

INTRODUCTORY STUDY ON THE ROCK-HEWN VESTIGES OF BUZĂU REGION, ROMANIA

Cezar Radu-Buterez^{a*}

^a*Faculty of Geography, Bucharest University, Bucharest, Romania*

Abstract: The rural area of Aluniș-Colți-Nucu and Bozioru, Buzău region is the centre of a rock-hewn vestige complex which spreads across the entire northern part of Buzău County. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, this area was home to a large monastic community, concentrated around the rock-hewn vestiges. The hermitages which existed there have confronted with harsh geographic conditions and endless conflicts with local landowners, therefore many of them were decommissioned or have been moved. Having also disappeared from historical documents, some hermitages have vanished completely and their old locations are currently difficult to identify. The present study aims to establish some theoretical aspects regarding the rock-hewn vestiges, as well as the context in which the monastic life appeared and to reunite all the known information about the lost hermitages in order to have a better understanding of their distribution across time and space.

Key words: Hermitages, Monachism, Aluniș, Nucu, Rock-hewn vestiges, Historical geography.

Introduction

The *rock-hewn vestige* represents a trace or a remnant of something old dug or inscribed on rock, lost a long time ago, yet that can denote a historical, cultural or spiritual presence. It is often used the term of *rock-hewn settlement* or *rock-hewn relic* (Drâmbocianu, 1980:17), which designates a place dug in stone where a human or a human community has established. The *rock-hewn hermitage* or *rock-hewn reclusory* represents a secluded place dug in stone where one (in the case of a reclusory) or more hermits (in the case of a hermitage) live, both of them with possible outside facilities. Chihaiia (1974) also uses the term of *rock-hewn churches*, although this is too general, since there is no evidence to prove such functionality in the case of all the vestiges.

Therefore, a rock-hewn settlement, that has a function of a temporary or permanent

dwelling, as well as a hermitage or a rock-hewn reclusory, by abandon and a certain level of degradation, become rock-hewn vestiges (figure 1).

On the current territory of Buzău county, several rock-hewn vestiges, under different states of degradation, have been discovered or signaled, some even destroyed before any type of investigation was unfolded (Drâmbocianu, 1980:22). All of the studies performed until the present moment on the rock-hewn vestiges agree with respect to the existence of a more uniform core in the north of Colți and Bozioru communes (an area known as Aluniș-Nucu, Chihaiia, 1974 and 1976). Until the beginning of the 1970s, researchers considered unanimously that the settlements had been occupied during the feudalism, fact proved by numerous medieval documents as by inscriptions with Cyrillic letters. At the same time with the investigations made at the end of the twentieth century, several hypotheses have surfaced. Chihaiia (1976) claims that the

*Corresponding author:
Email: rbcasesar@gmail.com

settlements have passed through several stages of occupation, in different historical periods. The same author distinguishes a medieval period of the hermitages in the Aluniș – Nucu area, which he relates with the hesychast irradiation from Kilifarevo, between the years 1346–1371, still he admits that their worship function could be much older.

Iorgulescu (1892) is the only one that brings down the period of digging and utilization of the settlements before our era; however his statements are not substantiated. Currently, we follow Drâmbocianu's dating (1980), which, by the age criterion, divided the vestiges into four big categories (table 1).

The authenticity of Drâmbocianu's classification is, however, extremely relative. The principle of analogy resides at the basis of the effectuated dating. Excepting Peștera¹ vestige, for all the others, the research has only appealed to the incisions, these being firstly identified, and then compared to other

