MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURE IN TRANSYLVANIA
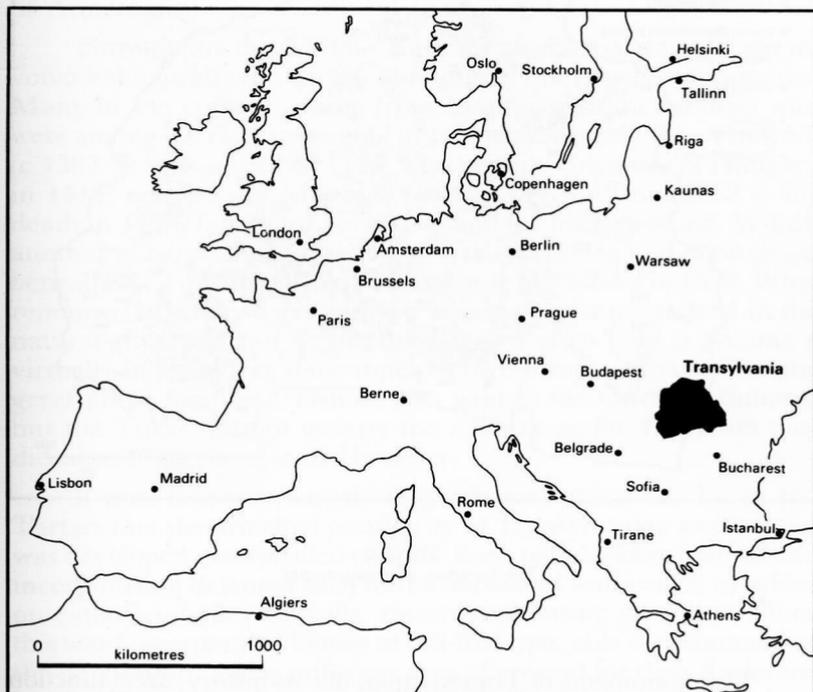
by

John H. Harvey

Fig. 1
The location of Transylvania

Transylvania[1] is mostly known to us in two contexts, neither of them real: as the home of Dracula; and as the terminus of Browning's underground dance led by the Pied Piper. My own serious interest began when, as an architectural student, I studied the maps in my history textbook (Fig. 1).[2] Nothing but mountain chains was marked east of Austria, and it took a good deal of research to fill the gap. My appetite was whetted and the outcome was a holiday in Romania in 1932, followed by another visit three years later. The war of 1939-45 and its aftermath made it impossible to follow the subject, but some of the basic information amassed over fifty years ago may be of use to a new generation of travellers. In any case, the monuments of that remote country deserve record: extremely numerous, many of them are of fine aesthetic quality.
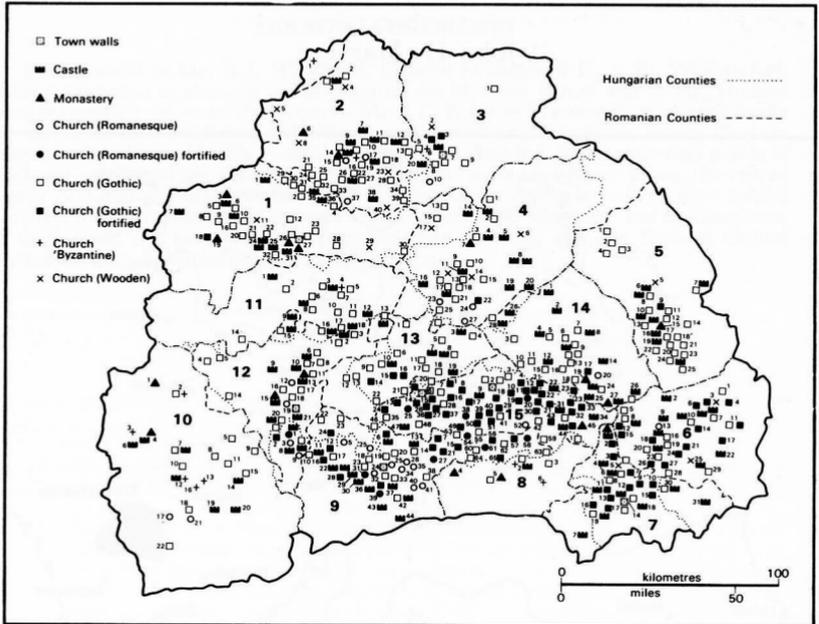
Fig. 2
The location of monuments

    The monuments of Transylvania, like its history, are a function of unusual geography. Surrounded by a chain of high mountains,[3] but internally a rich and fertile area, the 'Land of the Forest' (Ardeal; in Magyar ERDÉLY) was for centuries a haven of refuge for several distinct peoples who effected a lodgement and thereafter defended themselves successfully within its natural bulwarks. The Romanian language, based on the Latin of the Western Roman Empire, is evidence for one historic stratum, just as the large proportion of Slavonic words in its vocabulary (as well as its use of the Cyrillic alphabet as late as the mid-nineteenth century) demonstrates a second. A thousand years ago came the Hungarians from the East, a non-European people, in two waves: the Magyars, and their cousins, the Szeklers. From their settlement until 1919 the history of the region was linked to that of the Hungarian Crown. As a defence against further invasions, after *c.* 1150 King Géza II and his successors settled German-speaking free merchants and peasants in several large sections of Transylvania, giving them extensive privileges. For seven hundred years since the settlement of these 'Saxons' the population consisted

of four main components: Magyars, Szeklers and Saxons–the three privileged 'nations', and the Romanians, unprivileged and almost wholly agricultural. Relatively small numbers of Jews, Gypsies and Slavs formed minor communities, followed much later by colonies of Armenians.

Throughout the Middle Ages Transylvania was a separate voivodeship under the Crown of Hungary but largely autonomous. Many of the voivodes came from local aristocratic families who were among the most influential in Hungary: notably John Hunyadi (c.1387-1456), voivode in 1440, who became Governor of Hungary in 1446; and his son Matthias Corvinus, King from 1458 to his death in 1490, famed for his justice and for his love of art. Within another generation this great Hungarian culture had gone down beneath the Turkish invaders at the battle of Mohács in 1526. What remained of Magyar civilization was mainly concentrated in the natural stronghold of Transylvania, and after 1542 it became a virtually independent state under its own princes, elected from the great noble families.[4] Tribute was paid to the Ottoman Sultans, but the Turks did not occupy the country as for 150 years they did almost all the rest of Hungary.

It was, however, largely as a defence against the Turks and Tartars that the principal peculiarity of Transylvanian architecture was developed: the fortified church. Each parish either built afresh, incorporating defences such as machicolated wall-walks; or added on extensive bailey of walls, towers and strong gateways. Often this ward incorporated houses of cell-like type, able to accommodate the population, and a sufficient area of ground for their flocks and herds. There was always a well ensuring a permanent supply of water. These fortified churches are especially numerous in the districts of crownland on which the Germans were settled, but they are by no means peculiar to the Saxons: both Szekler and Magyar churches too were built as fortresses or provided with fortifications.

Quite apart from these ecclesiastical defences, there were walls and towers around the larger settlements, and also many castles built from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, either by the nobles or by the Teutonic Order which here, as in the Baltic region, set up strongholds against the heathen and the infidel. The German name of the country, *Siebenbürgen* ('Seven Castles'), was taken from these fortresses, though there are at least two distinct lists of the seven concerned, coinciding only in one, that of Cluj (KOLOZSVÁR, *Klausenburg*), the capital of the voivodeship and later principality.[5]

Methodical study of Transylvanian monuments is made difficult by several factors: the sparsity of serious literature in English or French; the confusion caused by the division of the sources among

Fig. 3
Sibiu, 1932, looking
towards the Lutheran
Cathedral (old Saxon
town church)

Fig. 4
Sibiu, 1932. Market square looking towards clocktower

four languages: the Latin of most of the original records, Hungarian, German, and in recent years Romanian; and the fluidity of politico-geographical boundaries. Most towns have three names in modern use, and the vicissitudes of the past 150 years have twice changed the pattern of the districts to which they belong. The fundamental division of Transylvania, as in the rest of Hungary, was into counties, but before the revolution of 1848-49 the regions settled by Saxons and Szeklers were separately ranged in 'seats'. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 this complex system was replaced throughout by counties; but since the incorporation with Romania by the Treaty of Trianon in 1920 the boundaries of these have been substantially altered. In identifying places it is necessary to take account both of the Hungarian county (*vármegye*) and the Romanian *judeţ.*

Since the bulk of the available literature on the mediaeval monuments dates from the period 1867-1920, including the basic inventory,[6] this has perforce formed the framework of my own study. It must be kept in mind that virtually all Romanesque and Gothic buildings, as well as most of those dating from before 1700, belong to Western art, and in their origin to the Western Church; whereas most of the monuments of Romanian culture are essentially Byzantine and Eastern Orthodox, in spite of the superficial impression of Latin culture given by the language. In the gazetteer (see Appendix) a selection of monuments, mostly medieval, is arranged in order of Romanian place-names, followed by their Hungarian and, where relevant, German equivalents. The counties, fifteen of which constitute Transylvania, are added by a numerical key.[7] The variant boundaries of Hungarian and Romanian counties are separately marked (Fig. 2).

Fifty years ago, the impact of Transylvania on the visitor was not primarily derived from individual monuments, but rather from the richly traditional setting of minor domestic buildings and the almost complete absence of intrusive modern features except in the business centres of the few large towns: Cluj, Braşov and Sibiu. Many streets were cobbled and horse-drawn transport and ox-waggons were normal. (Fig. 3) There was still much traditional costume, notably on Sundays, when both Catholic and Protestant women and girls made a splendid show at services, every parish having its distinct pattern of dress. Market days too provided a splendid show, especially at Sibiu (NAGYSZEBEN, *Hermannstadt*).[8] To quote from my own contemporary account [1936]:

> The great glory of the place is its market, where you may see and hear life as it used to be (Fig. 4). Every kind of useful object used in country life, and every form of clothing and personal adornment find a place in some stall or basket. Pottery jars, woven leather belts, boots of all shapes and sizes, flowers heaped up in great

baskets, pastry stalls with all kinds of amusing shapes and figures of a dry hard bread iced in many colours, all are grouped in the great square and in the adjoining streets. And here and there will be a rustic piping on his country-made flute or whistle, on and on through the whole hot day.

The ordinary houses of town and village alike are superficially of a single type. Almost always stuccoed or roughcast, the traditiona¹ finish is [1932]:

with washes of lime-colour. The colours used comprise various ochres, from a pale almost lemon hue to a deep orange-buff, deep red, eau-de-nil green, and pale cobalt blue. A very good red plain tile is used everywhere except in slate districts or in country hamlets where thatch or shingles are to be found.

