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PhD Thesis

*CIVICAL ATTITUDES
AND THE IMAGE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE
IN THE TRANSYLVANIAN SOCIETY
DURING THE PRINCIPALITY ERA (1541-1688)*

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Thesis abstract

Civic attitudes and image of the Ottoman Empire in the Transylvanian Society during the Principality period (1541-1688)

Thesis summary

Even during the research for the development of License thesis and Dissertation, several topics have captivated my interest to investigate them, because they were found less or little studied in the light that I saw them.

Thus in this thesis, I felt that I could make my contribution in the chosen themes, topics which though very large, interesting and exciting to the same extent, unfortunately could not have been given a global research perspective and synthetic.

In the future I intend to enlarge each chapter of the thesis and to introduce some additions that I feel would be necessary. However, since the first lines I want to apologize to readers for topic sentences, bearing the imprint of the last 15 years of my life, spent almost entirely in the Republic of Turkey.

Along with this spelling Turkish characters I have created a lot of paper writing in Romanian, for whose accents missing, that I was unable to fully correct, I again demand an apology from those who would be interested in the future to go through my work.

Since the thesis chapters needed to call at medieval chronicles which in particular went unpublished I was using my knowledge of Hungarian and Latin paleography, acquired in specific university courses with the help of Prof. Dr. Sandor Tonk and Ms. researcher Dr. Susan Andea, and that of Romanian-Cyrillic palaeography provided by Prof. Univ. Dr. Nicholas Edroiu, Member of the Romanian Academy. Finally, in some way I could use my special introductory university studies in Osman paleography, acquired through the classes of Prof. Dr. Calin Felezeu. After this training it was much easier to flesh out the research manuscripts.

I called both to edit and archive chronicles I found to the National Archives in Cluj County, „Lucian Blaga” Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca and Romanian Academy Library Cluj-Napoca.

I dedicated in the work, an ante- chapter to the Historiography basis, where in addition to references to every source I used, I've splited chronicles by used languages, having chronicles in Hungarian, Latin, German and Cyrillic.

Following this research, I was able to broadly follow the plan which I have proposed, even if, I must admit, there are issues I failed to address the way I wanted.

The main objective was to use in as wide as possible the abundant cronistic material of the XVI-XVIIth centuries, hardly accessible in Romanian historiography, to see how historians of the time (simple chroniclers in fact) constructed the image of their world. Of course, I chosed a few major themes, derived from political history, these themes focused around them a flood of attention from contemporaries: The Ottoman image and the Sultan authority, Transylvania country's princes image, the particular case of Bishop Martinuzzi as a case study of how the political balance reflected in cronical

objective or not. Finally, a brief digression into the realm of pre-modern identity construction bring the matter before the eyes of readers (with echoes in contemporary) identity of the birth of Transylvania.

In the Ist Chapter, which refers to the Image of the Ottoman Empire in the Transylvanian chronicles, the main objective was to provide an overview and summary on the image of Turkish otherness.

How the Turks were perceived in the collective mind of society Transylvanian because and changes in perception which they were based and when they spoke, constituted a real challenge for me. Amalgam of human feelings who painted the Ottoman picture provided an exception image perhaps the only image of the Ottoman Empire, perceived by any Christian state under its sovereignty, strong print of Protestantism and the currents of identity to traveling across Europe in Premodernity.

Since the beginning of the chapter I found it necessary to make a foray into the issue of the Transylvanian chronicles to expose to what extent the life of the chronicler managed to fingerprint his work.

Another issue was to describe the various types of chronicles. For example, few know enough about what data would be a *calendarium*, the informative basis of the premodern historian. All the information I have found it was essential to understand much better the chronicler position and the Ottoman image he constructed.

For this reason, speaking Transylvanian historian and his work, I played in the formation of columnist personality as decisive stage childhood education stage and maturity stage. In the childhood stage, modeling is done through being part of a family, by receiving family history, framing the territorial and social space, time and space with their own political traits.

