Dikaïos 1932). Kisselyoff also noticed that a bronze item from Enkomi was a shepherd's crook, but not a sceptre, as attributed by Schaeffer. In discussing the disputed questions of Enkomi and Ugarit relative stratigraphy and chronology, Kisselyoff also supported Dikaïos point of view against Schaeffer's interpretation (Kisselyoff 1962, 6; Karageorghis 2007, 53-4).

The Soviet guest was much impressed when visiting the rooms with archaic sculptures, but his note concerning terracotta figures from Agia-Irini ("Millions of terracotta statues and figurines from one tomb (Sic!)" Kisselyoff 1962, 7) demonstrates that in a flow of items, emotions and explanations he could not understand everything correctly. At the end of the tour Kisselyoff saw 'a crypt' with emulations of different burials from the Neolithic to the Iron Age and found them exposed in a "very mysterious manner". After that the first meeting with Cypriot colleagues was over and the Soviet Professor departed for Kyrenia guided by a significant escort: Ioannides as interpreter, the Soviet diplomat B.A. Morozov, a Cypriot teacher and amateur local historian, whose surname Kisselyoff spelled - evidently incorrectly - as *Popriannou* (Kyprianou or Papaioannou?), and the driver from the Soviet Embassy, Mikhail Ivanovich.

On their way to the North coast the group made their first stop in Bellapais, where they visited the abbey and had coffee with salted peanuts for a snack. In Kyrenia the group visited the castle, saw the harbour and a tourist liner from Yugoslavia with West German tourists aboard (the note on them is followed by a remark on the close relations between West Germany and Archbishop Makarios III ("friends of Makarios")) (8) - the information on current political affairs evidently provided by the Professor's companions, either from the embassy or from Cypriot 'sympathisers' of the USSR. After Kyrenia they went to Lampousa to see the remains of the monastery, the church of Agios Eulalios, and the remains of the ancient cemetery "excavated by Americans and looters". Then the group turned back to Nicosia, passing by the Castle of Saint-Hilarion (erroneously

named Saint-Laurent in the diary).¹⁵ Kisselyoff devoted the evening to writing letters to his wife and the preparation of a lecture.

The next day, the 6th of May, was dedicated to Larnaca. The professor and his companions began their trip rather early, at 07:30 a.m., and when they arrived in Larnaca there was an official meeting with the Mayor Georgos Christodoulides – a member of AKEL –, and other members of local municipality (9). After a short greeting event in the lobby of some hotel (incidentally, Kisselyoff noted that Christodoulides' daughter Vera was, at that time, a student at the Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University in Moscow) the group set out for Hala-Sultan Tekke and some representatives of the local community joined them. They visited the mosque and Kisselyoff determined the Umm Haram tomb as a sort of dolmen. After the mosque he had some time to visit the ancient settlement of the Late Bronze Age and walked back and forth across the field in the hope of finding any ceramic shred, but without great success. Kisselyoff also took a couple of photos walking in the imposing palm grove near the mosque, and then the group left for Kiti.

Being unfamiliar with local Cypriot toponymy, Kisselyoff confused the names Kiti and Kition in his diary – this was in fact about the former (10). They saw Panagia Angelloktisti church and the unique mosaic inside of it, and then returned to Larnaca, where they visited the house of the Pierides family and saw their collection. Kisselyoff met Mrs. Theodora and Mr. Demetris Pierides (who knew some greeting words in Russian), found the collection very imposing and was especially impressed by the number and quality of medieval glazed bowls and Roman and Hellenistic glass, as well as by the servant meeting them at the entrance and by huge araucarias in the garden. At the end of the visit, he took a group photo with the hosts of the house at the entrance – we can count ten persons, including Mrs. Theodora Pierides, Mr. Demetris Pierides, Ch. Ioannides and probably the activists of AKEL from Larnaka.¹⁶ The other photos represent the monument to Kimon at the seafront and Agios Lazaros church and thus indicate the other objects visited in Larnaca. The group had lunch in some restaurant to the East of the city, at the seashore and then came back to Nicosia.

The notes concerning the following days of the trip are not so rich in details. Kisselyoff left several white pages to describe them

15 This mistake is curious for Russian: both names are associated with Old Russian literature: the monk Laurentius was creator of the oldest medieval Russian chronicle that remained to our times (Laurentian Codex), while Archbishop Hilarion was author of the *Sermon of Law and Grace*.

