

“When There Is Harmony in the Family...”: From Hryhorii Skovoroda to Epigraphic Embroidery

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Abstract

This article focuses on the famous folklorized text *De zghoda v rodyni, tam myr i tyshyna, shchaslyvi tam liudy, blazhenna storona* (“When there is harmony in the family, peace and quiet are there, these people are happy and this land is blessed”), mainly on its genesis and connection with Hryhorii Skovoroda. At the first sight, its authorship is clear and easy to identify. It seems obvious that these lines come from the play *Natalka Poltavka* by Ivan Kotliarevskyi, who was, in his turn, deeply influenced by Hryhorii Skovoroda. However, the folklorization of this verse, which is, subsequently, of great research interest, has caused numerous misattributions of the authorship. The article illustrates the folklorization of these famous lines with concrete examples of epigraphic embroideries listed on the author’s *Interactive Online Index of Folklore Formulas (Epigraphic Embroidery)*.

Key Words: Hryhorii Skovoroda, Ivan Kotliarevskyi, *Natalka Poltavka*, epigraphic embroidery, *rushnyk*.



Introduction

*When there is harmony in the family,
Peace and quiet are there,
These people are happy
And this land is blessed. —*

Hryhorii Skovoroda → Ivan Kotliarevskyi → A Ukrainian folk song

Given as an epigraph to this article, this verse is quite often used likewise. Every now and again various authors (journalists, teachers, cultural actors, etc.) put the mentioned poetry at the beginning of their posts about family holidays or other events and topics connected with the rules of home behaviour. It is noteworthy that one curious moment stands out in all these mentions. There is no consensus on the authorship of these lines.

Not without reason have I indicated above three points which seem to be the main sources of this verse having originated one from another. They are Hryhorii Skovoroda,¹ Ivan Kotliarevskyi and a Ukrainian folk song (this connection may be

¹ *Lvivport*, “Poetry and Prose, H. Skovoroda. ‘De zlahoda v simeistvi’ [‘When There Is Harmony in the Family’],” last modified November 26, 2011, <http://forum.lvivport.com/threads/poezija-ta-proza.3754/page-150>.

roughly depicted with an arrow as a graphical symbol, like this: Skovoroda → Kotliarevskiy → A Ukrainian folk song). However, almost all the posts citing this verse point to only one alleged source out of the ones mentioned here.

On the face of it, there is no problem to identify the real author of these popular lines and dispel confusion once and for all. However, if one makes an attempt to go deeper into this issue, it will become apparent that such "mix-ups" may be of a great academic interest, especially for mythologists, folklorists, cultural anthropologists, and so on.

The point is that these so-called confusions regarding the origin of a particular text have a direct bearing on its perception by people. This, in turn, allows us to understand people's outlook in general, which is culturally no less (or even more) important than facts.

Let me demonstrate some different perceptions of this text among Ukrainian people and show the influence of Skovoroda on it.

"When There Is Harmony in the Family...": Attribution of This Text in Different Sources. Mentions of it as Poetry by Hryhorii Skovoroda

A decade earlier, at the Jubilee International Forum *Hryhorii Skovoroda as the Theme of our Time* (dedicated to the 290th anniversary of Skovoroda), Viktor Pasak, a member of the Ukrainian Peace Council Presidium, delivered an interesting presentation where he cross-referenced the statutory mission of the Ukrainian Peace Council with Skovoroda's works. It is very revealing that in his solemn speech Pasak has selected this very verse from among other many poetries by the great philosopher. In his opinion, the extract from the Council Statute stating "joining efforts of the public to establish peace and harmony in Ukraine and abroad, spiritual unity of the nation, educating young people for peace, patriotism, formation of a conflict-free and peace-loving psychology" seems to come from the lines "When there is harmony in the family, peace and quiet are there, these people are happy and this land is blessed." Naming Hryhorii Skovoroda as the author of the above-mentioned verse, Pasak emphasized that the Ukrainian philosopher united us even centuries after.²

Here, it should be pointed out that there are many papers employing the name of Skovoroda and this verse to illustrate the need to bring people together, in a more or less global sense.

In the same vein as the call for integrity of the state, there are some scenarios of school festivals. For example, the words which are attributed to Skovoroda are

2 Viktor Pasak, "The Speech at the Jubilee International Forum 'Hryhorii Skovoroda as a Slogan of the Time,' Dedicated to the 290th Anniversary of Hryhorii Savych Skovoroda," accessed November 17, 2022, http://peacecouncil.com.ua/files/slon/Vistup_V.V._Pasaka__YUv_lejnj_M_zhnarodnij_forum__Grigor_j_Skovoroda_yak_gaslo_chasu__.pdf.

mentioned as proof of the statement that all Ukrainians are one family with Ukraine being their mother.³

Other perceptions of this text come closer to the direct meaning of the word “family.” So, many posts mentioning these famous poetry lines relate to the International Day of Families which is celebrated each year on 15 May since 1994. Initially the Family Day was declared by the United Nations General Assembly. In the aftermath, the year 2014 as the twentieth anniversary of the International Year of the Family (1994) was also proclaimed as the Year of Family.

By way of example, on 15 May 2014 the Children’s library in Kopychyntsi (Ternopil region) organized an event to celebrate both the Family Day and the Family Year.⁴ The heroes of the celebration were active readers of the library who were also from a multi-children family. One of the variants of the verse under consideration has been used as an epigraph for the post about this event:

When there is harmony in the family,
When there is peace, and there is not war,
Those people are happy, and this land is blessed.
God blesses them, God sends good to them
And God lives with them for centuries!

Here, Skovoroda is defined as the author of these lines. The situation was analogous in many other cases. On the same date, a celebration of the Family Day was held in Novoukrainka (Kirovohrad region). The epigraph to this event was identical, as was its authorship.⁵ A similar case took place in Svitlovodsk (the same region) three years later. The opening remarks to that event were exactly the same, as the two previous epigraphs.⁶ In 2020, three years after the last-mentioned event, there was a website

3 Nadiia Maslova, “Stsenarii [Scenario],” *Popivka Comprehensive School of I–II Grades*, last modified October 11, 2014, <http://popivskazosh.at.ua/publ/scenarij/1-1-0-3>.

4 *Kopychyntsi library for children*, “Talanty nashykh chytachiv – rodynne sviato v Kopychynetskii bibliotetsi dlia ditei [The Talents of Our Readers. The Family Holiday in the Kopychyntsi library for children],” *Ternopil Regional State Administration*, last modified May 15, 2014, <http://oda.gov.te.ua/husyatyynska/ua/publication/print/16397.htm>.

