



# Salieri's *La locandiera* and Its Viennese Versions: A Codicological Examination

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**Abstract:** The production of eighteenth-century opera buffa often involved modifications to its poetic or musical text. Italian comic operas written for Vienna during the second half of the century, however, were rarely modified during a performance series and were even more rarely revived. The present article examines a well-known exception to this “rule,” Antonio Salieri’s *La locandiera*, which was first performed in the Habsburg capital in 1773 and restaged there nine years later. The nature of modifications applied for the revival has not been acknowledged in scholarly literature. A first glance at the musical sources suggests a seemingly uneventful performance history, with no apparent differences between the version of the premiere and that of the 1782 revival. However, a codicological examination of one particular surviving copy—conducted as part of the research on Viennese opera scores from 1760 to 1775 by the project [Paper & Copyists](#)—revealed some irregularities: not only did it contain a substituted aria for the servant character Lena, but it also featured a paper with a watermark not consistent with those used in the early 1770s. The internal differences among the copies, all written by professional Viennese scribes, prompted me to examine the only surviving autograph of the complete opera. This source has previously been studied by musicologists and has formed the basis for all musical and dramaturgical analyses of *La locandiera* to date. Salieri’s manuscript, however, revealed inconsistencies similar to those in the previously examined copy, and it contains parts of the later version of the opera. The information gathered in the [Paper & Copyists](#) database, along with a thorough codicological examination and comparison of all surviving Viennese sources, has helped me to illuminate the 1782 restaging of *La locandiera*. It reveals a degree of musical rethinking by the composer, mostly done to accommodate the new cast of singers.

**Keywords:** 18th century; Vienna; opera buffa; Salieri Antonio; codicology

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In late eighteenth-century Vienna, *opere buffe* that performed particularly well at the box office were often kept in the programs for several months or even years. In some cases—albeit quite rarely—operas were revived years after their first performance. The very nature of Italian opera of the eighteenth century (and beyond) meant that works were continuously adapted to meet the specific needs of the performers, the venue, the occasion, or other factors. This typically involved some form of modification, whether of the music, the text, or both. On June 8, 1773, the Kärntnertortheater, one of Vienna’s two major opera houses, premiered a comic opera entitled *La locandiera* composed by Antonio Salieri (1750–1825).<sup>1</sup> The opera was based on a Venetian comedy by Carlo Goldoni (1707–93). Just one day after its premiere, the same production was performed at Vienna’s court theater, the Burgtheater. It remained in the repertoire of both theaters for several months, running until early 1774.<sup>2</sup> However, the performance history of Salieri’s *dramma giocoso* differs from the other typical Viennese comic operas, which usually only saw one single performance series: *La locandiera* was revived on November 12, 1782—nine years after its premiere—and performed six more times through early 1783.<sup>3</sup>

The opera’s success in 1773 became firmly embedded in the Viennese operatic tradition of the 1760s and 1770s, a period in which the Italian *dramma giocoso* gradually but decisively surpassed its serious counterpart, the *dramma per musica*, which had dominated the Habsburg court opera until then.<sup>4</sup> This shift was due not only to a change in audience tastes but also to the imperial family’s gradual but steady withdrawal from operatic life in Vienna.<sup>5</sup> Especially starting in the summer of 1763, with Florian Leopold Gassmann’s arrival from Venice, the strong reception of Venetian *opere buffe*<sup>6</sup> marked the beginning of Italian comic opera’s rise as “a central part of Viennese operatic tradition.”<sup>7</sup> At the same time, it began spreading across the entire European continent. Although attempts to bring Goldoni to Vienna remained unsuccessful, his libretti as well as some of his comedies, like the one on which *La locandiera* was based, proved especially attractive to composers active in Vienna, such as Gassmann, Salieri, and later Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.<sup>8</sup> All of them set Goldonian comedies and/or libretti to music, as these works had proven to be successful in numerous other European cities.<sup>9</sup> John A. Rice has noted a

Viennese preference for staging theatrical works that had been commercially successful elsewhere before being adapted for Viennese opera houses.<sup>10</sup> Very often, comic operas were imported from Italian cities like Venice or Rome, revised, and adapted to suit local tastes.<sup>11</sup> However, by setting Goldoni's comedy *Mirandolina* to music, Salieri and his librettist Domenico Poggi opted for something new, as the piece had never been adapted to an opera libretto before. Still, the enormous success of Goldoni's comedy in Venice twenty years earlier must have been reassuring for Salieri and Poggi, contributing to their confidence in the opera's potential success.<sup>12</sup> Apart from the well-constructed plot and engaging characters, which would have certainly been a factor, "the fact that [it had] a small orchestra, relatively undemanding vocal parts, and no chorus"<sup>13</sup> made it easier to stage than many other Viennese operas of the time. Obviously, this does not necessarily translate into a guaranteed success. On the contrary, "downsizing" the musical realization might have actually jeopardized it. However, perhaps the dramaturgical strength of the plot reassured Salieri that excessive instrumentation was not necessary.

The plot of *La locandiera* exemplifies all the dramaturgical conventions of mid-eighteenth-century opera buffa, except for the absence of *parti serie*,<sup>14</sup> which typically make up a portion of the cast and contribute to the development of the plot through their interactions with the comic roles. The female protagonist, Mirandolina, is an innkeeper who has the tendency to attract many male suitors.<sup>15</sup> She is visited by several flawed noblemen who have fallen from grace: the Conte d'Albafiorita, the Marchese di Forlipopoli, and the Cavaliere Ripafratta, all eager to win over the charming innkeeper. The main cast is rounded out by the comic servant couple Lena and Fabrizio (sung by the singer-librettist Poggi at the premiere), who end up getting married at the opera's conclusion.

