Names of the Church Building in the Latin Inscriptions of Transylvania (13th - 19th c.)*

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Notre étude analyse une série de dénominations d'églises qui ont le sens de « bâtiment ». La description est basée sur un corpus d'inscriptions épigraphiques en latin découvertes dans les églises de Transylvanie et dont la datation s'étend sur une période de plusieurs siècles, du XIIIème siècle jusqu'au XIXème siècle.

Mots-clés : christianisme, épigraphie, églises de Transylvanie

I. The terminology of 'church' as building was studied among others by Christine Mohrmann in the paper *Les dénominations de l'Église en tant qu'édifice en grec et en latin au cours des premiers siècles chrétiens*, the main topic involved being the following:

a) The analysed terms are *ecclesia*, *templum*, *basilica*, *dominicus*, *titulus, domus Dei*. Little is known about the first meeting places for assembly and liturgy of the Christians, which were probably named by *titulus* + the name of the owner in genitiv (*titulus Pudentis, titulus Caeciliae*)[1]. There were no special buildings for pray till at the Edict of Milan in 313, not only because of the prosecutions against Christians, but mostly because the Christians were more interesed in the spiritual aspects of their faith (cf. Tertullian, *De spectaculis*, 13 : *nec minus templa quam monumenta despicimus*; Arnobius, *Disputationes adversus nationes*, 6.1 : *quod neque aedes sacras uenerationis ad officium construamus*[2]), thus it is only later in the 3rd century that the mentioned terms occur in Latin texts as names of 'building consecrated to God'.

b) These terms are classified according to different criteria:

According to the domain of reference, *titulus* and βασιλική, *basilica* are based on architectural or administrative *realia*, the others are related to the Bible : οἶκος τῆς εὐχῆς, εὐκτήριος οἶκος, 'house of pray'; ἐκκλησία, *ecclesia*; κυριακόν, *dominicum*; οἶκος Θεοῦ, *Domus Dei.* From the point of view of the origin, these terms, related to Hebrew (*qahal, qahal Iahvé, 'edah*), are Greek (οἶκος τῆς εὐχῆς,

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[1] Cf. N. Duval: „The allusions of 1st and 2nd-c. texts undoubtedly refer to private premises, more or less prepared in advance, to which we conventionally give the name *domus-ecclesia*", in *Encyclopedia of the early church*, s. v. *church building*, p. 169.

[2] Both texts are quoted by Mohrmann, *Les dénominations de l'Église,* p. 213.

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εὐκτήριος οἶκος, ἐκκλησία, κυριακόν, οἶκος Θεοῦ) and Latin (*ecclesia*, *Domus Dei*, *dominicum*, *titulus*, *basilica*).

c) In the romance languages *ecclesia* has been maintained as name of the church, both as 'building' and 'Christian assembly'; *basilica* (largely used in the 4th and the 5th centuries) is preserved in roum. *biserică* and retorom. *baselgia* and also in some Toscan, France and Portugal toponyms. The Greek term κυριακόν, which had a widespread and usual form κυρικόν, is preserved in German languages (anglo-saxon *church*, engl. *church*, germ. *Kirche*, dutch *kerk* etc.); *dominicum,* probably because of interferring with *dominica dies* 'liturgical service', disappeared in the 5th c., but may still be found in Irish toponyms containing the element *domhnach*. *Domus Dei* not being used as a technical name of the church building was not maintained in the romance languages: „De *domus Dei*, terme qui ne s'était pas montré viable comme dénomination de l'édifice de l'église, il n'y a pas de traces, ce qui ne saurait nous étonner”[3].

This special position of *domus Dei* among the terms naming 'church building' may be clearly illustrated by its frequent and highly significant occurences in the *Psalms*[4]: *domus Dei* is the Temple, the place and the sign of God's presence, although it is clearly stated that *Si…caeli… te capere non possunt, quanto magis domus haec* (3 Reg. 8.27)[5]. It designates: „la demeure (de Dieu), le sanctuaire de Jérusalem, (puis) le temple: *introibo in domum tuam* (65.13); *in domum Domini ibimus* (121.1), *in atriis domus Domini* (91.14), dans les parvis de la maison du Seigneur”[6], often by metonymies: *habitatio*, *tabernaculum*, *sedes*, *atrium* etc. *Domus Dei* is the privileged and beloved place of the levit, for whom he is deeply mourning during the exile:

ego sicut oliva fructifera in domo Dei speraui / oliva uirens... (Ps. 51.10);
uota mea Domino reddam in conspectu omnis populi eius, in atriis domus Domini, in medio tui Ierusalem (Ps. 115.19);
transibo in loco tabernaculi admirabilis usque ad domum Dei / ueniam ad umbraculum tacebo usque ad domum Dei... (Ps. 41.5);
zelus domus tuae comedit me (Ps. 68.10)[7].

The New Testament and the Christian liturgy, by consecrating the image of the living temple (*uos enim estis templum Dei uiui...*, 2 Cor. 6.16), has increased and enriched the spiritual meaning of *domus Dei*: „Le temple chrétien n’a pas la

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 230.
[4] We have largely used the commentaries, the introductions and the notes to the Romanian translation of the *Psalms* from *Septuagint*, due to Francisca Băltăceanu and Monica Broşteanu, for an adequate approach of the text, in our conference *'Domus Dei' and its Meanings in Christian Latin*, The International Annual Session of the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Centre of Mediaeval Studies, University of Bucharest, 30–31 October 2009 (mss).
[5] Cf. Leon-Dufour, *Vocabular*, s.v. *temple*.
[6] Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin*, p. 382, § 235.
[7] Vs. is quoted in *In*. 2.17, cf. *In*. 2.16: *et nolite facere domum Patris mei, domum negotiationis.*

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prétention d'enfermer et de contenir la divinité; mais l'Église demande à Dieu de vouloir bien avoir sa maison ici-bas, la maison de Dieu, la maison de prière, où se rassemble le peuple chrétien pour célébrer son culte, et en particulier l'eucharistie: *Domine Deus, qui, licet caelo et terra non capiaris, domum tuam dignaris habere in terris, ubi nomen tuum iugiter inuocetur* (oratio benedictio, primarius lapis, *Pontificale Romanum*, II, p. 7)"[8].

