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Remembering “Doc”—page 22



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The International Trombone Association is dedicated to the artistic advancement of trombone teaching, performance, and literature.

ON THE COVER

The camaraderie at this year's International Trombone Festival was ubiquitous from the first day to the last! (Photo: Chris Van Hof)

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Maurice Ravel's BOLERO

A fresh look at a familiar masterpiece—Part 1

By Douglas Yeo

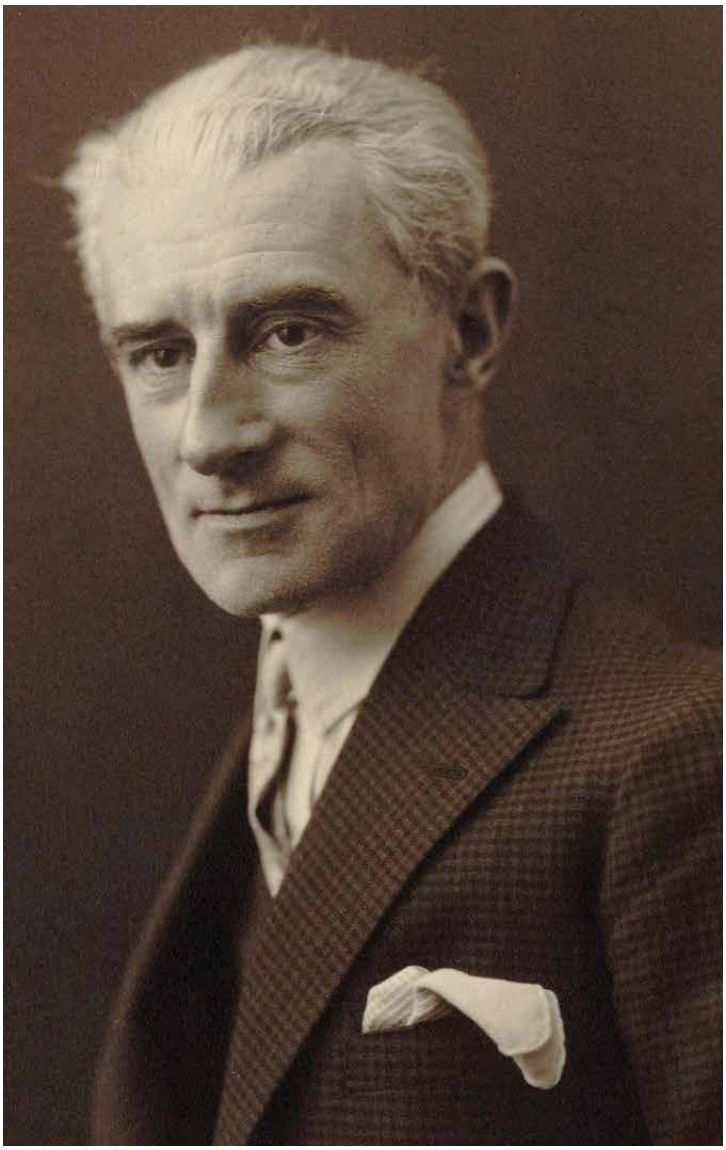


Figure 1. Maurice Ravel, 1925. Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr).

The hand-written letter, dated January 19, 1922, contained the promise of a generous present:

> Dear Alfred,
>
> Marc will receive, within about ten days—since there isn't one available immediately—a trombone that Édouard and I are sending him as a New Year's gift, along with our wish that he becomes a virtuoso on this instrument. The Courtois company will ship it to Geneva station. Due to customs complications, they prefer to let recipients handle it themselves. If mouthpiece No. 2 does not suit him, Marc will simply have to return it by mail to the Courtois company, 88 Rue des Marais, and they will send him the number he desires.
>
> Édouard and I send our warmest regards to all of you.

The author was none other than the great French composer, Maurice Ravel (1875–1937), and addressed to his first cousin, Alfred Perrin. The recipient of the Courtois trombone and mouthpiece that Ravel and his brother, Édouard, sent was Alfred Perrin's 15-year-old son, Marc (1907–1974). In fact, Marc Perrin *did* become an accomplished trombonist. He was a member of Orchestre de la Suisse Romande in Geneva, Switzerland, from 1943–1972. The letter, however, contained a postscript with a promise of an even more lavish gift to come:

> And then I shall write him a Concerto.[1]

The trombone concerto never materialized, but six years after his promise to young Marc Perrin, Maurice Ravel composed *Bolero*.[2]



Figure 2. Marc Perrin, undated. Courtesy Les Amis de Maurice Ravel; gift of Georges Perrin, son of Marc Perrin.



Figure 3. Courtois model 2 trombone mouthpiece. Courtesy Musical Instrument Collection, Edinburgh University. Photograph by Antonia Reeve.



Figure 4. *Catalogue des œuvres de Maurice Ravel* with fragment of the opening measures of *Bolero*. Durand, 1931. Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr).

Alongside the *Tuba mirum* of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's *Requiem* and Symphony No. 3 of Gustav Mahler, *Bolero* holds a distinguished place in the orchestral repertoire for its prominent tenor trombone solo. As we mark the 150th anniversary of Ravel's birth in 2025, revisiting *Bolero* is timely as we approach the work's centennial in 2028.[3]

I. The Genesis of *Bolero*

The multi-faceted story of the creation of *Bolero* is masterfully told (in French and English) by Manuel Cornejo in "Bolero: Vérités et contre-vérités sur sa genèse et histoire" (*Edifying and Rectifying Facts about the Creation of Bolero*).[4] While this present article focuses on *Bolero's* trombone solo, a look at the origin and early performances of Ravel's most famous piece provides necessary context for the discussion that follows.

In 1927, the celebrated Russian dancer, Ida Rubinstein (1883–1960), asked Maurice Ravel to orchestrate six pieces from a work for piano, *Iberia*, by the Spanish composer, Isaac Albéniz.[5] Ravel agreed to do so, but before he began the new project, he embarked on a four-month-long tour of the United States and Canada (Figure 5). He departed Havre, France, on December 28, 1927, and returned on April 27, 1928. During his only trip to North America, he conducted five orchestras in programs of his music (Boston Symphony Orchestra, New York Philharmonic, Cleveland Orchestra, Chicago Symphony Orchestra, and San Francisco Symphony) and performed as a pianist. He also enjoyed being a tourist, visiting the Grand Canyon ("I don't think there is anything in the world more tremendous—or more beautiful"), the Ford motor plant in Detroit ("It is magnificent like *Metropolis* . . . and also horrible"), and Niagara Falls.[6] Upon his return to France, he turned his attention to Rubinstein's commission.

Rubinstein and Ravel were initially unaware that Spanish composer and conductor Enrique Fernández Arbós had already begun orchestrating Albéniz's pieces for another ballet company.[7] As a result, Ravel abandoned the idea of orchestrating pieces from *Iberia*.[8] He then considered orchestrating one of his own piano pieces, but subsequently decided to write a new piece, provisionally titled *Fandango*. But *Fandango* was not a new idea. In a letter to Georgette Marnold, Ravel said he told Rubinstein that he "then proposed creating a



Figure 5. Maurice Ravel aboard the transatlantic ocean liner Paris, en route to France from the United States, April 1928. Courtesy Les Amis de Maurice Ravel.



Figure 6. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Published part for trombones 1 and 2. Durand, 1929.

machine—something I had conceived about three years earlier but had never really planned to carry out, for fear I would ruin it. Everyone is delighted."[9] It is possible that the "machine" Ravel decided to complete was a *Danse grotesque-Fandango* from an unrealized work from 1923, *Portrait de l'infante*.[10] As Ravel's concept for *Fandango* progressed, it became *Bolero*, composed between July and October 1928.[11]

Bolero is in ¾ meter throughout and is, apart from a brief modulation to E major near its end, entirely in the key of C. At approximately 17 minutes in length when taken at Ravel's prescribed tempo of quarter note = 66, it is essentially a long orchestral crescendo. It begins with a rhythmic motif in the snare drum that is repeated throughout and features two themes that are repeated 18 times (9 times each), followed by a coda. The themes are presented both by solo instruments—including 1st trombone (Figure 6)—and combinations of instruments.[12] The composer was very clear about his intentions in creating such an unusual composition:

> I am particularly desirous that there should be no misunderstanding about this work. It constitutes an experiment in a very special and limited direction and should not be suspected of aiming at achieving anything different from, or anything more than, it actually does achieve. Before its first performance I issued a warning to the effect that what I had written was a piece lasting seventeen minutes and consisting wholly of "orchestral tissue without music"—of one long, very gradual crescendo. There are no contrasts, and there is practically no invention except the plan and the manner of the execution.[13]

Ravel himself pointed to several inspirations for *Bolero*. His fascination with machines—his father was an engineer and inventor—was one of them:

> I love going over [to] factories and seeing vast machinery at work. It is awe-inspiring and great. It was a factory which inspired my *Bolero*. I would like it always to be played with a vast factory in the background.[14]

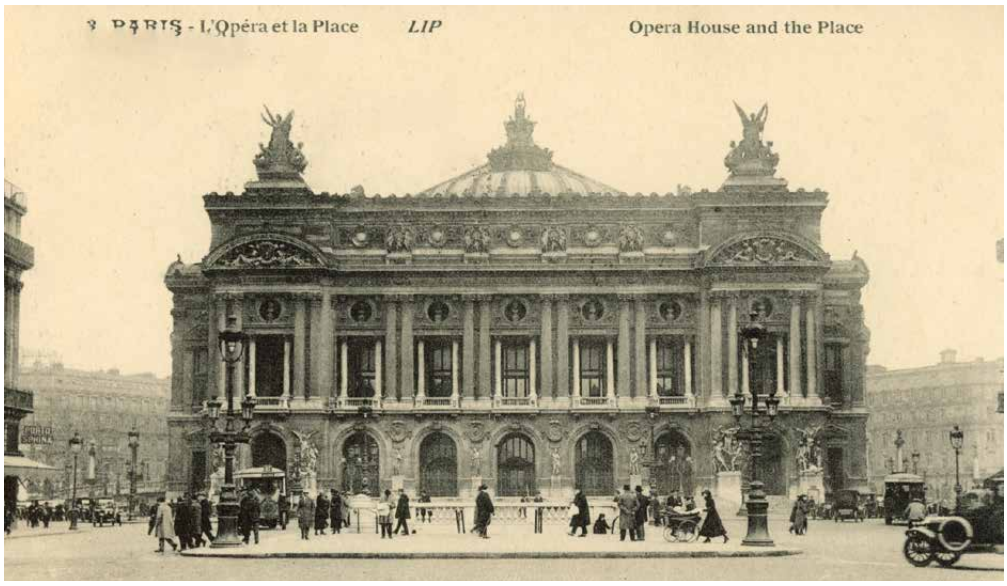


Figure 7. Opera House (Opéra Garnier), Paris, c. 1923. Douglas Yeo collection.

Many observers have noted this machine-like, mechanical nature of *Bolero*, its relentless rhythm juxtaposed against its repeated, sostenuto melodies. Gerda Lechleitner wrote, "In its monotony, [*Bolero*] seems to proceed mechanically, yet the music appears both coolly conceived and striking at the same time."[15]

Vladimir Jankélévitch called *Bolero*,

> An enchanted music, possessed by the devil himself, which can only be stopped by the grace of a sudden spell, the only thing capable of interrupting the perpetual motion. . . . This is how we must understand the famous modulation to E, this arbitrary climax which suddenly breaks the spell of *Bolero* by steering it toward liberation—without it, the mechanical *Bolero*, endlessly regenerating itself, would circle around until the end of time.[16]

In his analysis of Ravel's fascination with machines, Pierre Korzilius highlighted *Bolero's* rhythmic ostinato:

> The piece operates like a machine. The ostinato acts like a motor and provides a constant rotary motion, which corresponds to the rhythmic cell. This motor triggers a production mechanism, like the movement of workers on an assembly line, evoked by the sometimes syncopated accompaniment. The final product of this machine is but a mass-produced object: the globally known melody, which Ravel described as "impersonal" and "conventional."
>
> We must focus on the rhythmic cell, the foundation of this composition which anticipates the work of American minimalists in the 1960s. Ravel made a bold and insolent choice with this deceptively simple rhythm, repeated tirelessly. Its translation into Morse code or an analysis of the number of repetitions does not reveal any hidden message. After 169 repetitions, the machine simply reaches its maximum operating level and explodes.[17]

Spanish and Arabian influences, Ravel said, also contributed to the inspiration for *Bolero's* themes and rhythmic pulse:



Figure 8. Henri Couillaud (seated at the piano) with the trombone class of the Paris Conservatoire, 1929–1930. Photograph by Louis Roosen, 1930. Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr).

Both theme and accompaniment [in *Bolero*] were deliberately given a Spanish character. I have always had a predilection for Spanish things. You see, I was born near the Spanish border, and there is also another reason: my parents met in Madrid.[18]

The themes [of *Bolero*] are altogether impersonal—folk tunes of the usual Spanish-Arabian kind.[19]

The principle of *Bolero* had existed in my mind for many years. I truly wanted that obsessive, nagging theme—half Arabic, half my own invention—which could have carried the subtitle, *Really drill this into your head!*[20]

II. The Premiere of *Bolero*

On October 16, 1928, Ravel signed the contract with Durand & Co. for publication of *Bolero*. Around that same time, Ravel played *Bolero* on piano for Ida Rubinstein.[21] Ravel then left for England to accept an honorary doctorate from Oxford University and upon his return to France, revised the score by October 27 before embarking on a concert tour of Spain and Portugal (November 7–27).[22]



Ida Rubinstein's ballet company gave the premiere of *Bolero* at the Paris Opera House (Opéra Garnier) with the Paris Opera Orchestra on November 22, 1928, with a second performance on November 27. Rubinstein was the principal dancer, choreography was by Bronislava Nijinska, and Alexandre Benois designed the costumes. Ravel returned from his tour in time to attend *Bolero's* third performance on November 29. Due to a trade union dispute, the orchestra refused to perform with conductor Ernest Ansermet—whom Ravel and Rubinstein had chosen to lead the premiere—so the performances were conducted by Walther Straram.[23] Henri Couillaud (1878–1955), professor of trombone at the Paris Conservatoire (1925–1948) and first trombonist with the Paris Opera Orchestra, played the trombone solo at *Bolero's* premiere.[24]

Rubinstein's concept for her ballet presentation of *Bolero* was printed in the program that was distributed at the first performances (Figure 9):

> In a tavern in Spain, people dance under the copper lamp hanging from the ceiling. To the cheers of the crowd, the dancer leaps onto the long table, and her steps grew more and more animated.[25]

Keith Leiter, who danced with Rubinstein's company in performances of *Bolero* in 1934, described the scene:

> *Bolero* was an enormous, circular table, the size of a skating rink, on which Rubinstein did her utmost to be Andalusian, passionate, flexible, savage, and voluptuous. We all crept round and round, crouched over the rim of the table till at last the music ended and the descending curtain released us from what must have looked like a procession of lumbago suffers at some gypsy Lourdes, conjuring the divinity of Flamenco chorea.[26]
>
> Ravel's factory was nowhere to be found.