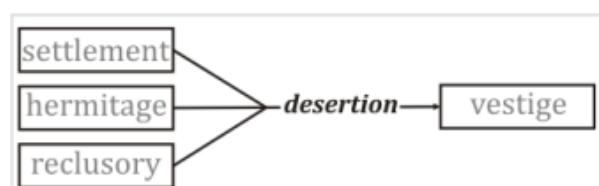


Figure 1. The interrelations between the terms which contain the word rock-hewn

Table 1. The main dating of the rock-hewn vestiges

DATING	Drâmbocianu, 1980
Pre-Christian – VI-IV centuries BC.	<i>Peștera</i>
Paleo-Christian – III – VI centuries	<i>Peștera lui Iosif, Peștera lui Dionisie, Piatra Îngăurită, Gura Tătarilor, Aluniș Ensemble</i>
Feudal – XIII century	Agatonul Nou, Bucătăria, Fundătura
Cannot be dated	Agatonul Vechi, Ghereta

The vestiges that served as hermitages are marked with bold-face; the vestiges that are supposed to have served as worship places are marked with italics;

Note: since we are dealing with endonym, throughout the article we will use only their Romanian names.

analogous vestiges found in Romania or in other European countries (Drâmbocianu, 1980). Thereby, on the basis of the relative age of the incised symbols, it has been considered that the vestige has a close age in respect to these. The problem consists in the fact that the incisions can be much more recent than the proper vestiges, and the incision age equals vestige age relation may not be true. The beginning of monastic life in the northern part of Buzău County is strongly connected with the existence of the rock-hewn vestiges, the area of the later perfectly overlapping the religious center formed here and registered by the Steward Constantin Cantacuzino on his map from 1700 as "Schiturile monahilor"² (The hermitages of the monks). The first monastic settlements were characterized by the practice of asceticism, proved by both the 'hramuri' (titular saints) of the oldest reclusories (Chihaia, 1974), and by the charters which demonstrate that three of the hermitages become monasteries with a coenobitic organization only in the sixteenth century. The former monastery of Găvanele had been founded and was functioning according to the hermitage dogma, as we can find out from the 'pisanie' (founding inscription). The number of monks from these hermitages was reduced, although when it exceeded twelve, a new community was created, established in another place (Mândricel, 2006).

The hermitages from the Aluniș-Nucu area

It is very difficult to establish how many hermitages existed in the area of the rock-hewn vestiges, taking into consideration the fact that not all of them were contemporary one with another and their founding wasn't registered in the documents. The oldest certification is that of a hermitage organized in a rock-hewn settlement, namely the hermitage of Aluniș, in 1524, when, in a charter of Radu from Afumați, it is mentioned that the estate of the Scăeni 'moșneni' (old landowners) „se hotărăște la Piatra Silionului cu schitul despre Aluniș” (borders the Aluniș hermitage at Piatra Silionului) (Chihaia, 1974: 513). Likewise, in the same charter it is marked the fact that the boundary of the estate of

Scăeni „la Vîrfu Agatonul se hotărăște cu schiturile”³ (borders the hermitages at Agatonului Peak). Therefore, we know that in 1524 several hermitages were the neighbors of the Scăeni estate, but their names and ‘hramuri’ aren’t specified in the charter. We learn about these pieces of information from another charter, from 1587, when the voivode Mihnea Turcitul makes a donation „mănăstirii numită Motnău unde este hramul Sfintei Troițe și mănăstirii Agaton unde este hramul Sf. Ioan Zlataust și mănăstirii ce se cheamă Ion Bogoslov” (to the Motnău, Agaton and Ion Bogoslov monasteries) their surrounding estate. The document proves that until that moment, the three hermitages whose monks had lived without personal fortune, on the voivodal lands, become therefore organized monasteries, marking the passing from the anachoritic to the coenobitic organization.