5 *Novoukrainka City Council*, “Kalendar znamennykh i pamiatnykh dat na traven 2014 roku [Calendar of Significant and Memorable Dates for May 2014],” last modified April 29, 2014, http://www.nu-rada.gov.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1603:-----2014-&catid=70:kultura&Itemid=64.

6 Larysa Ponomarenko, “Rodynne sviato ‘Moia simia – moia radist’ vidbulosia u bibliotetsi [The Family Holiday ‘My Family is My Joy’ Took Place in the Library],” *Svitlovodsk Central City Library. The Calendar of Events*, last modified May 3, 2017, <https://svetlovodsk.com.ua/10704-rodinne-svyato-moya-smya-moya-radst-vdbulosya-u-bblotec.html>.

post devoted to the similar topic with the identical epigraph.⁷ Three months earlier that same year, a somewhat different activity *Family and Law in Contemporary Ukraine* was held in Truskavets (Lviv region), and yet with the same epigraph.⁸

The five cases above contain a bridge between the literal and metaphorical meanings of the word "family." Here, this poetry is perceived as an appeal to live together with one's next-of-kins. The emphasis is put, however, on the statement that our country consists of many families, so "peace and harmony" within one's immediate family equates to "peace and harmony" within the whole state (of course, if there is an overwhelming number of such close-knit families).

In some interpretations, the projection of this phrase may also be focused on one specific family. To this end, it might be interesting to consider staging of the famous *Kaidasheva Simya* (Kaidash's Family) play by Ivan Nechui-Levytskyi.⁹ The description of the performance of this play contrasts Kaidash's family as a well-known personification of family scandals and quarrels against the wise instruction by Skovoroda: "And somewhere the words of Hryhorii Skovoroda are heard as the echo: 'When there is harmony in the family, peace and quiet are there, these people are happy and this land is blessed.'"¹⁰

Also, some posts citing these lines may be devoted to real families living in the same place and time with us. For example, an article about a married couple of artists says that it is hard to find a family which is generally consistent with these standards. Nonetheless, such families exist. At the end of the article, its author, Vira Kulova, admits that, thinking about this couple, she recalls "the words of Skovoroda from the poetry which has already become a folk song" and then quotes it.¹¹

Above all, it is valuable for us that two sources of these lines are indicated by the journalist and author of the paper. According to Kulova, they are "Hryhorii Skovoroda" and "a folk song," with the latter having been obviously derived from the former. However, nothing is mentioned in respect of the intermediary for them. In the next chapter, we will try to fill this gap.

7 Anna Verpeta, "Bez simi i svoho rodu – nemaie natsii narodu [There is No Nation Without One's Family and Kin]," *Varvarivka*, last modified May 15, 2020, http://varvarivka.blogspot.com/2020/05/blog-post_15.html?m=1.

8 Oresta Kasperska, "Simia i pravo v suchasni Ukraini [Family and Law in Modern Ukraine]," *Truskavets Central City Library*, last modified February 11, 2020, https://cmb-truskavec.blogspot.com/2020/02/blog-post_94.html.

9 Sofiia Rosa, "Rezhyser Vadym Sikorskyi [The Filmmaker Vadim Sikorskyi]," *Proscenium* 3 (13) (2005): 81-82.

10 Yuliia Valko, "Onlain-vystavy vid Natsionalnoho akademichnoho ukrainskoho dramatychnoho teatru imeni Marii Zankovetskoi [Online Performances from Maria Zankovetska National Academic Ukrainian Drama Theater]," Primary Trade Union Organization of the Employees of Ivan Franko National University of Lviv, last modified July 14, 2020, <https://profkom.lnu.edu.ua/archives/3995>.

11 Vira Kulova, "Daruvaty liudiam radist [To Give Joy to People]," *Khreshchatyk* 175 (290), November 24, 2006, <http://kreschatic.kiev.ua/ua/2970/art/35699.html>.

**“When There Is Harmony in the Family...”:
Attribution of this Text in Different Sources. Mentions of it as a
Poetry from *Natalka Poltavka* play (1819) by Ivan Kotliarevskiy**

Attributing the lines “When there is harmony in the family...” to Kotliarevskiy (more precisely, to his play *Natalka Poltavka*, 1819) as the primary source is as wide-spread as relating them to Skovoroda.

No less representative than the above-mentioned Pasak’s speech on a special occasion (2012) testifying that the author of the verse about “harmony in the family” was Skovoroda is another case attributing its authorship to Kotliarevskiy. It is about the official anthem of Poltava city (verse by Leonid Vernyhora), approved by Poltava City Council in 2010. The second verse of this anthem says:

Kotliarevskiy bequeathed
The law protecting us:
When there is peace and harmony in the family,
The land is blessed there.¹²

As in the case of the solemn speech by Pasak at the Jubilee International Forum *Hryhorii Skovoroda as a Slogan of the Time*, Poltava’s anthem gives pathos to these lines, highlighting that this message has a power to unite people through centuries. The only difference is that Vernyhora’s text of the anthem refers to Kotliarevskiy as the consolidating author, whereas the previous example assigns this role to Skovoroda.

Similarly, the celebration events dedicated to the International Family Day and the related posts may contain the same lines as an epigraph, although with Kotliarevskiy’s authorship¹³ (as distinguished from several above examples attributing the authorship to Skovoroda). The same applies to the Ukrainian Family Day, which is celebrated on 8 July. Some of the related posts also contrast the lines that we are exploring (attributed to Skovoroda) and the immediate pleasures and selfish interests of the Kaidash’s family.¹⁴

As one of the present-day options, various activities preaching domestic bliss can include presentation slides disseminated widely through the Internet. They also differ by the attributed author: this may be Kotliarevskiy¹⁵ or Skovoroda.

12 Leonid Vernyhora, “Himn mista Poltava [The Anthem of Poltava City],” *Poltava’s City Council*, accessed November 18, 2022, <https://rada-poltava.gov.ua/city/hymn/>.

13 Nina Dumalenko, “Zakhid, prysviacheniy shchaslyvym rodyam [Dedicated to Happy Families Event],” *Cherkasy School No 32*, last modified May 22, 2017, <http://school32.ck.ua/>.

14 *Uman National University of Horticulture*, “De myr u rodyni – shchaslyvi tam liudy [When There Is Harmony in the Family, the People are Happy],” last modified July 8, 2021, <https://www.udau.edu.ua/ua/other-news/de-mir-u-rodini-shhaslyvi-tam-lyudi.html>.

