

“ES WAR EINMAL EINE ALTE HEXE...” – THE WITCH: BETWEEN STEREOTYPE AND HISTORICAL REALITY

DIANA URSOI*

Abstract This article aims to explore the relationship between the stereotype of the witch identified in the Saxon fairy tales of the nineteenth-century Transylvania, and the image of the accused in the witchcraft trials which occurred in early modern cities of Sibiu and Braşov (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). In order to highlight this perspective of analysis, I selected two types of sources which I consider particularly useful for my research. Firstly, I chose to rely on seven Saxon fairy tales which present the witch as a secondary character, identified in Joseph Haltrich's collection of fairy tales, entitled *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, published in 1854. Secondly, I examined fifteen court records selected from the National Archives of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) and Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó) from the years 1692-1785. By drawing a parallel between the two images, I want to outline the discrepancies between the stereotype and the historical reality, aiming, at the same time, to identify the factors which contributed to the portrait of the witch that has been perpetuated over time in fairy tales. Furthermore, such an analysis may allow one to observe to what extent literature can be considered a document. Taking into consideration that this direction of research did not receive the regional historians' attention, I consider the initiative favourable in covering a historiographical gap.

Keywords Witch, witchcraft trial, fairy tale, history.

* Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca. diana.ursoi@yahoo.com.

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“Gehe jetzt nur fort in den Wald, da wirst du zu einer Hütte kommen, in der wohnt eine alte Hexe, die hat deine elf Brüder in Steine verzaubert.¹” A lonely, old woman, living outside the community, in the solitude of the woods, endowed with supernatural powers which she uses for evil purposes; this is the image of the witch outlined in one of Joseph Haltrich’s fairy tales. The description given to the witch in fairy tales has been perpetuated over time and it continues to be present in contemporary culture as well. The power of this image may lead one to question whether it has a historical basis or not. Has the witch been stereotyped over time? Is the image we associate today with the witch a construct?

This article aims to explore the correlation between the witch stereotype identified in the Saxon fairy tales of the nineteenth-century Transylvania, and the image of the accused in the witchcraft trials which occurred in the early modern cities of Sibiu and Braşov during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Are there discrepancies between the stereotype of the witch and the historical reality? What factors contributed to the image of the witch perpetuated in the cult fairy tale? In order to be able to answer these questions, I selected seven Saxon fairy tales which present the witch as a secondary character, identified in Joseph Haltrich’s collection of fairy tales, entitled *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, published in 1854, as well as fifteen court records identified in the National Archives of Sibiu (Hermannstadt, Nagyszeben) and Braşov (Kronstadt, Brassó) from the years 1692-1785.

Why are these two types of sources relevant for this perspective of research? Although the selected sources are very different from one another from several points of view, each of them succeeds in providing two distinct perceptions of the witch. In what follows, I aim to individually analyse each type of document taking into account the time, the environment in which it was produced, and of course, most importantly, the manner of depicting the witch. These two investigations of the particularities of each source, will allow me to draw a parallel between the portrait of the witch in the Saxon fairy tales, and the image resulting from the analysis of the court protocols of the witchcraft trials.

What is the cult fairy tale, in what context does it appear, but more importantly, what limits does the use of this source imply when we include it in a historical research? The cult fairy tale emerged once the effort to establish in writing the folk tale started to take place; folklore collectors became storytellers, thus taking over the function of the narrator. The nineteenth century, marked by the dawn of romanticism allowed the crystallization of the cult fairy tale as a literary genre, being

¹ “Go into the woods now, you will find there a small house in which lives an old witch, who turned your eleven brothers into stone,” in Joseph Haltrich, *Von den zwölf Brüdern, die zwölf Schwestern zu Frauen suchen*, Joseph Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen* (Berlin: Neuausgabe Herausgabe von Karl-Maria Guth, 2016), 33.

promoted as an indicator of cultural and national identity, taking place what Louis Snyder called, *the romantic politicization of the fairy tale*.²

The fairy tale, however, is a misleading source when one tries to use it in a historical analysis. Reputable historians and specialists such as Robert Darnton, Eugene Weber or Dorothy Thelander fell into the trap of this source which leads us to use it with great caution.³ The inability to determine the origin of the story, the incapacity of following the thread of their transmission, as well as the work of editing, a process which implies a certain level of censorship and a substantial alteration of the original material, represent only a few of the challenges posed by this source. Last but not least, the tendency to assume as historical truth elements that are nothing more than conventional formulas, such as numbers and places, is dangerous for the accuracy of a respectable historical research.

