

## Introduction

We have Dvořák's own testimony as to how important he considered sketches that preceded the completion of definitive versions of his compositions. In an interview with Egon Šamberk, he indicated that he himself habitually wrote out sketches, intended to capture the substance of his motivic work; these played an important role in planning his "musical expression".<sup>1</sup> Josef Bohuslav Foerster recollected advice that Dvořák had given: it was a good thing that Foerster made sketches; principal lines had to be captured, without one's getting lost in the details, which ought to be worked out later. Modulations could be indicated with a few notes and then one should immediately move on. "Idea" was "everything" – one's thoughts need never return, whilst every note was important; indeed, just a single one could often lead on to great things.<sup>2</sup>

The importance that Dvořák himself appears to have attached to sketches notwithstanding, the systematic study of his own corpus of sketches appears to be in its infancy. Indeed, the only article devoted exclusively to the significance of Dvořák's sketches to date is that by Milan Kuna, to the best of our knowledge, dating from 1954.<sup>3</sup> Though extremely brief, it has not lost its value – indeed, the contrary is the case, since the corpus of sketches by Dvořák in the private hands of the conductor Václav Talich (referred to in the article) has since become publicly available at the National Library in Prague and is now freely accessible online.<sup>4</sup>

A handful of articles on particular works by Dvořák do very briefly refer to extant sketches of the individual works in question,<sup>5</sup> and two recent doctoral dissertations do discuss sketches – on the *Seventh Symphony*<sup>6</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> "Činím si vždy náčrty, které obsahují vše podstatné pro moji motivickou práci, pro zamýšlený hudební výraz." See ŠOUŘEK, Otakar: *Dvořák ve vzpomínkách a dopisech*, Praha: Orbis, 1951, p. 165, cited in SYCHRA, Antonín: *Estetika Dvořákovy symfonické tvorby*, Praha: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1959, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> "Dobře, že skizzujete," poznamenal, "hlavní linie se musí zachytit, neztrácet se v podrobnostech, to je věc vypracování. Nápad je všecko. Kde je třeba, zejména modulační obraty, označit několika notami a hned dál. Myšlenky se nevracejí a záleží na každé notě. Jediná může často dokázati veliké věci." – See FOERSTER, Josef Bohuslav: *Poutník v Hamburku*, Praha: Evropský literární klub, 1939, p. 166, cited in VEJVODOVÁ, Veronika: *Dvořákova poslední opera 'Armida'*, op. 115: *Geneze a recepce*, doctoral dissertation, Masaryk University of Brno, 2016, [https://is.muni.cz/th/z7gd5/text\\_19.pdf](https://is.muni.cz/th/z7gd5/text_19.pdf), p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> KUNA, Milan: "Význam studia Dvořákových Náčrtů", *Hudební rozhledy* VIII/20 (1954), pp. 923-924.

<sup>4</sup> I am indebted to the musicologist David Beveridge for this information.

<sup>5</sup> An example is BEVERIDGE, David: "Dvořák's *Dumka* and the Concept of Nationalism in Music Historiography", *The Journal of Musicological Research* 12 (1993), pp. 303-325.

<sup>6</sup> KINTON, Leslie: *A documentary study and Schenkerian analysis of Dvořák's Symphony in D minor, Op. 70*, doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 2008.

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## Dvořák's *Mass in D*: the composer's extant sketches

### Abstract

Recent work by Haig Utidjian has helped shed light on aspects of the stemma mutually relating the manuscript sources appertaining to the *Mass in D* (the "Lužanská") by Antonín Dvořák; yet an important element has remained largely unexplored – namely the composer's extant sketches. These consist of a single fragment as well as a substantial, continuous version spanning the entire work. The present article is the first to provide a detailed discussion of this material. The sketches help demonstrate the evolution of the work through its various stages. Following a detailed description of the *Kyrie* of the *Mass*, particular passages selected from other movements are highlighted, with a view to exemplifying the various ways in which the sketches may be related to the more definitive versions. The sketches throw some light as to manner in which of Dvořák's thinking progressively developed, and can even be pressed into service to provide support in favour of a particular reading in instances of editorial uncertainty. It is hoped that the present introductory study may serve as a stimulus for the larger-scale examination of the corpus of extant sketches across the composer's *oeuvre*, which we consider essential if reliable generalisations about his inclinations and procedures are to be made.

**Key words:** 19<sup>th</sup>-century music; Czech music; Dvořák, Antonín; *Mass in D* ("Lužanská"); liturgy; compositional procedures, extant sketches, critical edition  
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opera *Armida*,<sup>7</sup> respectively; but the corpus of sketches as a whole does not appear to have been studied in detail. A partial exception is Antonín Sychra's monumental study of the aesthetics of Dvořák's symphonic compositions published in 1959.<sup>8</sup> Sychra has recourse to Dvořák's sketches throughout his volume, in connection with several works, illustrated with well over a dozen photographic plates, featuring specimens ranging from several works and representing various degrees of maturity. Indeed, Sychra himself remarked how surprising it was that Dvořák's sketches had not been hitherto exploited as they deserved to be, considering their importance in revealing something of the composer's creative processes, rendering as they did palpable the maturation of the artist's thinking.<sup>9</sup>

\* \* \*

Our insight into Dvořák's sketches in general is far from advanced. On the other hand, the phylogenetic tree comprising the extant manuscripts corresponding to the various versions of the *Mass in D* is now better understood than ever before.<sup>10</sup> Having gained intimate familiarity with the various versions of the *Mass in D* in the course of his work as a professional performer as well as having benefited from unprecedented access to all the extant manuscripts of the work – in Prague as well as in London, stimulated by the pioneering work by David Beveridge<sup>11</sup> and being engaged in the preparation of a new edition of the work (for publication by Bärenreiter Praha), the present writer felt that the time might be ripe to undertake a preliminary investigation on the sketches of the *Mass in D*, which form the subject of the present contribution.

The present article is thus intended to serve as a succinct introduction to the extant sketches associated with the *Mass in D*, and adheres to the following plan. First, we consider the sketches associated with the *Mass* in the context of all the manuscript sources for the *Mass*. We then proceed to a detailed description of the continuous sketch in the case of the *Kyrie*, and subsequently focus on several particularly telling examples drawn from the remainder of the *Mass*, each of which has been chosen as being of especial musical interest, and thus apt to shed light on a particular point. The paper ends with a summary of our main conclusions, and poses a number of questions warranting further research.

Unless otherwise indicated, page numbers refer to the extant manuscript of the continuous sketch of the *Mass* (*SI*) and we identify passages therein by page, system number, and number of bar within the system (as the bars are not numbered). Other symbols referring to sources are defined below. Bar numbers refer to the numbering found in the new Bärenreiter Praha score, edited by Haig Utidjian (forthcoming), which is consistent with other standard versions – with the exception that our numbering for the *Kyrie* commences on the bar of the first soprano entry (since the two introductory bars preceding the choral entry have been eschewed in this edition, being a later addition and, moreover, one that is peculiar to the orchestral version of the *Mass*).

<sup>7</sup> VEJVODOVÁ 2016 (← note 2).

<sup>8</sup> SYCHRA 1959 (← note 1). I am grateful to the musicologist Veronika Vejvodová for having drawn this volume to my attention.

<sup>9</sup> We have paraphrased a passage (p. 10) from Sychra's preface (dated 5 December 1957): "Zkoumajе geniѕi Dvořákova díla, zabývám se důkladněji, než je obvyklé v hudebně vědecké literatuře, skladatelo-vými náčrtý. Je ѕ podivem, že není zatím zvykem využívat těchto materiálů, jak si toho zasluhuji. Vždyť to jsou prvořadé prameny, chceme-li se něco dovědět о umělcově tvůrčím procesu: můžeme v nich přímo hmatat, jak zrály umělcovy myšlenky."

<sup>10</sup> See particularly UTIDJIAN, Haig: "Towards a stemma of the MS sources of Dvořák's *Mass in D*", *Journal of Czech and Slovak Music* 26 (2017), pp. 7-18, 2017, henceforth referred to as "UTIDJIAN 2017b".

<sup>11</sup> The reader is especially referred to the seminal volume, BEVERIDGE, David R.: *Zdenka a Josef Hlávkoví – Anna a Antonín Dvořákovi: Přátelství dvou manželských párů a jeho plodý v českém a světovém umění* [= Studie Národohospodářského úřadu Josefa Hlávky, 12], Praha: Národohospodářský úřad Josefa Hlávky, 2012. As well as drawing attention to the crucial role played by the friendship between Zdenka Hlávková and Anna Dvořáková – leading to the friendship between their husbands, and the role it played on Dvořák's output – not least the *Mass in D*, Beveridge has drawn attention to unknown or forgotten sources, gathered together all relevant sources appertaining to the composition, collated private correspondence as well as commentaries in the press in Central Europe and in England, shed unprecedented light on the circumstances of the genesis of the *Mass* and the history of its performance, corrected all manner of misapprehensions and misunderstandings.

