

UDC 316:334.52+94(477)  
DOI 10.35433/history.11209

**Vengerska Victoria,**  
Head of the Department of History of Ukraine,  
Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University  
[vengerska@ukr.net](mailto:vengerska@ukr.net)  
ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8936-8893>

## **HISTORICAL POLICY AND COMMUNICATIVE MEMORY OF THE DNIPRO STEPPE RURAL RESIDENTS**

### ***Abstract***

*The aim of the work is to study the mechanisms of constructing communicative memory of the residents of modern villages of Hrushivka (Apostolove District, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast) and Kapulivka (Nikopol District, Dnipropetrovsk Oblast). The settlements under research are directly connected with the location of the Bazavluk (1593-1638) and Chortomyk (1652-1709) Siches on their territory and realization of one of the large-scale Soviet economical experiments – the program of general electrification, leading to creation of artificial seas and construction of hydroelectric stations. Research methodology. Proceeding from modern methodological approaches in the sphere of memory studies, instruments of oral history, generalizations of fragmentary regional studies, the interrelation of national meta-narrative with the local history was analyzed. The article employs methods of filmography, which potentiated the definition of both the official directions and assessment of the Soviet transformations, directly connected with the territory and certain localities the article deals with, and the local population's attitude towards these processes, engaging available scripts, documentary and feature films of the 20-ies - 50-ies of the XX century. The methods mentioned above and their implementation stress **the novelty** of the research. **Conclusions** Seas need territories, which in this case were taken from people. Destroyed villages and flooded cultures, churches, other unique religious buildings, natural phenomena became the objects of memorialization and communicative memory of the residents of mentioned locations. The article discovers the ways of “imprinting” of the general political situation in the country on the regional contexts of remembering, which have been adapted / fit into a new nation-scale myth since early 90-ies of the XX century, providing the Cossack pages of history with a prominent role. The formation of a new historical narrative in the early 90-ies and the corresponding model of memory, its communicative*

*version received additional incentives for preservation and adaptation to the demands of the time. Thus, the memory of the past, with corresponding memory codes, and the “glory” of the villages of Hrushivka and Kapulivka are used from the standpoint of the present.*

**Key words:** *historical policy, sacred places of memory, church, “collective” memory, “The Poem of the Sea”, Hrushivka, Kut, Kapulivka.*

Basing on two localities, the article presents an analysis of diverse factors that were an element of historical policy, influenced the formation of local communicative memory at different times and provided for their “advantageous” image formation. Proceeding from modern methodological approaches in the sphere of memory studies, instruments of oral history, generalizations of fragmentary regional studies, the interrelation of national meta-narrative with the local history was analyzed. The article employs methods of filmography, which potentiated the definition of both the official directions and assessment of the Soviet transformations, directly connected with the territory and certain localities the article deals with, and the local population’s attitude towards these processes, engaging available scripts, documentary and feature films of the 20-ies - 50-ies of the XX century. The methods mentioned above and their implementation stress the novelty of the research.

#### **Analysis of recent studies and publications.**

The problem of historical policy and memory studies gains growing interest among the researchers annually. The sphere is presented by many authors who have deserved a status of iconic and whose ideas define the methodology of studies, their content and directions. Highlighting the essence and the meaning of the notions of collective and communicative memory, the author of the given article aligned with the approaches suggested in the works by Maurice Halbwachs (Halbwachs, 2005), Jan and Aleida Assmann (Assmann, 2004, Assmann, 2012, Assmann, 2014) and Georgiy Kasianov (Kasianov, 2018)

The previous issues of the periodical edition “Intermarum” contain the author’s studies devoted to historical policy and memory. In one of the publications, she studied the toponymical objects of Ukrainian and

Polish cities through the lens of the notions of places of memory and forgetfulness (Venherska, 2017).

The central place in Ukrainian national narrative is given to the theme of the Cossacks. Initiation of the approach is associated with unknown author(s) of “The History of Ruthenians”, which recently has been paid much attention to. The research held by Volodymyr Kravchenko (Kravchenko, V., 2004) and Serhii Plohii (Plohii, S., 2018) shed light on peculiarities of such scheme and formation of a national myth in the modern epoch. The Cossack theme is basic in forming the communicative memory of residents of the analyzed localities. Georgiy Kasianov in his usual half-ironic style described the role of the Soviet communists in the development of the Cossack studies and the peculiarities of the “battles for history” at the beginning of 90-ies of the XX century (Kasianov, 2018, pp. 221-223).