In terms of the linear and seemingly simple unfolding of fantastic events, the fairy tale is the clearest expression of the psychic processes present in the collective consciousness.⁴ They are archetypal constructions which try to describe what Jung considered to be *the experience of the Self*, and each individual, each nation presents its own way of living this psychic experience, particularizing it.⁵ This is the reason why the Saxon fairy tales present archetypal structures and narratives that fall within the typical frame of the German fairy tales; a situation which proves, once more, the belonging of this ethnic group to the German cultural universe. Fairy tales are built based on local legends; in fact, they are condensed forms of the local legends which can be easier transmitted orally.⁶ In other words, the local legend is kept alive and perpetuated in time by the fairy tale, which allows the constant adaptation and modernization of its content, without losing its essence.⁷

The fairy tales I selected were collected by Joseph Haltrich. Born in Reghin, in 1822, he graduated high school in Sighișoara and, shortly after, moved to Leipzig in order to study history and theology. The two years spent in Leipzig turned out to be crucial for the young Haltrich, since during these years he met and became a

² Louis L. Snyder, "Cultural Nationalism: The Grimm Brothers' Fairy Tales," *Roots of German Nationalism*, Indiana University Press, (1978): 35-54.

³ See Robert Darnton, "Peasants tell tales," *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French History*, New York, 1984; Eugen Weber, 'Fairies and hard facts: the reality of folk tales', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XLII (1981), 93-113; Dorothy Thelander, 'Mother Goose and her goslings: the France of Louis XIV as seen through the fairy tale', *The journal of Modern History*, LIV (1982), 467-96.

⁴ Marie-Louise von Franz, *Interpretarea basmelor*, (Bucharest: Trei, 2019), 16.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶ For a closer observation of the witch's depiction in the Saxon local legends, see Friedrich Müller, *Siebenbürgische Sagen*, Kronstadt, 1857 (first edition).

⁷ Max Lüthi, *Die Gabe in Märchen und in der Sage. Ein Beitrag zur Wesenserfassung und Wessensscheidung der beiden Formen*, Dissertation (Berna, 1943), 21-45.

close friend of Jacob Grimm, with whom he later had a rich correspondence.⁸ Joseph Haltrich was part of the first generation of Saxon folklorists and his collection of fairy tales, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, published for the first time in Berlin, in 1856, was a real success.

The collection is mainly composed of indirectly collected materials. The model of recording followed by Haltrich is the one dictated by the Brothers Grimm – this means that Haltrich did not consider being faithful to the oral story, he even apologized where he could not detach himself from the words of the teller. The collection includes stories that have known several variants, which would suggest that they were popular and had a wide circulation in the Saxon environment, while the stories which presented a singular variant have been left out. In the preface to the first edition, Haltrich notes – “The collection contains the plain text of seventy-eight fairy tales that are all based on more than two narratives.” In a review published in *“Deutsches Museum”*, Robert Prutz interprets the assertion in the sense of a complete absence of any original tale in the folklorist’s edition of fairy tales.⁹ To Haltrich’s disappointment, this phrase was quoted by Friedrich Trausch in the lexicon of Saxon writers.¹⁰ Referring, once again, to his method of writing, Haltrich claimed that in his approach he aspired to fidelity and truth in rendering the substance, not the expression.¹¹

Regarding the geographical origin of the fairy tales, Haltrich gives an assessment in this regard in the preface of the second edition, published in 1877; according to him, the stories are from Sebeş (*Mühlbach, Szászsebes*) and surroundings, from Reghin (*Sächsisch-Regen, Szászrügen*) from Sighişoara (*Schäßsburg, Segesvár*) from Mediaş (*Mediasch, Medgyes*) and surroundings, from Rupea (*Reps, Kőhalom*) and Cincu (*Groß-Schenk, Nagysink*).¹²

The collection edited by Joseph Haltrich is composed of seventy-eight fairy tales; seven of them present the witch as a secondary character: *Die beiden Mädchen und die Hexe, Das Zauberroß, Der Seltsame Vogel, Die drei Schwestern bei dem Menschenfresser, Von den Zwölf Brüdern, die Zwölf Schwestern zu Frauen suchen, Das Rosenmädchen, Die dunkle Welt*.¹³

⁸ Adolf Schullerus "Haltrich, Josef", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 49, (1904), 734-736.

