

# "WHEN THEY MOVED THE CEMETERY...": HYBRIDISATION OF BELIEF IN THE AFTERLIFE AFTER FLOOD ZONE RESETTLEMENT IN UKRAINE

IRYNA KOVAL-FUCHYLO

Senior Research Associate Rylsky Institute for Art Studies, Folklore and Ethnology National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine Hrushevskoho 4, 01001 Kyiv, Ukraine e-mail: koval-fuchylo@ukr.net

### ABSTRACT

The article analyses changes in Ukrainian folk beliefs about the afterlife in the face of forced resettlement due to the construction of hydroelectric power stations and water reservoirs. During resettlement, folk beliefs were adapted to the conditions of the time, under the influence of Soviet atheism and propaganda. Later, especially since the independence of Ukraine, migrants have tried to restore the lost connection between the living and the dead by establishing and consecrating crosses on common graves in which the remains of former villagers are reburied. Today, narratives about the relocation of a cemetery express anxiety about the disturbance of the dead and the idea of the impossibility of complete resettlement from an ancient place of residence.

KEYWORDS: cemetery • beliefs about the afterlife • oral history • resettlement • common graves

### INTRODUCTION

The construction of a cascade of hydroelectric power plants on the Dnipro and Dnister (1920s–1980s)<sup>1</sup> led to the forced relocation of villages from the flood zone. The main feature of these relocations was the well-known prospect of impossibility to return to the flooded place which remained under water. This condition also required the eviction not only of its living inhabitants but also of the dead: it was necessary to move cemeteries from the flood zone. The empirical database for my study consists of oral historical memories of people resettled from the flood zone, as well as published sources (Lesyk 2007; Kostjukova and Jevtushenko 2010; Horbnjak 2013; 2020; Sorokova 2015; Kuzmenko-Lisovenko 2018; Mykhnjak 2018; 2020; Mykhnjak and Zuber 2019). The interviews were recorded by the author during field trips conducted between 2012 and 2021.

The purpose of the study is to show, through analysis of the concept of cemetery, how the forced relocation of cemeteries influenced a change in perceptions of the after-

life, which can be seen as a connection between the living and the dead. In addition, I will explore how Ukrainians coped as individuals with the relocation of the cemeteries and how they comprehended the experience of resettlement. The article is the third in a series of works on forced resettlement. The first article explored the concept of house (Koval-Fuchylo 2016); the second studied the concept of land (Koval-Fuchylo 2018). I use the term concept to denote a set of expression forms of meanings important for culture (Tolstaya 2013: 109). These forms in our particular case are expressed in nominations, permanent motifs, folklorised, and folklore, texts.

# RELOCATION OF CEMETERIES AND BELIEFS About the afterlife

In the narratives about the resettlement, the cemetery is the main sacred place, because churches in many villages were destroyed long before the resettlement.<sup>2</sup> So, the transfer of the cemeteries was especially difficult and tragic for people.

Cemeteries were moved – dug up. We had gravediggers from Nova Kakhovka. Here they dig, take away the bones, and then put anything else back in the grave. And then, when the water was released in September, all the coffins went there, to the dam. But there they were pulled out [...] our cemeteries moved. And those who were recently buried were carried in coffins. (MAF)

Some took out [the monument], some were engraved on stones. Yes. There was barbarism. Under the guise of flooding was barbarism! There were beautiful monuments. (NOH)

And those ancient graves were dug up in boxes there and also buried all together [...]. They dug my brother grave and buried in it. (HNI)

Oh cemeteries – terribly moved over! We have a common grave, but not everyone was moved. And when the water began to arrive and everything floated! (ZVF)

But the most painful was when the parents' graves were excavated to rebury the remains in a new place. If there were living relatives, they took their ancestors out of the cemetery on their own. I remember my father and I going to bury my grandfather Svyryd. And there were unattended graves. They were all dug up and wrapped in a mass grave. (Kostjukova and Jevtushenko 2010: 63)

The worst thing for me was when the cemetery was moved. Strangers dug graves, excavated human relics, put them in special boxes and transported up the hill. (Ibid.: 78)

The resettlement of the relatives' and friends' ashes was a particularly painful topic. Many could not do so due to various circumstances. People came to the village, they were called gravediggers. They deployed a cemetery in Pidsinne. The ashes of many peoples were transported to the village Divychky, where they were reburied in a mass grave. (Mykhnjak and Zuber 2019: 274)

When they moved the cemetery, I cried, I saw them being dug. How many laments there were, it is impossible to say. There were only braids and skulls. When I went to the cemetery, I don't sleep at night, I cried. (Mykhnjak 2018: 153)

Thus, the narrators called the transfer of the cemeteries "barbarism", "horrible", "most painful", "most terrible", accompanied by crying and wailing. The worst events began after the resettlement, specifically when the water started to erode the earth and bring coffins, skulls, bones to the surface. Why did all this upset the settlers so much and caused an increase in use of folklore and social memorial practice? This is due to a complex of traditional beliefs, both pre-Christian and Christian, about the dead, the afterlife, and the connection between the dead and the living. There are many scholarly works on the cemeteries, including on the rules of their arrangement and beliefs about the afterlife (Plotnikova 2004; Koval-Fuchylo 2012; 2014; Sushko 2012; Oprelianska 2021; Taran 2021). I mention here the regulations that are relevant for Ukrainian traditional culture and that were violated due to the relocation of the cemetery. Firstly, reburials have occurred repeatedly in Ukrainian history, especially after the Second World War. Each reburial was intended to bring the remains of the deceased people near to their homes. During resettlement because of reservoir development, all the dead were moved away from their homes and their houses were destroyed. In addition, in Ukrainian tradition it is important to know a person's exact place of burial so that relatives can come and mourn the deceased. During transfer of the cemeteries, this was lost.