The authors’ attention usually leaves aside the local phenomena of remembering, represented in small residential locations. The article is aimed at filling this gap. The author has made an attempt to find the answer to the question how the communicative memory and state historical policy trends are interrelated and how they influence each other.

### **Formulation of the problem.**

Every location has its own more or less intensive legends that become more topical, or are intentionally forgotten in different historical periods. What are the factors that made the greatest influence on the processes of remembering or forgetting events and natural phenomena, woven into history / remembering of the mentioned localities? How remembering a certain phenomenon (flood plains) influenced (influences) the formation of the analyzed locality inhabitants’ identity? What was the role the regional level of remembering at the beginning of 90-ies of the XX century played in reviving the national myth and making it sound in a new way? The attention is also paid to studying the usage of resources of remembering the place, which, in the result of the Soviet political and economical experiments, suffered fundamental changes.

These are tasks intended for realization in the result of the research:

- to define the role of oral folk tales, local legends about the mentioned territories, historical objects (of historical, natural and

climatic character) related to them in the process of forming and preserving memory of lost phenomena, memorials and locations;

- to analyze the level of veracity of historical and literature works that reflect descriptions of the region (works by D. Yavornytskyi, A. Kashchenko, T. Shevchenko);

- to focus on paradoxical role of the Soviet cinematograph of the 30-ies – 50-ies of the XX century in preserving certain images, establishing or ruining certain myths;

- to analyze the level of influence of the policy of remembering held by representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet power in the period from 1965 to 1980 on formation of the communicative memory of the localities under research;

- to concentrate on the events of August 1990 (celebration of 500<sup>th</sup> Cossack anniversary) and their role in actualization of certain scenes of communicative memory.

#### **The outline of the material.**

National myth is inseparable from the process of collective memory formation. The Ukrainian national myth (in its ethnocentric aspect) is grounded upon a phenomenon of the Cossacks. Creation of a heroic halo over the Cossacks and initiation of a first academic research of the phenomenon at the end of XIX – at the beginning of XX century were made by M. Hrushevskyi and D. Yavornytskyi, and were followed by other representatives of the folk school of historiography. The Cossacks entered the Soviet historical canon as an element of eternal fight between feuding social classes (the Soviet ideologists-propagandists neglected the existence of senior representatives in the Cossack environment). The Cossacks were allowed to be remembered, but in a way it was convenient for the system. The system even agreed to preserve among toponymical objects of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast the name of the regional centre – Apostolove<sup>1</sup>, where the two locations analyzed in the article were situated.

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<sup>1</sup> The settlement was named after the great-grandson of Hetman Daniel the Apostle, who in the 90s of the XVIII century received a plot of land here. The name was fixed in the Soviet period in 1933, in 1936 it was renamed Kosiorovo, and in 1938 the name Apostolove was returned, which is still preserved to this day.  
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:%D0%A1%D0%97\\_%D0%A1%D0%A1%D0%A1%D0%A0\\_1933.pdf&page=266](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:%D0%A1%D0%97_%D0%A1%D0%A1%D0%A1%D0%A0_1933.pdf&page=266)

The processes of remembering and forgetting have peculiarities and depend not only upon personal physiological characteristics of a person. A person is a social being, thus, he or she is unable not to be influenced by certain factors, which mark the peculiarities of remembering and time perception. The so-called collective memory is formed in the representatives of larger (nations, for example) or smaller communities (local, regional). Maurice Halbwachs defines the collective memory as something that “provides a group’s imagination of its own image that shows itself in the course of time, while it goes about the past, but in a way it can recognize itself in the images that change each other” (Halbwachs, 2005, p. 10).

Collective memory is an image of “sameness”. The group remains unchanged, while its relationship with other differs. Within “commemorative communities” in the process of social communication the exchange of stories takes place, which, in the course of numerous retellings, are modified and transformed until all members of the community have “a same set of same stories” (Halbwachs, 2005, pp. 11-12), thus, a single image of something or someone emerges. Here, memory, unlike a story, is usually related to a specific identity: a person recollects what is important at the very moment, what is “important for recollection” (Halbwachs, 2005, pp. 11-12). According to classification suggested by Jan and Aleida Assmann, “communicative memory” stands as an element of collective memory (Assmann, A., J., 2003, 2004). G. Kasianov stresses that a similar type functions in a small social group, the borders of which are defined by common memory transmitted and changed via verbal communication (Kasianov, 2018). Such variant of memory deals with certain social time, which is measured by certain life periods of generations.