Fig. 5
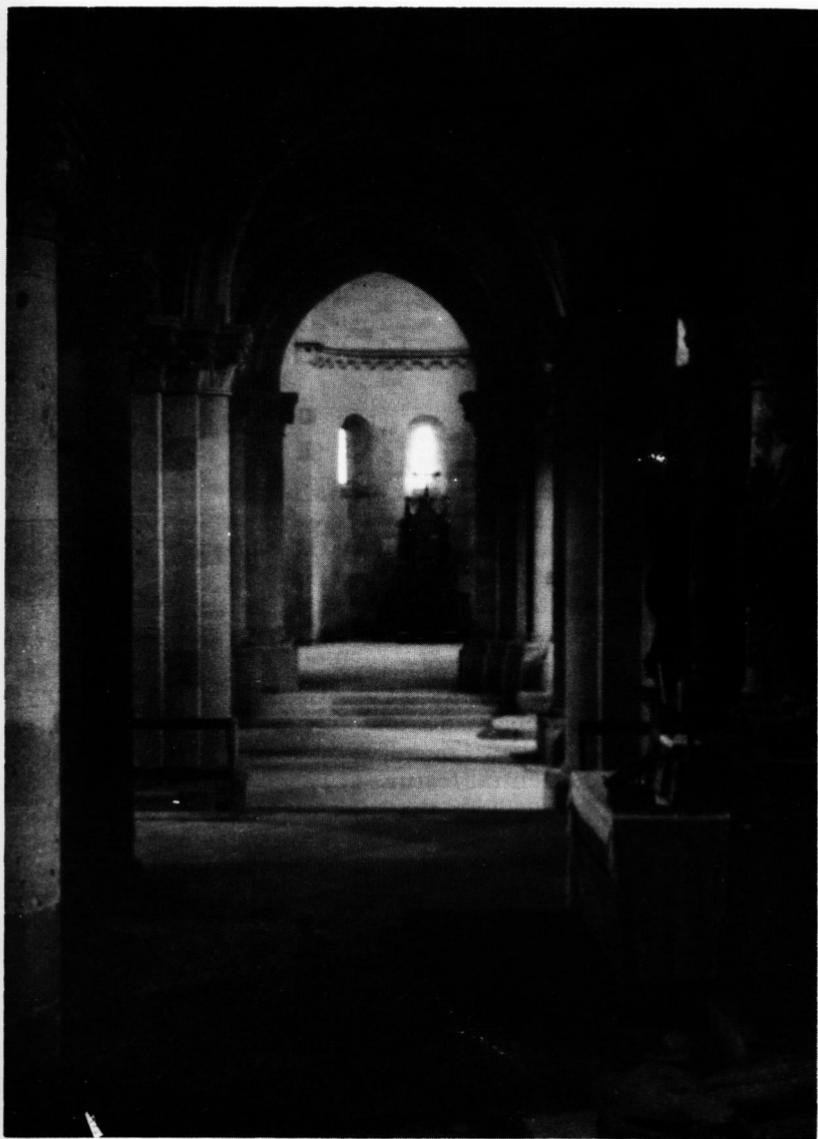Cluj, 1932. Interior of St. Michael's Church (*c.* 1430-1444)–from a sketch by J.H.H.

Fig. 6
Alba Iulia, 1932. Roman Catholic Cathedral, south aisle looking east

The medieval monuments, Romanesque and Gothic churches, castles and town-walls, are built of local stones, of which there are many, but were often covered with rough harling or, at later periods, hard stucco. In exceptional cases, such as the Painted Tower of the Castle at Hunedoara, polychrome patterns were applied rather than a simple colourwash.

The old capital, Cluj (KOLOZSVÁR, *Klausenburg*), has wide main streets of relatively modern buildings, and a large central square [1936]:

> In the middle of the square is the great Matthias Church with an interior that ranks among the most beautiful things I have seen: two rows of graceful white pillars support the vaults, which spring directly from them with a perfection of line that reminds one of a beech tree (Fig. 5).

This is one of the most exquisite specimens of the late Gothic (*c*.1430-44) of Central Europe. The country's only medieval cathedral, at Alba Iulia (GYULAFEHÉRVÁR, *Karlsburg*) dates mostly from earlier periods. The foundations of a small Romanesque structure have been in part exposed by excavation, showing a tri-apsidal plan inside the present eastern arm. The existing building is largely of the twelfth century, transitional in style with pointed arches (Fig. 6), restored after devastation by the Mongols in 1242-52, with an added chevet of *c*.1280-90 probably by the French master John of St.-Dié, son of Tyno (Fig. 7). The north Porch belongs to the Italian Renaissance and the lofty tower to the opening of the seventeenth century. The tall arched recess of the west front is reminiscent of the central feature at Lincoln (Fig. 8). This old cathedral stands, along with the modern Romanian Orthodox cathedral, inside the fortress, a work with massive walls and gates of the mid-eighteenth century, built under the Empress Maria Theresa (1740-80).

There is no obvious round-tour of the country and it is probably more helpful to list the other places visited in alphabetical order.

Biertan (BERETHALOM, *Birthälm*) is a small town not far from Mediaş. The noteworthy Saxon fortified church was formerly the Lutheran cathedral of Transylvania from 1572 until the see was transferred to Sibiu in 1867. It contains a series of tomb-effigies of the bishops and a fine altarpiece.

Bistriţa (BESZTERCE, *Bistritz*), the centre of the northern Saxon district, was the former rail-head for the Borgo Pass, leading to the haunts of Count Dracula and, in real life, to Bukovina. Fifty years ago it was an astonishingly untouched survival from the Middle Ages, with its tall steepled church (Fig. 9) in the middle of a grand market-place (Fig. 10) surrounded by Gothic arcades

Fig. 7
Alba Iulia, 1932. Roman Catholic Cathedral, looking east from nave

Fig. 8
Alba Iulia, 1932. West front of
Roman Catholic Cathedral-
from a sketch by J.H.H.

Fig. 9
Bistriţa, 1935. Lutheran town
church

Fig. 10
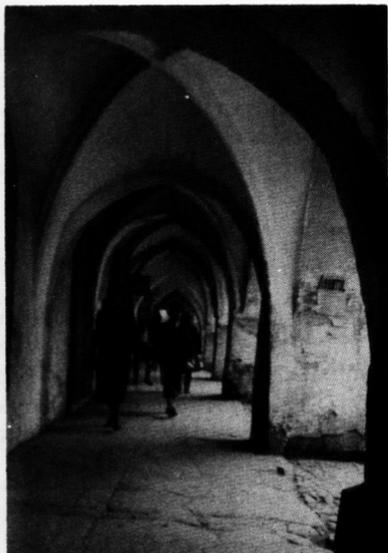Bistriţa, 1935. Market square with arcades.

Fig. 11
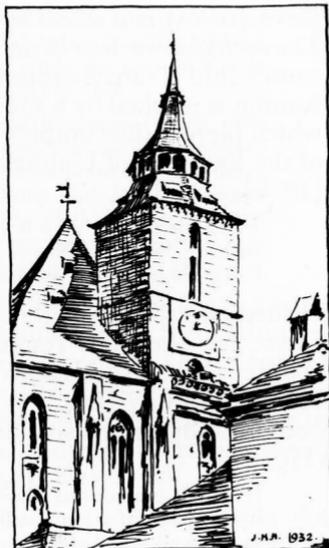Bistriţa, 1935. Arcades of market
square (c. 1480-1500)

Fig. 12
Brasov, 1932. Tower of the Black
(Lutheran) Church, the old town
church–
from a sketch by J.H.H.

(Fig. 11). Saxon farmers in black suits, with high top-boots, contrasted with the coloured folk-dresses of three nations.

Braşov, (BRASSÓ, *Kronstadt*) lies a few miles north of the range dividing Transylvania from the Regat, the old kingdom of Romania. It remained for centuries one of the most important centres of trade in eastern Europe, but its commercial standing led to modernization at a relatively early date, so that only fragments of its walls and towers have survived. There are, however, several old churches of which the Saxon 'Black Church' (largely built c.1390-1447) at the town centre is the most notable (Fig. 12). I wrote [1936]:

> It is a strange mixture of styles, but what keeps one enthralled is the vast display of magnificent carpets which hang on the walls and galleries. They are very old, Turkish or Persian, and priceless. I doubt if any museum in the world could show such carpets: carpets of all colours–old rose, powder blue, glowing orange, shades and patterns which cannot be described. The effect is to the sight what a magnificent instrumental concert is to the ear. Every note is in the right place . . .

.t is said that some of these gorgeous hangings were woven on purpose, but most appear to be direct imports from the Ottoman Empire.

Deva (DÉVA) is a small town in the valley of the Mures (MAROS, *Marosch*), at the foot of an isolated rocky hill commanding the main routes into Transylvania from the south-west. The castle on the summit is reached by a snail-shell track leading to the single gateway which pierces the complex system of defences. Francis Dávid, one of the founders of Unitarianism, died a prisoner here in 1579. In [1936]:

> From the top the view is wonderful; East and West the valley is lost in haze, while to North and South are the rising foothills of the Carpathians and the Mountains of Bihor.

Hunedoara (VAJDAHUNYAD, *Eisenmarkt*) only a few miles from Deva, has the most remarkable of the many strongholds of the country (Fig. 13). Historically famous as the fortress-home of the Hunyadi family (Fig. 14) in the later Middle Ages, the castle is both visually impressive and of outstanding architectural interest (Fig. 15).

> [1936]: It is a curious shape like a pear, and the stalk is there as well, in the form of a long wall with a tower at the end. There is a gap in the wall only bridged by a plank drawbridge, so that when hard pressed the garrison could retreat to the Neboesa (NEBOJSZA, 'Fear-not') at the end, which had a well of its own.[9]

In spite of a serious fire in 1854, and some excessive subsequent restoration, there remains much to convey a vivid impression of medieval life [1932]:

Fig. 13
Hunedoara, 1932. Castle from south-west; Neboese Tower on the right—
from a sketch by J.H.H.

The Chapel (Fig. 16) is a little gem of fifteenth-century Gothic, containing a gallery carried on octagonal columns with foliated capitals, and a pierced balustrade above, while the eastern end is graced by a triple sedilia of simple design (Fig. 17).

In the town of Hunedoara stands a small Byzantine church, now used by the Greek Catholics, one of the very few ancient churches of Byzantine type to be found west of the Carpathians . . . This dates from the thirteenth century and is interesting both for its frescoes, now much obscured, and the construction of the dome over the crossing, a rough intersection of groin-lines being carried up into the drum as a substitute for a regular pendentive (Fig. 18).

