

Cezar-Iulian Buterez*, Andreea Popa*, Radu Gava*, Radu Dumitru*, Andrei-Rafael Gruia*

On the Trail of a Legend The Legacy of Lady Neaga Seen through Historical Maps

Keywords: historical maps; historical geography; Lady Neaga; Romania

Summary: There are places which preserve the eternal recollection of some representative historical characters, even though they passed away centuries ago. One such character, who has caused the inhabitants of the Buzău Subcarpathians in Romania to imagine various scenarios about her existence is Lady Neaga, the daughter of a local nobleman and the wife of prince Mihnea II. The controversial life and early demise of her husband convinced her to return to her native land, where she dedicated the rest of her life to helping the local communities and taking care of some family foundations. In spite of the fact that she passed away at the beginning of the 17th century, she still lives through the local folklore, her image being always associated with places upon which there are ruins or old churches. This work proposes a historical-geographical approach in order to determine the spatial extension of the myth of Lady Neaga, using written documents, oral history and particularly historical maps. At the same time, it tries to delineate the truth from the legend and to give an account of the strong geographic-rooted aspect of this myth and its five century persistence.

Introduction

Encountered and studied more in the field of literature than in any other domain, myth has been a starting point in the discovery of the surrounding reality and in understanding space beyond its perceptible dimension. The philosophical idea that underlies it, namely knowledge, caused it to be applied also to cultural geographical studies – mythical geography. Seen as “*a frame for the pragmatic space*” (Tuan 2002:86), myth is but a re-enactment of reality from a certain time and space. It does not distort reality but use it as a basis upon which it settles multiple realities, enriching a place and making it unique. Referring to the spatial myth as a “*fuzzy area of detective knowledge surrounding the empirical known*”, Tuan draws the attention upon the mysterious and attractive side of the spatial myth that binds the surrounding reality and separates it from the other spatial elements by authenticity. The imagination of people – aroused either by influential historical events or by the deeds of some personalities – has led throughout time to the rendering of some new, uncommon peculiarities to places, which go beyond the pragmatical. The power of imagination creates the spatial myths; “*the world we live in, our spatial concepts are not merely based on the perception, but also on the imagination. They are formed as mythical spaces*” (Mitin 2007:5). One of the geographer’s priorities is to “*always throw a bridge between the present and the past*” (Densușianu 1966:56);

* Faculty of Geography – University of Bucharest [cezarb@geo.unibuc.ro] [andreeapopa_94@yahoo.com] [radu.blitz@yahoo.com] [radu_d_t@yahoo.com] [rafael.gruia@gmail.com]

without reviving the past, the obstructions imposed by the spatial and temporal isolation cannot be broken through.

Spatial myths are based upon conspicuous events; throughout time they have spread and became connected with some places in a way that is, sometimes, beyond people's grasp. Thus, they are preserved and "*confer extraordinary symbolic meaning on them*" (Azryahu and KellermanBarrett 1998:111).

In the Romanian culture, myth has been perceived and analysed only literarily and philosophically as a part of reality by Mircea Eliade, for whom it was but "*a revealing of a primordial event that has established either a structure of reality or a human behaviour*" (Eliade 1998:12). Within the mythical geography, confronting to a "presence-absence" of the character that triggered the myth is almost inevitable (Mills 2013:707). This is caused by the fact that "*the dead don't answer questionnaires*" (Baker 2007). If it hadn't been for the historical data stored in the archives, finding out about myths would have been very difficult. Since these sources reveal certain aspects of some historical personalities' lives, it can be said that they are a revivalism of eidolons (<gr. eidos – form), "*individuals no longer alive and frozen in time at a particular moment*" (Mills 2013: 707). When the biography of a certain historical personality is concise, the ingeniousness of the natives acts as a gap ligament and some places become more valuable, for they stand upon a "*symbolic keystone*" (Azryahu and KellermanBarrett 1998:110).

One of these past-related personalities is Lady Neaga, the wife of prince Mihnea of Wallachia, whose reputation lingers even today in the Subcarpathian area. Born in a noble family, as daughter of Vlaicu and Anca, a family who "*used to build churches and dwellings, 'castles' in the glades surrounded by woods*" (Iorga 1932:209). Lady Neaga's social rank explains her being associated with many places, given the fact that she has founded and contributed to the welfare of several churches; though, it is still difficult to explain why the stories that concern her bestow this mythical shape on some places, which, historically speaking, are not connected with her. There are certain episodes or place names which, either in the old maps or in people's narrations, are so frequent that they became leitmotifs.

The purpose of this article is to establish the real spatial occurrence of the myth of Lady Neaga and to dissociate between truth and legend, giving an account of its five centuries persistence, through an old-map-lead historic-geographical approach. This study presents the results of combining old maps and written source information via GIS for evaluating the foregoing aspects that until now have been analysed strictly using written sources.

Data and methods

The project is one of the first attempts in Romanian historical geography to collect and visualize spatial information about historical figures who became legendary characters.

In order to achieve the aimed purpose, the creation of a database with the places related in any way to Lady Neaga, from the 17th century up to the present, appeared as a necessity. Throughout time, there were many initiatives of giving a chronological account of certain legends and even of establishing the historical truth (Iorgulescu 1892, Cocora 1986, Şuraru 2009) but all of them were based exclusively on textual sources. The present study pays a deep regard to these sources, but it also uses cartographic representations.