III. Early Drafts and the Publication History of *Bolero*

The earliest known sketch of *Bolero* is a full orchestral score written in pencil and housed at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (Figures 10 and 11).[27] This 1928 manuscript outlines *Bolero's* instrumentation and employs shorthand for repeated accompaniment figures and doubled solo lines. The

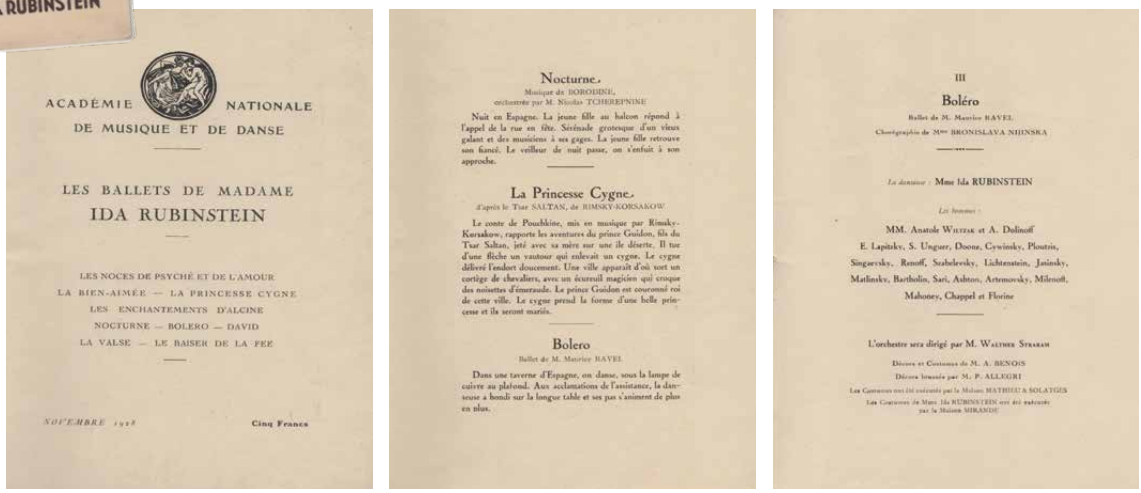


Figure 9. Pages from the program for the November 29, 1928, performance of *Bolero*. Ida Rubinstein Ballet, Paris. Courtesy Mario Ishiguro/Les Amis de Maurice Ravel au Japon.

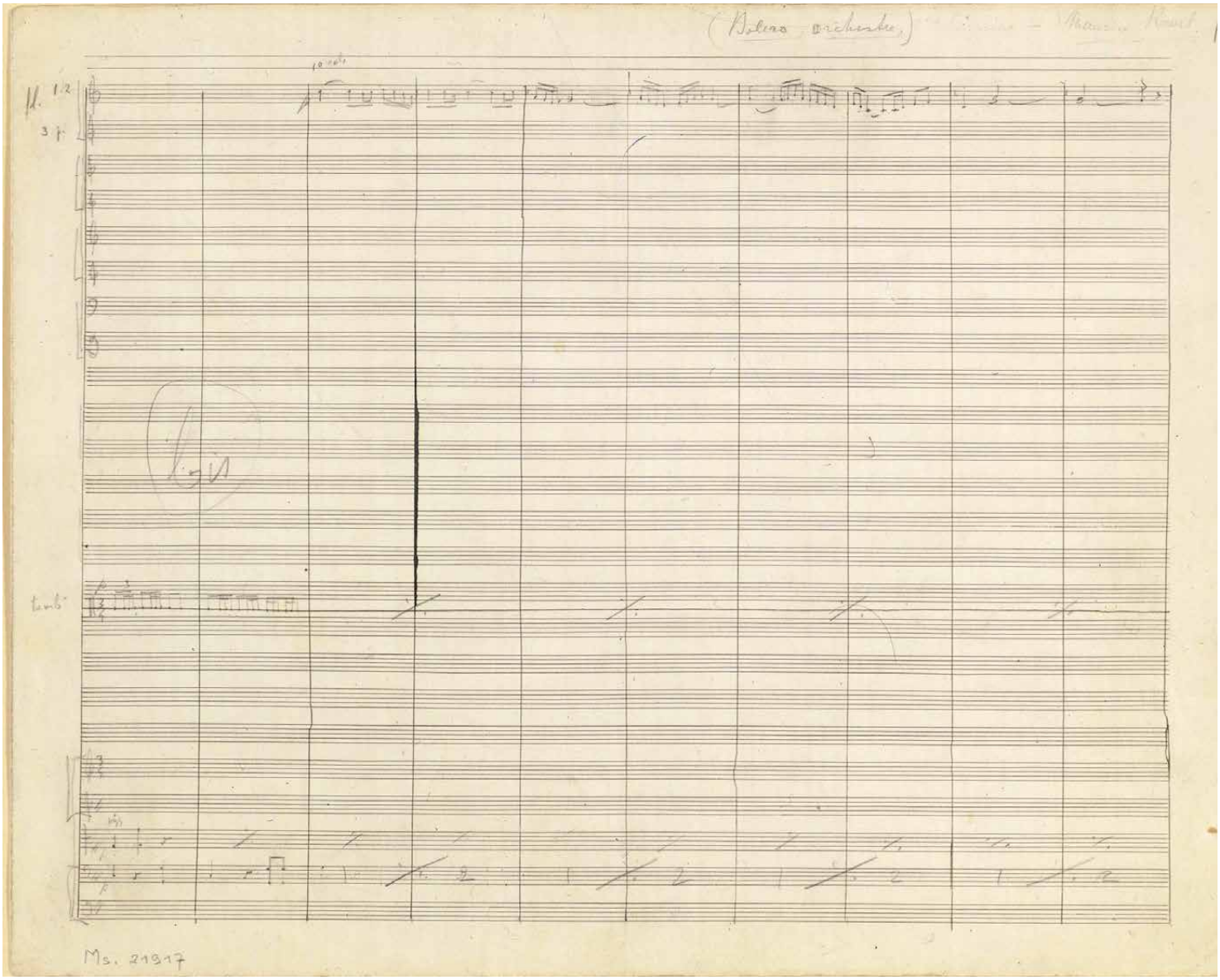


Figure 10. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero.* Manuscript score, 1928; page 1. Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr).



Figure 11. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero.* Manuscript score, 1928; trombone solo at Rehearsal 10 on pages 16 and 17.
Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr).

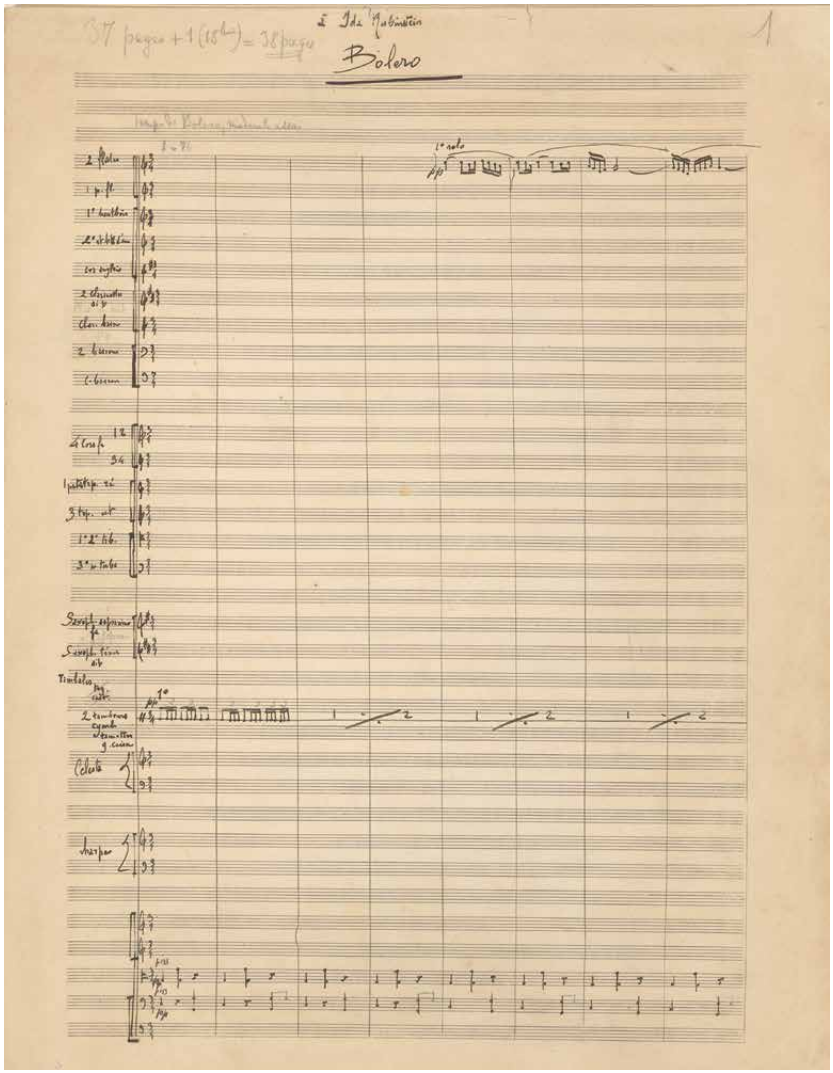


Figure 12. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero.* Manuscript score, 1928; page 1. Courtesy the Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at the Morgan Library & Museum.

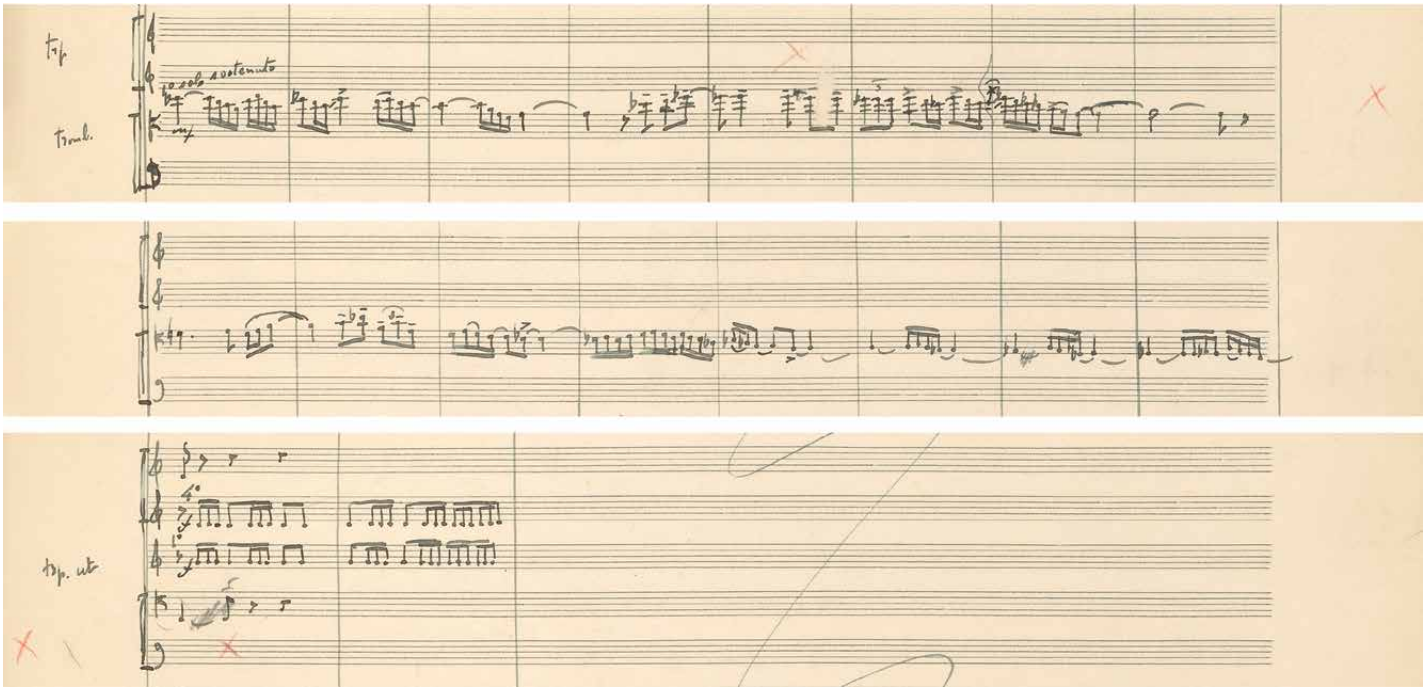


Figure 13. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero.* Manuscript score, 1928; trombone solo at Rehearsal 10 from pages 17, 18, and 18bis. Courtesy the Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at the Morgan Library & Museum.

score contains very few phrase and expressive markings, and it notably lacks any grace notes or glissandi in the trombone solo (Figure 11).

