

European Association for Dance History 2025,
21-23 November, Queen's University Belfast

Histories of European Dance behind the Borders:

Mobility, Influence, and Impact

Abstracts (In alphabetical order by speaker)

BAYLE, Christine (Cie Belles Danses). Pierre Rameau's Rules. This treatise is the beginning of what we know to-day about the way of *La belle danse*: three centuries after its publication in 1725, - it is also a great anniversary, in this 2025 year - we can still dance this style thanks to Rameau's description of the steps but also the « maniera », the style he describes with the steps and arm movements. This presentation will demonstrate some of these rules.

BOURASSA, Dominique (Yale University Library). Cataloging the Stage: The Mission of Henri Justamant. Nearly forgotten for over 100 years, Henri Justamant (1815-1890) was a prolific French choreographer who notated many of his own works. In 1893, three years after his death, Justamant's manuscript dance scores were sold in an auction liquidating the content of his library. The catalog, published for this occasion, is more than a plain list of books in Justamant's library. It reveals the choreographer as a perspicacious book collector and antiquarian, avid to preserve, document, and catalog his own creative output. The library catalog also opens the door to exploring Justamant's life and travels through his three journals of compositions. These fascinating notebooks, preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, have so far been overlooked by scholars. Yet, they are fascinating witnesses to the history of European stage dance. Most likely compiled towards the end of Justamant's life, the notebooks provide a glimpse into the meticulous and painstaking mission of a choreographer to document his entire choreographic career "en province," in Paris and abroad, to preserve his legacy. In so doing, Justamant created a rich metadata repository that serves as a bibliography of stage works, a directory of theaters and dance personalities, a classification of dance genres, and a form of meta-travel through nearly fifty years of European ballet history.

CAVERS, Keith. Charting the Spread of Dauberval's Ballets. Any successful ballet in the eighteenth century was, in an age before modern ideas of copyright, open to anyone to exploit as best they could. The concept too of originality was never considered as an essential part of the ballet-masters toolbox. Given such freedom to filch, can the examination of different versions of the ballets today of an acknowledged innovator such as Jean Dauberval give us some insight into how these ballets were spread, by whom, and what changes their dissemination might have engendered?

FUSILLO, Lisa (University of Georgia). A European Influence Abroad: Léonide Massine's Impact on Dance in America. Léonide Massine received his early dance training in Russia before joining Diaghilev's Ballet Russes company, which led to further training and mentorship in Europe under the guidance of Serge Diaghilev. Influenced by many of the greatest Russian European artists of the early and mid-20th century along, combined with his affinity for particular European cultural dance styles, Massine developed his own creative voice and style in choreography. He ultimately directed the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo and at one point he was considered to be the "greatest choreographer in the world". In America, Massine choreographed for and performed in every type of American dance venue from variety shows at the Roxy Theatre (New York City), to the Metropolitan Opera, to Ballet Theatre (later called American Ballet Theatre), to Hollywood. With the outbreak of WWII, Massine and his Ballets Russes company toured America performing popular Massine repertory that led to an astounding success. This paper will detail the significant impact that Léonide Massine made on dance in America as both a performer and a choreographer. Evidence provided in the presentation will demonstrate that although he never established a company in America, Léonide Massine's impact had, and continues to have, a profound influence in American dance.

GARZARELLA, Silvia (University of Bologna, Italy). Rudol'f Nureev's Legacy in the European Ballet Scene. From his birth in the carriage of a trans-Siberian train to the years as a political refugee, Rudol'f Nureev (1938-1993) made the condition of eternal migrant one of the hallmarks of his global fame, embodying the nineteenth-century myth of the wanderer in a world bisected by the Cold War. Incessantly traveling from one stage to another, Nureev made his body the theater for the setbacks of the great national ballet schools, bringing the Russian repertoire to Europe and the whole world in his dance. The English lyricism, the airiness of the Danish school, and the freedom of expression of modern dance have inhabited the Nureev performer as much as the choreographer, influencing the destinies of the companies he encountered and contributing significantly to the emergence of a new kind of ballet dancer — global, transnational, a true citizen of the world — and that of a ballet repertoire of equally international scope. Drawing on media representations and artistic production, this paper will explore Nureev's role as a transformative force in European ballet "modernisation", with a particular attention to his tenure as artistic director of the Paris Opera Ballet (1983-1989) and his hybrid choreographic "voice" forged through constant movement across styles, genres, and borders. How did his personal experience reshape the Paris Opera Ballet? What kind of dancer did he help define? How does he fit into the broader context of European modern ballet? And what remains of his legacy today? These are some of the questions this contribution will explore in an attempt to engage with the theme of the conference.