Medias (MEDGYES, *Mediasch*) is a small town built around a wide market-place within which is a large fortified church constituting an inner town (Fig. 19). The surrounding countryside of rolling hills, green fields and deer-haunted woods of deciduous trees, is not unlike parts of England. It is a good centre for excursions to several other fortified churches such as those at Biertan (above) and Vorumloc (BAROMLAKA, *Wurmloch*).

Sibiu (NAGYSZEBEN, *Hermannstadt*) has for centuries been the capital of the 'Saxons', the colonists from Franconia and other parts of Germany who were settled here. It is a great cultural centre, with the former Brukenthal Palace (1777-87) transformed into a major museum and art gallery; and a printing industry of high standing since the fifteenth century. In [1932]:
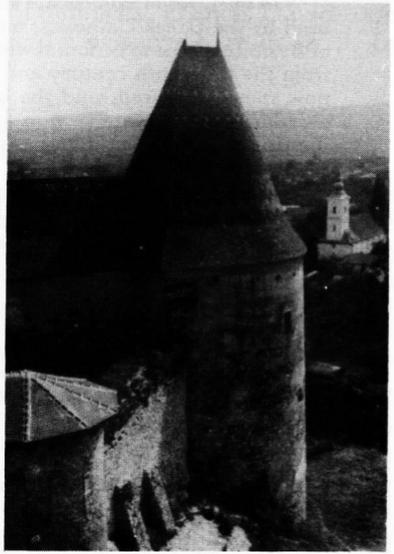
> Though . . . somewhat spoilt by modern building, much old-world charm remains, and the flights of steps and steep lanes which join the upper and lower towns give many picturesque views of the old houses and churches (Fig. 3). The Pfarrkirche, with its many gables and tall spire covered with a pattern of black and yellow glazed tiles, dominates the town, being situated as it were on a cliff above the lower streets; nearby (is) the old clock-tower . . . (Fig. 4). Cobbled streets make a gentle transition from the mechanical era of the railway to the centuries-old life of the flower-market and the great church.

> [1936]: At the other end of the town is the fashionable promenade, with a marvellous view of the snow-covered peaks of the Alps, twenty miles away . . . the right place to sit and watch the play of light and shade over the hills and mountains into the blue distance.

An easy day excursion from Sibiu is to the Red Tower Pass, a favourite route of Tartar invaders in former times. It provides an unexpected link with English and American history in that Captain John Smith, the colonizer of Virginia, had at the age of 23 been taken prisoner after a hard-fought battle in the pass (18 November 1602) and was carried off to Constantinople and later to Tartary. He eventually escaped and returned through Russia to western Europe. The Red Tower itself, now partly demolished, was originally tall enough to form the first beacon of a chain of castle-turrets to Sibiu and beyond, sending smoke-signals to announce the first sighting of a Tartar horde on its way northwards from the plains of Wallachia.
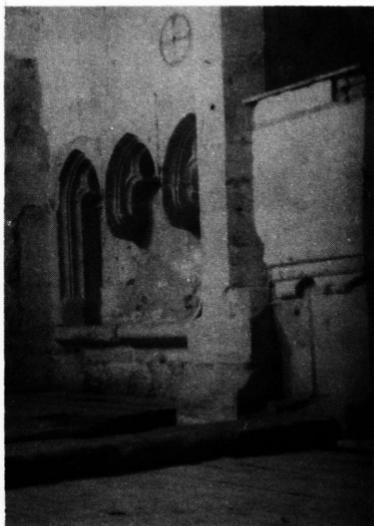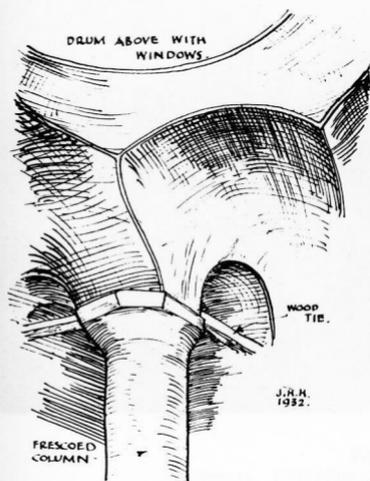
Above: Fig. 14
Hunedoara, 1932. Castle: doorway to
spiral staircase, with arms of John
Hunyadi, *c.* 1450

Right: Fig. 15
Hunedoara, 1932. View of the White
Bastion (1619-24) added by Gabriel
Bethlen to John Hunyadi's curtain walls
of *c.* 1440

Below: Fig. 16
Hunedoara, 1932. Castle Chapel, vault
c. 1446-52

Above: Fig. 17
Hunedoara, 1932. Sedilia in Castle
Chapel, *c.* 1446-52

Left: Fig. 18
Hunedoara, 1932. Greek United Church:
looking up into the dome—
from a sketch by J.H.H.

Below: Fig. 19
Mediaş, 1935. Market Square and
Lutheran fortified church

Fig. 20
Sighişoara, 1932.
Market Square and Clocktower

Fig. 21
Sighişoara, 1932. Descent from the Bergkirche to the lower town

Fig. 22
Sighişoara, 1932. Looking up to the Bergkirche

Sighişoara (SEGESVÁR, *Schässburg*) is, or was in the 1930s, a living town of the Middle Ages, with little of modernity outside the railway station except for an occasional electric lamp standard (Fig. 20).

> [1936]: Schässburg is a fairy city on a green hill; all around are wooded slopes which shelter it, while the old town itself climbs up its hill from the market at the bottom (Fig. 21) to the steep stairs which lead to the old church on the very top (Fig. 22). Inside the walls are little winding lanes and arched corners which would illustrate stories from the brothers Grimm (Fig. 23). The church on the hill has a tiny spire like a goblin's cap which somehow endows it with a mysterious life of its own. . . . You will always remember the girls with bare feet and the flower women with violets and forget-me-nots or whatever is in season.

Three miles east of the town, at Albeşti (FEHÉREGYHÁZ, *Weisskirch*) on 31 July 1849, was fought the last fatal battle for Hungarian independence, when the poet Petőfi at the age of only 26 fell among the last of the heroes, outnumbered and crushed by the combined imperial forces of Austria and Russia. So ended the final flicker of an independent Transylvania; but the last of its Princes, Francis Rákoczy II (1676-1735), had long before been driven into exile in Turkey (historic irony!) by the Habsburg Emperor as a knock-on effect of the Anglo-Austrian victory at Blenheim in 1704.[10]

Fig. 23
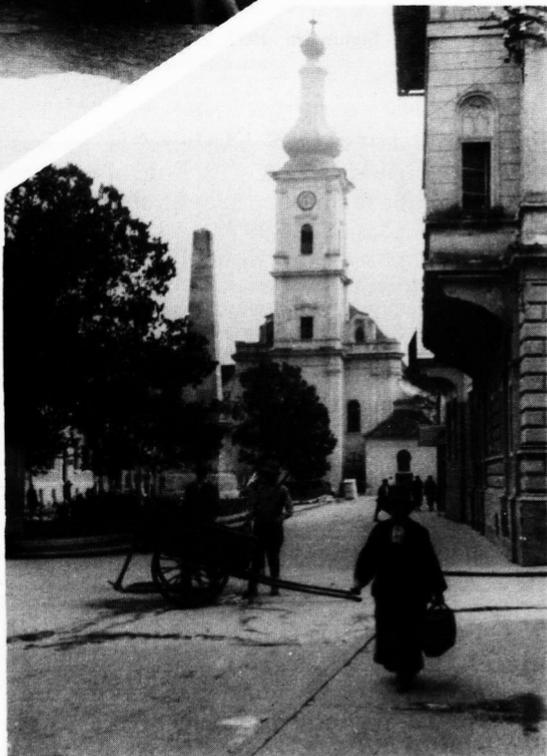Sighişoara, 1932.
Old gateway

Fig. 24
Cluj, 1932.
Franciscan Church,
restored by
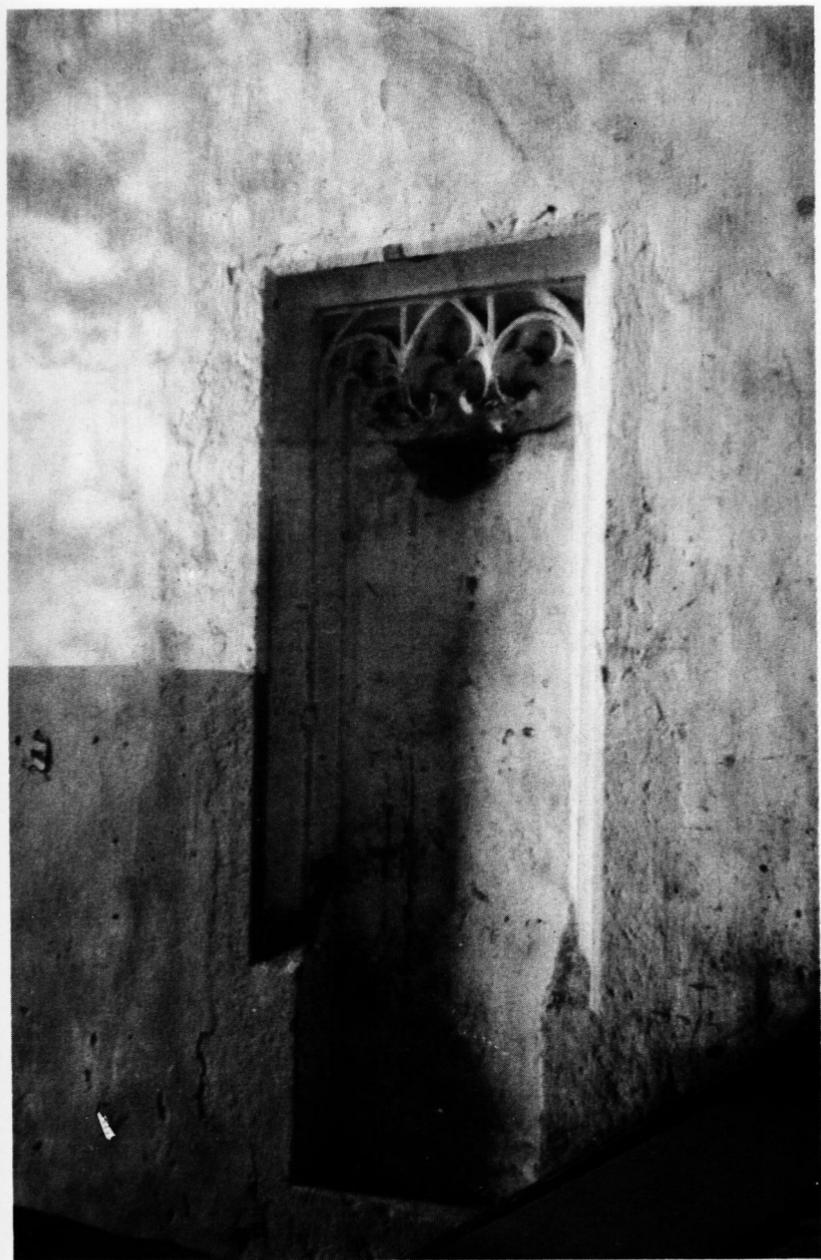Professor István
Möller of Budapest
before 1914