Phase of the studies and the adolescent metamorphosis is also essential for the position that will present the Ottoman otherness and bears the mark of political and social mentality of the time. Where they go to have their education, either in country or abroad, influenced them. Maturity stage is the perception that perfects the writer. Here are the key factors: function, marriage, religion that is free and a pick, faction political circles they attend, trips undertaken.

Speaking of important manuscripts, we have examined and what type, chronic, chronic rimata, historical songs, *calendariumurile*, *efemeridele* or *diariumurile*, *memoralistica*, chronology, letters, newspaper information, wills, we do consider important to know the order of information displayed on Ottoman official or court, or even personal or heroic.

The mode of conception was to appeal to the written sources: Bonfini or Thuosi especially, ancient philosophy, the Holy Bible; through collective memory or oral sources were also explained by a side that provides information regarding the Ottomans.

The chronicler's position in the Principality scene was important because he could have been an eye witness or a secondary witness. Secondary witness works were based on compilations and syntheses, they perceived the image of the Ottomans during events which he lived, can be positioned directly or indirectly, even directly first and second direct, depending upon how involved was described. For example, the message of a diplomat, that directly control the strings of the relations, offers a much more valuable information than a soldier in the camp as a direct witness mate, or just a citizen that was at that time in Transylvania, thus indirectly eyewitness of historical time lived.

We divided into five groups the chroniclers of the Principality, depending on the time lived and who drafted as follows:

1. until the late sixteenth century chronicler,
2. Ottoman chroniclers of battles (end cent. XVI - yet. Sec. XVII)
3. Chroniclers of Transylvania until 1657
4. chroniclers after the Rakoczy II expedition's in Poland
5. Chroniclers of the Great Principality of Transylvania

Then, after analyzing the chroniclers, we tried to sum up the image of the Ottoman sultan. The Ottomans required subclassifications: Turks and Tartars. Situation of the slaves were treated in parallel with the subject, but also in a short separate chapter. If documents come to us weather wise draw a picture, chronicles a whole, takes us into a symbiosis with the prevailing rational analogues.

First should not overlook that almost a century ago with the formation of the Principality, entered the Ottoman territories now, Hungary and the Country Land Transylvania, then the Kingdom of Hungary and Transylvania Voivodeship, meet the legendary figure of the Iancu de Hunedoara, honest Christian worldwide leader because of the spirit or directed crusade against the Ottoman world. Layer have a legacy of social memory of a terrible image. But bearing in mind that this crusade was based on the next fight against the Ottomans and the fight against Muslims, the attitude is understandable. Overlapping images from image Ottoman Muslim otherness has determined that the big picture already painted in memory of the past to resize.

Europe under the Ottoman danger for four centuries, since 1354, provides opportunities for each monarch to follow to build the superiority, to use the idea of "unity" of Europe against the Turkish threat, through representation and action.¹

Although the question of the Principality is marked by Hungarian historiography as a continuation of the Hungarian state after loss of Mohacs and as a basis for the recovery of its existence in the seventeenth century in their individuality,² otherness in the image we feel some differences that will give a unique footprint in both the image perceived by Hungarians in Hungary, as well as the Romanians in the Romanian.

Ottoman Empire is seen quite lax and more understanding than we expect from devout Christians, by no means so gloomy as had been well thought. If a better understanding of the Ottomans and their society is to dip in Transylvania Christian spirits and sometimes makes them stop even the pagans monikers", some Sultan habits, such as succession, creating a real shock. Transylvanian malleability is time for some examples such as marriages renegade citizens, would not have been possible in a very secluded society, acceptance of Islam by some, but limited existing case (Case of an citizen Cluj, Ibrahim Mutefferica, who will give printing letters Ottoman Osman or the groom columnists Ferencz Nagy Szabó).