GRYNENKO, Viktoria (Edmonton, Canada). From violin to piano: changing accompaniment for ballet classes in Europe and the Russian empire. This talk will be focused on a transition from violin to piano accompaniment for ballet classes in Europe and the Russian Empire. We will start with the investigation into the musical traditions of the ballet classes of the late 19th century with the examples of Enrico Cecchetti (1850-1928), Christian Johansson (1817-1903), Nikolai Legat (1869-1937) and other dancers experiencing the transition. To follow, we will look into the reasons, and complex moving parts of the transition as well as what was lost and gained during the process. In this interactive lecture, you will be able to hear the music examples performed live on the violin the way they might have been presented in the late 1900s.

HEITER, Gerrit Berenike (University of Vienna, Austria). Il Gimnasta – Illuminating a European Network of Itinerant Dancer-Acrobats in the middle of the 18th Century. A number of acrobats are listed in a booklet entitled *Il Gimnasta*, which was published on three occasions to accompany acrobatic performances in Venice (1753), in Florence (1755) and in Milan (1756). These performers, of French, English, Dutch, and Italian descent, were in most cases also dancers, and several belonged to some of the most renowned itinerant artistic families of their era, touring extensively throughout Europe. This paper presents selected biographies of these dancer-acrobats, some of whom also specialised in theatrical roles such as Pierrot, Pulcinella, Harlequin, or the Peasant. It traces their performance circuits from Paris to Saint Petersburg or Naples, highlighting the breadth of their engagements. The case studies of two families — the Dubrocq and G(h)erman families — demonstrate not only their extensive travel from fair to fair and theatre to theatre across national borders, but also their remarkable versatility. Members of these families performed in various capacities, including as acrobats (specialising in jumping or rope dancing), dancers, actors, machinists, and even firework makers.

The Dubrocq family comprised Pierre Dubrocq and his five sons: Joseph, Pierre, Antoine, Corneille, and Jean Dubrocq. The G(h)erman family toured under the leadership of Heinrich G(h)erman, accompanied by his sons Paul and Friedrich, as well as his daughter Antonina/Antonette, who danced in ballets in Copenhagen and later in Sweden. These case studies illuminate the connections between acrobats and dancers within a transnational professional network that remains largely unexplored in scholarly research. The extraordinary mobility, artistic versatility, and occupational diversity of these performers help to explain both their significant artistic influence and their widespread fame across Europe at their time.

JONES, Alan (Paris). *La fille mal gardée*: updating its early performance history. In 1960, Ivor Guest published his commemorative book on Dauberval's *La Fille mal gardée*, in which he dated the first Paris performance of this ballet to 1803. In the same volume, Lillian Moore stated that the first verifiable New York performance took place in 1828. A study of the early French and American press proves that both Guest and Moore were mistaken. Parisians witnessed Dauberval's ballet on July 1, 1793 (four years to the day from its premiere in Bordeaux), whereas New Yorkers saw it on Christmas Eve of 1804. By an

extraordinary coincidence, the Paris and New York productions were supervised by the very same man, the Bordeaux-trained George Labottière, heretofore unknown to ballet history.

This paper will recount Labottière's professional struggles in America and some of the alterations he introduced in his New York production. To illustrate the growing influence of *La Fille* internationally, I propose a brief video of a fragment of a school dance from the 1830s, set to a familiar air from Act I. This solo, reconstructed by myself from the Saint-Léon notebooks at the library of the Paris Opera, was written down in Germany by Léon Michel. Julia Bengtsson, trained at the Royal Swedish Ballet and presently a dancer with the New York Baroque Dance Company, has expressed interest in collaborating. Time permitting, I also plan a brief update on the location and fate of some of the dispersed early scores of *La Fille mal gardée*, including one manuscript not generally known.