16 In his diary Kisselyoff mentioned Mr. Zachariades from Larnaca, who was the leftist activist loyal to the USSR (probably the member of the Friendship society Cyprus-USSR) and evidently took part in Kisselyoff's meeting.

afterwards, but probably had no free time for it, so we should use the evidence of the photos, some visiting cards and postcards, plus some short notes and remarks at the end of his notebook.

The 7th and the 8th of May were envisaged for visiting Paphos, but it is more probable that on the former date Kisselyoff and his companions arrived in Limassol. At the town hall they met the Mayor of Limassol, Kostas Partasides, a significant public figure of AKEL and one of the leaders of Cypriot trade unions (80-1).

Besides this meeting, Kisselyoff visited the Limassol Museum at Lemesos castle, observed the archaeological objects from the excavations of Sotira, Erimi, and other sites, and classified them as comparable to the items of Chalcolithic and Early-Middle Bronze Age he had examined in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. A short note on the "huge Mycenaean pithos from Amathus" (81) reflects his misunderstanding of the famous limestone vase from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite. Then, the professor visited the archaeological site of Kourion, the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylatis and Kolossi Castle.

The next day, the 8th of May, was evidently devoted to Paphos. The travellers drove to Petra tou Romiou and saw the birthplace of Aphrodite. Prof. Kisselyoff took three photos of a picturesque view, and on the reverse of the offprint he wrote later, in a poetic verse-like manner:

The place, where Aphrodite was born from the foam of the sea.

On behalf of a local AKEL organisation the professor was received by the second Secretary, Kostas Sophokleous, who gave him a set of colour postcards featuring views of Cyprus. The cards depicted the harbour of Paphos, its medieval fort, St. Paul's pillar, scenes from rural life at Alakati, the view of Hala Sultan Tekke, and another Muslim minaret. On the reverse sides of the cards Kostas Sophokleous made kind and friendly dedications, unsuccessfully trying to reproduce the difficult full name of the Russian academic: instead of the correct 'Sergey Vladimirovich Kisselyoff' he wrote rather "Σεργέϊ Δημήτρεβιτς Κισιλέφ" (Sergey Dmitrievich Kiselyoff, i.e., the son of Dmitry), or "Σεργίεβιτς Κισιλέφ" (Sergeevich Kisselyoff, i.e., the son of Sergey), thus confusing the first name and patronymic of his guest.

There were several locations in Paphos that were interesting to the archaeologist. First and foremost, the newly discovered mosaics in Kato-Paphos. In the rush of the visit, Prof. Kisselyoff wrongly described the mosaic scene with Icaros from the House of Dionysus as a fresco (80). Afterwards, the group visited the 'Tombs of the Kings' and the Paphos District Archaeological Museum (Prof. Kisselyoff mentioned "the museum in the mosque"). The visiting cards stored in the Kisselyoff's files allow us to conclude that the professor met Georgos S. Eliades – a local Paphian intellectual, archaeologist,

ethnologist and founder of the Ethnographic Museum, who also served as the honorary curator of the Paphos District Museum. It is likely that G.S. Eliades guided Kisselyoff during his visit to Paphos and perhaps to the Paphos area. Another visiting card from the file reveals that among the Paphian hosts of the Soviet scholar Dr. Nikos D. Mavronicolas – a lawyer, parliament member, and AKEL-backed representative in the Greek Chamber of Representatives.

Beyond archaeological sites and museums, Prof. Kisselyoff also visited the Gymnasium of Paphos, meeting its principal, Pavlos Pavlides, and vice-principal Savvas Koupatos (82). Their photographs, taken at the entrance of the gymnasium's portico, includes Dr. G.S. Eliades and two dogs. It is the only image the Professor captured in Paphos with his camera. Notably, G.S. Eliades was also a teacher at the same school. S.V. Kisselyoff mentioned Pavlos Pavlides in his diary once more when noting a project to organise teacher training courses for Cypriots in the USSR. In the page margins, he emphasised: "Pavlides!" – as if he considered him as possible candidate for the project (83).