### The manuscript sources at our disposal

The following manuscript sources have reached us:<sup>12</sup>

- *Continuous sketch (S1)*  
This was embarked upon by the composer on 26 March 1887, and completed on 26 May 1887.<sup>13</sup> It is kept at the Czech Museum of Music (Inventory No. NM-ČMH S 76/1453), and is the object of main interest of the present paper.
- *Fragment of fugue (S2)*  
This consists of a mere single sheet of paper, of which one side and a half bears part of the fugue from the *Credo* of the *Mass*, set to the words *et iterum venturum est*. The recto side bears the pagination 25f and the starting point indeed corresponds to p. 25 of *S1*. However, *S2* seems to have been rejected by Dvořák in his autograph score, which instead adopts the corrected version of the fugue found on *S1*. In consequence, it is not easy to place this fragment in the overall stemma. *S2* is kept at the Czech Museum of Music.<sup>14</sup>
- *Autograph of organ version (A1)*  
This was started in Vysoká on 26 May 1887,<sup>15</sup> and completed by the composer on 17 June 1887, and it too is kept at the Czech Museum of Music.<sup>16</sup>
- *Elsnic's fair copies (E1, E2)*  
Jan Elsnic prepared two fair copies of the score for the organ version, probably based on *A1*, though exhibiting some minor differences. These copies were completed on 1 August (*E1*) and 7 August (*E2*) 1887. The crucial importance of *E2* resides in the fact that Dvořák personally came to correct and annotate this manuscript, as well as adding a part for violoncello and double bass below the organ part. There are some further differences between *E2* and *E1*. We were recently able to demonstrate<sup>17</sup> that (i) some errors in *E1* do not appear in *E2*, thereby suggesting that (at least to some extent) Elsnic referred to *A1* in preparing *E2*, but that (ii) he reinterpreted aspects of *A1* that he may have found unclear in preparing *E2*, such that errors resulted in *E2* not found in *E1*; and (iii) remarkably, when Dvořák came to correct *E2*, he reacted to errors committed by Elsnic in *E2*, yet chose to rectify these not by reverting to the passages as found in *A1*, but by dint of inventing new solutions – thus demonstrating an impressive element of creative fecundity. *E2* consequently contains new readings and does not always adhere to *A1*. *E1* is kept at the Czech Museum of Music,<sup>18</sup> whilst *E2*, which belongs to the Music Sales Group. (the current owners of Novello), is on permanent loan to the British Library in London.<sup>19</sup>
- *Vocal parts (V1-4)*  
These were discovered in Lužany and are in possession of the Hlávka Foundation; it is reasonable to assume that they may have been used for the private première in Lužany, on 11 September 1887.

<sup>12</sup> Only a very brief summary will be included here; for a fuller discussion of the sources and of their history, the reader is referred to UTIDJIAN, Haig: "The Dvořák *Mass in D (Lužanská)* for chorus, organ, violoncello and double-bass", *Musicalia* 9/1-2 (2017), pp. 93-104, <https://publikace.nm.cz/periodicke-publikace/maehmhjotcmom/9-1-2/dvorakova-mse-d-dur-luzanska-pro-sbor-varhany-violoncella-a-kontrabasy>, henceforth referred to as "UTIDJIAN 2017a".

<sup>13</sup> The date 6. 4. 1847 written by Dvořák at the end of p. 16 of *S1* indicates completion of the sketch of *Kyrie* and *Gloria* on that date. As David Beveridge has pointed out – see BEVERIDGE 2012 (↖ note 11), p. 85, footnote 6, the fact of Dvořák's completion of these movements (albeit in *S1* and not the autograph *A1*) was announced in *Dalibor* on 9. 4. 1887. (This would seem to suggest that Dvořák ascribed a degree of finality to the continuous sketch of these movements – at least at the time.) Beveridge cites indirect evidence as suggesting that these two movements were completed in Prague.

As David Beveridge points out (BEVERIDGE 2012, ↖ note 11, pp. 85-86), over the remainder of the continuous sketch, Dvořák appears to have divided his time between work on *S1* and on his love songs, *Cypresses*. He thus appears to have taken time off working on the *Mass* to work on the songs 21-27 April and 20-21 May. The composer's further indications of date on *S1* suggest that he completed the *Credo* on 6 May (p. 30) and the *Sanctus* on 17 May. He commenced work on the *Agnus* on 23 May in Vysoká (p. 39), completing *S1* on 26 May in Vysoká.

<sup>14</sup> Inventory No. NM-ČMH S 76/1453.

<sup>15</sup> That is, on the very same day on which *S1* was completed – as David Beveridge points out: BEVERIDGE 2012 (↖ note 11), p. 86.

<sup>16</sup> Inventory No. NM-ČMH S 76/1452.

<sup>17</sup> See UTIDJIAN 2017b (↖ note 10).

<sup>18</sup> Inventory No. NM-ČMH S 226/941.

<sup>19</sup> Music Loan 69/2.

■ *Autograph of orchestral version (A2)*

Dvořák was called upon to prepare a version of the Mass with orchestral accompaniment; the manuscript was completed on 15 June 1892. It too belongs to the Music Sales Group and is on permanent loan to the British Library (Music Loan 69/3).

**Two relevant printed sources (VS1, VS2)**

Though printed editions are not of primary interest in this paper, we shall have occasion to refer to two early published sources in the discussion below. They are the 1893 Novello Vocal Score (VS1), which was almost certainly approved by the composer; and a slightly later undated Novello Vocal Score (VS2), of which some exemplars rather misleadingly bore the date 1893 – leading most commentators to mistake it for the genuine 1893 edition.<sup>20</sup>

**The Kyrie**

To allow the reader to gain an impression of the nature and scale of the differences (from the familiar versions of the mass) encountered in *S1*, we shall commence with a comparison of *S1* (► Fig. 1a-f) with *A1* for the *Kyrie* section of the Mass.<sup>21</sup> Our intention is not to provide a comprehensive inventory, but to draw attention to a number of interesting touches with a view to forming a picture of the sorts of changes made in proceeding from sketch to definitive autograph manuscript, with a view to achieving an understanding of the nature of *S1* thereby. However, it is noteworthy that changes did not merely occur in proceeding from *S1* to *A1*; rather, *S1* itself witnessed changes – earlier versions being obliterated by being scratched out by means of a knife (and thus no longer legible) and being overwritten by others, or by dint of being crossed out by means of diagonal lines.

*S1* bears the marking *Andante*, in contrast to *Andante con moto* in *A1*.

*Mise en page*: It is extremely likely that Dvořák may have had *S1* at hand in writing *A1* (since, as we saw, he embarked on *A1* on the very day he completed *S1*), although he may also have had other fragments and papers available to him that are no longer extant. But the *mise en page* is not identical in the two manuscripts.<sup>22</sup> The manuscript paper in both cases had twenty-four ruled staves per page, Dvořák managed to fit three systems on the first page of *A1*: the first two were from page 1 of *S1*, and third was system 1 of p. 2 of *S1*. Further, *S1* is denser in p. 2, as Dvořák here excluded vocal parts that had rests throughout the whole system, covering the entire width of the page. By the end of the middle system of p. 2 of *S1*, the *mises en page* of the two manuscripts diverge completely. Finally, we note that Dvořák did not maintain consistency in his layout in *S1*, and sometimes made errors as a result – for instance, in the fifth bar of system 2 on p. 2 of *S1*, he wrote the choral tenor part on the choral bass line, in error.

*S1* has virtually no dynamics, whereas *A1* bears dynamic indications, and hairpins or verbal instructions for changes in dynamic.

The C sharp – C sharp tie between bars 4 and 5 of the organ right hand is found in both *S1* and *A1*, but the D – D ties between bars 2 and 3 and bars 3 and 4, are not in *S1* but are already present in *A1* (and recur in later sources).

Unlike *A1*, the soprano in *S1* has rests in bar 8, and the soprano entry occurs in bar 9. In *A1*, the soprano entry starts in bar 8, and continues in bar 9, retaining the same notes we find in *S1*, but appropriately adjusting the verbal underlay to account for the words sung in the previous bar. Accordingly, in bar 9 *S1* has *Ky-ri-e e-*, whilst *A1* has *-e e-lei-*.

The choral bass entry (bar 8 of the *Kyrie*): in *S1* the second note is slightly ambiguous, but judging from the organ part it is a D sharp. In contrast, in *A1* Dvořák wrote a C sharp – perhaps wishing to avoid a dissonance.