II. Following the main conclusions of Christine Mohrmann's study and of the analyse of the *Psalms* and using them as as elements of comparison to our *corpus* of inscriptions, we intend to examine the relationship between *Domus Dei*, *templum*, *ecclesia*, *aedes*. Our approach is focused on the semantic and distributional analysis of the implied terms: few changes in the inventory are to be expected, a number of synonyms may supply the request of naming the building. The need to differentiate the construction and the church community is still preserved; disposing a large inventory of names for the church building, it is only a re-arrangement of the relationships between these terms and a corresponding deplacement of meaning. Thus *ecclesia* as 'church community' and 'building' remained unchanged from Antiquity till nowadays, being theologically related to the well known text: *Ego dico tibi quia tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam* (*Math.*, 16.18), whose modern "version" can be read in a chronostichon written on a marble plate in the church of Dealu Frumos:

VIVAX IN SOLO FVNDATA ECCLESIA CHRISTO VERBO AVDAX SVA SCEPTRA VIBRAT PLVTONIA VINCENS. MATHAE 16. v. 18 [Dealu Frumos, Lutheran church, 1722, mural inscription].

Our lexical analysis is based on a corpus of inscriptions gathered during our research in the churches of Transylvania. Their identification data are: place name, Christian faith of the church at the present time, year or century, type of object; when quoted from bibliographical sources, these are indicated in the footnotes.

We do not refer to the historical aspects concerning the types of church or the development of the ecclesiastical architecture[9] and we do not examine here the names of certain parts of the church (such as *camera*, *structura*, *sacellum*, *crypta* etc) or of the fortifications (such as *propugnaculum*, *turris*, *munitio* etc.). We do not differentiate the direct references (to be found mostly in mural inscriptions about building or restoration of a church) and the indirect or secondary ones (such as the mention of the terms in inscriptions in relationship with all sort of objects: bells, altars, sacred vases, church furniture etc.); the examples of funerary inscriptions are limited to very few cases, due to their great number and complexity of the formular. Whenever it is possible, our data are presented in chronological

[8] Blaise, *Le vocabulaire latin,* p. 488, § 345.

[9] A short presentation may be found *in Encyclopedia of the early church*, s.v. *church building,* p. 169-175.

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order; the first and the last attested forms are usually followed by a selection of similar texts, in order to illustrate the dimensions of the phenomenon.

III. The inventory of terms

According to their frequency, there are (a) terms which occur seldom in the inscriptions; (b) widespread terms.

(a) (1) *OPVS* 'work' is one of the oldest terms undifferentiatedly applied to all types of church objects (bells, altars, mural paintings, furniture, *vasa sacra* etc.); it is first attested in 1334, in a lost inscription written with Gothic majuscule letters:

HOC OPVS INCHOATVM EST AN(n)O D(o)M(in)I MCCCXXXIII ET FINITVM IIII [Aiud, Lutheran church, 1333–1334, mural inscription[10]].

In the next century the term occurs in two inscriptions from Sighişoara - the first carved in stone, the second painted on wall - with Gothic minuscule letters:

A(nno) D(omini) M(illesimo) cccc xxix i(n)cep(tum) e(st) **h**(oc) **op**(us) [Sighişoara, Lutheran church, 1429, mural inscription];

Annorum domi(ni) numer(us) dum fluxerit iste / **hoc opus** expletum est auxiliante deo... [Sighişoara, Lutheran church, 1488, mural inscription].

(2) *BASILICA* is attested in 1410 in the inscription on priest Thomas' tombstone fixed in the wall behind the altar in the „Black Church" of Braşov[11]:

Anno domini MCCCCX... honorabilis uir dominus Thomas reuerendus parochialis ecclesiae in Corona... huius laudabilis **basilicae** uir, tam chori quam ecclesiae inchoator principalis. [Braşov, Lutheran church, 1410, Thomas' tombstone[12]].

(3) The syntagm *DOMVS DEI* designating 'church building' may be found in five inscriptions. The first one represents a peculiar case[13], the syntagm that occurs being *domus Mariae*, as the dedication of the church to the Holy Virgin:

ANNO DOMINI MCCCº XXX CONSTRVITVR **DOMVS** MARI/a/E TEMPORE NICOLAI PLEBANI... [Reghin, Lutheran church, 1330, mural inscription[14]].

[10] Victor Roth, *Die kirchlichen Baudenkmäler des Unterwaldes*, p. 310; Virgil Vătăşianu, *Istoria artei feudale*, p. 125.

[11] This unique occurence may be stylistically motivated as an attempt to avoid repeating the term *ecclesia*.

[12] Kühlbrandt, *Die evang. Stadtpfarrkirche A.B. in Kronstadt,* p. 20.

[13] The structure *domus* + name of a saint may be often seen in the names of Catholic churches (e.g. *domus Sancti Stephani*).