The group also visited Kouklia, where Prof. Kisselyoff examined the site and inspected the museum's artefacts, particularly noting the significant number of syllabic inscriptions stored in three rooms. There, he realised three sketches: a head wearing the double crown (with 'ureaeus' on the forehead accentuated) from the Louvre, the coloured wings of the sculpted sphinx from the Marcello 'siege mound', and a limestone capital shaped like a lotus flower from the same assemblage.

After Kouklia, Kisselyoff and his companions travelled the northwest to see the Vouni Palace and the ancient theatre of Soloi. Surprisingly, no surviving photos or drawings documents this part of the trip, and only a few words in his notes summarise the guides' narrative, which echoed E. Gjerstad's interpretation of the sites:

The palace was Persian, then it became Greek... Soloi against Vouni.

The tourist brochure *A Brief History and Description of the Vouni Palace*, issued by the Department of Antiquities and found in Kisselyoff's files, may partly explain this brief commentary.

The next day, the 9th of May, began with a new trip to Choirokoitia. This time, it was Porphyrios Dikaïos himself, the excavator of the site, who guided his Soviet colleague and companions. He is depicted in at least three of the ten photos taken in Choirokoitia. Dikaïos went down into the trench, showed and explained everything to his Soviet colleague and gave him, as a souvenir, the touristic guidebook *A Brief Guide to the Neolithic Settlement of Choirokoitia* with his autograph in French:

à Monsieur le Professeur Kiseliou, souvenir de sa visite à Khirokitia, 9/5/62.

In the other rare photo, we can see Kisselyoff himself standing in the trench, next to the stone foundation of one of the circular buildings, rather confusingly, left hand with his hat hidden behind his back while right hand touching his forehead. The edge of his diary can be seen in his left pocket. It was an almost unique moment of the trip, when the Professor gave his camera to someone else to get photo of his own.

The trip to the Neolithic site took only the first half of the day, while in the afternoon the professor began a thorough examination of the exhibition in the Cyprus Museum. It took him three more days (the 10th, the 13th and the 14th of May) to complete this task, and the notes and drawings made in the museum occupied 21 sheets of the diary (i.e. about 30% of all inscribed space) (14-28). These pages are full of chronological indications, copies of ornamentation patterns, sketches of interesting objects, sometimes made with an indication of the scale, explaining remarks and the ideas born during the examination.

To supplement these notes the professor purchased a number of coloured and black-and-white postcards depicting the most prominent items in the museum: vessels of Neolithic, Early Bronze, Mycenaean and Early Iron Ages; terracotta figurines from Agia Irini; the statue of Aphrodite from Soloi; the sceptre from Kourion-Kaloridziki; a clay model of a sanctuary from Vounous; a picrolite idol; the bronze statue of Septimius Severus; several limestone statues; the reproduction of the mosaic from Kiti.

Part of the next day, the 10th of May, was dedicated to the professor's lecture (Kisselyoff 1962, 5, 8, 80; Karageorghis 2007, 66). Unfortunately, no further details have survived, nor do we have records of the second lecture he gave on the 12th of May. The latter is marked in the diary as "common", suggesting it was more public (likely held at the Cyprus-USSR-Friendship Society), while the first may have been addressed to the colleagues at the Department of Antiquities. Although the texts have not survived, based on Kisselyoff's lecture drafts from Hungary in 1950, and his report to the Soviet Academy of Sciences following his first visit to China, we can infer the main topics: the success of Soviet archaeology and historical research, the wide range of studies conducted in the USSR on monuments from various epochs, the new possibilities for writing the histories of newly independent peoples free from class and colonial oppression, and the immense value of international collaboration (Kisselyoff 1950a).¹⁷ He

17 AN SSSR 1950.

might have spoken about his own excavations in South Siberia and Mongolia, though these were somewhat removed from his Cypriot colleagues' interests. The work of his Institute of Archaeology colleague Tatiana Passek, who excavated Tripolye and contributed to settlement chronology, was more relevant to Mediterranean Bronze Age archaeology. As editor-in-chief of the Soviet *Journal of Ancient History*, he could have also discussed the study of classical antiquity in the USSR, possibly touching on Professor Solomon Lurie's research on Linear B, conducted in parallel with M. Ventris and J. Chadwick.