Proceeding to p. 2 of *S1*, system 4, bar 4 (corresponding to bar 31 of *A1*), the choral tenor has a particularly interesting part that Dvořák came to abandon in proceeding to *A1*. Unlike *A1*, where the tenors merely sing a crotchet F sharp in bar 31, have rests, and resume with the same F sharp in bar 32, *S1* has the tenors singing crotchets F sharp, E sharp, F sharp, followed

<sup>20</sup> For a full discussion see UTIDJIAN 2017a (◀ note 12), esp. pp. 97-98.

<sup>21</sup> The reader is reminded that, throughout, we shall refer to passages in *A1* according to the bar numbering adopted in our new edition, which assigns the number 1 to the first bar of *A1*, omitting the two introductory instrumental bars later added in connection with the orchestral version of the Mass.

<sup>22</sup> Nor would that have been possible in the long run, because, as we shall see below, there are particular instances where passages in *S1* are longer (*Agnus Dei*) or shorter (*Kyrie*) than their counterparts in *A1*.

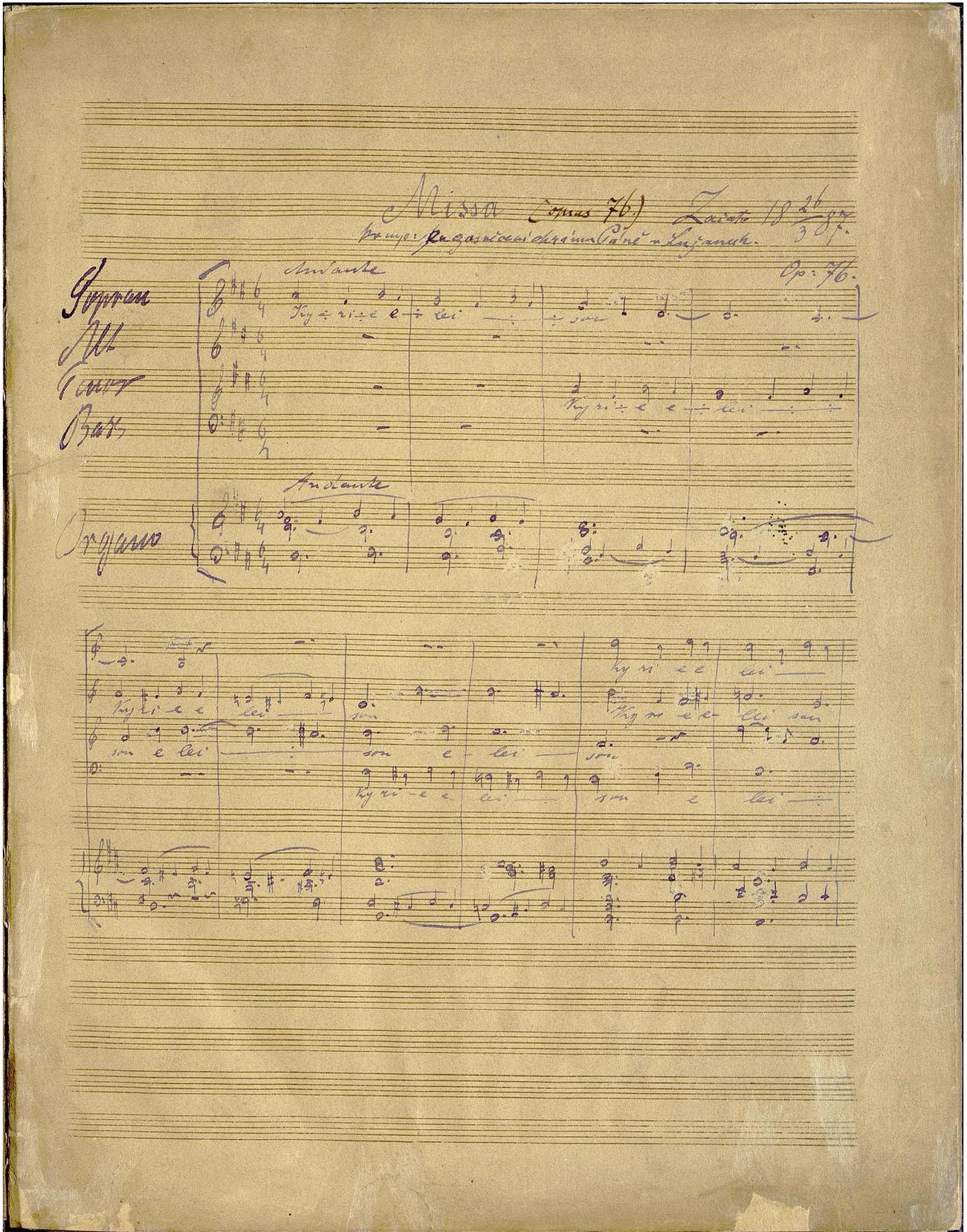


Fig. 1a:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Kyrie,*  
*SI, p. 1*  
 (© National Museum –  
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 of Music, Prague)

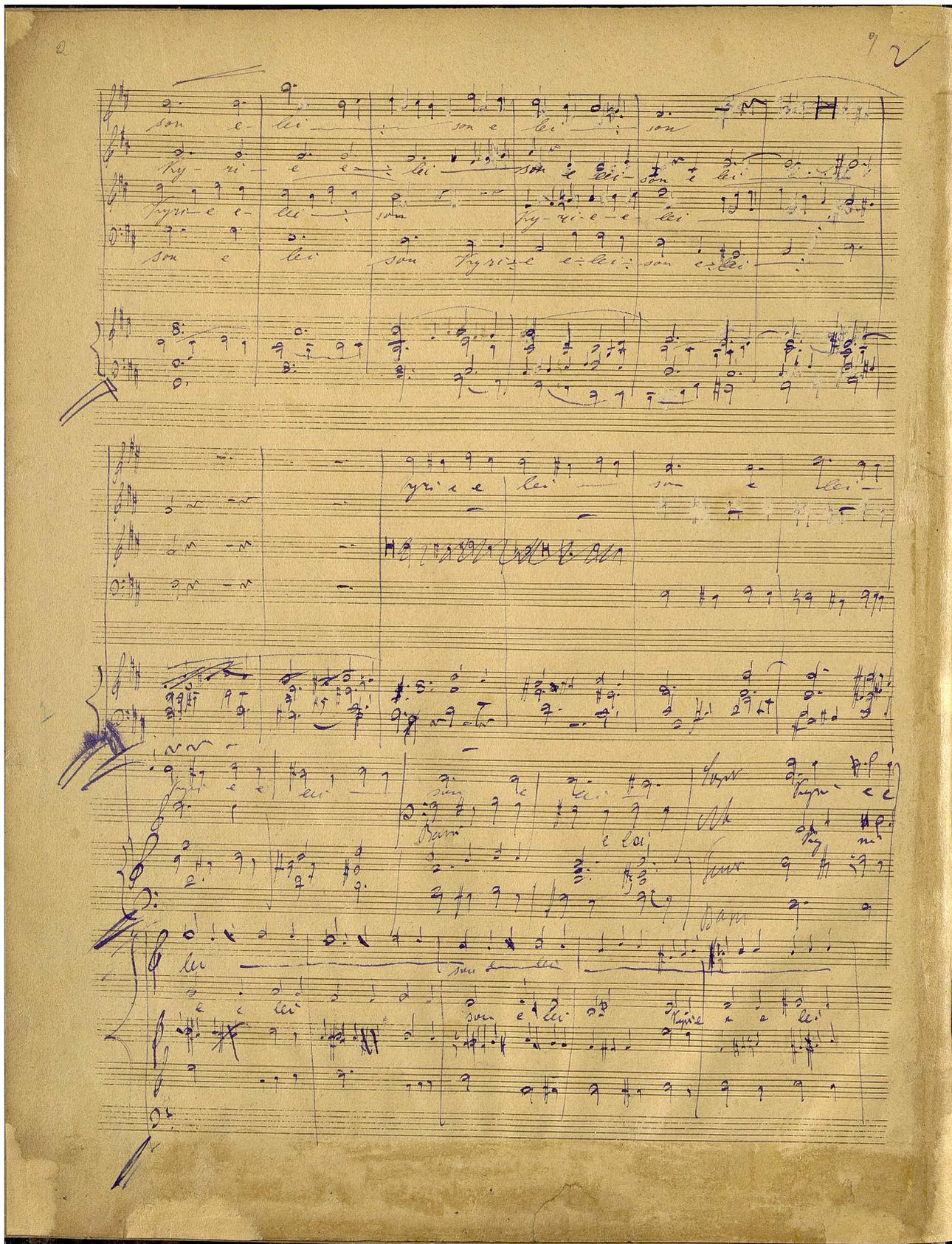


Fig. 1b:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Kyrie,*  
*SI, p. 2*  
 (© National Museum –  
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3

Dvořákovi!

