

**POMPILIU TEODOR (1930–2001)
AND MODERN ROMANIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY**

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I. Introduction

No one played such a generally significant role in bringing the study of the Romanian Enlightenment to critical mass than Professor Pompiliu Teodor.¹ He did this through original study, tireless historiographical efforts, the coordination of collaborative academic work, and the painstaking teaching of others.²

Professor Teodor inherited and carried on the scholarly agenda that was initiated in the 18th century by that fountainhead of modern Romanian culture and civilization, the *Școala Ardeleană*. Furthermore, he not only elucidated the cultural and political development of the Transylvanian 18th century, he continued to explore its implications for subsequent Romanian national development through the stirring events of the Romanian 1848, which was in serious danger of being lost to Romanian historians during the early part of Communist rule in Romania, right down to the emergence of modern Romania in 1918.

At the same time, Professor Teodor was a pioneer in the rebirth of the history of history in Romania from the 1960's to his death. He proved to be a principal link between the great interwar historiographical tradition of Cluj and the modern post-World War II Romanian historiography, while bringing Romanian scholarship into salutary contact with world historiography, particularly with that of the United States and of German and French speaking cultures. His personal acquaintance with and use of the entire international scholarly and historiographical literature was the exception rather than the rule in Romanian academic writing prior to 1989. In addition, he was an impressive cultural ambassador for Romania abroad,

¹ For the argument, see Paul E. Michelson, "Pompiliu Teodor și iluminismul românesc: o apreciere istoriografică americană," in Nicolae Bocșan, Nicolae Edroiu, and Aurel Răduțiu, eds., *Cultură și societate în epoca modernă* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1990), pp. 272–283.

² See "Istoricul Pompiliu Teodor," in Bocșan, Edroiu, and Răduțiu, *Cultură și societate în epoca modernă*, 1990, pp. 7–12; Nicolae Bocșan and Ioan-Aurel Pop, "Pompiliu Teodor (1930–2001)," *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. 10 (2001), pp. 144–147; Doru Radosav, "Pompiliu Teodor – profesor și istoric (1930–2001)," in Nicolae Bocșan, Ovidiu Ghitta and Doru Radosav, eds., *Tentația istoriei. În memoria profesorului Pompiliu Teodor* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003), pp. 7–15; and the numerous contributions in Corina Teodor, ed., *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Mega, 2016), p. 210. (References to this volume are to an electronic copy kindly made available to me by Prof. Teodor.)

maintaining contacts with foreign historians and others, participating in colloquia and conferences, and teaching and speaking in foreign universities.

This paper has a two-fold purpose: first, to present an overview of the career of a man fated to live and work in eight of the most tumultuous and trying decades of Romanian history; and, second, to review his contributions to the study of history in Romania, in connection with three important areas: the Transylvanian Enlightenment; Romanian national development from the 18th century to 1918; and the history of history, the story of Romanian historiography as such.³

II. Life and Work⁴

Pompiliu Teodor was born July 19, 1930, into a family of priests and teachers in the small rural Transylvanian town of Ilia and spent most of his adolescence in the even smaller town of Turdaș (both in the Hunedoara județ, both near Deva, and all three in the Mureș River valley). He returned to Ilia while he was in high school in Deva, from 1944-1949. He recalled, somewhat wistfully, that Ilia was a true Southern Transylvanian village, a community built on “concivility” despite a striking amount of social, economic, ethnic, and religious diversity.⁵

³ There are several extensive bibliographies available: Nicolae Bocșan, Maria Tecușan, and Rodica Vlăsa, eds., *Activitatea științifică a Universității din Cluj-Napoca, 1919–1975. Istorie* (Cluj-Napoca: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca/Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, 1974), pp. 216–220; Iolanda Károly, Adrian Andrei Rusu, and Maria Tecușan, eds., *Activitatea științifică a Universității din Cluj-Napoca, 1974–1978. Istorie* (Cluj-Napoca: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca/Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, 1979), pp. 68–70; Iolanda Károly, Maria Pagu, and Adrian Andrei Rusu, eds., *Activitatea științifică a Universității din Cluj-Napoca, 1979–1986. Istorie* (Cluj-Napoca: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca/Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, 1988), pp. 89–96; Aurora Arion, “Bibliografia operei profesorului univ. dr. Pompiliu Teodor”, in Nicolae Bocșan, Ovidiu Ghitta and Doru Radosav eds., *Tentația istoriei. În memoria profesorului Pompiliu Teodor* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2003), pp. 647–672; and Veronica Turcuș, Felicia Hristodol and Gheorghe Hristodol eds., *Bibliografia lucrărilor științifice ale membrilor Institutului de Istorie din Cluj, 1920–2005* (București: Editura Academiei, 2008). In general, posthumous publications will not be included below.

⁴ For biographical information, see Ștefan Ștefănescu, ed., *Enciclopedia istoriografiei românești* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1978), pp. 322–323; “Focus: Pompiliu Teodor,” *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. 7 (1998), Nr. 2, pp. 99–101; Dorina N. Rusu, *Membrii Academiei Române 1866–1999* (București: Editura Academiei, 1999), p. 521; “Pompiliu Teodor (1930–2001)”, in Pompiliu Teodor, *Cu fața la vânt*, edited by Corina Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Limes, 2011), p. 2; Corina Teodor, “Miniaturi biografice: Pompiliu Teodor,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, Vol. 15 (2011), Nr. I, pp. 373–385; as well as the memorial volumes edited by Bocșan, Ghitta, and Radosav (2003), and Corina Teodor (2016).

⁵ Pompiliu Teodor in Corina Teodor, “Miniaturi biografice”, 2011, pp. 373–374. This piece is an evocative interview dealing with Professor Teodor’s life up to the mid-1950’s. On Professor Teodor’s “nostalgia” for “my country”, that is the archaic Mureș Valley villages, see also Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Pompiliu Teodor – o evocare prin vorbe și fapte antologice,” in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, p. 210.

This surprisingly idyllic existence (after all, part of it was spent during World War II) was shattered after 1948 by the brutal Communist takeover of Romania. The Teodor home in Ilia was expropriated, his parents subjected to repeated, harsh interrogations, and his father (a supporter of the Romanian National Liberal Party) sent off to the Romanian Gulag. The Teodor family soon “realized that all was lost” under the avalanche of changes brought about by the new Communist regime.⁶ They returned to living with relatives in Turdaș, which once more became a haven providing continuity with the past and a sense of “family” solidarity. This space, too, in which one “continued to believe in the destiny of one’s people,” a “world of ‘villages and priests in Ardeal’” (in the phraseology of N. Iorga), a place where his grandfather and great grandfather as priests had been both *pater familias* and respected leaders of communities, would eventually be lost forever.⁷

Pompiliu Teodor graduated from the Decebal Lycee in Deva in 1949, was denied admission to the University of București because of his antecedents (fortunate chance, it turned out), and then studied from 1950–1954 at the University of Cluj. Interestingly and importantly, in contrast to București and Iași, Cluj still provided numerous oases for talented people in the early 1950s—both young and old. Among his professors was David Prodan (1902–1992), soon to become the pre-eminent historian of the Transylvanian 18th century⁸, the intellectual historian Dimitrie Popovici (1902–1952), whose work on the Transylvanian Enlightenment had broken new ground,⁹ and others who had been active before 1948. Professor Teodor’s life-long preoccupation with the Romanian Enlightenment obviously owed a lot to these scholars, particularly to Professor Prodan.¹⁰ While a student, Pompiliu Teodor also formed life-long relationships with colleagues, including Șerban Polverejan, Sever Trifu, Dumitru Ghișe, Aurel Răduțiu, and Mircea

⁶ Pompiliu Teodor in Corina Teodor, “Miniaturi biografice”, 2011, p. 374.

⁷ Pompiliu Teodor in Corina Teodor, “Miniaturi biografice”, 2011, pp. 375–377. Professor Maria Crăciun, Pompiliu Teodor’s daughter, stresses the importance of family for Professor Teodor: “He had three important coordinates: the family, in which he was formed, life-long friends, and his students...” Maria Crăciun, “Prefață, in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, p. 11.

⁸ Beginning with his *Răscoala lui Horia în comitatele Cluj și Turda* (București: Imprimeria Națională, 1938); *Teoria imigrației românilor din Principatele Române în Transilvania în veacul al XVIII-lea* (Sibiu: Cartea Românească din Cluj, 1944); *Iobăgia pe domeniul Băii de Arieș la 1770* (Cluj: Cartea Românească, 1948); and *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* (Cluj: Editura Universității V. Babeș, 1948).

⁹ Particularly his *La Littérature Roumaine à l’Époque des Lumières* (Sibiu: Centrul de Studii și Cercetări Privitoare la Transilvania, 1948).

¹⁰ Radosav, “Pompiliu Teodor”, in Bocșan, Ghitta, and Radosav, *Tentația istoriei*, 2003, pp. 7–8; Nicolae Bocșan, “Generozitatea Profesorului”, in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, pp. 43–44. In 1982, Prodan included Pompiliu Teodor among those of “the new generation of historians” that he was pleased to see beginning to affirm itself, and later singled out Teodor and Aurel Răduțiu as the two closest to him. David Prodan, *Memorii*, edited by Aurel Răduțiu (București: Editura Enciclopedică, 1993) pp. 146, 156.

Păcurariu,¹¹ all future Transylvanian Romanian intellectual and cultural leaders.¹²

Romanian culture after 1948 was in considerable disarray, since the bulk of its interwar elite was purged by Romania's new Communist regime; Romanian society at large had been Stalinized; and contact with the larger European tradition cut off by the Iron Curtain. Even Prodan – who had been a Communist Party activist prior to 1944 and who had consequently been elected a member of a transformed Romanian Academy in 1948 – was under pressure: he was charged in 1952 as a “right deviationist,” and fell afoul of the official historiographical line, being enforced from București under the hegemony of the rightly infamous Mihail Roller.¹³

From 1955 to 1963, Professor Teodor worked at the Biblioteca Academiei in Cluj, where he came into contact with Lucian Blaga (1895–1961), one of interwar Romania's leading poets and cultural philosophers; G. Em. Marica (1904–1982), the sociologist and cultural historian; Ion Breazu (1901–1958), the literary critic; and Ion Mușlea (1899–1966), the ethnographer and folklorist; and others, all of whom influenced his work and Transylvanianist trajectory.¹⁴ (A book really needs to be written on the numerous Romanian intellectuals who found relatively productive safe harbors in Romanian libraries, archives, museums, and publishing establishments under repressive regimes.)

The library was for Pompiliu Teodor a genuine refuge in an increasingly hostile environment.¹⁵ As chance would have it, his primary responsibility was to work with manuscripts that became foundation stones for his subsequent work, such as Samuil Micu's unpublished *Istoria și lucrurile și întâmplările românilor*.¹⁶

¹¹ See Mircea Păcurariu, “O prietenie de o jumătate de veac,” in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, pp. 91–93.

¹² Crăciun, “Prefață,” in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, p. 12.