Several manuscripts of the opera have survived, all dated to the 1773 premiere in the catalogue of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB), where they are all preserved. However, some of these copies differ from one another, suggesting, first, that changes were applied for the revival in the early 1780s and, second, that some of the manuscripts contain parts of this later version. Regarding the 1782 revival of Salieri's *La locandiera*, scholars have paid little attention to it, aside from acknowledging that a later version was performed with a different cast.<sup>16</sup> There is usually no mention of musical or dramaturgical changes between the 1773 and the 1782 versions, and the extent of the changes remains unclear. As of now, no known surviving musical sources

are linked to the 1782 version of Salieri's opera. This paper focuses on the later version and examines the nature of the modifications by analyzing the paper used and the handwriting of the copyists. Through a careful philological examination of the musical sources and a comparison of the two libretto prints (one for 1773 and one for 1782), I aim to demonstrate that certain parts of the manuscripts can be assigned to the 1782 performance series. Furthermore, I will discuss the musical changes applied for 1782 in order to shed light on the performance history of one of Vienna's most successful *opere buffe* of the late eighteenth century.

### **The Viennese *La locandiera* Sources: An Overview**

Two libretto prints have been preserved, one for the 1773 premiere<sup>17</sup> and a new edition for the 1782 revival.<sup>18</sup> Although the performance series following the premiere included no less than thirty-six performances and lasted until January 1774, the libretto does not appear to have been reprinted after that, as far as we know. The long gap between the first performance series and the revival in 1782 likely explains the need for a new edition, as no more libretto prints may have been available by then. The new edition, published nine years later, might also suggest significant changes to the original text. However, a synopsis of the two libretti revealed only marginal textual alterations. For the 1782 revival, no scenes were completely cut or heavily modified, and no characters were renamed, added, or omitted—which makes the two versions of Salieri's *La locandiera* almost identical in terms of the poetic text.<sup>19</sup> Only small changes were made to individual verses at the end of Act II, which were omitted in 1782.

The surviving musical sources associated with the Viennese stagings of *La locandiera* present a more complex situation. As shown in table 1, five manuscripts related to the opera are currently preserved at the Department of Music of the Austrian National Library (ÖNB) in Vienna.

Table 1: Musical sources of Salieri's *La locandiera* in A-Wn

Title	Dating in ÖNB catalogue	Dating revised	Shelfmark (A-Wn)	Scribes	Type of source
La locandiera: opera buffa in tre atti (1773)	1773	1773/1782	<a href="#">Mus.Hs.16179/1-2</a>	Salieri	auto graph
La Locandiera: Finale I	No date	1773	<a href="#">Mus.Hs.4498</a>	Salieri	auto graph
La locandiera	1773	1773	<a href="#">Mus.Hs.1053/1-3</a>	WK71C, WK71S, WK72E, WK72Z, <b>WK73K</b> , WK73Q	copy
La locandiera	No date	1773	<a href="#">Mus.Hs.10073/1-3</a>	WK71A, WK73P, WK73Q, WK73R, WK73S	copy
La locandiera	1773	1773/1782	<a href="#">Mus.Hs.17840/1-3</a>	WK71B, WK71D, WK71H, <b>WK73K</b> , WK73L, WK73M, WK73N, WK74C	copy

Two of the five sources—Mus.Hs.16179 and Mus.Hs.4498 (which contains only the finale of the first act)—are autographs by Antonio Salieri. As Paper & Copyists only deals with copies made by professional Viennese scribes, the non-autograph copies were meticulously analyzed, while the autographs were excluded from consideration. All three copies display a typical Viennese typeface.<sup>20</sup> The ÖNB catalogue attributes two copies and the complete autograph to the premiere date 1773. The only copy not dated in the catalogue, [Salieri\\_10073](#), clearly dates to 1773, as the combination of paper used and scribe's handwriting puts the score in the early 1770s. The other copy, [Salieri\\_1053](#), is a similar case, as it contains a variant of paper [P26](#), which appears in only one other Viennese score from 1773. Its combination of scribes and paper also places it in 1773, so the catalogue's dating is correct in this case.

Regarding the remaining copy, [Salieri\\_17840](#), the codicological analysis proved to be more complicated. Consisting of three volumes in total, this score displays some irregularities not found in the other two copies. The structure at the beginning of the score is summarized and visualized in table 2.<sup>21</sup>

Table 2: Score sheet of *La locandiera*, Act I, A-Wn Mus.Hs.17840 (excerpt)

Volume 1 (Act I)						
Gathering	Folios per Gathering	Folio	Total Span	Watermark	Copyist	Musical Disposition
1	8	1–8	10/189	P26	WK73L	
2		9–13; 15–16				
		14	10/187	P47	WK73K	
3		17; 19–24	10/189	P26	WK73L	
		18	10/187	P47	WK73K	
4		25–32	10/189	P26	WK73L	
5	9	33–37				
		38–41	10/187	P47	WK73K	
6	6	42–43				
		44–47	10/189	P26	WK73L	
7	3	48–50				

While P26 belongs to the early 1770s, the score reveals a paper labeled P47 that is not present in the Paper & Copyists sample between 1760 and 1775. This paper is written in a scribe's hand that appears in only one other score examined. The copyist with the siglum WK73K wrote relatively few pages of another of the *La locandiera* scores, Mus.Hs.1053. In Mus.Hs.17840, the same scribe appears on individual folios throughout all three volumes of the score, always coinciding with paper P47, for example at the beginning of the first volume in gathering 3 and in the consecutive gatherings 5 and 6 (see tab. 2).