Unlike his lectures in early Communist China or the Hungarian People's Republic, Kisselyoff could not assume the role of an 'Elder (or even Big) Brother' in Cyprus. Cypriot archaeologists, though fewer in number, were well-educated professionals who did not require indoctrination in Marxist methodology. The confrontational rhetoric Kisselyoff had employed during the Stalinist epoch was useless in Cyprus. As he observed upon meeting Dikaïos and Karageorghis, they treated him as "courteous Europeans", which likely influenced his own manner and behaviour. This shift aligned with Soviet foreign policy goals under Nikita Khrushchev, who, six years earlier, had declared a new diplomatic approach at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party. Soviet archaeology, represented by Kisselyoff, had to offer something more concrete than just academic tomes on Soviet or World History written in Russian. Unfortunately, the details of the lecture, audience reactions, and any subsequent discussions remain unknown.

On the 11th of May, Kisselyoff and his group toured the eastern part of the island – Famagusta, Salamis and Enkomi. Photos indicate that the interactions between archaeologists became more informal and friendly. Dikaïos once again hosted the group, organising a small banquet with wine on the veranda of the dig house in Enkomi, and the Soviet delegation received an authentic experience of Cypriot hospitality. Notably, Kisselyoff appeared in a photograph sitting side by side with Dikaïos, both smiling. His diary, however, only contains a concise chronological and stratigraphic scheme of Enkomi as outlined by Dikaïos (Kisselyoff 1962, 85).

A significant number of photos (12) were taken in Salamis, where Kisselyoff met V. Karageorghis again. Evidently, the site made a strong impression on him. The group visited the gymnasium, theatre, and royal necropolis, where Ch. Ioannides descended into the dromos of one of the tombs. They also conversed with local workers employed at the excavation. Kisselyoff showed particular interest in the use of machinery for clearing excavation debris.

On the 12th of May, Kisselyoff met with Konstantinos Spyridakis, Chairman of the Greek Cypriot Assembly and the first Minister of Education (Kisselyoff 1962, 80, 83; Karageorghis 2007, 60). The meeting was attended by Soviet diplomats N.V. Aksenov and V.V. Pushkin, highlighting its significance.

Dr. K. Spyridakis, an archaeologically and historically inclined educator, probably discussed organising teacher training courses for Cypriots in the USSR. The diary records details such as delegation sizes, payment arrangements, and visit scheduling (Kisselyoff 1962, 83).

At the top of the list of the people he met in Cyprus, Kisselyoff mentioned Andreas Papadopoulos, the Minister of Communications and Works, who was the member of the government responsible for the Department of Antiquities (79). Probably their conversation took place on the same day, and if it was not a mere protocol meeting, they could discuss the prospect of future collaboration with the Institute of Archaeology of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. However, no other traces of this discussion remain.

Next morning, the 13th of May, the Professor began with writing the report – it was probably the summary of his meetings of the previous day (29). Upon finishing this work, by 10 a.m. he went once more to the Cyprus museum, where bought postcards representing ancient items and the historical landscape of Famagusta and Kyrenia, and leaflets with description of the archaeological sites. After that, he finished the examination of the exhibition.

The cards and tourist brochures were not the only souvenirs that the professor brought home from Cyprus. After Kisselyoff's passing, his wife and colleague, Dr. Lidya Evtykhova, transferred four ancient Cypriot vessels to the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, which could only have originated as a result of this trip: a *White Painted III* small juglet (Cat. no. 172), a *White Painted III-IV* bowl (Cat. no. 181), a *Bichrome IV* oinochoe (Cat. no. 259) and a krater (Cat. no. 290). It is uncertain if these vases were a donation from the Department of Antiquities or acquired through other means (Akimova et al. 2014). As the professor's widow later sold these items to the museum, this suggests that they must be personal belongings, not a collection which was, from the very beginning, intended to be transferred to any special scientific or public storage.

Rest part of the day was devoted to the visit to Famagusta, where the professor admired the Gothic architecture and Venetian fortifications, as evident from his photographs. He also met with Mayor Andreas Pouyouros, a lawyer and politician who had led the city since 1953 (Kisselyoff 1962, 79) and was the President of the Friendship Society 'Cyprus-USSR'. From this meeting, he likely received an envelope containing photo postcards depicting Famagusta's newly built kindergarten, showcasing its façade, interior, and children's activities. These images symbolised the Republic's social progress, aligning well with Soviet Cold War visual propaganda, which emphasised peace, education, and collective well-being.