⁹ “Auffallend ist uns gewesen, daß kein einziges dieser Märchen auf einer einzigen in sich geschlossenen Erzählung beruht,” *Deutsches Museum. Zeitschrift für Literatur, Kunst und öffentliches Leben*, 32, (1856): 233.

¹⁰ Joseph Trausch, *Schriftsteller Lexicon oder biographisch litterarische Denksblätter der Siebenbürger Deutschen*, 3 vol, 1868-1875, vol. II, 52.

¹¹ Hanni Markel, “Proveniența poveștilor din culegerea lui Josef Haltrich,” *Anuarul de Folclor* II, Cluj-Napoca, (1981): 271.

¹² *Ibid.*, 270.

¹³ Joseph Haltrich, *Sächsische Volksmärchen aus Siebenbürgen*, Berlin, 1856 (first edition); online version:

Six out of the seven fairy tales examined place the witch in the solitude of the woods, away from the village. The forest, due to lack of any structures, tends to reach the potential of a chaotic space; those who enter the woods experience the feeling of abandonment and distance from social conventions as well as moral values – this is what we might call *locus terribilis*.¹⁴ *Die dunkle Welt*, however, chooses to place the witch not in the woods, but in the mill. The mill is considered to be a peculiar place in the village's universe, often shrouded in solitude, away from the organized space of the community.¹⁵ In Paul Petrescu's opinion, the mill is a space of duality that shelters for the traditional man both the fruits of the earth and the evil spirits.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the mill is also a space for socializing and exchanging ideas, people telling stories to make time pass faster.

The fairy tale witch is par excellence an agent of discipline, always contributing to the development of the main character. For example, in *Die beiden Mädchen und die Hexe*, the witch is a female Bluebeard who tests the wisdom of the main character, forbidding her to enter a certain room in the house. Moreover, the witch can also be seen as an agent of order, which exercises her supernatural powers only if the rules imposed by her are violated. The witch plays a judicial role, punishing the true negative character of the story, namely the step-sister, restoring order.¹⁷

The anthropophagus tendency is another well-known feature of the fairy tale witch. *Die drei Schwestern bei dem Menschenfresser* is, certainly, a version of the fairy tale collected by Jacob Grimm, *Hänsel und Gretel*, published in 1812. Three little girls rush into the woods looking for blackberries and raspberries and are lured into the house of an old woman, being the subject of a potential cannibalistic act. The fairy tale differs in detail from the Grimm brothers' version, but the essence is the same: the children (abandoned or not, this information is omitted), venture into the forest and end up in the house of the old and blind witch who wants to eat them. Such stories, where children are abandoned by their families, are considered to have their origins in the medieval period of the Great Famine (1315-1321) which pushed many poor families to horrible deeds.¹⁸ Charles Zika in one of his studies dedicated to the analysis of visual representations of witches in the modern period concluded

<http://www.zeno.org/M%C3%A4rchen/M/Siebenb%C3%BCrgen/Josef+Haltrich%3A+Deutsche+Volksm%C3%A4rchen+aus+dem+Sachsenlande+in+Siebenb%C3%BCrgen> (Last access: April 2021)

¹⁴ Iris Gassenbauer, "Into the Woods. Getting lost and meeting the witches," *Fofnir. Nordic Journal of Sci-Fi and Fantasy Research*, vol. 1, 3, 19-23.

¹⁵ Romulus Antonescu, *Dicționar de simboluri și credințe tradiționale românești*, (Bucharest, 2009), 430.

¹⁶ Paul Petrescu, *Motive decorative celebre*, (Bucharest: Minerva, 1971), 120.

