The Impact of French Pedagogy on Romanian Piano Art. Disciples of Alfred Cortot

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Abstract: A very special effervescence in terms of artistic life animated the City of Cluj at the beginning of the 20th century. The city's newly established institutions, after the historical moment of 1918, were increasingly asserting themselves, polarizing culture in its numerous forms and manifestations. This is the context in which the Academy of Music and Dramatic Art of Cluj (currently "Gheorghe Dima" National Academy of Music) was founded by a team of professors, who had been trained at various higher music schools in Western Europe and who implemented the highest standards meant to raise the new school at the level of the other European schools of this kind, in an effort to narrow the historical gap that separated the former from the latter. Among them stand out, due to their special artistic and pedagogical qualities, young pianists returned from Paris, where, within the prestigious École Normale de Musique de Paris, they had been trained by the renowned pianist Alfred Cortot. They were: Ecaterina Fotino-Negru, George Ciolac, Eliza Ciolan, Alexandru Demetriad, Viorica Adelina Radu, Gabriela Tereanu. Our paper aims at providing a documented image of this significant direction of development, which relied on the artistic and pedagogical knowledge acquired by the Romanian musicians trained in the privileged environment of Paris and who later returned to work at the National Academy of Music in Cluj. We will tackle the subject from several points of view, namely the peregrinatio academica phenomenon, the socio-political background and the founding personalities of the École Normale de Musique de Paris, the pedagogical principles, their reception in Romania, and the evolution and current status of this noble lineage.

Keywords: French Pedagogy; Romanian Piano Art; *peregrinatio academica* phenomenon.

Go study in other countries, then come back and make the best use of everything you learned abroad. Francisc László

Pro domo

This paper is the fruit of our doctoral research conducted under the guidance of the distinguished university professor PhD Adrian Pop, which materialized in the thesis entitled *La pian cu Alfred Cortot. Artiști clujeni la*

*École Normale de Musique*¹. The goal was precisely a return to our artistic parents, to the founders of the Romanian piano school, a school that finds its roots in French culture. According to the contemporary novelist and musician David Foenkinos, "we cannot make our mark on the present unless we know our past"². Moreover, among the *Civilized Man's Eight Deadly Sins*, Konrad Lorenz mentions the break with tradition, the growing schism between generations on a professional level. The current work is seen precisely as a return to our predecessors, to our teachers, pianists and artistic parents, whose past wisely illuminates our present. It is an unmissable anamnesis meant to prevent the loss of tradition, threatened by the merciless and irreversible passing of time³.

Peregrinatio academica and the Parisian model

Academic peregrination or *peregrinatio academica* is a phenomenon that dates back to the Middle Ages, when guilds were based on communication, the perpetuation of science and craft from one generation to the next. Therefore, 'initiation' trips were organized, which were almost mandatory both for aristocrats and for young university students and apprentices who wanted to specialize in various trades. Their companions were either masters or more advanced disciples, who carried compendiums and vademecums containing precise advice and guidance (in fact, a literary genre developed, which was part of the so-called *ars apodemica* – the art of travel). The early academic migration phenomenon, directed to the then few universities in Europe (Bologna, Paris, Oxford and Cambridge), intensified in the 15th and 16th centuries, when the universities of Central Europe – Prague, Vienna, Krakow – and the German ones - Heidelberg, Freiburg, Ingolstadt, Tübingen - were founded. The academic peregrination phenomenon has been growing rapidly throughout Western Europe since the mid-19th century, and this expansion constitutes one of the fundamental processes of modernization⁴.

¹ Cluj-Napoca, Editura MediaMusica, 2021.

² David Foenkinos, *Către frumusețe* [Towards Beauty], translated from French by Daniel Niculescu, București, Editura Humanitas, 2020, p. 105.

³ The documents underlying this paper, which tell the story of the famous school, are: Report to the Ministry drafted by Auguste Mangeot, principal of the School and its cofounder with Alfred Cortot, the Bylaws of the School also drafted by the two of them, articles in the Le Monde musical journal, as well as a vast list of publications of French musicology, which I had the privilege of consulting in various Parisian archives and libraries. Also, our attending the various musical events held by the students and teachers of École Normale de Musique de Paris enabled us to get a glimpse of the current vibrating and effervescent activity of the School.