The orchestral parts used in *Bolero's* premiere and other early performances have been lost. However, Ravel's final full orchestral score is preserved at the Morgan Library & Museum in New York, part of the Robert Owen Lehman Collection (Figures 12 and 13).[28] This manuscript contains additional markings, corrections, and revisions that were incorporated into the published version. Ravel also made numerous presentation copies of the opening measures of *Bolero* (Figure 4).[29]

The publication history of *Bolero* is well documented in the archives of Ravel's publisher, Durand & Co.[30] A solo piano arrangement by Lucien Garban was published in February 1929, followed by Ravel's own four-hand piano arrangement in March.[31] The full orchestral score and parts were published in October 1929 and were made available from Durand in November. The miniature orchestral score followed in January 1930.

IV. Early Performances of *Bolero*

Ravel's friend, Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, told of Ravel's reaction to hearing *Bolero* for the first time at the Paris Opera. In her book, *Ravel et nous*, she wrote:

> "That one [*Bolero*]," he would say, laughing, "I'm quite sure we won't be hearing that at Sunday concerts!" He was stunned to see the crowds cheer it like the simple *Madelon*. After the triumphant premiere performance, however, there was a small incident: an old lady, clinging feverishly to her seat, was shouting at the top of her lungs: "Madman! Madman!" [*Au fou! A fou!*] It was Édouard Ravel who saw and heard her. And as he was recounting the story, laughing, to his brother Maurice, the latter replied mysteriously: "That one . . . she understood!"[32]

The upset woman was not the only one who did not appreciate *Bolero* at its premiere. Adolphe Boschot quipped, "*Bolero*, despite a picturesque set, is a little nothing that lasts too long. About twenty measures are repeated more than a hundred or two hundred times. . . . Fortunately for Mr. Maurice Ravel, he has written other works."[33]

Nothing, however, compared to the invective unleashed on *Bolero* by the American music critic, Edward Robinson (1932):

> Ravel's *Bolero* I submit as the most insolent monstrosity ever perpetrated in the history of music. From the beginning to the end of its 339 measures it is simply the incredible repetition of the same rhythm . . . and above it the blatant recurrence of an overwhelmingly vulgar cabaret tune that is little removed, in every essential of character, from the wail of an obstreperous back-alley cat.[34]



Figure 14. Maurice Ravel (center) with Ida Rubinstein (on the floor, looking up at Ravel). Performance of *Bolero*, Vienna, February 22, 1929. Photograph by Atelier Dietrich. Courtesy Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

But Robinson's over-the-top criticism of *Bolero* was an outlier. Even at its premiere, many critics referred to *Bolero* as "a true masterpiece."[35] The review of its first performance by Raoul Brunel set a tone for ongoing praise of *Bolero* that continues to this day:

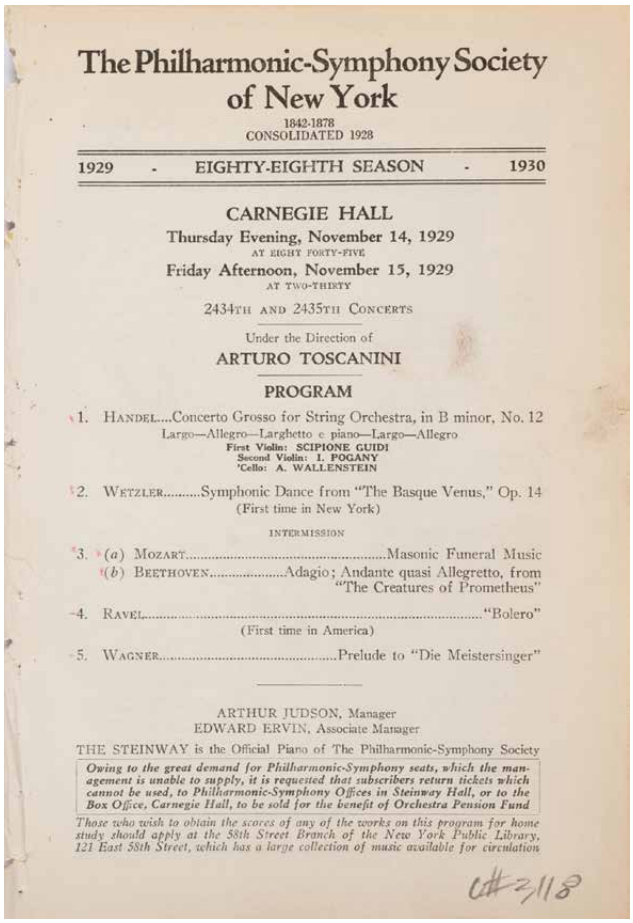
> But the great musical triumph of the evening was Ravel's *Bolero*. . . . The timbre of the phrase is constantly renewed, and this way of changing the lighting, so to speak, brings to the performance a variety and richness that defy description.
>
> All the skill of our classical rhetoric would be incapable of making us accept twenty rhythmic, melodic, and contrapuntal variations on such a theme! Ravel has found a way not only to avoid all monotony, but to awaken and sustain growing interest right to the end, repeating his theme twenty times like a frieze motif, relying solely on the magic of instrumental color to provide twenty changes of light, which carry us, astonished, from one end of this musical paradox to the other. There is nothing in the entire history of music comparable to such virtuosity. This tour de force is an enchantment for the ear.[36]

Bolero's fame increased when, following its first performances at the Paris Opera, Ida Rubinstein's ballet company took *Bolero* on a tour of European cities:

Brussels, Belgium (December 7, 10, 12, 1928)
Orchestre de la Monnaie, Maurice Corneil de Thoran, conductor
Monte Carlo, Monaco (January 10, 12, 13, 1929)
Orchestra of Opéra de Monte-Carlo, Gustave Cloëz, conductor
Vienna, Austria (February 22, 1929)
Orchestra of Vienna State Opera, Maurice Ravel, conductor (Figure 14)
Milan, Italy (February 28, March 5, 12, 1929)
Orchestra of La Scala Opera, Ernest Ansermet, conductor
Naples, Italy (second half of March 1929)
Rome, Italy (second half of March 1929)[37]

After the tour, *Bolero* and Rubinstein returned to the Paris Opera for two additional ballet performances (May 16 and 30, 1929) under Ravel's baton.[38]

Ida Rubinstein's contract with Ravel and Durand granted her exclusive performance rights of *Bolero* as a ballet for three years and in concert for one year.[39] According to Serge Koussevitzky (conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1924–1949), Rubinstein told him that he could give the concert premiere of *Bolero* with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. However, as Koussevitzky told the story, Rubinstein



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Friday Afternoon, November 15, 1929
AT TWO-THIRTY

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ARTURO TOSCANINI

PROGRAM

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First Violin: SCIPIONE GUIDI
Second Violin: I. POGANY
'Cello: A. WALLENSTEIN

2. WETZLER.....Symphonic Dance from "The Basque Venus," Op. 14
(First time in New York)

INTERMISSION

3. (a) MOZART.....Masonic Funeral Music
(b) BEETHOVEN.....Adagio; Andante quasi Allegretto, from "The Creatures of Prometheus"

4. RAVEL......"Bolero"
(First time in America)

5. WAGNER.....Prelude to "Die Meistersinger"

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Those who wish to obtain the scores of any of the works on this program for home study should apply at the 58th Street Branch of the New York Public Library, 121 East 58th Street, which has a large collection of music available for circulation

CH 2/118

Figure 15. Program for the first performance of *Bolero* at an orchestral concert. Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York, Arturo Toscanini, conductor. November 14, 1929, Carnegie Hall, New York. Courtesy New York Philharmonic Archives.

ignored their agreement. She gave Arturo Toscanini and the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York (popularly known as the New York Philharmonic) permission to perform *Bolero* in concert at Carnegie Hall on November 14, 1929, just days before Rubinstein's concert rights expired on December 1.[40] The first trombonist in Toscanini's performances was Mario Falcone. (He was unrelated to the celebrated baritone horn player Leonard Falcone.)

Other concert performances quickly followed:

Boston (Symphony Hall, December 6, 7, 1929, January 3, 4, 1930)
New York (Carnegie Hall, January 9, 11, 1930)
Boston Symphony Orchestra, Serge Koussevitzky, conductor (Joannès Rochut, trombone)
Brussels, Belgium (December 7, 10, 12, 1928)
Orchestre de la Monnaie, Maurice Corneil de Thoran,

conductor
Philadelphia (Academy of Music, December 20, 21, 1929)
Philadelphia Orchestra, Leopold Stokowski, conductor
(Gardell Simons, trombone)
New York (Carnegie Hall, January 11, 1930)
New York Philharmonic, Ernest Schelling, conductor
(Mario Falcone, trombone)

A performance of *Bolero* in Paris on January 11, 1930, was notable for two reasons: It was the first performance of *Bolero* in concert in France, and it was conducted by Ravel with the Orchestra des Concerts Lamoureux (several other works at that concert were conducted by Albert Wolff). The program was repeated the following day. The first trombonist of the Lamoureux Orchestra at the time was André Lafosse[41] (1890–1975); later, he was trombone professor at the Paris Conservatoire (1948–1960).

In a review of the concert, Louis Schneider noted the character of the trombone solo:

> The theme first wanders among the wind instruments; from the bassoon to the horn, from the oboe to the clarinet, and from the trumpet to the trombone, which has fun with jazz-band glissandi.[42]

Lafosse's son, André, later related an incident during a performance of *Bolero* with Ravel conducting:

> It was at a Saturday concert with the Association des Concerts Lamoureux, my father being in the *Siege Perilous*. I have it from him that there was a moment of dismay when Maurice Ravel, whose skill as a conductor wasn't up to his skill as a composer, broke into a four to the bar in the middle of the performance [of *Bolero*]. Fortunately for the musicians, being consummate professionals, that lapse was of no consequence.[43]

[Author's note: The second part of this article, to appear in the January 2026 ITA Journal *issue, will examine the four earliest recordings of* Bolero *(all made in 1930), the claims of trombonist Leo Arnaud regarding his influence on Ravel, and implications for modern performance practice of* Bolero *in light of the notation of grace notes and glissandi in Ravel's works.]*

Acknowledgements

The task of researching Maurice Ravel's *Bolero* was made measurably more enjoyable by the assistance of many people who provided me with information, images, and support. Principal among these is Manuel Cornejo, Ravel scholar and President of Les Amis de Maurice Ravel (boleravel.fr). His generosity and helpful spirit know no bounds, and his tireless work to promote the life, work, and legacy of Maurice Ravel is nothing but extraordinary. The fruits of our extensive communications run through this article, and I am grateful beyond words for our friendship. *Merci, mon ami, pour toute ton aide et tes nombreuses gentillesses.*

Others assisted me in ways both large and small, and the intersection of their expertise with my long association with Ravel and the trombone has enriched my life in ways that make the expression, *Thank you,* a profound understatement: Arbie Orenstein, Deborah Mawer, Robert Owen Lehman and Marie Rolf (The Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at the Morgan Library & Museum), Robinson McClellan and Kaitlyn Krieg (Morgan Library & Museum), Michael Kolstad, Benny Sluchin, David Fetter, Mario Ishiguro (Les Amis de Maurice Ravel au Japon), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Verena Monnier (Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire Lausanne), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Jane Pritchard, Arnold Myers, Adam Doskey (Columbus State University Archives & Special Collections), and Kevin Mungons.

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About the Author

Douglas Yeo (**yeodoug.com,** and **TheLastTrombone.com**) was bass trombonist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1985–2012 and has served as trombone professor at Peabody Institute of Johns Hopkins University, New England Conservatory of Music, Arizona State University, Wheaton College (Illinois), and University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. He has written dozens of articles for the *ITA Journal*, including, "More than Bordogni: The Life, Work, and Influence of Joannès Rochut" (January 2025). He is a recipient of the ITA's Lifetime Achievement Award (2024) and ITA Award (2014).

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ENDNOTES

[1] Letter from Maurice Ravel to Alfred Perrin, January 19, 1922. Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens* (Gallimard, 2025), letter 1472 (p. 1163). In this article, translations from French to English are by Douglas Yeo. Ravel's given name was Joseph Maurice Ravel. Maurice Ravel's father, Pierre-Joseph Ravel, and Alfred Perrin's mother, Marie-Françoise Ravel Perrin, were siblings. Maurice Ravel never married; he and his brother, Édouard, an engineer (1878–1960), were close throughout their lives. Because Maurice Ravel left no direct heirs, he named his brother sole heir and executor of his estate. Quotations in this article from letters to and from Ravel are found in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*. I am deeply grateful to Manuel Cornejo and Les Amis de Maurice Ravel (**boleravel.fr**) for their generous encouragement, assistance, and sharing of information.

[2] The title of Ravel's celebrated composition has been rendered as *Bolero* and *Boléro*. Although *Boléro* is the standard French spelling and is favored by many writers, Ravel himself—and his publisher, Durand—used *Bolero*. This spelling is retained herein to reflect the composer's approved title.

[3] For extensive commentary about *Bolero*, see Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*. Also, Manuel Cornejo, "Le *Bolero* de Ravel (1928–1945)." Dossier publié dans Dezède, May 24, 2020, **dezede.org/dossiers/id/336/**. Also, Manuel Cornejo,"Éditorial: Bolérite aiguë," in *Cahiers Maurice Ravel* 18 (2016), 9–30. Also, Lucie Kayas, ed., *Ravel Boléro* (Éditions de la Martinière, 2024). Also, François Dru and Quentin Hindley, ed., *Bolero (1928) pour orchestre symphonique* (XXI Music Publishing [Ravel Edition vol. 1], 2018).

[4] Manuel Cornejo, "*Bolero*: Vérités et contre-vérités sur sa genèse et histoire" (*Edifying and Rectifying Facts about the Creation of Bolero*), in François Dru and Quentin Hindley, ed., *Bolero (1928) pour orchestre symphonique*, ii-xxxv.

[5] The literature about Ida Rubinstein is copious. For a summary of her career and influence, including a discussion of *Bolero*, see Charles S. Mayer, "Ida Rubinstein: A Twentieth-Century Cleopatra," *Dance Research Journal* 20, no. 2 (Winter 1988), 33–57.