In the Ukrainian folk worldview, the grave is thought of as the deceased person's residence, understood as their 'eternal home' after death. An open grave as a part of otherworldly space is considered dangerous. In contrast, a closed grave, a tombstone and a cross were identified with deceased people (Plotnikova 2004: 267). Folk ideas about the afterlife are a syncretism of pre-Christian and Christian ideas. The cemetery is the main place of residence of the ancestors. Thus, if someone dreams that a dead person asks for something, then this thing could be passed through the cemetery by being placed in the coffin of the next person to die and buried with them (Vinogradova and Levkiyevskaya 2012: 755). People believe that on the day of the funeral dead people come for the newly deceased, meeting him or her on the way to the cemetery (ibid.: 754). The popular imagination gives the dead the ability to visit, to show their presence, to help, or to harm the living. The soul of the deceased person is often endowed with the ability to move (ibid.: 753–754), after which the soul returns to the cemetery and exists there.

The cemetery in Ukrainian traditional culture is associated with a number of important concepts, strict prohibitions and recommendations that remain relevant in our time, although more so half a century ago, when the resettlement took place. Thus, first of all, the cemetery has always been a place of activation of cultural and historical memory for the rural community and society in general (Taran 2021). In any tradition, "funeral customs have never been directed only at the deceased, but have always been of great importance to humankind as one of the most effective means of ritual communication" (Kõivupuu 2021: 177). This is especially true with respect to Ukrainian villages, where churches were often destroyed by the Soviet regime long before. The cemetery was the main sacred place for a village without a church. The destruction of the cemetery was essentially the destruction of the community spiritual centre, as well as the abode of the dead. According to popular belief, the dead not only rest in the cemetery, but also visit their living relatives on the appropriate days during the rituals of the calendar, wait for these relatives with food gifts on special days, watch over them, and sometimes even show their presence. The main remembrance day in Ukraine is one week after Easter: Farewell, Farewell Sunday, and Farewell Monday<sup>3</sup> (Taran 2021: 251). On those days, a joint meal took place in the cemetery with the dead, an event that is a survival from the pre-Christian period.

In traditional culture, there are strict recommendations for a visit to the cemetery. It is necessary to enter through the gate, because otherwise the dead do not see visitors (ibid.: 249). On the days of visits and of funerals it is possible to leave the cemetery only through the gates, so as not to cause trouble. There is a belief all over Ukraine that the last buried person waits at the cemetery gates. When the next dead person arrives, they change places at the gate (Vinogradova and Levkiyevskaya 2012: 754). It is interesting that cemetery gates are constructed even in those cemeteries where for some reason there is no fence (Taran 2021: 249).

In Ukrainian folk culture, the grave is important as part of the "topography of memory" (Kuzmenko 2018: 551). Common (mass) graves and military grave mounds have become objects of ancient historical legends (Dragomanov 1876: 227–236; Kuzmenko 2018: 551). Oksana Kuzmenko (2018: 550–570), a researcher of 20th century Ukrainian folklore, singles out the concept of the grave as one of the most important in oral poetic texts of war. She states: "Ukrainian folklore of the 20th century presented rich material, where the [grave] plays an important role in symbolising not only the existential and domestic, but also socio-political space" (ibid.: 552). In oral history about military events, the image of the grave is the compositional centre. There are stories about the destruction and building of graves, where destruction is the work of enemies and strangers. "Attributive constant, expressed through the constant epithet 'dug grave' or predicative forms ('dug', 'destroyed', 'scattered', 'spread'), actualizes the archaic components in the symbolism of the desecrated grave" (ibid.: 560). Such a grave was dangerous, its damage was perceived as a sinful act (Plotnikova 2004: 266–269).

It is not surprising that digging graves has become a painful, atypical, tragic experience for people. In poetic form it was described by the poetess Olha Dyachenko:

Swallows do not fly to Zrubyntsi Because Zrubyntsi is no more. Janissaries with poisonous hearts Demolished the cemetery with jokes.