¹³ Prodan, *Memorii*, 1993, pp. 66–69. For a succinct discussion of the historiographical issues involved, see Andi Mihalache, “Iluminismul transilvan în istoriografia perioadei 1948–1965,” *Annales Universitatis Apulensis. Series Historica*, Vol. 4–5 (2000–2001), pp. 197–202.

¹⁴ See Teodor's 1986 memories of this era in “Permanența clasicilor la Biblioteca Academiei—Filiala Cluj,” in Pompiliu Teodor, *Cu fața la vânt*, edited by Corina Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Limes, 2011), pp. 329–332; For the contributions of the Academy Library in Cluj, see David Prodan, “Contribuția Bibliotecii Filialei Academiei din Cluj la dezvoltarea științei noastre istorice,” *Studii și Cercetări de Documente și Bibliologie*, Nr. 2–3, 1967, pp. 165–168.

¹⁵ One of Professor Teodor's former students stresses this point: Ionuț Costea, “Într-o lume de cuvinte,” in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, pp. 65–66. Costea notes that Professor Teodor was never to be found anywhere without numerous books at hand in his briefcase, and that he “was the most passionate reader I ever met, always surprising through the vivacity and diversity of his reading.”

¹⁶ Four volumes in 2445 pages, Ms. 436, 437, 438, 439. See Aurel Răduțiu, *Incursiuni în istoriografia vieții sociale* (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1973), pp. 177–178. For a touching tribute to the manuscripts of Biblioteca Academiei, to Blaga, and to Prodan for his work on Micu and on the Transylvanian 18th century, see the “Cuvânt înainte,” to his *Sub semnul luminilor. Samuil Micu* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), p. 5. Blaga at the time (the early 1950's) was completing his own explorations of the Transylvanian Enlightenment, later published as *Gândirea românească în*

In 1957, he married Felicia Cozma, daughter of a priest and a scientist by training, who became a mainstay at Editura Dacia. Their daughter, Maria, was later also to become a historian. (After a long and painful battle with cancer, Felicia Teodor passed away in 1993.)

Pompiliu Teodor remained at the Biblioteca Academiei until efforts by the Romanian Communist leadership to escape from the tutelage of the Soviet Union in the early 1960's provided a relative (and temporary) cultural loosening. The result was a degree of "disassociation between academic and party discourse" that allowed expanded latitude in the historiographical realm.¹⁷ Thus, in 1963–1966, Pompiliu Teodor became both a researcher at the Institutul de Istorie și Arheologie in Cluj, and from 1963 to his death, a professor at the University of Cluj (lecturer, 1963–1970, associate professor, 1970–1977, full professor in 1977). He studied history and historiography at the University of Vienna with Hans Leo Mikoletzky and Heinrich Lutz in 1968–1969 (where his eyes were opened to Western historiography on the Enlightenment), and was awarded a Ph.D. in history by the University of Cluj in 1970 with a thesis on "Samuil Micu as Historian." And in 1972–1973, he was a Fulbright Professor at the University of Illinois. His academic exchange experiences helped him exercise historiographic and linguistic skills that gave him entree into the whole range of Western scholarship, which he fully utilized. This was quite atypical in pre-1989 Romania, where Romanian scholars rarely cited the work of foreigners, and seldom actually benefited from their researches. In the Department of History at Cluj, he served as head of the section of Medieval History and Historiography from 1973 to 1977.

Pompiliu Teodor was legendary as a professor, where he did not stint his obligations to his students in favor of his own work. His legacy among students can be sensed by leafing at random through the 2011 and 2016 memorial volumes cited above. Among the many that could be mentioned, just a few will suffice to illustrate Pompiliu Teodor's reach: Nicolae Bocșan, Ionuț Costea, Ovidiu Ghitta, Konrad Gündisch, Ladislau Gyémánt, Radu Mârza, Toader and Simona Nicoară, Ovidiu Pecican, Ioan-Aurel Pop, Vasile Pușcaș and Doru Radosav.¹⁸

Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea, edited by George Ivașcu (București: Editura Științifică, 1966). For a perspective on the historical holding of the library, see Pompiliu Teodor, Mihail Triteanu and Liviu Ursuțiu, "Arhiva istorică a Bibliotecii Filialei din Cluj a Academiei Republicii Socialiste România", *Revista Arhivelor*, Vol. 10 (1967), Nr. 1, pp. 125–136.

¹⁷ Mihalache, "Iluminismul transilvan în istoriografia perioadei 1948–1965", 2000–2001, p. 202.

¹⁸ For Pompiliu Teodor and the Americans, see "Prietenul adevărului (Keith Hitchins și Pompiliu Teodor în dialog cu Emilia Pavel)," *Annales Universitatis Apulensis, Series Historica*, Vol. 7 (2003), p. 401, in which Professor Teodor reflects on his scholarly and personal friendship with Keith Hitchins; Hitchins' own "A remembrance of Pompiliu Teodor," in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, pp. 127–131; and an obituary/tribute to Professor Teodor composed by Maria Bucur, Jim Niessen, Paul E. Michelson, and Keith Hitchins, published on H-Net, 19 September 2001, and in the *Society for Romanian Studies Newsletter*, Vol. 24 (2001), Nr. 2, pp. 24–25. For a sample of his relations with other foreign scholars, see Albert P. van Goudoever, "Thoughts and remembrances about my friend Pompiliu Teodor", pp. 119–121; and Dennis Deletant,

His teaching was famously infectious and eye-opening, as the following testament by Ladislau Gyémánt illustrates. The occasion was his “inaugural lecture on Romanian medieval history... a revelation of how a so apparently barren subject could be given such an intensity of implication, a tension of arguments... that it opened an entirely different perspective on what true history meant when uncorseted from the bounds of prefabrications and clichés, whether imposed or self-imposed.... The escape from officially promulgated and often imposed platitudes offered the circle that formed around Professor Pompiliu Teodor a special aura, of people who practiced a different kind of research and another way of writing history...”¹⁹

With the end of Communist Romania in 1989, Pompiliu Teodor was able to publicly affirm the liberal European values he had privately expressed and to take an active role in multiple (and often thankless) efforts toward building of a new, post-Communist Romania, the recovery of Romania’s classical culture, and the re-entry of Romania into Europe.²⁰ He was a signatory of the “Declaration of the Committee of Free Historians in Romania”, issued on December 25, 1989,²¹ and an initiator of a newly founded Association of Historians in Transylvania and Banat. Both of these actions had a significant moral impact.

He was convinced that Transylvania would play a mediating role between Romania and the West, a West “to which the Romanian space belongs” because the “Romanians are, in many respects, a product of the European history, in which the specificity cannot be overrated to the prejudice of the general... the Western spirit is the essential foundation of the Romanian reality, over which layers of extremely diverse influences have accumulated since the middle ages to the present times”.²²

Professor Teodor was a leader at the University of Cluj, once more serving as head of the section of Medieval History and Historiography from 1990–2000, as well as Chair of the Department of History in 1996–1997.²³ In addition, he was

“Est modus in rebus”, pp. 71–72, both in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016.

¹⁹ Ladislau Gyémánt, “Profesorul nostru” in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, pp. 122, 124. This is only one among many. For another, see Ioan-Aurel Pop, “Pompiliu Teodor,” in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, pp. 210–216.

²⁰ On post-communist Romania and Romanian historiography, see Al. Zub, *Chemarea istoriei. Un an de răspântie în România postcomunistă* (Iași: Editura Junimea, 1997); and Ovidiu Pecican, *Poarta leilor. Istoriografia tânără din Transilvania (1990–2005)*, Vol. I, (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Grinta, 2005), pp. 22 ff.

²¹ “Declarația Comitetului Istoricilor Liberi din Romania,” *Revista de Istorie*, Vol. 42 (1989), Nr. 12, pp. 1167–1168. It was signed by David Prodan, Sigismund Jakó, Henry H. Stahl, Dionisie M. Pippidi, Șerban Papacostea, Pompiliu Teodor, Viorica Moisiuc, Andrei Pippidi, Ștefan Andreescu, Octavian Iliescu, Petre Alexandrescu, Gh. Brătescu, Al. Zub, and Ștefan S. Gorovei.

²² Ovidiu Pecican, “The Quintessence of Romanianness and a Country of Alterities: An Interview with Pompiliu Teodor,” *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. 7 (1998), Nr. 2, pp. 105–106.

²³ It was not a coincidence that he was recognized with a Festschrift in 1990: Bocșan, Edroiu, and Răduțiu, *Cultură și societate în epoca modernă*, 1990. For further comments on his contributions to the University of Cluj, see Mihai Bărbulescu, “Un om pentru Universitate”, pp. 34–36, and Andrei Marga, “Un intelectual atitudinal”, pp. 136–140, both in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016.

active in promoting his vision of a university that combined teaching and research institutes, creating and directing the Institute of Central European History at the University in 1990 and serving as the founding editor of its journal *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History* (Cluj-Napoca) in 1994; founder of what eventually became the Faculty of European Studies; co-founder of the Moshe Carmilly Institute for Hebrew and Jewish History in 1990, and the Institute for Oral History in 1997, along with co-editing their respective journals, *Studia Judaica* and *Anuarul de Istorie Orală*. In 1990, Professor Teodor was also elected a corresponding member of the Romanian Academy, and from 1995 he was Vice President of the Commission on the History of International Relations of the International Committee of Historical Studies.

After 1990, he also saw it as a responsibility to contribute to the rebuilding of his native Transylvania so that it could overcome the polarization that had thwarted regional and national development of Romania, equipping it for its national and European roles.²⁴ Especially to this end, he was active in promoting universities and higher education in Alba Iulia, Blaj, and Târgu-Mureș.²⁵

In all these roles and circumstances, Pompiliu Teodor demonstrated an irenic personality. He was somewhat unusual in avoiding the bitter infighting that typified (and typifies) Romanian academia, which did not, however, mean that he lacked integrity, sought compromise at all costs, or had few deeply-held personal convictions and ideas. Quite the contrary, he was a professional in the true sense of the word, erudite scholar as well as courtly gentleman, a man of distinction. As Al. Zub has written, “Pompiliu Teodor had as no one else the vocation of dialogue and of collegial spirit.”²⁶ Would that he serve as an example for us all.

On September 7, 2001, after a difficult battle with cancer, Professor Pompiliu Teodor passed away. He was survived by his second wife, Corina, and his daughter.

III. The Romanian 18th Century: The Transylvanian Enlightenment

The first major area of scholarly accomplishment for Pompiliu Teodor was connected with his efforts in exploring the Transylvanian Romanian Enlightenment. It was in this realm that Professor Teodor built a well-deserved international reputation and became one of the most important historians of and spokesman for Romanian culture. His contributions to the Romanian history of ideas were remarkable and his studies on the philosophical, theological, and historical work of Samuil Micu

²⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, “Transilvania: Spre un nou discurs istoriografic”, *Xenopoliana*, Vol. 1 (1993), Nr. 1–4, pp. 59–63; and Pecican, “An Interview with Pompiliu Teodor”, 1998, pp. 102–110.

²⁵ On Professor Teodor’s didactic efforts and influence after 1989, see Pecican, *Poarta leilor*, 2005, pp. 31–33.