¹ Halil Inalçık, *Osmanlılar. Fütühat, İmparatorluk, Avrupa ile İlişkileri*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p.215

² Cristina Feneşan, *Constituirea Principatului autonom al Transilvaniei*, ed. Enciclopedica, Bucureşti, 1997, p. 18

Ottoman otherness image is perceived differently in comparison with the Transylvania area seen in the Romanian or even eyaletul Buda.³ Ottomans image was degraded due to the position of the Romanian at the forefront of anti-Ottoman but also the Ottoman system.⁴

Another decisive factor that offers a shade of perception is given first Protestant religious influence, which by constant similarities with the Israelites made their substitutes such punishment ordained status and is considered Ottoman Jews model penalty under oppressive kings. If the Hungarian kingdom was punished for sins in the death of god and idolatry, Transylvanian be granted an opportunity under foreign rule, under which ought to proceed. This fatalism has a particular nuance in this case, is a biblical fatalism. He may have but two poles of perception, the positive and negative. In the negative, can be noted especially during the Christian forces mess, being known to us by brave songs, Sultan is likened to the image of a pagan ruler of the Bible, Sennacheribet. Is the pole that resembles anti-Turkish reactions to and explanations are just that parallels the biblical data.

But not all historians resort to parallel biblical text. Songs of bravery at the turn of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is perception, vision of society in that area, but take into account their location and chronicler of the time it happened. For example, Sepsi Laczkó mate, who literally translate the song, at that time lived in the Tokaj region, positioned right on the line near the Tisza. But Habsburg confidence evaporates fairly quickly among Transylvanian who had some memories and through the collective memory of the time it enters Castaldo, people trying to muster an Ottoman power, the protector of Protestants. Everything is a perfect fusion upon raising to the throne Prince Istvan Bocskai, which is helped by the Ottomans.

Now even the strongest critics of the Ottomans are people who slow their attitude towards Turkish otherness as Hungarian on the one hand, on the other Transylvanian spirit may be perpetuated in peace under the wing of the sultan.

Ottoman power company is satisfied, even if they had to endure sporadic looting *tătărăști*, but knew that as long as the country's wealth can be built and the country may remain in Turkish. From this perspective Ottoman picture wobbles between positive and neutral. Since the sixteenth century sources are mainly inherited from the previous century and especially marked bravery or ethnic Hungarian Hunyadi Christians led by the Ottoman Muslims are induced negative elements, appellations such as "pagan" to this otherness, which is maintained sometimes they are referred to these times, to denote valor predecessors. For the seventeenth century, due to a stronger integration of the Protestant religion will foster collective mind is. When he mentions it makes sense to support parallel Bible that was used: the pagan who was in Israel in the Old Testament and pagan Ottoman. In this context, the term pagan visibly degrade and no longer has the meaning of sec. XV and XVI, no one in it will have no one in the seventeenth.

In the seventeenth century and there is an increasing number of those present in the Turkish territories, especially at the gate and direct contact and experience of them translates into an improved image of Ottoman Empire because they perceive discipline,

³ S. Takats, *Macaristan Türk Aleminden Çizgiler* (Cronicari ai lumii turce din Ungaria), Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1992, p. 13.

⁴ C. Felezeu, *Imaginea societății otomane*, p. 65.

freedom to practice the cult offered to minorities, which was more desirable action of Catholic proselytism.

Of course we Transylvanian territory and chroniclers cases involving the Ottoman otherness hatred but it should put more on account of their alignment to Habsburg interests.

This is the difference between the fingerprint image fatalism Ottomans in the Romanian and Transylvanian biblical fatalism. Time after 1658, Ottoman image degrades, in conjunction with country status degradation in relations with the Ottomans. In addition to negative images, there are chroniclers who develop real exposure to country life when he was wonderful as Suleyman brilliant. Sultan image goes to the positive extreme variant, being seen as Nebuchadnezzar, the heart softened by God, while Jews were under his rule. Occupied an important place in the chronicles of enslavement tataricum, which produced a big upset of the country, but also are to blame for it by living their reckless rulers, especially Rakoczy II.

Even after formation of the Grand Principality of Transylvania, not fatalistic biblical image suddenly renounced the Ottomans, but gradually it seemed required by the situation and will not return to former status and the need for survival and adaptation to new context, where that many were forced to return from travels and sit in their homes. Variants of anti-or pro-Turkish Ottoman There was no influenced by political faction as they were chroniclers, but generally we play as a special feature of the light image viewed fatality biblical otherness.