Regarding P47, further investigation reveals that it cannot possibly be dated to 1773. The watermark, which displays the letters "REAL" underneath the letters A/HF, refers to the paper mill of Andrea Fossati in the region of Toscolano.<sup>22</sup> The letters were used to indicate the size and weight of the paper, a requirement imposed by Venetian law in September 1774. This measure aimed to address the deteriorating quality of paper that had been sold to foreign merchants in the years prior and was heavily criticized. From that point onward, papermakers were required to mark "every single sheet"<sup>23</sup> with one of five possible size/weight categories. As Dexter Edge has noted, even though "Venetian paper makers began to use molds containing the word 'REAL' no earlier than 1774 or perhaps in the first months of 1775," it is improbable that these papers reached Vienna before 1776, due to the fact that paper manufacturers usually let paper "cure or ripen"<sup>24</sup> for at least several months before selling it. Actually, in Viennese opera scores, papers displaying these letters in their watermark only began to appear in the late 1770s. In Mozart's autographs, for example, "REAL" first appears in 1779.<sup>25</sup> In Paper & Copyists,

the earliest examples of watermarks containing “REAL” (P14, P45 and P46) are found in a score of Antonio Sacchini’s *L’amore soldato*, [Sacchini\\_17831](#), which became part of the imperial collection under unknown circumstances. As the opera was first performed in London in 1778, this score can be dated to this year at the earliest. The presence of P47 coupled with the handwriting of scribe WK73K—who appears only on these specific pages—suggests that the copy Mus.Hs.17840 consists of two distinct time layers. It is likely that copyist WK73K added pages with new or revised music for the 1782 revival.

### ***La locandiera* 1773/1782: The Manuscript Mus.Hs.17840**

A more detailed examination of the gatherings reveals additional information about the revival and the nature of the musical modifications that were applied. To illustrate the general process of inserting the later time layer into the manuscript, I will discuss a specific example from the score’s first volume. This example pertains to the opening scene of Act I, in which the servant couple, Lena and Fabrizio, enters the stage. Fabrizio is making chocolate, while Lena is reorganizing the kitchen. Although presented in a humorous manner, both lament the burdens of servitude—having to rise at dawn and cater to their masters’ needs.<sup>26</sup> The gatherings containing this scene show some irregularities, suggesting that they were modified (see tab. 3).

Table 3: Mus.Hs. 17840/1, fol. 33–47: structure of gatherings 5 and 6, with P26 (old) and P47 (new)

Gatherings	Folio Nr.	Gathering Structure	Musical Disposition	Copyist (layer)
5	33		Duet Lena-Fabrizio	WK73L (old)
	34		Aria Lena „Dall’amor“	
	35			
	36			Scena III: Recitative Conte et al.
	37			
	38			
	39		44r: Ending Recitative 44v: Beginning Aria Conte	WK73K (new)
40				
41	Aria Conte „Io quand’ero ragazzo“	WK73L (old)		
42				
6	43		44r: Ending Recitative 44v: Beginning Aria Conte	WK73L (old)
	44			
	45		Aria Conte „Io quand’ero ragazzo“	
	46			
	47			

The fifth gathering (fol. 33–41), consisting of nine folios in total, contains the last measures of the couple’s duet. It is written on the older layer of the score and is textually and musically consistent with the versions found in the other 1773 copies of the opera. On folio 37v, the second scene begins with a recitative by Lena, still written on the older layer of the score. However, on folio 38r, there is a noticeable change in handwriting (WK73K), as well as in the paper used (P47), indicating the insertion of a new layer for the revival. The change in copyist and paper also coincides with the start of a new version of Lena’s aria, which uses the same text as in 1773. For the 1782 revival, however, the aria was completely recomposed, significantly shortened, and adapted to suit the vocal profile of the new singer.<sup>27</sup> While the soprano voice register remained the same as in 1773, the new *tempo di minuetto* version in C major (see fig. 1, fol. 38r) featured fewer melismatic passages than the earlier version, and its ambitus was reduced by a fourth, from d’–a’ to g’–a’. In addition to the change in ambitus, the *andantino* demonstrated greater vocal flexibility, with short melismas on words like “gelosia” or “pazzia,” while maintaining a strictly semi-syllabic vocal style, similar to the incipit (fig. 1). Also, the vocal line—as well as all of the other instrumental parts—displays conspicuous ornamentation with appoggiaturas and trills.

The image shows a musical score for the aria 'Dall'amor come ognun dice' by Lena. The score is in 2/4 time, C major, and features a vocal line for Lena and instrumental parts for Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, and Basso continuo. The lyrics are 'Dall' a - mor come ognun di - ce'. The vocal line is in a soprano register and features a melismatic passage on the word 'ognun'. The instrumental parts are in a lower register and feature a melismatic passage on the word 'di'. The score is written in a style consistent with the 1773 version.

Figure 1: La locandiera (1773), I/2, Aria Lena, „Dall’amor come ognun dice”, bb.9–12.

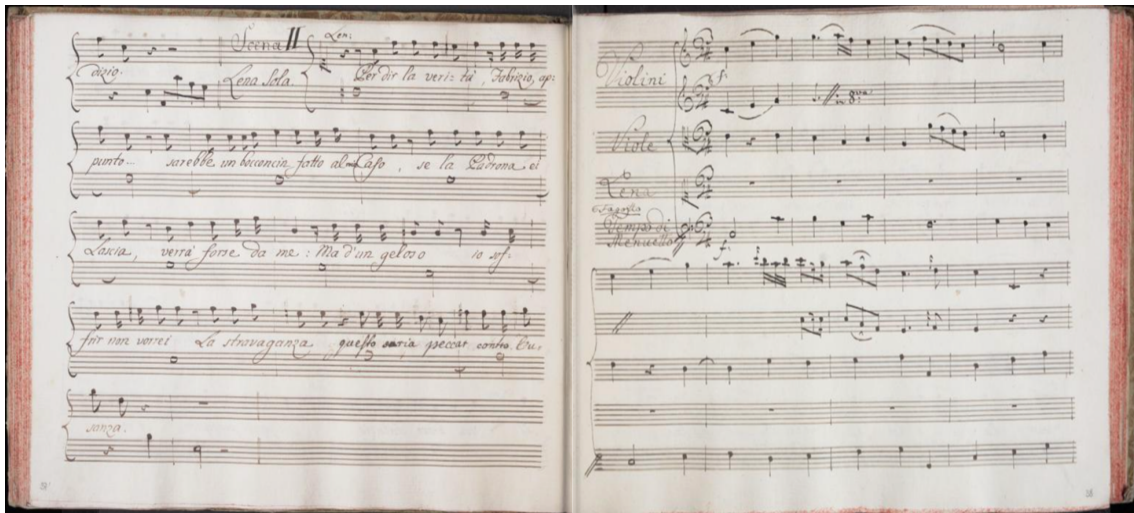


Figure 2: Mus.Hs. 17840/1, fol. 37v+38r.: change of copyist and paper with new aria; by courtesy of the [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung](#)

