ECCLESIASTICAL TERMS IN RUMANIAN
AND THEIR SEMANTIC IMPLICATIONS

A) INTRODUCTION

It is the title of one of the famous books written by the Rev. Padre Restrepo, called *El alma de las palabras,* which has impelled me to write something about his preferred topic. I try to use for this purpose material not so well known to Romance scholars mostly concerned with the Western Romania. It happens that in the United States of North America there exists a tiny sector of the Universal Church which belongs to the Byzantine Rite and uses Rumanian as its liturgical language. The faithful have at their disposal a missal and a prayerbook, called *Manual de rugaciuni și slujbe pentru folosul Românilor Americani Catolici de Rit Bizantin* (Cleveland, 1946). It is this rather "unknown" book which I perused with the eyes of a semanticist and an onomatologist to put some linguistic order into the ecclesiastical terms of Rumanian as an expression of an onomatologically striking behavior in front of Latin, Slavic and Greek wordmaterial and inner language forms.

I approach my topic with some hesitation for the following reasons. First of all, I do not have at my disposal all of the important wordstudies done in the Rumanian field by such scholars as V. Bogrea, O. Densusianu, I. Iordan, St. Pașca, S. Pop, S. Pușcariu, Al. Rosetti, L. Saineanu, I. Șindbei, P. Skok and C. Tagliavini. Secondly, the requirements for ecclesiastical wordstudies imply much historical, geographical, theological and liturgical knowledge as springs from the competent studies in this field by Jakob Jud, Hanns Rheinfelder and Hugo Glättli. Their Western findings, however, cannot be applied simply and indiscriminately to the Eastern area. Thirdly, every Romance scholar familiar with the West only will experience the truth

of the warning of K. Sandfeld, that Rumanian wordstudies belong less to Romance than to *Balkanphilologie* and that there will arise questions with which he cannot cope.

All these limitations admitted, there may come some light from the presentation of the material under the following considerations, each of which involves a real linguistic problem: 1. Reflexes of Early Latin Christianization, 2. relatinization of Byzantine patterns by Rumanian-Neo-Latin wordmaterial, 3. the problem of Latin and Slavic abstracts for rendering liturgical and general theological concepts, 4. the particularly Greek words and thought patterns [1].

B)   THE PROBLEMS

1.   Reflexes of Early Latin Christianization

Original Latin terms and their derivatives in Rumanian, as is rather well known, leave no doubt about a Roman ecclesiastical substratum prior to the Byzantine superstratum. The "Church" is called *biserica,* i. e. *basilica* and not *ecclesia.* The word *biserica* reflects probably the situation of the Rheto-romance sector where *baselgia* is the word for church, as in not strictly organized Christian communities in the diaspora. There, and only there the word was kept beyond the fourth century [2]. *Basilica* in these territories never means chapel or commemorative monuments as it does in the unified territories

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[1] Current Abbreviations:

Gr. = Greek, OF = Old French, OE = Old English.

REW = Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch by W. MEYER-LÜBKE.

Sl. = Slavic i. e. Ancient Church Slavonic or liturgically used Old Bulgarian.

For some explanations as to the Slavic roots I am obliged to Mrs. Tatjana Fotitch, Instructor at the Catholic University of America. In general, I was bound to rely on the rather outmoded but unfortunately not superseded work of A. DE CIHAC, *Dictionnaire d'Etymologie Daco-Romane. Eléments slaves, magyars, turcs, grecs-moderne et albanais,* Francfort: St. Goar 1879. For some liturgical clarifications I am very much obliged to Dom Anselm Strittmatter O. S. B.

[2] HUGO GLÄTTLI, *Probleme der kirchlichen Toponomastik der Westschweiz und Ostfrankreichs,* Paris, Droz, 1937, in *Romania Helvetica,* vol. 5, p. 95 ff.: basilica = "aedes sacra" etc.

where the term for church has been *ecclesia*[3] since the fourth century. The Rumanian word is less used for the gathering of the faithful which is given by *adunarea,* but it is used for the building and for all metaphorical cases for which the Western Church would say *templum*: *Maria, Biscerica lui Dumnezeu* (templum Dei), *Biserică sfinţita* (templum sacratum).