Ne letyat' lastivky u Zrubyntsi, Bo Zarubyntsiv bil'she nema. Yanychary z sertsyamy yaduchymy Kladovyshche znesly zhartoma. (Sorokova 2015: 68)

Ukrainian folklore, in particular the genre of curses, convincingly proves that the scattered bones of the deceased is the worst thing that could happen to a person after death: "To throw your bones out of the grave – it's a terrible curse!" (Ivannikova 2015: 113). There are variants of this curse: "Let your bones be thrown out of the grave!", "Let your bones be scattered!", "Let your bones be lost!" (ibid.: 120). Even women who often cursed were afraid to utter this curse. According to popular belief, transformed under the influence of Christianity, such a deceased person would not rise at the Last Judgment and would therefore lose eternal life (ibid.: 112). In a situation of forced relocation, people had to reconcile these beliefs about the dead with the need to move them to a new burial place. The bones of all generations of ancestors buried in ancient cemeteries near Dnipro had to be disturbed and moved. It is clear that this was a heavy blow to the worldview of the peasants.

When graves had to be dug up, people's worldview had to adapt to these forced changes, which resulted in hybridisation of beliefs about the afterlife. In this situation, Christian ideas about the soul came to the rescue. People appealed to the fact that only the body was in the grave, not the soul. These beliefs are not directly voiced anywhere in memoirs written by those affected, but they are evidenced by numerous statements, such as: "There is nothing there, only dust in a coffin. There is nothing there any more, woman. Bones." (DVI); "Only braids and skulls were there" (Mykhnjak 2018: 153). People reassured themselves that the bones of the dead had been reburied. Aggressive atheist state doctrine, as well as other Soviet propaganda of the time, helped to distract from the moral trauma caused by the relocation of cemeteries. After all, it was a time when various resources, including art, were involved in glorifying the construction of hydroelectric power stations. Thus, songs dedicated to these constructions emerged. The poem "Dnipro" (Nud'ha 1960: 171-172, 371) was written in the 1930s by Yaroslav Vasylovych Hrymaylo (1906–1984). The author described the Dnipro as a "proud rebel", writing that on the banks of this rebellious river "will come workers to convert the power of the Dnipro into electricity". The "Song of the Kakhovka Sea", by famous Ukrainian poet Teren (Terentiy) Germanovych Masenko (1903-1970), was written in 1952 and published in Masenko's collection of poems Spring Cranes (1956) (see Nud'ha 1960: 372). The poem presents the creation of artificial reservoirs as a victory over dry winds, filling the fields with water, the realisation of dreams. As a result of these changes, the Dnipro goes in new, not old, ways (ibid.: 179-180).

However, these hybrid compromises (on hybridity as a cultural phenomenon, see Leete 2019: 3) did little to help the tragedy of loss of the cemetery and the forced intrusion into the peace of the dead. This is evidenced by the narrators, the nominative vocabulary denoting the event, loci, character and subject lines, constant themes and main folklore plots in memories dealing with the transfer of cemeteries.

### NOMINATIONS AND FOLKLORE PLOTS

According to the scale of emotionality in the list of nominations, we can distinguish different levels of emotional saturation: from emotionally neutral (*transferred, composed*) to emotionally coloured (*taken away, thrown*). The lexemes *thrown, dumped, buried* contain the semantics of condemnation, pointing to how unceremonious the process was and how it was negligent in the performance of required ritual.

The new burial place has the following nominations: *brother grave (brats'ka mohyla)*, *white cross (khrest bilyy)*, *common grave (obshcha mohyla)*, *pit (yama)*, *big grave (zdorovyy horb)*, *long graves (dlinni mohyly)*. Here the emphasis is on the emergence of a new atypical large-scale burial – a common long grave of former residents, those who have already been forgotten, who have no relatives in the relocating village. The desire to

preserve the memory of these former villagers is actualised and verbalised at the plot level of the cemetery concept, specifically in comments and stories about the erection of a monument on these common graves: "There is a cross in the cemetery – it is common [grave]" (LFL). It is also important to emphasise the atypical form of graves, which differ from the usual, individual graves in their length: "And those who already have ancient graves, ancient burials, or had no relatives, they buried them in the same long boxes. And such long graves are in the cemetery." (ZhNI)

The next nominative group includes names for the remains of the dead: *bones* (*kosti*, *kostky*, *kistochky*, *kostochky*), *bones of people* (*kistky* lyudey), *the decased* (*pokiynyy*), *the dead* (*pokoynyky*), *remains* (*reshtky*, *ostanky*), *our relatives* (*svoyi rodychi*), *the ashes of relatives and friends* (*prakh ridnykh ta blyz'kykh*), *the ashes* (*prakh*), *braids and skulls* (*kosy i cherepy*), *gray braids* (*syvi kosy*), *a dust* (*trusen'*). In this group of lexemes the semantics of family relations and the prescription for burial is actualised. Some words report the semantics of the almost complete disappearance of the remains: "There is nothing there but dust in the coffin. There is nothing more there. Bones…" (DVI) The family relations and the age of the grave were crucial during reburials, as people were dug up by their relatives and reburied separately with the ancient dead, who had already become "dust, bones", were buried in common graves. The reaction to the almost complete disappearance of the afterlife and the hybridisation of these perceptions in the face of what had happened. Ultimately people were helped psychologically by experiencing the relocation of the cemeteries.