[14] Teutsch, *Zur ältesten sächsischen Baukunde*, p. 82.

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The next inscription of the 17th century, which indicates the years of building (1497) and restorating the church (1643), contains a dislocation of the syntagm *domus Dei* by using the demonstrative pronoun *haec*:

DOMVS HAEC **DEI** ANNIS CIRCITER CXLVI COMPLETE FUNDATA EXISTENS DEMUM RESTAURATUR... ANNO M.DC.XLIII... [Şura Mare, Lutheran church, 1643, mural inscription].

There are also some later inscriptions where *domus* is associated with some determinatives (*dicata*, *dedicata*, *sacra, sacrata*), thus specifying the ecclesiastical destination of the building. It may be easily noticed that the syntagm *domus Dei* being too closely related to its old highly spiritual significance, can hardly be used as denomination of the 'church building'; in the examined inscriptions, when *domus Dei* is related to the secondary meaning 'the house of God as edifice', the syntagm is dislocated by determinatives (pronouns, adjectives, participles) in order to emphasize a different use, these new complex structures being used to designate only the 'building':

In honorem Dei Triunius eiusque **sanctissimo nomini dicatae domus** ornamento erigitur hoc altare... [Sântioana, Lutheran church, 1705, old altar[15]];
...in **sacram** munera larga **Domum** hoc opus extruxit... [Cisnădioara, Lutheran church, 1709, organ loft];
Domus haecce, **cultui Diuino dedicata**, in cineris redacta 1748 D(ie) 28. Aug(usti) noctu hora XI. e cineribus rursus reuiuiscit anno 1750... [Archita, Lutheran church, 1750, chancel arch[16]].

It may be also considered that this meaning 'building' has been lately developed in our inscriptions under the influence of the syntagm *domus parochialis*[17]:

DOMVS PAROCHIALIS RVINOSA REPARATVR SVB INSPECTIONE... [Reghin, Lutheran church, 1787, inscription on parsonage wall];
Domus haec parochialis aedificatur sub inspectione pastoris Michaelis Wagner... [Batoş, Lutheran church, 1789, inscription on parsonage wall].

(4) *AEDIFICIVM*, also having a general meaning, i.e. not specifying the type of building or its sacral destination, occurs in the inscription engraved on the western entrance of the Lutheran church in Bistriţa:

[15] Klima, *Geschichtliche Daten,* file *Johannisdorf*, p. 6.
[16] id., file *Arkeden*, p. 5, inscription noted in church archives.
[17] The church, the priest's house and the school formed a single item in Saxon villages.

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Anno Mundi: Quinquies millesimo Quingentesimo vicesimo secundo: Qui est a Nato Saluatore 1560: Septima die Martii templum hoc infringi: Decima tertia die Maij vero reaedificari coepit: Anno Mundi autem 5525 qui est a nato Christo 1563 absolutum **aedificium**. Soli Deo laus et gloria. [Bistriţa, Lutheran church, 1563, mural inscription].

(5) *FANVM* was an old pagan term adopted later in the Christian vocabulary of the Late Antiquity (cf. Du Cange: *Fanum, pro gentilium templis Christiani proprio uocabulo usurpabant: fana idolorum*). It occurs in only three examples of our *corpus*, all dating from the 18th century, obviously as a late echo of the Renaissance revival of the Antiquity:

MINIMUM HOC MAGNAE PIETATIS FILIALIS, MONUMENTUM, MEMORIAE PARENTUM... IN HOC **FANO** QUIESCENTIUM, DEBITA RECOGNITIONE... [Dealu Frumos, Lutheran church, 1721, Klein's epitaph];

HOC RELIGIONIS AC PIETATIS SIGNO DECORAVIT **FANUM** PRIVATA MUNIFICENTIA PUBLICA DILIGENTIA Past(oris) MICH(aelis) ROMANI... [Dupuş, Lutheran church, 1791, pulpit canopy];

IN HONOREM TRINUNIUS DEI HOC **FANUM** CONDITUR A(nno) R(eparatae) S(alutis) 1519 / CONSUMMATUR 1680 ET 1775 / RENOVATUR 1815 ET 1856... [Buneşti, Lutheran church, 1775/1815, chancel arch].

(b) There is a series of frequently used terms naming the church building: *aedes sacra / aedes sacrae*, *templum*, *ecclesia*.

(6) *AEDES SACRA / AEDES SACRAE* is attested from 1522 till at the middle of the 19th century, in the following forms:

- ***aedes sacra*** : 1522 Biertan, 1693 Cincu, 1753 Rodbav, 1776 Laslăul Mic, 1784 Gârbova, 1804 Sighişoara, 1810 Şaroş, 1830 Hamba, 1839 Cristian;
- ***aedes sacrae*** : 1624 Floreşti[18], 1764 Galaţii Bistriţei, 1776 Brădeni, 1794 Dupuş, 1803 Cloaşterf, 1820 Mercheaşa,1828 Apold.

For example:

Erecta est **h/a/ec /a/edis sacra** ac instituta impendiis venerabilis d(omi)ni baccalaurii iohan(n)is... [Biertan, Lutheran church, 1522, mural inscription];

MATRIS SANCTAE ANNAE **AEDES SACRA** IGNE COR/r/EPTA // IMPERATORIS FRANCISCI II / DeI GRATIA NOVo ERECTA [Rupea,

[18] HAS SACRAS AEDES PROCURARVNT EGREGII D(omi)NI ANTONI(us) ET MARC(us) BETHLENII IN HONORE(m) DEI ET COM(m)UNE(m) UTILITATE(m) ECCLESIAE. A(nn)o D. 1424.