Fig. 1c:  
Antonín Dvořák:  
*Mass in D, Kyrie*,  
SI, p. 3

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of Music, Prague)

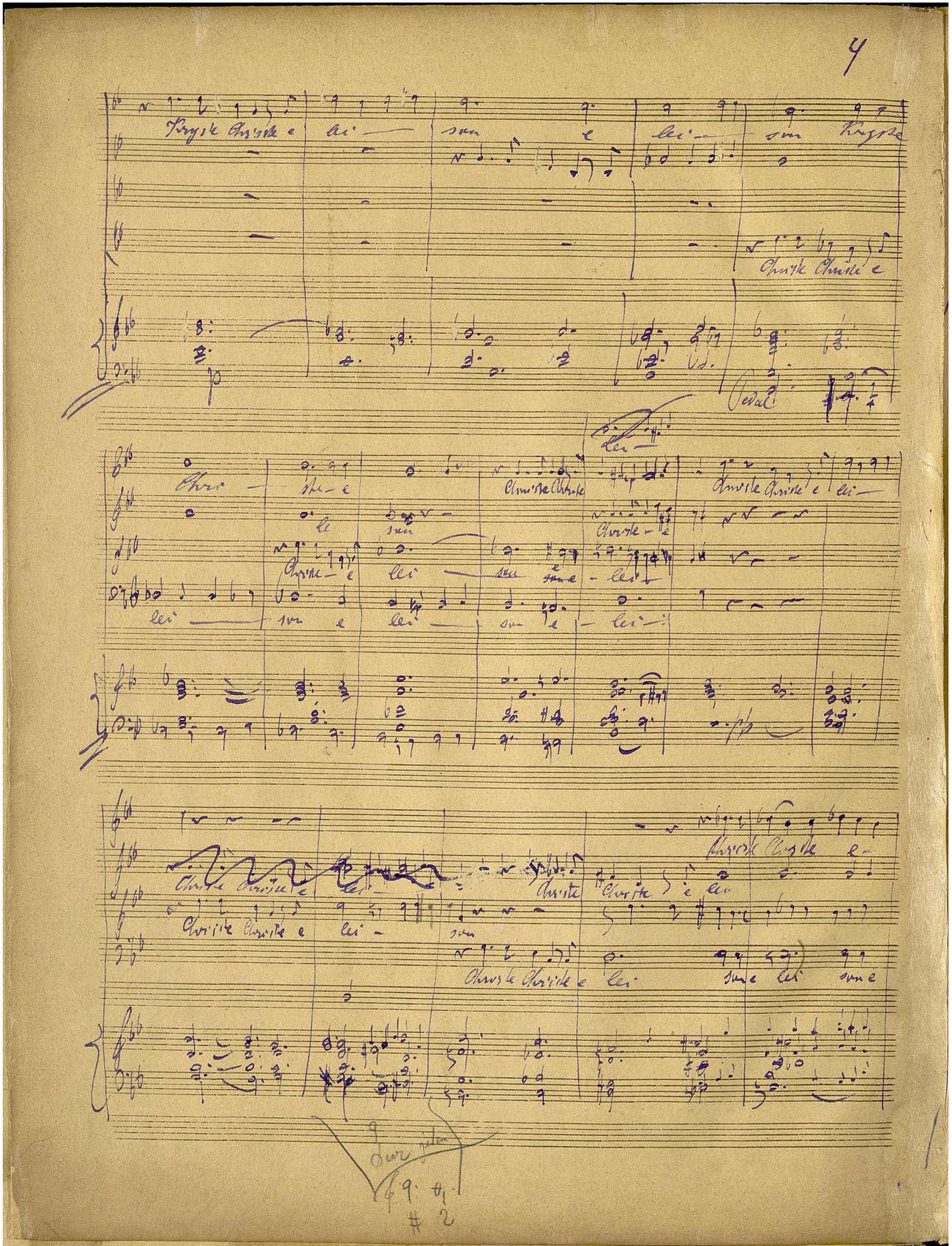


Fig. 1d:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Kyrie,*  
*SI, p. 4*  
 (© National Museum –  
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 of Music, Prague)

Handwritten musical score for Antonín Dvořák's *Mass in D*, *Kyrie*, page 5. The score is written on aged, yellowed paper with multiple staves. It includes vocal lines with lyrics and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are "Kyrie elei elei elei" and "Kyrie elei elei elei". The score is marked with "pp" (pianissimo) and "p" (piano).

Fig. 1e:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Kyrie,*  
*SI, p. 5*

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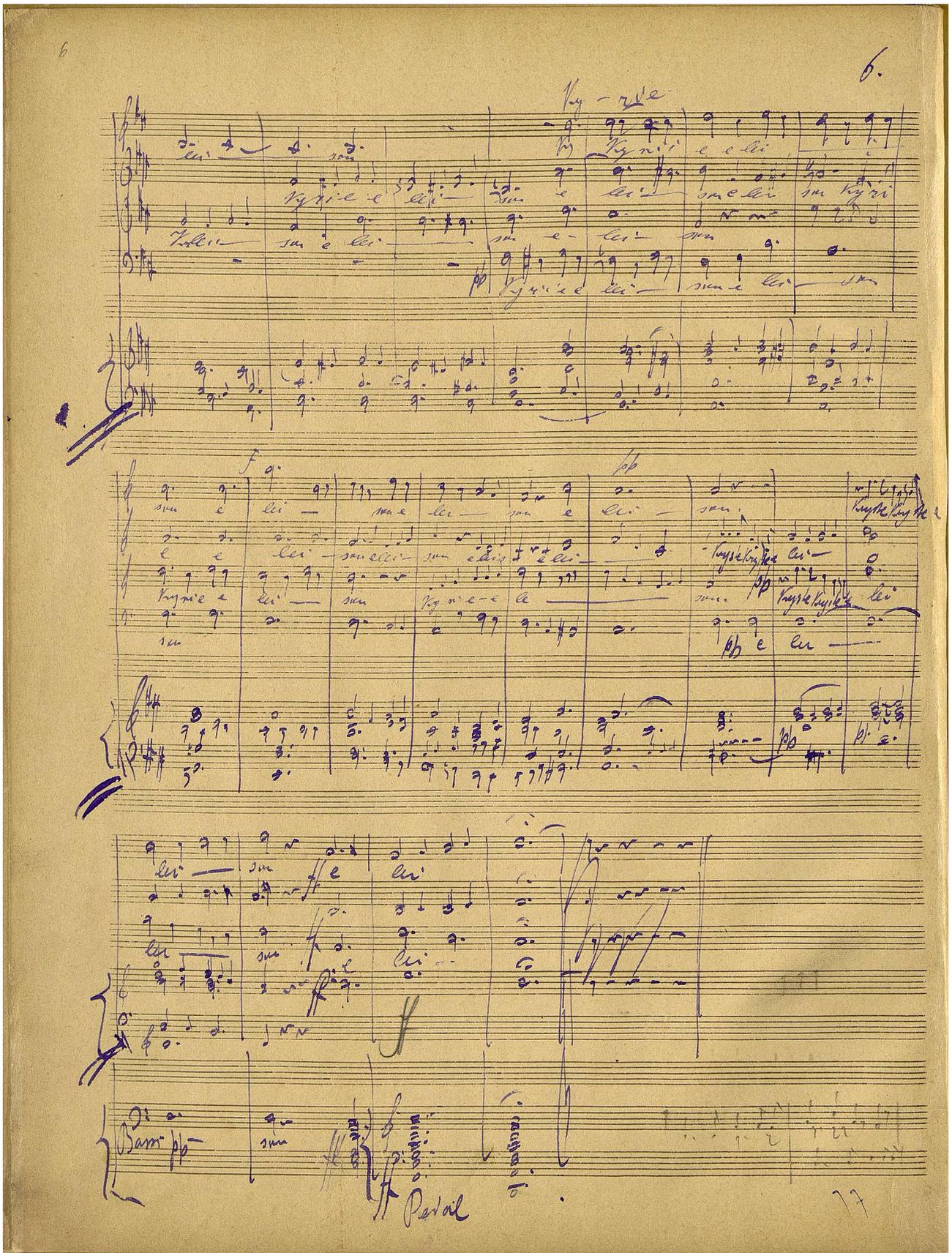


Fig. 1f:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Kyrie,*  
*SI, p. 6*  
 (© National Museum –  
 Czech Museum  
 of Music, Prague)



by a minim high E and crotchet D that double the choral alto part, before resuming with the same low F sharp in bar 32 as in A2. Possibly Dvořák decided to avoid the somewhat unconventional doubling of the alto part by the tenors (an interesting touch as it was), or thought better of the slightly awkward downward leap from the D at the end of 31 to the F sharp of 32.