[6] Grand Canyon: Letter from Maurice Ravel to Léon-Paul Fargue, April 14, 1928. Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2327 (p. 1741). Ford factory: Letter from Maurice Ravel to Édouard Ravel, March 29, 1928. Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2316 (p.1736). The German science fiction film, *Metropolis* (1927, directed by Fritz Lang), portrays a futuristic dystopian city where a privileged elite lives above ground while oppressed workers toil below.

[7] Joaquín Nin, "Comment est né le 'Bolero' de Ravel" ("How Ravel's *Bolero* was born"), *La Revue musicale*, 2/187 (December 1938), 211-213: "Toward the end of June 1928 . . . at one point, simply out of curiosity, I asked Ravel about his plans for the summer, and I learned that he was supposed to orchestrate a few numbers from *Iberia* by Albéniz for a dance performance by Ida Rubinstein. The commission was interesting, and Ravel was very keen on taking it on, but—because there was a "but"—I pointed out to Ravel that unfortunately, the project wasn't feasible because those pieces by Albéniz had already been orchestrated by [Enrique Fernández] Arbós for a ballet intended for *La Argentina* (this was the *Triana* ballet, which premiered the following season with the success we know). Ravel, completely unfazed, simply responded: 'I don't give a damn. Who is this Arbós anyway?'. . . The ballet, the scenario, and the music were protected by an ironclad network of treaties, signatures, and unbreakable copyrights. No one in the world—except dear Enrique Arbós—could touch Albéniz's *Iberia*. This time Ravel didn't hide his frustration: 'My season is ruined,' 'These laws are idiotic,' 'I need this work.' 'Orchestrating *Iberia* would have been fun for me.' 'Who the hell is this Arbós?' 'What am I going to tell Ida? She'll be furious!'—and so on, all day long. I rarely saw Ravel so agitated or upset . . . [Later, Ravel told me,] 'It's partly your fault that *Bolero* exists. Without your warning, I would've thrown myself body and soul into orchestrating *Iberia*. Can you imagine the blunder?' And immediately afterward, he added, in a near-confidential tone: 'Be wary of using the oboe d'amore—it didn't give me what I hoped for!'"

[8] Ravel told Rubinstein he would abandon orchestrating *Iberia* on July 17, 1928, at a dinner at her home. Telegram from Maurice Ravel (sent from Saint-Jean-de-Luz) to Ida Rubinstein, July 9, 1928. Courtesy Les Amis de Maurice Ravel.

[9] Letter from Maurice Ravel to Georgette Marnold, September 2, 1928. Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2360 (pp. 1762–1763). "Je lui ai alors proposé de réaliser une machine dont j'eus l'idée il y quelque 3 ans et que je n'aurais jamais mise à exécution, crainte d'être saboté. Tout le monde est ravi."

[10] Manuel Cornejo, "*Bolero*: Vérités et contre-vérités sur sa genèse et histoire" (*Edifying and Rectifying Facts about the Creation of Bolero*), viii–ix, xxiii-xxv.

[11] Ravel's final orchestral score of *Bolero*, part of the Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at The Morgan Library & Museum in New York, is signed and dated, "Juillet–Octobre 1928." Also, Édouard Beadu, "La vie du théâtre. Au service de la danse," *L'Intransigeant*, November 18, 1928. In this interview with Ida Rubinstein, she said, "The third divertissement is the *Bolero*, by Maurice Ravel, which he orchestrated especially for me. What an astonishing ease of work Ravel had: started in July, the piece was finished by October." Ravel's publisher, Durand, originally asked Rubinstein for a fee of 25,000 francs but settled on 3,000 francs. Letter from Jacques Durand to Maurice Ravel, August 13, 1929. Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2471 (1836–1837).

[12] Solo presentations of the themes in *Bolero* are given by flute, B-flat clarinet, bassoon, E-flat clarinet, oboe d'amore, trumpet, tenor saxophone, sopranino/soprano saxophone, piccolos, horn, celesta, oboe, English horn, and trombone.

[13] Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, "Maurice Ravel Discusses His Own Work," *Daily Telegraph* (London), July 11, 1931.

[14] "Factory gives composer inspiration," *Evening Standard* (London), February 24, 1932. Reprinted in Arbie Orenstein, ed., *A Ravel Reader: Correspondence, Articles, Interviews* (Dover, 2003 [first published 1990, Columbia University Press; Dover edition with corrections, 2003]), 490–491. Anne Fontaine's 2024 film, *Bolero: le mystère Ravel*, opens with a fictional scene of Ravel walking in a factory with Ida Rubinstein. For more about Ravel and factories and machines, see Michael Lanford, "Ravel and *The Raven*: The Realisation of an Inherited Aesthetic in *Bolero*," *The Cambridge Quarterly* 40, no. 3 (September 2011), 243-265. For Pierre-Joseph Ravel's work as an engineer and inventor, see Roger Nichols, *Ravel* (Yale University Press, 2011), 3–4. Pierre-Joseph Ravel's invention of a three-wheeled, steam powered automobile (1867) is discussed in Max de Nansouty, *Les mervielles de la science: Chemins de fer automobiles* (Boivin, 1913), Chapter 1, "Premières voitures automobiles," 11–12. In 1903, Maurice Ravel's brother, Édouard—with advice and support of his father, Pierre-Joseph Ravel—invented "Tourbillon de la mort en automobile" (The Whirlwind of Death in an Automobile), a subject beyond the scope of this article but both fascinating and important. See Philippe Rodriguez, "Le 'Tourbillon de la mort en automobile'," *Cahiers Maurice Ravel* 17 (2014–2015), 7–19. Also, Joseph Ravel and Edouard Ravel, Système pour faire exécuter le saut périlleux à un véhicule. France Patent 339.191, filed November 27, 1903, granted November 28, 1904. **worldwide.espacenet.com/patent/search?q=pn%3DFR339191A**.

[15] Gerda Lechleitner, *Klangfarbenétude Studien zum Bolero von Maurice Ravel* (Hans Schneider, 1989), 11.

[16] Vladimer Jankélévitch, *Maurice Ravel* (Seuil, 1956), 96.

[17] Pierre Korzilius, "Le Boléro est une machine," in Lucie Kayas, ed., *Ravel Boléro*, 69. In Morse code, *Bolero's* rhythmic ostinato is "e-s-e-s-e-e-e-s-e-s-s-s."

[18] José André, "Maurice Ravel y su *Bolero*," *La Nación*, March 15, 1930. For more on Ravel's interest in Spain and music with a Spanish character, see Manuel Cornejo, "Maurice Ravel et l'Espagne," in Lucie Kayas, ed., *Ravel Boléro*. This book, which includes essays by several authors, is the accompanying catalog to the *Exposition "Ravel Boléro,"* held in Paris from December 3, 2024, to June 15, 2025.

[19] Michel-Dimitri Calvocoressi, "Maurice Ravel Discusses His Own Work."

[20] Willy Goudeket, "Avec l'insaisissable Maurice Ravel," *Le Rempart*, June 4, 1933. In his book, *The Sufis* (Anchor, 1971),175, Indries Shah asserted that the themes from *Bolero* are adapted from a work by Abu-Hamid Mohammed El-Ghazali (c. 1058–1111), a Persian Muslim theologian, although Shah gave no source to support his claim.

[21] *Contrat entre Maurice Ravel et les Éditions Durand: Bolero*, October 16, 1928. Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, contract 24 (2681–2683). Also, Ernest Ansermet and Jean-Claude Piguet, ed., *Entretiens sur la musique* (Editions Baconnière, 1963), 34–35.

[22] For a detailed chronology of Ravel's life, see Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, 37–118. For Ravel's tour of Spain and Portugal, see Manuel Cornejo, "La tournée de Maurice Ravel en Espagne et au Portugal de november 1928," **dezede.org/dossiers/id/471/**.

[23] Ernest Ansermet and Jean-Claude Piguet, ed., *Entretiens sur la musique*, 34–35.

[24] Letter from André Lafosse (*fils*) to David Fetter, December 14, 1983.

[25] Académie Nationale de Musique et de Danse, *Les Ballets de Madame Ida Rubinstein*, Paris, November 1928.

[26] Keith Lester (ed. Clement Crisp), "Rubinstein Revisited," *Dance Research* 1, no. 2 (Autumn 1983), 29.

[27] Maurice Ravel, *Bolero Orchestra* (autograph manuscript), **gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550064294.r=ravel%20bolero?rk=42918;4**.

[28] Maurice Ravel, *Bolero* (autograph manuscript, 1928 July–October), **themorgan.org/music-manuscripts-and-printed-music/115508**. Photographs of the Lehman Collection *Bolero* score reproduced in this article were taken by Janny Chiu, 2018.

[29] See for example, Figure 4. Also, the autographed fragment of *Bolero* (first two measures, flute solo) held by the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, **gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b55016324t/f1.item.r=ravel%20bolero**. Also, Manuel Cornejo, "Le fonds de manuscrits musicaux de Maurice Ravel des Archives du Palais princier de Monaco," *Revue de Musicologie* 107, no. 1 (2021), 77-94.

[30] The early publication history of *Bolero* is discussed in Nigel Simeone, "Mother Goose and Other Golden Eggs: Durand Editions of Ravel as Reflected in the Firm's Printing Records," *Brio* [Journal of the United Kingdom Branch of the International Association of Music Libraries, Archives, and Documentation Centres (IAML)] 35, no. 2 (Autumn/Winter 1998), 58–79.

[31] The arrangement was published under the name of Roger Branga, the penname of Lucien Garban (Branga, an anagram from Garban).

[32] Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, "Mon ami Ravel," *La Revue musicale* 187 (December 1938), 196, **dezede.org/sources/id/121310/**. *Madelon* was a French popular song composed in 1914 by Louis Bousquet and Camille Robert.

[33] Adolphe Boschot, "La musique," *L'Écho de Paris*, November 26, 1928.

[34] Edward Robinson, "The Naive Ravel," *The American Mercury*, May 1932.

[35] Henry Malherbe, "À l'Opéra," *Le Temps*, November 24, 1928.

[36] Raoul Brunel (Raoul Blondel), "Spectacles," *L'Œuvre*, November 25, 1928.

[37] Information about the performances of *Bolero* in Naples and Rome, Italy, in March 1929 is scant. See Manuel Cornejo, "*Bolero*: Vérités et contre-vérités sur sa genèse et histoire," xi, xxvii.

[38] Manuel Cornejo, "Le *Bolero* de Ravel (1928–1945)," **dezede/org/dossiers/id/336**.

[39] *Contrat entre Maurice Ravel et les Éditions Durand: Bolero*, October 16, 1928. Also, letter from Maurice Ravel to Corneil de Thoram, March 27, 1930. Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2471 (1836–1837).

[40] Koussevitzky was furious at Rubinstein for what he considered her breach of trust. In a letter (September 6, 1929), he told her, "Madam, allow me to remind you that there is, in the world of cultured individuals and true artists, a principle, which is: *Noblesse oblige* . . . I would also like to say this: Although the world is vast, in the artistic sphere, one is often bound to cross paths again. It often happens that society tends to have a rather poor opinion of the ethics of artists, and I believe, Madam, that you and I belong to the category of artists for whom the ordinary and banal measures cannot and should not be used." Reproduced in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2435 (pp. 1811–1813; see also footnote 2, page 1811).

[41] For more on André Lafosse (*père*), see Jean Douay, "André Lafosse (1890–1975): Maître es-trombone," *Brass Bulletin* 70 (1990), 56–60.

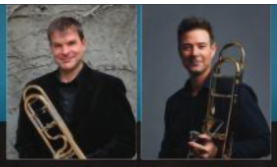
[42] Louis Schneider, "La musique," *Le Petit Parisien*, January 13, 1930, 5. "Le thème se promène d'abord parmi les instruments à vent: du bassin au cor, du hautbois à la clarinette, et de la trompette au trombone, qui se divertit à des glissandi de jazz-band. . . . Les combinaisons, pour le rythme, ne sont ni moins variées ni moins savoureuses."

[43] Letter from André Lafosse (*fils*) to David Fetter, December 14, 1983. This incident would have occurred on January 11, 1932, the only time Ravel conducted *Bolero* with the Lamoureux Orchestra on a Saturday. *Siege Perilous* is a reference to the Arthurian legend of the Holy Grail, where an empty seat (*siege*) was left at the Round Table for a knight who would find the Grail. Death awaited one who sat in the *Siege Perilous* but was not worthy to do so. In common parlance, the *Siege Perilous* is "the hot seat." See Thomas Malory, *Morte Darthur: Sir Thomas Malory's Book of King Arthur and of his Noble Knights of the Round Table* (Macmillan, 1868), 326.



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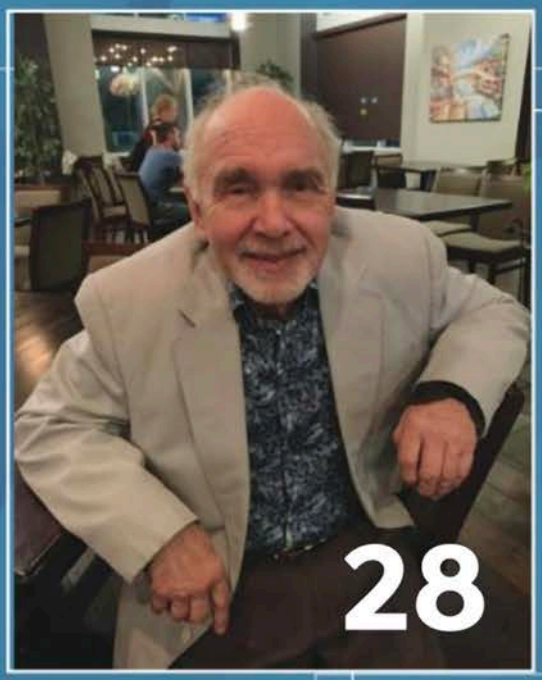
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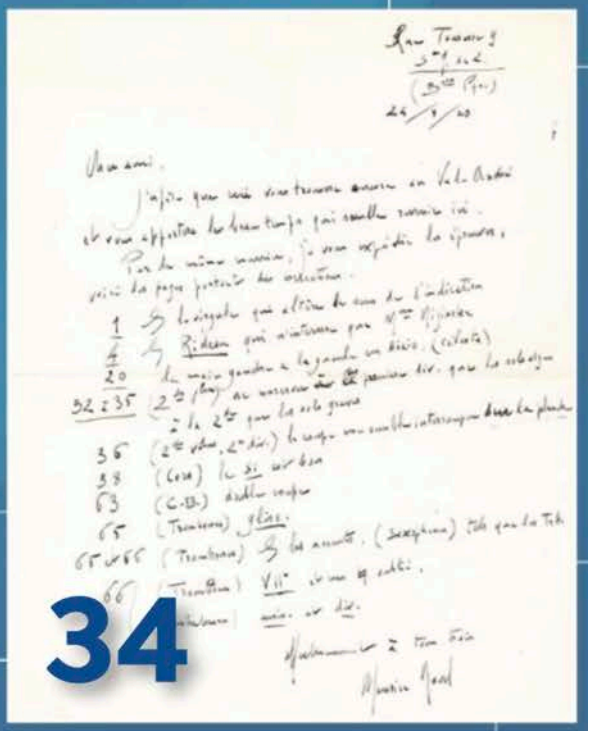
Ravel's *Bolero*, Part 2

The Contrabass Trombone in Orchestration Textbooks

Post-Romantic Expressivity in Grøndahl's *Trombone Concerto*

Inside ITAJ
January 2026







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Maurice Ravel's BOLERO

A fresh look at a familiar masterpiece—Part 2

By Douglas Yeo



Figure 1. Maurice Ravel on the balcony of his home, Le Belvédère, in Montfort-l'Amaury, France, 1930. Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr).