The insertion of the two new bifolios is evident not only from the change in paper but also from the visible seam between folios 39 and 40. Immediately following these inserted half-sheets—between gatherings 5 and 6—seven folios in total were cut out (fig. 3). Three of these seven cut folios originally belonged to the old gathering 5, which had consisted of eight folios, the standard structure of Viennese opera scores of that period.<sup>28</sup> The result of the removed folios is an “irregular” nine-folio gathering and the absence of the seam between folios 36 and 37 in gathering 5, where the middle of the old gathering was presumably located.

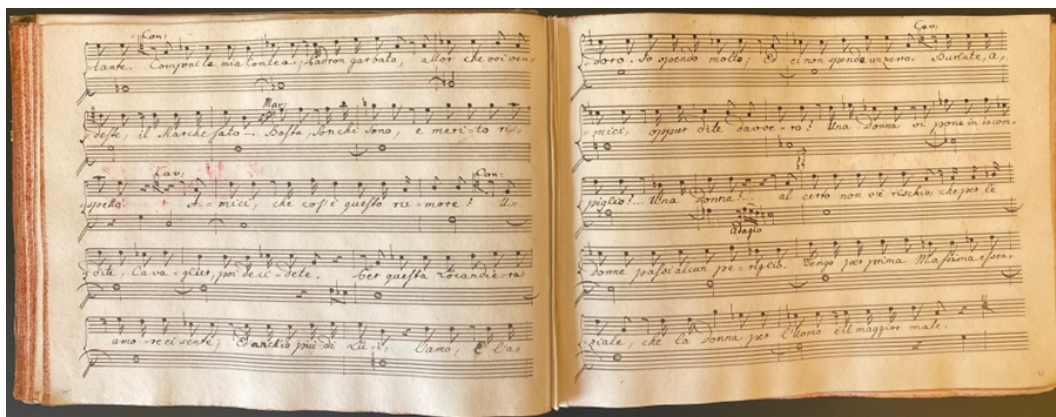


Figure 3: Mus.Hs. 17840/1, fol. 41v+42r, folios cut out between gatherings 5 and 6; by courtesy of the [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung](#)

Lena’s newly composed aria ends on folio 40v, and the following folio 41r—still written on the new layer—contains the beginning of the third scene, with all male protagonists, Marchese, Conte, Cavaliere, and Fabrizio, entering the

stage. Although written on the new layer, it shows no musical differences from the original version: scribe WK73K copied the entire recitative of the third scene. The recitative continues on folio 42, which marks the beginning of a new gathering (see tab. 3). Gathering 6 consists of six folios in total, which might seem regular at first glance due to the even number of folios. However, this gathering also presents some irregularities in the binding. As shown in table 3, the seam is located between the first two folios, rather than in the middle of the gathering. This is because the new copyist added one half-sheet, copying the old recitative so that it would seamlessly transition into the earlier version on the old layer of the manuscript, starting on folio 44. The new layer was thus prepared by WK73K to blend smoothly with the old recitative version. The original gathering most likely consisted of eight folios, with the first four folios having been cut out.

As for the rest of the score, the insertions of P47 by copyist WK73K are quite similar to the two gatherings just discussed, at least from a codicological perspective. These insertions mainly consist of shortened music or small changes in tessitura to accommodate the new cast. This often results in the excision of original passages and insertions of “old” music copied onto the new paper when the folio structure requires it. However, the opening of Act I—specifically, gatherings 5 and 6 of the first volume—is the only instance where a whole aria was completely substituted, as is shown in the appendix of the present article.

### **Salieri’s Autograph: Some Light on the 1782 Revival Version**

Although operatic revivals and musical sources with modifications are not uncommon,<sup>29</sup> Mus.Hs.17840 presents a rather unusual case within Vienna’s operatic tradition of the 1770s and 1780s. Most opera scores from this period are clean, regular copies and can typically be attributed to a specific production date. The 1782 modifications are not immediately apparent from a synopsis of the libretti, even though—as I mentioned earlier—there are some slight textual deviations in Act II.

Salieri’s *La locandiera* has been examined by various scholars, with most contributions focusing on either Salieri’s compositional style or the dramaturgical changes to Goldoni’s comedy by Poggi. These changes are most evident in the addition of a new female character, Lena, for example.<sup>30</sup> John Rice and Elisa Grossato both base their analysis of the opera on Salieri’s

only surviving autograph, Mus.Hs.16179.<sup>31</sup> They consider Lena’s opening aria “Dall’amor come ognun dice” without question to be part of the first version, arguing that the *tempo di minuetto* in C major was a form “traditionally assigned to female parti buffe”<sup>32</sup> by composers like Salieri and his contemporaries. However, the analysis of Mus.Hs.17840 has shown that the C major Minuet belongs to the later time frame, as it is the only musical number that was composed *ex novo* for the 1782 revival. As the autograph Mus.Hs.16179 includes the Minuet, it too must contain at least some portions of the later version of *La locandiera*. To determine the extent to which the autograph includes music from the revival, I closely examined the source and compiled a score sheet of the autograph (for an excerpt, see tab. 4) to visualize the structure of its gatherings.