Later, in 1596, Prince MihaiViteazul founds a monastery with the ‘hram’ Sfântu Gheorghe (St. G, in the middle of the Nucu monastic ensemble, with the intention of coordinating all of the surrounding hermitages (Mândricel, 2006:58). Sfântu Gheorghe became in short time the most important monastic settlement, distinguishing itself later as a centre of culture and religious education. We do not know all the hermitages subordinated to this monastery, although local tradition recalls the existence of twelve old hermitages „iar din ele nu esistă de cât celle 'n stânci săpate și biserică cea mare și urme din celelalte” (and all of them are carved in stone, a big church and traces of the others) (Aricescu, 1872:78). The big church is referring exactly to the Sfântu Gheorghe monastery, apart from which we find out that there were other hermitages too, both in rock-hewn settlements and in traditional, rock or wooden constructions. More precisely, we certainly know that only in 1786 „au fost și 12 sfinte biserici schitulete care fiecare stăpânea câte un petic de loc împrejur, dar după vremi dărăpânându-se s-au împresurat de moșneni rămânând numai schitul Fundătura” (there have been twelve church hermitages, each one of them owning a small patch of land, but after a while, they have been run-down and besieged by the ‘moșneni’, Fundătura being the only one to remain) (Filitti, 1919:158).

Between the ‘moșneni’ and the hermitages there have always been tense relations, because of several infringements of the estate, on one side and another. Both the terrain conditions and the frequent conflicts with the ‘moșneni’, which did not respect the property rights of the monastic settlements, made that the hermitages from the Aluniș - Nucu area never became wealthy nor very important in social life. By turn, the hermitages were dissolved and the monks have dissipated or have been moved, as in the case of the nuns from Sfântu Gheorghe, which, after the decommissioning, in 1871, have reached the hermitage of Barbu, on Nișcov Valley (Mândricel, 2001: 140). The rock-hewn-church from Aluniș, that became parish church after 1864 (Chihaia, 1976:242), is the only worship place of this type in Buzău County that has conserved its function without interruption until the present day. Apart from this, the church of the former hermitage Găvanele, dissolved in 1903, operates as a parish church for its village (Mândricel, 2006:22).

From medieval documents, we have identified a total of fourteen hermitages related to the area of the rock-hewn vestiges: Agaton, Aluniș, Arseniile, Cireșul, Ioan Bogoslov, Profiru, Fundătura, Găvanele, Sf. Gheorghe, Motnău, Mușcelul, Vornici, Sfinții Apostoli and Giurgii. From these, Agaton, Aluniș and Fundătura were organized inside rock-hewn settlements (which appear in the documents exactly under these names) and Sf. Gheorghe, Găvanele, Motnău and Vornici have functioned inside wooden buildings. Arseniile, Cireșul, Mușcelul, Profiru, Ioan Bogoslov, Sfinții Apostoli and Giurgii hermitages have disappeared and could not be located because of the lack of toponyms or other elements of identification.

Even though the existence of many hermitages organized in rock-hewn vestiges cannot be denied, information is extremely limited. Peștera, Peștera lui Iosif and Piatra Îngăurită are vestiges that could have accommodated hermitages. These are the only locations where the size and the interior configuration represent indubitable proof. Furthermore we must not forget the abundance of Christian incisions and some possible wooden annexes, set in the niches



Photo 1. Peștera lui Iosif – exterior view

Photo: Mihai Adrian Ion, 2008

and alcoves dug in the exterior walls as are those at Aluniș, Fundătura and Agaton. In this case, it is quite evident that the existing niches at Peștera, Peșteraluiosif and Piatra Îngăurită have been used for the same purpose, but this cannot be decisively demonstrated (photo 1).

Also, most of the hermitages have appeared, throughout time, with many different versions of their names. Thus, Agaton hermitage was also recorded as Atonul (Regleanu, 1958:193), IoanBogoslov as Ion Bogoslavul (*ibidem*:266), Bogoslav (*ibidem*:173) or Bogoslovul (Mândricel, 2006:80), Profiru as Porfiru or Profirie (Chițu, 1980:26), etc, however we are discussing about the same monastic settlements.