15 Oksana Matviichuk, “Vydatni pedahohy pro rol simi u formuvanni osobystosti dytyny [Outstanding Educators’ Thoughts on the Role of the Family in a Child’s Personality Development],” *SlideShare*, last modified October 13, 2016, <https://www.slideshare.net/ippo-kubg/ss-67119640>. Slide 2.

It is also important to note that the lines considered in the current paper are so significant that they have entered our contemporary literature as a symbol of true family values. For instance, reviewing the play *Shliub za Oholoshenniam* (Marriage by Announcement) by Valerii Kanivets, Tetiana Virchenko comments on its final part with ends with an aria from the play *Natalka Poltavka* by Kotliarevskiyi. According to Virchenko, these lines, sounding as an affirmation of the need for family harmony and the interdependence between happy family life and human happiness in general, reflect the core message of the author.¹⁶

Using this verse in literature as a well-known symbol comes as no surprise in view of the fact that it was widely popular among Ukrainian public, including families of writers. It can be evidenced by various memoirs. Thus, Sofiia Tobilevych, in her book *Moi stezhky i zustrichi* (My Paths and Meetings) (1957), talks her husband and outstanding Ukrainian writer Ivan Karpenko-Karyi. She recalls that his mother "taking to heart a famous verse from *Natalka*: 'When there is harmony in the family, peace and quiet are there, these people are happy and this land is blessed,' she spun her life lace,"¹⁷ based on home and family values. Karpenko-Karyi's wife also highlights how popular the songs from that play were by saying that his "father and mother loved and knew by heart all the songs from *Natalka Poltavka*, which at that time was often played by Ukrainian troupes that popularized them among more or less intelligent people in Ukraine."¹⁸

Also, similar memoirs exist about another outstanding Ukrainian figure and military leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Roman Shukhevych. He used to sing and play the piano: "Shukhevych's tenants remembered that when disputes broke out, Roman sat at the piano to play and sing from *Natalka Poltavka*: 'Where there is harmony in the family, there is peace and quiet,' after which all the quarrels stopped."¹⁹

In the cases above, the source of this verse is *Natalka Poltavka* is attributed to Ivan Kotliarevskiyi. At the same time, the two latter cases do not specify the author of the play *Natalka Poltavka*, since it is assumed to be widely known. Moreover, some authors citing these famous lines indicate neither Kotliarevskiyi's name, nor the title of the play (*Natalka Poltavka*). These attributes are implied when the drama's characters are listed as the main authors of the poetic lines: "Everything then ends with a declaration of consent, and together with *Natalka*, *Terpelykha* and *Vybornyi*, we may sing: 'When there is harmony in the family, peace and quiet are there, these people are

16 Tetiana Virchenko, *Suchasna ukrainska dramaturhiia. Halereia portretiv: monohrafiia* [Modern Ukrainian Drama. Portrait Gallery: Monograph] (Kryvyi Rih: R. A. Kozlov Publishing House, 2018), 56–57.

17 Sofiia Tobilevych, *Moi stezhky i zustrichi* [My Paths and Meetings] (Kyiv: State Publishing House of Fine Arts and Musical Literature of the USSR, 1957), 129.

18 Sofiia Tobilevych, *Moi stezhky i zustrichi*, 130.

19 Natalia Zaika, "Roman Osypovych Shukhevych – 'Liudyny vyniatkovoho hartu' [Roman Osypovych Shukhevych – 'The Man of Exceptional Temper']," *"Pereiaslav" National Historical and Ethnographic Reserve Museum*, last modified June 29, 2020, <https://www.niez.com.ua/index.php>.

happy and this land is blessed.”²⁰ In this particular passage, we can observe the song beginning to folklorize. On the one hand, the author is not identified. On the other hand, the presence of the author is implied.

Another example demonstrating the starting phase of the folklorization of the verse is a popular article by Oleksii Sokyрко ironically reflecting on Ukrainians as a nation of state officials. He does mention Kotliarevskyi in his publication, although it is not the personality of the outstanding writer, but his nationality, which is Ukrainian, that is emphasized here. Sokyрко opposes permanent trash talks among the top state officials to the words about “harmony in the family.” However, he doubts that these lines were written by a Ukrainian, like Kotliarevskyi, as he claims that Ukrainians are prone to anarchy. In other words, the emphasis here is on Ukrainian mentality.²¹

The section below focuses on the folklorization of the verse on “harmony in the family.”

“When There Is Harmony in the Family...” – Attribution of This Text in Different Sources. Mentions of it as a Folk or Folklorized Text

Even such a curious case, as attributing the words on “harmony in the family” to the outstanding Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko, the Kobzar, may be viewed as a peculiar instance of folklorization. In 2018, Shevchenko Readings event was held in Poltava Art Lyceum named after Sofiia Rusova. A brief summary of the event included an epigraph which consisted of this very verse, but which stated Taras Shevchenko as its author.²²

From the viewpoint of a literary researcher, this is just a mistake. However, from the perspective of a folklorist, the above case offers clear evidence of two important things. Firstly, the analyzed text is a folk song of literature origin. Secondly, this folk song of literature origin is so folklorized that a reverse process started. What does it mean? It seems that Taras Shevchenko is so widely known as a “folk poet” in Ukrainian culture that some people may associate all songs of literary origin with his works.

The proof of the folklorization (and the high level of this process) can be found in a variety of the so called “first textbooks” of the first half of the 20th century. They include *The First Swallow of Ukrainian Songs for Ukrainian Youth in Canada*, compiled

20 Yuriy Shevelov, “Pislia pokhodenok po Paryzhu. Polemika pro Shardena. Chy ne Shardena? Chy ne polemika? [After Walking around Paris. Debates over Chardin. Or not Chardin? Or not a Debate?],” *Suchasnist* 3 (231) (March, 1980): 90.

21 Oleksii Sokyрко, “Natsiia chynovnykiv [Nation of Officials],” *Ukrainskyi tyzhden* [*The Ukrainian Week*], June 19, 2009, <https://tyzhden.ua/Publication/3366>.

22 *Poltava Art Lyceum named after Sofiia Rusova*, “Shevchenkovski chytannia [Shevchenko Readings],” last modified March 15, 2018, <http://schola-internat2.pl.ua/post/535>.

by P. Vasilyev (1917);²³ *The First Textbook*, compiled by Andrii Voronets (1921);²⁴ *The Star. A Textbook for the 2nd and 3rd School Year of Public Schools*, compiled by Emyliian Fotul and Bohdan Zaklynskyi (1923);²⁵ *A Songbook for Ukrainian Youth* published by the Ukrainian Catholic Youth at St. Nicholas Parish (1947);²⁶ etc. A thorough analysis of these editions reveal that the verse about "harmony in the family" was used without indicating the authorship in them. At the same time, some other texts which are also presumably folklorized did mention the authorship of the same verse. Thus, we can suggest that at that time the level of folklorization was really higher for the verse on "harmony in the family" than for the other texts containing references to the authorship.