²⁶ Al. Zub, “Un românist american: Keith Hitchins – 75”, *Convorbiri Literare*, October 6, 2006, <http://convorbiri-literare.dntis.ro/ZUBoct6.html>, last accessed 10 v 2016.

established a model for other scholars as well as students.²⁷

Pompiliu Teodor's initial scholarly publication in 1957 was a product of his first professional position at the Biblioteca Academiei, and not coincidentally had to do with two private libraries at the end of the 18th century.²⁸ Another early publication was a 1960 piece on Micu's *Istoria românilor cu întrebări și răspunsuri*,²⁹ which contained the seeds of many of the arguments he subsequently advanced with regard to the first important Transylvanian Romanian historian: the need to establish the bibliography of Micu's writings and their contents, the development of his thought, and its connection with Romanian cultural and political ideas and events (both then and subsequently). This was followed by a study that focussed on the sources for Samuil Micu's philosophical translations and adaptations, something of importance in tracing Micu's ideas.³⁰

His work on the *Școala Ardeleană* was broadened by the introductory study he wrote with Dumitru Ghișe to the 1964 critical edition of Gheorghe Șincai's previously unpublished *Învățătură firească spre surparea superstiției norodului*.³¹ In 1966, he and Ghișe did the same for Samuil Micu's *Scrieri filozofice*.³² That same year, he co-authored a work on Romanian education in 18th and 19th century Transylvania.³³ In 1968, he contributed chapters on Samuil Micu and Petru Maior to the collective history of Romanian literature.³⁴ An important piece which provided Western access to Romanian scholarship was an article dealing with recent Romanian work on the Enlightenment, written while he was studying in Vienna in 1968–1969.³⁵

²⁷ For a slightly different approach to this work up to 1990, see my, "Pompiliu Teodor și iluminismul Românesc", in: Bocșan, Edroiu, and Răduțiu, *Cultură și societate în epoca modernă*, 1990, pp. 284–291.

²⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, "Două biblioteci particulare românești de la sfârșitul secolului al XVIII-lea", *Studii și Cercetări de Bibliologie*, Vol. 2 (1957), pp. 261–268.

²⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, "Despre *Istoria românilor cu întrebări și răspunsuri* a lui Samuil Micu Clain", *Studii. Revista de istorie*, Vol. 13 (1960), Nr. 2, pp. 197–205.

³⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, "Izvoarele de filosofie traduse și prelucrate de Samuil Micu," *Studii și Cercetări Științifice Iași. Filologie*, Vol. 2 (1960), pp. 236–244. Republished in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984. Conversations with Blaga "who was preoccupied at the time with the philosophy of Samuil Micu" played an important role in Teodor's interest and investigations. See Teodor, *Samuil Micu*, 2000, p. 5.

³¹ D. Ghișe and Pompiliu Teodor, "Studiu introductiv," in Gheorghe Șincai, *Învățătură firească spre surparea superstiției norodului*, critical edition edited by D. Ghișe and Pompiliu Teodor with a preface by David Prodan (București: Editura Științifică, 1964), pp. 9–64. The existence and importance of the manuscript, found of course in the Biblioteca Academiei in Cluj, had been signalled by Prodan in 1950.

³² Pompiliu Teodor and D. Ghișe, "Studiu introductiv," in Samuil Micu *Scrieri filozofice*, critical edition edited by Pompiliu Teodor and D. Ghișe (București: Editura Științifică, 1966), pp. 5–67.

³³ Ileana Bozac and Pompiliu Teodor, "Învățămîntul românesc din Transilvania în secolul al XVIII-lea și începutului secolului al XIX-lea", in Ilie Popescu-Teiușan, ed., *Din istoria pedagogiei românești* (București: Editura Didactică și Pedagogică, 1966), Vol. 2, pp. 142–170

³⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, "Samuil Micu", and "Petru Maior", in Al. Dima, ed., *Istoria literaturii române: Vol. II: De la Școala Ardeleană la Junimea* (București: Editura Academiei, 1966), pp. 37–46, 57–66.

³⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, "Neue Forschungen zur Aufklärung in Rumänien", *Österreichisches Ostheft*, Vol. 11 (1969), Nr. 6, pp. 357–361.

In 1970, he published a piece on Petru Maior.³⁶ A reflection of Professor Teodor's library career and continuing interest in books was a 1971 study on Micu and books.³⁷ Another historiographic essay in 1971 focussed on N. Iorga and the Enlightenment era.³⁸

In 1972, Professor Teodor published a pathbreaking work in collaboration with Dumitru Ghișe, *Fragmentarium iluminist*.³⁹ It consisted of chapters on Romanian Enlightenment studies (pp. 5–20), which proposed a new periodization for the Romanian Enlightenment; Samuil Micu and the philosophy of Christian Wolff (pp. 20–100); Șincai and “the idea of enlightenment,” (pp. 101–178); Petru Maior's views of the *Aufklärung* and nation (pp. 179–212);⁴⁰ and education and society in the Transylvanian Enlightenment (pp. 213–242).

A 1974 French language essay on “*Illuminisme roumaine et illuminisme européen*,” not only again made the latest Romanian research accessible to Western scholars, it also provided an essential comparative look at the similarities and differences between what happened in Romania during the Enlightenment and what happened in the West.⁴¹

In 1976, Professor Teodor returned to a further review of the current status of Enlightenment studies.⁴² This was followed by a flood of articles on the Romanian Enlightenment in 1977: “Civic Consciousness and Historical Consciousness in the Romanian Enlightenment,”⁴³ which stressed that the interest in history in Transylvania was similar to that in the West; an essay on Dimitrie Cantemir and the South-East European pre-enlightenment;⁴⁴ “*Échos jansénistes et gallicans dans la culture*

³⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, “În legătură cu Răspuns la cârtire de Petru Maior”, *Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj*, Vol. 7 (1970), pp. 599–607.

³⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, “Lumea cărților lui Samuil Micu”, *Revista Bibliotecilor*, Vol. 24 (1971), Nr. 4, pp. 237–239.

³⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, “Nicolae Iorga și epoca luminilor”, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 16 (1971), Nr. 2, pp. 3–8. Republished in Pompiliu Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe europene* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1984).

³⁹ Dumitru Ghișe and Pompiliu Teodor, *Fragmentarium iluminist* (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1972), 242 pp.

⁴⁰ An English version of this piece appeared as Dumitru Ghișe and Pompiliu Teodor, “*Petru Maior: Aufklärung and Nation*”, in Pompiliu Teodor, ed., *Enlightenment and Romanian Society* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1980), pp. 260–277.

⁴¹ Pompiliu Teodor, “*Illuminisme roumaine et illuminisme européen*”, in *Romanian and European Civilization* (Cluj: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, 1974), pp. 89–97. This was a publication prepared for the University's 15–31 July 1974 summer program, which Professor Teodor was active in.

⁴² Pompiliu Teodor, “Stadiul actual al cercetărilor iluministe”, *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice. Academia Română*, Vol. 4 (1975–1976), Nr. 1, pp. 39–47. Republished in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984. A French version appeared as “*Où sont les études sur les Lumières Roumaines?*” *Cahiers Roumaines d'Études Littéraires*, 1977, Nr. 2, pp. 40–50.

⁴³ Pompiliu Teodor, “Civic Consciousness and Historical Development in the Romanian Enlightenment”, *Cahiers Roumaines d'Études Littéraires*, 1976, Nr. 2, pp. 14–20.

⁴⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, “Dimitrie Cantemir și preiluminismul sud-est european”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, Vol. 19 (1976), pp. 299–314. Republished in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984. French translation in Romul Munteanu, ed., *La culture roumaine à l'époque des lumières*

roumaine”,⁴⁵ and a study of the idea of independence in the Romanian Enlightenment.⁴⁶

In 1980, another important book appeared under the editorship of Professor Teodor, that was significant in developing Western awareness and appreciation of the Romanian 18th century: *Enlightenment and Romanian Society*.⁴⁷ The volume opened with a piece by Professor Teodor on “Romanian Enlightenment Research” (pp. 9–20), which expanded on his 1972 *Fragmentarium iluminist* study. In addition, he was the author of a contribution on the “Romanian Political Enlightenment” (pp. 117–142).⁴⁸ Other contributors included most leading lights of Romanian Enlightenment studies (a fair number of them students of Professor Teodor’s): Adrian Marino, Nicolae Edroiu, Iacob Mârza, Aurel Răduțiu, Ladislau Gyémánt, Avram Andea, David Prodan, Alexandru Duțu, Al. Zub, Ion-Aurel Pop, Nicolae Bocșan, Mircea Popa, and Maria Protase. There were also contributions by a number of important non-Romanian scholars, including Walter Markov, Eduard Winter, and Keith Hitchins. In the same year, he collaborated with Al. Duțu on an important paper presented to the International Congress on Historical Sciences, held in București in August, which dealt with “Les lumières dans le centre et le sud-est de l’Europe et leurs implications socio-politiques,” and was published in the *Rapports* for the congress.⁴⁹

In 1983, also for a wider audience, Professor Teodor published “L’imprimerie et l’affirmation de l’idéal national (XVIII^e siècle),”⁵⁰ another indication of his interest in book culture. In the same year, he and Dumitru Ghișe published an important introduction to Florin Fugariu’s massive (nearly 2,000 pages) anthology of key

(București: Les Editions Univers, 1982), Vol. I, pp. 171–197; and in English in *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. 7 (1998), pp. 111–128.

⁴⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, “Échos jansénistes et gallicans dans la culture roumaine”, *Synthesis*, 1977, Nr. 4, pp. 165–176. Romanian translation in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984.

⁴⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, “Ideea de independență în epoca luminilor”, in Ștefan Pascu, Constantin C. Giurescu, Ioan Ceterchi, Ștefan Ștefănescu, and Constantin Olteanu, eds., *Independența României* (București: Editura Academiei, 1977), pp. 57–70. For reasons that are unknown (and probably incomprehensible), this piece was omitted from the English synthesis that appeared as Ștefan Pascu, ed., *The Independence of Romania* (București: Editura Academiei, 1977).

⁴⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, ed., *Enlightenment and Romanian Society* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1980), 280 pp. The volume also included an English version of the paper on Petru Maior, pp. 260–277, that Ghișe and Teodor first published in their *Fragmentarium iluminist* (1972).

⁴⁸ Republished in Romanian with a few minor changes in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984.

⁴⁹ Alexandru Duțu and Pompiliu Teodor, “Les lumières dans le centre et le sud-est de l’Europe et leurs implications socio-politiques”, in Comité international des sciences historiques, *Rapports, Actes. Le XV^e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Bucharest, 10–17 août 1980* (București: Editura Academiei, 1980), Vol. II, pp. 380–397. An expanded Romanian version appeared as Alexandru Duțu and Pompiliu Teodor, “Iluminismul în centrul și sud-estul Europei și implicațiile sale social-politice”, *Revista de Istorie*, Vol. 33 (1980), Nr. 12, pp. 2245–2262.

