

“Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” - that is “Koliva Tradition done in Remembrance of the Dead”

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Abstract

A particularly interesting tradition in the evolution of liturgical structures on the remembrance of the dead, which has not been written on enough, and which could be considered both a “reminiscence” of the liturgical customs of the past, but also a “new” liturgical practice, with a special significance, is the so-called “kutia in remembrance of the dead” (that is “Koliva ordinance done in remembrance of the dead”); some particularities related to this order will be pointed out in this study.

Keywords

Kutia, Kanun, liturgical manuscripts, prayers for the departed, funeral practices

I. “Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” – Overview

The so-called ordinance of the “koliva¹ done in remembrance of the dead” could be considered, on the one hand, a “reminiscence” of the liturgical

¹ “Koliva (κόλλυβα, τά – ta kolliva sau κόλλυβον, τό – to kollivon = colivă) – is an offering for the souls of the dead in the days appointed for their remembrance (in the ritual of the Orthodox Church, within the Romanian people)”, Ene BRANIȘTE and Ecaterina BRANIȘTE, *Dicționar enciclopedic de cunoștințe religioase (Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Religious Terms)*, Caransebeș, Diocesan Publishing, 2001, p. 109.

“Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” - that is “Koliva Tradition done in Remembrance of the Dead”

traditions of the past (such as commemorating “together” the martyrs and the dead), and on the other, a “new” liturgical practice, with a special significance.

Unfortunately, this tradition of Slavic origin probably, was not “generalized” in the Romanian Orthodox Church, although it is recorded by the *Hieratikon* published in Kishinev in 1815².

About the connotation of the term “kutia” (gr. “kukia”), but also about some aspects of the structure of this order, we will make a brief analysis in the present study.

II. “Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” – tradition

Here is what this tradition looks like:

“The order of Kutia.

That is koliva ordinance done in remembrance of the dead, during the Lirturgy.

After the Dismissal *prayer* (in the text, *molitfa*), is said, *Holy God...* (three times), *Blessed Trinity...*, *Our Father...*

The Priest, Exclamation (in the text, *Vosglas*³):

Thine is the Kingdom..., so, the Troparions:

With the souls of the righteous..., then the Litany:

God, have mercy on us... etc. (in the text, и прѣчь).

And the Prayer (in the text, *Molitfa*):

The God of the Spirit, and the whole body...

And the Exclamation (in the text, *Vosglas*): *You are the resurrection...*, look for all these in the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom (in the text, of Zlatoust), page 38, verso (in the text, List, 38, on the back).

So, the church singer: *Blessed is the name of the Lord...* etc. (in the text, и прѣчь),

² This *Hieratikon* was translated from Slavonic, cf. “Preface”, in *Hieratikon*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, pp. 1r-1v.

³ “Vosglas (văsglau or vozglasu) – the Exclamation, that is, the formula of concluding a prayer, which the priest emphasizes, saying it with a stronger voice”, E. BRANIȘTE and Ecaterina BRANIȘTE, *Dicționar enciclopedic (Encyclopaedic Dictionary)*, p. 547.

And the Dismissal⁴ of the Liturgy.

The order of Kutia, done in remembrance of the dead, in the evening:

After the Dismissal of the Vespers, before the Compline, saying the priest the beginning, it is said:

Holy God..., Blessed Trinity..., after that Our Father..., the Priest, Exclamation (in the text, Vosglas), and the church singer, the Troparions: With the souls of the righteous..., so the Litany: God, have mercy on us... etc. (in the text, ипрѣчь), and the Prayer (in the text, Molitva): The God of the Spirit, and the whole body... and Exclamation (in the text, Vosglas): You are the resurrection... and the church singer: Amen. More honorable than the cherubim..., Lord have mercy... (three times), the Blessing of the people (in the text, Blagosloveshte).

And the Dismissal”⁵.

III. “Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” – Particularities

The importance of this order is, in our opinion, indisputable, and elements that remind us of these liturgical structures can be found in some manuscripts, such as a prayer⁶ from of the *Sinai* codices gr. 957

⁴ “Apolytikia (ἀπόλυσις, ἡ – apolisis = release; slv. otpust, opust) – prayer to end the divine ministry, when believers were released to go; the Dismissal is performed through a blessing formula that the priest says in front of the Royal Doors”, E. Braniște and Ecaterina Braniște, *Dicționar enciclopedic*, pp. 42-43.