Consider the bottom two systems of p. 2 in *S1*. The organ part has been omitted from the bottom system, where it could duplicate the vocal writing. However, Dvořák carelessly wrote the choral bass part not on the bottom staff (with an F-clef), but the penultimate staff, with a G-clef, though writing the notes as if they were determined by the F-clef. Moreover, in the event the organ part did not merely double the vocal writing, but was richer: in *A1* we find that in the second half of bar 31 (corresponding to the penultimate bar of the last system of p. 2 of *S1*) the left hand displays the crotchet movement G sharp, A sharp, B, anticipating the same movement one bar later, where it doubles the choral tenors. Thus, in omitting the organ part the composer kept his options open, as it were, and in proceeding from *S1* to *A1* was of course able to create an organ part that need not merely double the vocal writing. (In contrast, it would seem that for the most part Dvořák was reluctant to elaborate on the organ part where it had already been written out in *S1*.)

There are further differences in verbal underlay, associated with concomitant differences in note durations. Thus, on p. 3, system 1, bars 1 and 2, we find that the tenors sing two dotted minims followed by a further two dotted minims, to the syllables *-e e-/lei-*, whilst in *A1* the same pitches are sung to the syllables *-lei/-son- e-/ei-* in bars 33-34, with the note durations being necessarily a semibreve, followed by a minim, crotchet and dotted minim in the next bar. Why would Dvořák have made such a change? The answer would seem to reside in the previous bar – namely, the bottom system of p. 2 of *S1*. There, we can see that Dvořák has neglected to write any words under the male voice parts, despite the fact that their rhythm differs appreciably from that of the female voices over them. Moreover, the first system on p. 3 (where the music continues) had an abortive first bar, faintly written, which was later crossed out. Consequently, though Dvořák meticulously wrote out the words for the tenor on p. 3, these turned out not to be compatible with what went before, when he came to write the complete verbal underlay in *A1*. The change was thus a necessary correction, rather than the result of an aesthetic preference. It merely emerged as a result of what was worked out in detail for the first time when he came to write out *A1*.

System 1 of p. 3 is interesting for other reasons also. Discounting the partial, crossed out bar 1 of the system already encountered, we notice that after the first two bars there are a further four bars only partially worked out (in particular, with the parts for female voices being left blank); these four bars have been crossed out, and the first four bars of system 2 constitute their replacement, following as they do the only valid two bars of system 1. Now the new version is in accord with *A1*, but it is interesting to confine ourselves to *S1* and examine what Dvořák's initial thought was, before it was superseded by the version he wrote anew and let stand. The four bars crossed out have the same choral bass line as the newer version (and that adopted in *A1*, bar 35ff), but with the tenor moving in parallel sixths above the basses. However, this idea apparently did not lead anywhere, petering out at the end of the system – with merely the tenor part fully written out, before all four bars were crossed out and a new attempt made on the next system (system 2 of p. 3) – which indeed came to fruition and was also adopted in *A1*. Finally, the last two bars of system 2 bear corrections made in heavy ink, rendering the result almost illegible. However, with hindsight – armed with *A1* – we are indeed able to decipher what Dvořák intended, and even catch a glimpse of what he had previously considered. Intriguingly, in this case we cannot even rule out that Dvořák wrote the definitive version initially, then superimposed an alternative, but, thinking better of it, proceeded to obliterate the latter. For instance, the sopranos in the penultimate bar of system 2 (corresponding to bar 40 of *A1*), who after their descent in crotchets D, C sharp, B natural, proceed to a dotted minim A sharp, at some stage moved upwards from the B natural; it is by no means obvious whether or not the version dismissed necessarily came first.

We now turn to the soprano part in the fourth bar of system 3 of p. 3 (corresponding to bar 45 of *A1*). The first half of the bar consists of three crotchets; these are D, C sharp, D – in both *S1* and *A1*. However, the “received” version found in published editions (p. 4 of the Novello vocal scores) has D, B, D. The Burghauser and Čubr edition,<sup>23</sup> though supposedly based on *A1*, also has the D, B, D reading, adopted without any comment. Interestingly enough, *E2* (p. 4, system 2, penultimate bar) supports the D, B, D reading. *E1* is ambiguous here (p. 4, bottom

<sup>23</sup> BURGHAUSER, Jarmil and ČUBR, Antonín (eds.): *Antonín Dvořák Mše D Dur. Varhanní verze*, Praha: Supraphon, 1970; Bärenreiter, 2000.

system, penultimate bar): the second crotchet was apparently originally B (in black pen), but someone enlarged the note with a pencil, making it look more like a C sharp; but "h" (meaning B natural) has been added with a pencil over the note! The confusion may have been resolved by referring to *A2*, where we find the B reading (p. 6, bar 3); this is not surprising, given that we know that Dvořák made use of *E2* in preparing *A2*.

Also on p. 3 of *S1* it is interesting to note the following. Dvořák ran out of space in the lower part of p. 3. He might have managed to fit four systems on a single page of twenty-four staves, requiring six staves per system (for the four vocal lines plus two for organ – since the pedal part is not written on a separate stave). However, he left a blank stave between the first two systems, and as a result, by the time he reached system 4 he had only five staves available. He was thus obliged to fit the choral tenor and bass parts onto a single stave. Might this suggest that he was working in such a flurry of inspiration that he did not take much heed of the disposition of what he was writing on the page? The writing seems – at least in this limited sense – to be unplanned and rather spontaneous.

At the bottom right-hand corner of p. 3 he has written the instruction "D dur Končit!" (with a capital "K") to himself, with a narrow underline placed predominantly between "D" and "dur" – whence it would follow that the underline was not intended to stress "dur" – that is, "major". Could it be that in writing *S1* here he had not yet composed the passage preceding the *Christe* section, and thus needed a reminder that by the time he reached the end of p. 3 he should have returned to the home key? If so, this might suggest that he had planned rough proportions and grand sweeps, but that a skeleton needed to be filled in. In this instance perhaps there were no other drafts to rely upon, and it is thus conceivable that he wished to aid his memory with such an indication. Of course we have no means of telling precisely at what stage he wrote "D dur Končit" at the end of p. 3. Could it be that he did so before starting *S1*, or perhaps when he had modulated to B minor? One way or the other, it is significant that he chose to write those words.

The lower half of p. 2 and the whole of p. 3 are lacking in key signature, but the F and C sharps are clearly intended to hold.

A further point of musical interest may be found on p. 4 of *S1*, system 2, bar 3, the tenor holds a D flat over the whole bar, and the choral bass engages in a movement consisting of B flat, A, B flat, C (a minim, crotchet, minim and crotchet, respectively). In bar 64 of *A1*, to which this passage corresponds, in contrast it is the choral basses who hold a B flat over the entire bar, and it is the tenors who have the minim, crotchet, minim, crotchet movement – now over the notes D flat, C, D flat, E flat.

A more minor, nonetheless interesting, point arises on p. 5 of *S1*, where, on system 2, bar 3, the sopranos repeat a figure consisting of a crotchet rest, dotted crotchet and quaver (lacking verbal underlay, but presumably for the syllables *Chris-te*). The version in *A1* (at bar 81) instead has a crotchet rest followed by a minim, tied to an ensuing crotchet – clearly an imaginative variation over that in *S1*, avoiding repetitiousness and affording the climax a sense of breadth and grandeur, as well as forming a canopy of sorts with the soprano line, below which the two inner parts maintain their crotchet movement.<sup>24</sup>

A highly noticeable difference arises on page 5 of *S1*; the organ passage of bars 89-94 of *A1*, leading to the reprise of the *Kyrie*, here consists of a mere two bars. It is difficult to speculate whether it should be taken at face value as it stands, or whether it was merely a kind of shorthand or skeleton to be filled in, extended and elaborated later.

Finally, we draw attention to a further point of interest: on p. 5 of *S1*, in bar 6 of the bottom system, Dvořák brings in the choral altos in what corresponds to the second half of bar 94; the altos start singing a sort of accompaniment (but not the imitative theme); but Dvořák soon abandons this false start (which merely follows the organ right hand), albeit without crossing it out. He leaves a blank bar (p. 6, first bar) before the imitative alto entry retained in the definitive version (*A1*, bar 98 – the second bar of p. 6 of *S1*).