⁵⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, “L’imprimerie et l’affirmation de l’idéal national (XVIII^e siècle)”, *Revue Roumaine*, Vol. 37 (1983), Nr. 8–9, pp. 63–72.

texts of the *Școala Ardeleană*.⁵¹ The moment was ripe for an extensive review of nearly a century of study of the Transylvanian Enlightenment and the resulting Romanian national movement. The two laid out the premises of the *Școala Ardeleană*, discussed its relationship to the European Enlightenment, to the Romanian political movements of the era (such as the *Supplex Libellus Valachorum* and Horea's rebellion), and to the spread of Enlightenment ideas in the Romanian lands. This was followed by a subject by subject (philosophy, history, language, and so forth) review of the leading figures of the epoch. In 1984, Professor Teodor capped his investigations of the Romanian Enlightenment with a paper discussing the Enlightenment and the nation for a collaborative work on the Romanian nation,⁵² and published a collection of essays entitled *Interferențe iluministe europene*.⁵³ The study is a complex and subtle contribution to the debate over the origins of nationalism, nationality, and national consciousness, a matter of some delicacy for Romanian scholars since much of the discussion had a Western European-centric tenor. Much of it ties together the main lines of a myriad of the author's previous works. Professor Teodor agreed that the over-lap of the Enlightenment with the appearance of national ideology in East Central and South Eastern Europe had tended to subsume the latter under the former, and argued that comparative studies of the process of the transition from ethnic consciousness to national consciousness would resolve most of these issues.

The book contains several pieces that have been previously published; the new essays include one on pre-Enlightenment influences in Romanian culture,⁵⁴ on the history of the Counter-Reformation,⁵⁵ translations and adaptations by Samuil Micu from Claude Fleury,⁵⁶ Micu and European historiography,⁵⁷ Gheorghe Șincai as historian,⁵⁸ and Romanian national solidarity in the 18th century.⁵⁹

Professor Teodor's interests, at least from a publication point of view, moved

⁵¹ Dumitru Ghișe and Pompiliu Teodor, "Introducere," in Florea Fugariu, ed., *Școala Ardeleană*, critical edition with notes, bibliography and glossary by Florea Fugariu (București: Editura Minerva, 1983), pp. V–XLVIII.

⁵² Pompiliu Teodor, "Iluminism și națiune", in Ștefan Ștefănescu, ed., *Națiunea Română. Geneză. Afirmare. Orizont Contemporan* (București: Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1984), pp. 297–337.

⁵³ Pompiliu Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe europene* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1984), 253 pp.

⁵⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, "Interferențe ale preiluminismului în cultura română", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984, pp. 25–48.

⁵⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, "Din istoriografia Contrareformei: *Historica relatio unionis Valachicae*", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984, pp. 72–82.

⁵⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, "Traducerile și prelucrările lui Samuil Micu din opera lui Claude Fleury", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984, pp. 105–118.

⁵⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, "Samuil Micu: Orizont istoriografic european", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984, pp. 132–143.

⁵⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, "Gheorghe Șincai: Erudiție și istorie", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984, pp. 144–155.

⁵⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, "Solidarități moderne în societatea secolului al XVIII-lea", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984, pp. 235–246.

away from the Romanian Enlightenment until after the end of the Communist regime. In 1999, he published a piece on Cantemir and Samuil Micu,⁶⁰ followed by a study of Romanian-Magyar-Saxon German relations during the Enlightenment.⁶¹ He also published “L’idée latine et l’Aufklärung roumain” in 2000.⁶²

These articles turned out to be merely by-products of a massive biography of Samuil Micu: *Sub semnul luminilor. Samuil Micu*⁶³ that finally appeared in 2000. This work, which had its origins in his unpublished 1970 doctoral dissertation on Micu, was the natural culmination of the work begun when he was at the Biblioteca Academiei in Cluj and had provided the motivation for many of the studies discussed above. Its long time in maturation owed in part to the freeze between 1948 and 1989 on giving Christianity its due place in the historical-political-philosophical-ideological matrix of the 18th century. As Professor Teodor noted in the forward, he had been unsatisfied with his thesis precisely for this reason, and had decided to postpone publication. In the intervening years, he deepened his knowledge of Western scholarship, of the materials of the Romanian 19th century, and of the religious issues involved, and eventually was able to restructure the original project.⁶⁴

After 1989, Professor Teodor was able to take an increasingly larger interest in church history, especially the role of the Romanian Greek-Catholic Church (which had of course been forced out of legal existence in 1948). He, thus, continued to mature his work as a historian of ideas, of the nation, and of the church before giving final birth to *Sub semnul lumilor* in all its fullness and nuance.⁶⁵

The book is too complex to summarize briefly, other than to say that Professor Teodor was uniquely qualified by research experience, learning, scholarly interests and work, and life experiences to bring such a work to fruition. If Micu was situated at the “boundary of two epochs,” Pompiliu Teodor’s career was much the same. This *magnum opus*, which combined his passion for historiography and his fascination for the Romanian 18th century, will stand for a long time with the

⁶⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, “Dimitrie Cantemir și Samuil Micu. Contribuții la istoria iluminismului românesc”, *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Gh. Șincai*, Târgu-Mureș, Vol. 2 (1999), pp. 27–41.

⁶¹ Pompiliu Teodor, “Contacte, convergențe româno-maghiaro-săsești în epoca luminilor”, *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Gh. Șincai*, Târgu-Mureș, Vol. 3–4 (2000–2001), pp. 174–196.

⁶² Pompiliu Teodor, “L’idée latine et l’Aufklärung roumain”, *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. 9 (2000), Nr. 3, pp. 78–84.

⁶³ Pompiliu Teodor, *Sub semnul luminilor. Samuil Micu* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), 508 pp.

⁶⁴ Teodor, *Samuil Micu*, 2000, p. 6.

⁶⁵ This point is made by Doru Radosav in his excellent overview of *Sub semnul luminilor*: “Cartea Profesorului: ‘ultima carte’”, in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, p. 218. Albert van Goudoever writes that Professor Teodor “had a strong religious background that came to the front only after the Revolution” of 1989. Goudoever, “Thoughts and remembrances,” in Corina Teodor, *Pompiliu Teodor și lumea prin care a trecut*, 2016, p. 120.

other key works on the Transylvanian Enlightenment, such as those of David Prodan, Dimitrie Popovici, and Keith Hitchins.⁶⁶

One final contribution to the Transylvanian Enlightenment, which appeared only after Professor Teodor's death, should be mentioned here in closing: a glossary of key political terms used by the writers of the era, an imposing collaborative work that is also a monument to his erudition.⁶⁷

IV. Romanian National Development from Horia to World War I

Pompiliu Teodor's immersion in the Transylvanian Enlightenment led directly and logically to a second life-long historiographical preoccupation, his study of Romanian national development from the 18th century to the formation of the Romanian national state in 1918. His first two publications specifically connected with this area consisted of a collaborative piece that began his long and fruitful collaboration with Dumitru Ghișe, that is a study of economic ideas of George Barițiu and the promotion of industry in Transylvania;⁶⁸ the second one is a study of George Barițiu and the Romanian Principalities prior to 1848, which follows Papiu Ilarian in placing Barițiu in a line directly from Samuil Micu to intellectual interchanges between the Transylvanian Romanians and Romanian intellectuals east of the Carpathians, and as a principal facilitator of these contacts in the decades before 1848. The study concluded by documenting that Barițiu (along with Timotei Cipariu and Pavel Vasici) was elected a member of the Asociația Literară in București.⁶⁹

A year later, Professor Teodor's interests in the Romanian 1848 and in historiography were combined in several collaborative works. The first of these was for the Academy's collective history, the so-called *Tratat*: Volume III of the *Istoria României*.⁷⁰ His contributions included sections on sources and on cultural

⁶⁶ On Hitchins, see Professor Teodor's assessment in "Laudatio pentru conferirea titlului de Doctor Honoris Causa Domnului Keith Hitchins" (University of Illinois, S.U.A., 1991, in Teodor, *Fața la vânt*, 2011, pp. 336–341. In *Samuil Micu*, 2000, pp. 5–6, Professor Teodor paid tribute to Prof. Hitchins, who for more than three decades worked on and discussed the Transylvanian Enlightenment and the Romanian national movement with him.

⁶⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, Iacob Mârza, Laura Stanciu, and Gúdor Botond, eds., *Semantică politică iluministă în Transilvania (sec. XVII–XIX). Glosar de termeni* (Alba-Iulia: Editura Aeternitas, 2002), 765 pp.

⁶⁸ D. Ghișe, Iosif Keckés, and Pompiliu Teodor, "Idei economice în opera lui George Barițiu privind promovarea industriei la românii din Transilvania", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, Vol. 6 (1963), pp. 41–76.

⁶⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, "George Barițiu și Principatele Române până la 1848", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, Vol. 6 (1963), pp. 77–89.

⁷⁰ Andrei Oțetea, David Prodan, and Mihai Berza, eds., *Istoria României, Vol. III: Feudalism dezvoltat în secolul al XVII-lea și la începutul secolului al XVIII-lea. Destrămarea feudalismului și formarea relațiilor capitaliste* (București: Editura Academiei, 1964).

development in the 75 years prior to 1848.⁷¹ His interest in sources connected with the *Tratat* led to the publication of “Archivale Forschungen zur Geschichte der Revolution des Jahres 1848 in Siebenbürgen.”⁷² In 1964, he also published in collaboration with Dumitru Ghișe a study of the philosophical activities of Simion Bărnuțiu.⁷³ In 1965, he returned to 1848, with a paper on Aron Pumnul’s proclamation in 1848,⁷⁴ followed by a study of Samuil Micu’s influence on the ideology of 1848,⁷⁵ and a collaborative 1967 study of the economic activities of Dr. Pavel Vasici.⁷⁶

In 1968, Professor Teodor published, in collaboration with Gelu Neamțu, an exploration of the program and activities of the Romanian newspaper, *Învățătorul Poporului*, during 1848.⁷⁷ That same year, he contributed a chapter on Simion Bărnuțiu to the collective literary history of the Academy,⁷⁸ and published two collaborative works on the idea of Romanian unity, a heavily over-publicized idea during the 1960s, an article and a book. The book began with a discussion of the role of historians in developing the idea, and then traced it all the way from the medieval chroniclers to the *Școala Ardeleană*, and thence to 1848, to 1859, to 1877, and to 1918.⁷⁹

In 1969 and 1970, Pompiliu Teodor wrote two articles dealing with Dr. Vasile Popp and his correspondence.⁸⁰ Another correspondence-related piece in

⁷¹ “Izvoare”, pp. XIX–XLIV (in collaboration with Ion Ionașcu); “Dezvoltarea culturală în perioada destrămării feudalismului”, pp. 1038–1120 (Al. Elian in collaboration with Pompiliu Teodor, Iosif Pervain, Al. Dima, S. Benkő, and G. Gündisch). Most likely, he wrote the section on “Istoriografia”, pp. 1090–1107. He also assisted with the selection of illustrative materials (p. XVII).

⁷² Victor Chereșteșiu, Samu Benkő, Carol Göllner, and Pompiliu Teodor, “Archivale Forschungen zur Geschichte der Revolution des Jahres 1848 in Siebenbürgen”, *Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde*, Sibiu, Vol. 7 (1964), pp. 82–90.