⁴ It is no accident that sociologists and historians consider the mid-19th century as the beginning of the era of education, when the state saw school as an 'indispensable service', as education opened the way to free initiative, social prestige, safety, prosperity.

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The Romanian Principalities also joined this phenomenon through its political decision-makers in 1859, when an important yet expensive system of training abroad for the native intellectual elite was implemented. Once they returned, they started to promote Western educational and scientific standards. Thus, between 1860 and 1944, almost all our politicians, university professors and high officials got educated abroad⁵. According to the late musicologist Francisc László, the 11th commandment of any Romanian was: "Go study in other countries, then come back and make the best use of everything you learned abroad"6. At this point, we should also mention the views of the historian Ioan Aurel Pop, President of the Romanian Academy: "although Romanians were not involved in the genesis of the great transformations of European culture, they did not build Gothic cathedrals, they did not produce heroic poetry, [...] they did not have scholastic universities in the 13th and 14th centuries, nor Renaissance like in Italy or France, nor great philosophers, dramatists or fabulists in the 17th and 18th centuries"⁷, they did have values, openness, European consciousness, intertwined in a beautiful Western vocation. In other words, they had the awareness of the European model and the culture of mobility. In terms of music, the local piano pedagogy has not had a centuries-old tradition, nor experienced and prestigious teachers, although the nobles, merchants and intellectuals wanted their descendants to have a musical education. Piano lessons started in our country at the end of the 18th century, but without having been preceded by the study of the harpsichord or other keyboard instruments, as was the case in Western Europe. The stage of empiricism, corresponding to the flourishing era of instruments from the harpsichord family, was missing, and mechanicism only had some sporadic influence.

However, the roots of Romanian professional piano education are strongly anchored in the European tradition, through the representatives of the first generations of pianists and pedagogues trained in famous conservatories. Zealous as they were and supported by state policy, they went to study it abroad, in renowned cultural centers and, once they returned to the country, they consolidated a local school, capable, in its turn, of producing universal values. At first, the young pianists went to Vienna, Berlin, Leipzig and Budapest, then, in the interwar period, to Paris, and after 1950 to Moscow.

⁵ Lucian Kovács-Nastasă, *Studenți români la École Pratique des Hautes Études (Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques) 1868-1948* [Romanian students at the École Pratique des Hautes Études (Section of Historical and Philological Sciences) 1868-1948], Cluj-Napoca, Editura Eikon, 2016, p. 13.

⁶ Francisc László, *Memoria lui George Ciolac* [The memory of George Ciolac], "Făclia", Cluj-Napoca, year XVIII, issue 5049, 6 June 2007, p. 4.

⁷ Ioan-Aurel Pop, *Transilvania. Starea noastră de veghe* [Transylvania. Our vigil], Cluj-Napoca, Editura Școala Ardeleană, 2016, p. 66.

France, and especially Paris, was one of the preferred destinations for what the phenomenon of *peregrinatio academica* meant among young Romanians, due to the quality of higher education based on the principles of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic organization, which favored meritocracy, without prejudices regarding religion and social origin. It was also a relevant center due to its ideological effervescence, publications and prints, gossip or avant-garde artistic and literary manifestations. For all these reasons, Paris exerted an undeniable attraction on young people, becoming a place of reference in the European world and being the "academic capital of Europe"⁸ for a long time.

École Normale de Musique de Paris: the epicenter of European musical pedagogy

École Normale de Musique de Paris has always been one of the most prestigious and lasting musical education institutions of modern times, an institution where, over time, numerous musicians from all over the world have studied.

The institution was founded in 1919 and, although the name of Alfred Cortot was the spearhead of this institution, representing a guarantor of the notoriety and authority of the education system, several personalities of French pedagogy and performing arts laid the grounds and contributed to the development of the School⁹.

In order to understand the history and specificity of the education dispensed by the creators of the *École Normale de Musique de Paris*, we need to know some facts about its founders and about the historical and cultural European background of that time.