Also, more than a hundred years ago, a prominent Ukrainian writer and educator Stefan Kovaliv offered a scenario for school children (the 2nd school year) to promote fraternal unity. To deliver the central message, the teacher should demonstrate the famous parable about a broomstick. At first, children are proposed to break a broom. However, the task, although easy it may seem, proves to be impossible. No one can bend a whole bunch of sticks. Then, the children are asked to untie the broom and break each stick separately. And now the task turns out to be quite easy. The moral of the fable is that people should stick together and support each other. When they do so, they are invincible. Fragmentation always leads to weakness and failure. Finally, Kovaliv recommends summing up this idea with "a well-known song: 'When there is harmony in the family, peace and quiet are there...'"²⁷

In the previous section, we have already raised the issue of the circulation of the song in different groups of population, including the elite and families of future outstanding personalities, such as writers and political leaders. Top Ukrainian opera singers are not an exception. In her biographic novel about Solomiia Krushelnytska, Valeriia Vrublevska (1986) says that the family of the outstanding Ukrainian opera actress used to sing "mainly folk and also popular songs of literary origin," and the

23 P. Vasiliev, comp., *Persha lastivka ukrainskyih pisen dlia ukrainskoyi molodizhy v Kanadi* [*The First Swallow of Ukrainian Songs for Ukrainian Youth in Canada*] (Winnipeg: Ukrainian Publishing Union, 1917), 8.

24 A. Voronets, comp., *Persha chytanka* [*The First Textbook*], with drawings by Yurii Mahalevskyi, (Katerynoslav; Kamianets; Liaiptsig: Ukrainian Publishing House in Katerynoslav, 1921), 12, 61.

25 Larysa Slyvka, "Tradyciini zasady vykhovannia zdorovoho sposobu zhyttia u zmisti bukvariv i chytanok dlia narodnykh shkil Zakhidnoi Ukrainy (1919–1939 rr.) [Traditional Principles of Educating a Healthy Lifestyle in the Content of Primers and Textbooks for Public Schools in Western Ukraine (1919–1939)]," *Visnyk Prykarpatskoho natsionalnoho universytetu. Pedahohika* [*Bulletin of the Carpathian National University. Education*] XXVIII–XXIX (2009), 179.

26 *Spivannyk dlia ukrayinskoyi molodi* [*A Songbook for Ukrainian Youth*] (Vinnipeg: Ukrainian Catholic Youth at St. Nicholas Parish, 1947), 8, [https://old.lib.dp.ua/collection/?pbp=238#javascript:void\(o\)](https://old.lib.dp.ua/collection/?pbp=238#javascript:void(o)).

27 Stefan Kovaliv, *Opovidannia. Statti. Shchodennyk. (Z nedrukovanoi spadshchyny)* [*Stories. Articles. A Diary. (From the Unpublished Heritage)*] (Drohobych, Lviv: Institute MAUP, 2011), 123.

latter also listed the song “When There Is Harmony in the Family...”²⁸ In Vrublevska’s book, this song is quite precisely defined as that of literary origin. However, the primary author is not specified.

It is interesting that different sources identifying the analyzed verse as a folklore (or folklorized) one may also specify its genre or subgenre. In various sources, these genres / subgenres differ. For example, another text on Solomiia Krushelnytska, written by Mykhailo Skoryk (“Additions to the Biography of Solomiia Krushelnytska-Riccioni,” 2012), place the song “When There Is Harmony in the Family...” in a list of “Galician romances.”²⁹ Still, it also mentions the same text as “an ancient song,”³⁰ “one of Ukrainian songs by an unknown, but a talented author”³¹ or as “a patriotic song,”³² or even not a song at all, but “a folklore proverb.”³³

However, in most cases when the authorship is not indicated the genre is not defined either. Instead, these lines are often cited as a cult of marital fidelity,³⁴ or even more universally – as a sort of motto and spiritual commandment of the Ukrainian people.³⁵

The following examples, in which this phrase has almost become a common noun, may also present evidence of high folklorization. Both in the past and present, abstracts from this verse have been used as headings or titles for entire articles. Thus, Alla Barbinova designed a course program within the education project “You and Me

28 Valeriia Vrublevska, *Solomiia Krushelnytska* (Kyiv: Dnipro, 1986), 22.

29 Mykhailo Skoryk, “Prychynky do biohrafii Solomii Krushelnytskoi–Richchioni [Additions to the Biography of Solomiya Krushelnytska-Riccioni],” *Prostsenum* 1–3 (32–34) (2012): 55, <https://kultart.lnu.edu.ua/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Proscaenium-32-34-m.pdf>.

30 Ivan Yushchuk, “*Pokhvala zvertanniu [Praise for the Appeal]*,” *Dyvoslovo* 1 (2015): 27–31.

31 Viktoriia Akhtanina, “Tsinnosti yak vyznachalni kharakterystyky liudskoho buttia [Values as the Main Characteristics of Human Existence],” in *Sotsiokulturni ta politychni priorytety ukrainskoi natsii v umovakh hlobalizatsii [The Social, Cultural, and Political Priorities of the Ukrainian Nation in the Context of Globalization]* (Ternopil: Ternopil National Economic University, 2017), 445.

32 Oksana Pasitska, “Relihiine vykhovannia v remisnychykh ta robitnychykh orhanizatsiiakh Lvova u 1920–1930-kh rr. [Religious Education in Craft and Labor Organizations of Lviv in 1920–1930],” *Istoriia religii: naukovyi shchorichnyk [History of Religions: A Scientific Yearbook]*, comp. O. Kyrychuk, M. Omelchuk, I. Orlevych (Lviv: Lohos, 2015), 361.

33 M. Dnistrianskyi, “U roboti – vsia krasa liudyny [All the Beauty of a Man is in the Work],” *Narodna Volia [The People’s Will]*, last modified September 4, 2015, <http://volya.if.ua/2015/09/u-roboti-vsya-krasa-lyudyny/>.

34 Tetiana Iskorostenska, *Ukrainoznavstvo: posibnyk dlia uchniv 6 klasu [Ukrainian Studies: A Textbook for 6th Grade Students]* (Tetiiv, 2019), 49.

35 Rafail Popov, “Schaste v moey zhizni – eto sluzhit Bogu.’ Beseda s arkhidiakonom Andreem Mazurom [‘The Happiness in My Life is to Serve God.’ A Conversation with Archdeacon Andrei Mazur],” *Ternopil Diocese of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*, last modified December 8, 2015, <https://bit.ly/3Wfaufw>.