Arseniile

Arseniile hermitage, with the St. Simion '*hram*', appears in a single document from 1714 (Chițu, 1980) and is the only hermitage we are studying whose location might be outside the Aluniș - Nucu area. Even though some sources identify it as Agaton (Muzeul Județean Buzău, 2000), and Chițu (1980) locates it at Piatra Îngăurită based on the Arsenia toponym, in the Great Geographical Dictionary of Romania (1898) there is a mention about a hamlet named Arsele, in Nehoiașu commune, on the left bank of Buzău river. In the same book, there is also a reference about a hermitage named Arsele, decommissioned and left in ruins at that time, situated very close to the mentioned hamlet. This information is confirmed by some cartographic documents, including the maps of Antonio Gigli Veneto (1718) and Pierre G. Chanlaire (1810) where an

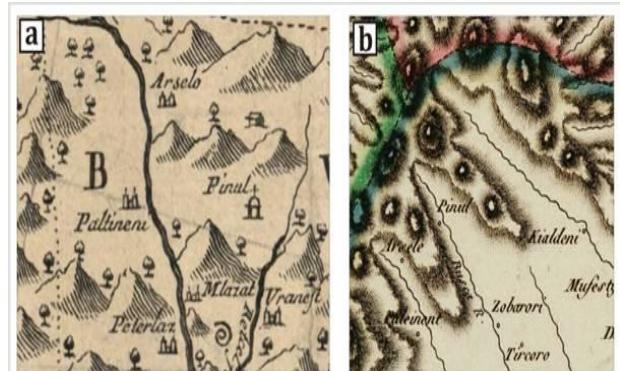


Figure 2. Arsele village:

a) on the map of Marco Antonio Gigli Veneto (1718)

Source: National Library of France

b) on the map of Pierre G. Chanlaire (1810)

Source: National Central Library of Firenze

Arsele village appears on Buzău Valley (figure 2). Stoica and Stoicescu (1983) locate Arseniile hermitage, decommissioned and in ruins, on a mountain named Arsenia, not in Bozioru commune, but in Nehoiașu village. Even in this situation, we cannot clearly establish if Arsele and Arseniile hermitages are one and the same.

In a charter from June 14th 1839, which represents an act of allowance between the '*moșneni*' from Brăești and those from Găvanele, we find out that there have been numerous conflicts for a place of Brăești estate which is named Arseniile⁴ („*pentru un loc din moșia Brăeștice se numește Arseniile*”), also mentioning Calea Arseniilor (Arseniile Path) and Capul lui Arsenie (Arsenie's Head) toponyms. The document does not mention the existence of any religious settlements in the respective area.

Cireșul

Cireșul hermitage is mentioned only once, in the charter given by Ștefan Cantacuzino on April 1st, 1714, in which it is exempt from the tithe, together with other hermitages (Regleanu, 1958:173). No other information is available. The toponym could be linked with Cireșului Peak and Cireșului Valley, a rocky terrain situated between Colți and Aluniș valleys, in Colți commune. Locals argue about a derelict hermitage situated on Cireșului Peak⁵, but there is yet no material evidence to support this statement.

Mușcelul

Local tradition implies a hermitage or monastery in or near the village Muscelul Cărămănești in Colți commune⁶. Indeed, there was a hermitage named Muscelul referred to in 1669 (CBA, 1909). There are also two recent references, yet both of them locate the hermitage inaccurately. Stoica and Stoicescu (1983) discuss about „schitul Mușcel în satul cu același nume, pe rîul Muscel, a doua jumătate a sec. XVII-lea (ante 1634)” (Muscel hermitage located in the homonymous village, on Muscel river, in the second half of the seventeenth century). H. Constantinescu (1987:81) states that in „Mușcel, în satul cu același nume, pe pârâul Mușcel în a doua jumătate a sec. XVII lea ante 1684, a existat un schit cu biserică de lemn dispărută”. (Mușcel, in the second half of the seventeenth century, before 1684, there was a hermitage with a wooden church, now disappeared). These two records wrongly locate the hermitage in Valea Muscelului village, today part of Pătârlagele town. The confusion is cleared up the Muică and Turnock (2007), who review the location from the original charter and determine the correct location of the hermitage in Muscelul Cărămănești.