Ottoman suzerainty, Transylvania became the city of Calvinism, this finding held for settlement, Unitarians,⁵ and the Transylvanian princes played important roles in addition to the Protestant camp during the War of 30 years (1618-1648).⁶ After the disaster of Vienna, Ottoman picture worsens throughout Europe, the vehicle solution views emerged from a christening in a group of Turks to completely remove the item by passing through Turkish sword.⁷

Following analysis cronistice sources, we were able to determine whether a problem sharing the perspective of the world chronicles Ottoman, then the terms they use in chronic.

Thus we managed to divide them into three groups: Anti-Turks who resorted to such forms of expression "the Turkish tyrant," înrobitorul Turkish, "Turkish infidel" can be used simultaneously or not neutral terms "pagan" and "Turkish" alternate terms that the legacy of the past or due to their transitory function required, from negative to positive, and realists, who perceive them from contacts with the Turks at their fair value, giving them the simple word "Turkish".

Biblical fatalism is what makes the portrait of Ottoman otherness. Tatar otherness, although it looked all the same fatalism light shades do not have all positive, which is apparent from their behavior unpredictable and unmanageable even the Sultan.

But the new changes occurring in Europe as the Ottoman Empire will be perceived as a true ally in terms of confederation policy, then France and Protestant states will find it necessary counterweight to state that their survival and identity are not

⁵ Halil Inalçık, *Osmanlılar. Fütühat, İmparatorluk, Avrupa ile İlişkileri*, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul, 2010, p.307

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ Ibidem, p.217

affected by St. chair or the House of Habsburg. Ottoman power in Europe was an insurance policy Protestants and Calvinists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which in 1552 still others do not hesitate to incite them against the papacy and the Emperor.⁸

The religious war in France (1562-1598) Calvinist party supported the Ottomans and the night after the massacre of Saint Bartholomew, 1572, responded by threatening to impose trade embargo.⁹

A German manuscript from 1684 noted that "Turkey will fall on Christianity [...] enemy is Turkey, and still more French and Hungarian are its allies."¹⁰ Some choose to circumvent the Hungarian aristocracy under the Austrians, after "example Transylvanian treated quite gently by the Turks." (Ca. 1683).¹¹

Protestants were seen by Turks as their allies, padishah agents and sent them letters of recommendation (teşvik edigi mektuplar) and Melancton, Luther's close contacts with the Orthodox Patriarch in Istanbul.¹²

Referring to the changes occurring mental notes across Europe, Veniamin Ciobanu shows that the most feared enemy, which is not wanted at all possible contact any of the vision of "the most terrible Turkish, passing to the image" most desirable allies "in the minds of Bohemia."¹³

Because no names were recorded in research into Ottoman picture vision Transylvania chronicles a comprehensive whole, those who were particularly concerned over any cronist fragmentary were treated in terms of national ideas, altering the true image home, I was pretty hard to me in guiding how the theme would be better treated. But certainly those who will continue my approach will fail to be guided by this research, which provides the home base at least references to the entire manuscript editing and much of the unpublished study that served basis.

S. Takats talks about image distortion Ottoman era for Hungarian nationalism in Hungary.¹⁴ These considerations come to support the allegations launched the works on Ottoman image distortion for Transylvanian territory. But the positive way that plays Turkish-Hungarian relations, and not find it in Romanian works. Ottomans image was degraded due to the position of the Romanian at the forefront of anti-Ottoman but also the Ottoman system.¹⁵

A bent only on a research topic cronistic a columnist with the paper offers Christmas Joachim Szamosközy and notes about the Romans. 1566-1608 which appeared

⁸ Idem, *The Turkish impact on the development of modern Europe* în Kemal H. Karpat, **Social, economical and Political Studies of the Middle East**, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1974, vol. IX, p. 53.

⁹ Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlılar. Fütühat, İmparatorluk, Avrupa ile İlişkileri*, p. 216.

¹⁰ V. Ciobanu, "Rațiune de stat" și "Solidaritate creștină" în secolul XVII. în **Anuarul Institutului de Istorie "A. D. Xenopol"**, Editura Academiei Române, Iași, 1955, nr. XXXII, p. 70.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p.78.