⁵ *Liturghier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, pp. 95v-96r; note that the text in here is corrected; see also N. Preda, *Little Lity for the Dead - A Palestinian Type*, in *Colecția Liturgică (The Liturgical Collection)* 2, Bucharest, Granada Publishing, 2016, pp. 81-82.

⁶ “л. 39. Εὐχὴ εἰς κανίσκιον κουκίῳ (;) κοιμηθέντων. Κύριος ὁ Θεός, ἡ ἐλπίς πάντων τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά σου”, cf. A. ДМИТРИЕВКИ, *Описание литургических рукописей, хранящихся в библиотеках Православного Востока*. Томъ II. *Εὐχολόγια*, Киевъ, Типографія Императорскаго Университета Св. Владимира, 1901, p. 6; “Εὐχὴ εἰς κανίσκιον κουκίων κοιμηθέντων”, Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina. Studi di rito bizantino alla luce della Teologia, del Diritto*

"Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead" - that is "Koliva Tradition done in Remembrance of the Dead"

(*Euchologium*, saec. X)⁷, which was most likely read during such an "order"⁸, which, unfortunately, does not describe.

Here is the text of this prayer:

"O, Lord God, the hope of all who call upon Your holy name, Bless you the things that were put before and to those who brought them, give your rich gifts. Give them and to all of us, with abundance, the joy of all the good things of the earth, and put to rest the soul of the one for who the remembrance is done, and keep us undoomed, those who praise and bless You, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit now and ever"⁹.

Although the title of this prayer seemed to be of no particular significance "Εὐχὴ εἰς κανίσκιον κουκίων κοιμηθέντων"¹⁰ ["Prayer to Kutia¹¹ (the bashet) with grains (wheat) for the dead"] is as eloquent as possible, and could represent, without a doubt, an important indication of the subsequent evolution, as well as the name of this service structure: *"The order of Kutia, that is the Koliva done in remembrance of the dead"*.

Another interesting observation related to this order ("kutia for the dead"), which was celebrated, as we have seen, both in the evening, after "the Dismissal of the Vespers, before the Compline", and the next day

Ecclesiastico, della Storia, dell'Arte e dell'Archeologia. Libro II. Parte VI: Rituale-Benedizionale Bizantino, Rome, Typography Leonina, 1930, p. 130, p. 130, note 3.

⁷ Cf. V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxonii, E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1886, p. 204.

⁸ "In ancient times there were prayers or even special orders for the blessing of the koliva used for funeral services", E. BRANIȘTE, *Special Liturgy for Theological Institutes*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 1985², p. 554, p. 554, note 5.

⁹ *Sinait. gr.* 957: "π. 39. Εὐχὴ εἰς κανίσκιον κουκίων (:) κοιμηθέντων. Κύριος ὁ Θεός, ἡ ἐλπίς πάντων τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά σου, Σὺ εὐλόγησον τὰ προτεθέντα, καὶ τοῖς προτεθηκῶσιν ἄμειψαι τῶν πλουσίων σου δωρεῶν, πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν χάρισαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ ἡ μνήμη γέγονεν ἐν ἀνέσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ποιήσον, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκατακρίτους διαφύλαξον ὑμνοῦντας καὶ εὐλογοῦντας Σέ, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα νῦν καὶ αἰεῖ", cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, p. 6.

¹⁰ Cf. Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 130.

¹¹ Among the synonyms of the word "basket" there is also the term "box", cf. <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/cos> (page accessed on October 13, 2015).

during the Divine Liturgy, “after the Dismissal prayer”, considers the likeness of the time of its officiation and the so-called “kutia in honor and remembrance of the Lord’s Feasts or Saints of God”¹², which was also done in the evening at Vespers¹³, or during the Divine Liturgy, “after the pulpit prayer”¹⁴.

Among the “visible” differences related to the structure of the two above-mentioned ordinances (“kutia in remembrance of the Ddead” și “kutia in honor and remembrance of the Lord’s Feasts or Saints of God”), feature observed also by some liturgists, we remember that the former does not contain a “special prayer”¹⁵ at the “blessing” of the koliva (tradition mentioned in some of the manuscripts¹⁶)¹⁷; on the other hand, we must point out that those prayers mentioned by the codices do not all compare in a particular blessing “ordinance”, although such services are recorded in manuscripts¹⁸; but we will talk about these liturgical structures.