The final day of the visit, the 14th of May was also partly devoted to the Cyprus museum and then to some meetings with activists from the Friendship Society. Among them was Eugenia

Paleologou-Petronda – the famous Greek writer and activist, established in Cyprus since 1960. She gave her visiting card to Prof. Kisselyoff with the wish “Bon voyage” (IA RAN Φ. 12, b. 78). Next morning, the 15th of May, he left for Athens.

S. Kisselyoff stayed in Athens for several days, visiting the Athenian Acropolis and the Daphne Monastery. He also thoroughly examined the National Archaeological Museum and paid a daily visit to Mycenae (Kisselyoff 1962, 43-72). He spent at least four days there continuing to Vienna, where he also stayed for some time, visiting Schönbrunn Palace and other sites (76-7), before finally returning to Moscow. If the route calculations in his diary were accurate, he arrived on May 25, not by direct flight but via Warsaw (78). Thus, the last foreign trip of his life came to an end.

3.2 Remarkable Comparisons

Although, by the time of his visit to Cyprus, the professor was a seasoned traveller who had been abroad numerous times, this trip was unique as it marked the first time he saw countries beyond the ‘Iron Curtain’.

Experiencing a foreign country under unfamiliar circumstances, Kisselyoff compared elements of this new reality to his own known world. He often drew parallels between foreign landscapes and his homeland, using his ‘mental map’ to make sense of what he observed. His diary provides valuable insight into this process.

Mountains in Switzerland are characterised as:

picturesque view, like our Urals. (3)

The mountains on the way from Nicosia to the north looked “like in Crimea” (7). The cellars of Bellapais seemed:

like the prison in the Sudak fortress, but more substantial. (8)

The mountain and seaside view in Kyrenia:

already seems to be not Crimea, but like the Caucasus shore at Ochmchir or at Poti. (8)

Kyrenian castle was like a decoration in the Soviet film *Othello* (issued in 1955), created using the real Genoese fortifications in Akkerman (Ukraine) and Sudak (Crimea) (8). The way from Nicosia to Larnaca:

like in Koktebel (Crimea), but longer and flanked by rows of cypress trees. (9)

Larnaca town:

fully Eastern in its appearance, looks like Old Town in Baku, but more accurate, the streets are paved and coloured with advertisements. (9)

Larnaca seafront:

looks like Sukhumi, but the palm-trees are of two-and a half-storied height. (9)

Mosaic in Panagia Angelloktisti in Kiti:

much alike the scene of Annunciation in the Agia-Sophia. (i.e. the Old Russian Cathedral of Agia Sophia in Kiev, not in Constantinople - dated to 11th century AD). (10)

Notably, Kisselyoff was most captivated by the combination of mountain landscapes and picturesque sea views in Cyprus. Having spent his life in continental Russia, where his archaeological excavations took place in regions like South Siberia, Khakassia, and Mongolia, he compared Cyprus primarily to the few warm seaside destinations accessible to Soviet citizens: Crimea, the Black Sea coast of the Caucasus, and Baku, the capital of Soviet Azerbaijan, which at the time was a multiethnic and multireligious city with a significant Russian and Armenian population coexisting alongside Muslim Turks (referred to in Russian imperial terminology as 'Caucasus Tatars') until the tragic events of the 1980s.

The Venetian fortifications in Cyprus reminded him of a closely related architectural parallel - the Genoese fortresses and castles in the northern Black Sea region, such as Sudak (Sougdaia) and Akkerman, which he had either seen personally or in films.

Another important comparison the professor made concerned the food prices. In his diary there are two pages containing price-lists - one for Athens (86) and another for Vienna (77). He meticulously recorded the prices of goods that were scarce in the USSR at the time: various types of coffee and chocolate, wine and Martini, poultry, biscuits, honey, natural lemonade, and fruits, as well as the cost of dinner. On a separate page, he also made financial calculations regarding expenses in Cypriot pounds, including transportation costs, fuel prices, and reasonable daily wages for workers (81), suggesting that he was estimating the budget required for a potential archaeological expedition.

This tendency to draw comparisons extended to his examination of museum exhibitions, where he made professional observations, seeking visual similarities to establish cultural links and

chronological synchronisations between geographically dispersed ancient civilisations.