LANIER, A. Tull. (Queen's University Belfast). The enduring tradition of Appalachian dance and the connections to the Ulster Scots. Dance is a common activity throughout the southern Appalachian mountains each weekend of the year. Whether it is a group social dance such as contra and country or percussive dances like buck dancing and flat footing, people dance in Appalachia frequently. As the region becomes infiltrated with others moving into the region without a generational connection to the dances, the popularity of dance has grown as people use the cultural tradition as a way to show their true Appalachians. Due to the isolation of the region, the dances resemble those of dances found in Scotland and Ireland and showcase the strong connection between the migrating protestants from Ulster to the Americas and demonstrate the traditions shared for generations and across nations.

LEUCCI, Tiziana (CESAH, EHESS, Paris-Aubervilliers). Europe, India, Americas and behind: for a 'connected history' of the Jean Cébron (1927-2019) dance pedagogical method. My paper proposal deals with the analysis of the Jean Cébron (1927-2019) dance pedagogical method which integrates and elaborates various dance techniques including Western ballet, German and American Modern dance styles, as well as Javanese and South Indian classical dances. Born in Paris in 1927, the French dancer and choreographer started to study ballet with his own mother, Mauricette Cébron (1897-1992) a former soloist dancer at the Paris Opera House and later on a teacher in the same Opera dance school). In Paris he continued to study ballet with Carlotta Zambelli (1875-1968) and Javanese dance with Djemil Anik (1888-1980). Later on, he went in London to study with the German choreographers Kurt Jooss (1901-1979) and Sigurd Leeder (1902-1981), and in the same city he started to learn the Indian dance with Ram Gopal (1912-2003). He then moved to South America and in the Chile capital, Santiago, he worked with German artists (dancers and musicians) exiled there after the Nazis took the power and occupied Europe. Cébron later on went to the USA to work with North American modern dance choreographers as Ted Shawn (1891-1972) and the Mexican José Limon (1908- 1972). In New York he took also ballet classes with the British teacher Margaret Craske (1892-1990) who was a pupil of the Italian dance master Enrico Cecchetti (1850-1928) and with her he learned the well-known 'Cecchetti pedagogical method'. Back in Europe, Jean Cébron was invited to teach and to compose choreographies in many European Opera houses and dance schools. In Germany he became the teacher and the artistic partner of the German choreographer Pina Bausch. In my proposal I will describe his pedagogical method which was the fruitful result of a number of dance styles techniques, but also the result of the wide circulation of those various dance styles and of those choreographic traditions which spread in Europe, Asia, North and South America, which he integrated and developed in his own personal, synergic and creative way.

McCLEAVE, Sarah (Queen's University Belfast). The Travels of *Ninette à la Cour*. This paper will consider the mobility of Maximilien Gardel's *Ninette à la cour* (1778), with particular focus on its exchange between Paris and London up to 1802. The intertwined history of this ballet with a pan-European tradition of comic operas on the same story, changing aesthetics regarding ballet, the reception of individual performers, and the roles of eminent performers - including Gaetan Vestris and Marie-Madeleine Guimard - in transmitting this ballet will be treated within the presentation.

PHELAN, Sharon (Munster Technological University). The Chronicles of British and Anglo-Irish Travellers during the Colonial Era in Ireland: An Important Source for the Preservation of Irish Dance. This paper examines the relationship between British and Anglo-Irish travellers and Irish dancers during the colonial era in Ireland. During this period, British travellers toured the country in search of insights into Irish society and its cultural practices. Subsequently, they recorded their observations in notes and journals and gave them to the British gentry. Notably, the travellers paid formidable attention to Irish dance. Using these records, this paper explores ways through which Irish dance evolved during the colonial era. The first section of the paper focuses on the cheerful outlook, which most British, and Anglo-Irish travellers, held towards Irish dance; it affirms cultural theorist Albert Memmi's view, that cultural dominion is low, in most colonisers' priorities. Then, the paper, highlights instances where British and Anglo-Irish travellers treated Irish dancers with disdain; paradoxically, they often adopted the same attitude towards British country dancers. The last section focuses on the relationship between British Landlords and Irish natives. Commonly viewed as negative, the traveller records reflected a more harmonious relationship, which was evident within dance contexts. Instances, where travellers recorded landlords and natives dancing together, receive attention. The paper concludes by highlighting the importance of the travellers' archives, as they have played a key role in the preservation of Irish folk dance. Although Ireland is a nation of storytellers, the natives rarely documented dance traditions, in written form. Today, these travellers' records contribute meaningfully to the preservation and promotion of Irish folk dance.