<sup>24</sup> In this instance the *A1* version (which may be found in all subsequent sources) could thus reasonably be considered an improvement over *S1*. However, as we shall see below, there may sometimes be little to choose between the respective versions on aesthetic grounds alone. We also need to be aware of the fact that, conditioned as we are by the definitive version, we may find it difficult to judge the merits of the sketch. It is, however, instructive to have both side by side, and in some instances there is also a case to be made for *hearing* excerpts from the sketch (we shall discuss the feasibility of this later) and thus experience it in the air of aural actuality: Dvořák of course never intended his sketches to be performed, but as a musical experiment, for purposes of illustration or demonstration, such a procedure would not be without its merits.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the Gloria opening of Antonín Dvořák's Mass in D. The page is filled with musical notation on staves, with the word "Gloria" written in large, decorative script at the top. The lyrics are written in Latin, including "in excelsis Deo gloria gloria gloria" and "Gloria in excelsis Deo gloria gloria gloria". The score is annotated with various markings, including "Allegro vivace" and "anebo tak". The notation includes notes, rests, and other musical symbols, with some parts crossed out or revised.

### Some examples drawn from the rest of the Mass

*Gloria* opening (p. 7, < Fig. 2): Dvořák first commenced the movement with the sopranos entering in bar 1, and the altos in bar 2, choral basses in bar 3 and the tenors in bar 4 (system 1); but he crossed this out, and made a fresh start on system 2. Here, he appears initially to have started with a soprano lead (bar 1), followed by alto two beats later, with the tenors arriving in the beginning of the second bar, and finally the choral basses in the second half of that bar. He then seems to have changed his mind again, adding another four-stave system overlapping with the current system (exploiting the blank space between the original choral bass line and organ right hand, the two organ staves, and the blank space between the current system and the next), labelling this additional system "anebo tak" (which may be translated as: "or else, thus:"), eventually adopting the present arrangement whereby the tenors, basses, altos and sopranos enter one after another in half-bar intervals. However, he has indicated this in a somewhat confusing manner, since he appears to have gone through an intermediate stage – with the basses, then tenors, then altos, and then finally sopranos entering in succession. In reaching his final decision to start with the tenors followed by the basses, he has labelled the bottom staff "Tenori", and the staff directly above that "Bassi". Thus, inspecting this page of the sketch furnishes us with no fewer than three "snapshots", indicating Dvořák's earliest known thought, its revision (serving as an intermediate stage), as well as the final version.

The manner in which Dvořák grappled with Latin is also interesting to observe. On p. 8, system 3, > Fig. 3) we notice that instead of a three-syllable setting of *lau-da-mus* (as in bar 31 of the definitive version), he writes *la-u-da-mus*. Furthermore, *be-ne-dī-ci-mus*, which in its

Fig. 2:

Antonín Dvořák:  
*Mass in D, Gloria,*  
*SI, p. 7, systems 1-2*

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of Music, Prague)



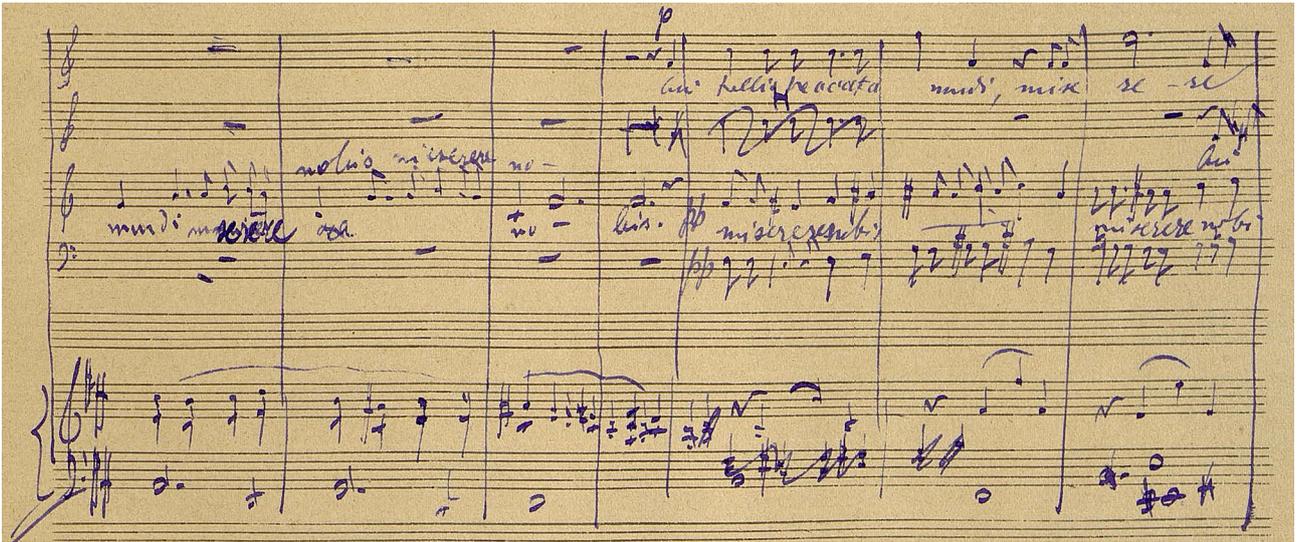


Fig. 5:

**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Gloria,*  
*SI, p. 13, system 2*

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the fourth beat performed by organ alone, and the tenors and bases appear in bar 149, singing a D to the accompaniment of a D major chord. Over a D pedal, this turns into a second inversion G major chord as the sopranos and altos arrive a bar later. This is followed by a second inversion B minor chord, with a long F sharp pedal. Dvořák modulates to E minor (*Jesu Christe*, bar 157), and further modulations lead us to D major in bar 163, where the *cum sancto spirito* fugue starts.

But in the sketch (p. 14, systems 2-3, > Fig. 6a, continuing into p. 15, system 1, > Fig. 6b), the picture is dramatically different. Bar 148 does indeed have an F sharp major chord, but

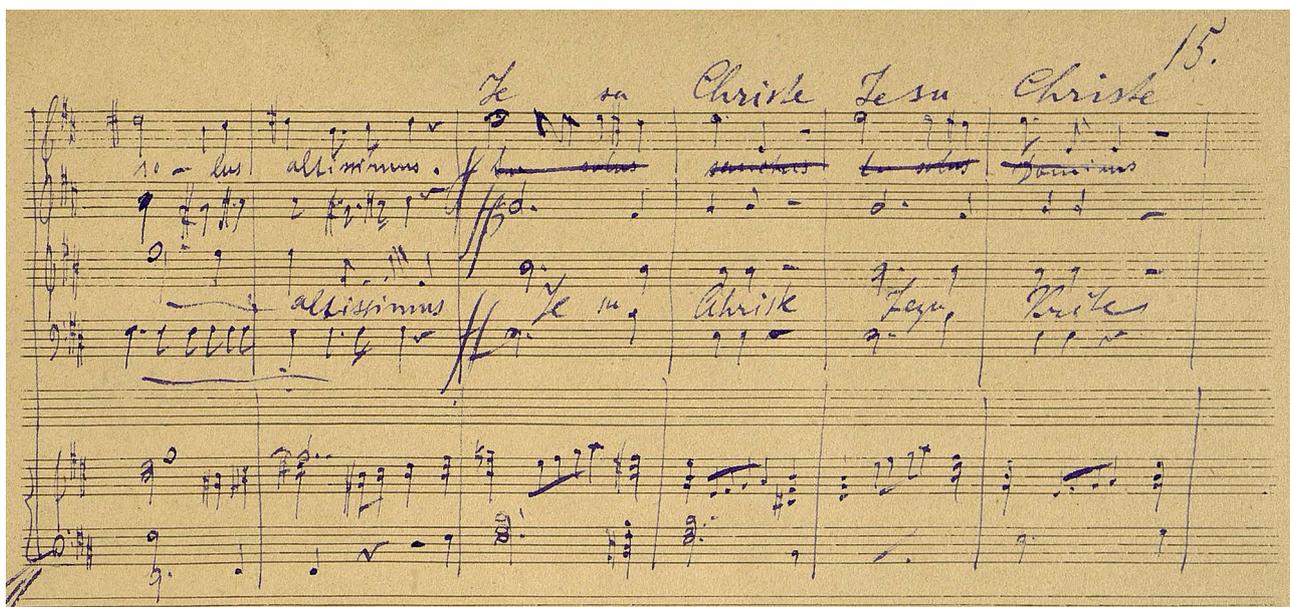


Fig. 6b:

**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D,*  
*Gloria (Quoniam),*  
*S1, p. 15, system 1*  
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there is no change in harmony in the bar (the chorus have a crotchet rest on the fourth beat), and the *Quoniam* is sung to a C sharp over the next bar, and not a D. In the next bars we have a second inversion F sharp major chord, a second inversion B major chord (unlike the B minor of bars 153-156 of the definitive version), and then arriving at the E minor *Jesu Christe* analogous to bar 157 of the definitive version. Thus, the manner in which Dvořák proceeds from the end of the *miserere nobis* to the *Jesu Christe* dramatically differs.<sup>25</sup>