There is another very important, albeit small, nominative group that includes the main characters in the transfer of the cemeteries: gravediggers (hrobokopateli), diggers (kopachi). Digging graves was a job that no one wanted to do because the dead cannot be disturbed. In Ukrainian traditional culture, even visiting cemeteries is regulated so that people go to the dead on special memorial days. Cases of people going to the grave in grief at their loss are described as atypical. And here it was not just about the visit, but about moving the cemetery. This, as already mentioned, violated the traditional way of treating the dead. Such dangerous work could only be undertaken under duress. In the memoirs, the gravediggers are always strangers, rather than locals, who are often from prisons:

Somewhere in [19]56–[19]57, we lived like this down the hill here, then came guys, we called them gravediggers, they dug cemeteries (BVI).

Prisoners were sent here. They dug up graves. Prisoners from the city were specially sent to dig. They were forced to dig up the dead. (KKL)

Convicts were taken, and convicts dug. There's a lot of phosphorus there. It was at night in the cemetery that the phosphor shone. It was so scary, it's scary. (IHI)

On the thematic level of the cemetery there is the constantly repeated folklore motif of the rapid death of these diggers: "There were diggers, gravediggers we called them. 'Then', he says, 'they all died'. This was a very difficult case." (ZVF) It can be assumed that this motif came about because of the widespread idea of necessary negative consequences for unauthorised contact with the afterlife.

Subject nominations are represented by two main groups of lexemes. The first denotes coffins that had to be transferred (*truna, truny, hrob, dubovyna*), while the second

denotes a wooden chest in which human bones were placed during the excavation and subsequent transfer to the new burial place: *boxes, large box (yashchyky, yashchyk velykyy, yashchychky)*. These objects form an oppositional pair: coffin – box. At one pole is regulated ancient burial, and at the other an atypical, unusual, even incorrect, container necessitated by the flooding of the old cemetery. I consider these boxes a folklore motif because of how often they are mentioned. The narrators mention these special containers as something that is not as it should be, something that alarms and confuses them. To correct the disturbance of the dead, people installed crosses on the new mass graves of the unknown former residents of their villages.

The fact that not all human remains were removed by the gravediggers from the old cemetery is repeatedly mentioned in the memoirs: "Here they dig, take away the bones, and then everything [else goes] back..." (MAF); "There under water many remained" (TOS); "We have a common grave, but not everyone was moved – and the water began to arrive, and it all floated!" (ZVF) In this context, it is not accidental that a lament for the flooded graves was recorded in the Poltava region:

Because my mother, the kingdom of her soul, their mother also died before that, she was crying and crying: "You are diving, sinking/And you are cursing us for not being taken away." She says: "You're lying, my mammy/You're diving, mammy...

- And she couldn't take it?

– They couldn't. There they were taken out, but not much was taken from our village. We had a poor village. (YaHP)

Coffins and bones that appear after the arrival of the water make up another very typical, even folkloric, motif:

And then, when the water was released in September – and all the coffins went there, in the dam (MAF).

And this mountain breaks off, part of the mountain. Gradually breaks down and breaks off. And coffins stick out from there. (KLH)

I say that the Dnipro flows in winter [...] And here I found that the cemetery... In one place I found that the even coffins lie. (PIM)

Interestingly, people who were not displaced, but live close by the resettled villages, told me about crosses underwater. In fact, the crosses, which were often wooden, were burned. The narrators are unanimous in stating that after the cemeteries were moved, all the land was levelled by bulldozer.

The memoirs devote much attention to gravediggers. In folk culture, gravediggers had a high sacred status. In special situations, if necessary, they could even serve as priests (Koval-Fuchylo 2012). During the transfer of the cemetery, the main executors of this work on the one hand performed work that was considered dangerous and even terrible, while on the other hand they acquired the sacred status of gravedigger. All ideas about the afterlife led to the existence of two main gravedigger motifs: the first of high earnings, the second of their untimely death, mentioned above: "And they said that all who dug up graves, they were paid a lot of money, they say: 'You know, they all died when they were 40–50 years old''' (ZVF).

A common folklore plot is presented in stories about the opening of coffins, of which there are two types in the narrative about the great resettlement. The first is about a body in a coffin, which everyone saw briefly before it fell and disappeared:

The grave is opened, and the deceased lies as if alive, nothing has changed. Only the inflow of fresh air – literally in 10–20 seconds it all fell. [...] Eyewitnesses said so. I have never seen such a thing. This applies to burials. (MMK)

They dug a coffin, opened it and saw a man lying. And then within seconds – nothing was there. Everything had fallen, nothing was left, except for the bones. (MOI)

The second story type is about bones and hair.

The coffin was already shaken, but the bones lay there. And they put all the bones in this box. And everyone agreed to look at my grandfather Svyryd. When his skull was removed, he had all his teeth intact. (YeMI)

Braids, bones. They opened it because the coffin was already rotten. So the grandmother and sister were thrown into the same box and transferred here. (OMP)

These plots were of a local origin. The first type was recorded in Pereyaslav town and in the south of Khmel'nytsky region; the second type in Cherkasy region. Another widespread folkloric motif is emphasis on the establishment of a tombstone cross on a mass grave.

