Rossini's Fanfare for Maximilian of Mexico: A Mysterious "Self-Borrowing"

Denise Gallo

While on a research trip to the British Museum in the early 1970s, William A. Schaefer happened upon a set of parts for a march by Gioachino Rossini published in the nineteenth-century periodical *Boosé's Military Journal*. This was hardly a noteworthy occurrence, since arrangements of numbers from the composer's operas, such as *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *L'italiana in Algeri,* and *Guillaume Tell,* had been featured offerings since the publication's inception in the 1840s.[1] This piece, however, entitled simply "Fanfare," was an anomaly, the only march not excerpted from a stage work whose popularity would have encouraged its sale and performance. Unfamiliar with the composition, Schaefer surmised that its parts, wrapped in newspaper together with other marches from the *Journal*, had been lost for almost a century. The dedication printed on the bottom of the first clarinet part—"Written for, and dedicated to the late Emperor / MAXIMILIAN of Mexico by Rossini"—implied even more, though (Example 1). Finding no mention of any Rossini work with a connection to Maximilian, Schaefer was sure that he had not only uncovered a lost march but had also discovered one unknown in the Rossini canon. He subsequently arranged the fanfare for modern ensemble and published it as *Scherzo for Band*.[2]

In 1998 the United States Marine Band recorded Schaefer's Scherzo, reiterating its mysterious history in the program notes.[3] Some ten years later, this recording came to the attention of Philip Gossett, General Editor of *Works of Gioachino Rossini*¸ just as the critical edition of the composer's music for band was in progress. The discovery of a new march at that juncture was both exciting and serendipitous, so Gossett urged the editor of the band music volume—the author of this article—to attempt to locate the score sent to Maximilian for inclusion in the edition.[4] Staff at the British Library (which had become a separate entity from the British Museum shortly after Schaefer's visit) confirmed the existence of the *Boosé* parts but had no knowledge of a Mexican source from which they might have been derived. Furthermore, they noted that the Fanfare had since been identified and catalogued as *La corona d'Italia,* the march Rossini dedicated to Italy's King Vittorio Emanuele II in recognition for having been awarded the medal of the same name.[5] A comparison of the Boosé first clarinet part and critical edition sources for *La corona d'Italia* confirmed that the works were indeed identical, albeit with different instrumentation (see Figure 1). This revelation has serious implications for the traditional view of *La corona* in Rossini scholarship. Sent to the Italian king in September 1868, just two months before the composer's death, it had always been interpreted not only as Rossini's last composition but, more importantly, as a final patriotic gesture to Italy, the homeland he had abandoned permanently for France some thirteen years earlier.[6] The

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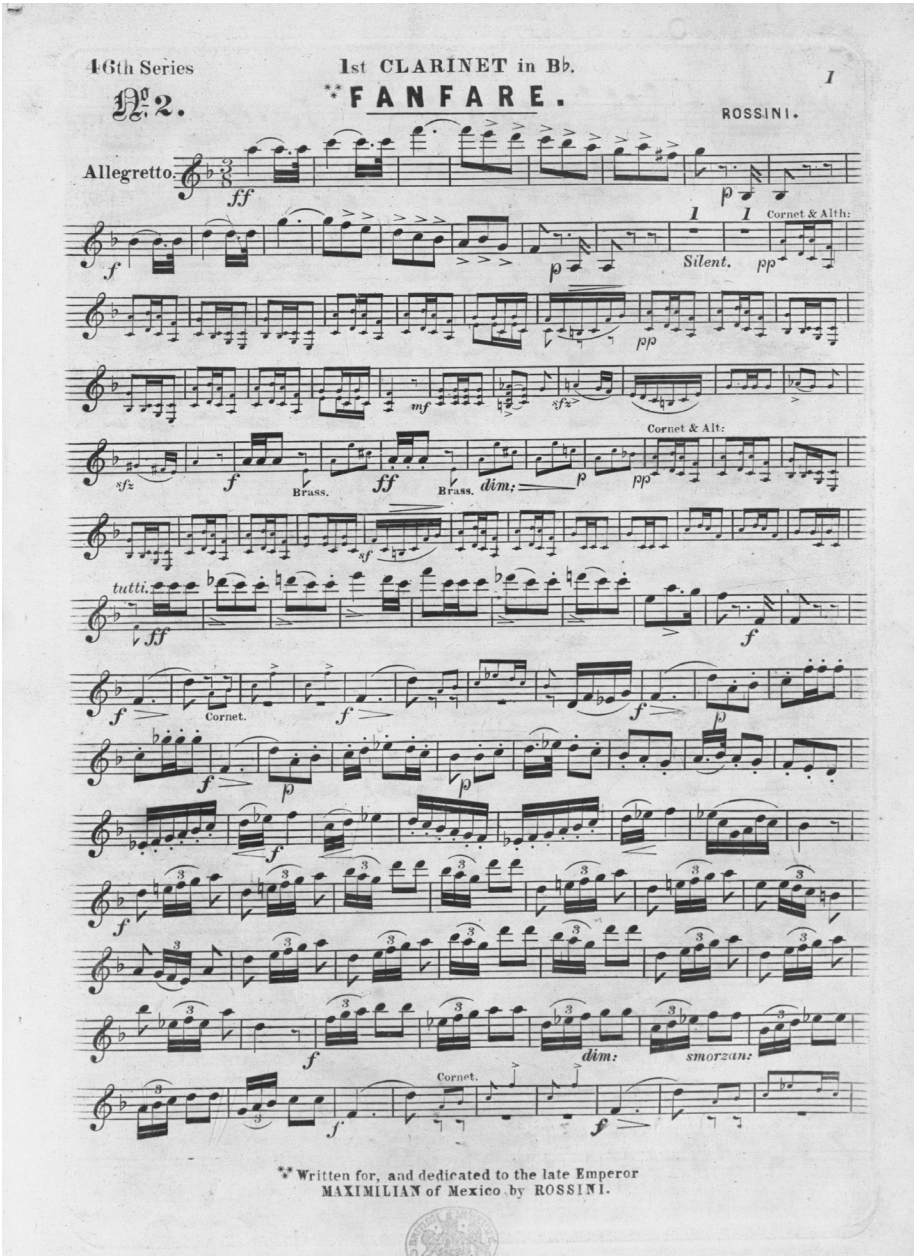