We are intended to track the specificity of communicative memory formation on the material of remembering and post-remembering of former and present residents of villages Hrushivka and Kapulivka. A case offered for research is connected with laying “narrow”, local memory over a basic component of national “remembering” – the phenomenon of the Cossacks and Cossack period. The events of 30-ies – 60-ies of the XX century, leading to flooding of the territories the Zaporizhian Sich was located in since late XVI - until XVIII century,

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are reflected in the so-called cultural memory (after Jan and Aleida Assmann) with traumatic context.

The Soviet communists, naming themselves “the builders of a new world”, were from time to time enthusiastic about large-scale projects, aiming at transformation of the world and subordination of all possible natural and non-natural resources. The idea of constructing a cascade system of hydroelectric stations on the largest rivers was generated as far back as by representatives of technical intellectuals of Tsarist Russia, warmly welcoming the mottos of communism, social justice and modernization of all life spheres (Krzhizhanovsky, 1928). The Soviet leadership’s support in the 20-ies lined up with the beginning of NEP realization, and was predetermined by the necessity to resolve energetic tasks within GOELRO plan (State Commission for Electrification of Russia). Still, there were other reasons defined by military and strategic tasks and specific understanding of state leaders concerning its role. Mythology of a newly-created super state required using a status of “pioneer” in all senses. Besides, such self-presentation required being “the home of elephants”, concerning both technological and economical projects. The capital of such country had to meet these requirements. In case of territories which are now a part of the Russian Federation, creation of the Volga cascade was intended not so much for solution of energetic problems, but for granting Moscow quite a doubtful status of port of five seas, awarded by J. Stalin. The Moscow Canal connected the Moscow River with the Volga River (through the Volga-Don Canal), providing water connectivity to the White Sea, Baltic Sea, Black Sea, Sea of Azov and Caspian Sea (Ivanov).

While developing the GOELRO plan, the specialists’ greatest attention was paid to the Southern economic region including the USSR, without taking into account the boundaries between republics. In general, the so-called Dnipro Cascade (Ukraine also shelters the Dniester Cascade) containing six artificial water bodies was constructed during 1927-1978 as a water object of peculiar military and strategic importance (Hrebin, 2014).

The Dnipro and Kakhovka Reservoirs flooded the rapids and created conditions for end-to-end navigation on the Dnipro River from its mouth to Kyiv and above. From its inception until today, these routes have been used for shipping (which has declined since the 90-ies and is now

being revived), irrigation, water supply, fisheries and recreation. In the case of the two latter tasks, there were also problems related to the lack of well-developed water circulation, which led to siltation, destruction of a significant amount of local flora and fauna, and other deplorable consequences for the environment and people living in this area.

Waters and seas need space, thus, the plans to build new facilities provided for destruction (by flooding) of a large number of settlements, resettlement of local residents. It was clear that all objects and monuments (including churches, cemeteries, etc.) were flooded.

The achievements of industrialization were to be accompanied by the support of “the most important of all arts”. The filmography of the construction of Dnipro hydroelectric station and other stations and dams, that led to creation of artificial seas, is not significant. However, the directors involved in its creation, present an entire era in the development of Ukrainian and world cinematograph. These are Dziga Vertov, Oleksandr Dovzhenko and Arnold Kurdyum. Talented artists in service of the Soviet system, which they enthusiastically welcomed, tried to glorify the transformations they had been inspired by for some time in their works. In 1928, D. Vertov’s first film “The Eleventh” appeared, which he shot in Ukraine, and which reflected his attitude to the ideas of general electrification and his fascination with Soviet industrialization. In 1929 Arnold Kurdyum’s film “Wind from the Rapids” was released. For a long time it was considered lost to the public forever. However, in 2013 it was accidentally found in a private collection stored in the French capital. This allowed the representatives of the Dovzhenko Center to include it in the program of public screenings that took place in 2018 (Lebedieva, 2018).

Despite the fact that in the reviews about the film, which one can find, it is characterized as a typical Soviet propaganda, which should promote the ideas of the importance of industrialization and all steps taken by the government to intensify it, the film contains totally different motives. Its symbolism is also associated with the leading actor – Mykola Sadovskyi, one of the last representatives of the glorious constellation of Ukrainian actors of the first half of the XX century. This is his first major and, at the same time, last role in a film. The death of

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the Dnipro rapids was perceived by the director and his character as a personal tragedy. Sadovskiy's hero (Ostap Koban) was the final pilot<sup>2</sup> (and the other version of the film was called "The Last Pilot"). Along with the rapids, the meaning of the existence of fishing, which fed more than one generation of Dnipro pilots and was the meaning of their lives, disappeared.