Fig. 25
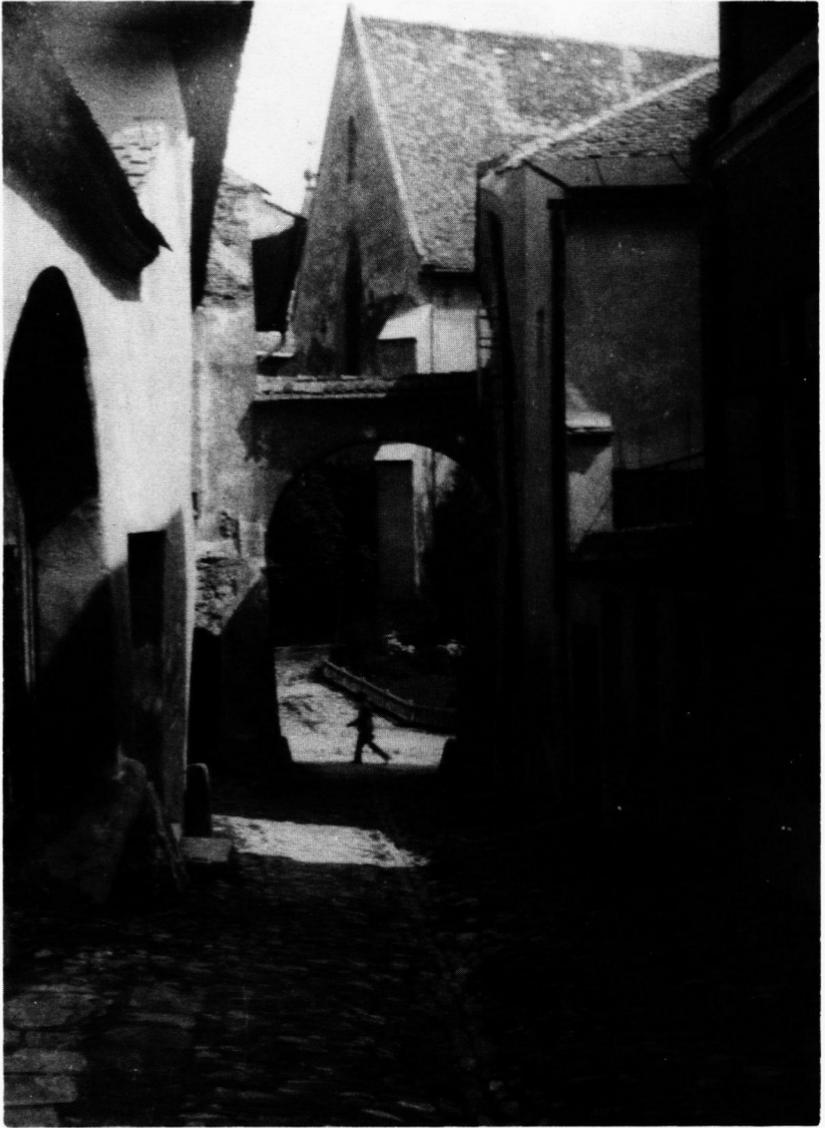Sighişoara, 1932. Detail in the Bergkirche

Fig. 26
Sighişoara, 1932. Street view through archway

Fig. 27
Sighişoara, 1932. Street view

NOTES

1. The Latin name; in actual usage are Romanian Ardeal, Hungarian ERDÉLY, and German *Siebenbürgen*. Throughout this article the language of place-names is distinguished typographically in the same way.
2. Sir Banister Fletcher, *A History of Architecture*, 8th ed., 1928, pp. 243, 298, 540.
3. On the North and East, the Carpathians; on the South the Transylvanian Alps; on the West the Mountains of Bihor.
4. Among the most famous princes were: Stephen Báthory (1571-1576), King of Poland 1575-1586; Stephen Bocskay (1605-1606); Gabriel Bethlen (1613-1629); George I Rákoczy (1630-1648); George II Rákoczy (1648-1660); Francis II Rákoczy (1704-1711).
5. The commonly received list is of the seven fortified towns: Bistriţa (BESZTERCE, *Bistritz*), Braşov (BRASSÓ, *Kronstadt*), Cluj (KOLOZSVÁR, *Klausenburg*), Mediaş (MEDGYES, *Mediasch*), Sebeş (SZÁSZSEBES, *Mühlbach*), Sibiu (NAGYSZEBEN, *Hermannstadt*), Sighişoara (SEGESVÁR, *Schässburg*) (K. Baedeker, *Austria-Hungary*, 1911, 539). Modern research, however, regards the original seven castles as Alba Iulia (GYULAFEHÉRVÁR, *Karlsburg*), Cetatea de Baltă (KÜKÜLLŐVÁR, *Kokelburg*), Cluj, Dăbîcă (DOBOKA), Dej (DÉS, *Desch*), Hunedoara (VAJDAHUNYAD, *Eisenmarkt*), Turda (TORDA, *Torenburg*). (L. Kiss, *Földrajzi nevek etimologiai szótára*, Budapest Akad. Kiadó, 1978, 204). I am much obliged to Mrs. Susan Gold for this latter information, kindly provided by Dr. J. Makkay of Budapest.
6. *Magyarország Műemlékei* (Monuments of Hungary), of which volume II, edited by Baron Gyula Forster (1906) lists the historical monuments by counties. This listing has provided the main basis for my own studies and for the Gazetteer which follows.
7. The extent of the former principality often spread beyond the area of these fifteen counties, and a sixteenth (SZILÁGY) was counted as part of Transylvania in the Habsburg period. This corresponds only in part to the modern Romanian judeţ of Sălaj, and is not dealt with here.
8. The passages here quoted were written in 1932 or in 1936, as indicated, shortly after my visits, and were based on my travel diaries, photographs and sketches.
9. Compare the external donjon of Flint Castle in Wales (for which see Arnold J. Taylor in *The History of the King's Works*, vol. I (1963), fig. 33 and p. 317 n.⁴).
10. The Rákoczy house at Tekirdağ (Rodosto) on the Sea of Marmara, where the Prince spent the remaining years of his life, is one of the most noteworthy early houses in Turkey. It was fittingly restored under Atatürk in the 1930s with Dr. Károly Möller from Budapest as advisory architect.

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The geographical and historical background of Romania as a whole has been dealt with by Dr Gwyn Meirion-Jones in his article 'Historic Buildings in Romania and their Conservation' in *Transactions A.M.S.*, vol. 26 (1982), 32-52. A brief mention of Gothic architecture in Transylvania, with several illustrations, is included in John Harvey, *The Gothic World* (1950), 118-20, and map fig. 182. The few titles listed below are mainly those of works principally consulted.

Boner, (Charles), *Transylvania: its Products and its People* (1865), with an important map.

Eder, (Karl Joseph), *Erste Anleitung zur Kenntnisz von Siebenbürgen* (from the Hungarian original of 1796; Hermannstadt, 1824)

Engelmann, (Gerhard), *Das Deutschtum in Rumänien: I. Siebenbürgen* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1928), with maps

Entz, (Géza), 'La Cathédrale de Gyulafehérvár (Alba Julia)', *Acta Historiae Artium* (tom. V, fasc. 1-2. Budapest, 1958)

Entz, (Géza), 'Le Chantier Cistercien de Kerc (Cîrţa)', *A.H.A.*, (tom. IX, fasc. 1-2, Budapest, 1963)

Entz, (Géza), 'Die Baukunst Transsilvaniens in 11-13. Jahrhundert', *A.H.A.* (tom. XIV, fasc. 3-4, Budapest, 1968) with a valuable map, many plans and illustrations, and a gazetteer of historical records

Entz, (Géza), *Gotische Baukunst in Ungarn* (from the Hungarian original of 1974) (Budapest: Corvina. Magyar Helikon, 1976); covers the whole area of ancient Hungary; richly illustrated

Forster, (Gyula) ed., *Magyarország Műemlékei* (Monuments of Hungary), vol. II (1906), with lists by counties

Hankey, (Christopher), 'The Saxons of Transylvania', *The Geographical Magazine*, IX no. 4, August 1939, 251-60

Möller, (István), *Erdély Nevezetesebb Műemlékei* (The more important monuments of Transylvania) (Budapest, 1929)

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APPENDIX: A GAZETTEER OF MONUMENTS,
CHIEFLY MEDIEVAL

A note on spelling

There is considerable inconsistency between sources for the place-names, largely owing to spelling reforms. Thus in Romanian the circumflexed vowel has changed from â to î (e.g. Brânco-, now Brîncoveneşti); in Hungarian cz has been replaced by c (e.g. Besztercze, Beszterce); and in German th has become t (e.g. Talheim, formerly Thalheim). As far as possible the spellings given here are those on modern maps and in works of reference later than 1945. Hungarian place-names of more than a single word are now spelt as one: e.g. Sztrigy Szent György is now Sztrigyszentgyörgy.

Abbreviations

Abp	archbishop
Arm	Armenian (church)
Aug	Augustinian
Byz	Byzantine
c	*circa;* about
Cas	castle
Cas-ch	fortified church
Ch	church
Chap	chapel
Chat	chateau; mansion
Cist	Cistercian
Ev	Lutheran (church)
form	formerly
fort	fortification(s)
Franc	Franciscan
GC	Greek Catholic (church)
GO	Greek Orthodox (church)
Got	Gothic
Med	medieval
Mon	monastery, monastic
Paul	Pauline
RC	Roman Catholic (church)
reb	rebuilt
Ref	Calvinist (church)
Ren	Renaissance
Rom	Romanesque
ru	ruin(ed)
tr	tower
Unit	Unitarian (church)
wood	wooden (church)

Arabic numerals indicate the county and numbered site on the map. (When the first, italicized, number is double, e.g. *14/15*, the county boundary changed after 1920). Roman numerals thus: XVII, refer to centuries.

Names in brackets after castles and chateaux are those of the principal historic families with which they are associated; in inverted commas they denote the name of the castle where different from that of the place.

Although the selection of buildings is basically medieval, a few later churches have been included, notably wooden structures of known date; and also a number of the great chateaux and mansions which succeeded the castles.

In the Gazetteer, as elsewhere in this article, the language of place-names is distinguished: Romanian in Roman type; Hungarian in SMALL CAPITALS; and German in *italics*.