The word for "God" is exclusively *Dumnezeu* (Domine Deus), not occasionally only as in Old French (Damledeu), Italian etc.[4]. Therefore *Mielul lui Dumnezeu* (Agnus, resp. agnellus Dei). *Dumnezeu* later assumes even the usual meaning of *caelum* according to the Albanian usage where *Perudi* means 1. God, 2. Heaven[5]. As a consequence of this additional meaning the adjective corresponding to *coelestis* is *dumnezeeşte.* The word is used in many shades. Sometimes the original meaning of "in relation with the *Kyrios* (dominus)" is transparent, so when the parents of Mary are called *Dumnezeeştii Parinţi Joachim şi Ana.* Later, the Spanish mystical term *endiosado* has a correspondence in *indumnezeit,* also a past participle from a parasynthetic verb derived from *Deus. Dumnezeu,* finally, means also "a god" to such a degree that the Latin *sicut Deus* is rendered by *ca un Dumnezeu.*

Other Old Latin standard words are *creştin* (christianus), *înger* (angelus), *preot* (Presbyter = sacerdos), *a cumineca* (communicare) and *a boteza* (baptizare). From this verb is derived (instead of copying Greek: baptisma) *botezul,* sometimes circumscribed by *baia naşterii celei de a doua* (balneum = lavacrum secundae nativitatis). Also "Johannes Baptista" is rendered in genuine Rumanian as *Ioan Botezatorul* (baptizator). The older word for *Eucharistia* was *cuminecare,* still the normal verb today, providing later for the Rumanian substitute for the *Sanctissimum*: *Cuminecatura.*

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[3] See Ecclesia-Basilica in JACOB JUD, 1. "Zur Geschichte der bündner-romanischen Kirchensprache", in *Jahresbericht der historisch-antiquarischen Gesellschaft von Graubünden,* Coire, 1919; 2. "Sur l'histoire de la terminologie ecclésiastique de la France et de l'Italie", in *Revue de linguistique romane* X (1934), 1-62; HANS RHEINFELDER, *Kultsprache und Profansprache in den romanischen Ländern,* Geneva, Olschki, 1933, pp. 75-80; FRANCESCO ARNALDI, "Latinitatis Italicae Medii Aevi ab anno 476 ad annum 1022 Lexicon imperfectum", *Bulletin Ducange,* X (1936).

[4] H. RHEINFELDER, *op. cit.,* p. 120.

[5] KR. SANDFELD, *Linguistique Balcanique,* Paris, 1930, p. 70.

The *dies dominica* actually appears as *duminica,* never touched by Byzantine concepts like "no-work" day (Sl. nedjelja) or "resurrection" (Russ. voskresenje), the "week" as *saptamâna,* not as *hebdomas,* the Greek term used by the Latin Church so that *hebdomas* appears in Rhetoromance as *emda.* The Old Roman-Pagan names for the "weekdays" prevail and are not changed according to *feriae* as in Portugal, or with a slight difference in Greece and Slavic countries of the Byzantine rite. Also the names for the "days of the Holy Week" are simply combined with *mare* according to μέγας to such a degree that not only Μεγάλη πέμπτη appears as *Joia mare,* but also *Parasceve* appears as *Vinerea mare,* [not as παρασκευή or *cena pura* like in Sardinia (chenábura)[6]], patterned on Sl. *veliķi petaķ* (Great Friday). The other older Latin designations for "feast and fast days" of the calendar are *Paresimi* (Quadragesima), later superseded by Slavic *Postul mare* (Jejunium magnum), whereas *Ajunul* (jejunium) remained for the vigil fasts (Span. ayunar un Santo), *Paști* (Paschae), *Nașterea* (Nascere = Nativitas), in popular use replaced by *Craciunul* (calationem = praesepe). The beginning of "Lent" is as originally rendered by Latin material as in other Romance countries: *Cislegi* (Caseum liges) or *Carneleaga* (Carnem liga vs. Span. carnestolendas, It. carnevale, i. e. carnem tollere and levare respectively). It may be influenced, however, by the Albanese *lithmeja* (lith = to bind)[7]. "Epiphany" is also rendered by Latin material but younger: *Aratarea* i. e. manifestation, perhaps from the beginning of the old Collect Prayer of the day: *Aratatu-te-ai astăzi lumii.* The word seems connected with *arrectus,* "erected", Span. *arrechar* (*REW* 671, probably from an original meaning "to manifest interest", *auribus arrectis,* an ellipsis comparable to French *entendre* "to listen", from *mentem intendere*). The unusual word may reflect a

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[6] M. L. WAGNER, "Sardisch Kenabura Freitag", ZRP, XL (1920), 619. HANS PETER BRUPPACHER, *Die Namen der Wochentage im Italienischen und Rätoromanischen,* Bern, Francke, 1948, p. 166: The orthodox Church in Rumania has, however, a feast on October 14 which is called *cuvioasa paraschiva,* also called simply *paraschiva,* a form which leaves no doubt about its continuation of the latinized parasceve. This seems to be therefore the oldest Rumanian word once used for Good Friday.