Editor's note: Part 1 of Douglas Yeo's article, Maurice Ravel's *Bolero*: A fresh look at a familiar masterpiece, *appeared in the October 2025 issue of the* ITA Journal. *It discussed the genesis of* Bolero, *Ravel's drafts of the score and its publication history, and its early performances.*

. . .

V. Early Recordings of *Bolero*

Following the concert performances of *Bolero* on January 11 and 12, 1930, under Ravel's baton with the Lamoureux Orchestra in Paris, four commercial recordings were made by orchestras in France, the United States, and the Netherlands.[1] Unfortunately, no live recordings of *Bolero* from ballet performances with Ida Rubinstein or early concerts have survived.[2] These commercial recordings, however, offer valuable insights into early performance practice of the trombone solo.

By the time these recording sessions took place between January and May 1930, *Bolero* had already been performed at least 32 times by eleven different orchestras across Europe and the United States.[3] This suggests that a tradition of interpretation had already begun to emerge.

The four earliest recordings of *Bolero* remain widely available today:

recorded January 13, 1930
Grand Orchestre symphonique du Gramophone, Piero Coppola, conductor
Recorded at Salle Pleyel, Paris; André Lafosse, trombone solo
Gramophone W 1067/8 (France); **youtube.com/watch?v=8ZcmRYbeqGE**



Figure 2. Piero Coppola (conductor) with Maurice Ravel (standing, center). A trombonist is seated in the back row, behind Ravel's right shoulder (detail, circled in red). Recording session for *Bolero*, Paris, January 13, 1930. Unknown photographer. Courtesy Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire Lausanne, Piero Coppola collection.

recorded between January 14–28, 1930 (the date was likely January 14, but it has not been confirmed)
Orchestre Lamoureux, Maurice Ravel, conductor
Recorded at Bal Bullier, Paris; André Lafosse, trombone solo
Polydor 566030/1 (France); **youtube.com/watch?v=l7lL48zeiFA**

recorded April 14, 1930
Boston Symphony Orchestra, Serge Koussevitzky, conductor
Recorded at Symphony Hall, Boston; Joannès Rochut, trombone solo[4]
Victor 7251/2 (USA); **youtube.com/watch?v=1ceECYqqHsU**

recorded May 31, 1930
Concertgebouw Orchestre Amsterdam, Willem Mengelberg, conductor
Recorded at Het Concertgebouw, Amsterdam
Columbia LX48/9 (Great Britain); **youtube.com/watch?v=0YRTtjGcXC0**


Fac-similé des premières mesures manuscrites du
BOLÉRO de Maurice RAVEL
dédié aux acheteurs des premiers disques enregistrés par le célèbre musicien français et aux admirateurs de la production **POLYDOR**
28/1/30

Figure 3. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero* fragment facsimile. This card was included with some copies of the commercial release of the second recording of *Bolero*, conducted by Ravel. Polydor 566030/1, 1930. Courtesy Mario Ishiguro/Les Amis de Maurice Ravel au Japon.



Figure 4



Figure 5

Figure 4. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Grand Orchestre symphonique du Gramophone, Piero Coppola, conductor. Label for Gramophone W 1067/8, 1930. Courtesy Les Amis de Maurice Ravel.

Figure 5. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Lamoureux Orchestra, Maurice Ravel, conductor. Label for Polydor 566030/1, 1930. Courtesy Mario Ishiguro/Les Amis de Maurice Ravel au Japon.



Figure 6



Figure 7

Figure 6. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Boston Symphony Orchestra, Serge Koussevitzky, conductor. Label for Victor 7251/2, 1930. Douglas Yeo collection.

Figure 7. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Concertgebouw Orchestra, Willem Mengelberg, conductor. Label for Columbia LX 48/9, 1930. Douglas Yeo collection.

The Gramophone and Polydor recordings, made just days apart in the presence of Ravel, are particularly important. As discussed in Part 1 of this article, André Lafosse played first trombone with the Lamoureux Orchestra at the time of the Polydor recording. The trombone soloist for the Gramophone recording is known only by a photograph of the recording session, where he is seen playing behind Ravel's right shoulder (Figure 2). In an attempt to identify this individual, artificial intelligence (AI) photograph enhancement and facial comparison tools were used to compare the player in this photograph with a known photograph of André Lafosse from 1950. AI concluded, "There is a strong likelihood that these two photos show the same individual, aged from about 40 (1930) to 60 (1950). . . . The age progression, facial structure, and hairline all support this hypothesis, and nothing strongly rules it out."[5]

Such photographic enhancement is not conclusive. However, we know that Lafosse performed *Bolero* in two concerts with Ravel conducting the Lamoureux Orchestra just days before the Gramophone recording session on January 13. Also, the Gramophone Orchestra was formed only for recording sessions, not concerts, and it consisted of select players from orchestras in Paris. As such, Lafosse would have been a logical recruit for the recording session. While it is not possible to say with certainty, this information, along with the many similarities of sound and approach that the trombone soloist on the two earliest recordings of *Bolero* exhibits, leads to the tentative but reasonable conclusion—until or unless further information surfaces—that André Lafosse played the trombone solos on the Gramophone and Polydor recordings.

VI. Early Performance Practice of *Bolero*

The January 1930 recordings of *Bolero* provide us with important information about early performance practice of the trombone solo. André Lafosse's trombone playing on these recordings deviates significantly from the printed score (Figure 8). Because Ravel was present at the first recording and he conducted the second, we ask ourselves: "Did he request or approve of these liberties?

Lafosse's addition of four glissandi is particularly notable in light of a comment he made about the practice in volume 3 of his *Méthode complete pour trombone* (1946):

> Modern composers use [glisssandi] quite frequently, so it is good to be familiar with them. However, one should not dwell on them for too long. They could be considered to be in bad taste [*Ils sont d'un goût douteux*] and are often used by the composer only to highlight the grotesque nature of a situation.[6]

To demonstrate use of a glissando in actual practice, Lafosse's *Méthode* reproduced three examples from the symphonic literature: two by Ravel (passages from *L'heure espagnole*), and one by Stravinsky (*L'Oiseau de feu*). Lafosse did not mention *Bolero*.



Figure 8. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Trombone solo at Rehearsal 10 as notated by Ravel and performed by André Lafosse on the January 1930 Gramophone and Polydor recordings.



Figure 9. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Manuscript score, 1928. Tenor saxophone solo at Rehearsal 6 from pages 8, 9, and 10. Courtesy the Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at the Morgan Library & Museum.

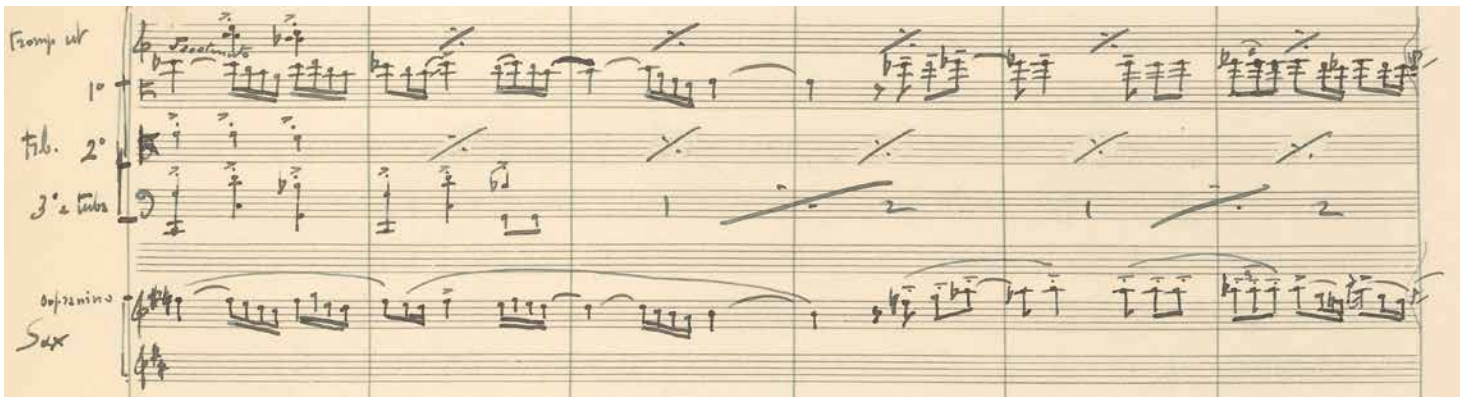


Figure 10. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Manuscript score, 1928. Sopranino saxophone and trombone solos at Rehearsal 15 (six measures) from page 28. Courtesy the Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at the Morgan Library & Museum.

When we compare Ravel's notation for the saxophone and trombone solos, many inconsistencies are exposed.[7] For instance:

- In the saxophone solos (Rehearsals 6, 7, 11, 15, and 17), measure 2 never includes a glissando.
- In the trombone solos (Rehearsals 10, 15, and 17), measures 2 and 6 feature a glissando in two instances but lack one in another.
- The glissando in measure 2 of the trombone solos does not have a preparatory note (glissando from G to B-flat) whereas the glissandi in measures 6 and 7 of each of the trombone (and saxophone) solos has a preparatory note (B-flat) even though that note is not necessary to execute a smooth glissando (glissando from B-flat to D-flat).
- Phrasing indications (slur, accent, tenuto, staccato, etc.) for saxophones and trombone solos are not identical (see Figures 9 and 10)

Ravel must have been aware—and approved—of these notational inconsistencies. In a letter to Lucien Garban at his publisher, Durand (September 24, 1929), Ravel detailed several final corrections to the score of *Bolero*—including changes to trombone and saxophone parts—prior to publication (Figure 11).[8] None of the issues concerning conflicting phrasing and grace notes/glissandi in the trombone and saxophone solos were harmonized.

It is also important to note that in the final manuscript and published scores, grace notes/glissandi are present only for saxophones and trombone—in both solo and tutti sections—not for any other instruments that play *Bolero's* second theme (bassoon, e-flat clarinet, and many others). Is this because Ravel considered saxophones and trombone to be "jazz instruments"? And what was "jazz style" in France in 1928, anyway? As Deborah Mawer observed,

> Jazz has meant different things to different people and to the same people across time.… If jazz has any fixity, it is as a symbol of newness, difference, or modernity.[9]

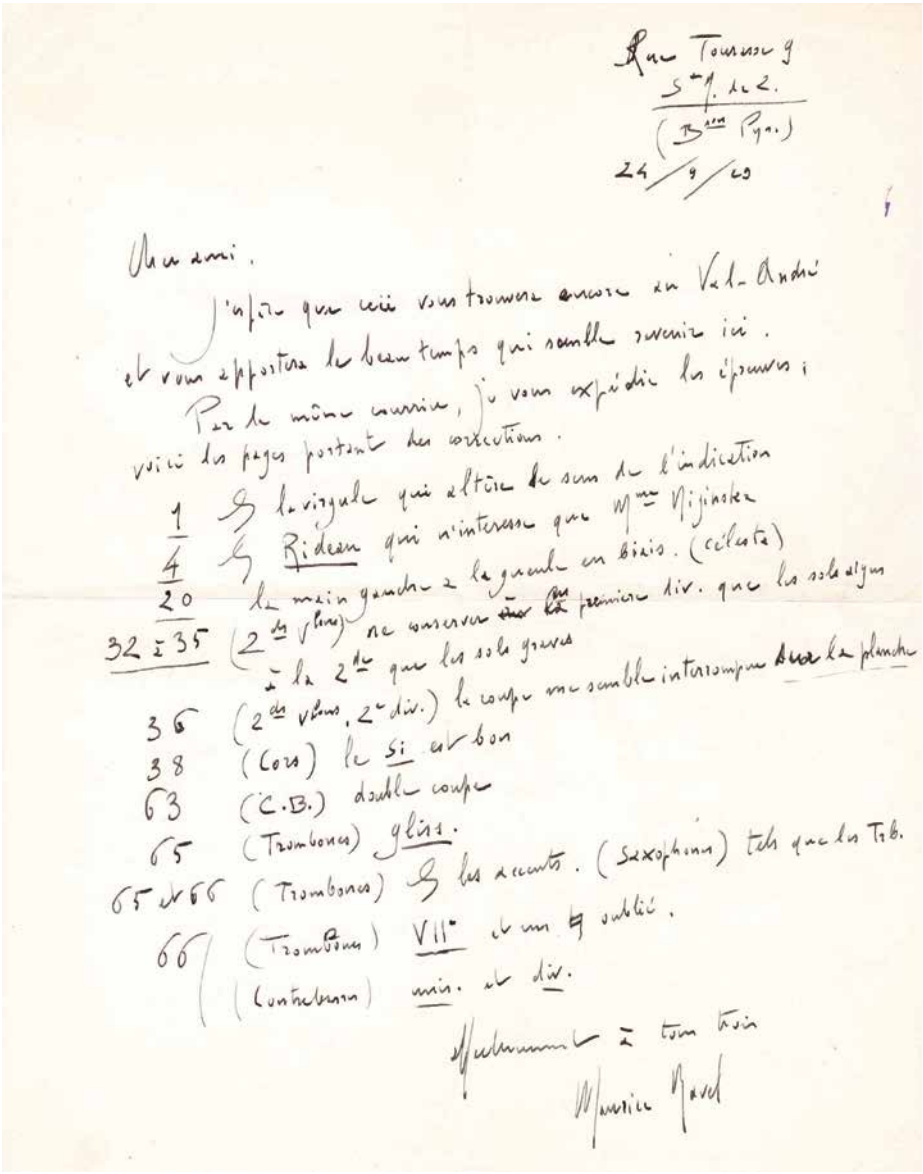


Figure 11. Letter from Maurice Ravel to Lucien Garban concerning changes to the score and parts of *Bolero*, September 24, 1929. Courtesy Éric Van Lauwe, member of Les Amis de Maurice Ravel.