Example 1: First clarinet part of *Boosé*'s publication of the Rossini "Fanfare," bearing the dedication to Maximilian of Mexico. © British Library Board (shelfmark H. 1549). Reproduced by permission.

existence of a version dating from sometime between 1864 and 1867 with a dedication to the Mexican emperor negates both views.

Verifying the dedication

In addition to gathering all relevant musical sources, the goal of a critical edition is to present as complete a history of the works as possible. Extensive searches for the presentation manuscript—or indeed any scores—in Mexico City proved fruitless.[7] An exploration of secondary sources, however, uncovered several connections between Rossini and Maximilian. King Leopold of Belgium (a personal friend to whom Rossini had dedicated a march in 1836) was the father of Empress Carlota, Maximilian's wife.[8] Could he have requested the march from Rossini? An association with a celebrity whose operas were popular in Mexico City could well have added stature to an unwelcome foreign court.[9] A more concrete link can be found in a letter to tenor Nicola Ivanoff dated 10 September 1865, in which Rossini casually mentioned the efforts of one Count Louis Grabinksi's letter-writing campaign to obtain "the Grand Medal awarded to me by the Emperor of Mexico."[10] In an article about Rossini's numerous decorations, Daniele Diotallevi identified the medal as the *Gran Cruz*, the highest honor in Maximilian's Imperial Order of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and estimated the date of concession between 10 April 1865 and 1867.[11] The *Almanaque Imperial*, a contemporary Mexican publication documenting events during Maximilian's reign, offered a more precise date. The following appears at the end of the list of recipients of the *Gran Cruz* for 1865: "Sr. Rossini, compositor, (Italia)," suggesting that his medal must have been the last awarded that year. The *Gran Cruz* placed Rossini in the exalted company of senators and generals—even the King of the Sandwich Islands; he clearly was valued more highly than two colleagues who that year received the next-lowest honor, the *Gran Oficial*: "Sr. Lizt [*sic*], Pianista, (Francia)" and "Sr. D[on] J. Verdi, Compositor de música, (Italia)."[12] Since several of Rossini's medals had been awarded to him by dedicatees of other band marches, it seems reasonable to posit that the *Gran Cruz* and the Fanfare were somehow connected.[13] Yet which came first?

On 4 November 1865, Empress Carlota's name day, the court celebrated the opening of the new Teatro de la Corte. Two days later Mexico City's official newspaper, *El Diario del Imperio*, reported the event, noting that as Maximilian and his wife entered, "The chamber ensemble then played the Fanfare that the famed Maestro Rossini composed recently, dedicating it to the Emperor. It is a beautiful composition notable for its simplicity and the good taste of its harmonies."[14] A program booklet published shortly thereafter included not only the dedicatory verses read to the royal couple but also a similar account of the music: "The chamber band played a Fanfare that Maestro Rossini recently had composed and dedicated to His Majesty the Emperor."[15] Given what the composer had written to Ivanov two months earlier, Rossini was either in possession of the medal at that time or knew that it had been granted. Had the decoration been the impetus for the march, as in the case of *La corona d'Italia*? Or had it been sent as an acknowledgement for the score, which was then played at the first appropriate occasion? The newspaper's