Auguste Mangeot (1873-1942) played an essential role in launching this cultural and educational project. A powerful voice of his time, he is the one who 'set the tone' in the creation of the new educational institution. Despite the lack of any consistent information about Auguste Mangeot, even in French bibliographical sources, his portrait appears from the richness of the activities undertaken, correlated with his writings: articles, reports, official letters, most of which were published in the magazine *Le Monde musical*¹⁰. He had a particular interest in musical education (he came,

⁸ Lucian Kovács-Nastasă, op. cit., p. 16.

⁹ Pianist Ignace Paderewski (President of the Council of Ministers of the Polish State in 1919), composers Camille Saint-Saëns and Émile Paladilhe, organist Théodore Dubois, composer and pianist Gabriel Fauré, organist and teacher Charles-Marie Jean Albert Widor, Gustave Charpentier, Henri Rabaud, members of the Institut de France.

¹⁰ The archives of the magazine *Le Monde musical* have provided a lot of information about the specificity of the School, about the complexity of the personality of its founders, Auguste Mangeot and Alfred Cortot, as well as about their management policy. The articles in the

moreover, from a famous family of piano manufacturers established in Nancy) and his most prominent activity was that of editor-in-chief of the well-known magazine, an acclaimed music journal which became a real *agora* of debates on pedagogical methods, institutional reforms, curriculum and concert activities in France and abroad.

On the other hand, at the time the School was founded, Alfred Cortot was 42 years old. He was influential and known for his activity as a pianist, performer, member of the famous chamber ensemble (the trio with Jacques Thibaud and Pablo Casals), conductor, teacher. Thus, this project benefited from his image capital and cosmopolite views, while Mangeot contributed with his financial, managerial and diplomatic resources. Both witnesses of the First World War, the two founders' musical actions were driven by their desire to preserve French culture, advocating for the revitalization of the selection system of the academic elite, and claiming that values such as freedom of expression, collective memory, patriotism and attention to heritage must be promoted.

Thus, the *École Normale de Musique de Paris* opened its doors on 6 October 1919, just four months after the signing of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.



Fig. 1 *École Normale de Musique de Paris*. Group of teachers and students on the day of its opening¹¹

magazine describe concerts, premieres, debuts, stage appearances of the students of the School. It also includes views of music school teachers and principals, as well as of officials about various administrative aspects; organizational decisions, minutes from the meetings of the Management Board, operating documents, as well as measures taken regarding foreign students were also published.

¹¹ Photograph from the article signed by Auguste Mangeot, *Ouverture de l'École Normale de Musique de Paris*, "Le Monde musical", Paris, issue 10, year XXX, 1919, p. 291.

The school was conceived as a propaganda tool, a highly nationalistic anti-German cultural entity, set against the background of an imperative need to recover a certain capital of image, culture and artistic authority: "Our purpose is not to attract foreigners to France to settle here, but, on the contrary, to give them the opportunity to rank first in their country of origin through educational methods that they will implement in their turn, because, far from subjugating their nationalism, they will give them the opportunity to thrive and express themselves freely"¹².

In the School's promotional materials, its founders pointed out that this institution provided "full musical education to composers, virtuosos, performers, lyrical artists and teachers, both foreigners (including those who were not admitted to the Conservatories in Germany and Austria) and the French who did not meet the criteria to integrate the Conservatory"¹³. For the first time in the history of French education, future teachers could benefit from specific training for this profession. In spite of the elitist admission criteria set by the Conservatory, the new school aimed to admit all those who, "for reasons of age, level or simply chance, failed to pass the merciless entrance examination of the venerable establishment"¹⁴.

An important document is the *Bylaws of the École Normale de Musique de Paris*, published in 1929, which includes data about the specificity of this prestigious music institution. The document reflects its permanent musical openness, observance of the demands of society, adaptability of the School to the diversity and the large number of students coming from all over the world. According to these bylaws, the basis of piano art is mental effort and then solving technical difficulties. The School insisted on the idea that the work of the instrumentalist must be guided, organized and continuously supported by their intellect. That meant the study of solfege, harmonic analysis, musical forms, etc. and attention directed towards awareness of muscle sensations starting from the fingertips, wrist (*poignet*), forearm, arm, shoulder.