In the earliest recordings of *Bolero*, André Lafosse did not play gentle glissandi. Instead, his glisses sound like the trombone smears (referred to, at that time, as "jazzes") that were the subject of trombone glissando method books by Henry Fillmore, Mayhew L. Lake, and Fortunato Sordillo (published in 1919 and 1920).[10] What kind of jazz style did Louis Schneider have in mind—in his review of a performance of *Bolero* conducted by Ravel in 1930—when he said the trombonist had "fun with jazz-band glissandi"?[11] Or Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, when she observed, "the tender trombone that stretches the phrase to the edge of jazz?"[12] When we look at the rise of jazz in France during and after World War I, we have to ask: Was "jazz" the syncopated ragtime of James Reese Europe's Harlem Hell-Fighters?[13] Was it the dance music of Jack Hylton's orchestra?[14] Or as Trevor Herbert suggests, was it connected with minstrelsy?[15] Ravel's interest in jazz is well documented (he especially appreciated the music of George Gershwin; the two met in New York on March 7, 1928), but whether or not *Bolero* is an exemplar of this interest is a matter of both discussion and opinion, not settled fact.[16]

In the April and May 1930 recordings of *Bolero* with the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Concertgebouw Orchestra, we hear trombone solo interpretations of a different sort than those on the first French recordings. Both players leave out the first printed glissando and they treat the glissando to the high D-flat more like a grace note than a gliss.

Trombonists who look for clarity regarding Ravel's intentions with his rendering of grace notes and glissandi in *Bolero* also find—in his final manuscript—a penciled change in the placement of the grace notes. Ravel moved the grace notes for trombone and saxophone from *before* the bar line to *after* the bar line (Figure 9 and 10; also Figure 13 in Part 1 of this article). Does this mean that Ravel intended a strict grace note rather than a glissando, or at most a very short gliss? Questions abound.



Figure 12. Maurice Ravel, *Alborada del Gracioso*. Rehearsal 31, trombone 1. E. Demets, 1920.

For clues, we turn to Ravel's other works that include grace notes and glissandi. He wrote 16 compositions that include trombone, nine of which have grace notes and/or glissandi for trombones.[17]

When Ravel called for a grace note without a glissando, he used a small, half-size note with a line through the stem and flag, and a slur mark, such as in *Alborada del Gracioso* (Figure 12).



Figure 13. Maurice Ravel, *La Valse*. Rehearsal 98, trombones 1, 2. Durand, 1921.



Figure 14. Maurice Ravel, Piano Concerto in G. Rehearsal 18, trombone. Durand, 1932.

When he notated glissandi, Ravel often included slide position indications with the abbreviation *gliss.* (Figure 13, *La Valse*), or simply the abbreviation *gliss.* (Figure 14, Piano Concerto in G).



Figure 15. Maurice Ravel, *Daphnis et Chloé*. Rehearsal 40, trombones 1, 2. Durand, 1913.

Sometimes he drew a line between a glissando's beginning and ending notes with the indication *gliss.* in between (Figure 15, *Daphnis et Chloé*).

On occasion, Ravel wrote several chromatic notes in succession and left it to the performer to decide if he intended glissando or not (Figure 16, Piano Concerto in G).

In an exceptional example of notational inconsistency, Ravel indicated glissando four different ways in the span of four lines in the 3rd trombone part of his *L'enfant et les sortilèges* (Figure 17): three grace notes with a slur marking, notes with a slur marking, a slide position indication with lines between notes, and a slide position indication with the abbreviation *gliss*.



Figure 16. Maurice Ravel, Piano Concerto in G. Movement 3, Rehearsal 2, trombone. Durand, 1932.



Figure 17. Maurice Ravel, *L'enfant et les sortilèges*. Rehearsal 34, trombone 3. Durand, 1925.



Figure 18. Maurice Ravel, *Bolero*. Manuscript score, 1928; page 37. Final six measures showing trombone and saxophone parts without gliss. indication and with accents. Courtesy the Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at the Morgan Library & Museum.

At times, when Ravel's manuscript notation was ambiguous concerning his trombone glissando intentions, he made an adjustment before publication (Figure 11). In the case of *Bolero*, the abbreviation *gliss.*—missing in his final manuscript—was added for all trombonists six measures before the end of the piece just before the score and parts were published (compare Figure 18 with Figure 6 in Part 1 of this article). At the same time, Ravel removed accents in the trombone and saxophone parts in the final measures.

In *Bolero's* saxophone and trombone solos, the abbreviation *gliss.* never appears. Because Ravel's intentions are not clear when we attempt to discern whether he wanted a grace note or glissando—or both—in each of the saxophone and trombone solos, performers are left to themselves to sort out what Ravel had in mind. It appears he embraced the ambiguity, just as he did (as discussed earlier) in the first two recordings of *Bolero* where André Lafosse took great liberties far beyond the printed page.

VII. The Claims of Leo Arnaud

Readers may be puzzled by the omission of any mention—thus far—of French-American trombonist and composer Leo Arnaud (1904–1991). Between 1983 and 2002, numerous claims about Arnaud's alleged relationship with Maurice Ravel appeared in articles in the *International Trombone Association Journal*. Arnaud also gave two presentations titled, "Ravel and *Bolero*" at the 1985 International Trombone Workshop.[18] These claims, which began circulating on record jackets, and in articles and books as early as 1956, greatly influenced the narrative of the composition, premiere, and style of the trombone solo in *Bolero*. The importance of Arnaud's claims cannot be overstated, and an examination of them is necessary as we establish the early history of *Bolero* and inform performance practice of its trombone solos today.

Noël Léon (Léo/Leo) Marius Arnaud (1904–1991) was born in Couzon-au-Mont-d'Or near Lyon, France.[19] Sometimes known by the name Leo Vauchant, Arnaud performed as a trombonist with and arranged for jazz and popular music groups in France including the Jack Hylton Band. In 1931, Arnaud came to the United States, joined Fred Waring and the Pennsylvanians, and moved to Los Angeles in 1936 where he began arranging, orchestrating, and composing for films. By the time of his death, Arnaud had worked on more than 160 films, although he is perhaps best known for his composition, *Bugler's Dream*, written in 1958. *Bugler's Dream*—an arrangement and expansion of *Salut aux étendards* by French composer Joseph-David Buhl (1781–1860)—subsequently became associated with the Olympic Games when it was used in the ABC television broadcast of the 1968 Winter Olympics (Grenoble). For the 1996 Summer Olympics (Atlanta), John Williams (b. 1932) blended *Bugler's Dream* into his own composition, *Olympic Fanfare and Theme*, written for the 1984 Summer Olympics (Los Angeles).[20]

Among his many claims, Arnaud stated that he:

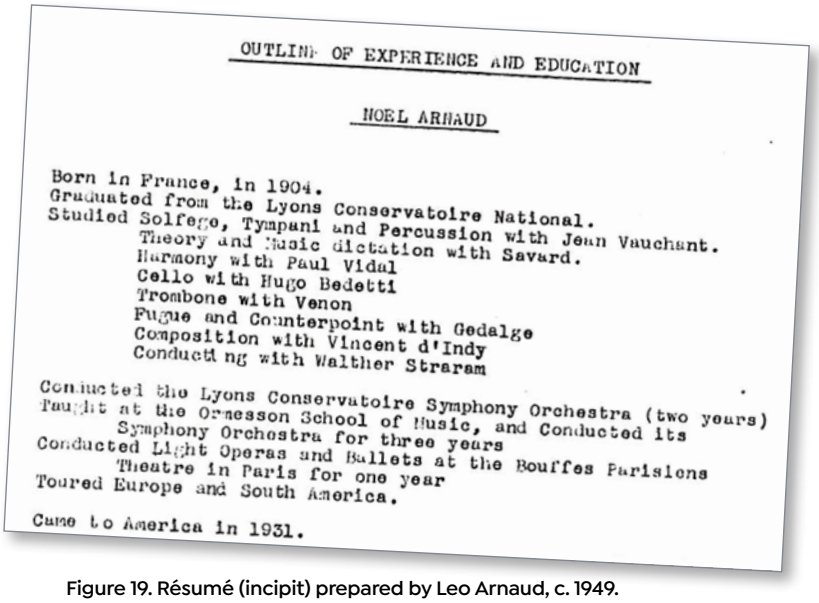
- Visited weekly with Ravel at the composer's home from 1924–1928 (except for four months in early 1928 when Ravel toured North America) where Arnaud received composition lessons, played trombone for Ravel, and taught Ravel about jazz style
- Studied composition with Ravel at the Schola-Cantorum in Paris
- Persuaded Ravel to change the key of *Bolero* from D to C
- Informed Ravel as to the proper style of the trombone solo in *Bolero*
- Was the first trombonist to perform *Bolero*, at a "sneak preview" premiere of *Bolero* conducted by Ravel in Monte Carlo, Monaco with Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russe

In addition, Arnaud claimed:

- Ravel did not want glissandos played in the *Bolero* trombone solo.
- André Lafosse was the first trombonist to add glissandos to the *Bolero* trombone solo.
- Ravel wanted the snare drum in *Bolero* to sound "floppy."
- Ravel attended mass on Sunday mornings.

However, extensive research has found no evidence to support these claims. Despite the fact that Arnaud's assertions have been repeated many times in numerous publications, no article or interview has ever given a source for his claims apart from Arnaud himself. There is no independent, contemporaneous confirmation that Arnaud ever had a relationship with Ravel.

Throughout the process of researching *Bolero*, I contacted leading Ravel scholars and confirmed the following: 1) Arnaud's claims do not appear in any publication about Ravel's life and work;[21] 2) the name Arnaud/Vauchant does not appear in Ravel's personal address book;[22] there are no known letters or notes between Ravel and Arnaud;[23] 3) there are no known photographs of Ravel with Arnaud; 4) Ravel was not religious and did not attend church; 5) Ravel did not teach at the Schola Cantorum in Paris; 6) there was no "sneak preview" premiere of *Bolero* in Monte Carlo conducted by Ravel. (Ravel did not conduct *Bolero* in Monte Carlo until a concert performance on April 1, 1931.) Further, 7) from the earliest sketches, *Bolero* was always in the key of C; 8) Ravel's manuscript of *Bolero* includes grace notes and glissandi for the saxophone and trombone solos; 9) André Lafosse was not the first trombone player to play glissandi in the *Bolero* trombone solo; 10) Ravel's own recording of *Bolero* features the snare drum with near metronomic precision; 11) in a résumé that Arnaud prepared around 1949 in which he mentioned his composition teachers, Ravel's name does not appear (Figure 19), a curious omission if, in fact, Arnaud studied with one of France's most famous composers. In addition, while preparing his dissertation about Arnaud, Michael Kolstad examined and photographed hundreds of documents preserved by Arnaud's widow, Faye Arnaud. The walls of Arnaud's office were covered with framed photographs and letters from well-known musicians. There were no photographs, letters, or ephemera in Arnaud's office or papers that directly connected him with Ravel.[24]



OUTLINE OF EXPERIENCE AND EDUCATION

NOEL ARNAUD

Born in France, in 1904.
Graduated from the Lyons Conservatoire National.
Studied Solfege, Tympani and Percussion with Jean Vauchant.
Theory and Music dictation with Savard.
Harmony with Paul Vidal
Cello with Hugo Bedetti
Trombone with Venon
Fugue and Counterpoint with Gedalge
Composition with Vincent d'Indy
Conducting with Walther Straram

Conducted the Lyons Conservatoire Symphony Orchestra (two years)
Taught at the Ornesson School of Music, and Conducted its
Symphony Orchestra for three years
Conducted Light Operas and Ballets at the Bouffes Parisiens
Theatre in Paris for one year
Toured Europe and South America.

Came to America in 1931.

Figure 19. Résumé (incipit) prepared by Leo Arnaud, c. 1949. Courtesy Lady Faye Arnaud via Michael Kolstad.