[7] M. TREIMER, "Albanesisch und Rumänisch", ZRP, 38 (1918), 385-411.

crossing with *apparitio,* normal word for *epiphania* in St.
Jerome[8].

The word for "grave" is not *sepulchrum* but *monumentum*
(mormînt). It is as normal a word in the New Testament as
the other and appears also in Logodurese *murimentu,* "a heap
of stones on the place where somebody was killed". In Rumania
it might have got the upper hand under the pressure of Greek
μνῆμα, synonym of τάφος. Due to *mormînt,* also *depositio* and
sepultura were replaced by the denominal verb, resubstantivized
in its infinite form: *înmormântarea.*

Anima (inimă) assumed the full meaning of *cor.* One refers
to *contrition* (contritio cordis) with strong visualizations
hinting at the *buerile și maruntaile inimei* (budellae et minu-
talia cordis). One says even *mă doare inima* "I have stomach
ache". This seems not the French euphemism: *J'ai mal au coeur,*
because also in Sardinian *anima* means heart and stomach[9].
How close things spiritual and corporal go together in a peasant
people, may be seen from the prayer: *Stapâne, sfintește-mi
trupul și sufletul, mintea și inima, maruntaile și pântecele*
(Domine, sanctifica mihi corpus et animam, mentem et cor, in-
tranea et ventrem). *Anima* itself was replaced by *suflet,* a de-
verbal formation from *a sufla* (suflare = spirare), correspond-
ing consequently rather to πνεῦμα than to ψυχή. *Suflet* and
inimă remain closely together in ecclesiastical language like
espíritu and *alma* in the language of Santa Teresa:

> Cautǎ spre mine și-mi curatește sufletul și inima =
> Ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ'εμὲ καὶ καθάρισον μου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ
> τὴν καρδίαν.

As *inspirare* appears in Rumanian in the exact synonym form
a insufla, and *inspiratio* means in Late Latin "the detached
soul" (besides *spiraculum* = πνεῦμα)[10], *suflet,* corresponding
to Span. *soplido,* "breath", truly represents *the* synonym of
inspiratio, as e.g. *ruscinarea* (from rosinus) = *verecundia*

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8 HENRI GOELZER, *Etude lexicographique et grammaticale de la Latinité de Saint
Jérôme,* Paris, Hachette, 1884: "Changements de signification", p. 227-278.

9 M. L. WAGNER, *Studien über den sardischen Wortschatz,* Geneva, Olschki, 1931.

10 H. RÖNSCH, *Semasiologische Beiträge zum Lateinischen Wörterbuch,* Leipzig,
1887.

represents *the* synonym of *rubor* and *suffusio* which are both explained as *verecundia* in the glosses of Reichenau and represent the same concept of blushing[11].

Not *verbum* but *conventum* (cuvînt, the "given" word), comparable to English "covenant", was used to designate the "word", consequently also the "Divine Logos" *Cuvantul*. Not *fides* but *credentia* (credinţa) designated the "faith". There-fore *fidelis* appears as *credincios,* but with all the emotional implications of πίστις: *credincios către stăpânul* (fidelis domi-no). *Infidelis* is rendered by *necredinicios* (versus OF re-creant), corresponding to the *incredulus* of the Vulgate, to the *incredi-bilis* (sic!) of the Itala rendering ἄπιστος in Mat. 17, 17: O generatio incredibilis et perversa![12].

The oldest word for "sin" is *peccatum* (păcat) covering the Greek ὀφείλημα and the Latin *debitum*: Şi ne iartă nouă păcatele noastre (et dimitte nobis debita nostra). For shading purposes one introduces later on synonyms like *fărădelegele* (trespassing = foras de lege), *datină rea* (from dedo + reus) = *malus habitus, spurcaciunea* (from spurcare) = *macula, scaderea* (ex + cadere) = *negligentia,* and from Slavic roots: *sminteala = defectum, greşeala = peccatum veniale* and *vina = peccatum mortale, culpa* (din vină noastra = nostra culpa).