According to the same bylaws, education in the *École Normale de Musique* was organized in such a way as:

1. To establish links between the courses taken by a student;

2. To allow the student self-control and to allow them to be their own teacher after they left school;

¹² Auguste Mangeot, "Rapport sur la fondation à Paris d'une École Normale de Musique", Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Fonds Bernard Gavoty, Ms 8359, Ecole Normale de Musique, 1er octobre 1918, p. 1.

¹³ Auguste Mangeot, Ouverture de l'École Normale de Musique de Paris, op. cit., p. 292.

¹⁴ Nelly Juhuette, *Regard sur Alfred Cortot. De la conception de l'interprétation aux applications pédagogiques*, Master's Degree Graduation Thesis, Paris, Université de Rennes II, 1991, p. 101.

3. To allow the student to benefit from a lesson given in their presence to another colleague and thus involving them so as to keep them interested and focused throughout the course.

There are basically two key terms that define the founding and management policy of the institution: the **humanistic** approach (student-focused) and the **universalistic** approach (opened). Subsequently, these principles also underlay the teaching activity carried out by the teachers of the Cluj Conservatory, opening new educational and interpretive horizons.

Romanian talents at the École Normale de Musique de Paris

The *École Normale de Musique de Paris* trained numerous Romanian pianists from:

- Bucharest: Ecaterina Fotino-Negru, George Ciolac, Ovidiu Drîmba, Radu Mihail, Dinu Lipatti, Silvia Şerbescu, Letiţia Ivaşcu, Jeanne Ghika, Cornel Cărbunescu, Emanuela Eremia;
- Iași: Eliza Ciolan, Rodica Suțu;
- Cluj: Viorica Adelina Radu;
- the Municipal Conservatory of Târgu Mureş: Alexandru Demetriad;
- or who had had private tuition: Gabriela Țereanu took classes in Berlin with the renowned Artur Schnabel and then specialized at the *École Normale de Musique*. Six of them taught at the Conservatory in Cluj.

Among the representatives of the Cluj piano school, we will mention those who laid the foundations of an artistic education of French parentage, analyzing their contribution in terms of teaching and artistic achievements. They will be presented in the chronological order of their arrival at the Cluj Conservatory¹⁵.

The review of the Romanian pedagogues who specialized in Paris can only begin with the pianist **Ecaterina Fotino-Negru**. She pioneered the 'importation' of the principles of the French school; she studied for two years at the renowned *École Normale de Musique*, where she had Alfred Cortot, Lazare-Lévy and Ricardo Viñes as maestros, and Diran Alexanian as chamber music teacher. Those courses decisively influenced her artistic path. Perfectly integrated in the elevated atmosphere of the school, she took part as a soloist in various artistic productions of the institution. At the same time, she had the revelation of authenticity in the interpretive approach of French piano pieces and participated, in the summer of 1924, in the courses held by Maurice Ravel, when she had the opportunity to perform his *Sonatina* under the direct

¹⁵ The data about the pianists from Cluj were extracted from the Archives of "Gheorghe Dima" National Academy of Music, from Parisian archives, from the press of the time, as well as from the testimonies of the disciples.

guidance of the composer. "Successfully performing the *Sonatina* in front of its demanding author, the future teacher managed, in the years to come, to religiously render the subtle charm of this demanding piece."¹⁶



Fig. 2 Maurice Ravel and his students at the master class, *École Normale de Musique*, 1924. Ecaterina Fotino-Negru: in the second row, second from the left.

The young teacher had a rich and prodigious artistic activity between 1925 and 1961, during which she gave numerous concerts, recitals and trained generations of musicians who became renowned personalities, among them Sigismund Toduță, Ninuca Oşanu Pop, Voichița Tiniş, Mihai Moldovan or Emil Simon. However, her center of gravity was her teaching career, as the pianist and Professor PhD. Ninuca Oşanu Pop argued:

And yet, teaching was her main concern, her rich knowledge being made available to her disciples with a love that did not exclude severity. Her role in the evolution of Cluj higher education is important, considering that Ecaterina Fotino was part of both the first teaching team of the old Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art, together with Ana Voileanu-Nicoară, Cornelia Deac, George Ciolac, and of the second one, that of the renewed institution after 1948, together with Eliza Ciolan, Magda Kardos and Gheorghe Halmos.¹⁷

Ecaterina Fotino-Negru brought a new breath, which materialized in several aspects, revealed by her disciple, Sigismund Toduță, in his article *Sub semnul înnoirii pedagogiei pianului*¹⁸. These encompassed a new technique

¹⁶ Ninuca Oşanu Pop, *Memento – Ecaterina Fotino-Negru (1902-1991)*, "Muzica" Journal, Bucureşti, issue 2, 2002, p. 149.

¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹⁸ Sigismund Toduță, *Sub semnul înnoirii pedagogiei pianului* [Under the piano pedagogy renewal sign], "Musicology Papers", vol. 15, Cluj-Napoca, "Gheorghe Dima" Music Conservatory, 1984, pp. 65-69.

(the piano apparatus is not limited to the action of the fingers, but also needs the *poignet*, the forearm, the arm and the shoulder blade, thus achieving an ample, rich sonority, a variety of sound timbres), new editions of the scores (those arranged by Bruno Mugellini, Alfredo Casella, Alfred Cortot), playing of a French repertoire (the music of Fauré, Debussy, Ravel begins to be studied), playing the local repertoire as well (the names of Mihail Jora, Sabin Drăgoi, Mihail Andricu or Marțian Negrea are heard more and more), not to mention student assessment forms (starting with the academic year 1931– 1932, the piano class graduation exam also included a public concert, held in collaboration with a symphony orchestra). Sigismund Toduță ends his article with appreciation and gratitude to his teacher, Ecaterina Fotino-Negru: "All the innovative ideas mentioned and briefly described belong to one person: my teacher Ecaterina Fotino-Negru. We express all our gratitude for her ideas. It is our belief that they hit fertile ground and were not slow to bear rich fruit."¹⁹

Indeed, the 'seeds' of Parisian pedagogy fell on Romanian 'fertile ground' and designed the entire higher music education system at a level close to Western standards; among her disciples we should mention Sigismund Toduță, Ninuca Oşanu Pop, Voichița Tiniş, Mihai Moldovan, Emil Simon, all of them renowned personalities in the Romanian musical world.

The pianist **George Ciolac** (1903-1977) was, in his turn, an exponent of the Romanian and French piano schools. Born in Moldova, he studied in Bucharest and later settled in Cluj, as a teacher at the Conservatory, and then, between 1940 and 1945, in Timisoara, where the Cluj Academy of Music had sought refuge. As the musicologist Francisc László used to say, "I personally do not think that there has been another Romanian artist of his level who was so organically integrated in all four large historical provinces of Romania"²⁰.

Eager to improve his skills, he studied at the prestigious *École Normale de Musique* in Paris between 1926 and 1929, where he had Alfred Cortot and Lazare-Lévy as teachers and was awarded a *Diplôme de Licence de Concert de Piano*. Alfred Cortot himself praised his student dearly in the magazine *Le monde musical*, at one point considering him his most talented disciple²¹. After three years of successful performances in Paris, as well as in other cities of France, George Ciolac returned to the country, with the diploma signed by Cortot. George Ciolac taught for 21 years at the Cluj Conservatory. Like the pianist Ecaterina Fotino-Negru, George Ciolac carried out an intense teaching and artistic work: he performed as a concert soloist, gave recitals and was the member of various chamber ensembles. In 1940, he gave a recital in Bolzano, during which he also performed George Enescu's no. 1

¹⁹ Sigismund Toduță, op. cit., p. 69.

²⁰ Francisc László, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

²¹ Ibidem.

Sonata in F sharp minor, op. 24, being the first pianist from Cluj to play this opus in public, an inspired piece, but of great artistic difficulty. During the Second World War, he continued his work in Timişoara, contributing to Romanian musical life in a difficult era for artistic culture. His career prospects were brilliant, but fate wanted otherwise. Due to health issues, he retired in 1950, leaving behind a brilliant but meteoric career. He remained in the memory of his disciples, the valuable musicians Dorin Pop, Miron Şorec, Max Eisikovits, Tosca Nistor Şorban, Romeo Ghircoiaşiu, Eva Radeş and Enea Borza.