Despite being widely repeated in articles, books, and album liner notes, Arnaud's assertions are not supportable. His claims about his alleged relationship with Ravel lack any historical basis.[25]

VIII. Conclusion



Figure 20: Maurice Ravel's monogram

Seventeen years after *Bolero's* premiere, Ravel's friend Hélène Jourdan Morhange wrote,

> The obsessive phrase has circled the globe. . . . One hears it [*Bolero*] at every street corner, whistled, sung in the streets of Paris and the provinces, in hotel corridors abroad, in the subway . . . everywhere. It is *everywhere*.[26]

Her words still ring true today. *Bolero* is a cultural touchstone; an iconic work of classical music that is instantly identifiable by millions of people around the world at the hearing of but a single measure of its introductory snare drum cadence. In 2024, *The Times* of London reported that *Bolero* is performed somewhere in the world an average of once every 15 minutes, or 35,000 times a year.[27] Arthur Fiedler, for one, conducted *Bolero* with the Boston Pops Orchestra 299 times between 1930 and 1978. *Bolero* has been featured in dozens of films, from Wesley Ruggles' *Bolero* (1934) to Blake Edwards' *10* (1979, featuring Bo Derek) to Anne Fontaine's biographical film of Ravel, *Bolero: le mystère Ravel* (2024). *Bolero* has also been adopted by many popular music groups, including the Victor Orchestra conducted by Nathaniel Shilkret (1930, arranged as a fox trot in 4/4 meter), the R&B/hip-hop group, Jodeci (1977), and Pink Martini (2011). The British figure skating pair Jayne Torvill and Christopher Dean set their gold medal winning ice dancing performance at the 1984 Winter Olympics (Sarajevo) to *Bolero*, an event that brought the piece to a worldwide audience. In 2025, Paris hosted an exhibition devoted to *Bolero*, and the lavishly illustrated exhibition catalog is an important document of the history and influence of Ravel's most famous work.[28] *Bolero* is, truly, everywhere.

Yet, as *Bolero* nears its 100th anniversary (2028), trombonists continue to grapple with the same question that Henri Couillaud faced when he opened the folder on his music stand at the Paris Opera in 1928 and saw *Bolero* for the first time: "How should I interpret this solo?"

Certainly, we should feel free to approach *Bolero* with a measure of flexibility. What we hear on the 1930 recordings that were supervised and conducted by Ravel suggests that a wide degree of interpretative freedom was accepted, if not encouraged, by the composer.

Trombonists should also keep in mind that Ravel conceived *Bolero* at a time when French players typically used narrow bore trombones with an approximately .460" slide bore and a 6" diameter bell. The use of modest-sized equipment helps today's trombonists project and interpret the *Bolero* solo without the strain that is commonly brought on by large, heavy equipment.[29]

Piero Coppola, who conducted the first recording of *Bolero* (Figures 2 and 4) on January 13, 1930, related his experience with trombonists,

> The public should know that Ravel's *Bolero* is the easiest piece in the world to conduct, since one simply beats a three-beat measure from beginning to end like an automaton. On the other hand, the actual performance is quite difficult, even perilous for many of the orchestra's soloists who, when it's their turn to state the theme, bear a heavy responsibility. I am especially thinking of the first trombone solo: every time I have conducted this piece in public, the trombonist confided that he had slept poorly the night before, fearing his solo, written in the upper register and dangerously exposed to potential mistakes.[30]

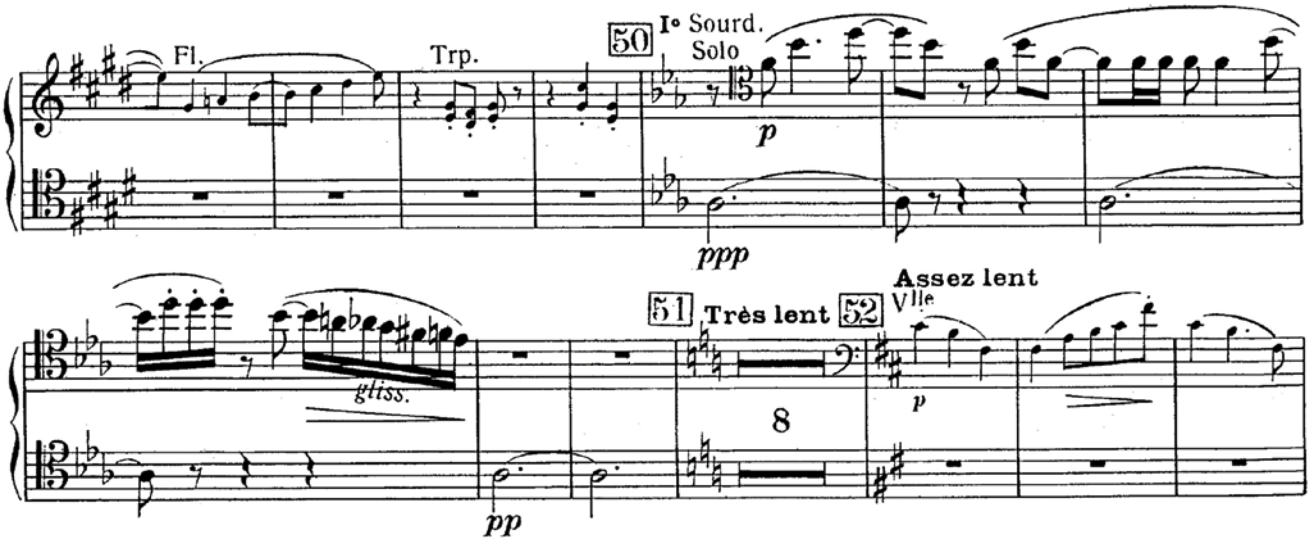


Figure 21: Maurice Ravel, *L'heure espagnole*. Rehearsal 50, trombones 1, 2. Durand, 1911.

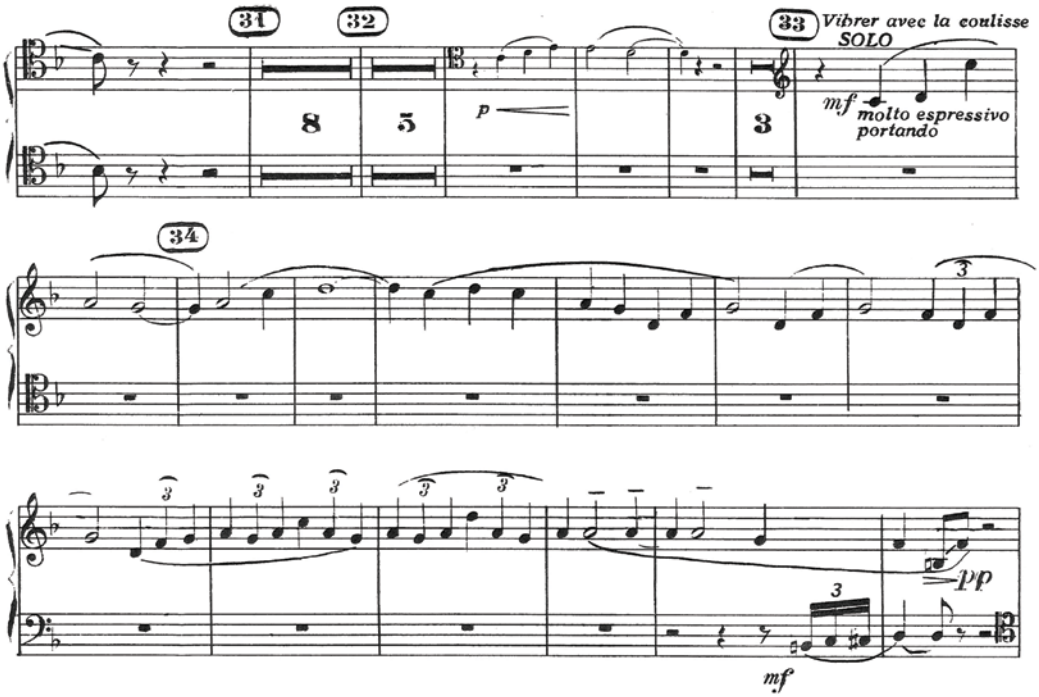


Figure 22: Maurice Ravel, *L'enfant et les sortilèges*. Rehearsal 33, trombones 1, 2. Durand, 1925.

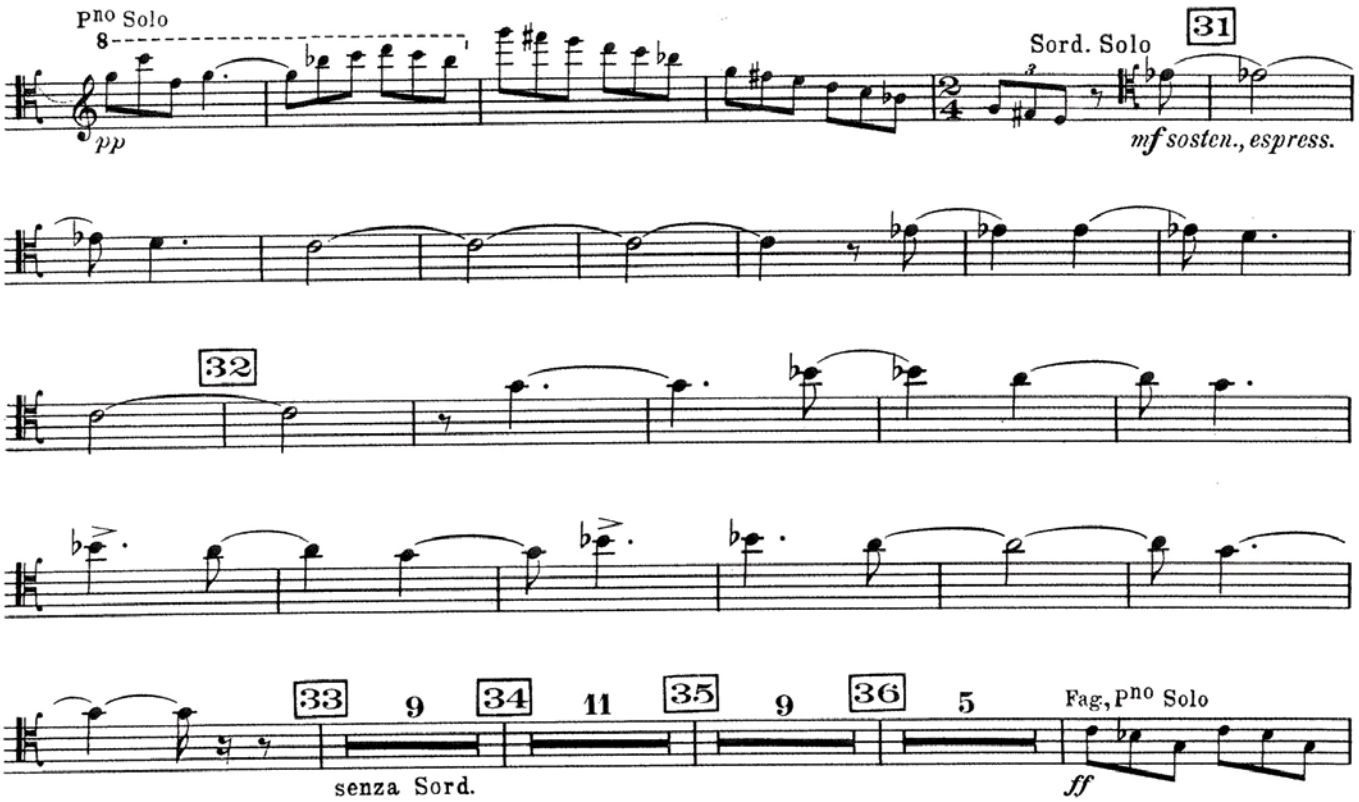


Figure 23: Maurice Ravel, *Concerto pour la main gauche*. Rehearsal 31, trombone 1. Durand, 1937.

Even so, *Bolero* is not the only piece by Ravel that contains a challenging trombone solo. There are, also, the solos in *L'heure espagnole* (Figure 21), *L'enfant et les sortilèges* (Figure 22), and the *Concerto pour la main gauche* Figure 23). Piero Coppola was right when he wrote, "it must be said (and it is sad), it is through *Bolero* that Ravel is known among so-called music lovers." And trombonists. There is much more to Maurice Ravel than *Bolero*, and many benefits and surprises await those who explore the totality of his œuvre.[31]

While, as Coppola wrote, trombonists often approach *Bolero's* solo with a measure of trepidation, André Lafosse's son (who, like his father, was named André, played trombone, and attended the Paris Conservatoire) related an interaction between his teacher, Henri Couillaud, and Ravel, that gives us comfort while sitting in the *Siege Perilous*,

> When I was a pupil at the Conservatoire, Mr. Couillaud used to tell us the following anecdote:
>
> During a rehearsal of the *Bolero* ballet where Maurice Ravel conducted, Mr. Couillaud told him that the solo was rather a tricky one. He [Ravel] answered that he was quite aware of the fact and that there was nothing to worry about, for if a few mistakes occurred, he wouldn't mind at all.
>
> When, on the day of that momentous event, Mr. Couillaud performed the solo without a hitch, Maurice Ravel came to the green room after the performance to congratulate him and said, "You see, it wasn't as difficult as you thought!"[32]

Acknowledgements

The task of researching Maurice Ravel's *Bolero* was made measurably more enjoyable by the assistance of many people who provided me with information, images, and support. Principal among these is Manuel Cornejo, Ravel scholar and president of Les Amis de Maurice Ravel (boleravel.fr). His generosity and helpful spirit know no bounds, and his tireless work to promote the life, work, and legacy of Maurice Ravel is nothing but extraordinary. The fruits of our extensive communications run through this article, and I am grateful beyond words for our friendship. *Merci mon ami, pour toute ton aide et tes nombreuses gentillesses.*

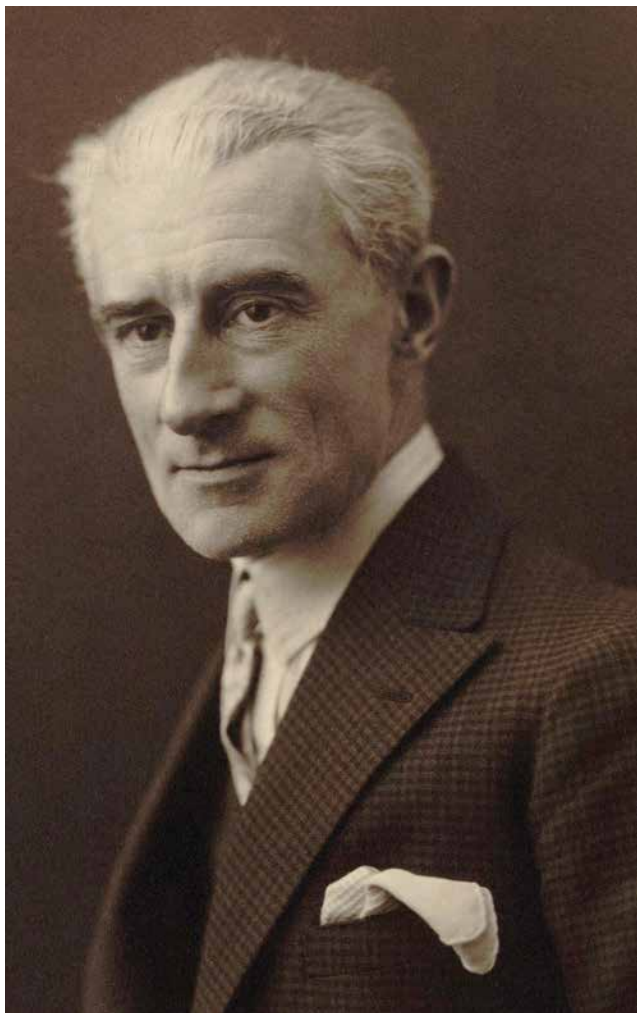
Others assisted me in ways both large and small, and the intersection of their expertise with my long association with Ravel and the trombone has enriched my life in ways that make the expression *thank you* a profound understatement: Arbie Orenstein, Deborah Mawer, Robert Owen Lehman and Marie Rolf (the Robert Owen Lehman Collection on deposit at the Morgan Library & Museum), Robinson McClellan and Kaitlyn Krieg, (Morgan Library & Museum), Michael Kolstad, Benny Sluchin, David Fetter, Mario Ishiguro (Les Amis de Maurice Ravel au Japon), Bibliothèque nationale de France, Verena Monnier (Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire Lausanne), Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Jane Pritchard, Arnold Myers, Adam Doskey (Columbus State University Archives & Special Collections), and Kevin Mungons.