La corona d'Italia (1868)	*Fanfare (1869)*
Petite Flûte [en] D	1st Clarinet in B♭
Grande Flûte [en] C	2nd Clarinet in B♭
Petite Clarinette [en] E♭	3rd Clarinet in B♭
1ère Clarinette [en] B♭	1st Clarinet in E♭
2ème [et 3ème] Clarinette[s] en B♭	2nd Clarinet in E♭
1ère et 2ème Hautbois	Alto Clarinet (E♭)
Saxophone [en] B♭	1st Bassoon or Bass Clarinet in B♭
Saxophone [en] E♭	2nd Bassoon or Bass Clarinet in B♭
Saxophone [en] C	1st & 2nd Horns in E♭
Saxophone [en] E♭	3rd & 4th Horns in E♭
Saxophone [en] B♭	Basses
1er Cornet [en] B♭	1st Trombone, Tenor
2ème Cornet [en] B♭	2nd Trombone, Tenor
1er Bugle [en] B♭	Bass Trombone
2ème Bugle [en] B♭	Euphonion
Petite Bugle [en] E♭	1st Trumpet in E♭
1ère et 2ème Trombas [en] E♭	2nd Trumpet in E♭
1er et 2ème Cors [en] E-flat	1st Piston in B♭
1ère et 2ème Trompettes [en] E♭	2nd Piston in B♭
1er et 2ème Barytons [en] B♭	Piccolo in E♭
1er Trombone	Althorn in B♭
2ème et 3ème Trombones	1st & 2nd Oboes or Clarinets in C
Basse [Saxhorn en] Si♭	
C[on]tre Basse [Saxhorn en] E♭	
C[on]tre Basse [Saxhorn en] B♭	
Triangle[s]	
Tambour[s]	
Grosse Caisse, Chapeau Chinois et Cymbales	
Sources:	Source:
Fondazione Rossini, Pesaro: Altri autografi 3: Rossini's autograph manuscript of percussion parts	Parts for Rossini's *Fanfare* and C. Coote's *La Perichole Quadrille*, from *Boosé's Military Journal*, H.1549 (Vol. 46, No. 2), Music Collections, The British Library
Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia, Rome: Autograph Ms. 723: full score in a copyist's hand with Rossini's autograph title page	
(N.B.: These two sources, along with the 1878 Muzzi score [first printed edition of the full score] pl. no. 128) were employed for the Critical Edition)	

Figure 1: A comparison of the instrumentation for *La corona d'Italia* (left) and *Boosé*'s "Fanfare" (right).

report that Rossini had composed the piece "recently" speaks to the former possibility, but in the absence of a dated presentation manuscript, it is impossible to be certain.

Published accounts of the fanfare's performance suggest clues as to the ensemble that played it and therefore, by extension, the score itself. *El Diario* described the group as a *música* or band, and since the Teatro de la Corte seated only 200, it must indeed have been *de cámara*—a chamber group. Furthermore, if the parts published by Boosé in any way reflect the ensemble playing that night, there was no percussion, as would have been appropriate for the size of the venue. Maximilian's march, then, would have been a "fanfare" in the true sense of the word. In terms of the critical edition, this added new significance to the only manuscript source of *La corona d'Italia* in Rossini's hand: a three-stave *spartitino* for percussion. It now seems reasonable to suggest that, while Rossini had someone else rearrange a copy of Maximilian's fanfare for a much larger ensemble that included a full complement of "modern" instruments by Sax, the composer himself prepared parts for triangle, snare drum, cymbals, chapeau chinois, and bass drum. That portion of *La corona* was assuredly the last music he composed, but, save for its title, the work can no longer be viewed as a patriotic statement.

Origins of Maximilian's Fanfare

As it happens, Maximilian's march and *La corona* had another precursor: a piece for solo piano that, in its own history, became the *Petite fanfare,* no. 12 in vol. 9 of *Péchés de vieillesse* (*Sins of Old Age*). Although four signed manuscripts of that composition exist in Rossini's hand, only the first is dated: "16 June 1858". Totaling 148 measures, it is constructed as follows:

Introduction ||	Rest ||	Theme A ||	Theme B ||	Theme A ||:	break :||	coda
16 mm	2 mm	46 mm (+ 9 mm)	40 mm	46 mm	8 mm	27 mm
E♭ ———————————			A♭ ———	E♭ ———————		

The nine measures that conclude Theme A, eliminated in its repeat, provide material for the coda, while the material in the break would be absorbed into the coda in subsequent versions. It would be incorrect to consider this first version a sketch, since it functions well as an independent composition. It does, however, furnish all but one of the building blocks for subsequent versions.

The second manuscript, also for solo piano, features an enlarged structure (263 measures) expanded primarily by the addition of a third theme. This version represents the fanfare in its later iterations for piano and band.

Introduction ||	Rest ||	Theme A ||	Theme B ||:	Theme C :||	Theme ||	coda
16 mm	2 mm	46 mm (+ 9 mm)	28 mm	12 mm + 7 mm	46 mm	42 mm
E♭ ———————————			A♭ ———	c min. —A♭	E♭ ———————	

One easily discerns the similarities between the first and second versions. In all extant scores following this version, the repeat of Themes B and C is written out. The coda begins with the repeated break from the first version but merges it into a longer section that exploits the entire keyboard for a rousing finale. The same passage in *La corona* (and, one may extrapolate, in Maximilian's fanfare) similarly exploits the full ensemble. The addition of the third theme has implications on the fanfare's use as a march. Not only does it offer added melodic content and varied dynamics that band instruments could ably exploit, but its more balanced sections provided bandmasters the flexibility to lengthen or shorten the music to accommodate the duration of the event at which it was played. While critical to a good band march, such extemporizing would have been foreign and indeed meaningless in piano performance, since keyboard scores are played from beginning to end without question, taking repeats only if they are notated or signaled.