⁷³ Dumitru Ghișe and Pompiliu Teodor, “Contribuții la cunoașterea activității filozofice a lui Simion Bărnuțiu”, *Revista Filosofică*, Vol. 11 (1964), Nr. 3, pp. 357–371.

⁷⁴ Victor Chereșteșiu and Pompiliu Teodor, “Date noi cu privire la frământările tineretului intelectual în preajma Adunării din 30 aprilie 1848. Proclamația lui Aron Pumnul”, in Em. Condurache, ed., *Omagiul lui P. Constantinescu-Iași cu prilejul împlinirii a 70 de ani* (București: Editura Academiei, 1965), pp. 455–463.

⁷⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, “Ideologia revoluției din 1848 și opera istorică a lui Samuil Micu”, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 10 (1965), Nr. 2, pp. 57–62.

⁷⁶ Nicolae Cordoș and Pompiliu Teodor, “Activitatea economică a doctorului Pavel Vasici”, *Acta Musei Napocensis, Clu-Napocaj*, Vol. 4 (1967), pp. 571–580.

⁷⁷ Pompiliu Teodor and Gelu Neamțu, “Din istoria presei revoluționare românești: *Învățătorul Poporului* (1848)”, *Studii. Revista de Istorie*, Vol. 21 (1968), pp. 435–448.

⁷⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, “Simion Bărnuțiu”, in Dima, *Istoria literaturii române*, 1966, Vol. II, pp. 562–566.

⁷⁹ Mihail Dan, Pompiliu Teodor, and Aurel Răduțiu, “Ideea de unitate a poporului român oglindită în istoriografie”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, Vol. 11 (1968), pp. 27–57; and Pompiliu Teodor and Aurel Răduțiu, *Ideea de unitate politică la români* (București: Editura Științifică, 1968), 119 pp.

⁸⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, “Scrisori inedite de la doctorul Vasile Pop”, *Studia Bibliologica*, Vol. 3 (1969), pp. 747–764; and Pompiliu Teodor, “Cinci scrisori de la doctorul Vasile Popp”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, Vol. 13 (1970), pp. 83–96.

1970 dealt with a previously unknown 1848 proclamation by Bărnuțiu.⁸¹ His 1848 studies led in 1972 to another pioneering effort on Avram Iancu in the memorialistica of 1848, a work that clearly established the importance of memorialistica in the study of 1848, and which has resulted in an avalanche of similar works since.⁸² This was followed by a piece on a study of Transylvanian schools by Barițiu in 1835,⁸³ and another on the sources used by Bărnuțiu.⁸⁴

In 1978, Professor Teodor co-edited a volume of texts related to the union of 1918, with Nicolae Bocșan.⁸⁵ Another 1978 publication dealt with the Balkan Crisis in 1875–1878.⁸⁶ In 1979, he published a paper dealing with two letters by J.-P. Brissot, that used the ideas of the American Revolution to defend Horia's uprising in 1784.⁸⁷ This was followed by an excellent 1980 analysis of the period between 1792 and 1848, applying R.R. Palmer's paradigm of democratic revolution to the Romanian political movement in Transylvania.⁸⁸ The role of the *Școala Ardeleană* (particularly Samuil Micu and Gheorghe Șincai) in raising Romanian consciousness, socially and politically, was stressed. In 1981–1982, he added to the study of the Supplex.⁸⁹ And, in 1983, he published an essay on the historiography of the Union,⁹⁰ and another on "L'imprimerie et l'affirmation de l'idéal national (XVIIIe s.)."⁹¹

⁸¹ Pompiliu Teodor, "O scrisoare-proclamație necunoscută a lui Simion Bărnuțiu redactată în numele națiunii române (15 mai-iunie 1848)", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 15 (1970), Nr. 2, pp. 65–71.

⁸² Pompiliu Teodor, *Avram Iancu în memorialistică* (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1972), 296 pp.

⁸³ Șerban Polverejan and Pompiliu Teodor, "Disertația despre școli a lui George Barițiu (1835)", *Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca*, Vol. 9 (1972), pp. 619–633.

⁸⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, "Noi precizări în legătură cu izvoarele bărnuțiene", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 17 (1972), Nr. 1, pp. 33–38. Republished in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984.

⁸⁵ Pompiliu Teodor and Nicolae Bocșan, eds., *60 de ani de la desăvârșirea unității de stat a României. Material documentar* (București: Academia de Științe Sociale și Politice, 1978), 104 pp.

⁸⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, "The Balkan Crisis and Political Life in Transylvania", in Albert P. van Goudoever, ed., *Romanian History 1848–1918. Essays from the First Dutch-Romanian Colloquium of Historians, Utrecht, 1977* (Gröningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1978), pp. 101–107.

⁸⁷ "L'Esprit de la révolution démocratique: J.-P. Brissot et la révolte de Horia", *Cahiers Roumains d'Études Littéraires*, 1979, Nr. 2, pp. 30–43. Republished as "Spiritul revoluției americane. J.P. Brissot și răscoală lui Horia", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984.

⁸⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, "Opțiuni sociale în mișcarea politică românească din Transilvania în epoca revoluției democratice", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj-Napoca*, Vol. 23 (1980), pp. 263–284. Republished in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984. French translation in *Revue Roumaine d'Histoire*, Vol. 20 (1981), pp. 223–244. Some of this argument is reflected in Pompiliu Teodor, "Romanian Political Enlightenment", in Teodor, *Enlightenment and Romanian Society*, 1980, pp. 117–142.

⁸⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, "O scriere polemică controversată din vremea Supplexului", *Studii și Comunicări. Muzeul Județean Satu Mare*, Vol. 5–6 (1981–1982), pp. 203–206.

⁹⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, "Az Egyesülés a történetírásban", *Korunk*, Vol. 25 (1983), Nr. 11, 841–845.

⁹¹ Pompiliu Teodor, "L'imprimerie et l'affirmation de l'idéal national (XVIIIe s.)", *Revue Roumaine*, Vol. 37 (1983), Nr. 8–9, pp. 63–72.

1984 was marked by a significant volume dealing with the events of 1784: *Răscoala lui Horea (1784)*, edited by Nicolae Edroiu and Pompiliu Teodor.⁹² In addition to the editors, the book included contributions by Ladislau Gyémánt, Andrei Magyari, Alexandru Neamțu, Maria Platon, David Prodan, Aurel Răduțiu, Mircea Țoca, and Iosif Wolf. Professor Teodor's study (pp. 7–75) on the historiography of Horia's revolt is a virtual micro-monograph tracing the history of the uprising from the first attempts to analyse what happened at the end of the 18th century down to the magisterial work of David Prodan. The same year, he published a substantial essay on the national significance of the Horia uprising.⁹³

In 1987, Professor Teodor wrote an article on Timotei Cipariu and the struggle for Romanian national liberation.⁹⁴ This was followed by a study in 1988 of history and politics in the era of the *Supplex*,⁹⁵ a piece, also in 1988, on Eminescu's perceptions of the 19th century Transylvanian Romanian political scene,⁹⁶ a 1989 edition of Silviu Dragomir's works, relevant to 1848,⁹⁷ and another synthesis (in French) on the Palmerian democratic spirit and the political movement in the late 18th and early 19th century Transylvania.⁹⁸

Following the overthrow of the Communist regime in 1989, Professor Teodor continued to think about the Romanian national movement. In 1991, he published an analysis of the historiography of the *Supplex*,⁹⁹ followed by a 1992 analysis of the historiography of the Memorandum case,¹⁰⁰ participation in a survey history of the Memorandum era which he co-edited in 1992,¹⁰¹ and one last contribution, on

⁹² Nicolae Edroiu and Pompiliu Teodor, eds., *Răscoala lui Horea (1784). Studii și interpretări istorice* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1984), 318 pp.

⁹³ Pompiliu Teodor, "Semnificația națională a răscoalei lui Horea, Cloșca și Crișan", *Revista de Istorie*, Vol. 37 (1984), Nr. 10, pp. 964–978.

⁹⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, "Timotei Cipariu—om de cultură și luptător pentru eliberarea națională a românilor", *Revista Comisiei Naționale Române pentru UNESCO*, Vol. 29 (1987), Nr. 3, pp. 60–63.

⁹⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, "Istorie și politică în epoca *Supplex*-ului", *Crisia*, Vol. 18 (1988), pp. 139–155.

⁹⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, "Scena politică austro-ungară și românii. Opinii eminesciene", in: Gh. Buzatu, Ștefan Lemny, and I. Saizu, eds., *Eminescu: Sens, timp și devenire istorică* (Iași: Universitatea A.I. Cuza, 1988), pp. 701–714.

⁹⁷ Silviu Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*, edited with an introduction, notes and commentary by Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1989).

⁹⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, "L'Esprit de la Révolution démocratique et le mouvement politique des roumains de Transilvanie à la fin du XVIII^e et au commencement du XIX^e siècle", in Al. Zub, ed., *La Révolution Française et les Roumains. Impact, images, interprétations* (Iași: Universitatea A.I. Cuza, 1989), pp. 251–277. Mention should also be made of Professor Teodor's contribution to the study of 1848 as a member and then as a collaborator of the collective that produced the first four volumes of the Academy's *Documente privind revoluția de la 1848–1849 din Transilvania* (București: Editura Academiei, 1977–1988).

⁹⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, "Istoriografia *Supplex*-ului", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 36 (1991), Nr. 1–2, pp. 3–15.

¹⁰⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, "Istoriografia română a Memorandului", *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice și Arheologice a Academiei Române*, Vol. 17 (1992), pp. 53–61.

¹⁰¹ Pompiliu Teodor, Liviu Maior, Nicolae Boșan, Șerban Polverejan, Doru Radosav, and Toader Nicoară, *Memorandul 1892–1894. Ideologie și acțiune politică românească*, expanded second

the Revolution of 1848 in the Romanian Principalities, which stressed that understanding the socio-political-economic-cultural crucible in which the Romanian 1848 developed between 1792–1848 lay at the heart of comprehending what happened in the Romanian lands and how and why it differed from elsewhere.¹⁰²

Finally, Professor Teodor collaborated with a synthesis of Romanian history, *Istoria României*, first published in 1998, and now in a 2014 revised edition.¹⁰³ His contribution to this volume included three sections dealing with Romanian history between 1593 and 1821: “Pro Republica Christiana,” “Monarhia feudală (1601–1716),” and “Secolul luminilor în Țările Române.” The focus here on three basic organizing problems was typical of Pompiliu Teodor’s vision of history, and a striking confirmation of Lord Acton’s injunction to “study problems in preference to periods.”¹⁰⁴

V. Romanian Historiography: The History of History in the Romanian Lands

We have already seen in the sections above, dealing with the Transylvanian Enlightenment and Romanian national development, that Professor Teodor was deeply involved from the start in the history of history.¹⁰⁵ The contributions of Pompiliu Teodor to Romanian historiography stand as an impressive legacy in and of themselves. Certainly one of the cornerstones of contemporary academic study of Romanian historiography was laid in 1970 with the appearance of Professor Teodor’s modest-looking volume on the evolution of Romanian historical thought,¹⁰⁶ and the 1970s and 1980’s saw explosive growth in the history of history in Romania, despite the gradually deteriorating Romanian political and cultural atmosphere after 1975.