Oleksandr Dovzhenko made several films dedicated to construction of the Dnipro hydroelectric station and other water objects related to implementation of grand Soviet plans. The championship in this series is assigned to the film "Ivan" (it became the first sound film of O. Dovzhenko). The film was shot in a difficult period for both O. Dovzhenko and Ukraine – in 1932. The authorities demanded optimistic propaganda about the achievements of industrialization and "heroic" transformation of the world in the context of the Dnipro rapids' destruction and construction of the Dnipro hydroelectric station. Despite the frankly agitational nature, the film contains unique documentaries.

O. Dovzhenko's last screenplay, which he was no longer able to realize on his own, was "The Poem of the Sea". It describes the process of preparation and flooding of the villages Hrushivka and Kut. The actual propaganda, supposed to glorify the achievements of the advanced communist system, is more like an epitaph on the lost villages with their houses and gardens, flood plains and the legendary Velykyi Luh. Despite the proclamation of slogans of building a state of workers and peasants, relations between urban and rural areas under conditions of creating a new state were uneven. From the beginning of proclamation of industrialization, a village finally found itself in a secondary, subordinate status, it was sacrificed to "progress".

According to Cossack chronicles, D. Yavornytskyi and other researchers, and the results of archeological excavations in the early 50-ies of the XX century, the Bazavluk Sich during 1593-1638 was located

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<sup>2</sup> That was the name for men who navigated vessels through the Dnipro rapids. It was an independent trade skill passed from father to son, which had been developed since the early XVIII century. Its origin is connected with the existence of Nenasytets Cossack coast guard. In the 60-ies of the XX century a separate class for pilotage was introduced. It was formed of men from the villages Kamianka and Stari Kodaky and divided into three categories: the first one was specialized in navigating vessels, the second one – float-boats, the third one was represented by apprentices (Kozar, 2012, p. 241)

on the territory and near two ancient villages that were flooded. This fact attached special importance in endowing the mentioned territories and space with appropriate meaning. A number of local residents considered themselves direct descendants of the Cossacks, and the surnames that are common in this area stand as an additional confirmation of this: Osaula, Kachan, Pomohaibo, Liashenko, Shulha, Velychko and others.

According to O. Dovzhenko's description, the old Cossack church was a sacred place for the inhabitants of Hrushivka. The script and the film itself depict the reaction of peasants to destruction of the church from a standpoint of the old master, a descendant of one of its builders:

“It could have stand on the seashore, three hundred years would pass, we would all die, perish forever, and new people would admire our antiquity, the antiquity of our ancestors over the new sea” (Dovzhenko, *The Poem of the Sea, own translation*).

The protagonist of the film is outraged by the fact that the works of Zaporizhia masters in the former Cossack territories were destroyed, but draws attention to the fact that these churches remain in large cities.

There is still a belief among the local residents that this church can be seen under water from a bird's eye view, especially on sunny days (Materials of the author's field research, 2006, 2008). Although it is known, and this fact is reflected in the film, that the ancient temple was destroyed before the flood. The church was located in the center of the village, there was a cemetery on its outskirts, most of which was flooded, the other has survived to this day. Part of the old cemetery is located on the shores of the Kakhovka Sea, before the exit from the dam at the beginning of modern Hrushivka. During Khrushchov's anti-religious campaign, there was no question of possibility of building a church in an “exemplary” Soviet village, which was also called Lenin's one. Despite proclamation of atheism as an element of the state ideology, some believers remained in Soviet Ukraine. Speaking about the inhabitants of Hrushivka, they were, as a rule, elderly women who survived collectivization, famine, war and difficult post-war years. On major religious holidays, they visited the church, which was located in the village of Marianske, located in 9 km from Leninske (Hrushivka), on foot (Materials of the author's field research, 2006, 2008, 2017).

Destruction of flood plains and Velykyi Luh was no less traumatic for the locals:

“The great Zaporizhian Velukyi Luh went under water, the old crosses in the ancestor cemeteries sank forever. Everything that seemed beautiful to our fathers and grandfathers since their early years – everything was gone (Dovzhenko, *The Poem of the Sea, own translation*).

The flood plains have played a peculiar part in recollections and formation of the image of own Eldorado: “The flood plains were rich, poetic and ineffably beautiful. And now they’re gone... there’s nothing left in memory. Someone needed that” (Dovzhenko, *The Poem of the Sea, own translation*).