Are a Happy Family" (2017).³⁶ The unit which is allocated five academic hours of the program is titled "When There Is Harmony in the Family, Peace and Quiet Are There, These People Are Happy and This Land Is Blessed."

Also, an article with the title "When Peace in Family"³⁷ was published in 1940, giving advice to spouses on how to live a happy married life. It was published in *The Svoboda* Ukrainian daily newspaper, issued in Jersey City and New York.

Notably, these lines are very extensively used by Ukrainian diaspora abroad. In 1989, for instance, the same periodical (*The Svoboda*) printed an advertisement of a ceremonial Ukrainian dish *kolyvo*. Explaining the symbolic meaning of its ingredients (wheat is faith, poppy is hope, and honey is love), the text ended up with the words "When there is harmony in the family, peace and quiet are there."³⁸

Ukrainians of Canada, as it can be noticed, also like this verse very much³⁹ and consider it to be "a traditional Ukrainian folk song."⁴⁰ They also sing it as a song of unity at the end of a celebration.⁴¹

In this regard, it would be interesting to explore the perception of these words as a so-called formula of "home."⁴² Many researchers note the extraordinary attachment of Ukrainians to their native land. This is recognized to be a mental feature of our nation. It can even be suggested that the real life for Ukrainians fully starts only after they return to their homeland.⁴³ Concluding this, the authors also cite the same verse about "harmony in the family."⁴⁴ If the cases of one's mentioning this song in the

36 Alla Barbinova, "Theoretical and Applied Approaches to the Design of Teaching Activities Education Family Values," *Sciences of Europe* 3.13 (2017): 11

37 "De zghoda v rodyni [When Peace in Family]," *Svoboda. Ukrainian Daily* 229, last modified October 1, 1940, <http://www.svoboda-news.com/axiv/pdf/1940/Svoboda-1940-229.pdf>.

38 "Shcho ye kutia? [What Is Kolyvo?]," *Svoboda. Ukrainian Daily* 239, last modified December 16, 1988, <http://www.svoboda-news.com/axiv/pdf/1988/Svoboda-1988-239.pdf>.

39 "Ukrainian Language Classes for Adults," *The IHLA Newsletter* 16, issue 3, July 1, 2019, <http://nebula.wsimg.com/fdf8c0fao8d8b74fe139ceec629403e?AccessKeyId=65CEE24FA8ACD100A06C&disposition=o&alloworigin=1>.

40 *Order of Crowning in Marriage* (Eparchy of Edmonton: Ukrainian Greco-Catholic Church, 2012), 45, <http://www.eeparchy.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Service-of-Crowning-Ukr-Eng-2012-PDF.pdf>.

41 Rose Sopatyk, "90th Anniversary Celebration of UWAC," *The HERALD of Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada* 4, LXXXX (2014): 18.

42 Yurii Lypa, *Pryznachennia ukrainsiv [The Mission of Ukrainians]* (Lviv, 1937), 83, http://mnk.org.ua/media/filer_public/ec/56/ec56cb37-e7a5-4d1e-a7a7-c5b47395b9b1/pryznachennia_ukrainy_1.pdf.

43 Viktor Vilzhinskyi and Mykola Popov, *Reformuvannia systemy mistsevoho samovriaduvannia v Ukraini z urakhuvanniam natsionalnykh tradytsii vriaduvannia: monohrafiia [Reforming the Local Self-Government in Ukraine Considering the National Traditions of Governance: Monograph]* (Odesa: ORIDU NADU, 2016), 13.

44 Yurii Lypa, *Pryznachennia ukrainsiv*, 83; Vilzhinskyi and Popov, *Reformuvannia systemy mistsevoho samovriaduvannia*, 13.

context of the “home” formula as Ukrainians’ mental trait are relevant, it perfectly makes sense that diaspora Ukrainians (mainly, Canada) love to sing it so much when celebrating their big holidays.

In that sense, however, the analyzed verse is not only a symbol of unity for Ukrainians abroad, but also an acute manifestation of feeling homesick.

The Influence of Hryhorii Skovoroda on Ivan Kotliarevskyi and Folklore

According to school textbooks, all songs (a total of twenty-two songs) included in the play *Natalka Poltavka* by Ivan Kotliarevskyi are usually divided into four groups by their origin. They are (1) songs written by the author himself; (2) songs of folklore origin, but modified by the author; (3) songs of literary origin, but modified by the author; and (4) folk songs introduced in the play almost unchanged. The song that interests us – “When There Is Harmony in the Family” – belongs to the first group from the above.⁴⁵

At the same time, one should also understand that all these divisions are rather relative. Speaking about another famous song “Kozhnomu Mistu Zvychai i Prava” (Every City Has its Own Traditions and Rights), it can be noticed that this one refers to the third group which consists of “songs of literary origin, but changed by the author.”⁴⁶ It is well-known that this is Kotliarevskyi’s reinterpretation of Skovoroda’s verse. At the same time, Kotliarevskyi completely changed the meaning of the original work.

As for the song “Where There Is Harmony in the Family,” to some extent, it has also been influenced by Skovoroda’s works. The strong influence of the Ukrainian philosopher on Kotliarevskyi can be traced in the works of famous scholars at the first half of the 20th century.

Thus, Hrushevskyi metaphorically concluded that not only the characters of the *Natalka Poltavka* play, but Kotliarevskyi himself “looks at life with an eye of a *skovorodynets*.”⁴⁷

Rusov stated that Skovoroda “has reflected on the worldview of Kotliarevskyi, who not only introduced one of Skovoroda’s songs in *Natalka Poltavka*, reworking

45 Yuliia Khliebik, “I. Kotliarevskyi ‘Natalka Poltavka.’ Natalka yak uosoblennia krashchykh rys ukrainskoi zhinky. Rol i funktsiia pisen u dramy: konspekt uroku [I. Kotliarevskyi ‘Natalka Poltavka.’ Natalka as a Personification of the Best Features of a Ukrainian Woman. The Role and Function of the Songs in the Drama: a Lesson Plan], *Yulia Khliebik, a teacher of Ukrainian language and literature*, December, 2015, 5, <https://bit.ly/3FXRRr2>.

46 Yurii Lutskyyi, “Tysiacha tsytat z ukrainskoho pysmenstva [A Thousand Quotes from Ukrainian Literature],” *Ukrainske zhyttia v Sevastopoli [Ukrainian Life in Sevastopol]*, http://ukrlife.org/main/minerva/1000_cit6.htm.