The counties of Transylvania

Adjustments in county boundaries were made by Romania after 1920, so that there is no precise correspondence between the areas of the fifteen counties. The numbers of places (not individual monuments) shown refer to the Hungarian counties of 1867-1920, being those of the basic inventory of 1906. The numbering starts with (*1*) Cluj, the capital county and continues clockwise; places in each county are numbered from West to East and North to South.

Number	Romanian	Hungarian	German	Number of places
(*1*)	Cluj	KOLOZS	*Klausenburg*	32
(*2*)	Someş	SZOLNOK-DOBOKA		40
(*3*)	Năsăud	BESZTERCE-NASZÓD	*Bistritz*	10
(*4*)	Mureş	MAROS-TORDA	*Marosch Torda*	28
(*5*)	Ciuc	CSIK		25
(*6*)	Trei Scaune	HÁROMSZÉK		31
(*7*)	Braşov	BRASSÓ	*Kronstadt*	19
(*8*)	Fagaraş	FOGARAS	*Fogarasch*	7
(*9*)	Sibiu	SZEBEN	*Hermannstadt*	44
(*10*)	Hundedoara	HUNYAD		22
(*11*)	Turda	TORDA-ARANYOS		18
(*12*)	Alba	ALSÓ-FEHÉR	*Unterweissenburg*	25
(*13*)	Tîrnava Mică	KIS KÜKÜLLŐ	*Kleinkokel*	22
(*14*)	Odorhei	UDVARHELY		27
(*15*)	Tîrnava Mare	NAGY KÜKÜLLŐ	*Groszkokel*	66

Total of places in Gazetteer 416

(Separate German names were only in use for the counties shown above.)

Abrud (ABRUDBÁNYA) *12.4* RC Ch (Got)
Adămuş (ÁDÁMOS)*13.6* Unit Ch (late Got)
Agărbiciu (EGERBEGY) *11.5* Ref Ch
Aghireş (EGERES) *1.10* Ref Ch; Cas-chat
Agnita (SZENTÁGOTA, *Agnethelm*) *15.49* Ev Cas-ch (1466)
Agrişteu (EGRESTŐ, *Erdenwald*) *13.4* Ref Ch
Aita Mare (NAGYAJTA) *6.12*
Aita Mijlocie (KÖZÉPAJTA) *6.8* Ch; Cas tr on hill
Aiud (NAGYENYED) *12.6* Ref Ch (1446); Cas tr; Palace (Bethlen)
Alba Iulia (GYULAFEHÉRVÁR, *Karlsburg*) 12.19 Cathedral; Fortress (XVIII)
Albeşti (FEHÉREGYHÁZA, *Weiszkirch*) *15.3* Ch
Alma (SZÁSZALMÁD, *Almen*) *15.36* Cas-ch
Almaşu (NAGYALMÁS) *1.3* Cas; Mon
Alţina (ALCINA, *Alzen*) *9.7* Ev Cas-ch
Aluniş (KECSED) *2.25* Ref Ch (Got)
Apalina (ABAFÁJA) *4.7* Abbey ru; RC Ch (1790)
Apaţa (APÁCA)*7.1* Mon site; Cas ru; Chat: tr (1342-51; XVII)
Apold (APOLD, *Trapold*) *15.18* Cas-ch (*c* 1510-25; fort 1638)
Apoldul Mare (NAGYAPOLD, *Groszpold*) *9.17* Ev Ch tr
Archita (ERKED, *Arkeden*) *14/15.* 21 Cas-ch (a tr 1661)
Arcuş (ÁRKOS) *6.18* Cas-ch; Cas ru on hill
Armăşul (CSIKMENASÁG) *5.14* Ch (Got; aisle 1655); Chat
Aţel (ECEL, *Hetzeldorf*) *15.7* Ev Ch (1499)
Avrig (FELEK, *Freck*) *9.41* Ev Ch (Rom W. door)

Bădeşti (BÁDOK) *1.2* Ref Ch (Got)
Băgaciu (BOGÁCS, *Bogeschdorf*) *13.11* Ev Ch
Bahnea (SZÁSZBONYHA, *Bachnen*) *13.5* Ref Ch; Chat
Baia de Aries (OFFENBÁNYA) *11.14* Ch
Baia de Criş (KŐRÖSBÁNYA) *10.1* Franc convent
Balcaciu (BOLKÁCS, *Bulkesch*) *13.14* Ev Cas-ch
Band (MEZŐBÁND) *4.16* Cas ru ('Pogányvár')
Bărăbant (BORBÁND) *12.18* RC Ch
Baţa (BACA) *2.10* Ref Ch (Got & 1754); Chat (Zichy)
Batoş (BÁTOS) *1/4.14* Cas site
Bazna (FELSŐBAJOM, *Baasen*) *13.16* Ev Ch (1504)
Beclean (BETHLEN) *2.12* Ref Ch; Cas (XVI)
Beia (BENE, *Mehburg*) *14/15.22* Cas ru
Belin (BÖLÖN) *6.15* Unit Ch (XV); Cas-ch
Berchieş (BERKENYES) *1.29* GC wood Ch (1656)
Berniţa (BERENCE) *2/judeţ Satu Mare.* 1 GC ch (XVII)
Beudiu (BŐŐD) *2.23* GC wood Ch (XVII)
Biborţeni (BIBARCFALVA) *14.26* Ref Ch; Cas tr
Bicfalău (BIKFALVA) *6.28* Ch tr (late Got)
Bicsad (BÜKSZÁD) *6.2* Cas ru
Biertan (BERETHALOM, *Birthälm*) *15.15* Ev Cas-ch (1480-1524)
Bisericani (SZENTLÉLEK) *14.6* RC Ch

Bistriţa (BESZTERCE, *Bistritz*) *3.*7 Ev Ch (1552); Franc Ch; House in
  Bethlen u. (XVI); Main square; Town gate & trs
Blăjenii (BALÁZSFALVA) *3.*6 GC Cathedral; Abp's Palace, form Chat
  (Apaffy)
Blumenau–see Braşov
Bod (BOTFALU, *Brenndorf*) *7.*7 Cas-ch (font 1491)
Bogata (BOGÁT) *11.*13 Ch (Got); Cas site
Boian (ALSÓBAJOM, *Bonnesdorf*) *13.*15 Ev Cas-ch (1506)
Boiţa (BOICA) *9.*44 Cas ('Red Tower'–see also Turnu Rosu)
Bologa (SEBESVÁR) *1.*7 Cas ru
Bonţida (BONCHIDA) *1.*4 Ref Ch; Chat
Boroşneul Mare (NAGYBOROSNYÓ) *6.*25 GC wood Ch; Cas ru
  ('Székelybánya')
Boz (*Bussd bei Reussmarkt*) *12/9.*24 Cas-ch
Bozieş (MAGYARBORZÁS) *2.*28 Ref Ch
Bradu (FENYŐFALVA) *9.*40 Ev Ch (Rom)
Bran (TŐRCSVÁR, *Ditrichstein*) *8/7.*7 Cas (Teutonic Knights; 1212, reb
  1377)
Braşov (BRASSÓ, *Kronstadt*) *7.*14 Ev Ch (1385-; font 1475); Franc Ch;
  Walls, bastions; Market-hall (1545); Cas ru; Blumenau, Ref ch
Bratei (BARÁTHELY, *Pretai*) *15.*6 Ev Ch (Got)
Brîncoveneşti (MAROSVÉCS) *4.*2 Cas; Ch (Got tr)
Bruiu (BRULYA, *Braller*) *15/8.*60 Ev Ch (Got)
Buciumu (BUCSUM) *8.*6 GC Ch (1603)
Budzăul (BODZA) *6/7.*31 Cas
Buia (BOLYA, *Bell*) *15.*47 Cas with chap
Buneşti, Bundorf (SZÁSZBUDA, *Bodendorf*) *15.*21 Cas-ch (1519)
Buza (BUZA) *2.*40 GC wood Ch (1680-1700)
Buzd (*Bussd bei Mediasch*) *15.*(between 14 and 15) Cas-ch (1490-95)

Caluşer (KÁL) *4.*15 Old Ch ru; RC Ch (1782)
Căpuşu Mare (MAGYARNAGYKAPUS) *1.*21 Ref Ch (Got)
Căpuşu Mic (KISKAPUS) *1.*20 Ref Ch (? 1519)
Cârţa (CSIKKARCFALVA) *5.*8 RC Ch (XV); Cas
Caţa (KACA, *Katzendorf*) *15.*23 Ev Cas-ch
Cernat (HOSSZÚFALU) *7.*18 Cas tr
Cernatul de Jos (ALSÓCSERNÁTON) *6.*14 Ref Cas-ch
Cetatea de Baltă (KÜKÜLLŐVÁR, *Kokelburg*) *13.*10 Ref Ch (Got); Cas ru
Cetăţiua (CSIKCSATÓSZEG) *5.*24 RC Ch (altarpiece)
Chepeţ (KÖPEC) *6.*5 Ref Ch (Got)
Cheţani (MAROSKECE) *11.*12 Chat ru (Apor)
Chidea (KIDE) *2/1.*31 RC Ch (? 1455)
Chileni (KILYÉN) *6.*23 Unit Ch (1427)
Chinteni (KAJÁNTÓ) *1.*12 RC Ch
Chiris (GYERES) *11.*7 Ch
Chirpăr (KÜRPÖD, *Kirchberg*) *9.*15