The third and fourth manuscripts in Rossini's hand deserve brief mention. They are identical arrangements for four-hand piano, differing only in layout. The former places the *Primo,* or upper keyboard part, above the *Secondo* on the same page, while the latter is written in traditional four-hand score, the *Secondo* on the left-hand page and the *Primo* on the right, thereby allowing both pianists to have their own parts in front of them. Gossett has suggested that this last score of the *Petite Fanfare* was employed for a performance at Rossini's Saturday night soirée on 1 March 1867.[16]

Gossett believes that Maximilian's march was arranged from the first piano version and that the second, marked "Transcription" (as are versions three and four), was derived from that. This order suggests that the 1858 piano fanfare lay dormant for seven years until Rossini had it arranged as a band piece for Maximilian in 1865. If Gossett's supposition that the final four-hand piano score was performed in 1867 is correct, then the Fanfare in its various iterations occupied Rossini off and on for the last three years of his life. Lacking dates for the second, third, and fourth piano manuscripts, it is impossible to ascertain which actually *was* the source of Maximilian's march; the strongest likelihood, though, is that the first band version was arranged either immediately before or after Rossini wrote the second version for solo piano.[17] Through all versions, though, the composer's basic conception of the piece remained the same: a march in E♭ major in 3/8 time.

Rossini's marches

In terms of performance repertory, Schaefer's probably remains the most popular Rossini arrangement in band literature, followed by the *Marcia* (*Pas redoublé*), *composta per S.M. Imperiale il Sultano Abdul-Medjid*, sent to the Ottoman court in 1852. Less known in performance outside of Italy, *La corona d'Italia* is the only work addressed in Rossini scholarship and then only because of its supposed cultural and political contexts. Such dismissal underscores the traditionally narrow perception of Rossini as solely an opera composer; indeed, only recently, as Rossini's career has come under re-examination following new studies inspired by the 1992 bicentennial of his birth, have later compositions such as the *Petite Messe solennelle*, the Stabat mater, and the salon pieces of *Péchés de vieillesse*

been admitted into serious scholarly discussion on their own merits.[18] Moreover, a look at Rossini works-lists demonstrates the general lack of importance assigned to his compositions for band. Included under "Instrumental works," the marches are given short shrift, and no currently published list reflects them all. *Grove Music Online* notes the following marches: a *passio doppio* for military band, composed in 1822 but lost[19]; three military marches (*Passage du Balcan, Prise d'Erivan,* and *Assaut de Varsovie*) composed in 1834 and published "in various orders: as Mariage du duc d'Orléans"; a March (*Pas-redoublé*) composed in 1852; *La corona d'Italia* (1868); and the *Petite fanfare à quatre mains* (for piano four-hands) in *Péchés de vieillesse*.[20] In the first serious scholarly study of Rossini's life and works, Giuseppe Radiciotti made note of marches "composed in occasion of the marriage of the Duke of Orléans at Fontainebleau," the *Marcia Militare* for the Sultan, and *Corona d'Italia*.[21] Alessandro Vessella considered only the three marches for the duke's wedding, including in his volume's appendices his own arrangements of those works.[22] Slightly more complete are lists compiled respectively by Norman E. Smith and Marino Anesa: both include the missing 1822 *passo doppio*, the Orléans marches, the sultan's march, *La corona,* and a *pas redoublé* composed for Oscar, Prince of Sweden and Norway.[23] Fulvio Creux concludes his article on band transcriptions of Rossini's music with a brief discussion of the composer's music for military ensembles, including the *Trois Marches Militaires* for the duke, the sultan's march, and *La corona d'Italia*. He notes the link between *La corona* and the march Schaefer arranged, although he seems not to have known of its link to Maximilian's march.[24]

In order to compile the repertory of Rossini's band music for the critical edition, it was necessary to untangle a complicated web of self-borrowings to come up with a complete list. After the missing 1822 *passo doppio* come the three pieces listed in *Grove*—the grand march *Passage du Balcan,* and two *pas redoublés, Prise d'Erivan,* and *Assaut de Varsovie,* all from 1834. The only entire arrangements in Rossini's hand, they were dedicated to Tsar Nicholas I, their titles commemorating three of his military victories. In 1836 Rossini had the two *pas redoublés* rearranged for a larger ensemble and sent in virtually identical copyist's manuscripts to Prince Oscar of Sweden and Norway and to Carlota's father, Leopold, the first monarch of newly independent Belgium. The *pas redoublé* based on *Prise d'Erivan* in these arrangements begins with a quadruplet anacrusis not present in the original version, a feature that bears significance in the next two iterations of these works. In 1837 all three of the Tsar's marches were published by Breitkopf & Härtel (Leipzig) and Girard (Naples) under the title *Mariage de S.A.R. le Duc d'Orléans* in arrangements for band as well as two- and four-hand piano. In the same year, the three were published by Troupenas (Paris) and Mori & Lavenu (London) in different arrangements for four-hand piano with dedications to Mademoiselle Charlotte de Rothschild. The Orléans version of *Prise d'Erivan* employs the anacrusis while the Rothschild score does not, indicating that the Oscar/Leopold arrangement was the source for the former and the tsar's for the latter. Although Rossini clearly was involved in offering the band arrangements to Oscar and Leopold—and most likely was present in Brussels when the latter's was presented—it has not been possible to demonstrate what role he might have had in the publication of