The date 1424 of the inscription from Floreşti is in contradiction with the shape of the letters and the type of formular; it belongs to a later period, probably from 1624, as G.D. Teutsch suggested in his *Die Generalkirchenvisitationsberichte*, p. 449: A.D. 1.2.4. – muß die Jahrzahl statt 1424, wie früher angenommen wurde, 1624 gelesen werden (1524, 1724 ?)".

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Catholic Church, 1802, mural inscription[19]];

Ad Deum adorandum / Ad Virtutem Colendam. / Ad Salutem aeternam adipiscendam / **Haec Aedes Sacra** erecta [Cristian, Lutheran church, 1839, mural inscription].

In an old inscription the basic term *aedes* is associated with *uestibularis*, designating the chapel built by Ioannes de Lazo:

(MICH)AELI PATRONO IOANNES LAZOYNUS... **AEDEM HANC VESTIBULAREM** A FUNDAMENTO AERE SUO ERiGENDO DICANDO CURAVIT MDXII [Alba Iulia, Catholic Cathedral, 1512, mural inscription].

Accidentally the term may refer to the parsonage:

...instauratae ac roboratae sunt **hae aedes** 4 Sept. 1702 [Biertan, Lutheran church, 1702, mural inscription[20]].

In conclusion, the term is used in the first part of the examined period (1522), then after a long hiatus of nearly 200 years it starts occuring again in the 18th century, in most cases in association with determinants: *aedem Deo sacram*, 1719; *Deo Triuni has aedes posuit*, 1787; *aedes sacra Deo Triuni*, 1803.

(7) *TEMPLVM* was first related to pagan temples, later its use being extended to Christian churches (cf. Du Cange, s.v.: *interdum tamen ita dictae Christianorum aedes sacrae*); according to the same source, *Templum Dei* designated 'Deo fideles, coetus Christianorum, Ecclesia', *Templum Domini* being strictly referred to 'Ierosolymis').

In our corpus, ***templum*** is attested 18 times, from the 2nd half of the 16th century (1560, Bistriţa, western portal, see above) till at the middle of the 19th century, most of these occurences being concentrated in the period 1750-1850:

Tempore Michaelis Voivode devastatum est hoc **templum** anno domini 1600 [Merghindeal, Lutheran church, 1600, mural inscription[21]];

HOC **TEMPLUM** RENOVATUM EST PROPRIO AERE CIRCUMSPECTI VIRI JACOBI ZEPHI... [Uriu, Reformed church, 1621, mural inscription];

Templum hoc renouatum est lateribus denuo et integre... [Dârjiu, Unitarian Church, 1640, mural inscription];

[19] The inscription on the chancel-arch is a double chronostichon.

[20] Salzer, *Siebenbürgische Inschriften*, p. 7-8: the inscription written on on the wall of the old parsonage and bishop's residence was noted in 1746 in the church archives; the ommision of the determinant *sacra* is to be noticed.

[21] Klima, *Geschichtliche Daten*, file *Mergeln*, p. 7, noted that the inscription on the southwindow of the chancel, still existent in 1923, was published a year later in the review „Kirchliche Blätter", 1924/217.

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IN HONOREM DEI **TEMPLI** DECOREM BAPTISTERII COM(m)ODITATEM ADORNAT SIC PROPRIIS SUMPTIB(us) R(everendus) D(ominus) MART(inus) SUNI(us)... [Alţâna, Lutheran church, 1725, cover of the baptismal font];

PORTA HAEC **TEMPLI**, POST DEVASTATIONES TARTARICAS LAPIDIBUS OBSTRUCTA, AUXILIANTE DEO FV(N)DITVR, ET REPARATUR... [Hosman, Lutheran church, 1794, western portal];

AN(n)O 1802 DIE 26 OCT(obris) **TEMPLUM** NOSTRUM HOC LOCO CONDITUM, HORRIBILI TERRAE MOTU, PROLAPSUM... [Hălchiu, Lutheran church, 1807, mural inscription];

HOC **TEMPLUM** VETUSTATE CONFECTUM RENOVAVIT... [Reteag, Reformed church, 1812, pulpit];

TEMPLUM HOCCE JAM ANTEA SAEPE PRAESERTIM AUTEM ANNO MDCCCXXXVIII HORRIBILI TERRAE MOTU VALDE QUASATUM ATQUE DIRUTUM... **[**Feldioara, Lutheran church, 1840, mural inscription].

The terms *templum* and *ecclesia* may occur in the same inscription, the first designating 'church building', the second – 'church community':

INSIGNE **ECCLESIAE** REFORMATAE DESIENSIS CUIUS **TEMPLVM** HOC RENOVATVM... [Dej, Reformed church, 1779, coffered ceiling].

It is also equivalent *to aedes sacrae*:

Hocce Organum pneumaticum... **ex Aedibus sacris** Birthalbensium iure emptionis in **Templum Dei** hujatis Loci nostrum translatum et erectum est... [Dupuş, Lutheran church, 1794, organ];

SUBSELLIA IUVENUM NOSTRORUM INDE AB A. 1575. MERIDIEM VERSUS POSITA UBI TEMPORIS LONGINQVITATE CONFECTA ESSENT, NOVA HAECCE, ORGANO SIMUL UNA COLORIBUS, AEDIBUSque TEMPLI RECENS CALCE INDUCTIS, SEPTENTRIONEM VERS(us) EXSTRUCTAST [Moşna, Lutheran church, 1791, gallery].