Ciceu (CSICSÓ) *5*.13 RC Ch 1784 (part older); Cas ru; (to east: Szentjános ch (XV)
Ciceu (CSICSÓ) *2*.7 Cas
Cîlnic (KELNEK, *Kelling*) *9/12*.4 Ev Ch; Cas
Cîmpie Turzii (GYÉRESSZENTKIRÁLY) *11*.4 Mon Ch (by 1296)
Cincşor (KISSINK, *Klein Schenk*) *15/8*.65 Cas-ch (1421, font 1477)
Cincu (NAGYSINK, *Grosz Schenk*) *15/8*.56 Ev Cas-ch (Rom & 1522)
Cioc (CSÓKFALVA) *4/14*.26 Cas ru
Cipău (MAROSCSAPÓ) *13*.1 Ref Ch
Cîrţa (KERC, *Kerz*) *8*.4 Ev Ch (in Cist Abbey ru)
Cisnădie (NAGYDISZNÓD, *Heltau*) *9*.37 Ev Cas-ch (XII & *c*.1493-1500); Cas ru ('Hunenburg')
Cisnădioara (KISDISZNÓD, *Michelsberg*) *9*..39 Ev Cas-ch (Rom)
Ciucsîngiorgiu (CSIKSZENTGYÖRGY) *5*.21 Ch (Got; Ren aisle)
Cloasterz (MIKLÓSTELKE, *Klosdorf*) *15*.11 Cas-ch (1524)
Cluj (KOLOZSVÁR, *Klausenburg*) *1*.27 RC Ch (XV); Franc cloister (Got); Ref Ch; Walls
Codlea (FEKETEHALOM, *Zeiden*) *7*.11 Ev Cas-ch; Cas ('Schwarzburg')
Cojocna (KOLOZS) *1*.28 Ref Ch
Colţeşti (TOROCKÓSZENTGYÖRGY) *11/12*.15 RC Ch; Franc convent (1727); Cas ru
Comlod (KOMLÓD)*1/4*.15 Ref Ch
Copşa Mare (NAGYKAPUS, *Grosz Kopisch*) *15*.16 Ev Cas-ch (late XV)
Corneşti (SZARVASKEND) *2*.32 RC Ch (Got)
Corneşti (SINFALVA) *11*.6 RC Ch
Coroiusînmartin (KORODSZENTMÁRTON) *13*.3 Chat (Kornis)
Corund (KOROND) *14*.2 Cas ru
Covasna (KOVÁSZNAVIDÉKÉN) *6*.22 Cas ru
Cozmeni (KOZMÁS) *5*.25 Ch (XIV-XV; tr 1653-70)
Crăciunel (HOMORÓDKARÁCSONYFALVA) *14*.20 Unit Ch (Rom & 1496)
Crainimăt (KIRÁLYNÉMETI, *Baiersdorf*) *3*.8 Ch
Craiva (KIRÁLYKŐ) *12*.9 Cas ru ('Kecskés')
Cricău (BOROSKRAKÓ) *12*.12 Ref Ch (Rom & Got)
Criş (KORESD, *Kreisch*) *15*.9 Cas with Ch
Cristian (KERESZTÉNYFALVA, *Neustadt*) *7*.17 Ev Cas-ch (reb)
Cristian (KERESZTÉNYSZIGET, *Grossau*) *9*.31 Cas-ch (*c*. 1150 & 1498) Cas ru
Cristeştii Ciceului (CSICSÓKERESZTUR) *2*.11 RC Ch; Cas ru
Criştior (KRISTYÓR) *10*.2 Ref Ch; GC Ch
Cristur (SZÉKELYKERESZTÚR) *14*.11 RC Ch (mid XV)
Criţ (SZÁSZKERESZTUR, *Deutschkreuz*) *15*.20 Cas-ch (Rom & XIV)
Crizbav (KRIZBA) *7*.4 Cas
Cucerdes (KOSCSÁRD) *11*.18 Cas gate
Curciu (KŐRÖS, *Kirtsch*) *13*.17 Ev Ch
Cuzdrioara (KOZÁRVÁR) *2*.9 Ref Ch; Cas site

Dăbîca (DOBOKA) *2/1*.35 Cas ru
Dacia (GARÁT, *Stein*) *15*.43 Ev Cas-ch (1587; carved stalls)

Daia (SZÁSZDÁLYA, *Denndorf*) *15.*10 Cas-ch
Daia (DOLMÁNY, *Talheim*) *9.*34 Ev Ch (Rom)
Daia (MAGYARDÁLYA) *14.*18 Ref Ch (XIV)
Dămăcuşeni (DOMOKOS) *2.*2 Ref Ch
Deal (DALOM, *Dallendorf*) *9/12.*9 Ch ru (Rom & XVI)
Dealu (OROSZHEGY) *14.*7 Chap ru
Dealu Frumos (LESES, *Schönberg*) *15.*50 Ev ch, fort (1522)
Dej (DÉS, *Desch*) *2.*14 Aug convent & cloister; Ref ch (XV); Cas-ch ru;
   Chat (Báthory, later Rákóczi); Ch in old town (Rom & tr 1578); Cas ru
Denşuş (DEMSUS) *10.*17 GO Ch (Rom)
Deva (DÉVA, *Diemrich*) *10.*7 Ref Ch; Franc cloister; Cas ru; 'Magna Curia'
Dîrja (MAGYARDERZSE) *2/1.*30 Ch
Dîrlos (DARLÓC, *Durless*) *13/15,*20 Ev Ch (XV)
Ditrău (DITRÓ) *5.*1 RC Ch (med & 1746)
Dobîrca (DOBORKA, *Dobring*) *9.*16 Ev Cas-ch (1481, reb 1631)
Dobra (DOBRA) *10.*6 Cas ru
Dragu (DRÁG) *1.*1 Chat
Drăuşeni (HOMORÓDDARÓC, *Draas*) *14/15.*23 Ev Cas-ch (1224, 1494;
   2-handed sword)
Dumbrăveni (ERZSÉBETVÁROS) *13.*19 Ev Cas-ch (XV-XVI); Cas (Apaffy) at
   Ebesfalva (*Eibischdorf*)
Dumbrăvioara (SÁROMBERKE) *4.*11 Chat
Dumitra (NAGYDEMETER, *Mettersdorf*) *3.*3 Ev Cas-ch

Eremitu (REMETE) *4.*8 Cas ruins ('Szakadát', 'Vityál')
Ernei (NAGYERNYE) *4.*13 RC (form Unit) Ch; Ref Ch (1668)
Estelnic (ESZTELNEK) *6.*1 RC ch (XV); Franc convent (XVIII)

Făgăraş, (FOGARAS) *8.*2 Ref Ch; GC ch (1697); Cas (1310)
Feldioara (FÖLDVÁR, *Marienburg*) *7.*5 Ev Ch (XIV); Cas Chap (altarpiece);
   GC wood Ch
Feliceni (FELSŐBOLDOGFALVA) *14.*13 Ref Ch
Felmeru (FELMÉR, *Felmern*) *15/8.* 58 Cas-ch (Rom & XV)
Fişer (SÖVÉNYSÉG, *Schweischer*) *15.*22 Ev Cas-ch (XV & 1605)
Fizeşul Gherlei (ORDÖNGŐSFÜZES) *2.*27 Ref Ch (1675)
Floreşti (SZÁSZFENES) *1.*31 Cas
Frâua (ASSZONYFALVA, *Frauendorf*) *15.*13 Ev Cas-ch (1330-1500)
Frumoasa (CSIKSZÉPVÍZ) *5.*11 Chapels ru

Glada de Jos (ALSÓGÁLD) *12.*13 GO Ch; Cas; Chat
Geoagiu de Jos (ALGYÓGY) *10.*5 Ref Ch (circular with apse)
Ghelniţa (GELENCE) *6.*11 Ch (1628,Got); Cas-ch ru (XV, XVIII)
Gheorghieni (GYERGYÓSZENTMIKLÓS) *5.*3 RC Ch tr (1498, 1758)
Gherla (SZAMOSUJVÁR) *2.*26 Ch (XVI, Got); Cas ru–Chat
Ghidfalău (GIDÓFALVA) *6.*19 Ref Ch
Ghimbav (VIDOMBÁK, *Weidenbach*) *7.*13 Cas-ch

Ghimeş (GYIMES) 5.7 RC Ch (1782); Cas
Giacăş, (GYÁKOS, *Gogeschdorf*) 13.18 Ch (bell 1486)
Gilău (GYALU) 1.24 Cas (XVI) with Chat (Rákóczi); Cas ('Gelú')
Gîrbova (SZÁSZORBÓ, *Urwegen*) 9.11 Ch ru (Rom); Cas ru
Gîrbova de Jos (ALSÓORBÓ) 12.7 Ch ru
Glodeni (MAROSSÁRPATAK) 4.9 Ref Ch
Goganverolea (GOGÁNVÁRALJA) 13.8 Ref Ch (XIV); Cas ru
Gorneşti (GERNYESZEG) 4.10 Ref Ch (later XV); Chat (Teleky)
Götzenberg 9.43 Cas ru
Grădiştea (UJGREDISTYE) 10.20 Cas
Gurasada (GURASZÁDA) 10.3 GO Ch (Byz, XVI)
Gurghiu (GÖRGÉNYSZENTIMRE) 4.5 RC Ch (1710); Cas (Rákóczi);
   Chap ru
Guşteriţa (SZENTERZSÉBET, *Hammersdorf*) 9.25 Ev Ch (Rom)

Hălchiu (HÖLTÖVÉNY, *Heldsdorf*) 7.6 Ev Ch tr; Cas ru
Hălmeag (HALMÁGY, *Halmagen*) 15/8.63 Ev Ch (Got)
Hamba (KAKASFALVA, *Hahnbach*) 9.20 Ev Ch
Hărănglab (HARANGLÁB) 13.7 Chat (Mirza Khan)
Hărăstas (HARASZTOS) 11.10 Ch ru; Chat (Orbán)
Hărman (SZÁSZHERMÁNY, *Honigberg*) 7.9 Ev Cas-ch (XIII, reb 1595;
   visited by Charles XII of Sweden, who gave altar)
Hărţău (HARCÓ) 4.12 Ref Ch (Got); GC wood ch (1775)
Haşag (HÁSSÁG, *Haschagen*) 15/9.46 Ch ru
Hasmiş (ALSÓHAGYMÁS) 2.8 GC wood ch (1675)
Haţeg (HÁTSZEG) 10.18 Ref Ch (-1475)
Hendorf (HÉGEN, *Henndorf*) 15.29 Ev Cas-ch
Herina (HARINA, *Mönchsdorf*) 3.10 Ch (Rom, XIII)
Hoghiz (HÉVIZ) 15.45 Form Mon
Honorod (HOMORÓD, *Hameruden*) 15.32 Cas-ch (XIII, frescoes XIV)
Hozman (HOLCMÁNY, *Holzmengen*) 9.27 Ev Cas-ch (Rom)
Huedin (BÁNFFYHUNYAD) 1.8 Ref Ch (c.1487); Chat (Bánffy)
Hundrubechiu (SZÁSZHALOM, *Hundertbücheln*) 15.51 Ev Cas-ch
Hunedoara (VAJDAHUNYAD, *Eisenmarkt*) 10.12 Cas (Hunyadi); GC Ch (Byz
   XIII)

Iacobeni (JAKABFALVA, *Jakobsdorf*) 15.39 Ev Cas-ch
Iara (ALSÓJÁRA) 11.2 Unit Ch
Ibăneşti (GÖRGÉNYLIBÁNFALVA) 4.6 GC wood ch
Icafalău (IKAFALVA) 6.10 Ref Ch (XV); Cas ru ('Ika')
Iclod (NAGYIKLÓD) 2.33 Chat in ru of old Ch
Ighişfălău (SZÁSZIVÁNFALVA, *Eibesdorf*) 15.14 Ev Cas-ch (late Got, aumbry
   1421)
Ighiu (MAGYARIGEN, *Krapundorf*) 12.16 Ref Ch
Ilia (MAROSILYE) 10.4 Paul convent; RC Ch; Cas (Bethlen)