the Orléans marches (although the duke, Ferdinand-Philippe, was Leopold's brother-in-law). Rossini does seem to have known of the arrangements of the Rothschild marches, however, since he assigned their royalties to someone else.[25] The final march, dedicated to Sultan Abdul-Medjid in 1852 and published subsequently in 1854, was perhaps the most ingenious case of self-borrowing of them all. In several letters to his friend, clarinetist Domenico Liverani, Rossini complained that Gaetano Donizetti's brother Giuseppe, head of the musical establishment at the Ottoman court, had been badgering him for a march for the Sultan's band. Rossini asked Liverani to remove the voices from the chorus he had written for Bologna's Guardia Civica in 1848. Since the piece was already a *passo doppio*, Liverani simply rearranged the accompaniment to create the band piece.

One can only wonder if any of the dedicatees ever found out about Rossini's habit of rededicating his marches. It was recently discovered that, after they were received, the tsar's marches were put away in the court archives where they remained until they were assigned to regiments by Nicholas II in 1913.[26] Thus Nicholas I clearly did not know of their subsequent iterations. Yet did Oscar know that Leopold had received the very same arrangements at the very same time? Did Leopold know that his two *pas redoublés* had been published to commemorate his brother-in-law's wedding? And did James Rothschild, one of Rossini's closest friends, mind that the marches published with a dedication to his daughter Charlotte had, in essence, made the rounds of a tightly knit political set, most of whom, ironically, were customers of his family's bank? Perhaps this complicated history begs new consideration for the topic of the musical dedication. Suffice it to say, though, that Rossini's gift in most of these cases would have been recognized only as an *arrangement* of a composition.

Bands in Maximilian's Mexico

Maximilian was the second son of Archduke Franz Karl of Austria. His father might have been emperor once Maximilian's uncle, Ferdinand, abdicated in 1848, but Franz Karl's wife, Princess Sophie, insisted that the throne be passed to their eldest son, Maximilian's older brother, Franz Josef. Initially thriving in a naval career, Maximilian was appointed in 1857 by his brother as viceroy of the Habsburg's Italian territories. Together with his new wife, Charlotte (later Carlota), Maximilian remained there for two years until his liberal views resulted in his dismissal. The couple moved to Trieste, where Maximilian planned to retire from political life, for which he showed little talent or ambition. His greatest mistake—one that eventually cost him his life—was to allow himself to be duped into accepting the Mexican crown. Although he rejected an offer from Mexican monarchists, he was persuaded by Napoleon III, whose hidden agenda was to re-establish a French presence in the Americas. Maximilian accepted the crown of a country that had been at odds with itself for more than half a century, unaware until the last moment that by doing so he had forfeited his hereditary rights to rule any Habsburg territories.[27]

In Mexico City, Maximilian found a civilian musical establishment based largely on European traditions. Military music was performed by established brass ensembles even

though during the decades of revolution that preceded his arrival in 1864, reactionary movements often substituted traditional Mexican instruments to incite a spirit of nationalism. Gary P. C. Thomson suggests that the first concerted effort to employ European-style military music can be attributed to Antonio López de Santa Ana, who brought Catalan composer Jaime Nunó with him when he returned in 1846 from exile in Cuba. Reassuming the presidency (albeit temporarily), Santa Ana put Nunó in charge of organizing what Thomson calls a national network of military bands. When Santa Ana was removed eight years later, there were some 230 military bands in the regular army and the *milicia;* the ensembles of the *milicia*, however, may have been symbolic of military might but not properly equipped.[28]

Nabor Vázquez offers background information about the development of military ensembles at the time of Maximilian's arrival. The French bands that accompanied invading troops from 1862 to 1864 offered the Mexicans an organizational model. These foreign bands were prized for their rich repertory, accurate tempos, and ability to march in formation while playing—all by that time standard practice throughout Europe. Their soloists, Vázquez reports, were models of technical excellence and beautiful playing. It was this influence that would inspire Mexican military bands during the reign of Maximilian. The French bands also reacquainted Mexican musicians with the fanfare, which they originally had come to know as *charangas,* from Spanish military music.[29]

When the new emperor arrived, he tried valiantly to fit into his new country, insisting on speaking Spanish at formal functions and using it for official correspondence. Appearing in the full dress of a Mexican general and peppering speeches with phrases such as "our independence," he attempted to transform himself into an accepted political symbol. Although the Habsburgs were masters at controlling an empire composed of numerous multi-ethnic political entities, he foolishly attempted to foster his subjects' loyalty by personally joining the country's political and cultural community.[30] Maximilian brought with him Austrian military musicians who immediately took charge of training Mexican military bands. Despite not having funding to purchase instruments from Europe, Maximilian's government proposed the "Projecto de un Gimnasio Imperial de Música Militar" in October of 1865, a project designed to train 400 musicians who, upon completion of the course, would be able to retrain military bands throughout the empire. Ironically, the government was willingly turning music into one of the main weapons in the country's arsenal.[31] The ensemble that played Rossini's Fanfare for the court in November of 1865 was most likely made up of Austrian (or Austrian-trained) musicians, whose outdoor concerts had become as popular with the citizenry as their drilling and maneuvers were with the local military.