¹² Halil İnalcık, *Osmanlılar. Fütühat, İmparatorluk, Avrupa ile İlişkileri*, p. 306.

¹³ V. Ciobanu, "Rațiune de stat" și "Solidaritate creștină" în secolul XVII, p. 69

¹⁴ S. Takats, *Macaristan Türk Aleminde Çizgiler (Creionări al lumii turce din Ungaria)*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1992, p.12; In continuare: "Macaristan Türk Aleminde"

¹⁵ Călin Felezeu, *Imaginea societății otomane in istoriografia românească a secolelor XV-XIX in Identitate și alteritate. Studii de imagologie*, Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, Cluj-Napoca, 1998, p.65, In continuare: "Imaginea societății otomane..."

in Cluj in 1928,¹⁶ but he treats the second Ottoman item because the item was intended only Romanian and what is perceived at this juncture of the Ottoman item.

New research on Ottoman otherness image will be made for the top scholar Michael Berza study,¹⁷ followed by the others who were bent on passing the problem on Ottoman studies in Romanian historiography, that PM turcologul Felezeu then resume problem and a picture display in his study of Ottoman society in the Romanian historiography XV-XIX centuries which appeared in Volume identity and otherness. Imagologie Studies in Cluj-Napoca in 1998.

A study relatively similar, but not human social relations seeks a succession of analytical columnist and S. Takats gives him in his *Türk Macaristan Aleminden Çizgiler* (outlining the Turkish world in Hungary), which appears in 1992 in Istanbul.

My work is a somewhat timid attempt to restore the image of otherness in Transylvania chronicles and texts that I have played mostly Romanian editions are not known except by Krauss and his chronicles Nagz Syabo Ferency occurring language Romanian.

Translations provided keep order in which they were played, the less change of making topical may not coincide with the original essence. Therefore I intend to remain permanently in accordance with the original.

Chapter II. Civic attitudes and the image of the princess in the chronicles

The chapter is dedicated to the prince's image collected the most important moments of his life: birth, enthronement, marriage and death, through vision and sound similar to columnists, as representative of the social group that comes, and civic attitudes towards their leaders through imposing a template of the ideal prince according to Old Testament precepts as well as those conveyed by the new political thinking, as they foreshadow and J. Bodin in his work.¹⁸

Differentiated analysis of similar thinking and the rational in these moments, seen by the triangular relationship divinity - Prince - natural phenomena, or social motivations and feelings that led to the creation of princely image, as is the ability of these moments by receiving mental collectively, I drew attention as some exciting themes.

Mental incursions social imaginary area, mainly between hiperbolizare and mirabil positioning are among the topics on which I leaned research.

Chapter III. George Martinuzzi and policy of "balance of power"

The assumption made by monk Martinuzzi diplomatic game and was due largely to cover the concept of state identity is preserved, we resorted to an analysis of European policy in a general framework, as far as I can to provide the existing differences the "new policy" a general summary. In the same way I watched and political life of the bishop, a person quite controversial at the time.

¹⁶ Ioachim Crăciun, *Cronicarul Szamosközy și însemnările privitoare la romani. 1566-1608*, Cluj, Institutul de Arte Grafice "Ardealul" 1928, p.11. In continuare „Cronicarul Szamosközy...”

¹⁷ Călin Felezeu, *Statutul Principatului Transilvaniei în raporturile cu Poarta Otomana. (1541-1688)*, Presa Universitara Clujeana, Cluj-Napoca, 1996, p.66

¹⁸ Bodin, Jean, *Six Books of the commonwealth*, abridged and translated by M.J. Tooley, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, f.a.

Examples of balancing policy of the country is Hungary's King John Zápolya. That assertion was, and before that, this world of dust, hand bend the wind blowing, the Turk comes today kissed gown tomorrow Hungarians that come from that is lingușește, the day after to come on that blesses Neamt as always seeking only self-interest, even if you have a country not to recognize.¹⁹

In the same sense of fit and the prince Stephen Bathory, the Transylvanian vision that rests like a claw between two kings who are the strongest on earth and being completely powerless and human aid, can be maintained and goodwill of both kings rule, just won one of them winning it on our side and the other by donations and obedience because the province to stay away from enemies outside and all the dangers, the larger the safety and tranquility²⁰

During the search I observed at the equilibrium policy practiced by the European three principles. Namely that practiced by countries in Europe in general, the principle of "commonwealth", meaning a rally against a Member wishing to raise foreign powers, to not harm others.