In our opinion, Placido de Meester’s observation regarding the “meaning” (reason) of the present liturgical practice of the “blessing” of the koliva (especially for “the remembrance of the dead”) is remarkable:

“Oggi la benedizione dei colivi in onore solamente dei santi, si usa fare con la preghiera dell’Eucologio alla fine del vespro e della

¹² Cf. *Liturghier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, p. 95r.

¹³ See Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, pp. 507, 130-131; L. PETIT, “La grande controverse des Colybes”, in *Échos d’Orient*, t. 2, 7 (1899), p. 323.

¹⁴ See Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, pp. 507, 130-131; to be noted that L. PETIT shows this “order” at the end of Matins, before the Divine Liturgy, cf. “La grande controverse des Colybes”, p. 323.

¹⁵ “The only” prayer indicated “seems” to be *The God of the Spirit...*, see ms. *Vatop. 134* (745) (*Euchologion*, 1538), cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 765, 771.

¹⁶ See the titles of such prayers and the manuscripts that indicated by Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 130.

¹⁷ “καὶ λέγει τὴν ὑποτεταγμένην εὐχὴν. Ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀτελεύτητος, παρ’ οὗ πᾶν ἀθάνατον”, Leo ALLATIUS, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis perpetua consensione, libri tres, ejusdem dissertationes, de Dominicis et Hebdomadibus graecorum, et de Missa Praesancificationum*; cum Bartoldi Nihusii ad hanc Annotationibus, de Communionem Orientalium sub specie unica, Coloniae Agrippinae: apud Jodocum Kalcovium, 1648, p. 1352.

¹⁸ See the titles of such prayers and the manuscripts that indicated by Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 131.

“Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” - that is “Koliva Tradition done in Remembrance of the Dead”

liturgia. Per benedire i colivi dei defunti non si usa più alcuna preghiera, poichè essi s'intendono santificati dall'insieme delle cerimonie e delle preghiere per il defunto”¹⁹.

If the liturgical practice of the blessing of the koliva “in honor of the saints” is regulated by the provisions of the liturgical books (*Euchologion* etc.)²⁰, at the “blessing” of the koliva “for the remembrance of the dead”, as we mentioned above, there would be, according to the codices, a “certain” prayer [*The God of the Spirit...*, see ms. *Vatop.* 134 (745)]²¹, said as prayer for the blessing of the dead man’s koliva; “the reason” of this usage can be seen in the practice of some of our liturgical studies and books, which reproduce certain funeral orders, such as “*Lifting of the Panagia*”²²:

“Then rising the koliva from the table (which from the beginning is laid, along with the dishes and the wine), and being held by the family and the assistants, together with the priest, the latter says: «The God of the Spirit, and the whole body...»”²³.

IV. “Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” - Shortening or Reminiscence of the so-called “Blessing Service of the Koliva for the Dead”?

After this brief parenthesis we would like to come back with a final explanation on “*Kutia Ordinance in Remembrance of the Dead*”, that it is, without a doubt, a “shortening” (reminiscence) of the so-called “*Blessing Services of the Koliva for the Dead*” (recorded in manuscripts), on which we will not insist, but which we will continue to mention, emphasizing only a few aspects.

¹⁹ *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, pp. 130-131.

²⁰ Today, “*Rânduiala binecuvântării colivei*” appears in *Liturghier (Hieratikon)*, cf. *Liturghier (Hieratikon)*, Bucharest, Publishing House of the Bible and Mission Institute of the Romanian Orthodox Church, 2000, pp. 371-373; it is to be noted that Placido de Meester renders the old practice the above-mentioned tradition, recorded by *Euchologion*.

²¹ Cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 765, 771.

²² Genadie CRAIOVÉNU, “Panaghia (Panagia)”, in *Biserica Ortodoxă Română (Romanian Orthodox Church)* X (1886), pp. 11, 872; see more about this ordinance in N. PREDA, *Litia mică pentru cei morți (Little Lity for the Dead)*, pp. 85-88.

²³ Genadie CRAIOVÉNU, *Panaghia (Panagia)*, p. 874.