PFISTER, Béatrice. The Noverre-Angiolini Dispute as a Rivalry Between Nations: Cultural Politics of European Dance in 18th -Century Italy. In 1774, the ballet master Jean-Georges Noverre, already celebrated across Europe, succeeded Gasparo Angiolini in Milan —just as Angiolini took over Noverre's post in Vienna. The ensuing controversy between their respective proponents, primarily in Milan, significantly elevated Angiolini's prestige. This dispute has been extensively researched regarding its unfolding and the specific questions it raised, all closely tied to the emerging genre of the pantomime ballet: namely, its paternity, adherence to the three unities, and the necessity of written programs. Yet, it seems that this dispute was also perceived at the time, at least by some of its participants, as a Franco-Italian conflict. It framed an artistic rivalry between two nations, juxtaposing aesthetics that seemingly corresponded to distinct national sensibilities. This paper proposes a re-examination of this conflict through the lens of Italian patriotic aspirations in the face of French cultural hegemony in dance. To what extent does this perspective illuminate the underlying dynamics of the quarrel and shed further light on the logic of Angiolini's defenders? Who were Noverre's Milanese advocates, and how did they navigate and frame their arguments to defend him, considering the intricate interplay with the prevailing cultural patriotism of the period? Finally, how did the unique status of Vienna, as a third cultural pole alongside Paris and Milan, transform this dual opposition into an evolving triangular dynamic? By exploring these questions, this paper will highlight how the mobility of choreographers across European borders fostered intricate patterns of influence, providing a crucial lens through which to understand the subtle interplay between nations, national dance styles, and artistic sensibilities.

PRECIADO AZANZA, Gonzalo (University of Zaragoza, Spain). A look into interwar Latvian Ballet: Mobility, Repertoire, and Ballet masters. Latvian ballet has not yet been fully studied to comprehend its international relevance. The history of ballet in Riga constitutes a transnational cultural crossroads that can be traced back to, at least, the mid-19th century where Polish, French, Italian, German, and Austrian female ballet masters worked at the Stadt-Theater (currently known as Latvian National Opera and Ballet). This multicultural manifestation prevailed after Latvia's independence. This paper examines the trajectory of ballet in Riga during the interwar period through visual and documentary sources held in Latvian and American archives. On December 1, 1922, the former Russian régisseur of the Imperial Ballet, Nikolai Sergeyev, staged *La Fille mal gardée* using the Stepanov notations. This performance marked the beginning of the Latvian National ballet. In 1925, Aleksandra Feodorova-Fokina became the first female director of the company. Among her 22 productions, she staged Mikhail Fokin's breakthrough choreographies, Marius Petipa's classical ballets, and numerous Spanish-themed choreographies. Anatolii Viltzak, a prominent Lithuanian principal dancer of the Imperial Ballet as well as Diaghilev and Ida Rubinstein's companies introduced the latest choreographic trends. Mieczyslaw Pianowski, a Polish dancer and ballet master of Anna Pavlova's troupe, produced several one-act ballets

that Ivan Clustine had choreographed for the Russian ballerina. In 1934, Osvalds Lēmanis became the first Latvian ballet master to lead the company. By then, the Latvian National Ballet had already initiated its international tours that initially took them to the European stages of Brussels, Berlin, Budapest, Stockholm, Helsinki, and Warsaw in the interwar period and eventually to the global stage in numerous American, African, and Asian cities during the Cold War.

ROYSTON, Darren and Penelope BOFF (Nonsuch). “The Admirable Crichton of Sanquhar: dancing to his death in the Court of Mantua 1581.” Madeleine Inglehearn was one of the founding members of Nonsuch History & Dance, which in 2026 will celebrate fifty years since receiving charitable status in 1976. this filmed presentation will be created specifically for the conference of EADH and will feature our performance of the dance *Austria Gonzaga*, published in Madeleine Inglehearn’s *Ten Italian Dances* (1983).