There is little historical information about Lady Neaga, but it is accessible almost entirely via historical documents, either translated or transliterated and published in collections by researchers of the Romanian Academy (*Documente privind Istoria României, Documenta Romaniae Historica*) or by collectors (Grecianu 1913). The myths and legends concerning Lady Neaga had been spread in the Buzău Subcarpathian area, in the second half of the 19th century, being included relatively late in scientific and literary papers (Odobescu 1874, Iorgulescu 1892).

As far as old maps are concerned, the field of data acquisition is very restricted. Romanian provinces left behind the informal cartography period at the beginning of the 18th century, when the first Romanian cartographical and historical and geographical productions emerged. Even so, it was only after the topographical works in Wallachia made by the Habsburg Empire (1790-1791) that the first large scale maps of territories populated by Romanians from places other than Transylvania appeared. The scarce geographical knowledge, as well as the lack of proper topographical indications, has led to the creation of small scale maps by foreign cartographers until the end of the 19th century (see Figure 1). Thus, there was no exceeding of the level of knowledge imposed by steward Cantacuzino's map drawn in 1700, which represented the main source of inspiration for cartographers. Many of these maps were created with a geopolitical intention or as a support for the wars fought between the Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian Empires. In reality, until the 19th century, Wallachia didn't invest at all in researching and mapping its own territory.

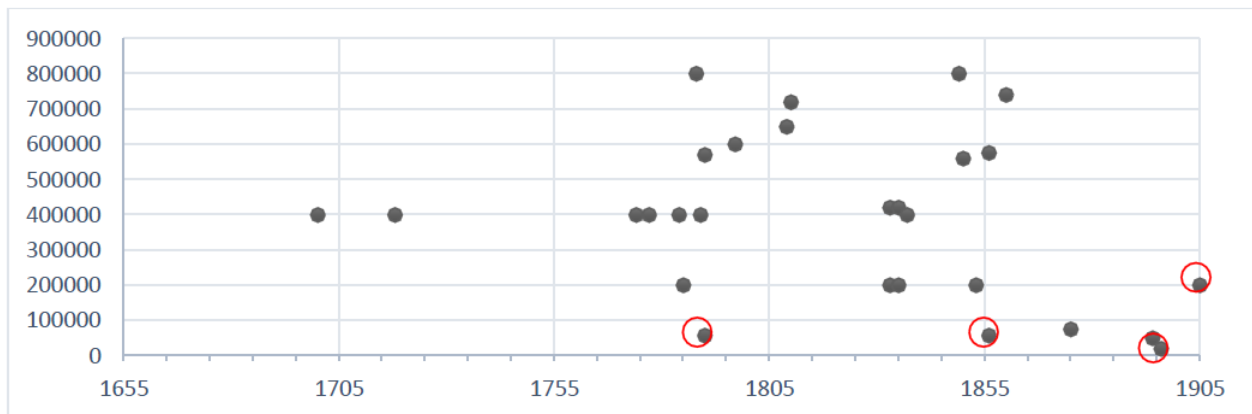


Figure 1. Frequency and scale improvement of Wallachian maps between 1700 and 1905. Maps with a scale smaller than 1:800000 are excluded. The ones used in the study are marked with red circles.

Most of the maps used are to be found in electronic libraries with free access, already documented and georeferenced (Bartos-Elekes et al 2014), some of them being provided with the help of groups of users within collaborative projects (Crăciunescu et al 2011). Thus, it was possible for the maps to be easily integrated into a GIS database, being either novel sources of primary data (the first three ones) or basemaps for creating an adequate spatial context (the fourth one) (see Table 1 and Figure 2).

Map name	Year of survey	Scale	Original Projection
Militärische Karte der Klein oder Österreichische und grossen Walachei (<i>Specht Map</i>)	1790 - 1791	ca 1:57 600	-
<i>Charta României Meridionale</i>	1855 - 1859 (published 1864)	1:57 600	Cassini-Soldner
Army Shooting Plans (<i>Planurile Directoare de Tragere</i>)	1896	1:20 000	Lambert-Cholesky
3rd Military Mapping Survey of Austria-Hungary (<i>Generalkarte von Mitteleuropa</i>)	1869 - 1887 (published 1905)	1:200 000	Polyeder