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About the Author

Douglas Yeo (**yeodoug.com; TheLastTrombone.com**) was bass trombonist of the Boston Symphony Orchestra from 1985–2012 and has served as trombone professor at Peabody Institute of Johns Hopkins University, New England Conser-vatory of Music, Arizona State University, Wheaton College (Illinois), and University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign. He has written dozens of articles for the *ITA Journal*, including, "More than Bordogni: The Life, Work, and Influence of Joannès Rochut" (January 2025). He is a recipient of the ITA's Lifetime Achievement Award (2024) and ITA Award (2014).

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Maurice Ravel, 1925. Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr).

ENDNOTES

[1] See Jean Touzelet and Manuel Cornejo, "Enregistrements historiques des œuvres de Maurice Ravel (1912–1939)," in Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens* (Gallimard, 2025), 2737–2740.

[2] In an interview with Willy Goudeket ("Avec l'insaisissable Maurice Ravel," *Le Rempart*, June 4, 1933), Ravel said, in reference to the first performance of *Bolero* in concert in Europe on January 11, 1930, "The first performance was broadcast on the radio! What a joyful surprise it was for me the next day, while passing by a construction site, to hear three workers whistling the *Bolero*!" However, a recording of this radio broadcast is not found in the archives of the Institut National de l'Audiovisuel. The first radio broadcast recordings made in France date from the 1940s (email from Manuel Cornejo to Douglas Yeo, May 9, 2025).

[3] Performances of *Bolero* before its first commercial recording on January 13, 1930, were given by the Paris Opera Orchestra, Orchestre de la Monnaie (Brussels), Monte-Carlo Opera Orchestra, Vienna State Opera Orchestra, La Scala Opera Orchestra, orchestras in Naples and Rome, Italy, Lamoureux Orchestra, New York Philharmonic, Boston Symphony Orchestra, and Philadelphia Orchestra.

[4] For Rochut and *Bolero*, see Douglas Yeo, "More Than Bordogni: The Life, Work, and Influence of Joannès Rochut." *International Trombone Association Journal* 53, no. 1 (January 2025), 78–79.

[5] The image of the trombonist in the photograph (Figure 2) of the *Bolero* recording session of January 13, 1930, was enhanced and compared with a photograph of André Lafosse from 1950 from the cover of *Synthèse de la technique du Trombone en 8 leçons par André Lafosse* (Disques Aura, 1950). The artificial intelligence resource ChatGPT 4.o was utilized to perform photograph enhancement and facial comparison, May 13, 2025.

[6] André Lafosse, *Méthode complete pour trombone*, vol. 3 (Alphonse Leduc, 1946), 98.

[7] Photographs of the Lehman Collection *Bolero* score were taken by Janny Chiu, 2018. Ravel scored *Bolero* for three saxophones: sopranino in F, soprano in B-flat, and tenor in B-flat. The sopranino saxophone in F never existed (it was mentioned in Adolphe Sax's 1846 patent for the saxophone, but it was not manufactured). Exactly why Ravel included it in *Bolero* has never been explained, and from its premiere to today, *Bolero* is always performed with two saxophones: soprano in B-flat and tenor in B-flat. Ravel's interest in the saxophone was strong. At the 149th meeting of the Musical Studies Section of the Higher Council of Education of the National Conservatory of Paris (October 14, 1929), Ravel requested that a class in saxophone be re-established at the Conservatoire (a class had been established in 1857 and led by Adolphe Sax, but it was suspended in 1870). Paul Dukas supported Ravel's recommendation but Director Henri Rabaud reminded those present that the saxophone class was already under consideration but there was a higher priority to establish a second class for viola. The saxophone class was eventually re-established in 1942. See Clémence Genier, Arthur Macé, and Yannaël Pasquier, "Procès-verbaux du Conseil supérieur de l'enseignement du Conservatoire national de musique de de déclamation. Directorat d'Henri Rabaud (1920–1940)," *Bru Zane Mediabase*, hal-0505462 (2025), 114.

[8] Reproduced in, Manuel Cornejo ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2443 (p. 1819). The letter contains the following corrections to *Bolero*: "65 (Trombones) gliss."; "65 and 66 (Trombones) delete the accents. (Saxophones) the same as the trombones."; "66 (Trombones) 7th position and a missing natural sign."

[9] Deborah Mawer, "'Parisomania'? Jack Hylton and the French Connection." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 133, no. 2 (2008), 281.

[10] M[ayew] L. Lake, *The Wizard Trombone Jazzer: A short, concise treatise on practical glissandos (or "smears") showing how and when they should be employed* (Carl Fischer, 1919); Henry Fillmore, *Henry Fillmore's Jazz Trombonist for Slide Trombone: A unique treatise showing how to play practical jazzes and how and where to insert them in plain trombone part*s (Fillmore Music House, 1919); Fortunato Sordillo, *The Art of Jazzing for Trombone: A treatise, not only upon the jazzing possibilities of the instrument, but also upon the complete possibilities of the seven positions for the slide in artistic trombone playing* (Oliver Ditson, 1920).

[11] Louis Schneider, "La musique," *Le Petit Parisien*, January 13, 1930, 5. "Le thème se promène d'abord parmi les instruments à vent ; du bassin au cor, du hautbois à la clarinette, et de la trompette au trombone, qui se divertit à des glissandi de jazz-band."

[12] Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, *Ravel et nous: l'homme, l'ami, le musicien* (Milieu du monde: 1945), 165.

[13] Reid Badger, *A Life in Ragtime: A biography of James Reese Europe* (Oxford University Press, 1995).

[14] Deborah Mawer, "'Parisomania'? Jack Hylton and the French Connection."

[15] Trevor Herbert, "Trombone Glissando: A Case Study in Continuity and Change in Brass Instrument Performance Idioms," *Historic Brass Society Journal* 22 (2010), 5.

[16] For more about Ravel and jazz, see Deborah Mawer, "Crossing borders II: Ravel's theory and practice of jazz," in, Deborah Mawer, ed., *Ravel Studies* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 114-137. Also, see Ravel's lecture given at Rice Institute (Rice University, Houston, Texas) on April 7 and 7, 1928. The lecture appeared in English in *The Rice Institute Pamphlet* 15 (April 1928), 131–145. Reproduced in Arbie Orenstein, ed., *A Ravel Reader: Correspondence, Articles, Interviews* (Dover, 2003 [first published 1990, Columbia University Press; Dover edition with corrections, 2003]), 40–49. For Ravel and Gershwin, see letter from Maurice Ravel to Nadia Boulanger, March 3, 1928. Reproduced in, Manuel Cornejo ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, letter 2307 (p. 1731–1732, also footnote 3, p. 1731).

[17] Ravel's works that include glissandi and/or grace notes for trombone are (in chronological order): *Rhapsodie espagnole* (1907); *L'heure espagnole* (1907–1909); *Daphnis et Chloé* (1909–1912); *L'enfant et les sortiléges* (1917–1925); *Alborada del Gracioso* (1918); *La Valse* (1919–1920); *Bolero* (1928), *Concerto pour la main gauche* (Piano Concerto for the Left Hand, 1930); Piano Concerto in G (1932).

[18] Joel Elias, "Miles to Go—An Interview with Miles Anderson," *International Trombone Association Journal* 11, no. 4 (October 1983), 26–29; George Broussard, "A Musician's Odyssey: The Life and Times of Leo Arnaud." *International Trombone Association Journal* 13, no. 1 (January 1985), 21–24; George Broussard, "A Musician's Odyssey: The Life and Times of Leo Arnaud." *International Trombone Association Journal* 13, no. 2 (April 1985), 26–28; Jay Friedman, "Thoughts to Ponder: How Can I Say It Clearer? Just How Do You Go About Getting That Great Sound?" *International Trombone Association Journal* 25, no. 4 (Fall 1997), 20–21; Jean Douay, "Thoughts to Ponder: What Would Ravel Think? More Thoughts on Ravel's *Bolero*." *International Trombone Association Journal* 26, no. 2 (Spring 1998), 23; Chris Buckholz, "Thoughts to Ponder: More on Ravel's Bolero? New Insights From Old Sources." *International Trombone Association Journal* 26, no. 4 (Fall 1998), 22–23; Dennis Bubert, ed. (with Milton Stevens and Ronald Barron), "Orchestral Excerpt Class: Ravel's Boléro." *International Trombone Association Journal* 30, no. 1 (January 2002), 18–22. Arnaud's presentations, "Ravel and Bolero," were given at the 14th International Trombone Workshop, Belmont College, Nashville, Tennessee, on May 30, 1985, at 9:00–10:00 am, and at 10:30–11:30 am. Unfortunately, the archives of the International Trombone Association (at Columbus State University, Georgia) does not have recordings of Arnaud's 1985 ITW presentations (email from Adam Doskey, Columbus State University Archives & Special Collections, to Douglas Yeo, April 12, 1985).

[19] For an account of Arnaud's life and work, see Michael Kolstad, "Leo Arnaud (1904–1991), Trombonist, Composer, Film Musician: A Biographical Sketch and Catalogue of Musical Works and Films" (DMA diss., University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1996), ProQuest (304266022).

[20] To hear Joseph-David Buhl's *Salut aux étendards*, see **youtu.be/AAbFP_JDt-A?si=2SUcfZVYOCO-It4w**. For Leo Arnaud's *Bugler's Dream*, see **youtube.com/watch?v=DiDaId3w3sA**. For John Williams' *Olympic Fanfare and Theme*, see **youtu.be/IScDfYu9_eE?si=xBLmohr2P9JqnVX2**.

[21] The only exception is a mention of Arnaud in Roger Nichols' book, *Ravel* (Yale University Press, 2011), 302–303. Nichols references Arnaud by quoting unsourced, unsubstantiated claims about Arnaud found in Michel Laplace, "Ravel et le nouveau trombone," *Brass Bulletin* 47 (1984), 34–38.

[22] See *Carnets d'adresses de Maurice Ravel* in, Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*, appendix II, 2579–2588.

[23] Among several sources that discuss and/or reproduce letters to and from Ravel are Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel: Correspondance, écrits et entretiens*; Manuel Cornejo, ed., *Maurice Ravel L'intégrale: Correspondance (1895–1937) écrits et entretiens* (Le Passeur: 2018); Manuel Cornejo, "Documents Ravel dans les ventes et collections publiques et privées," *Cahiers Maurice Ravel* 18 (2016), 123-167; Arbie Orenstein, *A Ravel Reader: Correspondence, Articles, Interviews* (Columbia University Press: 1990; reprint, Dover: 2003).

[24] Emails from Michael Kolstad to Douglas Yeo, December 9, 2024 (with photographs of the walls of Arnaud's office), and January 28, 2025.

[25] Between November 2024 and December 2025, Douglas Yeo exchanged numerous email messages with Ravel scholars Arbie Orenstein, Deborah Mawer, and Manuel Cornejo. This correspondence led to additional research about Arnaud's claims that are summarized in a document prepared by Douglas Yeo, "Leo Arnaud's claims about Maurice Ravel and *Bolero*." This document can be viewed at **yeodoug.com/YEO_Arnaud_and_Ravel_claims.pdf**.

[26] Hélène Jourdan-Morhange, *Ravel et nous: l'homme, l'ami, le musicien*, 167. Also, endnote 2 of this article.

[27] David Chazan, "Boléro exhibition shows why Ravel still has us mesmerised," *The Times* (London), December 2, 2024. **thetimes.com/world/europe/article/bolero-exhibition-shows-why-ravel-still-has-us-mesmerised-fl256kprm**.

[28] For the 2025 Paris exhibition catalog, see Lucie Kayas, ed., *Ravel Boléro* (Martinière, 2024).

[29] For a discussion of the trombones that Joannès Rochut played from the time he joined the French military (1897) through his last season as a member of the Boston Symphony Orchestra (1930), see Douglas Yeo, "More Than Bordogni: The Life, Work, and Influence of Joannès Rochut," 56–58.

[30] Piero Coppola, *Dix-sept ans de Musique à Paris*, 1922–1939 (F. Rouge, 1944), 106–107.

[31] Piero Coppola, *Dix-sept ans de Musique à Paris*, 1922–1939, 214. See, for instance, the many *pianissimo* pedal B-flats in all three trombone parts in *Le heure espagnole*.

[32] Letter from André Lafosse (fils) to David Fetter, December 14, 1983. For the *Siege Perilous*, see Part 1 of this article in, *International Trombone Association Journal* 53, no. 4 (October 2025), endnote 40.