From Cluj, Professor Teodor was joined as a principal shaper of the history by two notable colleagues: Al. Zub, from the Institute of History in Iași, and

edition (București: Editura Progresul Românesc, 1994), 345 pp. First edition, 1992, 287 pp. Professor Teodor’s contribution to this volume included two sections of Ch. III: Ideile la origini: “Mișcarea națională în sec. al XVIII-lea”, pp. 113–127; and “De la *Supplex Libellus* la 1848: Istorie și politică”, pp. 128–147.

¹⁰² Pompiliu Teodor, “O perspectivă actuală asupra Revoluției din 1848 în Principate Române”, *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Gh. Șincai, Târgu-Mureș*, Vol. 1 (1998), pp. 112–120.

¹⁰³ Mihai Bărbulescu, Dennis Deletant, Keith Hitchins, Șerban Papacostea, and Pompiliu Teodor, *Istoria României* (București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1998), first edition. The current, revised version is published by Editura Corint, București, 2014, 528 pp.

¹⁰⁴ Lord Acton, “Inaugural Lecture on the Study of History”, 1895, in Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, edited with an introduction by J. N. Figgis and R. V. Laurence (London: Macmillan, 1906), p. 24.

¹⁰⁵ He credits G. Em. Marica with opening his eyes to the importance of historiography, which in turn, led him to resume his Samuil Micu project. Teodor, *Samuil Micu*, 2000, p. 6.

¹⁰⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, *Evoluția gândirii istorice românești* (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1970). LII + 476 pp. A German version was published as *Die Entwicklung des historischen Denkens in der rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung*, translated by Franz Killyen (Cluj: Editura Dacia, 1972), 299 pp.

Lucian Boia, at the University of București. Between 1971 and 1976, Zub would publish no fewer than six massive historiographical works on Kogălniceanu, Xenopol, Pârvan, and Junimea as well as a volume of Pârvan's correspondence and a critical edition of Kogălniceanu's historical writings,¹⁰⁷ while Boia's 1976 university course, *Evoluția istoriografiei române*¹⁰⁸ provided a much-needed synthesis, and his involvement with the international historiographical community gave visibility to Romanian historiography.

Pompiliu Teodor attributed the new historiographic interest in Romania (and elsewhere) to two factors: the growing interest in matters that went beyond what was accessible to traditional history and, secondly, to the recognition that history mattered to nations and to civilization.¹⁰⁹ Romanians had long been greatly interested in history, perhaps excessively so,¹¹⁰ but the history of history is another matter entirely. In the end, Professor Teodor wrote, "I am convinced that a more and more insistent preoccupation in this domain of history-historiography will help us place these epochs into accounts that will allow us a comprehensive view of the whole.... It is a first attempt... and we hope not the last."¹¹¹

The procedure followed above in the first two sections was to review Professor Teodor's work in order of appearance, which showed the development of his work and provided a convenient organizational principle. For this section, it seemed more useful to categorize his writings of a historiographical nature and use these groupings as the principal means of review. His works will be divided generally into pre-1989 and post-1989 publications, not to suggest that Professor Teodor changed either his methodology or his views, but to reflect the inevitable relationship between historiography and context.¹¹² In each section, we will begin with books and then turn to his other contributions to historiography.

Pompiliu Teodor's first book, *Evoluția gândirii istorice românești* (1970), dealt with the evolution of Romanian historical thinking and writing through a combination of commentary, anthology, and bibliography. The format is well-thought out, and for such a lengthy work, reads well and leaves the reader (even when not a historian) wanting more. The book begins with a lengthy, useful introduction to Romanian historiography. Then each historian selected is treated in a clear and straightforward fashion: a brief biographical sketch, including information

¹⁰⁷ For a bibliography of Zub's writings, see Lucian Nastașă, Adrian-Bogdan Ceobanu, and Mihai Dorin, "Bibliografia lucrărilor lui Alexandru Zub", in Gheorghe Cliveti, ed., *Clio în oglindiri de sine. Academicianului Alexandru Zub. Omagiu* (Iași: Editura Universității Alexandru Ioan Cuza din Iași, 2014), pp 11–77.

¹⁰⁸ Lucian Boia, *Evoluția istoriografiei române* (București: Facultatea de Istorie, Universitatea din București, 1976), 377 pp.

¹⁰⁹ Teodor, *Evoluția*, 1970, pp. V–VI.

¹¹⁰ See my "The Origins of the Romanian Historiographical Tradition and the Development of Romanian Historism", in Cliveti, *Clio în oglindiri de sine*, 2014, pp. 161–178.

¹¹¹ Teodor, *Evoluția*, 1970, pp. LII.

¹¹² The fact that he could collect articles published before 1990 unchanged after 1989 is testimony to his integrity and consistency.

about the context in which he (all of them were men) worked, was followed by an illustrative or typical extract from his work. Each section concludes with appropriate bibliographical notices. A striking feature of the book is that the material in the anthology and in the bibliography came from works that had been banned since 1948 or were only available in restricted library collections.

The coverage is from the chroniclers through the generation that had manifested itself prior to the First World War, though it covers some historians who had major activity both before and after 1914, including N. Iorga, Vasile Pârvan, and Ioan Lupaş. It also has the rather odd inclusion of Lucreţiu Pătrăşcanu, who was only 14 years old in 1914. The book more accurately could have been titled *The Evolution of Romanian Historical Thought from Its Origins to 1914*.¹¹³ Professor Teodor did announce his intention to include both inter-war and Marxist historiography in a future volume.¹¹⁴ This was only partly achieved before 1990.

In 1972, Professor Teodor published a follow up work dealing with Romanian Marxist or materialist historians, who had mainly functioned between 1921 and 1944 in the same way as the 1970 volume did.¹¹⁵ This was probably a command performance, and the book was uninspired and rather pro forma on the whole. The “representative texts” had the net effect of showing how lame Marxist historiography was before 1944; indeed, four of the eleven writers discussed do not even appear in the 1978 *Enciclopedia istoriografiei* (mentioned below), and some of the others are historians only by the furthest stretch of the imagination. Ironically, the included bibliography more or less demonstrated how minuscule the contributions of Marxists to Romanian historiography before the Communist takeover were.

The first *Enciclopedia istoriografiei româneşti* appeared in 1978, an important though not entirely satisfactory attempt to gather biographical and bibliographical data about Romanian historians in one reference source.¹¹⁶ To its credit, it was fairly inclusive in its scope, both biographical and bibliographical; and it included useful sections dealing with institutions, sources, reference works, periodicals, and syntheses. Pompiliu Teodor was among the seventeen principal authors.

¹¹³ Perhaps he included Pătrăşcanu as a gesture to the regime and Pătrăşcanu’s recent rehabilitation, or possibly to provide a bridge from pre-Marxist Romanian historiography to Marxist historiography. Also, given that space limited the number of people that could be included (just over 30), the inclusion of Ioan Nădejde – at best a Marxist mediocrity – seems likely to have been part of the price to be paid for getting the book published.

¹¹⁴ Teodor, *Evoluţia*, 1970, pp. LI.

¹¹⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, *Din gândirea materialist-istorică românească (1921–1944)* (Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică, 1972), 257 pp. The reader is given another dose of Pătrăşcanu, who appears in both volumes. The introduction to his section is virtually unchanged, save for adding a reference to Vico, while an additional selection from Pătrăşcanu’s work is added at the end.

¹¹⁶ Ştefan Ştefănescu, ed., *Enciclopedia istoriografiei româneşti* (Bucureşti: Editura Ştiinţifică şi Enciclopedică, 1978), 470 pp. The politicizing of history was ratcheting up. For one thing, the longest entry was for the well-known historian Nicolae Ceauşescu, pp. 89–92, while N. Iorga got only two pages, pp. 183–184. Collection of data supposedly ended with 1976, but few entries contain material after 1972. The overwhelming majority of the contributors were from Bucureşti, and, shockingly, none were from Iaşi.

In 1980, Professor Teodor published with several collaborators a highly useful historiographic instrument, a “Guide for the Student in History.”¹¹⁷ This unpretentious work begins with an introduction to Romanian historiography by Professor Teodor.¹¹⁸ It goes on to cover the auxiliary sciences of history, reference works of importance to historians, and discusses libraries, archives, museums, and how to go about historical work. It was a handbook that deserved wider circulation.

Other works of a general historiographical interest published before 1989 were a 1977 edition of the writings of Ioan Lupaș,¹¹⁹ a Hungarian-language edition of selections from early Romanian chroniclers (Macarie, Azarie, and Neagoe Basarab), which appeared in 1983;¹²⁰ and a 1989 edition of writings by Silviu Dragomir on 1848.¹²¹

Turning to articles, Professor Teodor continued his work on the Romanian history of history with a study of new directions in interwar Romanian historiography.¹²² On Transylvanian historiography in general (in addition to the dozen or more items mentioned in Parts III and IV above), he published a collaborative piece on the contributions of Transylvanian historiography to the development of Romanian science and culture,¹²³ and a study on *Magazinul istoric pentru Dacia* and Transylvania.¹²⁴

Pompiliu Teodor was a prolific student of Romanian historiographical personalities. Among such studies before 1989 were studies related to Gheorghe I. Brătianu,¹²⁵ Aaron Florian,¹²⁶ Nicolae Densușianu,¹²⁷ Nicolae Iorga,¹²⁸ Ștefan

¹¹⁷ Nicolae Bocșan, Nicolae Edroiu, Adrian A. Rusu, and Pompiliu Teodor, eds., *Ghidul studentului în istorie. Istoria României* (Cluj-Napoca: Biblioteca Centrală Universitară, Cluj-Napoca/Catedra de Istorie a Universității Babeș-Bolyai, 1980), 240 pp.

¹¹⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, “Introducere în istoriografia română”, in Bocșan, *Ghidul*, 1980, pp. 9–22.

¹¹⁹ Ioan Lupaș, *Scrieri alese, Vol. I*, edited, introduced, with notes and commentary by Ștefan Pascu and Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1977), 259 pp. (There was no Vol. II.)

¹²⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, ed., *Kutassátok az irásokat. Román krónikáirók munkáiból*, selected with a preface and notes by Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1983), 344 pp.

¹²¹ Silviu Dragomir, *Studii privind istoria revoluției române de la 1848*, edited with an introduction, notes, and commentary by Pompiliu Teodor (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1989), 218 pp. The introduction was a risky rehabilitation of Dragomir.

¹²² Pompiliu Teodor, “Neue Richtungen in der rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung der 30^{er} Jahre des 20. Jahrhunderts”, *Nouvelles Études d’Histoire*, Vol. 7 (1985), pp. 73–90.

¹²³ Mihail Dan, Ion Cicală, and Pompiliu Teodor, “Contribuția istoriografiei ardeleni la dezvoltarea științei și culturii noastre”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie din Cluj*, Vol. 9 (1966), pp. 21–41.

¹²⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, “Din nou despre *Magazinul istoric pentru Dacia* în Transilvania,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Vol. 3 (1966), pp. 511–519.