For instance, in the Philia culture, the spur-like shell pendants reminded of those from the Catacomb culture of the second half of the 3rd millennium BC (29). The decoration on a large Red Polished Ware bowl from Marki, adorned with terracotta figurines standing on a special ledge, resembled decorative principles from the Cucuteni-Tripolye culture – a connection he found “of exceptional interest!” (32). A Mycenaean krater from Pyla-Verghi (Karageorghis 1968b, pl. II, 1) struck him as analogous to examples from Tiryns (Kisselyoff 1962, 36).

A miner's tools displayed in the Cyprus museum reminded him of analogues from Sukhumi, Soviet Georgia (39). On one of the Syro-Palestinian painted jugs he found some ornamental motifs close to the Hittite depictions of ornamental birds (34). An Early Bronze Age jug seemed to him very similar to ceramics from Jordan (material he knew via publications in archaeological periodicals) (29). Gold bracelets with zoomorphic protomes on the edges reminded him of the items from North Pontic tumuli and the Treasure of Oxos (41), and he mentioned that other jewellery in the exhibition were like some items from Mycenae (42).

During the visit to Enkomi, Prof. Kisselyoff noted the stratigraphy of the site and its interpretation by Dikaios, and emphasising that the date of destruction of the Stratum II (Late Bronze II) coincided with the destruction of Troy VIb (85).

The search of analogies has been continued also during the visit to the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, where some tools resembled the items from Caucasus, while one bronze chisel looked like the tool from Tripolye, Stratum C2 (50).

He noted the ceramics and jewellery from Poliochni looked like items from Troy (48), and a lion-shaped pendant resembled the finds from the Maykop culture of the North Caucasus (47). Some stone vessels from Mycenae have been attributed as similar to analogues from Mochlos, and a famous crystal duck-shaped ladle from Mycenae resembled both a cosmetic spoon from Egypt and the ornithomorphic handles of wooden artefacts from the Shigir peat assemblage (Middle Ural region). The sickles from Mycenaean tombs also reminded him of analogues from Siberia: “Wholly Siberian sickles!” (56) and daggers were attributed as having “Scythe-Siberian appearance” (57). Examining zigzag-ornaments on the ceramic objects from Siros, he noted their similarities with Balkan patterns (70).

Finally, concerning one type of arrowhead found by Ch. Tsountas Mycenaean Tomb of Clytemnestra, he recorded “Like in Cyprus”, clearly referring to recent Cypriot impressions (57).

The professional point of view and special skill of finding similarities between different monuments and material culture which are

revealed by Kisselyoff's diary notes reflect his conceptual approach to the object of his research and teaching. For several decades he gave, at the Moscow State University, a fundamental course of lectures entitled *The Bronze Age of the Old World* and, by the beginning of the 1960s, he decided to write a sort of concluding monograph on this topic. N.Ya. Marr's academic conceptualisation, once dominant in archaeological circles of the USSR, presumed that similar social and economic conditions provoked similar traits of material culture. It has been widely criticised (also by Kisselyoff himself) since I.V. Stalin's article *Marxism and Problems of Linguistic* (1950), but in fact the latent influence of this idea continued to shape the state of minds and influenced the attempts to reveal similarities in the material culture of ancient societies, which existed synchronically or at the same phase of social development (Klein 2014, 141, 364-71). Anyway, a special interest in the forms of different working tools and wares, decorative motifs and patterns was considered to be key aspects for writing ancient history, and a close friend and colleague of S. Kisselyoff, Prof. Artemy Artsikhovsky, proclaimed it as:

Archaeology is history armed with a spade. (144-55)

4 Minor Outcomes and Other Consequences of the Visit

The trip to Cyprus was the final overseas voyage of Prof. Kisselyoff. He underwent an unsuccessful operation and passed away due to complications on November 9, 1962 (Kyzlasov 1995, 166; Yelnitsky 2014, 95). In the Annual Report of the Director of Department of Antiquities of the same year he was already mentioned as "the late Professor S.V. Kiseliof" (Dikaïos 1963, 6), indicating that news of his passing had reached the island. The following year, Porphyrios Dikaïos left his position at the Department of Antiquities, retired, and permanently departed from Cyprus (Karageorghis 2007, 71).

During the 1960s, the next generation of Soviet archaeologists continued to engage with Cyprus, yet none held administrative or academic positions comparable to those of Professor Kisselyoff. They were younger, more attuned to contemporary Mediterranean affairs, and well-travelled across Europe and the Near East. However, their public influence remained limited, and they lacked the authority within the Academy of Sciences necessary to establish new institutions abroad.