The equivalent value of the terms *aedes* and *templum* is well illustrated by the succesive inscriptions of the Greek church in Braşov:

Haec Sacra Aedes Trinitatis... cunctis quidem orientalibus ritus Graeci, praecipue vero civibus modernis, ac eorum heredibus dicata, ad perpetuam fundatorum memoriam anno 1787.

1792: **Templum** SS. Trinitatis sacris Coronensium Graeci ritus orientalis dicatum Anno 1787.

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[Braşov, Greek church, 1787, 1792, mural inscription[22]].

(8) The complex term *ECCLESIA* is related both to 'church building' and 'congregation'. The Greek term meaning 'assembly of the people' is easily given a religious significance by the LXX; referring to some old texts of Tertullianus and Cyprianus, Christine Mohrmann concludes[23]: "L'existence de ces textes le rend extrêmement probable qu'il s'agit en latin d'une évolution sémantique autonome et autochtone qui a eu lieu en Occident, en latin, indépendamment de ce qui se passa en grec (...) Quoi qu'il en soit de la chronologie des faits, les textes nous montrent qu'il ne s'agit pas, en latin, d'une transition directe de *ecclesia* 'communauté' à 'édifice', mais que c'est surtout grâce à un usage métaphorique qui remonte à l'écriture sainte et à une tradition très ancienne de l'ecclésiologie que ce déplacement de sens s'est réalisé" (p. 217)

In the oldest dated inscriptions (Luncani, Reformed Church, 1299; Sântămărie Orlea, Reformed church, 1311; Braşov, Lutheran Church, 141..., priest Thomas' tombstone), *ecclesia* designates 'church building':

Anno d(omi)ni m(illesimo) cc xc nono SAVLVS ARCHIDIACO(nus) DE TORDA PETRVS COMES FILII SA(m)SONIS NICOLA(us) FILI(us) E(ius)DEM P(atris) EDIFICAVERV(n)T **ECC(lesi)AM** in honoRE/m/ BEAT/a/E ELIZABETH. [Luncani, Reformed church, 1299, mural inscription].

Ecclesia keeps its theologically founded double meaning 'building' and 'Christian community'. There are two easily developed formulae based on this double meaning of *ecclesia*:

- in the first case, *in honorem Dei et in usum ecclesiae...* or *in usum ecclesiae...* followed by the Latin /latinizated name of the village[24], *ecclesia* means 'congregation';
- in the double formula *in honorem Dei et in decus* ***ecclesiae*** the term *ecclesia* means 'building' and is often replaced by its synonyms : *templum*, *aedes sacra/ sacrae*; the relationship between the two meanings being clarified in this way, the formula becomes largely used:

IN HONOREM DEI ET **AEDIS SUAE S(anctae)** DECUS ERIGITUR HOC OPUS... [Laslău Mic, Lutheran church, 1776, back side of the altar];

IN HONOREM DEI ET AEDIUM HARVM SACRARVM ORNAMENTVM... PROCVRATAE SVNT TABVLAE HAECCE NOVAE [Apold, Lutheran church,

[22] Baiulescu, *Monografia comunei bisericeşti gr. or. române a Sfintei Adormiri din Cetatea Braşovului*, p. 10, 13, 15.

[23] *Les dénominations de l'Église*, p. 217.

[24] See our paper *Place Names in the Latin Inscriptions of Transylvania (15th–19th c.)*, in *Name and Naming* (Acta of the 1st International Colloquium of Onomastics, Baia Mare, 2011, September 19–21), Oliviu Felecan (ed.), Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, 2011, p. 409-422.

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1828, gallery].

Though seldom, the formula *in decus ecclesiae* still remains in use:

In honorem dei et **ecclesie ornamentum** auspicatur hoc organum... [Rupea, Lutheran church, 1727, organ];
ALTARE H<OC IN> HONOREM DEI TRIVNI ET **DECUS ECCLESIAE** ER<IGITUR>... [Hetiur, Lutheran church, 1789, altar[25]].

III. The embellishment of the church building is designated by the Latin terms *decus* and *ornamentum*, with their correspondent verbs *decorare* and *ornare*:

AEDEM DEO SACRAM **ORNAVIT** MOENIBVS REPARANDIS IMPENSAS HAVD CONTEMNENDAS FECIT... **[**Bistriţa**,** Lutheran church, 1719, Schankebanck's epitaph];
Auxiliante Deo nouum sacris Hegensium aedibus subselior(um) horum singulor(um) exstructione accedit ornamentum anno 1776 [Brădeni, Lutheran church, 1776, gallery[26]].

This type of reference belongs to a complex structure of the formular concerning the relationship of the Christian community with God. This formular comprises the following main elements: the expenses of the community, the spiritual efforts (dedication, zeal of the people), the benefit of the community, the divine help for building the church (or its parts), the consecration of the church and finally the divine help invoked again to protect the building (against earthquaqes, invasions, fire etc) and the community. This is a good example of such a complete formular:

ACRESCENTE NUMERUM AUDITORUM CRESCENTEQ(ue) EX BENEDICTIONE DIVINA AERARIO NOSTRO ECCL(esi)ASTICO,
DEO, QVOD DEI EST, DANDUM A NOBIS ERAT. COGITANTIBUS ITAQ(ue) NOBIS DE SPECIMINE QVODAM DEBITAE ERGA DEUM GRATITUDINIS EXHIBENDO,
PLACUIT EXSTRUERE ORGANUM HOCCE SONORI(us) ET SPECIOSI(us)...
UNA CUM ALTARI SPLENDIDIORI ET NITIDIORI...
PROMOVENDAE GLORIAE DIVINAE, ET INCITAMENTO PIAE DEVOTIONIS SACRATA... OPTIME MAXIMEQUE DEUS! ADNUE SACRIFICIO HUIC NOSTRO GEMINO! EXAUDI CONTINUO PRECES NOSTRAS, NOBISq(ue) PROPITIUS ESTO!