First of all, we want to point out that the precious evidences of these “ordinances” we find at Placido de Meester:

“Nei manoscritti però troviamo una vera acolutia che accompagna questa benedizione. Essa ha per titolo generico Ἀκολουθία νεκρώσιμος ψαλλομένη ἐπὶ κολλύβων²⁴. oppure Ἀκολουθία τοῦ κανόνος τῶν κολλύβων τοῦ ψαλλομένου εἰς τὰ τρίτα καὶ ἑννάτα καὶ τεσσαρακοστά²⁵. Queste acolutie si rassomigliano nelle loro parti essenziali. Si principia come al solito, poi si recitano il salmo 90, alleluia e tropari, canone, orazione, apolisi²⁶.”

We will also recall, separately, some of the titles of these ordinances:

- a) л. 158. Εἰς μοναχοῦ μνημόσυνον. Ἀκολουθία ἐν κολλύβοις μοναχοῦ²⁷;
- b) л. 161. Εἰς λαϊκὸν μνημόσυνον. Ἀκολουθία ἐν κολλύβοις²⁸;
- c) л. 493. Ἀκολουθία εἰς νεκρώσιμα κόλυβα μοναχῶν²⁹;
- d) л. 253. Ἀκολουθία εἰς κόλλυβα κεκοιμημένων μοναχῶν³⁰;
- e) л. 125 об. Ἀκολουθία εἰς κόλλυβα κεκοιμημένων μοναχῶν³¹;
- f) Ἀκολουθία εἰς κόλλυβα ἱερέως³²;

²⁴ “л. 24 об. Ἀκολουθία νεκρώσιμος, ψαλλομένη ἐπὶ κολλύβων”, see ms. *Sinai* 990 [*Euchologium*, saec. XIV, cf. V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus codicum*, p. 215], cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 326, 327.

²⁵ “Ἀκολουθία τοῦ κανόνος τῶν κολλύβων τοῦ ψαλλομένου εἰς τὰ τρίτα, καὶ ἑννάτα, καὶ τεσσαρακοστά”, Leo ALLATIUS, *De Ecclesiae Occidentalis atquae Orientalis*, p. 1352.

²⁶ *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 131.

²⁷ Cf. *Vatop. 134 (745) (Euchologion, 1538)*, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 765, 771.

²⁸ Cf. *Vatop. 134 (745) (Euchologion, 1538)*, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 765, 771.

²⁹ Cf. *Lavras gr. 88, Εὐχολόγιον*, a. 1475, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 435, 444.

³⁰ Cf. *Karak. 1664 (151), Εὐχολόγιον*, a. 1553, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 792, 793.

³¹ Cf. *Lavras gr. H 104, Εὐχολόγιον*, a. 1561, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 793, 794.

³² Cf. *Xiropot. (!), Εὐχολόγιον*, sec. XVI [“Εὐχολόγιον *Cod. Xiropotamou* (Monte Athos) senza num.”], Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. XVI], cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, p. 921.

“Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” - that is “Koliva Tradition done in Remembrance of the Dead”

g) л. 84 об. Εἰς κόλλυβα μοναχῶν καὶ ἱερμονάχων καὶ ἱερέων³³.

It is also noteworthy, with regard to these “service traditions”, that their structure is obviously that of “pannychis”³⁴ (structure we mentioned in a previous study)³⁵, and the canon³⁶ (as in the “Order” described by N. Uspensky³⁷), is one of the specific and determinant elements at the same time:

“Il canone si trova alle volte solo, ma esso è che dà il nome specifico all’acolutia: Κανὼν (ο Ἀκολ.) εἰς κόλλυβα μοναχοῦ (μοναχῶν), ἱερέως, τῶν κοσμικῶν”³⁸.

Here are other similar canons mentioned in the codices:

- a) л. 37. Κανὼν ψαλλόμενος εἰς κόλλυβα τῶν κοιμηθέντων κοσμικῶν³⁹;
- b) л. 497 об. Ἔτερος κανὼν, ψαλλόμενος εἰς μνημόσυνα κοσμικῶν⁴⁰;
- c) л. 112. Κανὼν, ψαλλόμενος ἐπὶ παννυχίδα νεκρώσιμον⁴¹;
- d) л. 258. Ἔτερος κανὼν εἰς κόλλυβα κοσμικοῦ⁴²;
- e) л. 130 об. Ἔτερος κανὼν εἰς κόλλυβα κοσμικοῦ⁴³;
- f) л. 210. Κανὼν, ψαλλόμενος εἰς κόλλυβα μοναχοῦ⁴⁴.