Following Professor Kisselyoff's death, in December 1962, another Soviet archaeologist from the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Natalia A. Sidorova (1924-2001), a specialist in ancient Greek vase painting, visited Cyprus as part of a delegation from the USSR-Greece Friendship Society. Her brief report, published in the Journal

of Ancient History, suggests that her visit was short. She met with P. Dikaïos and Chr. Ioannides and visited only a handful of sites: Nicosia and the Cyprus Museum, Salamis, Kourion, the Limassol Archaeological Museum, and Panagia Angeloktisti in Kiti (Sidorova 1963). Her account expresses sincere admiration for the high standard of archaeological work and the wealth of monuments on the island (192-3). However, as her article indicates, the primary purpose of her visit was to engage with the Cyprus-USSR Friendship Society and conduct public diplomacy with Cypriot figures sympathetic to the Soviet Union, such as trade union leaders and AKEL activists (185).

Almost two years later, in November 1964, Valery Sergeevich Titov (1932-1990), a lesser-known colleague of Professor Kisselyoff, visited Cyprus as part of another Friendship Society delegation (Karageorghis 1965, 4; Titov 1981a, 6). Titov, who worked at the Institute of Archaeology in the Department of Neolithic and Bronze Age Studies, had assisted Kisselyoff in researching *The Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age of Europe and Asia* (Titov 1959; 1981b). Details of his visit are scarce, but it is known that, like Kisselyoff, he travelled to Cyprus via Greece. After this journey, he defended his dissertation on Neolithic Greece, later published as a monograph of international renown (Titov 1969). Over the years, Dr. Titov travelled extensively, and while organising an exhibition on Soviet archaeology, he remained in Western Europe for an unprecedentedly long period for a Soviet citizen – from August 1966 to September 1967. However, he never returned to Cyprus (Titov 1981b; Artyomenko 1969, 108-9).

In March 1965, Anna K. Korovina (1924-2000), specialist in classical archaeology and employee of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts visited Cyprus as a member of the Soviet Women's Committee and took part in the International Women's Congress (Ionova 1965; Karageorghis 1966, 6; Antonova, Luganskaya, Streltsov 1966). Afterwards, in 1967, she returned to Cyprus again and examined the monuments and studied the collection of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (Karageorghis 1968a, 6; Antonova, Georgiyevskaya, Sedova 1968; Korovina, Polevoy, Sidorova 1976, 7). Anna Korovina was a member of the Communist Party and besides her archaeological research and work in the Pushkin Museum she was also an active member of the Soviet Committee for the support of Greek democratic politicians (which existed between 1967-74) and got acquainted with a number of Greek emigrants.

A.K. Korovina and N.A. Sidorova worked together in the Pushkin Museum, they both knew Prof. Kisselyoff (the former even took part in the professor's excavations in Siberia), and they formed a little taskforce who managed to establish a collaboration with their Cypriot colleagues of the Department of Antiquities: Angeliki Pieridou, Kyriakos and Ino Nicolaou, and Athanasios Papageorgiou. From the Cypriot side it was Angeliki Pieridou who played special

role in communication with the USSR¹⁸ since, together with her husband Georgios Philippou Pierides – Director of the Public Library in Famagusta (Iakovou 1996, 9-11) –, they took part in the activities of the Cyprus-USSR Friendship Society and received Soviet archaeologists during their visits to Cyprus in 1964-67. They also visited the Soviet Union during the period when the president of the Soviet Friendship Society was Ivan P. Kondakov, who was both a colleague of G.P. Pierides as a librarian and head of Lenin's Library in Moscow. During these visits Angeliki Pieridou had the opportunity to examine the ancient collections of the main museums of the USSR.¹⁹