The context of this dance will also fit the EADH conference theme of mobility. The dance was choreographed by Fabrito Caroso (c.1526 – 1620), published in *Il Ballarino* 1581 and dedicated to Eleanor of Austria (1534-1594), wife of Guglielmo Gonzaga (1538-1587), Duke of Mantua. This film presentation considers the travels in Europe of Scottish polymath, James Crichton, who became part of the ducal court of Mantua where this specific dance was performed and where, in 1582, he was murdered by the Duke’s son, Vincenzo Gonzaga.

In 2023, Nonsuch History & Dance was supported by the National Museums and Galleries of Scotland in collaboration with Visit Scotland to undertake a community storytelling project based on historical figures connected to Sanquhar. Sanquhar was the birthplace of James Crichton, who became known as “The Admirable Crichton” and his portrait hangs in the Sanquhar Tolbooth Museum. As a young Scottish polymath, James Crichton, travelled throughout 16th century Europe, displaying his skills as a Renaissance courtier, which included speaking many languages, sword fighting, playing music and dancing. The Saint Bride’s church in Sanquhar has a copy of the plaque from San Simone church in Mantua, commemorating the death of James Crichton in Italy on 3rd July 1582.

Dances in the 16th century were brought to various places in Europe, with a shared style developing at the European Courts. The film will be made specifically for the EADH conference, being filmed on locations in Sanquhar, Scotland during June 2025, with dancers in historical costume. There will be reference in the film to the instruction of a young courtier in dance, as James Crichton did receive dance instruction in France in a similar way to that which Capriol receives from Arbeau in the *Orchesographie* 1589 treatise. During the 2023 project, the local community were invited to learn the *Branle d’Ecosse* from this manual (appearing as *The Scot’s Branle* in Nonsuch volumes, edited by Junella McKay, who was contemporary with Madeleine Inglehearn). The central piece in the film will be a reconstruction of the dance titled *Austria Gonzaga*, danced by Darren Royston and Penelope Boff in historical costume, using the music recorded under Madeleine’s instruction.

Darren Royston and Penelope Boff were students of Madeleine Inglehearn at the Guildhall School of Music & Drama in London, when she was Professor of Early Dance. The balletto for two has three distinct sections, including Sciolta and Canaries, and during the summer training in 2023 we explored how dramatic elements could be attached to these changes in rhythm and the steps employed.

Connecting the 1581 published dance to the story of James Crichton and Vincenzo Gonzaga fires up the imagination of what dramatic passions could have been hidden behind the court dance. Vincenzo was also a dancer, as we know he performed in *Il ballo delle ingrate* by Monteverdi in 1608, and his patronage of the arts gave Mantua an international reputation for opera with dance performance. It is rumoured that the twenty-one year old James Crichton wooed the mistress of eighteen-year-old Vincenzo. Surely this wooing would have taken place on the dance floor? Did this dancing contribute to the jealousy that apparently led to the murder?

Myth and mystery now surround the story of James Crichton, retold in different ways in the centuries that follow. The portrait in the Tolbooth Museum is a copy of the original 18th century imagining by John

Medina III (1721-1796) and hangs in Dumfries House with the title 'Admirable Crichton.' This presentation allows us to explore possible connections to the people who first danced these choreographies, and to discover a dramatic way of presenting historical dance today.

Nonsuch History & Dance. Beginning as a performing company in 1966 with Madeleine Inglehearn as a founding member, registered charity was granted in 1976. The company is limited by guarantee, and explores dance history through international summer courses, performing in many historic locations in the UK, Europe and beyond. The founding artistic director, Peggy Dixon, produced nine volumes of dance instructions with accompanying recorded music, spanning five centuries. The research and exploration of innovative ways to perform historical dance continues today under the artistic direction of Darren Royston, with past events including creating a Victorian Ball for Werner Herzog's film *Queen of the Desert*, teaching Len Goodman and Dr Lucy Worsley on BBC TV, and offering historical dance as part of the "Silent Disco" at Sadler's Wells Theatre. Nonsuch History & Dance is a group member of UNESCO INTERNATIONAL DANCE COUNCIL which now offers International Certification of Dance Studies for historical dance.