Table 4: Score sheet of Mus.Hs.16179/1–2 (excerpt). Volume 1, Act 1

The parentheses mean that those gatherings (numbers 5 and 7 in tab. 4) are glued to the previous gathering. However, they are numbered within the manuscript

Folio 37: Original half of the bifolio cut and replaced by Folio 34, which is glued to the rest of the original folio

Volume 1 (Act 1)						
Gathering	Folios per gathering	Folio	Total Span	Watermark	Scribe	Musical Disposition
1	4	1–4	10/183	P26	Salieri	sinfonia
2		5–8				
3		9–12				
4		13–16		P3		
(5)		17–18				atto primo
6		19–22		P26		
(7)		23–24		P3		
8	2+3	25–26	10/190	GF – 3 crescents/REAL (Tyson 53)		aria Lena
		27–29	10/183	P26		scena III
9	4	30–33	10/189	P7		aria Conte
10		34	10/190	Crown/GF? (Tyson 53)		
		35–36; 37	10/186	P9		
11		38–41	10/183	P3	scena IV	

Similarly to the “two-layered” copy Mus.Hs.17840, the autograph shows some codicological irregularities in the gatherings and includes paper not datable to 1773. Although most of the score, which consists of only two volumes, with the second one containing Acts II and III, was written on paper dating from the 1760s to the mid-1770s (such as P3, P7, P9, and P26), some gatherings include paper not used in Vienna during that period. This paper features the letters “REAL” in its watermark. As I have shown earlier, those letters prove that

the folios bearing them could not have been assembled as early as 1773. In gathering 8 (see tab. 4), for instance, a bifolio was attached to the original three-fold (formerly four-fold) gathering. Folios 25 and 26 are made of a paper bearing the letters “GF,” likely from Gaudenzio Fossati’s paper mill,<sup>33</sup> as described by Alan Tyson under the siglum Tyson 53.<sup>34</sup> This watermark appears in Mozart’s autographs from 1780 and 1781, in sources written for Salzburg and Munich. Therefore, it is likely that Salieri had access to the same paper in Vienna in 1782. These “new” layers, with the “REAL” watermark, were simply glued to the old layer and lack the seams of the original gatherings. As shown in the “Musical disposition” column of table 4, the added folios contain Lena’s aforementioned C major Minuet, which is the only key trait of the revival version of *La locandiera*. The following folio, 27r—part of the old layer—contains the last five measures of the original G major Andantino, which were presumably crossed out by Salieri himself, followed by the beginning of the third scene (see fig. 4).



Figure 4: Mus.Hs.16179/1, fol. 27r: crossed-out last measures of Lena’s 1773 aria; by courtesy of the [Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung](#)

In 1773, the role of Lena was sung by the soprano Rosa Baglioni (ca. 1750–after 1783), a member of a well-known dynasty of singers active in Vienna during the 1770s. She had several sisters, including Clementina, Costanza, and Vincenza Baglioni, all of whom were successful buffa singers in Northern Italy and beyond. Costanza Baglioni was employed in Vienna at the same time as Rosa and sang the lead role of Mirandolina at the premiere of *La locandiera* in 1773. Clementina Baglioni also sang in Vienna during the late 1760s and early 1770s and married Salieri’s librettist, Domenico Poggi. It appears that the family left Vienna together, as three of the sisters—Rosa, Clementina, and Costanza—

were all hired to perform in Paris around 1779.<sup>35</sup> Whether Rosa Baglioni returned to Vienna to sing the role of Lena in 1782 cannot be confirmed, as neither the score Mus.Hs.17840 nor the autograph or the 1782 libretto print list the singer's name. Rosa's return to the Habsburg capital, however, seems unlikely: While her presence in Vienna in 1773 is well documented, Daniel Brandenburg cites her last-known whereabouts as Northern Italy in the early 1780s. Additionally, Rosa became a stable member of the Italian opera troupe at the Dresden court in 1780. Those singers performed there regularly until 1784.<sup>36</sup> Rosa Baglioni appeared in Domenico Cimarosa's *L'infedeltà fedele*, which was given in Dresden in October 1782, and in Giovanni Paisiello's *Dal finto il vero*, premiered in Dresden in November of the same year. Shortly afterwards, in February 1783, she appeared in Cimarosa's *Il pittor parigino*, also premiered in Dresden. Considering the performance series of the revival of *La locandiera* (see tab. 1), it would have been nearly impossible for Rosa Baglioni to have sung the role of Lena in Vienna between autumn of 1782 and January 1783.<sup>37</sup>

Therefore, Lena's C major Minuet of 1782 must have been intended for another singer. As the rest of Lena's part throughout the opera was only slightly modified for the revival, it is plausible to consider the new version of "Dall'amor" as an insertion aria, possibly requested by a new soprano. In the absence of other aria substitutions, which would suggest a broader rethinking of the opera's musical structure, this could explain the rationale for including such a contrasting piece.

## Conclusions

The modifications made for the 1782 revival are visible in Salieri's autograph and in Mus.Hs.17840. As illustrated in table 5, changes were made to the overture, some solo arias, the first act *terzetto* and the *finali* of Acts I and III. In contrast, most of the *secco* recitatives remained unaltered in the sources containing the 1782 modifications.

However, the alterations found in the two manuscripts are generally minor in nature: they mostly involve either shortened bars or transpositions of single notes or small sections. For example, the part of the Conte was lowered, while the Cavaliere's part was transposed slightly higher (see tab. 5, the *larghetto* at the beginning of Act II). Apart from the insertion of a newly composed aria for

the character Lena, no new music was introduced. Therefore, it may be an overstatement to refer to the 1782 *La locandiera* as a genuinely new or later “version.”