¹⁷ For the ones interested in the punitive system described in the European fairy tales, see: Katherine J. Roberts, *Once Upon the Bench: Rule Under the Fairy Tale* (Yale: J.L. & Human), 2001.

¹⁸ Virginia A. Walter, "Hansel and Gretel as abandoned Children. Timeless Images for a Postmodern Age," *Children's Literature Association, Quarterly*, 1999, 322-332.

that in the European popular consciousness, the image of the witch was fundamentally associated with the idea of cannibalism. In Western demonology treatises' illustrations, the witch is demonized, often depicted as a diabolical mother who kills and eats little children.¹⁹

Although always endowed with supernatural powers, the witch is not invincible. In *Das Zauberroß* the witch appears in maternal posture – the mother of the creatures of the woods- and even though she is an exponent of the evil forces, she is not immortal, seeming rather afraid when the young man prepares to kill her. Moreover, she even offers to help him, hoping this way to have her life spared. Similarly, in *Der Seltsamel Vogel*, the witch, although able to use her supernatural powers, is depicted in a rather fragile and vulnerable posture, having one of the legs wounded.

Physically, in all the fairy tales analysed, the witch is described as an old woman, with long nails, living in the solitude of the woods, away from the village. Undoubtedly, the aim of including the witch in this fairy tale was to arouse people's fear of the consequences of breaking the rules and to cultivate their obedient attitude. Based on the seven fairy tales, I reached the conclusion that in most situations, the witch is an old, cunning and lonely woman, living in the darkness of woods. From a physical point of view, the witch is an elderly woman with poor eyesight and long nails. Moreover, in all selected examples, the character is excluded from society and placed either in the forest or the mill, in other words, in spaces which lack social regulations. The witch always possesses supernatural powers; however, they do not make her immortal.

Now that I have drawn a portrait of the witches referring to the seven Saxon fairy tales from Haltrich's collection, in the following, I will observe the type of the accused in the witchcraft trials, by analysing fifteenth court protocols from Sibiu and Braşov. Is there any connection between the two images? Did the image of the seventeenth-century defendant contribute to the development of the nineteenth-century stereotype?

The documents I chose to work with present a high level of difficulty. The court minutes present a formulaic character, are written in old German, with Gothic letters and abound in archaic Latin phrases as well as regional Saxon expressions. Problematic seems to be the manner of recording the information as well. Some documents are richer in details, others are not, and some clerks choose to reproduce in writing the questions of the authorities, while others prefer to record only the answers of the accused. We encounter the same issue when analysing the witnesses' testimonies. Some trials reproduce all the testimonies, even if some of them present recurring elements, while others record only the name and the age of the witness,

¹⁹ Charles Zika, "Cannibalism and Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe. Reading the Visual Images," *History Workshop Journal*, no. 44 (1997), 77-100.

ignoring the actual testimony if it presents pieces of information that had already been mentioned. The selection of information made at the time by clerks significantly complicates my attempt to depict an accurate image of the witnesses' speech.

I intend to examine this source in order to outline a portrait of the witchcraft trials' victims, aiming to look at various categories, such as the gender of the accused, their social as well as professional status, attempting to gauge whether any specific trades/crafts were more easily associated with the occult, their marital status and their place within the community as valued and well-respected members or outcasts. Taking into consideration the formulaic nature of the source material, as well as the scarcity of information regarding the suspected individuals, the depiction of a portrait of the witchcraft trials' victims may seem speculative. However, witnesses' depositions turned out to be very useful in this regard; mentioning details which helped me determine the professional status, behaviour and the language of the accused.

Out of fifteen court records, six of the prosecuted individuals were men, two of them prosecuted alongside their wives and one together with his daughter; while twelve of the victims were female. However, these documents omit to mention the age of the accused, so it had to be inferred from the context and the clues offered by the witnesses' testimonies. Therefore, if it is mentioned that the victim was married, one can conclude that he/she was an adult. In most of the cases, the victim was either married, or a widow/er. For example, Georg Schobel²⁰ and Simon Schnell²¹ were certainly married because they were prosecuted alongside their wives; according to witnesses' depositions, Bieltz (the midwife), Rosa Kannegieserin,²² Dobra Câmpan²³ and Climen²⁴ were widows. As for the other victims analysed in this study, it has been impossible to determine their marital status since the documents remain silent on this issue.