The fate of the Fanfare

After Maximilian's execution in 1867, Boosey & Company somehow obtained the score of the Fanfare or a copy of it.[32] Since the instrumentation matches that of the other march in that issue of the *Journal*, one can safely assume that it was rescored. The piece was

published in 1869, just one year after Rossini had transformed it into *La corona d'Italia* and dedicated it to Vittorio Emanuele. Even though *Boosé's Military Journal* distributed its issues "post-free to any part of the world," it would have been impossible to recognize the Fanfare as *La corona* since the latter was not performed until 1878 nor published until the following year.

Although part of the mystery of Maximilian's march has been pieced together, questions remain. Did Leopold suggest that his friend send a march to his daughter's new court to help her husband, the emperor, settle in? Or did Rossini simply instigate a letter-writing campaign to get another decoration? Although he joked with Ivanoff about having so many beribboned decorations that he could hang himself, the number he had accumulated would have certainly been a way to re-emphasize his importance in the musical world in which he no longer fully participated. A little self-plagiarizing might have been worth an addition to his already rich collection. Looking for the Maximilian march, in many ways, is like looking for the proverbial needle in the haystack. Even though it has not yet been located, it may still exist, and its discovery would add to an understanding of a long overlooked but important part of Rossini's compositional career.

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NOTES

[1] At a time when published band arrangements were scarce, Carl Boosé provided them to a base of international subscribers in his journal. Rossini's works, including the march Schaefer came across, would remain until the end of the century in the catalogue of the journal, known variously as *Boosé's Military Journal* and *Boosey's Military Journal*. In 1898 non-operatic selections from Rossini compositions such as the *Petite Messe solennelle* and the Stabat mater appeared. For a discussion of the history and significance of Boosé's journal on contemporary band repertory, see James C. Moss, "British Military Band Journals from 1845 to1900: An Investigation of Instrumentation and Content with an Emphasis on *Boosé's Military Journal*" (DMA diss., College-Conservatory of Music, University of Cincinnati, 2001).

[2] The late Prof. Schaefer, on sabbatical leave from his position as Director of the University of Southern California Wind Orchestra, was a visiting Fellow at Cambridge when he discovered the march. He wrote more extensively of his discovery in the program notes to his arrangement, *Scherzo for Band: An Original Band Composition by Gioacchino* [*sic*] *Rossini, Scored for Modern Band by William Schaefer* (Melville, NY: Piedmont Music Co., 1977), 1. In a telephone conversation on 10 August 2007, the author was able, with the assistance of Prof. Schaefer's wife, to confirm details of

his find.

[3] *Live in Concert*: "The President's Own" United States Marine Band, Col. Timothy W. Foley, Director (1998). See http://www.marineband.usmc.mil/audio_resources/discography/live_in_concert.htm for album information and for a digital copy of the liner notes that relate the details of Schaefer's find.

[4] *Music for Band,* ed. Denise Gallo, in *Works of Gioachino Rossini* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010). The Preface and Critical Commentary of that edition include full histories of all of Rossini's military band music.

[5] The full MARC record identifies the score with shelfmark H. 1549 (*Boosé's Military Journal,* Series 46, no. 2) and estimates its date of publication as 1880. *Boosé* repertory lists, printed on the back covers of the periodical, however, confirm that it was first offered for sale in 1869. Included along with the Rossini march (indeed with the same instrumentation) are parts for Charles Coote's *La Périchole Quadrille*. Later lists of Boosey repertory identify the Rossini march as *Fanfare Militaire.* My sincere thanks go to Nicolas Bell, Curator of the British Library Music Collections, and his staff, who time and again responded patiently to requests for information about the Maximilian march.

[6] Martina Grempler has written extensively on *La corona d'Italia* as a political statement; see, for example, her *Rossini e la patria: Studien zu Leben und Werk Gioachino Rossinis vor dem Hintergrund des Risorgimento* (Kassel: Gustave Bosse, 1996) and "Rossinis 'politisches Spätwerk': Die *Hymne à Napoléon III* und *La corona d'Italia,*" in *Rossini in Paris: Tagungsband*, ed. Bernd-Rüdiger Kern and Reto Müller (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2002), 181–98.

[7] Erika Cassy Salas searched Mexican archives relating to Maximilian and the Second Empire from April through October 2008. Among the institutions at which she worked were the Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Histórico de la Ciudad de México, Archivo Saldivar, the Biblioteca Nacional, CITRU (Center of Theater Research), the Conservatory, Instituto Mora, Museo Nacional de Historia, and the Palacio Nacional. No presentation manuscript could be found, though this is not surprising, since after the emperor's execution, most traces of his reign were destroyed.

[8] Born Charlotte, she assumed the Spanish form of her name as a way to reach out to her husband's new subjects.