The oldest word for *orare* actually was *a ura*; but used par-ticularly for the prayer of petition it assumed the main meaning *optare.* It was replaced by *a ruga* (rogare), corresponding to Greek δεηθῆναι with substantive *rugaciunea* for δέησις. But the elaborate Byzantine Liturgy with all forms of prayers and prayer attitudes elicited new words or at least semantic changes in the Latin wordmaterial. Προσκύνησις was rendered by *inchinarea* or *inchinaciunea* (inclinare), corresponding to *ado-ratio,* προσπίπτειν was rendered by *a cadea* (cadere) = "ve-nerari cernui". Ἱκεσία was rendered by *cererea* (quaerere) and corresponds to *supplicatio.* For *imploratio* (παρακαλεῖν) finally was used *a cuceri* (conquirere) and *cucerie* meaning *humiliatio*

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[11] *Ibid.*

[12] H. Rönsch, *Itala und Vulgata,* Marburg, 1875, "Besonderheiten der Bedeutung", pp. 305-405.

and revealing a very Christian semasiological evolution: "to stoop — to conquer".

The old word for *sacerdos* is *preot* (presbyterus) with *preoţia* (sacerdotium), that for *altare* is *masa* (mensa), quite different in concept from θυσιαστήριον (θυσία = sacrificium), but none the less depending on the Greek occasional use of τράπεζα for altar.

Virgo appears in its deminutive form *Vergura,* but is used more for this category of saints than for Mary, whose virginal title is *fecioara* (quasi: *fetiola* from foetus, simply "little girl" but set apart in ecclesiastical usage as was also the case with OE *maiden*). The Rhetoromance (Sursilvan) parallel is *la purschala = pulicella* exclusively used for Mary. *Virginitas* is *fecioria,* comparable to Eng. *maidenhead*[13], and Sursilvan *purschaladi.* The fondling of the Divine Child by the Virgin was rendered neither by *a saruta* (double form of *salutare,* reserved for the formal and ritual kiss) nor by *a desmierda* (famous motherly term from dis-merd-are) but by *a îmblînzi* (blandiri); thus this verb assumed the meaning of "to reconcile": Pre Hristos, imblînzeaste- l, fecioara [14]. *A saruta,* probably developed by "extension" from greeting to kissing like Span. *saludar en la boca, Cid* 2040 and *dar la paz en el rostro;* it seems influenced by Bulgarian *celúvam* which has both meanings[15].

II.   *The Relatinization of Byzantine Patterns*

Rumanian, strange to say, is less Greek minded than the Latin West. All the slightly latinized Greek titles of apostles, Church fathers and saints as used in the Latin West are strongly latinized and circumscribed with Rumanian-Latin wordmaterial according to the habit of the Church-Slavonic which circumscribed them (not all of them, however), with Slavic words: *Johannes Chrysostomus = Ioan Gura-de-aur* (Johannes gula de auro as in Sl. Zlato-ousta); *Johannes Climacus = Ioan*

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[13] HILDING BÄCK, *The synonyms for "Child", "Boy", "Girl" in Old English.* Dissertation Lund, 1934, pp. 199 ff.

[14] Sextil Puşcariu, *Etudes de linguistique roumaine,* Cluj-Bucureşti. 1937, p. 372.

[15] KR. SANDFELD, *op. cit.,* p. 87.

cel ce a scris scara (J., ille qui habet scriptum scalam); *Theopho-rus = Purtator de Dumnezeu* (Portator de Domino Deo). This tendency concerns also liturgical words: *Holocaustum = arderea de tot* (ardere de toto), *Abyssus = Pântecele iadului* (pantex Hadi), *thronus = scaunul* (scamnum), *diabolus = dracul* (draco), *orthodoxus = dreptcredincios* (directum cre-dentiosus), *catechumenus = chemat* (clamatus), *trishagion = Intreit-sfânt* (ter sanctum, from Slavic svet), *parousia = A doua și iaraș venire* (secundum et iterum venire).

It is surprising how, by this procedure, the most usual Latin terms appear retranslated and reinterpreted by other Neo-Latin wordmaterial:

creator = facatorul (factor = ποιήτης)

redemptor = rascumparatorul (re-ex-comparator)

mediator = mijlocitorul (medium + locum + itorem)

praecursor (πρόδρομος) = Înaintemergatorul (In + antea + mergere + ator)

discipulus = învățăcel (învățat = invitiatus, learned i.e. accustomed to erudite (= "bad" in popular concept) habits + suffix illus)

genitrix = născătoare (nascere > a naște = gignere, not nasci)

immaculata = nespurcata (non spurcata)

intacta = netăiata (non taliata)

inviolata = nelucrata (non + lucrata = unlabored, untilled in a typical peasant language where lucrari developed the hysteron proteron-semantics: to gain > to till the fields > to labor > to work)

matrimonium = casatoria (from casa like Span. casarse)

sponsa = nenunțita (non nupta)

mandatum = spălarea cinii (ex-per-lavare coenae)

Judas traditor = Iudas vânzătorul (venditor)

praesentatio BMV = intrarea în biserica (intrare in basi-licam)

dominationes = puterile, (mostly in singular) puterea (po-tere = posse)

angeli = cei fărădetrup (illi foras de trunculo = de corpore)

coelestis exercitus = adunarea îngerească (adunare angelicum)

terra viventium = pământul celor vii (pavimentum illorum vivorum).