The economic and professional status of the victims is also mentioned sometimes in the trials' protocols. The fifteen court cases selected for this study showed that the victims weren't living in poverty or at the mercy of the community: Bieltz²⁵ was a midwife, Rosa Kannegieserin²⁶ was a laundress, Georg Berner²⁷ was a

²⁰ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', 712-731.

²¹ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', 755-768.

²² Braşov, Arhivele Naţionale Române, Fund: Primăria Oraşului Braşov, Seria: Acte judecătoreşti. Registre instrumente contemporane de evidenţă, Registrul protocol cu evidenţa cazurilor penale (1695-1703), [Braşov, National Archives of Romania, City Hall of Braşov, series: Judicial Acts, Protocol Registry: criminal records], 8-25.

²³ Sibiu, Arhivele Naţionale, Serviciul Judeţean Sibiu Fondul Magistratul oraşului şi scaunului Sibiu. Judicat – Acte juridice neînregistrate [Sibiu, National Archives of Romania, Magistrate's records of the Municipality and District – unregistered acts].

²⁴ Daniel Nekeş-Schuler, 'Chronik', in *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Brassó*, Vol. IV, (Brassó, 1903): 225.

²⁵ Carl Göllner, *Hexenprozesse in Siebenbürgen* (Cluj: Dacia, 1971), 126-135.

cooper, Peter Vosch²⁸ a doctor, while Georg Schobel²⁹ and his wife ran an inn. In some of the cases, the occupation of the accused was a subject of disagreement and envy among the members of the community which triggered conflicts between the victims and their neighbours. Bieltz's case perfectly illustrates this situation: she was suspected of murdering several new-borns, causing the rage of her neighbours. At that time, midwifery wasn't an occupation that earned respect for its practitioners; on the contrary, women choosing to make a living out of this activity were usually marginalized by the community, being associated with the idea of blood and dirt.³⁰ In addition, the legal status of the midwife was unclear before Maria Theresa's reign; it was only in 1770 when *Generale Normativum de re Sanitas* was adopted, determining that the midwife's status be more clearly defined and subjected to professional standards. This decree stipulated that the professional qualities of the doctors, surgeons, pharmacists and midwives were to be carefully examined before receiving the practice license.³¹

The Schobeles had also made a living out of an occupation which was usually disrespected. The inn was, in popular culture, a place of socialization, gossip and rumours, a place often associated with the idea of promiscuity and low morals. Michael Frank, in his study of the reputation of the innkeepers in eighteenth-century Germany, stated that theologians and physicians of the modern era contributed to the proliferation of a negative attitude towards individuals who owned taverns or inns.³² From their point of view, the innkeeper was the Devil's man, who tried to corrupt members of the community into spending their money on alcohol.³³

Last but not least, Rosa Kannegiesserin was doing laundry in order to make ends meet, an occupation stigmatized by the community for its association with hard work, dirt and sometimes prostitution. Living in poverty, laundresses often had to sell their bodies in order to subsist, compromising their reputation.³⁴

²⁶ Braşov, Arhivele Naţionale Române, [Braşov, National Archives of Romania], IV. D, No. 2, 8-25.

²⁷ Sibiu, Arhivele Naţionale, [National Archives of Romania, Sibiu] unregistered acts.

²⁸ Ioan Albu, 'Procesul vrăjitoarelor din Chirpăr' [The Chirpăr Witchcraft Trials], *Sargetia*, XXVII.1 (1997/1998): 633-648; preluat din Biblioteca Muzeului Brukenthal, fondul 830.1 [The court protocol is archived in the Brukenthal Museum's Library, deposit 830.1].

²⁹ Teutsch, 'Sächsische Hexenprozesse', 712-731.

³⁰ Jaques Le Goff, *Pentru un alt Ev Mediu* [Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages], vol. I, (Bucharest: Meridiane, 1986), 152.

³¹ Sandor Szekely, 'On the preparation of the Hungarian Health Act of 1876', *Communicationes De Historia Artis Medicinae*, (Budapest, 1,1973), 59.