There is a cross in the cemetery – something common. No one was left. There we had a small cemetery. (LIK)

The village council made a large box, and all the bones of people who had no relatives were put in a mass grave. There is also a white cross, we clean it so that it is not overgrown. (RNA)

In 2010, caring Zarubynci residents cultivated the grave, erected a memorial cross; and in 2012 a monument to the victims of the Bukryn bridgehead was erected at Zarubynci cemetery (Sorokova 2015: 68).

The installation of a cross restores the sacredness of the grave. "The sacredness, and hence the indestructibility of the tomb marked by the cross, confirms features of the spiritual identity of Ukrainians – their deep religiosity" (Kuzmenko 2018: 561). In addition, the cross on the grave "is a commemorative sign of the revival of memory" (ibid.).

Stories about the installation of a cross show how relocated people consolidate their lives. It is the family's responsibility to put up grave crosses and monuments. In relocation to mass graves, where people without living relatives are reburied, the community erects a memorial cross. That is, this community acts as a family. It should also be noted that this did not happen immediately during the resettlement, but much later, perhaps when it became relevant for the resettled community. During resettlement the people's attention and their conversations were about the shortage of building materials, the search for craftsmen to build a new home. They could calmly consider the relocation of the village only when the main work of construction of houses was finished. That is, the relocation of cemeteries played a unifying social function in the context of resettlement.

# CONCLUDING NOTES

In the folk worldview, the grave is thought of as the place of last rest, the eternal home of the deceased. The procedure of digging a grave, protecting it before burial, the procedure of filling the grave, putting up a memorial tombstone and visiting graves is strictly regulated in Ukrainian folk culture. Even the presence of water in the excavated grave was treated as a bad sign – and the construction of a reservoir meant the complete flooding of cemeteries. Therefore, it was necessary to move them. This was not easy, as all the villages destined for relocation were ancient, meaning the burials were ancient. Flooding graves was especially dangerous as it provoked a possible curse from dead ancestors. These beliefs, and ideas about the afterlife, as well as various transformations and hybridisations of these beliefs with atheistic Soviet doctrine are reflected in the narratives about the transfer of the cemeteries.

This event is well preserved in the settlers' memories, it is described as tragic and horrible. The main idea of these stories is the impossibility of completely transferring the cemetery. Interestingly, in connection with the theme of the cemeteries' transfer in the memories there are apocalyptic motifs: "No wonder the old religious people said: 'The time will come when there will be no place on earth for the living or for the dead...'" (Sorokova 2015: 68). To somehow correct this situation, people tried to install grave crosses on the transferred mass and symbolic graves.

Since Ukrainian independence, especially in the 21st century, resettlement communities have worked actively to preserve the memories of their flooded villages. They have published books, installed memorials in former settlements, organised photo exhibitions about their native villages, gathered for periodic or annual meetings, established crosses on common transferred graves (Koval-Fuchylo 2021). Such social practices indicate a post-Soviet rethinking of hydropower construction and land flooding. Focusing attention on the moved graves is very relevant today. Interestingly, in memories about the resettlement experience from flood zones in Polish society, the cemetery is given much less space than in Ukrainian experience (Godyń 2015: 132–135; Koval-Fuchylo 2017).

Semantic analysis of the nomination, repeating motifs, themes, plots that form the concept cemetery give foundation for the following conclusions: it is impossible to completely transfer cemeteries; interfering with cemeteries is potentially dangerous and provokes the wrath of the dead; the installation of a tombstone restores the sacredness of the tomb, helps consolidate a resettled community and actualises the memory of its historical past.

Soviet atheistic propaganda and the interpretation of the hydroelectric power plant as a symbol of the power of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic led to the hybridisation of ideas about the afterlife in the people's worldview. However, modern memories of the relocation of cemeteries, as well as the social commemorative practices of relocated people, show that today in the Ukrainian folk worldview, the cemetery continues to have a high sacred status.

## NOTES

1 More about this in Horbovyj 2020.

**2** In Ukraine during the time of Soviet power, there were two great waves of church destruction, the 1930s and the 1960s–1970s. See more detail in Babenko 2014; Pashhenko 2005.

3 In Ukrainian Provody, Providna nedilya, Providnyy ponedilok.

#### FLOODED VILLAGES MENTIONED IN THE ARTICLE

Andrushi, Pidsinne, V'yunyshche, Zarubynci Pereyaslav-Khmelnytsky district, Kyiv region Bakota, Konylivka, Naddnistrianka Kamyanets-Podilsky district, Khmel'nytsky region Kalaborok, Pen'kivka Novoheorhiyivsky district, Kirovograd region

Les'ky, Sahunivka Cherkasy district, Cherkasy region

Skorodystyk, partially flooded, former Irkliviv district, Poltava region (now Zolotonosha district, Cherkasy region)

Yalynci Hradys'k district, Poltava region

### SOURCES

- BVI Buhaenko Vasyl Ivanovych, resettler, born in 1941 in the village of Penkivka. Lives in Pidhirne village, Kremenchug district, Poltava region. Recorded on 19/05/2012.
- DVI Dubeniuk Vasyl Ivanovych, resettler, born in 1929 in the village of Bakota. Lives in Horaivka village, Kamyanets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytsky region. Recorded on 21/07/2014.
- HNI Horbnyak Nadiya Ivanivna, resettler, born in 1934 in the village of Bakota. Lives in Horaivka village, Kamyanets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytsky region. Recorded on 19/07/2014.
- IHI Ivchenko Hanna Ivanivna, resettler, born in 1949 in the village of Lesky. Lives in Khudyaky village, Cherkasy district, Cherkasy region. Recorded on 13/06/2021.
- KKL Kuzhym Kateryna Levkivna, born in 1929 in the village of Kchudiaky. Recorded in Kchudiaky village, Cherkasy district, Cherkasy region on 06/12/2021.
- KLH Kykot Larysa Hryhorivna, born in 1970 in the village of Kanivtsi, Chornobay district, Cherkasy reg. Recorded in Skorodystyk village on 03/08/2014.