Table 1. The main maps used in the study

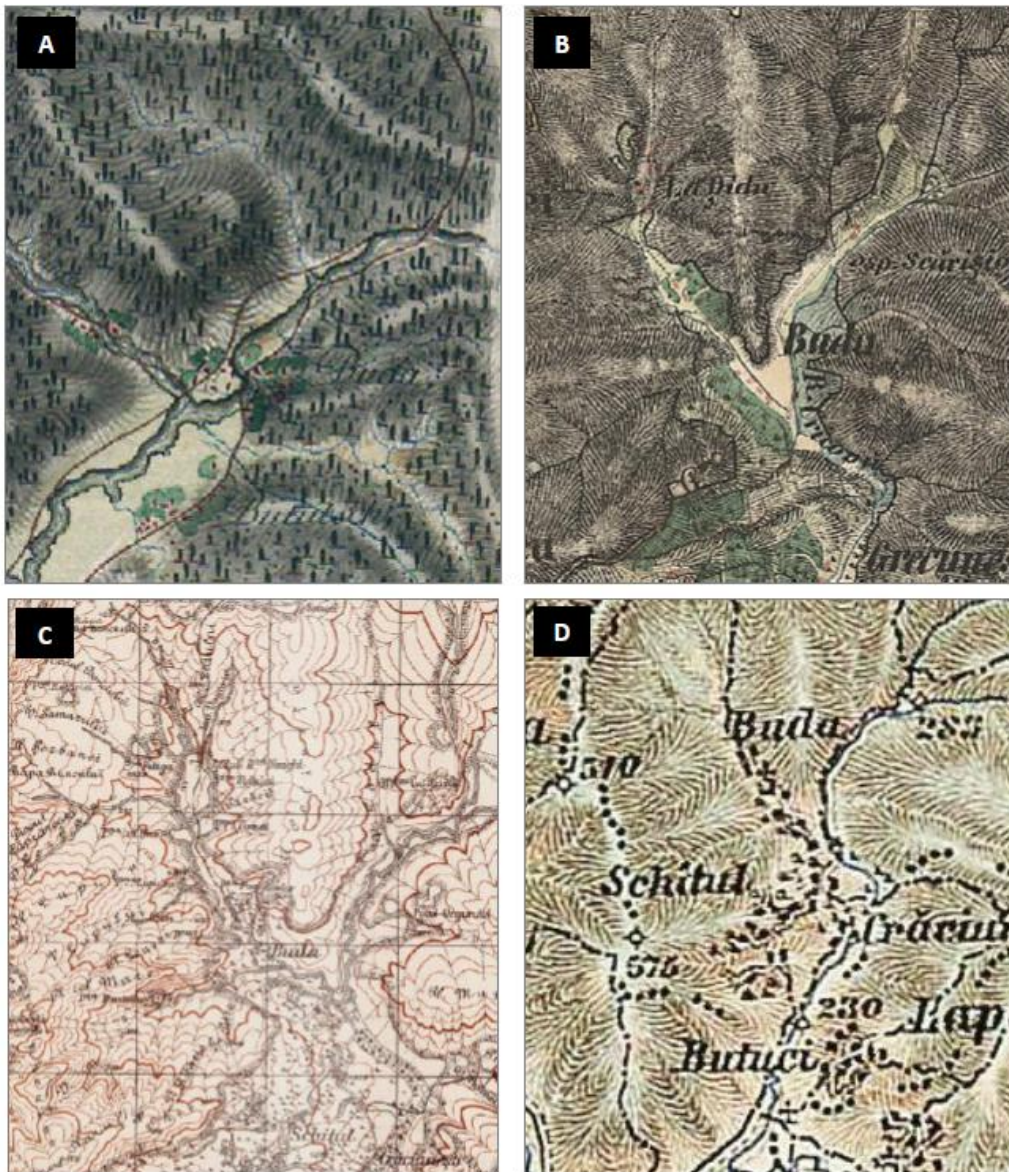


Figure 2. Fragments from the main maps used in the study. A: Specht (1790-1); B: Szathmari (survey in 1856, published in 1864); C: Army Shooting Plan (survey in 1896); D: 3rd Military Survey Austro-Hungarian Map (1905). This map is used only as a basemap because the time of its survey coincides with the first recordings of the Lady Neaga myth in scientific research.

The main issue is that while some legends coincide with specific places that can be accurately identified, others are spread over larger areas and the toponymical indications are vaguely given. Anyway, the analysis of the toponymical information from the historical maps, together with the annotations of legends, has led to the certain identification of ten places. Moreover, the cartographical background provided help in narrowing the inquiry area for five other places, identified on the field using microtoponyms and oral histories. In addition to this, other five places, consisting of churches and monasteries have been found by consulting the Romanian database of worship places¹ (Figure 3).

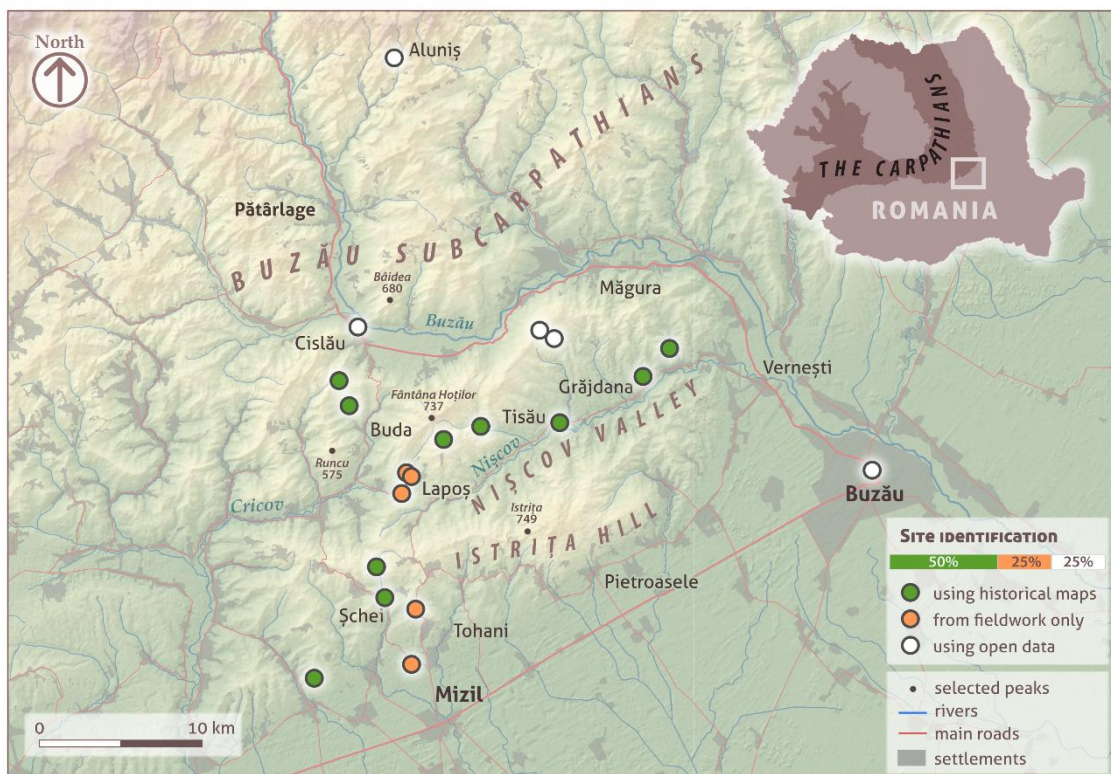


Figure 3. General map of the places related to the legend of Lady Neaga.