³³ Cf. *Xiropot. (!), Εὐχολόγιον*, sec. XVI, cf. A. Dmitrievkij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, p. 921.

³⁴ “панνυχίς (lit. vigilia totius noctis, pannychis) (...) II. Par extension, TOUTE LA CÉLÉBRATION VESPERTINE”, J. MATEOS, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix n° 40, X^e siècle. Tome II. Le cycle des fêtes mobiles*, Orientalia Christiana Analecta 166, Rome, Pont. Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1963, p. 311.

³⁵ See N. PREDA, *Litia mică pentru cei morți (Little Lity for the Dead)*, pp. 72-76.

³⁶ “The canon is the most developed form of Christian religious poetry because it brings together, in a new unity, chants (ode) formed, as we have seen, each of three or more stanzas or stihiron”, E. BRANIȘTE and Ecaterina BRANIȘTE, *Dicționar enciclopedic (Encyclopedic Dictionary)*, p. 85.

³⁷ Cf. *Slujba de seară în Biserica Ortodoxă (Evening Service in the Orthodox Church)*, Translated by Cezar Login, Cluj-Napoca, Patmos Publishing, 2008, pp. 115-117.

³⁸ Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 131.

³⁹ Cf. *Sinai 964, Εὐχολόγιον*, sec. XIII-XIV, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 246, 249.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Lavras gr. 88, Εὐχολόγιον*, a. 1475, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 435, 444.

⁴¹ Cf. Ms. XCI. № 455 (ρις'), *Εὐχολόγιον*, a. 1501, cf. A. Dmitrievkij, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 665, 666.

⁴² Cf. *Karak. 1664 (151), Εὐχολόγιον*, a. 1553, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 792, 793.

⁴³ Cf. *Lavras gr. H 104, Εὐχολόγιον*, a. 1561, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 793, 794.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Sinai 989, Εὐχολόγιον*, sec. XVI, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Описание литургических рукописей*, pp. 887, 896.

We also want to point out that the particularities mentioned above require a much broader type of research, which the present study does not consider, which is why those interested could deepen all these characteristics.

V. “Kutia” and “Kanun”: two “unique” terms mentioned in an “order” written by N. Uspensky

In the “*Order*” recalled by N. Uspensky, which we have already mentioned, are recorded among others, two liturgical terms about which our specialized studies do not recall⁴⁵, unfortunately, do not mention absolutely nothing, namely “*Kutia*” (“for health”)⁴⁶ and “*Kanun*”; otherwise, those terms are understood somewhat differently in our country, standing as evidence the few religious books that indicate them:

“The order of of the blessing of the Koliva, ie of the Kutia, or of the boiled wheat mixed with honey”⁴⁷.

We will render the passage from N. Uspensky, which recalls the two terms:

“A vessel containing *kutia* «for health» and a glass containing *kanun* were placed on a table set in the middle of the church, next to the icon of the feast. *Kutia* was prepared from boiled wheat, with «fruits and sugar»; *kanun* was a honey drink. A burning candle was «in the middle of the pots *kutia* and *kanun*»”⁴⁸.

⁴⁵ See E. BRANIȘTE and Ecaterina BRANIȘTE, *Dicționar enciclopedic (Encyclopedic Dictionary)*...

⁴⁶ There is, as we have seen, also a “Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” [“The Order of Kutia. That is, the Koliva made for the memory of those who are dead”, cf. *Liturghier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, pp. 95v, 96r].

⁴⁷ *Liturghier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, p. 95r; the term “*kanun*” is not remembered by ancient sources (manuscripts) or by our cult books; it is very likely that it is recorded somewhere in the old editions of the cult books, but in the absence of solid studies, we can not say anything, unfortunately.

⁴⁸ *Shujba de seară... (Evening Service...)*, p. 115.

"Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead" - that is "Koliva Tradition done in Remembrance of the Dead"

VI. Specification of the terms "Kutia" and "Kanun" in manuscripts

If we do not find the term "*kanun*" in manuscripts and not even in specialized studies (which prevents us from pronouncing on the reality that it defined, both in ancient times and today), not the same thing can be said about the term "*kutia*".

A first observation on the word "*kutia*", mentioned by N. Uspensky in this context, is that the term is determined, that is "for health"; we say this because there is also the order of the so-called "kutia in remembrance of the dead"⁴⁹, which we talked about above.