LFL – Loboda Halyna Feodosiivna, born in 1928 in the village of Skorodystyk. Lives in Skorodystyk village, Zolotonosha district, Cherkasy region. Recorded on 03/08/2014.

- LIK Lytvynyuk Ivan Kostiantynovych, resettler, born in 1933 in the village of Naddnistrianka. Lives in Horaivka village, Kamyanets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytsky region. Recorded on 18/07/2014.
- MAF Motailo Antonina Fedorivna, resettler, born in 1937 in the village of Kalaborok. Recorded in Hlynsk village, Svitlovodsk district, Kropyvnytskyi (Kirovohrad) region on 19/05/2012.
- MOI Mospan Oleksandr Ivanovych, resettler, born in 1933 in the village of Andrushi. Recorded in Pereyaslav town on 22/06/2019.
- MMK Mykhnyak Mykola Kononovych, born in 1946 in the village of Demyantsi, Pereyaslav-Khmelnytskyi district, Kyiv region. Recorded in Pereyaslav town on 21/06/2019.
- NOH Nykuliak Oleksandr Hryhorovych, resettler, born in 1929 in the village of Konylivka, bookkeeper, lives in Horaivka village, Kamianets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytskyi region. Recorded on 18/07/2014.
- OMP Ovrashko Mykhailo Petrovych, resettler, born in 1934 in the village of Vyunyshche. Lives in Cybli village, Pereyaslav-Khmelnytskyi district, Kyiv region. Recorded on 22/06/2019.

- PIM Pojizdnyk Ivan Mykhailovych, born in 1959 in the village of Khrushchivka, Zolotonosha district, Cherkasy region. Lives in Skorodystyk village. Recorded on 29/07/2014.
- RNA Rybak Nadiya Andriivna, resettler, born in 1962 in the village of Bakota. Lives in Horaivka village, Kamyanets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytsky region. Recorded on 26/07/2014.
- TOS Trofymchuk Olha Semenivna, resettler, born in 1949 in the village of Konylivka. Lives in Horaivka village, Kamyanets-Podilskyi district, Khmelnytsky region. Recorded on 21/07/2014.
- YaHP Yakuba Hanna Pavlivna, resettler, born in 1926 in the village of Yalynci, since 1960 has lived in Biletskivka village, Kremenchug district, Poltava region, recorded by Marina Kurina on 20/05/2012.
- YeMI Yevtushenko Maria Ivanivna, resettler, born in 1948 in the village of Sahunivka. Lives in Khudiaky village, Cherkasy district, Cherkasy region. Recorded on 12/06/2021.
- ZhNI Zhmenko Nadija Illivna. Recorded in the village of Skorodystyk on 02/08/2014.
- ZVF Zahreba Valentyna Fedorivna, resettler, born in 1950 in the village of Skorodystyk. Lives in Skorodystyk village. Recorded on 19/08/2014.