After having extracted the information, data from written sources and from fieldwork was added. (Table 2). Information on the field has been recorded using a GPS receiver. The transfer of the data was done using MapSource 6.15.11 software. The data were exported as .gpx, then converted as shapefiles for a better processing, and then reprojected into the Romanian national projection Stereografic 1970. GIS data processing was conducted using Esri ArcGIS 10 and QGIS 2.6.1. Further cartographic work was done using Inkscape 0.91.

¹ The data is available through the Romanian national Government portal: <http://data.gov.ro/dataset/lacase-de-cult>

Attribute	Type	Explanation
name	string	the name of the place as it is used by locals
dating	integer	the approximate year in which the legend appeared
description	string	a short description of the legend (registered in written sources or recounted by locals)
map presence	integer	shows if the place was identified using historical maps
Origin	string	stores the place where Lady Neaga is said to have come from

Table 2. Information collected for each of the places associated with Lady Neaga

Legend age and typology

Historical documents relating to Lady Neaga are low in number and surprisingly modest when it comes to the amount of information provided. At an unknown date, she married prince Mihnea the Second, becoming the Lady of Wallachia. The most noteworthy deed realised by the two has been the restoration of the Aninoasa monastery in 1589, an older foundation of Neaga's parents (Lupu 2011). Confronted with her husband's infidelity, but especially with the political instability that peaked with his conversion to the Muslim religion, Neaga withdrew to her birthplace, where presumably *"she sought solace in the church"* (Norocel 1988:229). This may however only be vaguely assumed from remaining documents, which only show a proper administration of the riches inherited from her parents and brothers, through mere property and gypsy transactions.

The exact year of Lady Neaga's death is unknown. The last written document mentioning her is her will, written in 1614, in which she donates everything to the Aninoasa monastery (Filitti 1924:13).

We can only presume that Neaga's memory has remained strong during the 18th century as well, even getting enriched with elements of legend, to such an extent, that in 1871, Al. Odobescu curates a fairy tale in which Lady Neaga makes an appearance as *"a big and great empress [...] which had castles all the way over there, in the forests of Cislău, where even today you can see [...] the foundations of the walls of her palace"* (Odobescu 1874). In the same period, other legends are picked up as well, and their immediate publishing amplifies their circulation and fame (Iorgulescu 1892).

The origin of the legends is, without a doubt, Aninoasa. The monastery restored by Neaga and Mihnea continued to serve until the 18th century, when the monastic activity was transferred to Cislău, in a church built in 1749 by the bishop Metodie of Buzău (Lupu 2011). The dereliction of the old monastery was inevitable, and the name of Aninoasa was forgotten, getting replaced by Buda. Although the connection between the place and Lady Neaga remained alive in the memory of the locals, the decaying walls of the church and cells were thought in 1892 to be *"the ruins of a fortified palace"*. (Iorgulescu 1892:350).

The considerable territorial spread of the myth assured different versions throughout the local conscience, matching the social and political context marked by the constant presence of the ottomans in the Romanian countries. Refusing to follow her husband and convert to the Muslim, Lady Neaga was forced to hide as to not be caught and enslaved by the Turks. According to the legends, she rarely settled down in one place. Instead, she appeared to be permanently moving on hidden roads, some of which haven't been discovered to this day, between monasteries and strongholds built for the very purpose of refuge. The most important of these roads is surprisingly one that is still in use: the one

between Buda and Buzău. According to tradition, the road of Lady Neaga had been marked symbolically with stone crosses². Using these crosses, identified on historical maps and then on the field, we can retrace the path between Buda and Glod, on the Nişcov Valley (Figure 4).

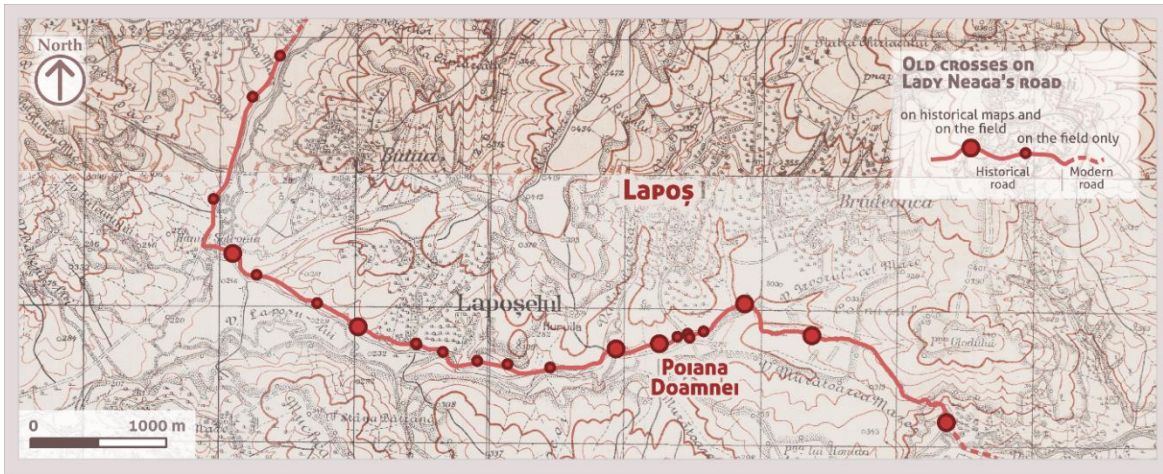


Figure 4. Lady Neaga’s road between Buda and Glod, via Lapoş; basemap: Army Shooting Plan, scale 1:20000; source: geo-spatial.org

Matching Lady Neaga's constant travelling, the variations of the myth appear to be shaped by two main influences: Aninoasa and Mizil (Figure 5).