¹²⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, “Gheorghe I. Brătianu – istoricul. I. Dimensiunile operei”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, Vol. 20 (1983), pp. 233–247; and “Gheorghe I. Brătianu – Istoricul. II. Concepție și metodă istorică”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol*, Vol. 25 (1988), pp. 233–245. These brilliant studies were so free of Marxist gibberish that they could be reprinted unaltered in 1993.

¹²⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, “Contribuția lui Aaron Florian la dezvoltarea istoriografiei naționale,” *Acta Musei Napocensis*, Vol. 5 (1968), pp. 577–586.

¹²⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, “Nicolae Densușianu istoric al răscoalei lui Horea”, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 29 (1984), pp. 19–35.

¹²⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, “Nicolae Iorga (1871–1940)”, *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie Cluj*, Vol. 14 (1971), pp. 19–24.

Pascu,¹²⁹ and David Prodan.¹³⁰

Two additional pieces of historiographical importance published by Professor Teodor prior to 1990 included a discussion of the methodological implications of the dialogue between history and society,¹³¹ and a stimulating comparative piece discussing how the *Annales* model of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch impacted the work of the Romanian journal, *Revue historique du sud-est européen*.¹³²

Following the events of 1989, Professor Teodor continued to study, ponder, write on, and teach Romanian historiography. He saw as a priority the need “to resume relations with the world historiographies and to train the new generation of historiographers in the ambience of the various historiographies.”¹³³ This led, first of all, to the appearance of several collections of articles. The first of these, in 1993, was *Istorici români și probleme istorice*, which gathered mostly previously published studies on Iorga, Gh. Brătianu, and the history of Transylvania. Teodor was particularly taken by the universal dimensions of the work of Iorga and Brătianu and their pursuit of dialogue with European and world culture.¹³⁴ This was followed by a 1995 collection of studies: *Incursiuni în istoriografia română a secolului XX*,¹³⁵ further focussed on articles relevant to his work on the history of history, such as the place of the interwar Cluj School of History in the development of Romanian historiography.

In 1999, Pompiliu Teodor edited a third volume of historiographic studies, this time dealing with Gheorghe I. Brătianu,¹³⁶ a man whose work was evidently

¹²⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, “Profesorul și istoricul Ștefan Pascu”, in *Sub semnul lui Clio. Omagiu acad. prof. Ștefan Pascu* (Cluj: Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, 1974), pp. 1–15; and “Istoricul Ștefan Pascu”, in Nicolae Edroiu, Aurel Răduțiu, and Pompiliu Teodor, eds., *Civilizație medievală și modernă românească. Studii istorice* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1985), pp. 7–22.

¹³⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, “Hommage à l’historien David Prodan”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, Vol. 11 (1972), Nr. 4, pp. 567–579; “Istoricul David Prodan”, in Nicolae Edroiu, Aurel Răduțiu, and Pompiliu Teodor, eds., *Stat, societate, națiune. Interpretări istorice* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Dacia, 1982), pp. 9–34; and “L’Académicien David Prodan”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, Vol. 21 (1982), Nr. 3–4, pp. 459–461. Mention should also be made of his collaboration in a series of brief commemorative pamphlets issued between 1977 and 1982 in honor of various members of the Department of History at the University of Cluj, including David Prodan (1977), Francisc Pall (1978), Ștefan Pascu (1979, 1984), Ștefan Imreh (1979), Iosif Kovács (1979), and Sigismund Jakó (1982). These generally included a biographical introduction by Professor Teodor, followed by a bibliography.

¹³¹ Pompiliu Teodor, “Dialogul istoriei cu societatea. Contemporaneitate și inovație metodologică”, *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 25 (1980), Nr. 2, pp. 65–69.

¹³² Pompiliu Teodor, “La *Revue historique du sud-est européen* et le modèle des *Annales*”, *Revue Roumaine d’Histoire*, Vol. 20 (1981), Nr. 4, pp. 773–782.

¹³³ Quoted in Pecican, “Interview with Pompiliu Teodor”, 1998, p. 103.

¹³⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, *Istorici români și probleme istorice* (Oradea: Fundația Culturală Cele Trei Crișuri, 1993), 192 pp. The only new study was “Nicolae Iorga și istoria universală”, pp. 3–11.

¹³⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, *Incursiuni în istoriografia română a secolului XX* (Oradea: Fundația Culturală Cele Trei Crișuri, 1995), 196 pp.

¹³⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, *Incursiuni în opera lui Gheorghe I. Brătianu. Studii și interpretări istorice* (Cluj-Napoca: Casa Cărții de Știință, 1999), 132 pp.

close to the spirit in which Professor Teodor did his own work. In addition to three new pieces by the editor, there were significant contributions by eight other scholars dealing with a broad range of aspects of Brătianu's life and work.¹³⁷

A year later, Pompiliu Teodor began to publish his two university courses on the history of history. As could have been expected, one dealt with world historiography (the big picture),¹³⁸ and the other with the history of Romanian history (a particular piece of the big picture),¹³⁹ thereby illustrating his conviction that Romanian historiography had to be integrated into the larger European and world historiographical cultural and intellectual context.

The former is a quick and competent survey of the essentials of classical historiography. The latter is also a straightforwardly organized work: following a general introduction, it moves chronologically from the medieval chroniclers down to the present, succinctly summarizing the Romanian dialogue of the past with the present. Its final chapter on directions and orientations in current Romanian historiography is both a history of Romanian historiography since 1990 and a still viable manifesto for the future.

As Doru Radosav concluded about these two brief volumes, Professor Teodor continued “to construct a historiographical discourse in which the alternation between the analysis of case studies and the personalities of great historians with syntheses dedicated to historical problems is unfolded in a rhythmic, comprehensive, and systematic historiographic discourse.”¹⁴⁰

From the books, we turn, in conclusion, to the wide variety of historiographical articles published by Professor Teodor since 1989. Two of these were, naturally, essays aimed at Romanian historiography per se, one dealing with interwar historiography,¹⁴¹ and the other going all the way back to the origins of Romanian historiography in the pre-Enlightenment era.¹⁴²

His concern for Transylvanian history remained constant, with the publication of studies on the 16th century historian, humanist, and religious leader, Nicolaus

¹³⁷ A posthumous collection of his historiographical essays deserves mention here: Professor Teodor, *Cu fața la vânt*, edited by Corina Teodor, with preface by Ovidiu Pecican (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Limes, 2011), 372 pp.

¹³⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, *Introducere în istoria istoriografiei universale* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeana, 2000), 155 pp.

¹³⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, *Introducere în istoria istoriografiei din România* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2002), 298 pp. (A shorter, 146 pp., preliminary version was published in 2001.)

¹⁴⁰ Radosav, “Pompiliu Teodor”, in Bocșan, Ghitta, and Radosav, *Tentația istoriei*, 2003, pp. 12–13.

¹⁴¹ Pompiliu Teodor, “The Romanian Interwar Historiography”, *Anuar. Institutul Teologic Universitar Ortodox. Cluj-Napoca*, Vol. 2 (1992–1994), Nr. 2, pp. 303–308.

¹⁴² Pompiliu Teodor, “La începuturile istoriografiei românești: preiluminismul german și reflexele sale istoriografice la Dimitrie Cantemir, Johann Filstich și Köleséri Sámuel”, Grigore Ploșteanu, ed., *Interferențe istorice și culturale româno-europene*, (Târgu Mureș: Institutul de Cercetări Socio-Umane Gh. Șincai, 1996, pp. 43–48.

Olahus (1493–1568),¹⁴³ the historiography of the *Supplex*,¹⁴⁴ post-1848 romantic historiography,¹⁴⁵ interwar historiography at the University of Cluj,¹⁴⁶ and a plea for a new historiographical conversation on Transylvania.¹⁴⁷

He also continued to publish studies on key historiographical personalities, including Gh. Brătianu,¹⁴⁸ Silviu Dragomir,¹⁴⁹ Constantin Giurescu,¹⁵⁰ N. Iorga,¹⁵¹ Constantin Marinescu,¹⁵² Francisc Pall,¹⁵³ Andrei Oțetea,¹⁵⁴ and Al. Zub.¹⁵⁵

In addition, Professor Teodor's efforts included a series of historiographical works that are hard to classify: a paper on the history of Jews in Romanian historiography,¹⁵⁶ and collaborative contributions to the history of Cluj, with chapters on the development of culture in Cluj from the Medieval era to the modern

¹⁴³ Pompiliu Teodor, "Umanistul Nicolaus Olahus", *Revista Bibliotecilor*, Vol. 21 (1968), Nr. 1, pp. 43–46, and "Nicolaus Olahus – istoric umanist", in Nicolae Bocșan, Nicolae Edroiu, Liviu Maior, Aurel Răduțiu, and Pompiliu Teodor, eds., *D. Prodan. Puterea modelului* (Cluj-Napoca: Centrul de Studii Transilvane/Fundația Culturală Română, 1995), pp. 58–63.

¹⁴⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, "Istoriografia *Supplexului*", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 36 (1991) Nr. 1–2, pp. 3–15.

¹⁴⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, "Istoriografia romantică postrevoluționară din Transilvania", *Crisia*, Vol. 20 (1990), pp. 195–227.

¹⁴⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, "Orientări la începutul deceniului trei la Universitatea din Cluj", *Istoria Azi*, Vol. 1 (1993), Nr. 9, p. 105–114; and "Historiography at the University of Cluj. A Brief Outline", *Transylvanian Review*, Vol. 3 (1994), Nr. 3, pp. 47–54.

¹⁴⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, "Transilvania: spre un nou discurs istoriografic", *Xenopoliana*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 1–4, pp. 59–63.

¹⁴⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, "Gheorghe Brătianu, istoric al relațiilor internaționale", *Revista Istorică*, Vol. 4 (1993), Nr. 1–2, pp. 33–42.

¹⁴⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, "Raportul lui Alexandru Lapedatu în vederea concursului organizat pentru ocuparea postului de profesor titular de către Silviu Dragomir", in Corneliu Crăciun și Antonio Faur, eds., *Istoria ca experiență culturală*, (Oradea: Editura Universității Oradea, 2001), pp. 343–347.

¹⁵⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, "Erudiție și istorie la Constantin Giurescu", *Studia Universitatis Babeș-Bolyai. Historia*, Vol. 36 (1991), Nr. 1, pp. 66–73.

¹⁵¹ Pompiliu Teodor, "Nicolae Iorga și istoria universală", *Memoriile Secției de Științe Istorice a Academiei*, Vol. 15 (1990), pp. 35–40; and "N. Iorga et l'histoire de la Transylvanie. Quelques repères", *Revue de Transylvanie*, Vol. 1 (1991), Nr. 1, pp. 18–30.

¹⁵² Pompiliu Teodor, "Din istoria Institutului (și Seminarului) de Istorie Universală. Un omagiu profesorului Constantin Marinescu conceput de Francisc Pall", *Anuarul Institutului de Istorie Cluj*, Vol. 32 (1993), p. 339–357.

¹⁵³ Pompiliu Teodor, "Istoricul Francisc Pall", in Zoe Petre and Stelian Brezeanu, eds., *Miscellanea in honorem Radu Manolescu emerito* (București: Editura Universității din București, 1996), pp. 341–348.