That said, regarding Lena’s inserted aria discussed above, it is noteworthy that the later C major Minuet version is typically used in all modern recordings and productions of *La locandiera*.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, all the minor modifications made for the 1782 revival have effectively become accepted as part of the opera’s “original” version, typically dated to 1773. Given the uniform appearance of Salieri’s autograph, Mus.Hs.16179, which has formed the basis for much scholarly analysis, this “mishap” is quite understandable: the score reveals few distinctive traces of reworkings to the text or musical revisions. Only a few bars are visibly crossed out, most notably the final bars of Lena’s original Andantino in figure 4. The unusual structure of the gatherings is only perceptible through a close codicological examination of the manuscript. However, an examination of the folio structure alone does not yet reveal anything peculiar. The fact that some gatherings were glued rather than sewn and the crossing-out of a few bars do not necessarily indicate the existence of an earlier version of the aria—after all, composers often made such adjustments in the course of composition.

Information about the substitution of Lena’s original aria and the existence of an earlier version of “Dall’amor,” shown in figure 1, become evident only through the manuscript Mus.Hs.17840 and, more specifically, through the comparison of all the musical sources listed in table 1. The philological and codicological analysis of manuscript Mus.Hs.17840 undertaken by Paper & Copyists led to the identification of two distinct temporal layers and, ultimately, to the discovery of a slightly different “original” version of Salieri’s *La locandiera*. The methods employed by Paper & Copyists, along with the knowledge about Northern Italian paper used in Vienna between 1760 and 1775 and the data collected regarding the specificities of paper after 1775, have helped not only to illuminate a more complex performance history than previously assumed. In addition, this case demonstrates how codicological analysis can complement, or even surpass, purely textual or musical approaches and shed light on the genesis of a widely received work.

## Appendix: Musical Changes Between 1773 and 1782

The following table provides an overview of the musical changes made for the 1782 revival of *La locandiera*. As described previously, the only actual substitution of an aria occurred for the role of Lena at the beginning of Act I. Other modifications primarily involved the cutting of individual bars in order to shorten the opera and avoid textual repetitions, although no entire scenes were omitted. Other modifications concerned the vocal lines to accommodate the 1782 cast. As shown in table 5, Act I underwent the most significant modifications.

Table 5: 1773 vs. 1782 versions of *La locandiera*

white = no modifications;

beige = modifications of single bars or transposition of single notes;

orange = substitution of arias

NUMBER	1773	1782
<b>Act I</b>		
Ouverture		Slight changes: punctuated notes
Scena I: Duetto, recitativo Lena e Fabrizio	-	-
Scena II: Lena sola		Slight changes at the final cadence, in order to finish in E minor instead of D major
<b>Aria Lena "Dall'amor come ognuno dice"</b>	<i>Andantino</i> ; G major; 2/4 Vocal ambitus: d'-a' Da Capo form Vocal style: semi-syllabic, melismatic; short coloraturas	<i>Tempo di minuetto</i> ; C major; 3/4 Vocal ambitus: g'-a', similar tessitura AB form (notably shortened: 57 bars in total) Vocal style: syllabic or semi-syllabic
Scena III: recitativo Marchese, Conte, Cavaliere e Fabrizio	-	-
Aria Conte "Io quand'ero ragazzino"		Slight change at the beginning of the 6/8 part: vocal line lowered to avoid top notes g'-a', tessitura lowered by a third c (overpasting in autograph Mus.Hs.16179)
Scena IV: Mirandolina e detti	-	-
Scena V: Lena e detti	-	-
Aria Marchese: "Zitto che nessun senta"		Slight change at the end, to increase the difficulty; interval leap from A to e'
Scena VI: Mirandolina poi Fabrizio	-	-
Aria Mirandolina "Figuola del capriccio"	-	-
Scena VII: Fabrizio solo	-	-

NUMBER	1773	1782
Aria Fabrizio "Tutti dicono che la moglie"		Slight changes at the end: a few bars (repetition of "o bugie son le parole") were shortened; end of aria shortened
Scena VIII: Cavaliere poi Mirandolina	-	-
Aria Mirandolina "Giacchè il Cielo mi dispensa" (cavatina)	-	-
Scena IX: Cavaliere solo	-	-
Aria Cavaliere "Le dolci sue maniere"	-	-
Scena X: Marchese, Conte e Lena	-	-
Terzetto Lena, Conte, Marchese "Se licenzia il cavaliere"		Slight changes in Conte's part (one bar cut); three bars cut in Lena's part to avoid repetition of "volentieri"
Scena XI: Cavaliere, Mirandolina, Fabrizio	-	-
Finale primo: Mirandolina, Conte, Cavaliere, Marchese, Fabrizio		Slight changes in bass line and in Marchese's part; cutting of a few bars; heavier changes towards the end (3/8 instead of 3/4)
<b>Act II</b>		
Scena I: Larghetto Cavaliere "Vo pensando e ripensando" e Recitativo		Slight changes to Cavaliere's part in the <i>larghetto</i> : <i>tessitura</i> is about a third higher ("son così fra il sì e il no"); also modification of individual bars in "Ma se tu fossi amore," addition of short melismatic passages
Scena II: Marchese, Cavaliere e Lena	-	-
Aria Lena "Dico sol che la padrona"	-	-
Scena III: Cavaliere, Mirandolina	-	-
Aria Cavaliere "Stava giusto il pensier mio"	-	-
Scena IV: Aria Fabrizio "Padrona bella," Recitativo, Arioso Mirandolina "Fabrizio caro," Recitativo, Aria Mirandolina "	-	Changes in the recitative before Mirandolina's aria; cutting of bars to avoid text repetitions
Scena V: Fabrizio e Marchese	-	-
Aria Fabrizio "Son pover uomo"		Textual change in the last verse of the aria: "io glielo insegnerò" instead of "il cor gli posserrò"
Scena VI: Marchese e Conte	-	-
Aria Conte "Quando s'ama un bell'oggetto"	-	-
Scena VII: <sup>39</sup> Mirandolina, Fabrizio, [Marchese]	-	-
Aria Marchese "Sono un nom di primo moto"	-	-
Scena VIII: Cavaliere, Lena, Mirandolina; Cavatina Cavaliere "Son confuse, sto perplesso," Recitativo	-	-
Finale secondo: Mirandolina, Lena, Cavaliere, Conte, Marchese, Fabrizio		