The indices of the existence of this word are primarily found in manuscripts, where we find both "kutia in honor and remembrance of the Lord's Feasts or Saints of God"⁵⁰, and also "kutia in remembrance of the dead"⁵¹:

"In epoca più remota i colivi erano chiamati anche κούκια, ο κουκούδια. Sono adoperati i colivi tanto per onorare qualche santo quanto per commemorare un defunto: si hanno così i colivi festivi e i colivi mortuari"⁵².

The oldest document, in our opinion, which records the term "*Kutia*" (gr. *κούκία*)⁵³ is Codex *Barberini gr. 336* (*Eucologio*, sec. VIII)⁵⁴: "Εὐχὴ εἰς κούκία ἁγίων"⁵⁵.

⁴⁹ Cf. *Liturgier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, pp. 95v-96r.

⁵⁰ *Liturgier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, p. 95r.

⁵¹ *Liturgier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, pp. 95v, 96r; it should be noted that these titles (see also the previous one) are rendered as in worship books and not as in manuscripts.

⁵² Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 124.

⁵³ Unfortunately, about the usage of the term "*kutia*", given the fact that the original Greek was "*κούκία*", we do not know too much; those interested should explore and deepen these particularities.

⁵⁴ S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L'Eucologio Barberini gr. 336*. Seconda edizione riveduta con traduzione in lingua italiana, Bibliotheca *Ephemerides Liturgicae* Subsidia 80, Roma, CLV-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2000, p. 19.

⁵⁵ *Barberini gr. 336*: 222r, cf. S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, *L'Eucologio*, p. 212.

However, it is interesting to note that Placido de Meester, although referring to the same manuscript (Cod. *Barb.* III, 55)⁵⁶, mentions yet another prayer: “Εὐχή τῶν κολύβων ἡγουν τῶν κουκουδίων”⁵⁷; indeed, this also appears in *Barberini gr.* 336: “Εὐχή τῶν κολλύβων ἡγουν τῶν κουκουδίων”⁵⁸.

It should also be noted that Placido de Meester does not specify (beyond the clues in the title, less clear) anything about this prayer, in the sense that it does not specify whether there is a prayer at the koliva “in honor of the saints” or “in remembrance of the dead”; determination of its type could only be made after a detailed analysis of its text⁵⁹, ⁶⁰.

About the first prayer⁶¹ recorded in codex *Barberini gr.* 336: “Ο θεὸς ὁ πάντα τελεσφορήσας τῷ λόγῳ σου (κύριε) καὶ κελεύσας”⁶², rendered the first by N. Uspensky, too, in the above-mentioned⁶³ “*Order*”, and which also appears in the study of J. Goar⁶⁴, we want to say that we have mentioned some aspects in a previous study⁶⁵.

⁵⁶ According to the clues of Pl. de MEESTER, “Cod. *Barb.* III, 55” is indeed Ms. *Barberini gr.* 336: “VIII-IX s. Εὐχολόγιον Cod. *gr. Barber.* (Vatican.) [III. 55 (77)] nunc 336”, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. IX.

⁵⁷ Cod. *Barb.* III, 55, cf. *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 124, note 3.

⁵⁸ *Barberini gr.* 336: 226^v, cf. S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L’Eucologio*, p. 216.

⁵⁹ *Barberini gr.* 336: 226^v-227^r: Δεδοξασμένε κύριε ἐπουράνιε, πάσης κτίσεως γεννήτωρ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς γεννημάτων δημιουργός, ὃς ἐπὶ τῶν ε’ ἄρτων παραγγέλλοντας καὶ ἡυλόγησας τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ κτίσματα, καὶ τὰ νῦν, δέσποτα κύριε, παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἱκετευόμενος παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναξιότητος, εὐδόκησον ἐξ ἀγίου κατοικητηρίου σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὰς εὐλογίας ταύτας· ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ πιστοῦ σου Ζαχαρίου ἡ χάρις ἐπλεόνασεν τοὺς παραγεναμένους, καὶ τὰ νῦν, κύριε, εὐλόγησον τοὺς προσφέροντας καὶ παραγεναμένους καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντας. Ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καί, cf. S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L’Eucologio*, p. 216.

⁶⁰ The expression “koliva (kutia) for health” (cf. N. USPENSKY, *Shujba de seară... (Evening Service...)*, p. 115) would, in our opinion, give in the most appropriate way the usage of this prayer.