¹⁵⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, "Andrei Oțetea istoric al Renașterii", *Revista Istorică*, Vol. 5 (1994), Nr. 7–8, p. 645–655; and "Lo storico Andrei Oțetea e Francesco Guicciardini", *Studii Italo-Române*, Vol. 1 (1997), Nr. 1, p. 103–111.

¹⁵⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, "Personalitatea istoricului", in Gabriel Bădărău, Leonid Boicu, and Lucian Nastasă, eds., *Istoria ca lectură a lumii. Profesorului Alexandru Zub la împlinirea vârstei de 60 de ani* (Iași: Fundația Academică A.D. Xenopol, Iași, 1994), pp. 13–21.

¹⁵⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, "The History of Jews in Romanian Historiography", *Studia Judaica*, Cluj-Napoca, Nr. 2 (1993), pp. 36–43.

epoch,¹⁵⁷ and during from 1848 to 1867 for a collaborative 1974 work,¹⁵⁸ and a short history for a 1980 comprehensive work on the Cluj Județ.¹⁵⁹

Last, but certainly by no means least, there was Professor Teodor's newest historiographical preoccupation: church or ecclesiastical history. Though a 1977 paper on the Jansenists and the Gallicans and another on the historiography of the Counter Reformation¹⁶⁰ had hinted at his potential interests in religious questions, after 1989, this was truly a breakthrough area for him. As a result, he came to believe that national strife had its roots in misunderstandings or distortions of the religion question in Transylvania. He wrote in one of these studies: "Between history-knowledge and history-reality, there is, sometimes, an obvious discrepancy. This is what Bernard Guenée noticed, when he said that the history we know is the history written by historians. This is the case of the history of Transylvania as well, which by being multiethnic, multilingual and multidenominational came to be seen through a tripartite approach: Romanian, Hungarian, and German (Saxon). Romantic individualism, seen in Herderian terms, lent the history of Transylvania a hallmark of unilateral ethnicism..."¹⁶¹

The range of Professor Teodor's studies in church history, broadly conceived, is evident from the work which poured forth in the 1990s and early 2000s, most of it in languages of international circulation. This string of extraordinary studies ranged from a study of Mihai Viteazu's neglected church policy,¹⁶² the *Konfessionspolitik* of the Habsburgs in the late 17th and early 18th centuries,¹⁶³ the interplay between Eastern Orthodoxy, Counter Reformation, and Catholic Reformation in Transylvania, a piece which Professor Teodor began with the observation that "The history of the church and religious life of the Romanians has steadily returned to the preoccupations of Romanian historiography in the last

¹⁵⁷ Pompiliu Teodor and Ioan Gabor, "Dezvoltarea culturii", in Ștefan Pascu, ed., *Istoria Clujului* (Cluj-Napoca: Consiliul popular al municipiului Cluj, 1974), pp. 227–246.

¹⁵⁸ Ladislau Gyémánt and Pompiliu Teodor, "Clujul în timpul revoluției de la 1848–1849 și a regimului neoabsolutist și liberal", in Pascu, *Istoria Clujului*, 1974, pp. 265–282.

¹⁵⁹ Mihai Bărbulescu, Iosif Kovács, Ștefan Pascu, and Pompiliu Teodor, "Scurt istoric", in Aurel Negucioiu, Pompiliu Teodor, and Nicolae Edroiu, eds., *Județul Cluj. Monografie* (București: Editura Sport-Turism, 1980), pp. 41–77.

¹⁶⁰ Teodor, "Échos jansénistes et gallicans dans la culture roumaine", 1977, pp. 165–176; and Teodor, "Contrareforma", in Teodor, *Interferențe iluministe*, 1984, pp. 132–143.

¹⁶¹ Pompiliu Teodor, "National Ethnic Pluralism in Transylvania. Ethnic, Cultural, and Religious Convergencies", in Gábor Sipos, András Kovács, and Sándor Tonk, eds., *Emlékkönyv Jako Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum, 1996), p. 415.

¹⁶² Pompiliu Teodor, "Politica ecleziastică a lui Mihai Viteazul în Transilvania", *Revista Istorică*, Vol. 4 (1992), Nr. 5–6, pp. 473–490.

¹⁶³ Pompiliu Teodor, "Die Konfessionspolitik der Habsburger in Siebenbürgen (1692–1759). Der rumänische Fall", *Colloquia. Journal of Central European History* (Cluj-Napoca), Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 1, pp. 128–149; Romanian translation as "Politica confesională a Habsburgilor în Transilvania (1692–1659). Cazul românesc", *Caietele David Prodan*, Vol. 1 (1994), Nr. 2, pp. 18–22.

years.”;¹⁶⁴ a study of ethnic pluralism in Transylvania from national, cultural, and religious perspectives;¹⁶⁵ the role of 18th century Habsburg religious tolerance in the development of the Transylvanian Enlightenment and national movement;¹⁶⁶ the knotty problematic of Catholic Reform and the Transylvanian Enlightenment;¹⁶⁷ an examination of the crucial 1697 synod and the agreement of Transylvanian Orthodox clergy to unify with Rome;¹⁶⁸ the establishment of Greco-Catholic (Uniate) identity and its eventual major role in Romanian national development in the 18th and 19th centuries;¹⁶⁹ and a study of Greco-Catholic monasticism.¹⁷⁰ Lastly, mention should also be made of the recently published introduction¹⁷¹ to Professor Teodor’s 2000–2001 course on the history of the Greco-Catholic (Uniate) Church taught at the Faculty of Greco-Catholic Theology in Blaj, which gave him the opportunity to spell out his vision of a history that promoted dialogue and understanding based on the search for truth (p. 203).

These important explorations have significant ramifications for the study of Romanian history, and promise major and exciting revisions of how we might look at that history, especially in Transylvania. They also have crucial implications for the future of ethnic, cultural, and religious relations in the Central European area,

¹⁶⁴ Pompiliu Teodor, “The Romanians from Transylvania between the Tradition of the Eastern Church, the Counter Reformation and the Catholic Reformation”, in Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta, eds., *Ethnicity and Religion in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 1995), pp. 175–186. Professor Teodor’s recognition of the difference between “Catholic Counter Reformation” and “Catholic Reformation” played a role in this approach.

¹⁶⁵ Pompiliu Teodor, “National Ethnic Pluralism in Transylvania. Ethnic, Cultural, and Religious Convergencies”, in Gábor Sipos, András Kovács, and Sándor Tonk, eds., *Emlékkönyv Jako Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Cluj-Napoca: Erdélyi Múzeum, 1996), pp. 415–421.

¹⁶⁶ Pompiliu Teodor, “Tolerance and the Transylvanian Romanians: From Maria Theresa to Joseph II”, in Maria Crăciun and Ovidiu Ghitta, eds., *Church and Society in Central and Eastern Europe* (Cluj-Napoca: European Studies Foundation Publishing House, 1998), pp. 184–206.

¹⁶⁷ Pompiliu Teodor, “Reformă catolică și *Aufklärung* în epoca Luminilor la românii din Transilvania. Liniile generale ale problemei”, in Iacob Mârza and Ana Dumitran, eds., *Spiritualitate transilvănească și istorie europeană* (Alba Iulia: Editura Universității 1 Decembrie 1918, 1999), pp. 167–175.

¹⁶⁸ Pompiliu Teodor, “În jurul sinodului Mitropolitului Teofil din 1697”, George Gorun and Ovidiu-Horea Pop, eds., *300 de ani de la unirea Bisericii românești din Transilvania cu Biserica Romei* (Cluj-Napoca: Presa Universitară Clujeană, 2000), pp. 43–50.

¹⁶⁹ Pompiliu Teodor, “The confessional identity of the Transylvanian Greek Catholic Church,” in Maria Crăciun, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Graeme Murdock, eds., *Confessional Identity in East-Central Europe* (Aldershot UK: Ashgate, 2002), 167–180. This study begins by pointing out the unfortunate “limitations” of “traditional writing on this subject [which] has been heavily coloured by partisan confessional loyalties, or by a tendency in Romania to view the emergence of the Greek Catholic Church from a nationalist perspective”. However, he goes on, “These limitations are to some extent being rectified by current research.” (p. 167).

¹⁷⁰ Pompiliu Teodor, “Le monachisme et l’Église Uniate,” *Anuarul Institutului de Cercetări Socio-Umane Gh. Șincai*, Târgu-Mureș, Vol. 5–6 (2002–2003), pp. 122–130.

¹⁷¹ Pompiliu Teodor, “Introducere la cursul de istoria Bisericii Greco-Catolice Unite cu Roma”, 2001–2001, Teodor, *Fața la vânt*, 2011, pp. 197–203.

in which Professor Teodor lived and to which he was so devoted. It is both unfortunate and sad that he did not have more time to continue exploring this rich new vein of historical study, though we can be confident that his students and intellectual heirs will persevere in this as well as in the other historiographical directions that Pompiliu Teodor set forth in such an exemplary fashion.¹⁷²

It is still too soon to assess the full impact of Professor Teodor's work, since it will continue to work itself out through the legacy of his writings and his students: "If you seek his monuments, look around you."¹⁷³ His contributions to the study of history in Romania in relationship to the Transylvanian Enlightenment, Romanian national development from the 18th century to 1918, and Romanian historiography were massive, in many respects groundbreaking, and continue to stand the test of time.¹⁷⁴ He was the founder of a school of history by the simple expedient of pointing out the flaws of both positivist and romantic history and steering the Romanian historical profession away from collections of facts used as pretexts for a predetermined agenda toward the "doing of history" as critical inquiry for the purpose of discovering historical truth and understanding the past and the present.¹⁷⁵ He was a great scholar, an exemplary teacher and mentor, a true colleague, and an outstanding, warm human being. There have not been many like him.

¹⁷² A posthumous collection of Professor Teodor's essays relevant to this topic: Pompiliu Teodor, *Enlightenment, Confession, Nation: Transylvania in the XVIIIth Century*, edited by Ionuț Costea and Valentin Orga (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Argonaut, 2006), 260 pp.

¹⁷³ Two examples: A tribute volume by his latest generation of students, published as Valentin Orga and Ionuț Costea, eds., *Studii de istorie a Transilvaniei. Omagiu Profesorului Pompiliu Teodor* (Cluj-Napoca: Editura Accent, 2000); and a 2011 commemorative symposium held at Deva's Colegiul Național Decebal, at which, in addition to presentations dealing with Professor Teodor by Mircea Păcurariu, Nicolae Bocșan, Doru Radosav, Ovidiu Ghitta, and Iacob Mârza, over fifty other papers were presented, which led to the publication of Simion Molnar and Florin Ilieș, eds., *In memoriam Pompiliu Teodor* (Deva: Editura Cetatea Deva, 2011).

¹⁷⁴ Compare the conclusions of Doru Radosav, "Pompiliu Teodor", in Bocșan, Ghitta, and Radosav, *Tentația istoriei*, 2003, pp. 7–15, for a slightly different but compatible approach to the historical work of Professor Teodor.

¹⁷⁵ Compare Pecican, *Poarta leilor*, 2005, pp. 72–77.