[25] Klima, *Geschichtliche Daten*, file *Hetiur*, p 6, for completing missing parts of the text.
[26] Klima, *Geschichtliche Daten*, file *Henndorf*, p. 7.

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PROTEGE IPSEMET SACRA HAEC TUA, ALIS AMORIS ET POTENTIAE TUAE,
EAq(ue) AB OMNI NOXA ET INTERITU TUTA PRAESTA!
LAVS ET HONOS TRIADI SACROSANCTAE ESTO PER AEVVM. [Bărcut, Lutheran church, 1767, altar].

The component parts of such a complex formular are the following:
(a) The terms related to the (individual or communitary) expenses are not specialised for church building, belonging to a series of terms generally used for all types of objects.
The oldest widespread term is *AES:*

(MICH)AELI PATRONO IOANNES LAZOYNUS PRO SUA ET BENE MERENTIUM SALUTE AEDEM HANC VESTIBULAREM A FUNDAMENTO **AERE SUO** ERiGEN(DO) DICAND(O) CURAVIT MDXII [Alba Iulia, Catholic Cathedral, 1512, mural inscription];
Hoc templum renovatum est **proprio aere**... [Uriu, Reformed church, 1612, mural inscription].

IMPENSA and *EXPENSA* are equally used in the same period, *impensa* being focused on the individual effort, while *expensa* seems to be preferred for designating the community expenses:

Erecta est h/a/ec /a/edis sacra ac instituta **impendiis** uenerabilis d(omi)ni baccalaurii Iohan(n)is qui tum parochiani hic fungebatur munere [Biertan, Lutheran church, 1522, mural inscription].

From the end of the 17th century, *SVMPTVS* becomes largely used in association with *proprius* in the formula *propriis sumptibus,* designating the individual expenses:

Aedes haec sacra ab intus renovatur novissime **sum/p/tibus** Pastoris h.l. Johannis Kischii Cibiniens(is)... A. 1693. Alte Zahl A. 1522 [Cincu, Lutheran church, 1522/1693, mural inscription[27]];
FUSA POST DVPLICEM RIMAM... INTRANTE IN **SVMPTVS** LEGATO BIEGLERIANO PER AGNETHAM BIEGLERIN OLIM PASTRICEM LOCI ECCL(esi)AE COL(l)ATO BVRBRIG [Vurpăr, Lutheran church, 1715, bell];
HANC ARAM INVETERATAM **PROPRIIS SVMPTIBUS** COMPARAVIT ET RENOVARI CVRAVIT ET HVIC ECCLESIAE PIAMENTE DICAVIT... [Dupuş, Lutheran church, 1720, altar];

[27] Roth, *Der Thomasaltar in der evang. Kirche zu Gross-Schenk*, p.127-128.

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SUMPTIBUS PROPRIIS FIERI EODEM BAPTIS/TERIUM HOCCE DONARE VOLUIT JOANNES ABRAHAM ECCLESIAM WOLKENSEM... [Vulcan, Lutheran church, 1741, baptismal font];

IN HONOREM DEI TRIUNNIUS INQUe MEMORIAM SUI SUORUMQUE PERPETUAM HOC ALTARE **PROPRIIS SUMPTIBUS** EXTRUERE CURAVIT... [Veseud, Lutheran church, 1742, altar];

CALIX ATQVE PATELLA AEGROTIS ET AGONIZANTIBVS IN VSVM ECCLESIAE EVANGELICORVM TEKE(nsium) **SVMPTIBUS** GEORG/i/ GROH SENIORIS ET FILIORUM GEORGI(i) ET JOHANNIS GROH EXTRUCTA ANNO 1769 [Teaca, Lutheran church, 1769, pathene[28]].

Sumptus is rarely related to the communitary expenses (*sumptu/sumptibus ecclesiae*):

SUMTIBUS EC(c)LESIAE FUNDITUS ERIGITUR [Reghin, Lutheran church, 1803, mural inscription].

We also mention here the eliptical *ex suis* probably for *ex suis sumptibus*:

IN HON(orem) DEI **EX SUIS**. AMBONE(m) HU(n)C ADORNAVERE... [Saschiz, Lutheran church, 1709, pulpit].

The later term *MUNIFICENTIA* designates the pecuniary generosity and it is often related to *diligentia* or *cura et industria* as expressing the spiritual care:

EX MUNIFICENTIA ILL. D. L. B. SIMONIS KEMENY DE M.GY. MON. [Ideciu de Sus, Lutheran church, 1787, pulpit canopy];

HOC RELIGIONIS AC PIETATIS SIGNO DECORAVIT FANUM PRIVATA MUNIFICENTIA PUBLICA DILIGENTIA PAST(ORIS)... [Dupuş, Lutheran church, 1791, pulpit canopy];

INAURATUM EX MUNIFICENTIA... [Cincşor, Lutheran church, 1833, organ];

...multum iuuante munificentia uiduae... [Sighişoara, Lutheran church, 1837, bell[29]].