Eliza Ciolan (1900-1980) was one of the most important and complex pianists in the Romanian musical world. He was born, raised and educated in an environment conducive to the development of her obvious musical skills. Important Romanian musical personalities contributed to her development as a musician: Eduard Caudella, Enrico Mezzetti, Emil Mihail, Alexandru Zirra, Antonin Ciolan. She married the latter, the founder of the Cluj Philharmonic Orchestra, in 1924 and forming a harmonious tandem both on stage and in real life. Eliza Ciolan taught in Iasi, performed on stages all over the country, and in 1949 started to teach in Cluj. Throughout her teaching career, Eliza Ciolan considered the transmission of knowledge and artistic experience acquired in the country and abroad a wonderful mission. During her almost three decades of teaching activity, she trained generations of pianists and musicians, among whom we mention: Romeo Ghircoiasiu, Harald Enghiurliu, Cornel Țăranu, Walter Metzger, Tiberiu Szász (Tibor Szász), as a pupil and student. The passing of time has confirmed that her disciples have become renowned artistic professionals, some of them helping the Piano Department of the Music High School and Conservatory in Cluj grow.

Alexandru Demetriad (1903-1983) was one of the most prodigious Romanian pianists, an artist focused on the performing arts. His success was hindered by the limits imposed by the communists, who forbade him to give concerts in Western Europe, although he was invited by the most important philharmonic orchestras in Europe. Nevertheless, his artistic activity was rich, his concerts revealing a preference for the romantic and French repertoire, like his Master from Paris. Also, the concerts commented by the performer were a first for Romania and imitate the concerts given by Alfred Cortot (an additional argument for the visible influences, but above all, for the import of the French model in our country). Among the six pianists, he studied for the longest period in Paris, 7 years, during which time he thoroughly studied both composition and piano. Back to Romania, Alexandru Demetriad gave numerous recitals, concerts, musical-educational events, following Cortot's model. Unfortunately, since he worked for a very short time in the Conservatory in Cluj, we could not find any records of him in the Archives. However, due to his rich performing activity, we found numerous reviews, including one signed by Profira Sadoveanu, the daughter of the famous writer, who suggestively titled Demetriad 'the piano tamer'. With a dense performer career spanning over five decades, Demetriad remained in our collective memory as a talented assiduous pianist, permanently eager to improve.

Viorica Radu (1900-1956) and Gabriela Țereanu (1917-1990) were accompanists and assistant piano teachers. Viorica Radu taught for 29 years at the Cluj Conservatory. Although she was a discreet and emotional person (as the pianist describes herself), Viorica Adelina Radu was a complex personality. She translated from German treatises and booklets needed by students in the piano department, as well as conducting treatises. Gabriela Țereanu taught for 16 years at the Cluj Conservatory and was a pianist influenced by the German, French and also Hungarian schools. All these influences contributed to the creation of a complex pianist, with a rich teaching activity, carried out both in Arad and Cluj. According to the documents kept in the ANMGD Archives, she was a devoted teacher, a conscientious and assiduous pianist, eager to improve and share the secrets of music with her students.

Epilogue

Although the privileged moment when the musical life of Cluj City was directly connected to the thriving cultural life of Paris is a thing of the past, it is still perpetuated today through the exponents of the young generation who make the best use of its teachings. The pianist Georgiana Fodor, teacher at "Gheorghe Dima" National Academy of Music, young graduate of the *École Normale de Musique*, is one of these continuators.

I greatly appreciate the elegant and refined style of Alfred Cortot and French pedagogues in general. The French school places great emphasis on clarity and purity of sound. I definitely want to instill these values and this way of looking at music in my students. I encourage a theoretical and contextual knowledge of the studied pieces as thorough as possible and I try to guide them as much as possible in the direction of developing their own artistic vision.²²

Although, several generations later, Cortot's principles have been updated and modernized in line with current requirements, they remain, for the most part, the guidelines of the Cluj piano school. Therefore, today's representatives of the Cluj school find themselves in a noble artistic lineage and celebrate through their performances a high-class pianistic tradition.

²² Georgiana Fodor, *Interview to the author*, Manuscript, 15 May 2020.

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