The local flood plains were home to a large number of fish, birds and other animals, there was a unique microclimate, fertile soils, which, according to memories (which are already post-memories) of the inhabitants of modern villages, gave incredible harvests (Materials of the author’s field research, 2006, 2007, 2008). The territory, which was connected with the Cossack period and the history of Velykyi Luh, is lyrically and with great love described in the works of Adrian Kashchenko. The author called the flood plains a miracle of nature, which stretched from the Dnipro rapids to the estuary of the Great Water in the modern Kherson Oblast. Descriptions of rivers, lakes, grasses, fish, birds and animals are presented in his story “Velykyi Luh” (Kashchenko, 1991). This image of the flood plains is preserved in every family of modern Hrushivka, Marianske, Kapulivka and other settlements located nearby. Incredible yields in the flood plains, fabulous size of melons, fish and the number of its species are mentioned by all respondents (Materials of the author’s field research, 2006, 2007, 2008).

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The mentioned territories and settlements were objects of interest of artists of the XIX century, who tried to create their own images of these territories and recreate them in their works. Thus, in the 80-ies of the XIX century Hrushivka (although Hrushivka is not the “protagonist” of the article, the village was located in Tomakivka District, although in “The History of Towns and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR. Dnipropetrovsk Oblast” it goes about Hrushivka in Apostolove District)

and Kapulivka were visited by I. Riepin (in Kapulivka there was a memorial sign erected in honor of him and V. Sierov's stay in the village). Kapulivka is also related to such a legendary figure in the Ukrainian national narrative as I. Sirko. The chronicle of Samiilo Velychko mentions the death of the Kosh Otaman in the apiary in Hrushivka (which was I. Sirko's hamlet) on August 1, 1680. His body was taken by water to the Zaporizhian Sich (meaning the Chortomyk Sich) "and was honestly buried by the entire lower Zaporizhian army in the field nearby the Sich. He was buried... famously on August 2 with excessive cannon and musket fire and great grief..." (Collection, 2006, p. 609). This burial was performed near Kapulivka.

A special place among Ukrainian researchers, who focused their attention on the history of the Cossacks and the Zaporizhian Sich during the Soviet period, is given to Olena Apanovych. She was one of the last historians to take part in archeological expeditions to the locations of the Bazavluk, Chortomyk and Pidpilne Siches before flooding of these territories by the waters of the Kakhovka Sea in the early 50-ies of the XX century. Her works contain information about the fate of the burial place and memorials, tombstones on the grave of the Kosh Otaman Ivan Sirko. The book provides information about the first destruction of the cross on the grave in the XVIII century by order of Peter I. In the XIX century the grave appeared in the garden territory of the peasant M. Mazai (we can assume that this situation was the result the of "cutting" of land plots during implementation of the Peasant Reform of 1861). This was a good sign for preservation of the grave, because, as O. Apanovych stressed, the peasant took good care of it. In the Soviet period, in fact until the middle of the 60-ies of the XX century, the attitude of the local authorities towards the burial and the need to support it was negative. I. Sirko even received the stigma of a "Petliurist" and at the same time an enemy of the Soviet government from one of the leaders of Nikopol District. However, the tomb was not destroyed; due to activities of the Ukrainian Society for Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments there appeared a plaque with information about the object being protected by the state (Apanovych, 1991, pp. 200-203).

The impersonal phenomenon of the Cossacks did not become completely hostile to the Soviet propaganda and historical narrative. It

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conveniently fit into the concept of “struggle”, both class and foreign enslavement. At the same time, active concentration of attention on the Cossack theme, attempts of a large-scale memorialization caused concern of the central government. The example of P. Shelest is quite illustrative in this sense. During his tenure as the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine (despite his 100% pro-Soviet position and personal involvement in the persecution of dissidents and support for the idea of introducing Soviet troops into Czechoslovakia in 1968), there were attempts taken to re-establish the topicality of the Cossack historical pages.

This was reflected in a number of documents and resolutions of regional and district authorities, stimulating another wave of interest of the local population in the Cossack issues. On September 18, 1965, the Resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR “On the Perpetuation of Memorial Sites Associated with the History of the Zaporizhian Cossacks” (Apanovych, O., 1993, p.146). Its appearance turned out to be more than appropriate, as far as existence of some historical sites, including the tomb of Ivan Sirko, was threatened, not least due to the negative effects of the Kakhovka Reservoir. O. Apanovych and other researchers (Sereda, 2012) described in details all the vicissitudes around the ashes of I. Sirko, the struggle of local (district) authorities with the regional authorities for the preservation of burials in their territory. In this case, the struggle between memories and monuments turned into a struggle for preservation of local memory and regional “appropriation” of memory.