There are a few terms rarely used in our inscriptions:

ELEEMOSYNA, a term of Greek origin, emphasizes the idea of Christian generosity:

PAROCHIA IONE NOCTURNO MALITIOSE A(nn)o 1718 DIE 26 S(eptem)BR(is) SUPPOSITO INCINERATA EXTRUEBATUR PARTIM

[28] Roth, *Goldschmiedearbeiten*, p. 243, nr. 658.
[29] Müller, *Die Schässburger Bergkirche*, p. 336.

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ELEEMOSYNIS CIV(ium) CIB(iniensium) PARTIM AERE ECCLESIAE... [Tălmaciu, Lutheran church, 1719, parsonage wall].

OBOLVS, originally name of a coin, also designates the gift to a church:

...largis benefactorum obolis fulta rursus exornata... [Sibiu, Catholic church, 1904, chancel arch].

PROVENTVS, a term designating 'church gains', occurs in two inscriptions of the same church:

EX PROVEN(tibus) EcCL(esi)AE FORNICATUM [Turnişor, Lutheran church, 1759, chancel arch];
Ex proventibus hujus ecclesiae in gloriam Dei erectum [Turnişor, Lutheran church, 1759, altar[30]].

A detailed explanation about the donation made by Michael Teleki de Szék for the restoration of the church in Târgu Mureş could once be read on two plates of the coffered ceiling:

Eclesiar(um) Reformatar(um) Transyl. nutricius Zelosissimus, notanter congregationis hujus particularis Marus Vasarhellyiensis benignus Fautor decimas frumenti possessionis suae Gernyeszeg in restaurationem Templi hujus contulit. // quarum annona collecta et in certam pecuniae summam redacta hoc coloratum Domus Dei lagveare procuratum est. [Târgu Mureş, Reformed church, 1693, coffered ceiling[31]].

The expenses may be also communitary:

DOMVS HAEC DEI ANNIS CIRCITER C·XLVI COMPLETE FUNDATA EXISTENS DEMUM RESTAURATUR ET **COMMVNITATIS IMPENSIS** ALBEDIME DONATUR /MENSE IVNII ANNO M.DC.XLlI [Şura Mare, Lutheran church, 1643, mural inscription];
In nominis divini gloriam et honorem **ex publicis impensis** structuram huius operis fieri fecit... Communitas Zinaverensis existente parocho Michaele Heneng Anno 1641 [Senereuş, Lutheran church, 1641, mural inscription[32]];
COMMVNIBVS EXPENSIS RENOVARE CVRAT COM(m)VNITAS OPPIDI LESCHKIRCH... [Nocrich, Lutheran church, 1765, bell].

[30] Müller, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des romanischen Stils in Siebenbürgen*, p. 41.
[31] Orbán, *A Székelyföld léirása*, vol. IV, p. 123-124.
[32] Marienburg, *Gedenkbuch des Bogeschdorfer Capitels*, p. 48.

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The same structure of the formular may be found in a note about the restoration of the church after a devastating earthquake:

...tandem non multo post temporis intervallo anno domini immediate subsequente M. D. XXIIII vigesimo quarto Augusti plurimorum devotorum utriusque sexus hominum maximis impensis ad pristinam deo favente immortali restaurationem iterum venit [Sebeş, Lutheran church, 1524[33]].

There are some inscriptions which mention the effort, both of donators and community:

RENOVATU(m) ac FORTIFICATuM HOC TEMPLUM **AELE(e)MOSY(nis) partim**, **part(im) AERARIO EC/c/LESIae**[34] [Dupuş, Lutheran church, 1743, mural inscription];
IN HONOREM DEI ET AEDIUM HARVM SACRARVM ORNAMENTVM, E FVNDO ECCL(esi)AE ACCEDENTE MVNIFICENTIA... CURA DENIQ(ue) ET INDUSTRIA... PROCVRATAE SVNT TABVLAE HAECCE NOVAE [Apold, Lutheran church, 1828, gallery].

(b) Other successive component of this complex formular includes the idea 'to the benefit of the community'. *Ecclesia*, already mentioned in this context (*in usum ecclesiae*), is often replaced by synonyms designating 'the Christian community', in order to exclude any ambiguity in use of the terms:
- *COMMVNITAS* frequently used since its attestation at the middle of the 16th century (Senereuş 1641, Şura Mare 1643, Viscri 1649, Rodbav 1753, Nocrich 1765 etc.)

O quam beata respublica, quam felix **communitas**, quae tempore pacis considerat bella. Pastore existente Michaele Sixto. Anno DDDLIII...[Senereuş, Lutheran church, 1553, mural inscription[35]];

- *COETVS:*

Ad Dei augmendum **in coetu nostro Christiano** Honorem exstructum hoc Opus per Sculptorem Michaelem Wolff Schaessburgensem... [Bălcaciu, Lutheran church, 1723, altar[36]];

[33] Baumann, *Zur Geschichte von Mühlbach 1526-1571*, Mühlbacher Gymnasialprogramm 1889, p. 26, apud Victor Roth, *Das Mühlbacher Altarwerk*, p. 76-77.
[34] The mentioned inscription dated 1719 from the parsonage of Tălmaciu has the same structure: PARTIM ELEEMOSYNIS CIV(ium) CIB(iensium) PARTIM AERE ECCLESIAE...
[35] Marienburg, *Gedenkbuch des Bogeschdorfer Capitels*, p. 48.
[36] Klima, *Geschichtliche Daten*, file *Henndorf*, p. 8.