⁶¹ “Εὐχή εἰς κουκία ἁγίων”, *Barberini gr.* 336: 222^r, cf. S. PARENTI and E. Velkovska, *L’Eucologio*, p. 212.

⁶² Cf. S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L’Eucologio*, p. 212.

⁶³ *Shujba de seară... (Evening Service...)*, p. 116.

⁶⁴ *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale Graecorum complectens ritus et ordines Divinae Liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum, consecrationum, benedictionum, funerum, orationum etc.*, Venetiis, Ex Typographia Bartholomaei Javarina, 1730², p. 524.

⁶⁵ See N. PREDA, *Litia mică pentru cei morți (Little Lity for the Dead)*, pp. 50-53.

“Kutia in Remembrance of the Dead” - that is “Koliva Tradition done in Remembrance of the Dead”

As for the second prayer in codex *Barberini gr. 336*: “Δεδοξασμένε κύριε ἐπουράνιε, πάσης κτίσεως γεννήτωρ”⁶⁶, unfortunately, we do not know too much; those who are interested can then analyze it.

Another codex that remembers the word “κουκία” is Codex *Sinaiticus. gr. 957 (Euchologium, saec. X)*⁶⁷: “Εὐχὴ εἰς κανίσκιον κουκίῳ κοιμηθέντων”⁶⁸.

Unfortunately, on this prayer was not written either; as it results from the title, one thing is obvious: the prayer is read at “koliva” “in remembrance of the dead”. A last codex (according to our research) that records exactly the form of the term “κουκία” is Ms. XII. № 1036 (Εὐχολόγιον, sec. XII-XIII)⁶⁹: “Εὐχὴ εἰς κόλυβα ἤτοι κουκία μνήμης ἀγίων”⁷⁰; although about this prayer⁷¹ we have mentioned in a previous study⁷², we would like to add in this context only that, according to the clues in the title, the prayer is read on the koliva “in honor of the saints”.

VII. “Kutia” – Clarification of Terminology

In other words, we would like to point out that a detailed and precise analysis of the terms “κουκία”⁷³ and “κουκούδια” (according to the definitions

⁶⁶ Cf. S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L'Eucologio*, p. 216.

⁶⁷ Cf. V. GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus codicum*, p. 204.

⁶⁸ *Sinait. gr. 957*: 39r, cf. A. Dmitrievkij, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej*, p. 6; see also Pl. de Meester, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 124, note 3; “л. 39. Εὐχὴ εἰς κανίσκιον κουκίῳ (;) κοιμηθέντων. Κύριος ὁ Θεός, ἡ ἐλπίς πάντων τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων τὸ ἅγιον ὄνομά σου, Σὺ εὐλόγησον τὰ προτεθέντα, καὶ τοῖς προτεθηκόσιν ἄμειψαι τῶν πλουσίων σου δωρεᾶν, πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀγαθῶν ἀφθόνως αὐτοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν χάρισσαι, καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ ἡ μνήμη γέγονεν ἐν ἀνέσει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ποιήσον, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκατακρίτους διαφύλαξον ὑμνοῦντας καὶ εὐλογοῦντας Σέ, τὸν Πατέρα καὶ τὸν Υἱὸν καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ”, A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej*, p. 6.

⁶⁹ A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej*, p. 146.

⁷⁰ Ms. XII. № 1036: 68v, cf. A. DMITRIEVKIJ, *Opisanie liturgicheskikh rukopisej*, p. 148; see also Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 124, note 3.

⁷¹ This is the second prayer (*Lord Almighty, Who made the heaven and the earth*) mentioned by N. Uspensky in the “Order” mentioned above.

⁷² See N. PREDA, *Lititia mică pentru cei morți (Little Lity for the Dead)*, pp. 50-51, 53-55.

⁷³ “κούκια”, Pl. de MEESTER, *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 124; to be noted that also in the specialty studies unfortunately there are different forms of these terms.

in the dictionaries, few indeed) would be hard to achieve here, as it is a terminology used “in old times”, as observed by Placido de Meester⁷⁴; however, we will still try to outline some aspects.

Since the forms indicated in the manuscripts do not explicitly appear in the dictionaries, we decided to “analyze” those presented by S. Parenti and E. Velkovska, that is “cuccia” and “i grani”: “Preghiera per la cuccia dei santi”⁷⁵ and “Preghiera per i colivi, cioè dei grani”⁷⁶.