Mușcel can be found in the charter given by Ștefan Cantacuzino on April 1st, 1714, together with other churches in the area of the rock-hewn vestiges in which they are exempt from the tithe (Regleanu, 1958:173). Later, a decree from March the 3rd 1760, mentions a gift of Rafail, monk at the hermitage of Mușcel (Regleanu, 1958:238). Thereafter, the hermitage does not appear in the documents anymore, perhaps being closed down. Its location is difficult to establish. The present church in Muscelul Cărămănești village, dedicated to St. Dumitru, was built between 1866-1867, within walking distance of the old church, probably a wooden one. Today, this church is recalled only by the existence of a „troiță” (shrine) built on the spot of the former altar⁷. We cannot state with certainty whether this was the hermitage church Muscel. Burliu- Petrescu (1977) argues that Camboru hamlet, located 1 km west from the

village of Muscel, has a “clăca și mănăstirești” (dependants who work on the estate of a monastery) origin, although he incorrectly locates Agaton hermitage nearby. Also, the northern part of Muscelul Cărămănești, located east of the church, bears the name of Popești (family name connected with priests).

Profiru

From an undated and unsigned charter we find out that, once the founding of the hermitage of Sfântu Gheorghe, in the sixteenth century, another monastery, named Profiru, was founded, „tot într-acest trup al schiturilor”⁸ (in the same area of hermitages). Profiru is first mentioned in 1678 in a decree issued by Gheorghe Duca (Mândricel, 2001), but we know that it existed before, when, in 1638, in an exchange of ‘ocini’ (properties) at Aluniș monastery, a monk named Calivit from Porfire is signed as witness⁹. This can only mean the importance of the establishment, since a monk here had right of signature. A year later, in 1639, the boundaries of Sfântu Gheorghe estate had been established. In the section called “Între Iz(v)oara” (between the springs), its property was neighboring that of the Profiru hermitage¹⁰. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the hermitage was mentioned in all of the tax deduction decrees – June 18th 1714 (Ștefan Cantacuzino)¹¹, April 1st 1720 (Nicolae Mavrocordat)¹², February 16th 1731 (Mihail Racoviță)¹³ and August 1733 (Grigore Ghica)¹⁴. In 1736, Profiru was decommissioned and its monks were concentrated at Sfântu Gheorghe¹⁵. Chițu (1980) and Mândricel (2001) locate this hermitage at Peștera. Chițu (1980) found a document from 1639 in which the Porfirie toponym was credited to a river he later identifies as the one below Peștera, thus concluding that Profiru hermitage had existed inside this rock-hewn settlement. On the Planul Director de Tragere (Army Shooting Map) that contains Bozioru commune, the toponym Poianalui Profir is written immediately west of the Peștera lui Iosif vestige.

Ioan Bogoslov

Ioan Bogoslov (John the Evangelist) was, together with Agaton and Motnău, one of the hermitages which, in 1587, received an estate from Mihnea Turcicul, thus becoming organized monasteries. Its location is difficult to determine, though. We know surely that Ioan Bogoslov was situated on the estate whose boundaries were decided through the decree from 1587. Inside these boundaries also lies Peștera lui Iosif (Aluniș and Fundătura were outside the estate and Agaton was itself a hermitage), which in many of the earlier studies was identified as Ioan Bogoslov (Chihaia, 1973, Chițu, 1980). In truth, there are more possible locations for the former hermitage, including Peștera, Peștera lui Iosif, Piatra Îngăurită (all of them being rock-hewn settlements) or on the same place where Sfântu Gheorghe monastery was built in 1596 (Mândricel, 2006:58). The existence of Profiru hermitage inside Peștera lui Iosif does not exclude the existence of Ioan Bogoslov before it, especially since some sources suggest that the latter was destroyed during the Tatar invasion from 1596 (Chițu, 1980:26). However, Ioan Bogoslov further appears in the same decrees as Profiru (1714, 1720, 1731 și 1733)¹⁶, and we can argue that the two hermitages may have been contemporary between 1596 and