An attempt to create a Cossack pantheon on the Khortytsia Island, stimulating additional public attention and interest, led to Shelest’s accusation of nationalism, and after publication of the book “Our Soviet Ukraine” in 1970, he was removed from power in Ukraine.

The activation of politicians and the public around the places of remembrance had quite unexpected consequences. Since the late 60-ies the tomb of I. Sirko has become an important object of commemorative practices, including those related to marriage ceremonies. The newlyweds visit nearby villages and towns of the burial place, the monument to I. Sirko in the village of Kapulivka. Wedding photos of the 60-ies – 80-ies of the XX century against the monument to I. Sirko are preserved almost in every family photo album of the residents of

surrounding villages and towns Nikopol and Pokrov (historical names Rudnyk, Ordzhonikidze – before decommunization) (Materials of the author's field research 2007, 2008).

Late 80-ies – early 90-ies of the XX century in the history of Ukraine is an interesting period in terms of building a new national myth, on the basis of which the development of latest historiography will be initiated. The meta-narrative, which was joined by representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, primarily the Canadian one, was built on the idea of longevity of Ukrainian history from ancient times to the present. The Cossack period was given a special place in this scheme, hence, the idea of holding mass events in areas directly related to functioning and location of the Zaporizhian Sich (in particular, the Bazavluk and Chortomlyk Siches) fit into the logic of “reviving” the memory of the Cossack pages of history. The symbolic 500-th anniversary of the Cossacks was the reason for organizing a five-day grand celebration. The date is quite conditional, though it demonstrated the desire of representatives of national public organizations to form new commemorative practices that would consolidate the latest Ukrainian myth, filled with heroic pages and the Cossack symbols.

The total number of participants of the celebration, according to various estimates, ranged from 300 to 500 thousand people (Kasianov, 2018, p. 23). The event was organized by the People's Movement of Ukraine for Reconstruction and Taras Shevchenko Ukrainian Language Society. City councils were involved in the celebration, forming and financing transportation of delegations to the places of celebration from all regions of Ukraine, including the Crimea.

The author of the article was also present at the celebration in Kapulivka. Participation in such events gives an impression of the concept of “an imagined community”. The hosts of the event offered the participants badges, which marked the historical and geographical regions of Ukraine (Podillia, Polissia, Slobozhanshchyna, etc.), allowing to feel the diversity of the country, and at the same time belonging to one large community. The atmosphere of the holiday was incredible, and in the conditions of the still existing Soviet Union, it was perceived as a completely new experience and an occasion for a new self-identification.

The participants of the celebration decided to build a mound, which was given an eloquent name “The Tomb of Memory”. In the year before proclamation of independence, this action became a significant motivator for the representatives of the national democratic camp to turn to history in order to use it, to strengthen national / nationalist sentiments. According to Georgiy Kasianov, whose idea is hard to deny, the described events confirm the opinion that appealing to the collective (cultural memory) implies presence of an interest, formed by public institutions that will rapidly move towards the phase of political organizations (as an example, the People's Movement for Reconstruction) (Kasianov, 2018).

In the context of formation of ethno-national narrative, which has been observed since the late 80-ies of the XX century, space localization and own territory made an important factor for marking these territories as sacred, symbolic ones, related to the origins of statehood and other elements of national identity.

Despite its uniqueness and locality, the local memory is not characterized as the one seeking a quiet shelter away from a large national or supranational narrative. It is extremely closely connected with national historical contexts that serve as markers of national identity. The choice of plots, remembered by former and present residents of Hrushivka, is focused on the images that have been spread since the shooting of O. Dovzhenko's film (all residents in the village know about the film and its content). The actualization and relation to the Cossack history was connected with the period of P. Shelest holding the position of the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU of Ukraine. The local school has always had a historical museum dedicated to different periods of history. Old-timers who studied here in the post-war period warmly remember their school History and Ukrainian language and literature teachers who encouraged their knowledge of history in the regional Cossack and patriotic spirit. Favorite works by Taras Shevchenko, which were recited by the local school graduates of respectable age (born in 1935–1937) are “Excavated grave” and the poem “Haidamaky” (complete version) (Materials of the author's field research, 2007, 2008).

The steppe with “graves”, as the locals have called the mounds which have been an integral part of the local landscape before the early

90-ies, occupies a key place in the overall image of the described area. However, due to activities of black archaeologists and desire of farmers to expand agricultural lands, without prior archaeological expertise and conclusions, the number of mounds is rapidly declining, as well as the steppe areas.