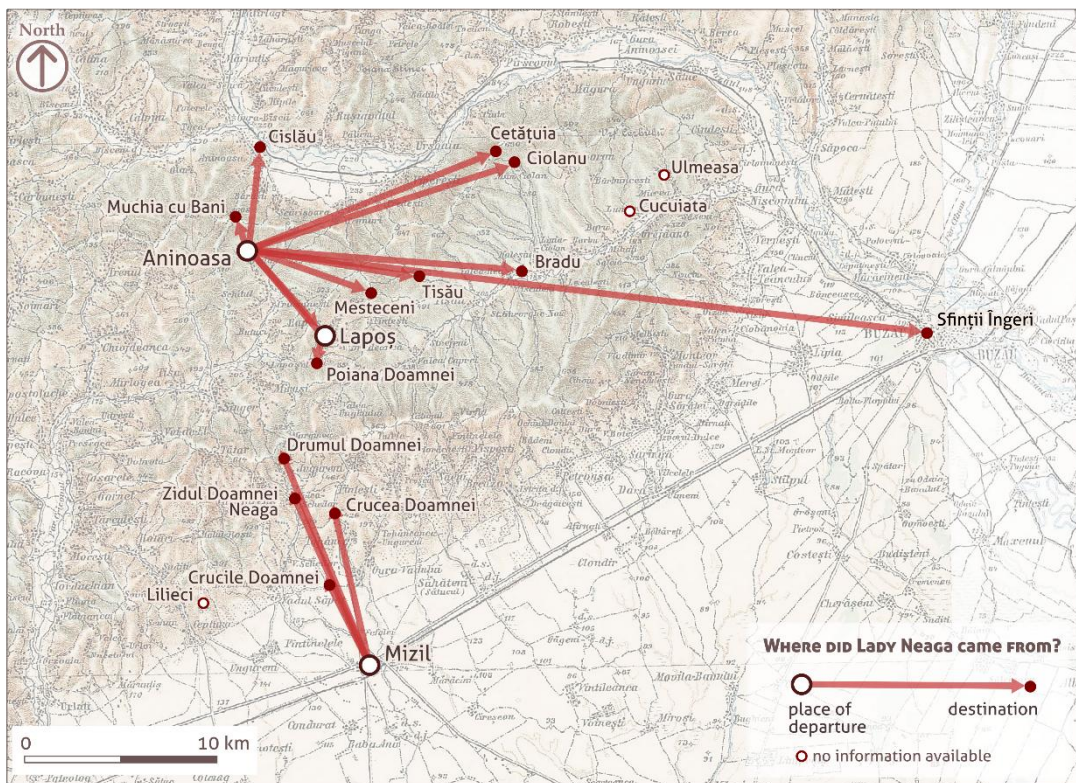


Figure 5. The places from where, according to tradition, Lady Neaga came from.

² Informer: Priest Pavel Mocanu, Buda, January 2015.

At Cislău, on the upper Nişcov valley, and at Lapoş, both the old and young locals know that “*Lady Neaga came here from Buda*” (in fact, from Aninoasa). Yet, the reason of her arrival is different for each place. At Cislău, she went to litigate against the village for the murder of one of her gypsies (Iorgulescu 1892); at Tisău she built a stronghold for shelter during difficult times, at Ciolanu, one of her sons is said to have died and on the place where she buried him, she built a monastery³. At Lapoş, Neaga wanted to build another monastery, but could not finish it because “*the tartars came*”. However, the most spread theme is “*the flee from the Turks*”⁴ (or in other variants, from the Tartars). Having the terrain advantage, Lady Neaga tried different schemes, as “*the reversed shoeing of the horses*” (at Lapoş, Bradu and Ciolanu). Thus, in a glade, south from Lapoş, a place for strolls in peaceful times⁵, her pursuers “*would have lost her trail*”⁶. In the end, she might have been caught, since the places linked to this fact are numerous: Bradu, Lapoş, and even Poiana Doamnei⁷, although her burial place is not mentioned in any legend. To avoid a similar fate, the daughters of Lady Neaga (two, by some versions, or three, by others) have thrown themselves into a well, attempting to get rid of the Turks⁸, or they were poisoned and thrown by Neaga herself⁹. This kind of wells are reported at Bradu and Lapoş (Iorgulescu 1892).

Towards south, without any link with the legends from Aninoasa, Lapoş and Bradu, there is another area, unknown until this moment in the scientific literature. Although it contains a reduced number of Neaga places, the region stands out because of the large spread of the spatial myth which takes other forms. The identified places indicate here a road of Lady Neaga, also marked by stone crosses, about which it is known only that it comes from Mizil¹⁰. On this road, at Zidul Doamnei Neaga (Lady Neaga’s Wall) from Şchei, she leaves behind another unfinished church, because of the Turks’ arrival, from whom she runs using the same scheme of the reverse horse shoeing. Her route continues towards north-west¹¹, through a rugged pass, in which she still blazes a trail, carving it directly in stone¹². Lady Neaga would have escaped from her pursuers, but she was betrayed by the locals of Şchei, who revealed her real location to the Turks. For their vile deed, Lady Neaga cursed the village of Şchei to remain unchanged forever, “*nor they multiply, but neither they disappear*”¹³.