The most significant outcome of this collaboration was the exhibition *The Treasures of Cyprus*, held in Moscow and Leningrad in the autumn of 1970 at the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts and the State Hermitage (Karageorghis 1971, 3-5; 2007, 104; Korovina, Polevoy, Sidorova 1976, 7). Korovina and Sidorova also co-authored two popular books: *Goroda Kypra*, a guide to Cyprus's archaeological monuments (Korovina, Sidorova 1973), and *The Treasures of Cyprus*, which provided an overview of the Moscow exhibition (Korovina, Polevoy, Sidorova 1976).²⁰ However, following the tragic events of 1974, these activities largely ceased for both personal and geopolitical reasons. Angeliki Pieridou passed away on October 23, 1973 (Iakovou 1996, 11; Karageorghis 2007, 107), and for her Soviet colleagues, Cypriot archaeology had never been a primary focus. Instead, they continued to travel extensively, studying ancient sites across Syria, Italy, Morocco, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania, Greece, and Turkey, excavating Greek colonies along the northern Black Sea coast, and fulfilling their responsibilities at the Pushkin Museum (Korovina 1979). The absence of governmental encouragement, combined with unfavourable political circumstances, effectively ended Soviet interest in Cypriot archaeology for decades.

The only Soviet specialist in Cypriot archaeology of that time was Yuri Aleksandrovich Saveliev (1935-2008), who prepared his PhD thesis under the direction of Prof. Blavatsky in the Institute of Archaeology and was a member of the group of foreign archaeology. His thesis was successfully defended in 1966 and became the first comprehensive study of the archaeology of Cyprus in the early Iron Age in Soviet historiography. However, uneasy personal relations with his scientific director, Prof. Blavatsky, influenced the decision of Y.A. Saveliev to leave the Institute of Archaeology and continue his work

18 Karageorghis, pers. comm.; Marina Pieridou, pers. comm.

19 Marina Pieridou, pers. comm.

20 It is remarkable, that the book was ready to press in August 1974, but the issue was delayed until 1976 – probably for political reasons.

again in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, where he concentrated on the study of cuneiform inscriptions from the Near East.²¹

An intriguing document from the archive of the Russian Academy of Sciences reveals that in September 1962, the Society for Progress and Development of Famagusta requested financial assistance from the Soviet Academy of Sciences to support excavations at Ancient Salamis. Soviet Ambassador in Cyprus Pavel Yermoshin endorsed the initiative and considered the possibility to arrange Soviet archaeological mission in Cyprus (Yermoshin 1962). However, the Director of the Institute of Archaeology in Moscow, Prof. Boris Rybakov rejected, answering that Soviet archaeologists had no plans to excavate in Cyprus (Zhukov 1962) and all the efforts of Sergey Kisselyoff and the Soviet diplomats in Cyprus in this field were lost in vain. This refusal seems especially as strange and unreasonable, if we take into account that in the USSR there was a ready excavating team of Prof. Blavatsky and his colleagues who just in the previous year had to stop their work in Albania because of political reasons and could be involved into a new Mediterranean project. Who can imagine, how permanently acting Soviet archaeological institution could influence upon the political islandscape during the Turkish invasion of 1974?

Ultimately, despite significant academic and governmental efforts, no Soviet academic school of Cypriot archaeology emerged in the 1960s. A combination of personal factors and shifting Soviet foreign policy following the retirement of N.S. Khrushchev led to these possibilities remaining unrealised.

The Soviet archaeologists were limited by their lifetime, social system, political authorities, type of scientific organisation and funding, migration visas, personal likes, and dislikes etc. Furthermore, they could play their role as agents of the 'soft power' and public diplomacy only depending on the decisions of the Soviet government and party functionaries. The contrast between the more than modest Soviet results in Cyprus and the success of the Polish archaeological mission in Paphos, which originated almost in the same years (since 1965), is evident (Karageorghis 2007, 81-2; Papuci-Władyka 2011, 413-15) and reveals significant difference in the position of the archaeological (and other academic) institutions in both countries during the Cold War, and the grade and mode of their incorporation into the global world of science.

At the same time, the Soviet archaeological missions successfully worked for many years in Bulgaria (1961, 1963-71), Hungary (since 1971), Iraq (1969-80), Syria (1987-2010), Yemen (1983-2010) (Merpert 2011, 219-367; Makarov 2019, 129-38), and Afghanistan

21 Andrey Agafonov, pers. comm.

(1969-79) demonstrating that – in favourable political conjecture, with governmental support, and with a significant amount of human, financial and material resources – Soviet archaeology could be sent abroad and produce long-living academic projects and research schools.

While the personal evidence can reveal, in some respects, the role of the human factor in the history of Soviet-Cypriot archaeological collaboration, the scale of political influence on this process is still kept in silence. Yet, silence itself can sometimes speak volumes.

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