NUMBER	1773	1782
<b>Act III</b>		
Scena I: Mirandolina, Fabrizio	-	-
Scena II: Mirandolina, Cavaliere	-	-
Scena III: Mirandolina, Cavaliere, Fabrizio	-	-
Aria (Cavatina) Fabrizio "A una tal proposizione"		"Tai regali no non piglio ..." <sup>40</sup> completely omitted, so aria is significantly shortened. Jumps directly to "Padroncina, ... prendo il ferro e me ne vo" and slightly alters Fabrizios part.
Scena IV:	-	-
Aria Cavaliere "Barbara donna ingrata"		Repetition of "trema del mio furor ..." is shortened (12 bars cut).
Scena V: Conte, Marchese	-	-
Scena VI: Mirandolina, Cavaliere	-	-
Scena VII. Duetto Mirandolina, Fabrizio "Presto, spicciatevi Fabrizio"	-	-
Scena VIII: Mirandolina, Fabrizio, Conte	-	-
Scena IX: Conte, Marchese, Fabrizio	-	-
Scena X: Conte, Marchese, Fabrizio, Cavaliere	-	-
Scena XI: Marchese, Cavaliere, Conte	-	-
Finale terzo: Mirandolina, Lena, Cavaliere, Conte, Marchese, Fabrizio		Slight alterations to the disposition of the text

## Notes

1. Many scholars have cited the Burgtheater as the venue of the first performance, e.g., Elisa Grossato, "La locandiera di Goldoni – Salieri," in *Antonio Salieri (1750–1825) e il teatro musicale a Vienna: Convenzioni, innovazioni, contaminazioni stilistiche*, ed. Rudolph Angermüller and Elena Biggi Parodi (LIM, 2012), 121. This was, however, disproven by Ingrid Schraffl, "Italian Opera in Vienna in the 1770s: Repertoire and Reception—Data and Facts," *Musicologica Austriaca: Journal for Austrian Music Studies* (June 26, 2020): accessed January 30, 2025, <http://www.musa.u.org/parts/neue-article-page/view/80>. John Rice had already acknowledged the correct venue. See John Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (University of Chicago Press, 1998), 194.
2. Distinguishing the exact venues of the two "teatri privilegiati" often becomes quite challenging, as many printed libretti did not disclose that information. See Michele Calella, "La buona figliuola für die 'Teatri Privilegiati': Anmerkungen zur frühen Rezeption der Opera buffa in Wien," in *Wiener Musikgeschichte. Annäherungen—Analysen—Ausblicke*, ed. Julia Bungardt et al. (Böhlau, 2009), 151. For an exact calendar of the performances, see Ingrid Schraffl, "Italian opera in Vienna." The complex history of the management of those two venues was meticulously elaborated by Gustav Zechmeister, *Die Wiener Theater nächst der Burg und nächst dem Kärntner Tor von 1747 bis 1776* (Böhlau, 1971).
3. See Schraffl, "Italian Opera in Vienna," for a detailed calendar of all opera performances at the Viennese "teatri privilegiati" between 1771 and 1783. *La locandiera* was performed at the Burgtheater on the following dates: November 12, 15, and 26 and December 3, 8, and 31 of 1782 and January 3 of 1783. Paper & Copyists provides a [list](#) of Viennese performance dates featuring premieres and revivals between 1759 and 1785, which, however, does not include complete performance series.
4. See Ingrid Schraffl, "Italian opera in Vienna." Along with the classic three-act *opera seria*—somewhat influenced by Arcadian standards—there were other operatic genres cultivated at court. On various small-scale operatic genres in Vienna, see Michele Calella, "Kleinere szenische Gattungen ('componimenti drammatici')," in *Die Oper im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herbert Schneider and Reinhard Wiesend (Laaber 2001), 63–74.
5. See Martin Eybl, "Die Säkularisierung der Andacht: Musikrezeption im Spannungsfeld zwischen Emanzipation und Disziplinierung," in *Strukturwandel kultureller Praxis: Beiträge zu einer kulturwissenschaftlichen Sicht des thesesianischen Zeitalters*, ed. Franz M. Eybl (WUV, 2002), 71–93.
6. See Michele Calella, "La buona figliuola," 151.
7. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 63.
8. See Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 64.
9. Goldoni had become increasingly important to composers of intermezzi and opere buffe, especially for the Venetian composer Baldassare Galuppi. See Grossato, "La locandiera di Goldoni," 121–22.
10. See Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 66.
11. The ways operas were revised in Vienna was examined in the FWF research project "Opera buffa in Wien (1763–1782)" under the direction of Michele Calella, which ran from 2012 to 2017 at the University of Vienna: <https://muwidb.univie.ac.at/operabuffa/>