Ilieni (ILYEFALVA) *6.26* Ref Cas-ch (1443); RC Ch (1701)
Iuş (SZÁSZUJŐS) *2/3.39* Ref Ch (reb 1784)

Jibert (ZSIBERK, *Seiburg*) *15.42* Ch
Jigodin (CSIKZSÖGÖD) *5.19* Cas ru; Chap ru
Jimbor (ZSOMBOR, *Sommerburg*) *14.25* Cas
Joseni (GYERGYÓALFALU) *5.4* Ch (1206-; bell 1537); RC Ch (1766-76)

Lăpuş (MAGYARLÁPOS) *2.3* Ref Ch; Cas
Lazărea (GYERGYÓSZÁRHEGY) *5.2* Ch (Got, aisle 1729); Franc Ch &
   cloister (1642); Chat (Lázár)
Leghea (JEGENYE) *1.16* RC Ch (bell dated 1252; oldest in Germany 1249)
Leliceni (CZIKSZENTLÉLEK) *5.17* RC Ch (XVI; altarpiece 1512)
Lemnia (LEMHÉNY) *6.4* Cas-ch
Letca (LETKA) *2.5* GC wood ch (1600)
Litenii de Sus (MAGYARLÉTA) *11.1* Cas ru (Geczi)
Lovnic (LEBNEK, *Leblang*) *15.52* Ch (Rom)
Ludoş (NAGYLUDAS, *Grosz Ludosch*) *9.5* Ch (Rom)
Lueta (LÖVETE) *14.14* Cas ru
Luna de Jos (KENDILÓNA) *2/1.36* Chat
Luna de Sus (SZÁSZLÓNA) *1.25* Cas site ('Cigány-havas')
Luncani (GEREND) *11.11* Ref Ch (1290-99, XV); Chat
Lupşa (LUPSA) *8/15.1* GC Ch (1421)

Macşa (MAKSA) *6.21* Ref Cas-ch
Măeruş (SZÁSZMOGYARÓS, *Nuszbach*) *7.2* Ev Ch (Got)
Măgărei (MAGARÉ, *Magarei*) *15.37* Cas-ch
Măgherani (MAGYAROS) *4.19* Cas tr
Măgheruş-şieu (SAJOMAGYAROS) *2/3.20* Cas ru
Maiad (NYOMÁT) *4.24* Unit Ch (Rom)
Mălăncrav (ALMAKERÉK, *Malmkrog*) *15.17* Ev (form RC) Cas-ch (late
   XIII, XVI, paintings XVI)
Malim (MÁLOM) *2.18* Ref Ch (Got)
Malnaş (MÁLNÁS) *6.9* Castles ('Herencvár', 'Leánykavár') ru
Mănăstirea (SZENTBENEDEK) *2.16* GO Ch; Chat (Kornis)
Mănăstireni (MAGYARGYERŐMONOSTOR) *1.19* Ref Ch; Mon (XV)
Mănăştur (KOLOZSMONOSTOR) *1.26* GO Ch; Mon
Marpod (MARPOD) *9.21* Ev Cas-ch
Mărtiniş (HOMORÓDSZENTMÁRTON) *14.17* Unit Cas-ch
Matei (SZÁSZMÁTÉ) *2/3.34* Ref Ch (1660)
Mediaş (MEDGYES, *Mediasch*) *15.5* Cas-ch (late Got); Cas; Walls
Mercheaşa (MIRKVÁSÁR, *Streitford*) *15.33* Ev Cas-ch (1517-47)
Merghindeal (MORGONDA, *Mergeln*) *15.55* Ev Ch
Meşendorf (MESE, *Meschendorf*) *15.19* Cas-ch
Metiş (MÁRTONHEGY, *Martinsberg*) *15/8.64* Ev Ch (Rom, Got)
Micăsasa (MIKESSZÁSZA, *Feigendorf*) *13.22* Ref Ch

Miercurea (SZERDAHELY, *Reuszmarkt*) *9*.12 Ev Cas-ch
Miercurea Ciuc (CSIKSZEREDA) *5*.16 RC Ch (1758); Cas (1620)
Milhăileni (MIHÁLYFALVA, *Michelsdorf*) *15*.48 Ev Ch (Got)
Mihăileni Ciuc (CSIKSZENTIMIHÁLY) *5*.9 Cas-ch (1552); Cas ru
  ('Baláskő')
Milaş (NAGYNYULAS) *1/4*.17 GC wood ch (1640)
Mintiul Gherlei (SZAMOSUJVÁRNÉMETI) *2*.22 Ref Ch (XIV)
Misentea (CSIKMINDSZENT) *5*.20 RC Ch (XIV)
Moldoveneşti (VÁRFALVA) *11*.8 Cas ru; Unit Ch (Rom, Got)
Moşna (MUSZNA, *Meschen*) *15*.26 Ev Cas-ch (1490-1500, by Andreas
  Lapida, designer of Ch at Sibiu)
Mugeni (BÖGÖZ) *14*.16 Ref Ch
Mura Mică (KISSZEDERJES) *4*.14 GC wood ch

Nemşa (*Nimesch*) *15*.27 Cas-ch (frescoes XVI)
Netuş (NETHUS, *Neithausen*) *15*.40 Cas-ch
Nicoleşti (CSIKSZENTMIKLÓS) *5*.12 RC Ch (1498, 1772); Arm Ch (1733)
Nireş (SZÁSZNYIRES) *2*.19 Ref Ch (Got)
Nocrich (UJEGYHÁZ, *Leschkirch*) *9*.14 Ev Cas-ch (Reb)
Noistat (UJVÁROS, *Neustadt*) *15*.41 Ev Ch
Noşlac (MAROSNAGYLAK) *12*.3 Ref Ch (XV)
Noul (SZÁSZUJFALU, *Neudorf*) *9*.26 Ev Ch (Rom)

Oaia (SZÉKELYVAJA) *4*.27 Ref Ch (Rom, XV)
Oarda de Sus (FELSŐMAROSVÁRALJA) *12*.21 Chat (Mikó)
Ocland (OKLÁND) *14*.24 Unit Ch; Cas ('Vargyas Kustély')
Ocna Dejului (DÉSAKNA) *2*.15 Ref Ch (Got, 1675)
Ocna Mureş (MAROSUJVÁR) *12*.1 Ch ru (Got); Chat (Gálfi)
Ocna Sibiului (VIZAKNA, *Salzburg*) *12/9*.25 Ref Ch (Rom)
Odorheiul Secuiesc (SZÉKELYUDVARHELY, *Odorhellen*) *14*.9 RC Ch; Franc
  Ch; Ref Ch; Cas ru ('Szarkakő'); Jesus Chap
Orăştie (SZÁSZVÁROS, *Broos*) *10*.11 Ref Ch (Got)
Orlat (ORLÁT) *9*.30 Cas
Ozun (UZON) *6*.27 Cas-ch; Chat (Béldi)

Pănticeu (PÁNCÉLCSEH) *2/1*.29 Ref Ch (Got)
Păuca (PÓKAFALVA) *12/9*.23 Ev Ch
Peatra rosii (VÖRÖSKŐ) *10*.19 Cas ru
Peştişul Mare (ALPESTES) *10*.10 Ev Ch
Petreşti (PÉTERFALVA, *Petersdorf*) *9/12*.3 Ev Ch (Rom tr)
Petrindu (NAGYPETRI) *1*.6 Ref Ch
Petriş (PETRES, *Petersdorf*) *3*.9 Ev Ch (1450)
Petrisat (MAGYARPÉTERFALVA) *13*.12 Ref Ch
Pianul de Jos (ALSÓPIÁN, *Deutsch Pian*) *9/12*.2 Ev Cas-ch (1330)
Porumbeni Mari (NAGYGALAMBFALVA) *14*.15 Ref Ch (*c*. 1545-50), built by
  Queen Isabella)

Porumbeni Mici (KISGALAMBFALVA) *14*.12 Cas ru (Galath)
Praid (PARAJD) *14*.1 Cas (Rapsonné)
Prejmer (PRÁZSMÁR, *Tartlau*) 7.10 Ev Cas-ch (Got)
Prislop (PRESZLOP) *3*.2 GC wood Ch (1600)
Prostea Mare (NAGYEKEMEZŐ, *Grosz Propstdorf*) *13*.21 Ev Ch
Purcăreni (PÜRKEREC) 7.15 Ref Cas-ch (Bronze font 1676)

Racăşul de Jos (ALSÓRÁKOS) *15*.34 Cas (Mihály)
Racu (CSIKRÁKOS) *5*.10 RC Ch (XIII, 1467); Cas ru on Bogath hill; Chat (Cserey; 1667)
Rădeşti (TOMPAHÁZA) *12*.8 Ref Ch
Rapoltul Mare (NAGYRÁPOLT) *10*.8 Ref Ch
Răsboeni Cetate (SZÉKELYFÖLDVÁR) *11*.17 Ref Ch
Răşinar (RESINÁR) *9*.36 Cas ru
Reci (RÉTY) *6*.24 Cas-ch tr
Reciu (RÉCSE, *Rätsch*) *9*.10 Ch
Reghin (SZÁSZRÉGEN) *4*.3 Ev Ch (1330); GC wood ch
Richişu (RIOMFALVA, *Reichsdorf*) *15*.28 Ev Ch (1451)
Rimetea (TOROCKÓ) *11/12*.9 Cas ru
Rîpa de Jos (ALSÓRÉPA) *4*.1 GC (form Ev) Ch
Rîşnov (ROZSNYÓ, *Rosenau*) 7.19 Ev Ch (XIV); Cas ru (*c.* 1222, XVI)
Rîu de Mori (MALOMVIZ) *10* .22 GC Ch; Old Ch ru (XIII, fresco XVI)
Roadăş (RÁDOS, *Radeln*) *15*.12 Ev Cas-ch (1526, altarpiece 1614, tr 1644)
Rodbav (NÁDPATAK, *Rohrbach*) *15/8*.62 Ev Ch
Rodna (ÓRADNA) *3*.1 Ch ru
Romos (ROMOSZ, *Rumes*) *10*.15 Ev Ch (Got)
Roşia (VERESMART, *Rotberg*) *9*.35 Ev Ch (Rom)
Roşia Montana (VERESPATAK) *12*.5 Ch; Houses
Rotbav (VERESMART, *Rotbach*) 7.3 Ev Cas-ch
Ruja (ROZSONDA, *Roseln*) *15*.38 Ev Cas-ch (tr base Rom)
Rupea (KŐHALOM, *Reps*) *15*.31 Ch (late Got); Cas (Felleg)
Ruşciori (ROSSZCSÜR, *Reuszdörfchen*) *9*.23 Ev Ch