*Benedictus*: In this particular example we find that *S1* provides a foundation over which Dvořák's subsequent thinking evolved in a fascinating manner, and, notably, in a way that did not relinquish the original idea found in *S1*. Consider bar 63 of the definitive version. The equivalent place in *S1* is bar 3 of the first system on p. 37 (➤ Fig. 7). The passage now known as bars 61-64 was played by solo organ in *S1*, and the voices are absent. In *A1* (p. 42) an alto part was superimposed on the same organ part, with the syllables *ve-nit* in bar 63 being sung to repeated crotchets G, G, against the ascending organ crotchets G, A, with a semibreve G held above. In *E1* and in *E2* (p. 61) the organ accompaniment has been altered from that in *S1* and *A1*, with a G replacing the previous A; and whereas in *E1* the alto part retains the repeated G on the syllables *ve-nit*, in *E2* this has been altered in ink, with *ve-nit* being sung as a result to the notes A, G, respectively, as opposed to the G, G prior to the alteration. In effect, Dvořák has introduced an appoggiatura A in the vocal part. This version is carried over to *A2* (p. 75), with a minor modification of rhythm in the organ part. The crucial point is this: Dvořák may have gone "full circle", in effect eventually returning to his original harmonies of *S1* by the time he made his corrections on *E2*: the dissonant A embedded in the organ part in *S1*, though retained upon the addition of the (consonant) vocal part in *A1*, was ironed out in *E1* and *E2*; but the dissonant A did return, in the corrected version of *E2* and in *E1*.<sup>26</sup>

Of course, admittedly we cannot be entirely certain of the circumstances in which the dissonant A was removed from the organ part in *E1* and *E2*. Could it have been an error on Elsnic's part? But the fact is that the original organ version with its own A would not have been compatible with the alto's appoggiatura A. The possibility does remain that Elsnic removed the A from the organ part in error, and as in other instances, Dvořák compensated for an error on Elsnic's part by devising a new solution, and incorporating the dissonance by way of an appoggiatura in the vocal part, instead of the A in the organ part of *S1* and *A1*. In either case, however, the passage provides us with an illuminating example where (unlike the previous example entailing the radically different harmonies for the *Quoniam* in *S1*), though the standard

◀ Fig. 6a:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D,*  
*Gloria (Quoniam),*  
*S1, p. 14, systems 2-3*  
 © National Museum –  
 Czech Museum  
 of Music, Prague)

<sup>25</sup> It is difficult to choose between the two versions, and thus we can only speculate as to the reasons why Dvořák may have rethought his harmonic scheme bridging the F sharp major chord immediately preceding the *Quoniam* and the E minor of the *Jesu Christe*. Both versions seem elegant and fluent, and suitably dramatic, even if, accustomed as we are to the standard version, we may initially find the sketch to be somewhat strange.

<sup>26</sup> Photographic reproductions of all five manuscript sources (*S1*, *A1*, *E1*, *E2* and *A2*) may be found on pp. 91-92 in UTIDJIAN 2017a (◀ note 12).



Fig. 7:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Benedictus,*  
*S1, p. 37, system 1*  
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 Music, Prague)

versions all “sound” different from their counterpart in *S1*, possessing as they do the choral alto line missing from *S1*, Dvořák has retained (if the removal of the A from *E1* and *E2* was an error attributable to Elsnic), or eventually returned to (if it was not) the same dissonance we encountered in *S1* – albeit taken away from the organ and placed in the choral part.

Example 1:  
**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Benedictus,*  
*bars 61-66 of definitive*  
*version (as per E2)*

*Agnus Dei*: The impassioned choral bass cries of “miserere” at the *tutti* in bars 38-45 of the definitive version are assigned to the whole chorus in *S1* (p. 41, systems 1 and 2, > Fig. 8), with unison women and men moving in parallel octaves; whereas in bar 45, instead of the *tutti* sopranos of the definitive version, *S1* has a solo soprano. Furthermore, between the end of bar 54 and the beginning of bar 55 of the definitive version, *S1* has 8 bars of a *cappella* choral writing, to the words “Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi Dona nobis pacem Dona nobis pacem”<sup>27</sup> (p. 42, system 1 bar 3 to system 2 bar 4, > Fig. 9); these bars were not crossed out in *S1*, but do not appear in any later source. Bar 5 of system 2 in *S1* resumes at the point that corresponds to bar 55 of the definitive version, but instead of the ethereal siren call of the

<sup>27</sup> We have retained Dvořák’s peculiar capitalisation – or lack thereof – here.

The image shows a handwritten musical score on aged paper, numbered '41.' in the top right corner. The score is written in ink and consists of two systems of staves. The top system features a vocal line with lyrics 're - re mix' and 'bis' written below it. The bottom system features an organ accompaniment with lyrics 're - re mix' and 're' written below it. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'f' and 'p'. The handwriting is fluid and characteristic of a composer's sketch.

Fig. 8:

**Antonín Dvořák:** *Mass in D, Agnus Dei*, *S1*, p. 41, system 1-2 (© National Museum – Czech Museum of Music, Prague)

divisi sopranos (bars 55-56) – such a memorable feature of the *Agnus Dei* of this *Mass* – here we find that in *S1* the right hand of the organ plays the soprano music, in the absence of any voices (p. 42, system 2, last two bars)!

#### Instances where consideration of *S1* has been of relevance to the preparation of our forthcoming critical edition of the *Mass*

We now present three examples demonstrating the various ways in which a proper examination of *S1* and its collation with the other sources has proved helpful in providing us with useful hints in the course of our preparation of the critical edition.

**Credo:** Consider bars 109-112 of definitive version. Over the female voices phrase-marks may be found covering several syllables – in *A1*, *E1* as well as *E2*. They appear to cover the syllables *-cendit de coe-* (of the words *descendit de coelis*). We have had occasion to discuss the deployment of slurs and phrase-marks over the vocal parts in the manuscript sources of Dvořák's *Mass in D* in considerable detail in our recent work.<sup>28</sup> The manuscripts make sparing use of such marks over the vocal parts, which renders the examples where they do appear worthy of investigation, and in several instances such indications may be highly suggestive of Dvořák's desire to encourage legato singing. However, in this instance inspection of the continuous sketch *S1* (p. 20, system 3, ► Fig. 10) reveals that Dvořák originally organised the verbal text somewhat differently, and instead of a repetition of *descendit* – that is, *descendit descendit*

<sup>28</sup> See UTIDJIAN, Haig: "Towards a new edition of Dvořák's *Mass in D*", *Clavibus unitis* 5 (2016), pp. 1-22, esp. pp. 4-8, [http://www.acces.cz/media/cu\\_2016\\_05\\_utidjian.pdf](http://www.acces.cz/media/cu_2016_05_utidjian.pdf).





Fig. 11:

**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Benedictus,*  
*SI, p. 35, system 2*  
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us evaluate the significance of slurs or phrase-marks found in later sources. Though we have argued that at times such markings have a substantial expressive value, *S1* is helpful in ascertaining whether or not they may have such significance, as opposed to a rather more banal, utilitarian purpose.

*Benedictus*: Consider the soprano part in bar 24: the F sharp on beat 3 has been changed to a G by editors, but the latter reading is unattested in all MSS and *VS1*. *A1* (p. 39) and *S1* (p. 35, system 2, < Fig. 11) testify that the resulting dissonance was not an oversight on the composer's part. But in *A2* (p. 73) a pencil (the Novello editor?) has encircled the F sharp and noted "g?"; the latter reading appears in *VS2* but not in *VS1*. This constitutes an instance where the reading in *S1* can assist us in corroborating a slightly surprising reading found in *A1* (although, admittedly, *S1* is not the sole such source in this instance).

Fig. 12:

**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Agnus Dei,*  
*SI, p. 40, system 2*  
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*Agnus Dei*: Bar 30, soprano: the D is followed by quaver B natural in *VS1*, *VS2* and all MS sources except for *S1* (p. 40, system 2, last bar, > Fig. 12), where it is followed by a quaver C sharp; the latter is also supported by the organ part and by the analogy with bar 28; in the case of our forthcoming edition, it has therefore been retained as an alternative in a footnote.