³² Michael Frank, 'Satan's Servant or Authorities' Agent? Publicans in the XVIIIth Century Germany', in Beat Kümin (ed.), *The World of the Tavern- Public houses in early modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 2002), 13.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Carole Rawcliffe, 'A marginal occupation? The Medieval Laundress and her work', in *Gender and History*, 21/1 (2009): 147-169, especially 163.

An interesting fact that has been highlighted by these documents is that all of the mentioned professions are placed somewhere between service and craft (midwife, cooper, laundress, innkeeper, physician). These people performed their activity either in places perceived as promiscuous (like the inn/the tavern), or in the intimacy of their clients' houses (the midwife, the cooper). They did not produce something tangible, like a pair of shoes, a coat or a hat, which could be evaluated for their obvious qualities or lack thereof. The work of the midwife or the laundress, or that of the innkeeper or physician was subject to the customer's whims and moods. This aspect turned them into the usual suspects when incidents disrupted the peace of the village.

We can therefore conclude that the victims of the witchcraft trials were both women and men, of various professions and of various, mostly mature, ages. Moreover, they seem to have been integrated into the community, rather than marginalized, performing useful services for their neighbours, bringing their children into the world, healing their bodies or washing their clothes, mending their barrels or serving them drinks. Married or widowed in most cases, they seem to have led perfectly normal, mundane lives, making one wonder why they had been singled out for these accusations.

As one can see, the two images resulting from the analysed sources seem, at first sight, quite different, but there are certain similar elements that may allow one to draw a parallel between the portrait of the witchcraft trials' accused and the fairy tale witch. One aspect in this regard is the gender of the accused. Although the analysed documents present both male and female defendants, the percentage of women accused of magical practices was much higher, and this statement is supported by the quantitative analyses applied to both Western and Central European areas, therefore, there may well have been a tendency to generalize and attribute the role of the witch exclusively to women in literature.

Another significant aspect is the age of the accused. From the fact that most of the victims were married, one can obviously deduce that the individuals were mature people, but what did mature mean at that time? Some of the victims had children and even grandchildren, therefore, for a society in which life expectancy was rather low, even the age of forty could have been considered quite advanced, so it is no wonder that the witch is depicted in fairy tales as an old woman. The negative attitude towards elderly women seems to have also been fuelled by the Lutheran Church in the early modern period. The church perceived older women as a weak link in the Saxon society which embraced the Reformation in the early modern era – perhaps these old women were more likely to cling to old devotional practices, resort to popular magic, and perpetuate the belief in superstitions. Moreover, old women could no longer fulfil the role prescribed by the church in marriage, namely

that of having children, therefore, there are no longer useful for the community.³⁵ Consequently, even if the victims are apparently integrated members of the community, they are still marginalized, since they no longer meet the requirements of the newly reformed society – the witchcraft suspect is excluded from the community, just as the witch is placed in fairy tales in the solitude of the forest.

Last but not least, the behaviour, the attitude of the accused could have inspired the image of the witch in fairy tales. Most defendants had been involved in repeated conflicts with both their neighbours, and the exponents of the new administrative authority, namely soldiers of the imperial army. The recalcitrant, disobedient nature and the often vulgar language of the accused would thus have been perpetuated in time, leading to the literary portrayal of the witch as an essentially negative character.

There is still one question which remains unsolved. The fairy tale witch is endowed with supernatural powers and often presents anthropophagus tendencies. What kind of historical sources inspired these traits attributed to the fictional witch? At this stage of my research, I am inclined to believe that moralizing sermons and demonological treatises substantially contributed to the demonization of the witchcraft trials' victim. The nocturnal flight, the cannibalistic predispositions as well as the supernatural powers may be a part of a constructed image which inspired the modern fairy tale witch. However, this subject will represent the core of another research.

³⁵ Maria Crăciun, "Prețul păcatului: faptă și pedepasă în orașele Transilvaniei secolului al XVI-lea," in Laurențiu Rădvan, Bogdan Căpraru (coord.) *Orașele, orășenii și banii- atitudini, activități, instituții și implicații* (sec. XVI-XIX) (Iași: Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza, 2011), 44.