The principle of "balance of power generally practiced by the countries of southeastern Europe, namely Transylvania, Moldova, Romanian and less country, and the third, the principle practiced padishah world, Suleyman, the "division of powers", which allowed states under the suzerainty of his union with other states or regions in order not to excessively increase the power even against the majesty of the Sultan.

Chapter IV. Transylvaniam-current identity.

About Transylvaniam historians speak briefly in their work. While some perceive the phenomenon as a reaction to ethnic Romanian off of the Hungarians, others think it is a sentiment that unites ethnic Hungarians. But C. Felezeu Transylvaniam concerned as an idea conceived in pre-modern politics, which "will make country life"²¹ giving it an overall sense that target the entire country, so only one ethnic group or faction.

Thus, we tried to provide a definition of the current identity, which currently also merely be in line with other similar ideas in Europe. Marked feature of Renaissance individualism as perceived by the peoples of Europe, according to Delumeau, who oppose and are differentiated from each other in this period căștgând and perceiving a sense of originality that land.

As we see, is noted *in nuce* nationalist individualism.²²

To explain the current identity, I made reference only to the period of pre-modern era, using methods of descriptive, analytical and explanatory. I played the short general explanation that is due to introduce the reader into the subject.

My intention was to show how this trend arose as formed and strengthened during this period as a result of facts and factors were involved in terms of social development with all legal and political-cultural implications, after I acquired a certain knowledge base by researching the subject. I only based on truth documentation, ie one that is based on documentation of pre-modern era.

¹⁹ Mindsyenti Gabor *Naploja* în **E.O.**, vol. I., p.75.

²⁰ Báthory István, *Erdély fejedelem*, vol.I, p.344-345

²¹ Călin Felezeu, *op. cit.*, p.80

²² Delumeau, *Civilizația Renașterii*, Ed. Meridiane, p.43

Although the sentence was originally set yet another chapter to the theme Political and legal status of the Principality of Transylvania under Ottoman Empire and its reflection in cronică, I had to temporarily give him administrative reasons related to supporting the thesis requirement at a fixed period .

But the expectation that this sentence will turn in all stages of rigor (corrections, touches, etc.). A book for my book editing job accomplishing that goal.

Finally I wish to thank again through whose benevolence and teachers from courses that I chose to dwell in that era, with priority to those already listed above. Especially express my gratitude to Prof. Univ. Dr. Nicholas Edroiu, my doctoral coordinator, which gave me the chance to materialize my concerns in a sentence which allow me to hope that, beyond the least burdensome form of long-time failure to use the Romanian language, while it will turn into a useful work pre-modern era historians in Romania.

Even if European and national sap boiling in each ethnic group tended to their awareness of identity and ethnic formations states where Transylvania can not even speak of it. Being a country made up of several ethnic groups, three privileged nations (although there were four in the country) religion and four reception (excluding the one Eastern Rite), that individualism can not be conceived within range nationalities as automatically lead to "disintegration" of the country. But if talk of the country's individualism, yes, that is, through awareness Transylvanian identity, supported by the sultan.

We can not speak of a Transylvanian nation as a whole because people were amalgamated, divided by ethnic groups, each speaking their own vernacular and private religion, but we can not overlook the identity that unites the feeling of Transylvanism that due to external and internal historical processes has to be strengthened, to be noticed and be given attention since its perception of the collective mentality and then be exalted in the imaginary space and time marked by the society under Ottoman Principality.

Ottoman suzerainty has created a climate conducive to molding and awareness of this idea. Sultan, the policy pursued was interested in promoting and supporting everything that was contrary to Habsburg to undermine their power. Such reforms enter Transylvania finds followers and expands quickly.

Renaissance and Protestantism promotes excellence by encouraging the vernacular language. And knowing their ethnic identities, in conjunction with the special biblical predestination territorial space, leading to the Transylvanian identity.