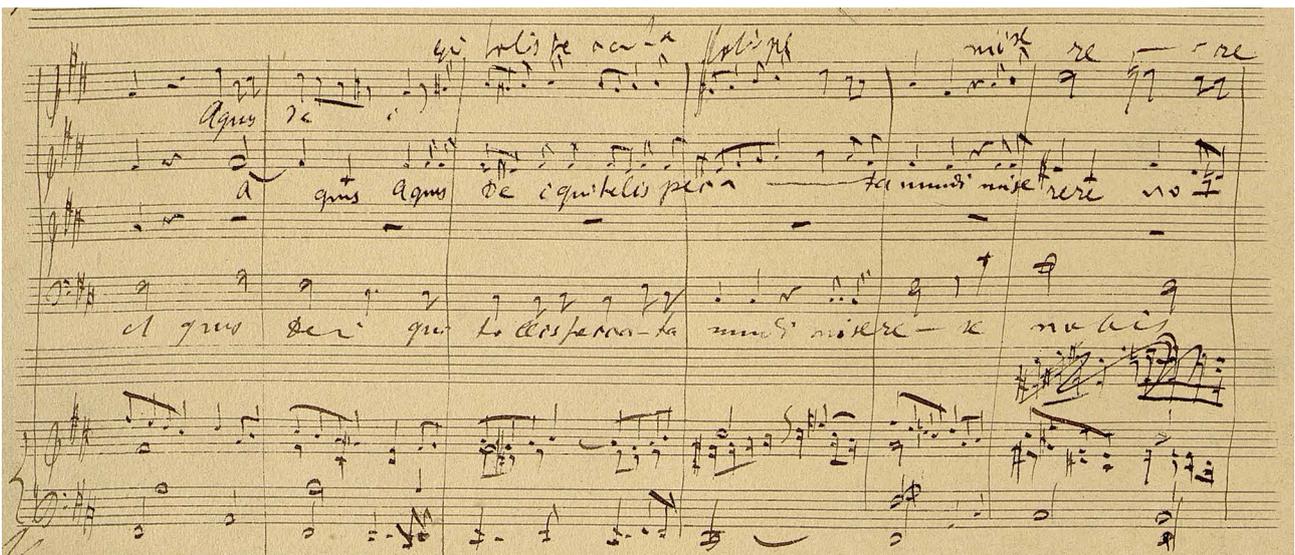


Fig. 10:

**Antonín Dvořák:**  
*Mass in D, Credo,*  
*SI, p. 20, system 3*  
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### Concluding remarks

Dvořák made changes within *S1*, but for the most part changes were effected, rather, in proceeding from *S1* to *A1*. These entailed filling in dynamics and other indications of nuance, filling in the verbal underlay where it was omitted in *S1*, and making corrections of errors in *S1*. In addition, we have encountered instances of bars in *S1* being completely eschewed, or, on the contrary, added, in proceeding to *A1* – with the result that a bar numbering common to *S1* and *A1* cannot always be maintained.

Most of the changes made in proceeding from *S1* to *A1* consist of elaboration over what was already in *S1*, modifications that serve to enhance or accentuate what was already there, or emendations that rendered the setting of the verbal underlay more natural in terms of verbal stresses. In particular instances, passages where the organ played on its own in *S1* were endowed with vocal parts in *A1*. We have encountered one particularly interesting such instance – where a dissonance in the solo organ part in *S1* may have been temporarily ironed out (in *E1* – whether in error or by design) but re-introduced in one of the vocal parts added (in *E2* and *A2*) – indicating that Dvořák was unable to jettison his original harmonic vision. Yet we have also seen a very prominent example where Dvořák re-thought the modulations in an eight-bar passage, rendering *A1* and later versions very different to their antecedent in *S1*.

In addition to its inherent interest in indicating something of the composer's thought processes, accruing both from changes made on *S1* and those made in proceeding from *S1* to *A1*, we have found that consideration of *S1* has been useful in some respects in the preparation of our critical edition of the organ version of the *Mass in D*.

Some interesting questions are apt to arise:

- Was *S1* a “closed composition”? To what extent can it be deemed as being complete? In our judgement, *S1* does not appear to have been anything more than an intermediate stage, and certain details are under-determined (such as, for instance, the verbal underlay in many passages, and bars in the organ part that Dvořák did not write out). But there is a sense in which it was complete; to all intents and purposes the score is *largely* complete; and Dvořák appears to have proceeded with order and method, finishing *S1* when he deemed it complete (at least to the extent to which he desired it to be) and immediately embarking upon *A1*. Thus, one might say that it was as complete as it needed to be (for the purpose of enabling Dvořák to write *A1*, legibly and with the minimum of corrections); but it was certainly not intended to be final or definitive.
- Could *S1* be reconstructed in an experimental, performable version? Some passages are really not clearly legible, and we have seen that certain details are missing and would need to be reconstructed – perhaps by working backwards from *A1*. With the hindsight afforded by *A1*, it would indeed be possible to create a hypothetical performing version of *S1*. This could be useful, for instance, for the purpose of providing illustrations for a live public lecture or a radio programme – vividly demonstrating (for example) the rather dramatic change effected to the *Quoniam* by the composer in proceeding from *S1* to *A1*.<sup>29</sup>
- Did Dvořák first commit his thoughts to paper on *S1*? We need to remember that the absence of evidence is not tantamount to evidence of absence. It is not unlikely that material of a more primitive nature – some sketches of various themes, outlines of particular movements, and the like – may have existed well before Dvořák wrote out his ideas coherently, continuously, and in a manner that was largely complete, in *S1*. *S1* strikes one as being rather mature (as evidenced by the fact that major changes are far fewer than instances of incremental modifications, and with long stretches being adopted in *A1* essentially unaltered); and on the basis of some of Dvořák's comments, and the existence of sketches for other works that consist of the odd theme jotted down here and there on a few staves, as also the existence of fragment *S2*, it would seem probable that other material may indeed have been committed to paper at an earlier stage, but which was not preserved. Indeed, it seems plausible that a continuous sketch of a preliminary version of a work may itself have been justifiably deemed more worthy of preservation than primitive sketches of discrete themes and disconnected fragments, which could be safely discarded, especially once they had been safely incorporated within a continuous sketch.<sup>30</sup>

\* \* \*

<sup>29</sup> It has to be stressed that we would not for one moment propose that *S1* enter the performing canon as a version in its own right. There is no evidence to suggest that Dvořák ever intended *S1* to be performed – indeed, we have already noted that he commenced work on *A1* on the very day on which he completed work on *S1*.

<sup>30</sup> Nonetheless, we cannot be certain. It is conceivable that the relative brevity of movements of the *Mass* (in contrast to the very much more extended stretches encountered in full-length opera scenes) may have rendered taking down preliminary sketches superfluous. Both extremes are notorious, respectively exemplified by Beethoven, whose compositional processes are known to have been tortuous, and requiring much sketchwork, and by Mozart, who appears to have had a complete, detailed and final image of the music in his mind, that could then be committed directly to paper in a final form.

In conclusion, we wish to stress that the present investigation is a mere introduction, giving a sample of some of the points of interest encountered; and that if we are to reach reliable conclusions of a more general nature about the manner in which Dvořák worked, it is essential to engage in a fuller investigation, involving similar enquiries with comparable material for other compositions. In the interim it would be unwise indeed to seek to generalise from the particular. Dvořák need not have been consistent in his methods at different times in his career. Works that were settings of verbal texts may have warranted different procedures than purely instrumental compositions; and works of greater duration and complexity may have entailed a larger number of intermediate stages, requiring greater recourse to pen and paper prior to the production of a final autograph. We nonetheless hope that even the present modest investigation may suffice to demonstrate that a fuller and more extensive enquiry, embracing a substantial proportion of the extant corpus of sketches by Antonín Dvořák, is likely to reap rewards in the shape of an enhanced understanding of the composer's thinking, with a directness and immediacy that cannot be achieved by any other means.

### Thanks

I am most grateful to Veronika Vejvodová, who invited me to undertake the work documented in the present paper; David Beveridge, on whose ground-breaking work the present modest endeavour rests, as do my previous studies on the *Mass in D*, and who generously shared of his expertise in a series of email communications addressing my various questions; to Jarmila Gabrielová and Milan Kuna, for a most informative discussion on the legacy of Dvořák's extant sketches during the questions session in the aftermath of Veronika Vejvodová's lecture at the Antonín Dvořák Museum on 12 November 2018; Jiří K. Kroupa, for his editorial suggestions; and to all the individuals and organisations that provided the MSS on which the present work is based, permitting the author to photograph them for the purpose of his research, as well as graciously granting permission for the reproduction of excerpts therefrom in the present article wheresoever required: James Rushton of the Music Sales Group, Nicholas Bell (then of the British Library), Tamara Kroupová of KLP – Koniasch Latin Press, Kateřina Nová and Veronika Vejvodová of the Antonín Dvořák Museum and Dagmar Rydlová of the Hlávka Foundation.