### REFERENCES

- Вabenko, Ludmyla. 2014. Radjansjki orghany derzhavnoji bezpeky v systemi vzajemovidnosyn derzhavy i Pravoslavnoji cerkvy v Ukrajini (1918 – seredyna 1950-kh rr.). Poltava: TOV ASMI. [Бабенко, Людмила. 2014. Радянські органи державної безпеки в системі взаємовідносин держави і Православної церкви в Україні (1918 – середина 1950-х pp.). Полтава: TOB ACMI.]
- Dragomanov, Mikhail, ed. 1876. *Malorusskie narodnye predaniya i rasskazy*. Kiev: Izdanie Yugo-Zapadnogo otdela RGO. [Драгоманов, Михаил, ред. 1876. *Малорусские народные предания и рассказы*. Киев: Издание Юго-Западного отдела РГО.]
- Godyń, Maria. 2015. Opowieść o utraconej wsi Maniowy. Studium z antropologii pamięci. Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności.
- Horbovyj, Oleksandr. 2020. Kompleksna transformacija ukrajinsjkogho Prydniprov'ja u konteksti ghidroenerghetychnogho osvojennja Dnipra (kin. XIX st. – 1980-ti rr.). Dysertacija kand. ist. nauk. Perejaslav: Derzh. VNZ "Perejaslav-Khmelnyc. derzh. ped. in-t imeni H. S. Skovorody". [Горбовий, Олександр. 2020. Комплексна трансформація українського Придніпров'я у контексті гідроенергетичного освоєння Дніпра (кін. XIX ст. – 1980-ті рр.). Дисертація канд. іст. наук. Переяслав: Держ. ВНЗ "Переяслав-Хмельниц. держ. пед. ін-т імені Г. С. Сковороди".]
- Ногbnjak, Taras. 2013. Davnja Bakota. Literaturno-khudozhnje vydannja. Kamjanecj-Podiljsjkyj: PP "Medobory-2006". [Горбняк, Тарас. 2013. Давня Бакота. Літературно-художнє видання. Кам'янець-Подільський: ПП «Медобори-2006».]
- Horbnjak, Taras. 2020. *Abetka bakotjanyna*. Kam'janecj-Podiljsjkyj: Aksioma. [Горбняк, Тарас. 2020. *Абетка бакотянина*. Кам'янець-Подільський: Аксіома.]
- Ivannikova, Ljudmyla. 2015. Ukrajinsjki prokljony: tradycija sela Ghubcha na Khmeljnychchyni. – *Mifologhija i foljklor* 1–2: 108–121. [Іваннікова, Людмила. 2015. Українські прокльони: традиція села Губча на Хмельниччині. – *Міфологія і фольклор* 1–2: 108–121.]
- Коstjukova, Olena and Marija Jevtushenko. 2010. *Nezatoplena pam'jatj*. Cherkasy: "Vertykalj". [Костюкова, Олена; Марія Євтушенко. 2010. *Незатоплена пам'ять*. Черкаси: «Вертикаль».]
- Koval-Fuchylo, Irina. 2012. Personazhnyy kod pogrebalnogo obryada: grobovshchik. Slavyanskaya traditsionnaya kultura i sovremennyy mir 15: 216–225. [Коваль-Фучило, Ирина. 2012. Персонажный код погребального обряда: гробовщик. – Славянская традиционная культура и современный мир 15: 216–225.]

- Koval-Fuchylo, Iryna. 2014. Ukrajinsjki gholosinnja: antropologhija tradyciji, poetyka tekstu. Kyiv: IMFE NAN Ukrainy. [Коваль-Фучило, Ірина. 2014. Українські голосіння: антропологія традиції, поетика тексту. Київ.]
- Koval-Fuchylo, Iryna. 2016. Koncept domu v opovidjakh pro prymusove pereselennja. *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini: historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa* 6: 147–158. [Коваль-Фучило, Ірина. 2016. Концепт дому в оповідях про примусове переселення. – *Łemkowie, Bojkowie, Rusini: historia, współczesność, kultura materialna i duchowa* 6: 147–158.]
- Koval-Fuchylo, Iryna. 2017. Pro zatopleni sela v poljsjkij etnologhiji. Narodna tvorchist ta etnologhija 3 (367): 110–112. [Коваль-Фучило, Ірина. 2017. Про затоплені села в польській етнології. Народна творчість та етнологія 3 (367): 110–112.]
- Koval-Fuchylo, Iryna. 2018. Koncept "zemlja" v opovidjakh pro prymusove pereselennja. *Lemkovia, Bojkovia, Rusíni dejiny, súčasnosť, materiálna a duchovná kultúra. Banská Bystrica* VII, part 2: 25–40. [Коваль-Фучило, Ірина. 2018. Концепт «земля» в оповідях про примусове переселення. *Lemkovia, Bojkovia, Rusíni dejiny, súčasnosť, materiálna a duchovná kultúra. Banská Bystrica* VII, časť 2: 25–40.]
- Koval-Fuchylo, Iryna. 2021. Memorialjna kuljtura j opovidi pro pereselennja iz zon zatoplennja. – Narodoznavchi zoshyty 2 (158): 456–471. [Коваль-Фучило, Ірина. 2021. Меморіальна культура й оповіді про переселення із зон затоплення. – Народознавчі зошити 2 (158): 456–471.] DOI: https://doi.org/10.15407/nz2021.02.456.
- Kõivupuu, Marju. 2021. Book Review. Till Death Do Us Part: American Ethnic Cemeteries as Borders Uncrossed. – *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 15 (1): 177–179. DOI: https://doi. org/10.2478/jef-2021-0011.
- Kuzmenko, Oksana. 2018. Dramatychne buttja ljudyny v ukrajinsjkomu foljklori: konceptualjni formy vyrazhennja (period Pershoji ta Drughoji svitovykh vojen). Lviv. [Кузьменко, Оксана. 2018. Драматичне буття людини в українському фольклорі: концептуальні форми вираження (період Першої та Другої світових воєн). Львів.]
- Kuzmenko-Lisovenko, Kateryna. 2018. Zatoplena Prydniprovsjka cyvilizacija. Istorija. Ljudsjki doli. Kyiv: HO Chernihivske zemliactvo. [Кузьменко-Лісовенко, Катерина. 2018. Затоплена Придніпровська цивілізація. Історія. Людські долі. Київ: ГО «Чернігівське земляцтво».]
- Leete, Art. 2019. Editorial Impressions: Feelings of Hybridity. Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics 13 (1): 3–7. DOI: https://doi.org/10.2478/jef-2019-0001.
- Lesyk, Mykhajlo. 2007. *Cybli moje ridne selo na Perejaslavshhyni (Spoghady)*. Perejaslav-Khmeljnycjkyj: SKD. [Лесик, Михайло. 2007. Циблі – моє рідне село на Переяславщині (Спогади). Переяслав-Хмельницький: СКД.]
- Mykhnjak, Mykola, ed. 2018. Zatoplenyj raj: Andrushi u spoghadakh ta dokumentakh. Kyiv: Ukrajinsjkyj priorytet. [Михняк, Микола, ред. 2018. Затоплений рай: Андруші у спогадах та документах. Київ: Український пріоритет.]
- Mykhnjak, Mykola. 2020. Buly nad Dniprom Trakhtemyriv i Monastyrok. Dokumenty, spoghady, svitlyny. Kyiv: Ukrajinsjkyj priorytet. [Михняк, Микола. 2020. Були над Дніпром Трахтемирів і Монастирок. Документи, спогади, світлини. Київ: Український пріоритет.]
- Mykhnjak, Mykola and Svitlana Zuber, eds. 2019. Nam Pidsinne teper tiljky snytjsja. Selo u spoghadakh ta dokumentakh. Kyiv: Ukrajinsjkyj priorytet. [Михняк, Микола; Світлана Зубер, ред. 2019. Нам Підсінне тепер тільки сниться. Село у спогадах та документах. Київ: Український пріоритет.]
- Nud'ha, Hryhorij, ed. 1960. *Pisni ta romansy ukrajinsjkykh radjansjkykh poetiv.* 1917–1957. Kyiv: Radjanskyj pysmennyk. [Нудьга, Григорій, ред. 1960. *Пісні та романси українських радянських noemie.* 1917–1957. Київ: Радянський письменник.]
- Oprelianska, Alina. 2021. The Sealed Grave and Burial Rituals in the Context of Revenants in Ukrainian Belief. *Journal of Ethnology and Folkloristics* 15 (1): 27–49 DOI: https://doi.org/10.2478/jef-2021-0003.