Săcădate (OLTSZAKADÁT, *Sakedat*) *9*.38 Ev Ch
Săcueni (UJSZÉKELY) *14*.10 Unit Ch
Sălişte (SZELISTYE, *Groszdorf*) *9*.28 Cas-ch; Cas ru
Sărăţeni (SÓVÁRADCSOMBOD) *4*.20 Cas ru
Saroşu (SZÁSZSÁROS, *Scharosch*) *15*.1 Cas-ch (Got)
Saschiz (SZÁSZKÉZD, *Keisd*) *15*.4 Ev Cas-ch (1493-96); Cas (XV)
Săscior (SZÁSZCSÓR, *Klein Sachsen*) *9/12*.8 Cas
Satu Nou (BARCAUJFALU, *Neudorf*) 7.8 Ev Ch (XV, wood font)
Şaula (SÁRVÁSÁR) *1*.9 Ref Ch
Sebeş (SZÁSZSEBES, *Mühlbach*) *9/12*.1 Ev Cas-ch (Rom, Got); Cas
Sebeşel (ÓSEBESHELY) *10*.14 Cas ru
Şeica Mare (NAGYSELYK, *Marktschelken*) *15*.35 Ev Ch

Şeica Mică (KISSELYK, *Klein Schelken*) *15.*24 Ev Cas-ch (late XIV, font 1474)

Şelimbăr (SELLENBERK, *Schellenburg*) *9.*33 Ev Ch

Şercaia (SÁRKÁNY) *8.*3 Ev Ch (Got)

Sfaraşu (FARNA) *1.*5 Ref Ch (Got)

Sfîntu Gheorghe (SEPSISZENTGYÖRGY) *6.*20 Ref Ch (1547); Cas ru

Sfîntu Nicolae (BETHLENSZENTMIKLÓS) *13.*9 Unit Ch

Sibiel (SZIBIEL) *9.*29 Cas ru

Sibiu (NAGYSZEBEN, *Hermannstadt*) *9.*24 Ev Ch (by 1351); RC Chap (stone crucifix, 1417); Walls; Houses

Sic (SZÉK) *2.*37 Ref Ch (Rom, 1432, 1510)

Şieu Odorhei (SAJÓUDVARHELY) *2.*13 Ref Ch (Got)

Şieu Sfîntul (SAJÓSZENTANDRÁS) *3.*5 Ch

Sighişoara (SEGESVÁR, *Schässburg*) *15.*2 Ev 'Bergkirche' (1409-83); Town Ch (form Dominican, 1482-1515); Cas; Walls, Clocktower; Old Town Inn (XV)

Sîmbata de Sus (FELSŐSZOMBATFALVA) *8.*5 GO Mon ru; RC Ch (1401)

Şimişna (SEMESNYE) *2.*6 Mon & cloister

Sîncel (SZANCSAL) *13.*13 Ref Ch (XVI)

Sîncraiu de Mureş (MAROSSZENTKIRÁLY) *4.*23 Ref Ch (XIII)

Sîncraieni (CSIKSZENTKIRÁLY) *5.*22 Ch (XVI); Chat (Andrássy)

Sîndominic (CSIKSZENTDOMOKOS) *5.*5 GC wood ch (1787); RC Ch

Sîngiorgiu de Pădure (ERDŐSZENTGYÖRGY) *4/14.*28 Ref Ch (XV); Cas ru

Sîngiorgiul de Mureş (MAROSSZENTGYÖRGY) *4.*18 RC Ch; Cas-Chat (Petkyek) ru

Sînmartin (CSIKSZENTMÁRTON) *5.*23 Unit Ch (late Got); RC Ch (Madonna 1525)

Sînpaul (HOMORÓDSZENTPÁL) *14.*19 Paul Mon site; Gate tr (1542)

Sînpetru (BARCASZENTPÉTER, *Petersberg*) *7.*12 Ev Cas-ch; Cas ru (Lempesch)

Sînpetrul de Cîmpie (UZDISZENTPÉTER) *1.*30 Ref Ch

Sîntămăria Orlea (ŐRALJABOLDOGFALVA) *10.*21 Ref Ch (XIII)

Sîntana de Mureş (MAROSSZENTANNA) *4.*17 Ref Ch

Sîntimbru (MAROSSZENTIMRE) *12.*17 GC Ch (1442, built by John Hunyadi)

Sînvăşii (NYÁRÁDSZENTLÁSZLÓ) *4.*22 Unit Cas-ch; Cas tr

Sînzeni (KÉZDISZENTLÉLEK) *6.*3 Cas-ch; GC wood ch (1760); Cas ('Szentelek')

Slimnic (SZELINDEK, *Stolzenburg*) *9.*6 Ev Cas-ch; Cas ru

Soarş (NAGYSÁROS, *Grosz Scharesch*) *15/8.*57 Ev Ch (1486)

Şoimuşul Mare (NAGYSOLYMOS) *14.*3 Ref Ch (XV)

Solovăstru (GÖRGÉNYSÓAKNA) *4.*4 Castles (2) ru

Someşeni (SZAMOSFALVA) *1.*23 RC Ch (Got; Rom font)

Stena–see Dacia

Strei (ZEYKFALVA) *10.*16 GO Ch

Strei Sîngiorgiu (SZTRIGYSZENTGYÖRGY) *101*3 GO Ch

Stremț (DIÓD) *12*.10 Cas tr
Șumuleu (CSIKSOMLYÓ) *5*.15 Ch & cloister (XV) ru; Salvator Chap on hill
(XV)
Șura Mare (NAGYCSÜR, *Grosz Scheurn*) *9*.19 Ev Ch
Șura Mică (KISCSÜR, *Kleinscheurn*) *9*.18 Ev Ch (1506)

Țaga (CEGE) *2*.38 Chat (Wass; 1699)
Talmaciu (TALMÁCS, *Talmesch*) *9*.42 Ev Ch; Cas ru
Tărcești (TARCSAFALVA) *14*.5 RC Ch (early XV, polygonal)
Tărpiu (TÖRPÉNY) *3*.4 Ref Cas-ch (1504)
Tauț (SZENTMIHÁLYFALVA) *12*.15 Paul Mon; Cas ('Szentmihálykő')
Teaca (TEKE) *1/4*.13 Ref (form RC) Ch
Teiuș (TÖVIS, *Dreikirchen*) *12*.11 RC Ch (1448); Ref Ch; Paul Mon; GC
Ch (*c*. 1500)
Teliu (NYÉN) *6/7*.30 Ref Ch tr; Cas ru ('Kreuzburg', Teutonic Knights)
Ticușul Neamț (SZÁSZTYUKOS, *Deutsch Tekes*) *15*.59 Ev Ch
Tilișca (TILISKA) *9*.22 Cas ru
Tiocul de Jos (ALSÓTÖK) *2*.24 Ref Ch (*c*. 1481)
Tiocul de Sus (FELSŐTÖK) *2*.21 Ref Ch (*c*. 1468)
Tîrgu Lăpuș (OLÁHLÁPOS) *2*.4 GC wood Ch (1697, paintings)
Tîrgu Mureș (MAROSVÁSÁRHELY) *4*.21 Ref Ch (Got); Cas; Chat (XVII)
Tîrgu Secuiesc (KÉZDIVÁSÁRHELY) *6*.7 Ref Ch
Tirimia (NAGYTEREMI) *13/4*.2 Ref Ch
Toarcla (KISPRÁZSMÁR, *Tarteln*) *15/8*.61 Ev Cas-ch (Rom W. door)
Tomești (CSIKSZENTTAMÁS) *5*.6 Cas-ch ru; Chat (Abaffi) ru
Turda (TORDA, *Torenburg*) *11*.3 RC Ch (Got); Convent ru; Palace of the
Principality; Court-house (XVI); Cas ru; Szarkad Ch to W. (1310-)
Turdeni (TORDÁTFALVA) *14*.4 Cas (Halmány)
Turea (TÜRE) *1*.11 GC Wood Ch (XVIII)
Turia (TORJA) *6*.6 RC Cas-ch; Ref ch (1516; Cas (Bálványos)
Turnișor (KISTORONY, *Neppendorf*) *9*.32 Ev Ch (Rom)
Turnu Roșu (VÖRÖSTORONY, *Roter Turm*)–see Boița ('Red Tower')

Uioara de Sus (FELSŐMAROSUJVÁR) *12*.2 Cas ru
Ungheni (NYÁRÁDTŐ) *4*.25 Ch ru
Ungra (UGRA, *Galt*) *15*.44 Ev Cas-ch (Rom, 1702); Cas
Unguraș (BÁLVÁNYOSVÁRALJA) *2*.17 Chap (Rom); Ref Ch (1643); Cas ru

Valchid (VÁLDHÍD, *Waldhütten*) *15*.8 Cas-ch (XV)
Valea Crișului (KŐRÖSPATAK) *6*.16 RC Ch; Cas ('Nyirtető')
Valea Lungă (HOSSZÚASZÓ) *5*.18 Chap (bell 1608)
Văleni (MAGYARVALKÓ) *1*.18 Ref Cas-ch (end XV)
Vărd (VERD, *Werd*) *15*.53 Ev Ch
Vărghiș (VARGYAS) *14*.27 Mon ru; Cas ru ('Hollofernes')
Vesăud (SZÁSZVESSZŐD, *Zied*) *15*.54 Ev Ch (Rom)
Vinerea (FELKENYÉR) *10*.9 Ch ru (Got)

Vingard (VINGÁRD) *12/9*.22 Ev Ch (1470); Chat
Vinţu de Jos (ALVINC), *12*.20 RC Ch; Ref Ch (1250-1300); Cas ru ('Zebeznik') at *Burgberg*
Vinţu de Sus (FELVINC) *11*.16 Ref Ch; Cas ru (XVI; 'Zsidóvár')
Viscri (SZÁSZFEHÉREGYHÁZA, *Deutschweiszkirch*) *15*.30 Ev Cas-ch (1404; tr 1630-49)
Viştea (VISTA) *1*.22 Ref Ch
Vlaha (MAGYARFENES) *1*.32 RC Ch
Vorumloc (BAROMLAKA, *Wurmloch*) *15*.25 Ev Cas-ch (Rom, *c*. 1500-26)
Vulcani (VOLKÁNY, *Wolkendorf*) *7*.16 Ev Cas-ch (XV, XVII)
Vurpăr (VURPÓD, *Burgberg*) *9*.13 Ev Ch; Cas ru ('Radeburg')

Zabala (ZABOLA) *6*.17 Ref Cas-ch; Chat (Mikes)
Zagon (ZÁGON) *6*.29 Ref Ch (chalice XV)
Zălan (ZALÁN) *6*.13 Ref Ch (Rom)
Zetea (ZETELAKA) *14*.8 Cas tr (Zete)
Zlatna (ZALATNA) *12*.14 GC Ch (1424)