SHMAKOVA, Alena (Danse Antique). Urbi et Orbi: Subscription Networks and Dance

Transmission in Scotland (1770s–1820s). Between the 1770s and 1820s, Scotland experienced a boom in music publishing, particularly in the dissemination of national tunes, often represented through dance music. Unlike in England, where dance music publications frequently included detailed textual descriptions of movement, Scottish publications - including those issued by dancing masters – focused primarily on musical notation, leaving dance interpretation to oral tradition and practice. Subscription-based publishing emerged as a popular model among musicians, securing financial backing. Notably several dancing masters published their music repertoire following the similar model. Published subscribers' lists reveal a diverse patronage network, encompassing aristocrats, professional musicians, dancing masters, and the urban bourgeoisie. This range of supporters underscores the dual role of dance as both an artistic pursuit and a marker of social refinement. The geographical distribution of subscribers further illuminates the reach of Scottish dance traditions. While many patrons were local, others spanned Scotland and England, demonstrating the cultural and economic connections that shaped dance dissemination. These records provide valuable insight into how subscriptions functioned as mechanisms of financial support and cultural validation, reinforcing dance's role in elite and professional circles.

By analysing these lists, this paper explores the intersection of dance, class, and print culture in Scotland's evolving social landscape. It examines how subscription-based publishing contributed to the preservation and transmission of dance music, highlighting its significance in shaping cultural identity and access to printed materials.

THORP, Jennifer (New College, Oxford). The cosmopolitan nature of dances in English ballrooms during the first three decades of the eighteenth century.

Despite frequent advertisements by the London music publisher John Walsh between the early 1700s and the 1730s that he was issuing 'French dances' for the ballroom, there is much evidence of other influences at work which are discernible from the surviving dances and dance treatises of those decades. They reflect an increasingly cosmopolitan culture, particularly in London and visible today in the range of surviving ball-dances given both at court and in private and public assemblies at that time. Although their creators still revered the sophisticated and fashionable dances created in France, changes were becoming apparent, not least as late-Stuart court culture in Britain transformed into that of the early Hanoverian monarchy after 1714. Other changes were driven by the publication of English translations of French dance manuals and treatises, by which dance tuition as outlined in the writings of Feuillet and Rameau was also presented through the works of Weaver, Essex and Tomlinson. Entrepreneurs in the English dance world quickly recognised the commercial benefits of announcing the appearance of these translations and manuals in London's newspapers, of inviting subscriptions to finance such publications, and of advertising the sale of new dances. Other significant influences included the popularity of English, Italian and German music, both for the stage and for ball-dances, masquerades, and domestic music-making; musical styles which could and did influence some of the new dances being issued and taught. Moreover, the enduring popularity of English and Scottish country dances presented yet another aspect of British dance culture which never disappeared. The result was a cosmopolitan kaleidoscope of different traditions, styles and

evidence for dance in fashionable ballrooms of the time; this paper discusses some of the underlying factors.

YANG, Mina (Chung-Ang University, Seoul, South Korea). European Social Dance and the Making of Modern Seoul: Transnational Influence and Urban Culture, 1920s–1930s. This paper investigates the transnational transmission and local adaptation of European ballroom dance in Seoul during the 1920s and 1930s, a period marked by rapid modernization and intensified cultural exchange. Focusing on the evolution of dance culture within the city’s emerging entertainment spaces, it examines how European social dances—such as the foxtrot, waltz, and tango—were introduced, reinterpreted, and popularized among the urban youth (modern girls and boys).

Through the movement of people and practices—such as Russian Korean performers arriving from Vladivostok, and Korean artists like Kim Dong-han who studied in St. Petersburg—European social dance entered Seoul’s artistic circles. Institutions like *Yesulhakwon* (Academy of Arts) played a key role in cultivating ballroom dance alongside European music. Cafés, despite official restrictions, functioned as hybrid cultural spaces where dance became a vehicle for modern expression, leisure, and identity formation.

This case highlights how European dance styles extended beyond continental borders and became entangled with local aspirations, generational shifts, and gender norms. By tracing these cross-cultural dynamics, the paper contributes to broader discussions on dance mobility, the localization of European repertory, and the social meanings of movement in twentieth-century East Asia.