47 Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, *Dukhovna Ukraina: zbirka tvoriv [Spiritual Ukraine: A Collection of Works]* (Kyiv: Lybid, 1994), 97–98.

'Every City Has Its Own Traditions and Rights,' but also emphasizing in his immortal play one of Skovoroda's ideas that it is easy to do good."⁴⁸

Yefremov articulated the same idea even more clearly: "Skovoroda's ideological influence affected the works of Kotliarevskiy, whose entire literary activity can be considered a practical example of Skovoroda's theoretical thesis... Skovoroda's philosophical abstractions resulted in Kotliarevskiy's concrete form of literary activity in the language of the native people."⁴⁹

Modern researchers also underline this influence.⁵⁰ In doing so, they call Kotliarevskiy "Skovoroda's successor."⁵¹ In this context, the paper title "How a Diamond of Hryhorii Skovoroda Became a Brilliant of I. Kotliarevskiy" (by Valentyn Chemerys, 2009)⁵² speaks for itself.

48 Yuri Rusov, "Ukrainskyi filosof Hryhorii Savych Skovoroda [Ukrainian Philosopher Hryhorii Savych Skovoroda]," *Zbruch*, October 29, 1944, <https://zbruc.eu/node/93673>.

49 Serhii Yefremov, *Istoriia ukrainskoho pysmenstva [The History of Ukrainian Literature]* (Kyiv: Femina, 1995), 202.

50 Tetiana Cherneha, "Do problemy spivvidnoshennia relihiino-filosofskiyi pobudov masonstva z ukrainskoiu natsionalnoiu ideieiu (na prykladi tvorchosti H. S. Skovorody) [To the Issue of Correlation of Religious and Philosophical Constructions of Freemasonry and the Ukrainian National Idea (based on H. S. Skovoroda's Works)]," in *Istoryko-filosofski ta sotsialni aspekty relihiieznavstva [Historical, Philosophical, and Social Aspects of Religious Studies]*, ed. E. Martyniuk, O. Ivakin, V. Kravchenko (Odesa: Nauka i tekhnika, 2007), 154; Vita Sarapyn, "Tvorchist Hryhorii Skovorody v interpretatsii Ivana Kotliarevskoho [Hryhorii Skovoroda's Works in the Interpretation by Ivan Kotliarevskiy]," *Pereiaslavski Skovorodynivski studii [Pereiaslav Skovoroda Studies]* 2 (2013): 93; Vita Sarapyn, "Vsiakomu horodu nrav i prava...: Skovorodyna pisnia v interpretatsii Ivana Kotliarevskoho ['Each City Has Its Own Traditions and Rights...: Skovoroda's songs in the Interpretation of Ivan Kotliarevskiy]," in *Budesh, batku, panuvaty': Materialy kraieznavchyykh chytan, prysviachenyykh 250-y richnytsi vid dnia narodzhennia I. P. Kotliarevskoho, 4-5 veresnia 2019 r. ["O, Father, You Will Rule": Materials of Local Lore Readings Dedicated to the 250th Anniversary of I. P. Kotliarevskiy's Birth, September 4-5, 2019]* (Poltava: ASMI, 2019), 63-61, <http://dspace.puet.edu.ua/handle/123456789/9719>; Rostyslav Chopyk, "Mizh Frankom i Skovorodoiu: kordotsentrychni zasady piznannia doshevchenkivskoho periodu novoho ukrainskoho pysmenstva [Between Franko and Skovoroda: Cordocentric Cognition Principles of the Pre-Shevchenko Period in the New Ukrainian Literature]," *Ukrainske literaturoznavstvo [Ukrainian Literary Studies]* 84 (2019): 180; Leonid Ushkalov, "Liudyna mezhi: Skovoroda v retseptsii Mykhaila Drahomanova [Man of the Border: Skovoroda in Mikhail Drahomanov's Reception]," in Leonid Ushkalov, *Skovoroda, Shevchenko, feminizm...: Statti 2010-2013 rokiv [Skovoroda, Shevchenko, feminism...: Papers of 2010-2013]* (Kharkiv: Maidan, 2014), 53.

51 George Vyshnia, "Kotliarevskiy v prostori i chasi [Kotliarevskiy in Space and Time]," last modified September 14, 2019, <https://site.ua/george.vyshnya/22689/>.

52 Valentyn Chemerys, "Yakalmaz Hryhorii Skovorody stav bryliantom v I. Kotliarevskoho [How a Diamond of Hryhorii Skovoroda Became a Brilliant of I. Kotliarevskiy]," in Valentyn Chemerys, *Z kym smiietsia Ukraina. Antolohiia ukrainskoho smikhu [Who is Ukraine Laughing with? Anthology of Ukrainian Laughter]* (Kyiv: Ukrainian Phytosociological Center Publishing House, 2009), 8-11.

Also, the influence of Skovoroda on Kotliarevskyi can be traced in education sphere. Citing the considered verse, Myroslav Stelmakhovych notes: “Skovoroda’s thoughts on public education and its ideals were developed in the works by Ukrainian writers of subsequent generations. Regarding the main feature of a family, Kotliarevskyi expressed the ideal of folk education in the words that have become catchy phrases.”⁵³ From the folkloristic point of view, it is important to note one curious detail.

Let me cite one more sentence from the above paper. This is “When lovers get together, the difficulties of life do not seem so terrible, because *where there is harmony in the family*, the hardest thing becomes easy.”⁵⁴ As Stelmakhovych claims, he finds the foundations of public education in folklore songs. He also considers the phrase “where there is harmony in the family” as an abstract from the song. Namely here, however, he uses it as a folklore saying (not as a folk song!). Such processes are known as diffusion of genres in folklore. It means that one and the same text (or variants of this text) may change its functions according to the context and, as a result, shift from one genre to another.