Starting from the premise of the concept of "state policy" in the noble vision of the Republic of Poland, whose analysis Veniamin Ciobanu debating the issue, saying that Polish political thought over the concept of buttress of Christianity "which involved the presentation of Catholicism can and we do a analogy to the Republic of Transylvanian noble.

But to the contrary "state policy" was based on political reasons Transylvanian that Protestantism offered strong support in this area, where aristocratic elite prefer to choose "evil good" against "wicked good" formula that countless plastic croniști express their political views on the Ottoman Empire and Austria.

Both formulas and name of the Republic we find in the chronicles. "Poor country"²³ is also a formula often used in weather instruments, whether reviews, correspondence and documents, the three states to designate the country of Transylvania.

In the picture she was driven both princely ruler of nature and especially the feelings of society. If some firm legendary factory lines, others knew to find similarities hyperbolized or abnormality scope to justify their behavior unstable and had brought a loss to the country

Death was seen as something natural, their fear was not death, for which trained intensively in life - as wills, but when Judgement, pending that sought to lead an exemplary life.

Punishment on the deceased body was the most terrible punishment, and chronicles the cases we have fallen princes have experienced. Period in which the soul left the body lay on the ground was quite long compared to today's rituals and applies only to the princely house and any nobility. It is intended that all those willing to make the final tribute to the best fit.

But now it and when the body was brought to punishment, and the bodies laid out in trenches city princes, beheaded or left unburied simply bear witness about a world where rather than Judgement, those left behind to be tended and pay with a vengeance suffering, and passion. The body of Gabriel Bathory Martinuzzi or were thrown out of town and kept to dishonor months. And one aim was educational (as in ordinary executatilor exposure) - as those who see take note and not contrary to ordinances. If Martinuzzi stayed unburied 70 days, Bathory G. stands for years.

Andrew Bathory is beheaded by Székely, but before that dishonor, Michael the Brave has responded promptly and asked to be sewn back and gave her as a funeral. In Turkish, Polish chancellor was beheaded after the 1620 campaign and the head is pale before Aya Sofia cathedral, the scribble on his forehead and he was summarizing what was - given a diplomatic signal to gate, rather than people city.

Princely tombs are devastated not only by Turks in 1657-8, but the Austrians in 1644. It was the biggest form of humiliation that could be put in place.

But beyond these facts from his life during the political connotation naturally surprised chroniclers such as weather and documents. Princely courts was rich areas, open arts and culture, with an administrative apparatus that was keeping them in constant liaison with the Porte. Moreover there are indications that interaction with Turkish otherness occur even in the newspaper and princely residence.

The princely accounts have identified the list of payments included musicians from a possible Turkish music, mail payment to Gateway and its composition, a shopping list that includes Prince needs. I found the animals in order keeping horses again "Turkish" - Arabian thoroughbred.

Transylvaniam-awareness within their identity of Turkish suzerainty, Transylvania becomes her imaginary little people of Israel, the country has escaped the divine wrath and divine that gave the Turks a new chance.

All these inflections of thought are found in similar cronistică and sometimes other types of documents, leaving the world to be seen alive and colorful Transylvania XVI-XVII

²³ Szegeny hazank - our poor house, just as in text, is the meaning of country house

and how an educated and interested in preserving blanket memory - historians - saw this world.

Even if there would be enough for completions, basically think that we managed to reach my goal. Decryption cronistice in some cases texts, transcription of the illustrative passages cronistului idea for the image and their translation, will offer those interested without rummaged among many sources or those who had limited knowledge of Hungarian language, the possibility of raids in the area of social attitudes, the civic attitude, to go through imaginary sphere, such lovely story of the birth of the prince receiving unwanted traits as inhuman and similarities Martian răscolirea social reaction to the situation of the country.

I can not conclude without mention of historian George Brancovici, which has left „Romanian Chronicle”, a beautiful presentation prosesului Kerbella, process large-scale religious Shiite Muslim world, in all its splendor exhibition.

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²⁴ La fiecare lucrare în limba maghiară sau turcă am oferit traducerea în cadrul tezei.

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