1736, if Ioan Bogoslov continued to exist after 1596. It has been pointed out several times that many of the newer documents had been transcribed from earlier ones, without necessarily assuring that the information is still true. This could be the case for Ioan Bogoslov, with Mândricel (2006) insisting that the hermitage ceased to exist after 1596 and its later mentions are retakes from the original decree emitted by Mihnea Turcicul. It is certain that this is the explanation of a charter from May 4th 1786, in which a '*carte de blestem*' was given for the boundaries of the three hermitages' estate, despite the fact that all of them were long gone by that time (Chițu, 1980:26).

Sfinții Apostoli

This is the only hermitage that did not appear until the nineteenth century. Aricescu (1872) recorded one of his visits at a rock-hewn settlement where a '*bisericuță*' (small church) named Sfinții Apostoli existed; it was situated on the road which started at Gura Teghii and arrived at Sfântu Gheorghe monastery. The author admits that he had inscribed his name on one of the walls. Mândricel (2001:141) identifies this worship place at Piatra Îngăurită. Following the tradition recorded by H. Constantinescu (1983), Piatra Îngăurită

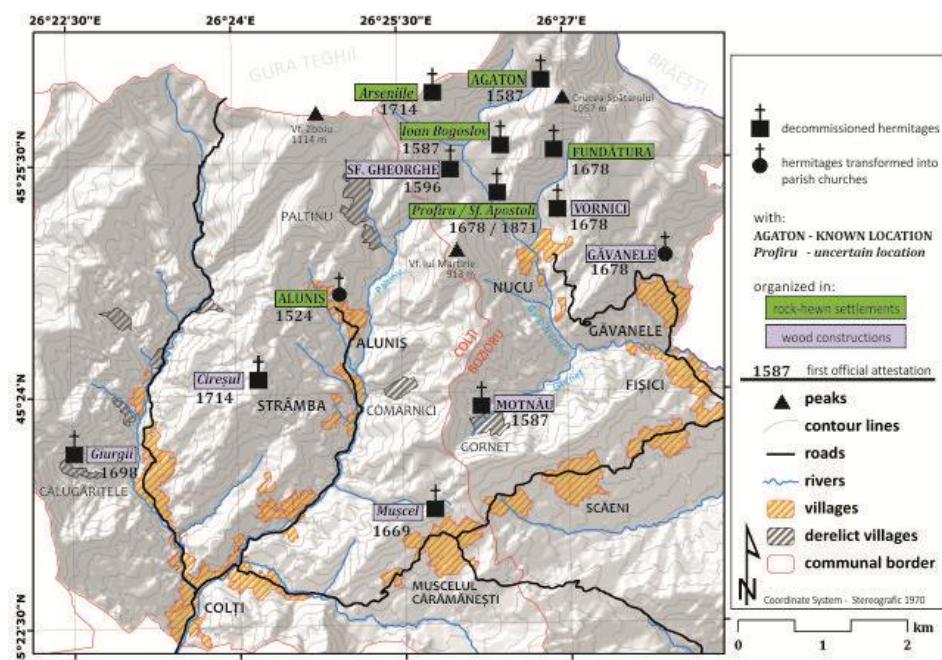


Figure 3. The known hermitages in the Aluniș - Nucu area

served as a chapel to Sfântu Gheorghe and, since there is no other known rock-hewn church near that monastery, it is possible that Sfinții Apostoli functioned here. H. Constantinescu insists though that Sfinții Apostoli was organized at Peștera, based on the finding of Aricescu's inscription there.