A similar case can be found in the above-mentioned paper “To Give Joy to People” (2006) by Vira Kulova. At the end of the article, she also mentions the lines about “harmony in the family” as “Skovoroda’s words from the verse which has already been a *folk song*.” Nonetheless, in the first paragraph, Kulova applies this very text as a *folk saying*: “It is rare to meet a family where... there is ‘harmony in the family, peace and quiet...’”⁵⁵

We can also watch the actual use of these words as a proverb, followed with a description that this is a song (unlike the previous two examples, in this case it is considered as a song from *Natalka Poltavka*) in the review “*Natalka Poltavka in Siverskodonetsku*” (2015) by Volodymyr Semystiaha. It is evidenced in the following statement: “The main aim and idea are old and irrefutable: without harmony in the family, village, town and society in general, one will not be happy. When the choir sings at the end of the performance: ‘When there is harmony in the family, When there is peace and quiet, Those people are happy, And this land is blessed, God blesses them, God sends good to them And God lives with them for centuries!’ local theatergoers supported them.”⁵⁶

The origin and genre of the target verse could be debated much further, but the influence of Skovoroda on it (through the works of Kotliarevskyi) cannot be denied. The folklorization of the verse about “harmony in the family” is undoubted and obvious, too. The level of folklorization was so high, that these lines also integrated

53 Myroslav Stelmakhovych, *Ukrainska narodna pedahohika [Ukrainian Folk Pedagogy]* (Kyiv: IZMN, 1997), 18.

54 Stelmakhovych, *Ukrainska narodna pedahohika*, 81.

55 Kulova, “Daruvaty liudiam radist.”

56 Volodymyr Semystiaha, “*Natalka Poltavka* u Siverskodonetsku [*Natalka Poltavka in Siverskodonetsku*],” *Slovo Prosvity [The Word of Education]*, last modified October 29, 2015, <http://slovoprosvity.org/2015/10/29/natalka-poltavka-u-siverskodonecku/>.

into the phenomenon of epigraphic embroidery. We will consider the same verse as represented in the embroidery in the next section.

***Rushnyks* (Embroidered Towels) with the Famous Lines "When There Is Harmony in the Family..."**

Epigraphic embroidery includes all textiles (mainly, *rushnyks*, if speaking about Ukrainian traditions) with inscriptions. This phenomenon was wide-spread as a folk culture craft from the end of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century. In some areas, this tradition has been preserved till our days. The list of inscriptions (folklore formulas) which are typical for embroidery is rather limited. One can find this list in the *Interactive Online Index of Folklore Formulas (Epigraphic Embroidery)*.⁵⁷ The *Index* is continually enriched with new materials which usually fit into the existing list of the embroidered verbal formulas.

"When There Is Harmony in the Family, Peace and Quiet Are There" is on the list of the embroidered verbal formulas of the *Index*. To date, there are six embroidered samples that best fit this formula in the *Index*.⁵⁸ Let us take a closer look at them.

The first sample is an epigraphic *rushnyk* with the inscription "When there is peace and quiet, those people are blessed and this land is happy" ("Hde mir i tishyna blazheni tam liudy shchaslyva storona").



Photo 1. The epigraphic *rushnyk* with the lines "When there is peace and quiet, those people are blessed and this land is happy" (Poltava region, the first half of the 20th century). Photo taken by the author (Vasyl Krychevskiy Poltava Museum of Local Folklore, 24 June 2016).⁵⁹

57 Tetiana Brovarets (Volkovicher), *Interaktyvnyi elektronnyi pokazhchyk folklornykh formul (Epihrafichna vyshyvka)* [*Interactive Online Index of Folklore Formulas (Epigraphic Embroidery)*], 2016–2022, <http://volkovicher.com> the password: 2707).

58 Also, this page in the *Index* contains two samples that appear to be reduced versions of this verbal formula. Because of the lack of space, we do not analyze them in this article.

59 The primary source of the photo: a photo taken by the author (Vasyl Krychevsky Poltava Museum of Local Lore, 24 June, 2016). This item in the *Index*: <http://volkovicher.com/napisi/gde-mir-i-tishina-blazheni-tam-lyudy-shhaslyva-storona/>.

The second sample is also an embroidered towel. This one contains the words “When there is harmony in the family, there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed” (“De zghoda v rodyni to myr tyshyna shchaslyvi tam liudy blazhenna strona”).



Photo 2. 1930's Hand Embroidered Traditional Cotton Wedding Rushnyk. The epigraphic *rushnyk* with the lines “When there is harmony in the family, there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed” (unknown region, 1930s). Etsy. <https://www.etsy.com/?ref=lgo>.

On the contrary, the third sample is not a *rushnyk*, but a tablecloth embroidered in 1937. In the center of this tablecloth, the words “When there is harmony in the family, there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed” (“De zghoda v semeistvy tam mir y tyshyna shchaslyvy tam liude blazhena storona / 1937 rik”) are embroidered along the perimeter of a square in the central part. The year 1937 is also indicated.

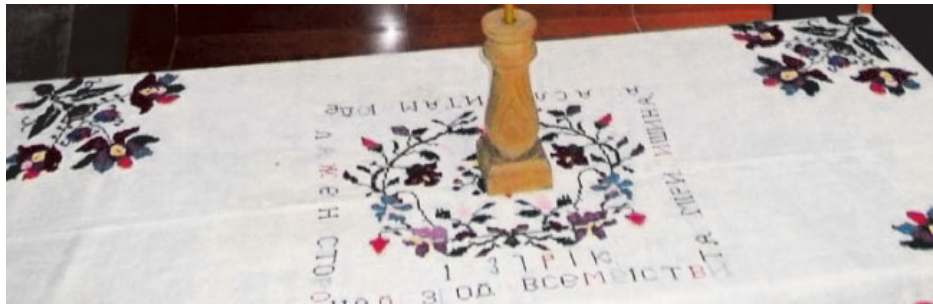


Photo 3. The epigraphic *rushnyk* with the lines “When there is harmony in the family, there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed” (Rivne region, 1937).⁶⁰

60 Hanna Dykun, “U Rivnenskomu instytuti KUP NAN Ukrainy vidbulas vystavka vyshytykh robit, pryurochena do Dnia materi [An Exhibition of Embroidered Works Dedicated to the Mother’s Day was Held in Rivne Institute of Kyiv University of Law of the NAS of Ukraine],” *Rivne Institute of Kyiv University of Law of the NAS of Ukraine*, November 17, 2022, <http://rivne.kul.kiev.ua/novini/u-rivnenskomu-instituti-kup-nan-ukrajini-vidbulas-vistavka-vishitih-robit-priurochena-do-dnja-materi.html>. This item in the *Index*: <http://volkovicher.com/pokazhchik-tekstiv/a-d/de-zghoda-v-semeistvy-tam-mir-y-tyshyna-shhaslyvy-tam-lyude-blazhena-storona-1937-rik/>.

About the same age is the fourth sample which is another *rushnyk* made in 1936. The embroidered words are almost identical: "When there is harmony in the family, there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed" ("De zghoda vrodyni tam myr tyshyna shchaslyvi tam liudy blazhenna storona / 1936").