³ Informers: monks from Ciolanu monastery, May, 2012.

⁴ Informer: Paul Neamu, Lapoş, January 2015.

⁵ Named Poiana Doamnei, according to the answer given by the teacher Ioan Ilie at the Archeological questionnaire of Al. Odobescu, on 11 March 1871. B.A.R., Fond manuscrise, mss. Rom. 224, f. 428.

⁶ Informer: Paul Neamu, Lapoş, January 2015.

⁷ In a new answer from the teacher Ioan Ilie, from February 29th, 1874, he writes that “*asking old people about the origins of this name I proved that Lady Neaga fled for fear of the Tartars in that glade and getting there, they slayed her.*” B.A.R., Fond manuscrise, mss. rom. 224, f. 288.

⁸ B.A.R., Fond manuscrise, mss. rom. 224, f. 428.

⁹ Informer: Ion Heleşanu, Buda, January 2015.

¹⁰ The link between Lady Neaga and Mizil is not explained in any legend found.

¹¹ She was probably heading again towards Aninoasa, although the legends fail to mention her destination.

¹² Informer: George Obrejan, Valea Şcheilor, December 2014.

¹³ Informers: George Obrejan, Valea Şcheilor, December 2014, Ecaterina Trandafirescu, Boboci, December 2014.

Truth or legend

Following the historical sources, it is obvious that, apart from the former monastery of Aninoasa, Lady Neaga cannot be really linked to any other place related to her, regardless of the age or the legend span of the respective place. At Cislău, the tradition assigns to her the building of a church for the transfer of Aninoasa's monastic community, after its decay (Iorgulescu 1892). The confusion about Lady Neaga arises because one of her sister's sons, Negoită Tătăranul, who inherited the founding rights of Aninoasa, donates the monastery along with its estates to the Buzău Diocese. On a small portion of the estate, near Cislău, the bishop Metodie, and not Lady Neaga, decided to build a new church for Aninoasa monastery.

The traditions of other places cannot be confirmed, since the historical sources are incomplete. The church of Ciolanu monastery, from whose inscription we learn that *“being too old, no inscription has been found about the builder or the year, only from tradition they say that it was built by Lady Neaga, the wife of Prince Mihnea, year 1590”*. The placing of this inscription has taken place after *“several times, remaining empty until the Archimandrite Anthony, the superior of this monastery who, wanting to enlarge it, built the porch in 1854”*. In fact, the monastery had been emptied in the first half of the 18th century, until 1767, when it has been reorganised and repopulated with monks at the insistence of Vasile, from Poiana Mărului monastery (Lupu 2011). Prior to this desolation period, the monastery was open and it was legally represented by the prior, along with various petty boyars, including *“Ghinea, nephew of Ciolan”*, who are named founders in the documents (Norocel 1988). The frequent appearances in documents of this nephew of Ciolan, lead to the conclusion that Ciolan, probably a local boyar, was the first founder of the monastery, although there is no direct evidence for this. The documents of Ciolanu do not mention not even once Lady Neaga, whose image could not be associated with the monastery before the desolation, around 1710. The repopulation with foreign monks after 1767 has made the memory of the original founders to be erased both from the written documents of the monastery, who have probably disappeared, as from the local memory. In the rehabilitation period, under the lead of prior Anthony (1832-1854), the only foundation traditions were those referring to Lady Neaga, which proves that the appearance of her myth took place in the period in which the monastery was empty. Through the monks from Ciolanu, the legend passed on to Cetățuia and Aluniș, built or renovated by them, starting with the second half of the 19th century (Figure 6).

At Bradu and Tisău, the fortified churches have been attributed by the tradition again to Lady Neaga, who built them as shelters. In both cases, it is about confusions with other persons named Neaga. The monastery from Cheia Tisăului, today disappeared, was built in the 16th century, when it was also entrusted to a certain Neaga from Hotărani, niece of the last representative of the founders' family. She then donated it in 1593 to the Buzău Diocese (Lupu 2011).