12. See Grossato, "La locandiera di Goldoni," 122. As Grossato puts it, Salieri had already experimented with typical Italian opere buffe for the Viennese stage prior to 1773, with his settings of *Le donne letterate* (1770), *La fiera di Venezia* (1772)—also a huge success, which saw a revival in 1785—and *Il barone di Rocca antica* (1772).
13. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 195.
14. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 197. The author sees a resemblance of Mirandolina and the Cavaliere di Ripafratta with the so-called *parti di mezzo carattere*, although the two do not end up together, as the dramaturgical conventions would require.
15. In fact, the 1773 print of the libretto describes her character as "light-spirited, with a rare talent to allure suitors": "Locandiera, che ha spirito sollevato ed ha maniera rara per lusingar." Domenico Poggi and Antonio Salieri, *La locandiera: Dramma giocoso per musica [...]* (Kurtzböck, 1773), 2.
16. See Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 194–211.
17. Poggi and Salieri, *La locandiera [...]* (Kurtzböck 1773).
18. Domenico Poggi and Antonio Salieri, *La locandiera: Dramma giocoso per musica [...]* (Maestro delle Logge, 1782). Further libretto prints for re-stagings of the opera include, e.g., a new edition for a revival in Prague in 1774.
19. John Rice notes that in Vienna libretti were rarely reprinted, even if revivals had notable musical modifications. The absence of a new libretto print might not even mean that the poetic text was not altered. Rice suggests that the Viennese audience might not have cared too much if the libretto print showed slight deviations from what they were listening to on stage. See John Rice, "Bearbeitungen italienischer Opern für Wien 1765–1800," in *Bearbeitungspraxis in der Oper des späten 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ulrich Konrad (Schneider, 2007), 92.
20. On the typical Viennese typeface of music manuscripts, see [Christiane Maria Hornbachner's chapter](#) in this special issue.
21. For a complete score sheet, see [Salieri\\_17840](#).
22. For more information regarding the Northern Italian paper mills that sold paper to the Viennese court, see [Martin Eybl's and Konstantin Hirschmann's contribution](#) to this special issue. Also see Ivo Mattozzi, "Le filigrane e la questione della qualità della carta nella Repubblica Veneta della fine del '700: Con un catalogo di marchi di filigrane dal 1767 al 1797," in *Produzione e uso delle carte filigranate in Europa (secoli XIII–XX)*, ed. Giancarlo Castagnari (Pia Università dei Cartai, 1996), 309–39.
23. Quoted in Mattozzi, "Le filigrane," 314: "Li fabbricatori tutti dello stato debbano per l'avvenire imprimere cadaun foglio di carta delli cinque connotati generi ..."
24. Dexter Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists" (PhD diss., University of Southern California 2001), 333.
25. Edge, "Mozart's Viennese Copyists," 333.
26. This particular scene—the servant couple lamenting their work opening the first act—is

described by Elisa Grossato as an antecedent to Leporello in the opening scene of *Don Giovanni* (1787), claiming that he does not want to serve anymore (“Voglio fare il gentiluomo”). See Grossato, “La locandiera di Goldoni,” 123.

27. In 1773 Lena was sung by Rosa Baglioni, whereas in 1782 no indications on cast are given in the libretto or in the score. The librettist and tenor Domenico Poggi was the husband of Costanza Baglioni, who sang the main character Mirandolina. See Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 185.
28. More details about the structure of Viennese operas scores are discussed in [Christiane Hornbacher's contribution](#) to this special issue. The number of folios per gathering also differs from one operatic genre to another, as French opéras comiques usually had larger twelve-folio gatherings.
29. The practice of re-workings and musical modification of eighteenth-century opera is too vast to be summarized in one note. See, e.g., Michele Calella, “Zwischen Autorwillen und Produktionssystem: Zur Frage des Werkcharakters in der Oper des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Bearbeitungspraxis in der Oper des späten 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ulrich Konrad (Schneider, 2007), 15–32. Calella underlines that the practice of re-working and the “constant search for something new” on a musico-stylistic level is typical of Italian opera. See Calella, “Zwischen Autorwillen,” 21. On that topic, see also Daniel Brandenburg, “Works in Transformation: Zu einem ‘offenen’ Werkbegriff für die Oper des 18. Jahrhunderts,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift*, no. 1 (2011): 6–12.
30. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 197.
31. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 198; and Grossato, “La locandiera di Goldoni,” 126.
32. Rice, *Antonio Salieri*, 197. Grossato also describes the aria as a menuetto and even offers a short excerpt of the sheet music. See Grossato, “La locandiera di Goldoni,” 126.
33. Gaudenzio Fossati’s paper mill was one of the main producers of paper delivered to Vienna in the early 1770s and after. The “old layer” of the autograph displays paper (P3, P26) from that same mill, datable to 1773.
34. Alan Tyson, *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Serie X, Supplement, Werkgruppe 33, Dokumentation der autographen Überlieferung, Abt. 2: Wasserzeichen-Katalog* (Bärenreiter, 1992), 106–7.
35. Daniel Brandenburg, “Baglioni, Rosa,” in *MGG Online* (2016), accessed January 23, 2025, <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/525745>. Her name is mentioned in the libretto for Bernardo Ottani’s *Arminio* (1781), given in Turin at the Teatro Regio.
36. The [Corago database](#) provides an overview for Rosa Baglioni’s engagements, although it is likely not complete (accessed January 23, 2025). The fact that Viennese libretti usually do not list the singer’s names could influence the presence of Viennese engagements in this list. For a chronology of performances by the Italian opera troupe in Dresden, see Michael Hochmuth, *Chronik der Dresdner Oper* (Kovac, 1998), 66.
37. The Dresden libretto prints do not mention Rosa’s name (or those of any other singers). As Michael Hochmuth shows, the “Italienische Operntruppe,” consisting of twelve people in 1780, seemed to have taken turns performing all Italian operas and oratorios at various venues in Dresden. The calendar provided by Hochmuth shows that the troupe performed almost continuously throughout the months of October, November, January, and February in 1782

and 1783. See Hochmuth, *Chronik der Dresdner Oper*, 68. They staged four different Italian operas during that period, so a hypothetical absence of Rosa Baglioni for several weeks would be almost impossible.

38. See, e.g., the 1990 recording of *La locandiera* by Fabio Luisi (EG Classics).
39. The autograph Mus.Hs.16179 displays many corrections to Fabrizio's part, which, however, are analogous to the versions of the 1773-dated copies Mus.Hs.1053 and Mus.Hs.10073. Perhaps Salieri was correcting his own typographical errors.
40. Here, the retouched autograph differs from the 1782 libretto print, which displays the exact same text as the 1773 edition. See Poggi and Salieri: *La locandiera* [...] (Kurtzböck, 1773), 63; and Poggi and Salieri: *La locandiera* [...] (Maestro delle logge, 1782), 63.