As far as ecclesiastical adjectives are concerned they were rendered in other Romance languages also by newer Romance versus Older Latin wordmaterial e. g. OF *mariable = nubilis; escomengeable = execrabilis; redoutable = terribilis*[16]. But these relatinizations appear less drastic than the Rumanian ones:

altissimus = preaînalt (prae-in-altus)

proximus = deaproapele (de + ad + prope + ille)

devotus = cuvios (cuvine = convenit = ἔοικε + osus)

impius = rau credincios (reum credentiosus)

spiritualis = netrupește (non + truncus + suffix)

aeternus = pururea fiind (per omnes horas fiens = ἀεὶ ὤν), or fără de început (foras de incepto), or ne-încăput (non inceptus)

invisibilis = nevăzut (non vedutus = ἀορατός)

immortalis = fărădemoarte (foras de morte = ἀθάνατος)

incarnatus = intrupat (in + truncum + atus. The Macedo-Rumanian form *trup* instead of the Daco-Rumanian variant *trunchiu* points drastically to its old liturgical use south of the Danube)

omnipotens = atottţinatorul (totum tenator = πάντοκράτωρ)

immensus = nemarginit (non + marginem + itus)

vivificans = facator de viață (factor vitae, ζωοποιός, Sl. zivotvorjac)

insanguineus = fără de sânge (foras de sanguine)

benedictus = bîne cuvântat (bene + conventum + atus)

benedicere = a binecuvînta (bene conventare)

convertere = a întoarce (in-torquere)

gratias agere = a aduce mulțamiri (ducere: "ad multos annos" *REW*, 487: 1. gratulari, 2. exprimere "gratias", a semantic "reciprocal" development like French *merci* (mercedem) 1. grace, gift, 2. thanks (for received, grace, gift).

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[16] EVA THORNÉ HAMMAR, *Le Développement de sens du suffixe latin bilis en français* (Etudes Romanes de Lund, IV, 1942), pp. 103-110.

III. The Problem of the Theological Abstracts

Sextil Pușcariu has underscored that the fundamental linguistic difference between the Romance West and Rumania consists in the fact that Rumania has Slavic words in all cases where Western Romania and Italy have learned Latin words which make up a considerable percentage of the vocabulary as a whole. This situation concerns also the theological abstracts. These, however, go three different ways. Either 1. a Slavic term has entered the Rumanian language out of the same necessity as a learned term invaded Western Romance, or 2. a theological concept was simply couched in a Latin circumlocution as it was the case also in Old French before the thirteenth century, epoch when the learned scholastic terms were adopted, or 3. there are none the less some Rumanian-Latin abstracts due particularly to the Rumanian facility of forming substantives by the substantivation of infinitives of any verbs expressing action or behavior. The ratio not being the same in all ecclesiastical branches, we try to distinguish liturgical, moral and dogmatic terms:

Some half-abstracts with liturgical implications simply follow the "retranslation" method treated in chapter II:

translatio (reliquiarum) = mutarea (mutare)
intercessio = mijlociria (medius locus + ire)
misericordia = îndurarea (indurare = tolerare)
incarnatio = întruparea (in-trunculare)
dimissio ($\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{o}\lambda\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$) = deslegarea (dis-legare)
festum = serbatoare (servatora dies, from observare diem)
festum maius = serbatoare împărătește (imperialis)
vigil = înainteserbarea (in-ante-servare)
beatitudines = fericirile (from felicem)
ascensio = inalțarea (inaltiare)
assumptio, dormitio = adormirea (ad+dormire, $\kappa o\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma$)
refugium (peccatorum) = scăparea (ex + cappa + are).

Besides these substantivized infinitives there are also some "normal" Latin abstracts, but from stems unusual in the West: *corruptio = putrejune* (putretudinem), or *stricăciunea* (from

extricare, unwrap and thus expose to putrefaction); *protectio* = *acoperemântul* (ad-cooperimentum); *graduale* = *treapta* (from trajecta (via) with the probable semantic evolution of 1. pons, 2. limen, 3. gradus, 4. canticum ad gradum).