For example, one of the few definitions of the word “cuccia”, expressing, in our opinion, clearly what it was in the old times, but not only, is:

“La derivazione di Cuccia dal greco *ta ko(u)kkia* (i grani) è accertata e sostenuta unanimemente dagli studiosi moderni e, possiamo ricapitolarne sinteticamente la storia dicendo che, in epoca già cristiana, troviamo la Cuccia in Grecia come cibo rituale propriamente della Commemorazione dei defunti. Quindi si diffonde, seguendo due direttrici, verso i paesi dell’Europa orientale che ricevono la religione greco ortodossa, e verso le regioni dell’Italia meridionale, dove l’usanza si estese alla festa di alcuni santi”⁷⁷.

On the term “κουκούδια” (“i grani”) we would just like to make a simple remark, that it could really be a diminutive of the same word “κουκία”.

Another equally interesting statement from the “*Order*” recorded by N. Uspensky is the one about the composition of the so-called “kutia”:

“Kutia was prepared from boiled wheat, with «fruits and sugar»; kanun⁷⁸ was a honey drink”⁷⁹.

⁷⁴ *Liturgia bizantina (The Byzantine Liturgy)*, p. 124.

⁷⁵ *L’Eucologio*, p. 362; “Εὐχή εἰς κουκία ἁγίων”, *Barberini gr.* 336: 222^r, cf. S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L’Eucologio*, p. 212.

⁷⁶ *L’Eucologio*, p. 364; “Εὐχή τῶν κολλύβων ἡγουν τῶν κουκουδίων”, *Barberini gr.* 336: 226^r, cf. S. PARENTI and E. VELKOVSKA, *L’Eucologio*, p. 216.

⁷⁷ Cf. <http://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cuccia> (page accessed on March 27, 2015); as can be seen, the definition is not taken up either in the specialized studies or in the dictionaries, which, unfortunately, do not say much about the term “cuccia”.

⁷⁸ We have also given the definition of the word “kanun” because it reminds of honey, something that appears to us in the composition of “kutia”, that is, the koliva, as we shall see.

⁷⁹ *Shujba de seară... (Evening Service...)*, p. 115.

VIII. Using the Word "Kutia" in the Books of Worship

Even though specialty studies in our country do not remember anything about "kutia" and "kanun", not the same can be said about the religious books; for example the *Hieratikon* edited in Kishinev in 1815 (translated from Slavonic⁸⁰) gives both the word "kutia", and its significance:

"The order of blessing the koliva, i.e. the Kutia, or of the wheat mixed with honey, and other kinds of sweet fruits, brought to the Church in honor and remembrance of the feasts of the Lord, or of the saints of God"⁸¹.

In conclusion, all these characteristics "hid" in the old books of service, very often overlooked, constitute, in our opinion, the true testimonies of the evolution of the "healthy" worship ordinances of our Church, that is why we must go first of all to the sources, to see the primary form of the ordinances.

IX. Some conclusions

A particularly interesting order in the evolution of the liturgical structures on the remembrance of the dead, about which we have not written, and which could be considered as a "reminiscence" of the liturgical traditions of the past (commemorating "together" the Martyrs and the dead), as well as a "new" liturgical practice, with a special significance, is the so-called "kutia in remembrance of the dead" (that is "the order of the koliva made for the remembrance of the dead").

The order of the "kutia in remembrance of the dead" can also be regarded as a "shortening" of the so-called "Blessing services of the koliva for the dead" from ancient times, recorded by some of the manuscripts.

If the liturgical practice of the blessing of the koliva "in honor of the saints" is governed by the provisions from the liturgical books (*Euchologion*

⁸⁰ Cf. "Preface", in *Liturgier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, pp. 1r-1v.

⁸¹ *Liturgier (Hieratikon)*, Kishinev, in the Exarchate Printing of Bessarabia, in the Holy Metropolitan of Kishinev and Hotin, 1815, p. 95r.

etc.), at the “blessing” of the koliva “in remembrance of the dead”, as we mentioned above, there would be, according to codices, a “certain” prayer. (*The God of the Spirit...*), “said” as prayer to the blessing of the koliva of the dead; “the reason” of this usage can be seen in the practice of some of our liturgical studies and books, which reproduce certain funeral orders, such as “*Lifting of Panagia for the dead*”.