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- *PAGVS:*

Turris haec sacra ex propriis expensis **pagi** funditus extructa est 1804 [Cund, Lutheran church, 1804, mural inscription];

- *INCOLAE* and *INCOLAE PAGI*, followed by the (Latinized) name of the village:

IN GLORIAM DEI TR(ini) IN UNI PAT(ris) FILII SPIRITUS SANCTI **INCOL/a/E LEC(hnitzenses)** CAMP(anam) HANC PROPRIIS SUMTI(bus) FIERI CURA(verunt) [Lechinţa, Lutheran church, 1793, bell];

...hoc est exstructum conferentibus singulis **incolis** pio zelo symbola magistris honoratissimis Johanne Hann organopeo lib. Stephano Adolph Valepagii pictore Mediensi anno 1773 [Slimnic, Lutheran church, 1773, organ[37]];

AD HONOREM DEI PROPRIIS EX SUMTIS **INCOLAE PAGI DOMALDINI** CONFES. CHRISTIANI HANC CAMPANAM EREXERUNT... [Domald, Lutheran church, 1800, bell].

To this series are to be added two old Christian terms:

- *GREX*, belonging to Biblical metaphoric language[38]:

...ACCRESCENTE TANDEM GREGE REGNANTE JOSEPHO II. SACRORUM AC SECULARIUM REFORMATORE SINGULARI AUSPICATISSIMO AMPLIOREM HA(n)C & NOVAM FORMAM INDUIT... [Gârbova, Lutheran church, 1784, mural inscription];

- *PLEBS* designating 'people (of a village)'

O Maria tuere plebem Busdanam! [Busd, Lutheran church, 1510, bell].

(c) The divine help is invoked for church building, as for any human achievement, *auxiliante Deo* being a formula attested at the end of the 15th century and largely used from the 2nd half of the 18th century:

Annorum domi(ni) numer(us) dum fluxerit iste / hoc opus expletum est **auxiliante deo**... [Sighişoara, Lutheran church, 1488, mural inscription];

Auxiliante Deo Propriis Sumptibus extrui curauit Franciscus junior Földuari de Tancs Viribus et consilio... [Viile Tecii, Lutheran church, 1753, parsonage wall];

[37] The inscription is noted in the church inventory (Archive of the Consistorium of the Lutheran Church in Sibiu).

[38] The term occurs usually in verse epitaphs. e.g.: *pastor in hac Chri(sti) qui fuit urbe gregis* [Mediaş, Lutheran church, 1585, Schaeseus]; *episcopus aulae, Christi et teutonici duxque decusque gregis* [Biertan, Lutheran church, 1600, Unglerus].

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Auxiliante Deo nouum sacris Hegensium aedibus subselior(um) horum singulor(um) exstructione accedit ornamentum anno 1776 [Brădeni, Lutheran church, 1776, gallery[39]];

AVXILIO DEI, FAVORE PRINCIPIS, OPERA CIVITATIS, FVNDITVS STRVITVR AEDES. [Nocrich, Lutheran church, 1806, mural inscription].

It is also by the divine that the church may be protected of any danger (fire, earthquakes, invasions), these two aspects being closely related to the *Psalm* 126.1: *Nisi Dominus aedificauerit domum in uanum laborauerunt qui aedificant eam / nisi Dominus custodierit ciuitatem frustra uigilat qui custodit eam.*

Arx fortissima nomen Domini. Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos [Mercheaşa, Lutheran church, 1623, mural inscription[40]];

Hocce templum per man(us) noxius inmanium Tartarorum Anno 1661 in cineres reductum, beneficio et pio erga Deum zelo incolar(um) Jenlakiens(ium) et Martonosien(sium) in honorem uni(us) veri Dei lacunare tectum arte pictoria insignit A. 1668. Georgius Muznai, pastore existente Johanne Árkosi. [Inlăceni, Unitarian church, 1668, coffered ceiling[41]];

Anno 1748 flammis correptum deo adjuvante restituitur... [Şaeş, Lutheran church, 1748, mural inscription[42]];

PORTA HAEC TEMPLI, POST DEVASTATIONES tartaricas lapidibus obstructa, AUXILIANTE DEO FV(n)DITVR ET REPARATUR anno 1794 mensibus Aprili, Majo, Iunio. [Hosman, Lutheran church, 1794, portal];

DEO AVXILIANTE AEDES HAE SACRAE TERRAE MOTV RUINOSAE FACTAE SUNT RENOVATAE... [Cloaşterf, Lutheran church, 1803, chancel arch].

Most inscriptions dating from the last hundred years of the examined period make a special mention of the pietas and zeal of the people:

DEO ELISABETHAEQVE PROTECTRICI SVAE, ARMENA PIETAS EXSTRVXIT. [Dumbrăveni, Armenian church, 1790, mural inscription].

As the church building (*templum*, *aedes*, *ecclesia*) and the progress of the community (*ecclesia*) is secured by divine protection, each Christian belonging to a certain church is integrated in the community (*Ecclesia*) and thus in the divine order of the world:

[39] Klima, *Geschichtliche Daten,* file *Henndorf*, p. 8.

[40] Müller, *Zur Geschichte des Repser Stuhles*, p. 423.

[41] Orbán, *A Székelyföld léirása,* Pest, vol. I, p. 124, note 4; the inscription refers to the destruction of the vault in 1661.

[42] R. Schullerus, Pfarrerbuch Typposkript, 1960/33, apud Klima, *Geschichtliche Daten,* file *Schaas*, p. 5.

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Non habemus hic manentem ciuitatem sed futura inquirimus[43].

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[43] The inscription on the bell of Gheorgheni, dated 1548, was noted by Orbán Balázs in his monumental work *A Székelyföld léirása,* vol. II, p. 105.

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