After the 500-th anniversary of the Cossacks was celebrated in August 1990 in the village of Kapulivka near Hrushivka (before decommunization – Leninske), there was an “intensification” of remembering and a change in the residents’ perception of their settlement. This is how a “balanced” image of a specific locality is formed from the standpoint of historical policy: “a place of the Scythian and Cossack graves / mounds” (the famous Scythian pectoral was found by B. Mozolevskiy near the city of Pokrov (Ordzhonikidze) located in 10 km from Hrushivka), “a fabulous Cossack Eldorado”, “a paradise”, “a land of the Cossacks”. A number of factors have played a role in shaping such images and, consequently, communicative memory, among which “the most important of the arts” has a prominent place. Not many settlements (especially villages) became main characters in feature films, moreover, in films directed and written by world-famous artists. Shooting the film “The Poem of the Sea” turned out to be the most important event in the post-war history of the village. During the Soviet period, this fact became the subject of local residents’ peculiar pride, which was repeatedly mentioned in the stories of respondents (Materials of the author’s field research (2006, 2007, 2018, 2019)). It is no less important that the film established gradual formation of a neutral, and later a positive attitude of the vast majority of residents to the “new” sea. But thanks to O. Dovzhenko and his heroes, there was an actualization of the Cossack theme in the described settlements, which was intensified in a new political situation, first in the late 60-ies – early 70-ies, and later in the conditions of the “reconstruction”.

Thus, it can be stated that the vitality of the communicative memory, being nurtured by intra-group memories, is provided by transmission from one generation to another, traditional role of “communicators”, where history and languages teachers play not the least role, as far as they broadcast information about works of art, historical research, real and imaginary historical objects related to a particular locality and its surroundings in one or another way. The involvement of prominent

historical and contemporary figures strengthens the memory in a heroic sense. Even if this memory is imposed on tragic events (like the destruction of the village and its sacred places), such a negatively colored memory is replaced by pride that a film is dedicated to the village.

The Soviet cinematograph of the 30-ies – 50-ies of the XX century played a paradoxical role in preservation of certain images, consolidation and / or destruction of myths, which are directly or indirectly related to the settlements described in the article. The implementation of memorialization policy by representatives of the Ukrainian Soviet authorities in the period from 1965 to 1980, aimed at consolidating a certain image and attempting to “appropriate” certain pages of history and figures by regional party functionaries, had a significant impact on the formation of communicative memory of Kapulivka and Hrushivka (Kut, Leninske) residents.

The events of August 1990 (celebration of the 500-th anniversary of the Cossacks near the studied settlements) actualized the heroic component of communicative memory and its individual episodes, which in these conditions went beyond the status of regional ones, and became a prominent component of the national memory. “The professionals of mnemonics” (Kasianov, 2018, p. 7) among which were ministers of religion, writers, historians, archaeologists, archivists, directors and teachers, joined the construction of images of destroyed and new / old villages, unique social phenomena related to them, and played not the least role in the formation of the communicative memory of the inhabitants of the studied villages.

The formation of a new historical narrative in the early 90-ies and the corresponding model of memory, its communicative version received additional incentives for preservation and adaptation to the demands of the time. Thus, the memory of the past, with corresponding memory codes, and the “glory” of the villages of Hrushivka and Kapulivka are used from the standpoint of the present.

**Gratitude.** I would like to thank the members of the editorial board of the journal and the reviewers for their constructive remarks, wishes and consultations provided during the preparation of the article for publication.

**Financing.** The author did not receive financial support for research and publication of this article.

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**Венгерська Вікторія. ІСТОРИЧНА ПОЛІТИКА ТА КОМУНІКАТИВНА ПАМ'ЯТЬ МЕШКАНЦІВ СІЛ ДНІПРОВСЬКОГО СТЕПУ**

**Анотація**

**Мета роботи** полягає у дослідженні механізмів конструювання комунікативної пам'яті мешканців сучасних сіл Грушівка (Апостолівського р-ну Дніпропетровської області) та Капулівка (Нікопольського р-ну, Дніпропетровської області). Названі населені пункти безпосередньо пов'язані як із розташуванням на цих територіях Базавлуцької (1593-1638 рр.) й Чортомлицької (1652-1709 рр.) Січей, так і з реалізацією одного з найбільш гучних радянських економічних експериментів - програму загальної електрифікації, яка передбачала створення штучних морів та будівництва на них гідроелектростанцій.