Giurgii

Giurgii hermitage was remembered only once, in 1698, located somewhere near Colți commune (Stoica și Stoicescu, 1983: 271). The document mentions a pledge made by a man named Vișan to monk Daniil from Giurgii hermitage¹⁷. Since there is no rock-hewn vestige to have sheltered a place of worship in Colți commune (besides Aluniș) the Giurgii hermitage was most likely organized in a wooden building. Alexandru Odobescu in 1871, mentions the existence of a monastery on the outskirts of the village Călugărițele (meaning nuns), in Colți commune. Indeed, Călugărițele, now derelict, maintains a quasi-horizontal field in its western part, which is said to have been the place of a former hermitage of nuns, thus explaining the origin of the village¹⁸. It is unclear whether the hermitage from Călugărițele was named Giurgii because there is no evidence to support this idea.

Summing up the information about the seven lost hermitages, without excluding the possibility that Arseniile was also located in the Aluniș - Nucu area, we sum up a total of fourteen known hermitages (figure 3). Therefore we are confronting with a difference between the number of those existent in 1786 and the number of those registered at least once in the documents. The difference is even bigger since we surely know that, in 1786, Agaton, Ioan Bogoslov and Profiru were decommissioned and Motnău had been moved to Cozieni commune after 1596 (Mândricel, 2006: 58) (figure 4).

The infliction of the titular saints to some of them (as Ioan Bogoslov) as hagionyms in the documents at that time could represent a reason for the fact that we cannot clearly identify the hermitages in the area of the rock-hewn vestiges. The dissolution of a hermitage equalized thereby, with the loss of the hagionym. The only old cartographic material that can represent a starting place is the map created under the command of general Specht, from 1791, in which, on the northern slope of the Zboiu massif, the toponym "Skitt" appears registered, alike the one used for Sfântu Gheorghe monastery. In the notes of Al. Odobescu a 'skit ruinat' (ruined hermitage) appears mentioned on Zboiu Peak, without specifying other details (Chihaia, 1974:515, annex 3).

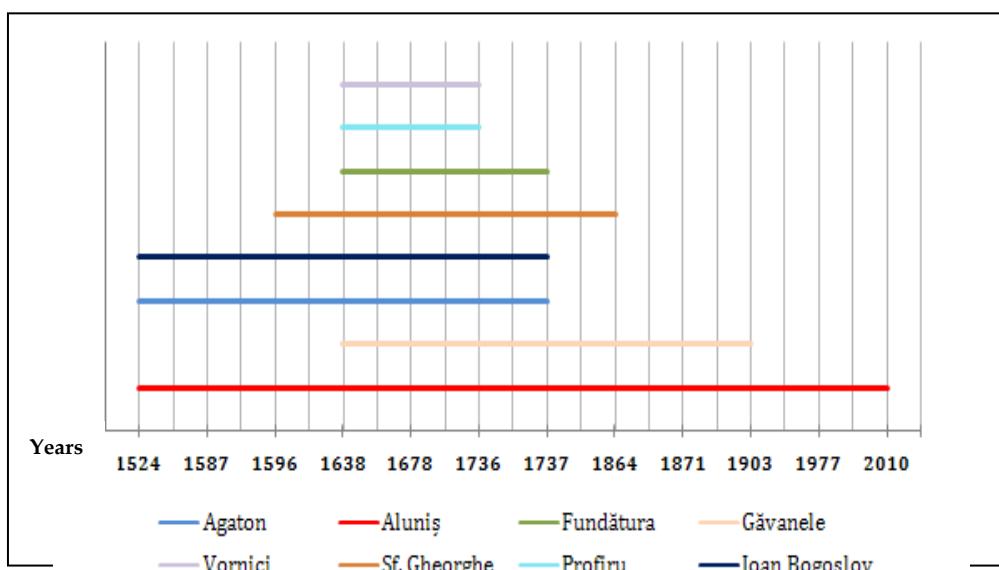


Figure 4. The temporal scale of the hermitages in the Aluniș - Nucu area

Source: Edited after Chihaia (1973), Chițu (1980) and Mândricel (2006).