[9] Alfred Loewenberg lists productions of *Il barbiere* in Spanish (1826) and Italian (1827) in Mexico City; other Rossini works also were popular favorites with Mexican audiences. See "Paisiello's and Rossini's 'Barbiere di Siviglia'," *Music & Letters* 20 (1939): 166. See also Frederick G. Bohme, "The Italians in Mexico: A Minority's Contribution," *The Pacific Historical Review* 28, no. 1 (February 1959): 1–18.

[10] "Ha dovuto scrivere molte lettere per il Gran Cordone Conferitomi dal Imperatore del Messico, quanti cordoni!" Rossini continues that if he gets a medal from the Sultan (he had already received the Ordine di Médjidié sometime between 1853 and 1854 for the march he had sent to the sultan in 1852), he would have enough ribbon to hang himself: "Se me ne giunge uno dal Gran Sultano, dovrò come di pragmatica Inveterata valermene per Impiccarmi, povero maestro!!!" See Paolo Fabbri, *Rossini nelle raccolte Piancastelli di Forlì* (Lucca: LIM, 2001), 213–14.

[11] See his commentaries and illustrations of the medals in Daniele Diotallevi, "Le 'miserie' cavalleresche di Rossini," *Bollettino del centro rossiniano di studi* 37 (1997): 69–119. Along with Rossini's other medals, the *Gran Cruz,* an elaborate sunburst design with an image of Mexico's patroness at its center, is housed at the composer's birthplace in Pesaro, Italy.

[12] See the *Almanaque Imperial para el año de 1866* (Mexico: J. M. Lara, 1866). Rossini's name appears on page 248 and Liszt's and Verdi's on p. 251. Conceiving of decorations as a sign of the "new road to peace," Maximilian outlawed all medals awarded during the interim government

of Benito Juárez, the man who had unseated Augustín de Iturbide. Maximilian's Imperial Order honored those who had served with "merit, patriotism, loyalty, valor and other virtues." However, Francisco de Paula de Arrangoiz, an imperial diplomat and political conservative, thought that it was a scandal to award these medals to people who had never been to Mexico or were unknown to Mexicans. See Robert H. Duncan, "Political Legitimation and Maximilian's Second Empire in Mexico, 1864–1867," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 12, no. 1 (Winter 1996): 27–66.

[13] Decorations were awarded by the following dedicatees of marches: Leopold I (undated, but most likely in 1836); Prince Oscar of Sweden and Norway (14 July 1836), awarded by his father, King Karl XIV Johan; Sultan Abdul Medjid (sometime between 1853 and 1855); and Vittorio Emanuele (22 April 1868). See Diotallevi, "Le 'miserie,' n. 8. The history of Rossini's other marches will be summarized below.

[14] "La música de cámara tocó entonces la *Fanfare* que el célebre maestro Rossini ha compuesto recientemente, dedicándosela al Emperador. Es una bella composición notable por su sencillez y el buen gusto de sus armonías." *El Diario del Imperio*, [no. 237] (6 November 1865): "Funcion en el Teatro de la Corte," p. 455, col. 2.

[15] "A las ocho SS. MM. el Emperador y la Emperatriz ... se dirigieron al salon del Teatro, seguido de la Corte y de las personas convidadas. La música de cámara tocó entonces una FANFARE que el maestro Rossini ha compuesto y dedicado recientemente á S. M. el Emperador." See *Funcion Dramatica en el Palacio Imperial de México el 4 de noviembre de 1865* (Mexico: Andrade y Escalante, 1865), 4. The author thanks Michael Hironymous of the Library at the University of Texas at Austin for assisting in procuring a copy of this program. Subsequent sources have reiterated what *El Diario* and the program observed. See, for example, theater historian Luiz Reyes de la Maza's account in *El Teatro en Mexico durante El Segundo Imperio (1862–1867)*, vol. 10 of *Estudios y Fuentes del Arte en México* (Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1959).

[16] The musicians, sitting side by side, were given some interesting keyboard maneuvers and allowed playful proximity. See Gossett's article "Rossini e i suoi «Péchés de vieillesse»," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 14 (1980): 15. If he is correct, that performance possibly helps to date the final piano version as being written out some nine years after the first.

[17] The author discussed with Gossett the possible evolution of the arrangement of the march for Maximilian during work on the editions of the piano fanfares. He continues to maintain that the order is: first piano fanfare, Maximilian march, other piano versions, and finally *La corona*. The author places Maximilian's fanfare either before or *after* the second piano version.

[18] Until the late twentieth century, Rossini scholarship focused on the operas, reiterating the myth suggested in early biographies that after *Guillaume Tell* (1829) the composer simply stopped writing music of any worth. As an example of this inequity, some forty-four books and articles have been dedicated to *Il barbiere di Siviglia* alone; in comparison, the Stabat mater has received scholarly treatment only fifteen times, and then only peripherally in performance context or comparisons with other settings of the text. Only six works consider Rossini's military music. Recently, scholars have begun to consider Rossini's years in France more fully, finally examining the compositional activity of his late years. For a full picture of Rossini scholarship as of 2010, see the author's *Gioachino Rossini: A Research and Information Guide* (New York / London: Routledge, 2010).