There are furthermore outspoken circumlocutions:

circumcisio = tăierea împrejur (taliare in per gyrum)

transfiguratio = schimbării la fața a Domnului (ex-cambiare in facie Domini)

satisfactio = facerea destul pentru păcatele (facere de satullo pro peccatis)

But the lion's share belongs to the Slavic terms:

ordo = rîndul (Slavic: redu), wherefrom also: rânduiala: secundum *ordinem* Melchisedec = după rânduiala lui Melchisedec

providentia = rînduiul

lectio = cetirea (a citi = legere from Sl. cisti)

commemoratio = pomenirea (from a pomeni, Sl. pomjani = to remember, particularly to mention the dead in prayer); the Rum. substantive pomană means 1. meal in the house of the dead, 2. alms in his honor, 3. charity [17].

annuntiatio = bunăvestirea (a vesti = nuntiare from Sl. vesti = nuntius)

crucifixio = răstignirea

resurrectio = invierea

celebratio = prăznuirea

incensatio = cadirea (thuribulus = cadelaița)

glorificatio = preamarirea

benedictio (aquae) = sfintirea (apei)

sacrificium = jertfa (Sl. zrutva; a ierta to sacrifice enters the non liturgical language with the meaning 1. to liberate, 2. to permit, 3. to pardon, thus iartă = pardon me! [18])

sacrificium missae = jertfa cea de taina (sacrificium mysticum)

sacramentum = taina (Sl. tajno = secreto), the Rum. word

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17 See S. Puşcariu, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

18 S. Puscariu, *op. cit.*

being much closer to μυστήριον than the Latin technical term with its "elasticité de sens" [19].

more mystico = cu taină ($=$ μυστικῶς)

septem sacramenta = cele sapte taine

confirmatio = mirul (Sl. miro = unguentum $<$ Gr. μύρον; μύρωμα unction) but because Sl. miro means also "world", the semantic Rumanian reflection of this fact appears in the word for laicus: *mirean* and the word for sacerdos saecularis: *preot de mir*

extrema unctio = maslul (Sl. mastiti = ungere)

rituale = tipic (Sl. tipiku = regula $<$ Gr. τυπικόν)

tonus = glas (Sl. glasu = vox)

chorus = strana (Sl. strana = 1. regio, 2. populus)

matutinae = utrenie (Sl. utrinja officium matutinum)

vesperae = vecernia (Sl. vecerinja = officium vespertinum)

adventus = postul craciunului ($=$ Jejunium nativitatis, Sl.)

sancti innocentes = Sfinții prunci (Sl. sancti Infantes)

pentecostes = rusalii (Sl. rusalika, pagan feast of fresh roses)

palmarum = (Duminica) stălpărilor (stălpare = ramus $<$ Sl. stlupu = columna)

nostra domina = stăpâna noastră

martyr = mucenic (Sl. maceniku: maka = tormentum)

confessor = mărturisitorul (Sl. marturisati = testari $<$ Gr. Aor. ἐμαρτύρησα)

propheta = prorocul (Sl. proroku)

sponsus BMV (St. Joseph) = logodnicul (Sl. logoditi $=$ convenire)

desponsata = mireasa

sponsor = naș (formation from fem. nașa $<$ Sl. nanaska, godmother = dear little mother)

saeculum (αἰών) = veciu (Sl. vic)

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[19] EMILE DE BACKER, *Sacramentum. Le mot et l'idée représentée par lui dans les oeuvres de Tertullien (Recueil des travaux de l'Université,* No. 30, Louvain, 1911), p. 5.

reliquiae = moaşte (Sl. moşti, 1. vires, 2. vires corporis sancti, 3. cadaver)

paraclitus = mângăitorul (a mângăia = consolari from Sl. mazi = vir, the verb thus having the original meaning: virum facere aliquem)

missa praesanctificatorum = liturghia înaintesfinţitelor

protomartyr = întaîu mucenic.

In moral theology and ascetical terminology appear some "relatinizations", too:

vanitas = deşertaciune (desert(at)io)

delectatio (morosa) = desfatarea (dis + fatum + are, to take off the spell, to enjoy tabooed things)

mortificatio = înfrânarea (infrenare)

devotio = reculegerea (se recolligere)

moderatio = blandeţa (blandities)

castitas (ἁγνεία) = curaţie (from colat-us = percolatus, purus)

dignitas (σεμνότης) = cuvinţa (from convenit = ἔοικε)

fervor (ζέσις) = caldura (calidus + ura = calor).