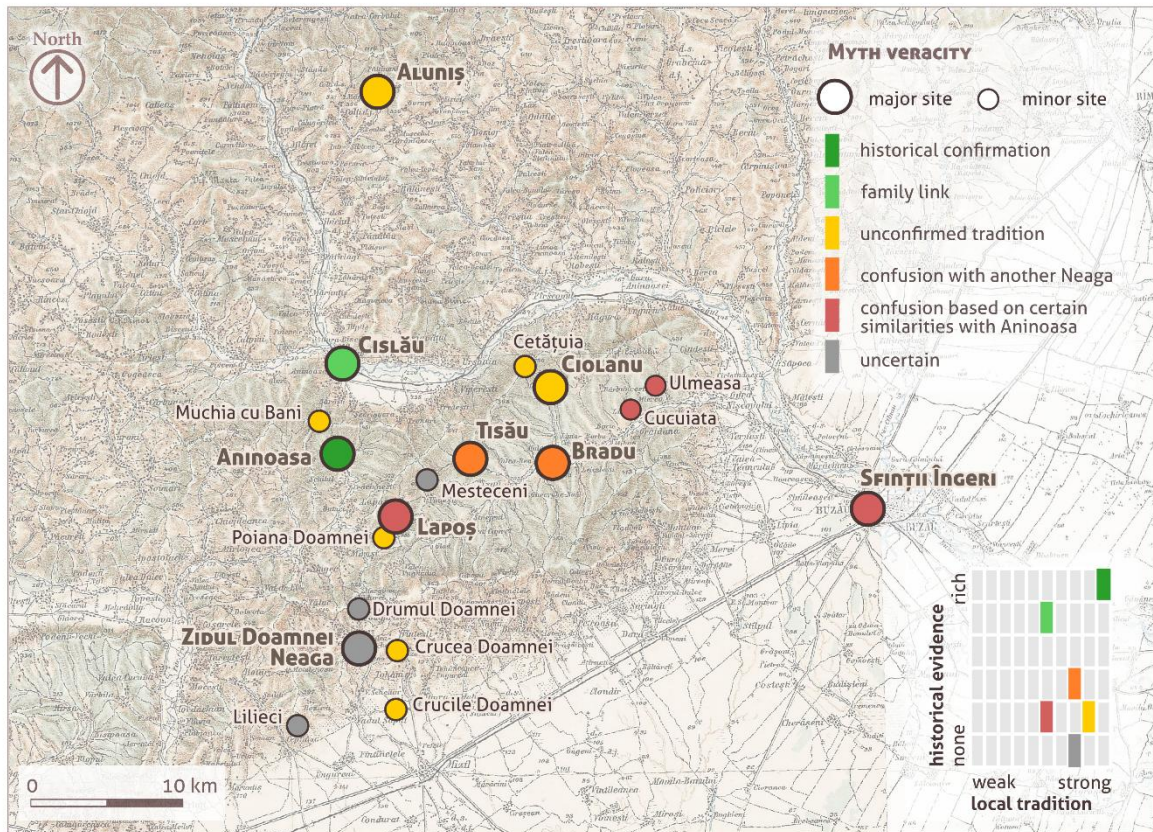


Figure 6. The link between historical evidence and local tradition regarding the myth of Lady Neaga

Bradu, which still exists as a parish church, has its origin in a wooden church burnt around 1520, renovated twice, the last one in 1631 (Lupu 2011). The votive painting of the actual church contains the portrait of a certain Neaga, considered until recently to be Lady Neaga herself (Iorgulescu 1892, Cojocaru 1926), although all the other portraits represent members of the Căndescu boyar family, from the 17th century. The possibility that the mistress painted to be Lady Neaga is null, since she was not alive anymore in 1631, when the church was built. Its presence next to Căndești boyars in the votive painting indicates the fact that she might have belonged to the same family. It would not be out of question that she might be that certain mistress Neaga, daughter of chamberlain Pătru, who, in 1650, childless, offers various parts of the estate to Bradu monastery¹⁴. The church did not collapse such as Tisău, and the painting had been repeatedly restored, so the confusion with Lady Neaga must have appeared when the Căndești boyars have ceased to support it, or rather, after the disappearance of their family, in the 18th century.

The other main places, about which the tradition is more thorough, Lapoș, Cucuiata and Ulmeasa, have sheltered small sketes, founded by local boyar families. The exact date of the foundation is not known for any of the three, but from documentary mentions, we know that all of them have confronted a period of desolation either in the 17th (Lapoș) or in the 18th century (Cucuiata and Ulmeasa). The intents of renovations which the founders or their followers have undergone did not have a long lasting effect, so that before 1800, they were neglected again. Until the period of 1871-

¹⁴ The donation is testified by a document published in 2003, *D.R.H.*, B, vol. XXXV, p. 22, doc. 15.

1892, the historical past of the desolated churches had been completely forgotten. By analogy with Aninoasa, where the ruins confirmed what the locals already knew about Lady Neaga, at Lapoș, Cucuiata and Ulmeasa too, the tradition¹⁵ that they could not have been built by someone else but Lady Neaga herself has taken roots (Iorgulescu 1892).

The Specht Map (1790-1), surprisingly, includes a monastery of Lady Neaga at Șchei. Indeed, the village still keeps an old church, which is still called Zidul Doamnei Neaga (Wall of Lady Neaga). The exact date of its construction is unknown, since the church does not keep any inscription, votive painting or diptych, but its architectural and iconographic traits place it in the 18th century. It is clear that its construction cannot be assigned to Lady Neaga, yet the tradition shows that she only started the construction of the church, leaving it unfinished because of the Turkish raids that aimed to capture and slay her¹⁶.

Conclusions

Historical maps are often used to track changes in land cover, settlement patterns and political boundaries. Historical geographers also use them, together with other types of evidence, to identify places. Altogether, historical maps always offer clues about the identities of places, but deciphering them requires a wider historical-geographical knowledge. It is the case of the Lady Neaga myth, where we managed to locate ten places associated with the story, from the total of twenty, only by the use of historical maps. The spatial nature of the myth cannot be explained using only the historical documents that mention Lady Neaga; collecting oral histories and legends from fieldwork led to a better understanding of both the distribution and the chronology of the myth. The only place that has been undoubtedly associated with Lady Neaga is the former Aninoasa monastery, reconstructed by her in 1589, but which was later damaged by landslides, and ultimately disappeared. Aninoasa was, according to local tradition, Neaga's residence; from there, she constantly walked or ran to other places, because of the frequent Turkish incursions. All of the variants of the myth – inverting the horseshoes, the hiding of Neaga's daughters, the run and the villagers' betrayal, etc. – are in fact a cultural expression of the political and social context of the Romanian countries at that time. The local tradition is infirmed by historical documents, and most of the places associated with Neaga don't have any links to her whatsoever, being actually outcomes of several confusions. The two former fortified monasteries of Bradu and Tisău were looked after by two other different Neaga, and the shattered walls of Lapoș, Cucuiata and Ulmeasa have been found by locals to be very similar with the ruins of Aninoasa. The powerful tradition, coupled with a lack of written sources hinders the myth examination at Zidul Doamnei Neaga, where more historical evidence is needed to establish the truth. The myth of Lady Neaga is an important layer in the cultural identity ensemble of the Buzău Subcarpathians. It is only by old maps coupled with written sources and local tradition that we could establish the real spatial distribution of the myth, and its regional variations.