[19] In a letter to Clemens von Metternich dated 19 February 1823, Rossini wrote that he was sending along two copies of a *passo doppio*, one for Metternich to keep and the other for Count Karl von Nesselrode, Minister of External Affairs, to give to Tsar Alexander I, whom the composer had met at the Congress of Verona in 1822. See *Gioachino Rossini: Lettere e documenti* (Pesaro, 1992–), 2:121–22.

[20] By citing only the four-hand versions, the list eliminates the two-hand scores A and B; nor does

the *Grove* list note that the *Petite Fanfare* is related at all to *La corona*. See *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23901pg8 (accessed 28 March 2011), s.v. "Rossini, Gioachino," by Philip Gossett.

[21] See *Gioacchino Rossini: vita documentata, opere ed influenza su l'arte*, 3 vols. (Tivoli, 1927–29), 1:470–1. In listing *published* instrumental music, Radiciotti mentions the march "composte in occasione del matrimonio del duca d'Orléans," noting the band parts as well as two- and four-hand piano versions, and the sultan's march (3:252). He mentions *Corona d'Italia* in his commentary (2:488) but does not list it with the others, perhaps because he knew of no published versions. He also suggests that the listed *passo doppio* from 1822 became the final *Allegro vivace* of the overture to *Guillaume Tell* (1:470–71).

[22] See Alessandro Vessella, *La banda dalle origini fino ai nostri giorni* (Milan: Istituto editoriale nazionale, 1935), 149–50. Excerpts from his arrangements, entitled *Trois morceaux de musique militaire,* may be found on pp. 331–44.

[23] The march for Oscar has been documented in literature on Swedish bands, such as Sigfrid Strand, *Militärmusiken i svensk musikliv* (Stockholm: Sohlmans, 1974), 65. Smith speculates that Rossini employed the missing 1822 march in the overture to *Guillaume Tell*. That a *passo doppio* exists from that year is demonstrated by a letter from Rossini; that it is a march section of the overture has yet to be proven. Citing Schaefer's score, Smith includes the march for Maximilian, apparently unaware that that work and *La corona* are one and the same. He also makes the unsubstantiated claim that the dedication to Maximilian was the idea of Napoleon III. Smith also lists a *pas redoublé* in C from 1852, which in fact was the march sent to the sultan. See Norman E. Smith, *March Music Notes* (Lake Charles, LA: Program Note Press, 1986), 358. For Anesa's list, see his *Dizionario della musica italiana per banda* (Gazzinga, IT: AMMA, 2004), 2:834.

[24] See Creux's essay, "Rossini nelle trascrizioni per banda: una proposta ancora valida dopo 200 anni?" in *Rossini a Roma—Rossini e Roma*. Convegno di studi, Roma 25 marzo 1992 (Rome, 1992), 69–85.

[25] Correspondence dated 6 February 1838, from Heinrich Probst, Breitkopf & Härtel's agent in Paris, demonstrates that Rossini had assigned the royalities for the Troupenas march arrangements to one "Calegard." See Probst's letters in *Breitkopf und Härtel in Paris: The Letters of Their Agent Heinrich Probst between 1833 and 1849* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1990), English transl., pp. 32–34; original German text, 91–92. This most likely was the Calegari, identified only by surname, who had worked with Rossini in Naples, arranging numbers for stage band. My thanks to Jeffrey Kallberg for calling the Calegari reference to my attention and indicating the reference to him in Philip Gossett, "Rossini in Naples: Some Major Works Recovered," *Musical Quarterly* 54 (1968): 329.

[26] Dr. Galina Kopytova, librarian of the Rossijskij Institut Istorii Iskusstv in St. Petersburg, kindly shared with me the results of her recent research, which demonstrates that the marches sent by Rossini were played only by regimental bands in Russia in the early twentieth century.

[27] One of earliest twentieth-century treatments of Maximilian's history in Mexico was Percy Falcke Martin, *Maximilian in Mexico: The Story of the French Intervention (1861–1867)* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914). Most recently the subject was analyzed in Kristine Ibsen, *Maximilian, Mexico, and the Invention of Empire* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2010).

[28] Gary P. C. Thomson, "Bulwarks of Patriotism: The National Guard, Philharmonic Corps and Patriotic *Juntas* in Mexico, 1847–88," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22 (1990): 51–52.

[29] See Nabor Vázquez, "Breve Historia de las Bandas de Música en México," *Orientacion musical*, 3, no. 25 (July 1943): 14; and no. 26 (August 1943): 11.

[30] Robert H. Duncan, "Embracing a Suitable Past: Independence Celebrations under Mexico's

Second Empire, 1864–6," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, no. 2 (May 1998): 264. While such efforts appealed to the citizens and to those of a liberal bent who appreciated Maximilian's invocation of the names of past Mexican heroes, conservatives found this practice disturbing and insincere.

[31] Thomson, "Bulwarks of Patriotism," 52.

[32] Contacts at the Boosey & Hawkes archives, which are divided between England and cold storage in Mainz, Germany, were unable to locate the source for the Boosé publication. The author, nonetheless, thanks Iain Harris of Boosey & Hawkes, members of the staff at the Mainz archives, and Guy Thomas of Schott Music, Ltd. for their assistance in the search.