Note: only those hermitages for which we have charters for at least two nonconsecutive years appear

Conclusions

The origin of the rock-hewn vestiges and the purpose of their digging can't be yet established with precision, however, by their subsequent functionality, they provided the Aluniș - Nucu area with a unique aspect and played a crucial role in its dynamics. The most important period of activity of the rock-hewn settlements was that in which some of them were occupied by monks and used as worship places. The appearance of some wooden hermitages, as Sfântu Gheorghe, in this area, in the sixteenth century, denotes however, the fact that the practice of digging in stone ceased a long time ago to be of topicality. The only known hermitages organized in rock-hewn settlements are Aluniș, Agaton and Fundătura, whose toponyms were kept until present time. Apart from these, there are eleven other known hermitages, of which seven have disappeared and the rest have operated in wooden buildings with known location. The identification of the disappeared hermitages cannot be done with certainty, precisely because of the lack of some toponyms which could help localize them or at least restrict the searching area. Clearly, the missing toponyms could restrain us when searching the historical documents which may contain information about them, but referring to names we are unfamiliar with.

The number of certified hermitages at the end of the eighteenth century appears as being smaller than those we know, although we must consider the fact that not all of them have been contemporary. We do not exclude the existence of other former hermitages in the Aluniș-Nucu area; nevertheless, the charters do not provide any further details about other organized worship places.

The flourishing of the monastic establishments between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, as the passing from asceticism to coenobitism, could not have been possible without the background of a tight connection between the population and the church, by the wish of keeping and strengthening the ancestral faith.

Undeniably, this area has been one of the biggest centers of Christian-orthodox spirituality in Muntenia, proved by the great

number of hermitages and reclusories and the importance that the Romanian princes granted them throughout time.

More complex investigations concerning the rock-hewn vestiges and the hermitages from the Aluniș-Nucu area are presently undergoing.

¹The relative translations for the names of the vestiges are the following: Aluniș - hazelnut grove, GuraTătarilor – Tatar's entrance, Agaton (old and new) – a Greek first name, Bucătăria – the kitchen, Fundătura – the impasse, Ghereta – the booth, PeștereiDionisie – Dionisie's Cave, PeșteraluiIosif - Josef's cave, Peștera – the cave, Piatra Îngăurită – the pierced stone.

² Biblioteca Academiei Române, Serviciul Hărți, S 50.

³ Arhivele Statului București, Episcopia Buzău, Cop. XCII bis / 1-17, f.14.

⁴ Direcția Județeană a Arhivelor Naționale Buzău, Subcârmuirea plaiului Pârscov, 149/1839, f. 347 și 357.

⁵ Informer Ciprian Chiriac, Colți, 2010.

⁶ Informer Dumitru Radu, Muscelul Cărămănești, 2010.

⁷ Informer Grigore Rotaru, Muscelul Cărămănești, 2010.

⁸ Arhivele Statului București, Episcopia Buzău, XCII bis, 10, undated and unsigned draft.

⁹ Arhivele Statului București, Mănăstirile Bradu, Hanu Greci, Codreni, III/.

¹⁰ Arhivele Statului București, Episcopia Buzău, VI/3.

¹¹ DANIC București, Episcopia Buzău, C/1, ms 171, f.275v – 276.

¹² DANIC București, Episcopia Buzău, C/2, ms 171, f.276.

¹³ DANIC București, Episcopia Buzău, C/6, ms 171, f.276v – 277v.

¹⁴ DANIC București, Episcopia Buzău, C/5, ms. 171, f.277v – 278.

¹⁵ Arhivele Statului București, Documente istorice, Cop. XCII bis/ 1-17, f.15.

¹⁶ See notes 11,12,13 and 14.

¹⁷DANIC București, Episcopia Buzău, XIV/37, ms 173, f.172v.

¹⁸ Informer Ciprian Chiriac, Colți, 2010.

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