In other cases circumlocutions help to express abstract moral concepts. They occur too late for coalescing in wordclusters as is e.g. the case with Sardinian urbisia = sterilitas (vulva sicca)[20]. In Rumanian:

sterilitas = nenasţerie de fii (non-nasci filiorum), the Sl. shorter nerodirea prefered however

contritio = inima înfrântă (anima [in]fracta, reminding of French cor ruptum > courroux and Old French coeur brisé for contrition[21])

remorsus = mustrarea consţintii (monstrare conscientiae in the sense of French remontrer = to blame)

resolutio = fruct (fructus sc. meditationis; Cicero: fructus verae virtutis); such concrete substitutions became necessary

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[20] M. L. WAGNER, *Studien zum sardischen Wortschatz, op. cit.,* p. 42.

[21] BROTHER LEO CHARLES YEDLICKA, *Expressions of the Linguistic Area of Repentence and Remorse in Old French.* Diss. Cath. Univ., Washington, 1945, p. 15 ff.

because the Late Latin abstracts had assumed other meanings, resolutio e. g. translating ἀνάλυσις became a synonym of *mors* in 2 Tim. 4, 6.

But also in the moral domain the Slavic abstracts prevail:

mandatum = porunca (Sl. poraci)

perturbatio = necazul (Sl. nakazati = castigare, whereas Rumanian-Latin a castiga develops the meanings to gain, to deserve)

tentatio = ispita (Sl. iskusenije = πειρασμόν, but the Rumanian word comes from Sl. ispytati = scrutari); induci in tentationem = a cade in ispita

condemnatio = osanda (= κατάκριμα, Sl. osaditi = condemnere)

misericordia = { mila

caritas   = { milostenie (both derived from Sl. milu = miserabilis still recognizable in Rum. milogul = beggar)

superbia = mândria (Rum. mîndru = superbus from Slav. madru = prudens)

confessio = spovedanie

attritio = cainta (Sl. kajanije = poenitentia)

poenitentia = pocainta (Sl. pokajanije = poenitentia)

remissio (peccatorum) = iertarea (păcatelor).

In dogmatic theology the Slavic terms seem still more entrenched than the Latin ones and reign almost exclusively, even in form of cumbrous circumlocutions versus elegant scholastic terms:

conceptio = zamislirea rather than conceperea, the Sl. word having an active connotation, concerning the mother, not the child, so that the feast of the *Conceptio Immaculata* is given by *Zamislirea sf. Anei*

spiritus = duh

trinitas (Τριάς) = treimea

passio = răbdarea (Sl. raditi = curam gerere)

promissio = făgăduinta

salvatio = mântuirea (= σωτηρία)

sanctificatio = sfintenia or sfinţirea (= ἁγιασμός)

consubstantialitas = de o ființa (Sl. jedinos uscnuju = unius substantiae, as in the prescholastic Latin Preface)

timor (Domini) = frica [22] and terribilis (est ille locus) = înfricosat

spes = nadejdea rather than speranța, therefore:

spes christianorum = nadejdea creștinilor

auxilium (Christianorum) = folositoare (creștinilor).

More concrete:

requies = odinha

paradisus = raiul (Sl. raj) rather than ceruri

infernum = jadu (Sl. < Gr. ἄδης), or prapastia (Sl. = pit)

descensus = pogorirea (Sl. pegori = deorsum).

Finally merely inner forms of Slavic thought patterns, even when Latin wordmaterial is used come to the fore in ecclesiastical, mainly liturgical expressions such as:

regnum (Dei) = împărație (Sl. carstvo versus Gr. βασιλεία), accordingly:

Rex Herodes = Împăratul Irod

communio = împărtășirea (Sl. pričastije = participatio vs. Gr. κοινωνία)

transubstantiatio = prefacerea (Latin perfacere influenced by a să preface = fingere, *alterare* as in Russian pritvorjatis-ja = fictio)

mundus = lumea, because Sl. svetu: 1. lumen, 2. mundus, infects also the meaning of lumen on Rumanian soil [23] so that

ego sum lux mundi = eu sînt lumina lumii

vita aeterna = viața de veci (vita saeculorum acc. to the Sl. pattern žizn vičnuju versus Gr. ζωή αἰώνιος).

IV. Greek Words and Thought Patterns

The more technical ecclesiastical words have kept their Greek forms such as:

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[22] See A. T. BAKER, "*Timor* dans les langues romanes", *Romania* 54 (1938), 110-114.

[23] S. PUȘCARIU, *op. cit.*, "En travaillant au dictionnaire", p. 368.