Photo 4. The epigraphic *rushnyk* with the lines "When there is harmony in the family, when there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed" (unknown region (allegedly, the west of Ukraine), 1936). Ukrainian History and Education Center Virtual Galleries.⁶¹

The fifth sample is an embroidered towel, too. Unfortunately, we can see only one side of it containing the end of the phrase: "...Those people are happy and this land is blessed" ("...Shchaslyvi tam liudy blazhenna storona").



Photo 5. *Rushnyk with Pigeons*. The epigraphic *rushnyk* with the lines "...Those people are happy, and this land is blessed" (Dnipropetrovsk region, the first half of the 20th century), *Dniprovskiy Enerhetyk*.⁶²

61 *Rushnyk with Angels*, 1936, photograph, Ukrainian History and Education Center Virtual Galleries, accessed November 18, 2022, <https://www.ukrhec.org/gallery/items/show/93>. This item in the *Index*: <http://volkovicher.com/abetka-a-n/de-zghoda-vrodyni-tam-myr-tyshyna-shhaslyvi-tam-lyudy-blazhenna-storona/>.

62 *Rushnyk with Pigeons*, November 29, 2017, photograph, Dniprovskiy Enerhetyk, accessed November 18, 2022, <https://www.facebook.com/DniprovskijEnergetic/photos/a.256733968018489/531500807208469/>. This item in the *Index*: <http://volkovicher.com/abetka-r-ya/shhaslyvi-tam-lyudy-blazhenna-storona/>.

The sixth example is a *rushnyk* with the phrase “When there is harmony in the family, there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed” (“De zghoda v semeistve de myr i tyshyna shchaslyvi tam liude blazhenna storona”) which is stored in the Ukrainian Wedding Museum in the village of Velyki Budyshcha (Poltava region). Nowadays, some newlyweds may visit this museum on their wedding day to perform folk rituals. In the context of investigating the pragmatics of this verbal formula on *rushnyks*, it is important that this sample is used for contemporary wedding rituals.



Photo 6. The epigraphic *rushnyk* with the lines “When there is harmony in the family, when there is peace and quiet, those people are happy and this land is blessed” (Poltava region).⁶³

What is interesting about all these embroidered samples containing one and the same verbal formula is that no single correct interpretation of them exists. For example, similar to the last one, the second sample is also considered as a wedding towel. However, it does not perform this function now, but it is sold as a “1930s hand embroidered traditional cotton wedding *rushnyk*.” As *rushnyks* are widely used in wedding ceremonies, lines about “harmony in the family” really fit there as a sermon for a bride and a groom. Meanwhile, the third sample, which is a tablecloth, is rather perceived as a constant advice and not just as a wedding attribute. A dining table is a place which brings relatives together. Being embroidered on a tablecloth, these very lines may be interpreted as a daily reminder about true family values.

No consensus exists regarding the origin of the embroidered inscriptions mentioned above, either. The signature under the tablecloth exhibit says that the words, embroidered by Olha Tolos great-grandmother in 1937, “belong to the famous Ukrainian philosopher Skovoroda.”⁶⁴ Nonetheless, Yevheniia Storokha interestingly comments on the same embroidered words (in the article having the same title “When

63 “Kudy poikhaty nedaleko vid Poltavy: tsikavi mistsia Poltavskoi oblasti [What to visit near Poltava: interesting places in Poltava region],” *Dovkola*, accessed November 18, 2022, <https://dovkola.media/kudy-poikhaty-nedaleko-vid-poltavy-tsikavi-mistsia-poltavs-koi-oblasti/>. This item in the *Index*: <http://volkovicher.com/baza-danih-i-zaneyi-bezstalannu-gospoda-molyite/4-r-ya/de-zghoda-v-semejstve-de-myr-y-tyshyna-shhaslyvy-tam-lyude-blazhenna-storona/>.

64 Hanna Dykun, “U Rivnenskomu instytuti.”

There Is Harmony in the Family," 2014): "Throughout the whole nineteenth century and nowadays there is still a tradition to give the newlyweds *rushnyks* with embroidered Natalka and Petro and the words which are liked by everyone: 'When there is harmony in the family...'"⁶⁵ The ideas from this paper, by the way, are massively distributed in the Internet.⁶⁶ In other words, the origin of this inscription is stated to be the *Natalka Poltavka* play. Furthermore, the author claims that there were *rushnyks* with the embroidered main characters of the play.

At the present time, the *Index* does not contain the above-described towels containing these words and also the figures of Natalka and Petro from Kotliarevskyi's play. However, all the visual components of the samples presenting this verbal formula noticeably differ. For instance, they include items with floral ornament (the first, third and sixth samples), floral and geometrical ornament (the second sample), two angels (the fourth sample), and two pigeons (the fifth sample).

All this diversity of visual components, interpretations of meaning, usage and origin prove again that the verse "When there is harmony in the family, When there is peace and quiet, Those people are happy, And this land is blessed" has been highly folklorized. As it can be seen, the huge impact of Skovoroda on Kotliarevskyi and folklore is an indisputable fact.

Conclusion

On the one hand, the authorship of the analyzed verse seems to be obvious. On the other hand, misattributions of this particular text have always been a challenge for researchers.

To put it differently, the widespread phenomenon of the so-called misattribution of this or that authorship to a concrete text takes this issue to an entirely new level. To a great extent, such cases may testify to the folklorization of a certain text.

The poetry lines "When there is harmony in the family, When there is peace and quiet, Those people are happy, And this land is blessed" are commonly used as an epigraph for different texts, events, and posts about them. From a folklore point of view, the supposed authors of this text are Skovoroda, Kotliarevskyi, and even Shevchenko.

Likewise, the inclusion of these lines in the embroidered form on Ukrainian textiles points to the high level of their folklorization. The very fact of embroidering such inscriptions on *rushnyks* and tablecloths in the first half of the 20th century, by

65 Yevheniia Storokha, "De zghoda v simeistvi... [When There Is Harmony in the Family]," *Zoria Poltavshchyny*, last modified September 8, 2014, <http://www.old.zorya.poltava.ua/2014/09/08/de-zghoda-v-simejstvi-2/>.

66 "Zamizh vyity – ne doshochu pohodu peresydyty [To get married is not to wait out a rainy weather]," *Department of Culture, Youth and Family of Poltava City Council*, last modified June 4, 2020, <https://kultura-poltava.gov.ua/novyny/zamizh-vijti--ne-doschovu-pogodu-peresiditi/>.

itself, makes a strong evidence that this verse has been folklorized. The later research comments on these samples of epigraphic embroidery and related different interpretations and re-interpretations only reinforce it.

Altogether, such cases of misattributions prove that the text is not dead. Skovoroda's ideas continue to live in our present-day traditions in a natural way. And this is the very essence of folklorization process.

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