**Методологія дослідження.** Спираючись на сучасні методологічні підходи в сфері пам'ятевих студій, інструментарій усної історії, узагальнення фрагментарних регіональних досліджень, проаналізовано взаємозв'язок національного метанаративу з локальною історією. В статті використано й методи фільмографії, які дозволили, спираючись на доступні тексти сценаріїв, документальні та художні фільми 20-50-х рр. ХХ ст. відтворити як офіційні установки та оцінки радянських перетворень, що безпосередньо пов'язані із територією та населеними пунктами, про які йдеться в статті, так і ставлення місцевих мешканців до цих процесів. Названі методи та їх використання підтверджують **новизну** запропонованого дослідження.

**Висновки.** Морям потрібен простір, який вирішили відібрати у людей. Знищені села та затоплені разом із ними шари культури, церкви, інші унікальні культові споруди, природні явища стали об'єктами меморіалізації та комунікативної пам'яті мешканців названих населених пунктів. Розглянуто способи «накладання» загальнополітичної ситуації в країні на регіональні контексти пам'ятання, які від початку 90-х рр. ХХ ст. адаптувались/вписувались до нового загальнонаціонального міфу, в якому помітне місце належить козацьким сторінкам історії. Формування нового історичного нарративу на початку 90-х рр. та відповідної моделі пам'яті, її комунікативний варіант лише отримав додаткові стимули для збереження й адаптації до вимог часу. Таким чином, пам'ять про минуле, з відповідними кодами пам'яті, й «слава» сіл Грушівка та Капулівка використовується з позицій нинішнього часу.

**Ключові слова:** історична політика, сакральні місця пам'яті, церква, «колективна» пам'ять, «Поєма про море», Грушівка, Кут, Капулівка.

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**Węgierska Wiktoria. POLITYKA HISTORYCZNA I PAMIĘĆ  
KOMUNIKACYJNA MIESZKAŃCÓW WSI W STEPIE DNIPROWSKIM**

**Streszczenie**

**Celem pracy** jest zbadanie mechanizmów konstruowania pamięci komunikacyjnej mieszkańców współczesnych wsi Hrusiwka (rejon apostołowski obwodu dnipropietrowskiego) i Kapuliwka (rejon nikopolski, obwodu dnipropietrowskiego). Te osady są bezpośrednio związane z lokalizacją na ich terenach Bazawluckiej (1593-1638) i Czertomlickiej (1652-1709) Siczy oraz z realizacją jednego z najbardziej znanych radzieckich eksperymentów gospodarczych – programu powszechnej elektryfikacji, który zapewniał tworzenie sztucznych mórz i budowę na nich hydroelektrowni. **Metodologia badania.** Wspierając się na nowoczesnych podejściach metodologicznych w dziedzinie badań nad pamięcią, narzędziach historii mówionej, uogólnianiu fragmentarycznych studiów regionalnych, dokonano analizy związku metanarracji narodowej z historią lokalną. W artykule wykorzystano również metody filmografii, wspierając się na dostępne teksty scenariuszy oraz filmy dokumentalne i fabularne z lat 20-50 XX wieku, które pozwoliły odtworzyć zarówno oficjalne postawy i oceny przemian sowieckich, które są bezpośrednio związane z terytorium i osadami z tego artykułu, jak i pozycję mieszkańców wobec tych procesów. Te metody i ich zastosowanie potwierdzają **oryginalność naukową** proponowanych badań. **Wnioski.** Morza potrzebowały przestrzeni, którą postanowili odebrać ludziom. Zniszczone wsie i zalane warstwy kultury, kościoły, inne unikalne budowle sakralne oraz zjawiska przyrodnicze stały się obiektami upamiętnienia i komunikacyjnej pamięci mieszkańców tych osad. Przeanalizowano sposoby „nałożenia” sytuacji ogólnopolitycznej kraju na regionalne konteksty pamiętania, które od początku lat 90. XX wieku zaadaptowały / pasowały do nowego mitu narodowego, w którym poczesne miejsce zajmują kozackie strony historii. Kształtowanie nowej narracji historycznej na początku lat 90. i odpowiadający jej model pamięci, jej wersja komunikacyjna otrzymała tylko dodatkowe bodźce do zachowania i dostosowania się do wymagań czasu. W ten sposób pamięć o przeszłości, z odpowiednimi kodami pamięci i „sława” wsi Hrusiwka i Kapuliwka są wykorzystywane ze względu współczesności.

**Słowa kluczowe:** polityka historyczna, sakralne miejsca pamięci, kościół, pamięć „kolektywna”, „Wiersz o morzu”, Hrusiwka, Kut, Kapuliwka.

The article was received 06.03.2020  
Article recommended for publishing 09.08.2020