- Pashhenko, Volodymyr. 2005. Pravoslavna cerkva v totalitarnij derzhavi. Ukrajina 1940 pochatku 1990kh rokiv. Poltava: ASMI. [Пащенко, Володимир. 2005. Православна церква в тоталітарній державі. Україна 1940 – початку 1990-х років. Полтава: ACMI.]
- Plotnikova, Anna. 2004. Mogila. Slavyanskiye drevnosti. Etnolingvisticheskiy slovar 3. Moskva: Mezhdunarodnyye otnosheniya, 266–272. [Плотникова, Анна. 2004. Могила. – Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь 3. Москва: Международные отношения, 266– 272.]
- Sorokova, Sofija. 2015. Ne letjatj lastivky и Zarubynci: istoryko-krajeznavchyj narys. Perejaslav-Кhmeljnycjkyj. [Сорокова, Софія. 2015. Не летять ластівки у Зарубинці: історикокраєзнавчий нарис. Переяслав-Хмельницький.]
- Sushko, Valentyna. 2012. Zhyttja nezkinchenne. Pokhovaljna obrjadovistj ukrajinciv Slobozhanshhyny XIX–XX st. Kharkiv. [Сушко, Валентина. 2012. Життя незкінченне. Поховальна обрядовість українців Слобожанщини XIX–XXI ст. Харків.]
- Taran, Olena. 2021. Siljsjke kladovyshhe jak marker tradycijnosti (za ekspedycijnymy sposterezhennjamy sil Lokhvycjkogho r-nu Poltavsjkoji obl.). – Personaliji. Tradyciji. Postup. Zbirnyk dopovidej IV Mizhnar. nauk.-prakt. konf. Lviv: SPOLOM, 248–252. [Таран, Олена. 2021. Сільське кладовище як маркер традиційності (за експедиційними спостереженнями сіл Лохвицького р-ну Полтавської обл.). – Персоналії. Традиції. Поступ. Збірник доповідей IV Міжнар. наук.-практ. конф. Львів: СПОЛОМ, 248–252.]
- Tolstaya, Svetlana. 2013. Kody kultury i kulturnyye kontsepty. *Slavyanskaya etnolingvistika:* voprosy teorii, Nikita Tolstoy and Svetlana Tolstaya. Moskva: Institut slavyanovedeniya RAN, 109–113. [Толстая, Светлана. 2013. Коды культуры и культурные концепты. Славянская этнолингвистика: вопросы теории, Никита Толстой и Светлана Толстая. Москва: Институт славяноведения РАН, 109–113.]
- Vinogradova, Lyudmila and Yelena Levkiyevskaya, eds. 2012. Narodnaya demonologiya Poles'ya: Publikatsiya tekstov v zapisyakh 80–90-kh gg. XX veka 2: Demonologizatsiya umershikh lyudey. Moskva: Rukopisnyye pamyatniki Rusi. [Виноградова, Людмила; Елена Левкиевская, ред. 2012. Народная демонология Полесья: Публикация текстов в записях 80–90-х гг. XX века 2: Демонологизация умерших людей. Москва: Рукописные памятники Руси.]