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missa = liturghie (λειτουργία)

litania = ectenia (ἐκτένεια i. e. precum series extensa — acc. to Du Cange — from ἐκτενής, but rather in the sense devotus: preces devotae)

epistola = apostolul (ἀποστολικόν sc. ἀνάγνωσμα), often shortened as ἀπόστολος, used even in the Latin of the Sixth Century Sacramentarium Gregorianum

collectae (orationes) = condac (κοντάκιον)

sequentia = ipacoiu (ὑπακοή, response)

calix = potirul (ποτήριον)

patena = discul (δίσκος)

ordo (sacerdotalis) = tagma (preoţeasca) = (τάγμα)

monachus = calugar (καλόγηρος)

monachus (sacerdos) = ieromonahiu (ἱερομόναχος) according to the Greek distinction of *patres* and *fratres*

oblata (dona) = daruri (δῶρα, sc. τὰ ἅγια)

aqua benedicta = aghiazma (ἁγίασμα = sanctificatio)

panis benedictus = nafora (ἀναφορά, 1. elevatio, 2. benedictio)

poenitentia (imposita) = canonul (Gr. κανών, 1. regula, 2. poenitentia)

poenitentiam imponere = a canonisi (Gr. κανονίζειν)

gratia = har (χάρις)

pietas = evlavie (εὐλάβεια)

meditatio = cumpanirea (cumpana = statera, from καμπανίζειν with a development like pondus: pendere > ponderare > pensare > meditare; Rum. meditaţie meaning study, studyroom)

pontifex = arhiereu (ἀρχιερεύς)

prior = igumenul (ἡγούμενος)

doctor (sanctus) = dascăl (mare) (διδάσκαλος)

archangelus = arhistratigiu (ἀρχιστρατηγός) severed from înger (angelus)

calendarium = mineul (μηναῖα from μηνιαῖος).

Greek thought patterns invade Rumanian in the case of:

infernum = păcura (Lat. picula), a word which only

meant *pix* as in Latin, but assumes the meaning of *infernum*
because Gr. πίσσα has both meanings, 1. pitch, 2. hell

adventus (salvatoris) = sosirea (mântuitorului). Σώζω for
σώζομαι, Aorist ἔσωσα developed from *se salvare* to *salvum
advenire* to *advenire* (cp. French: se sauver, arriver sauf, arriver
à bon port) and the very liturgical language Σώζει Σωτήρ
seems to have given to Rumanian word and meaning together
with the verbform *a sosi,* so strikingly different from *arriver,
giungere, llegar,* etc.

purificatio BMV = intâmpinarea (lui Isus Hristos) is not
simply a metathesis of ὑπάντημα ("obviam itio" Simeonis et
Annae). It is this concept interpreted as "occursus solemnis"
and expressed with the Latin-Rum. verb a întampina, 1. "aller
au devant avec des tambours", 2. "accueillir" [24].

benedictio nuptialis = cununiu (coronatio from στεφανοῦν,
1. coronare, 2. dare in matrimonium, the coronation of the
bride being a decisive moment in the byzantine wedding rite)

humiliare capita = a pleca cerbicea (pattern: ὑποκλίνειν
τὸν αὐχένα)

sanguis pretiosus = preacinstit sângele (honoratissimus
sanguis, cinstit from Sl. cisti = veneratio; according to the
Gr. pattern: τὸ τίμιον αἶμα)[25].

C)   OUTLOOK

Certain elements as for instance the epithets of sanctity in
the Western Church are in a rather indetermined situation as
far as *beatus, sanctus, sacratus, benedictus,* etc. are concerned;
the same occurs in Rumanian with *sfânt, cinstit, marit, cuvios,
fericit* (from Lat. felix):

Beata Maria Virgo = Preacurata și preasfinta Fecioara
(Prae-colata et prae-sancta Puella)

Sancta Crux = Cinstita crucea (honorata crux)

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[24] *Ibid.,* p. 354.
[25] Compare DOM PLACIDE DE MEESTER (ed.), *La Divine liturgie de notre père
S. Jean Chrysostome. Texte Grec et traduction française,* Paris, Gabalda, 1925.

Sanctus Pater (Papa) = Preafericitul Parinte.

But here arise problems for which the Church historian [26] and the Liturgist are more competent than the linguist. It is to them that I leave for further elucidation this first inventory, classification and stratification of Rumanian ecclesiastical terms.

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[26] The reconstruction of the ecclesiastical history of Rumania with the Byzantine-Latin see-saw movements, lost documents and disappeared towns and dioceses during the Middle Ages will not be easier, however, than the reconstruction of the history of the language itself, as springs from the study of Robert Lee Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople 1204-1261", *Traditio*, VI (1948), 33-60.

For further information cf.: V. Pârvan, *Contribuţii epigrafice la istoria creştinismului dacoromán*, Bucureşti, 1911 and Claude Isopescu, "L'antichità dei Romeni ed il fondo latino del loro cristianesimo" in *La Festa* (Assisi) 1940.