¹⁵ The monastery from Lapoș had been donated to Bradu monastery, acting as metochion of the latter (Lupu 2011). The fact that the myth of Lady Neaga could have spread to Lapoș from Bradu, by the link between the two monastic places, should not be ruled out.

¹⁶ Informer: Ecaterina Trandafirescu, Boboci, December 2014.

We conclude that the study of historical maps analysed and integrated into GIS technology in the context of cultural and historical-geographical studies, provides a valuable tool for the study of topics such as personal histories and spatial myths.

Acknowledgements

This work has been supported from the strategic grant POSDRU/159/1.5/S/133391, Project “Doctoral and Post-doctoral programs of excellence for highly qualified human resources training for research in the field of Life sciences, Environment and Earth Science” cofinanced by the European Social Fund within the Sectorial Operational Program Human Resources Development 2007 – 2013.

The authors would like to thank Pavel Macovei, Fănel Roșioru, Ion Heleşanu, Constantin Mărcoceanu and Paul Neamu for their valuable help during fieldwork.

References

- Azaryahu, M., and KellermanBarrett, A. (1999). Symbolic places of national history and revival: a study in Zionist mythical geography. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 24(1): 109-123.
- Baker, A. R. (1997). “The dead don't answer questionnaires”: Researching and writing historical geography. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 21(2): 231-243.
- Bartos-Elekes, Zs., Timár, G., Imecs, Z., Magyari-Sáska, Z. (2014). Fligely's Topographic Mapping of Walachia (1855–1859), Szathmári's Map of Southern Romania (1864), its Geo-referencing and Publishing on Web (2011–2014) In digital form: <http://charta1864.ro/essay.html>.
- Cocora, G. (1986). Ctitorii buzoiene atribuite de tradiție Doamnei Neaga, dar infirmate de istorie. *Glasul Bisericii* (7-8): 116-125.
- Cojocar, V. (1926). Mănăstirea Bradu (Tisău). *Muguri*, (7-9): 1-5.
- Crăciunescu, V., Constantinescu, Ș., Ovejanu, I., Rus, I. (2011). Project eHarta: a collaborative initiative to digitally preserve and freely share old cartographic documents in Romania. *e-Perimetron*, 6(4): 261-269.
- Crăciunescu, V., Rus, I., Constantinescu, Ș., Ovejanu, I., Zsombor-Bartos, E. (2012). Romanian maps under ‘Lambert-Cholesky’ (1916-1959). In digital form: <http://www.geo-spatial.org/download/planurile-directoare-de-tragere?lang=en>.
- Densușianu, O. (1966) *Flori alese din cântecele poporului. Viața păstorească în poezia noastră populară. Folclorul, Cum trebuie înțeles. Graiul din Țara Hațegului*. Bucharest: Editura pentru literatură.
- Drăghiceanu, V. (1931) Săpăturile de la Buda, Lapoș și Tisău-Buzău. *Buletinul comisunii monumentelor istorice*, XXIV: 159-176.
- Eliade, M. (1998) *Mituri, vise și mistere*. Bucharest: Editura Univers Enciclopedic.
- Filitti, I. C. (1924). Schitul Aninoasa-Cislău-Buzău și neamul Doamnei Neaga. *Revista Arhivelor* 2: 210-226.

- Grecianu, Ș. D. (1913). *Genealogiile documentate ale familiilor boierești*. Bucharest
- Iorga, N. (1932). Moșnenii de pe Vărbilău și Valea Buzăului. *AARMSI*, 3 (12): 201-217.
- Iorgulescu, B. (1892). *Dicționar geografic, statistic, economic și istoric al județului Buzău*. Bucharest: Stabilimentul Grafic I. V. Socecu.
- Lupu, E. (2011). *Ctitori și ctitorii la Curbura Carpaților în veacurile XIV-XVIII*. Iași: Doxologia.
- Mills, S. (2013). Cultural–Historical Geographies of the Archive: Fragments, Objects and Ghosts. *Geography Compass*, 7: 701-713.
- Mitin, I. (2007). Mythogeography: Region as a palimpsest of identities, in Elenius, L. and Karlsson C. (eds.) *Cross-cultural Communication and Ethnic Identities, Proceedings from the Conference Regional Northern Identity*. Luleå: Luleå Tekniska Universitet.
- Norocel, E. (1987). *Mănăstirea Ciolanu*. Buzău: Editura Episcopiei Buzăului
- Norocel, E. (1988). *Ctitorii voievodale în Eparhia Buzăului*. Buzău: Editura Episcopiei Buzăului
- Odobescu, Al. (1874) Ψευδο-Κυνηγετικός. Bucharest: Tipographia Statului.
- Săndulescu-Verna, C. (1938). Biserica din Buda-Cislău. *Îngerul* 9: 819-821.
- Șuraru, V. V. (2008) *Doamna Neaga. Regina din Cislău*. Brașov: Arania.
- Tuan, Y.-F. (1977). *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis-London: University of Minnesota Press.