

Introduction

Dvořák's Mass in D was a commission from the Czech architect and visionary Josef Hlávka (1831-1908), for the consecration of the chapel of his mansion in Lužany (Western Bohemia), dedicated to the Virgin Mary; the première of the composition took place during a private service on 11 September 1887. The focus of the present article is on a version of the work subsequently prepared by Dvořák with an added part for violoncello and bass, and submitted to the firm of Novello for publication, but which came to be overshadowed by the later version with accompaniment by orchestra and organ.

A chronological presentation of the manuscript sources

As a fuller account has been presented elsewhere,¹ here only a brief summary will be provided.

■ Continuous sketch (S1)

The composer started this on 26. 3. 1887 and completed it 26. 5. 1887. It differs rather substantially from the autograph manuscript of the complete work (A1 below) in particular places.

■ Fragment of fugue (S2)

This consists of a single sheet of paper, of which one side and a half include part of the fugue from the *Credo* of the Mass set to the words *et iterum venturum est*.

■ Autograph of organ version (A1)

The manuscript of the version with organ accompaniment was completed on 17. 6. 1887. For the most part, it employs red ink for the verbal and dynamic markings.

■ Elsnic's fair copies (E1, E2)

The copyist Jan Elsnic prepared two fair copies of the score, apparently based on A1. These copies, which we shall designate as E1 and E2, were completed on 1 August and 7 August 1887, respectively. There are various slight differences between E2 and E1 in the exact positioning of dynamic hairpins, or slurs in the organ part or in the vocal parts. It is conceivable that certain slight discrepancies arose through oversight in proceeding from A1 to E1 to E2; and in some respects one gets the impression of a further distancing from A1 as one proceeds from E1 to E2. Furthermore, A1 is not clearly legible whereas E1 is an eminently legible fair copy; and E2 closely imitates E1 in the way in which the music has been positioned on the page, as well as emulating the pagination of E1. Elsnic could thus have preferred, with good reason, to use E1 in preparing E2. But there are also indications that strongly militate against the hypothesis that E2 was derived from E1. For instance, on p. 54 of E1 Elsnic erred in copying the verbal underlay in the *Hosanna* passage in bars 68 and 69; the error has remained undetected to this day and was not corrected. In contrast, the same passage is correct in E2 (agreeing as it does with A1, p. 37, as also with the later A2); it is not at all obvious how this

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Towards a new edition of Dvořák's Mass in D ("Lužanská")

The article is focused on a version of Dvořák's Mass in D with organ, violoncello and bass accompaniment, represented by a manuscript copy by Jan Elsnic bearing Dvořák's added string part and his own corrections and revisions. The author is the editor of a new critical edition based on this source. First, a chronological account is presented, enumerating all extant manuscript sources, including an earlier and hitherto completely neglected manuscript copy made by Elsnic but devoid of the string part. A conspectus of the peculiarities in the verbal text in manuscript and verbal sources is also provided. Technical features of the principal source are next discussed – such as the deployment of slurs in the vocal parts, where it is seen that studying antecedent manuscript sources can help clarify obscurities and ambiguities in the principal source. Further, following through the evolution of a particular bar as we traverse the stemma chronologically is seen to shed light on Dvořák's own procedures. Certain unresolved problems are pinpointed, and the differences introduced by Dvořák himself in preparing the orchestral version of the work, and concomitant aspects of performing practice, are discussed. The markings, corrections and revisions made on the principal source using various implements are also described. The work presented has been partly informed by the author's own experiences with the work as conductor. Finally, the need for a new edition is justified, and the most important desiderata and guiding principles are spelt out.

Key words: Dvořák, Antonín; 19th-century music; Czech music; Mass in D ("Lužanská"); liturgy; mass settings; critical edition; stemma codicum; Hlávka, Josef

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¹ UTIDJIAN, Haig: "The Dvořák Mass in D ('Lužanská') for chorus, organ, violoncello and bass", *Musicalia* 9/1-2 (2017), forthcoming.

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could have been achieved if *E2* were copied from an erroneous exemplar. Extensive work by the present writer suggests that *E2* was copied at least in part from *A1*, since errors in *E1* that remained uncorrected were not always reproduced in *E2*; and ambiguities in *A1* were variously interpreted in *E1* and *E2*. Indeed, this even meant that Dvořák in correcting errors in *E2* creatively arrived at new solutions, rather than reverting to *A1* (to which he no longer had access at this time) – thus shedding fascinating light on some of the composer's thought processes.²

Dvořák subsequently personally corrected and annotated *E2*, and himself wrote in an additional part for violoncello and double-bass, directly below the organ part. *E2* is the manuscript that was approved by the composer, and submitted to Novello's for publication subsequent to the addition of the string part.³ On the title page Dvořák has written (in ink) "Spolehlivý opis dle mého originálu" (that is, "Reliable copy, in accordance with my original"). It turns out, moreover, that *E2* is suitable for performances with the accompaniment of organ alone – that is, even in the absence of exponents of the added part; for, in just a single instance, Dvořák added a sheet bearing an alternative organ part for the final twenty bars of the *Credo*, almost certainly intended to be used in the presence of strings, and made only a small number of further adjustments.⁴ Such emendations are not in any way dependent on the added string part, and are therefore suitable for use in the absence of strings, as we shall see. The organ part was otherwise essentially unchanged. Finally, the introductory two bars for strings (second violins and violas) we find in the orchestral version (*A2* – see below) appear to have been inserted by pen (probably at some stage after they were added to *A2*) in a reduction for keyboard,⁵ in the small space available just before the beginning of the *Kyrie* in *E1*, but not in *E2* or *A1*.

As Novello gave precedence to the orchestral version, *E2* fell into oblivion; the conductor and musicologist Haig Utidjian conducted the first modern revival of the *E2* version, at the Trinitatiskirche in Cologne on 8. 7. 2014 (see Illustration 2a-b), and his forthcoming edition uses *E2* as its principal source.

■ Vocal parts (V1-4)

A set of four vocal parts was recently discovered in Lužany (I am grateful to Dr. David Beveridge for drawing my attention to this source, and to Dr. Dagmar Rydlová of the Hlávka Foundation for her kindness in allowing me access). They are likely to have been used for the private première, and lack dynamic markings. At the end of the soprano part, the date 1. 9. 1887 and the signature "Blecha" may be found, whilst the date of the première in Lužany, namely 11. 9. 1887, has been added in pencil on the first page. Judging from the rather flowery script of the verbal underlay, and the blatant error in the title to the first movement on the soprano part "Kirie" [sic!], the copyist seems unlikely to have been Elšnic, although there is evidence to suggest that Dvořák expected at least a single set of vocal parts to be prepared by Elšnic.⁶

² A fuller treatment of such problems may be found in UTIDJIAN, Haig: "Towards a stemma of the MS sources of Dvořák's Mass in D", *Czech and Slovak Music. The Journal of the Dvořák Society* (Great Britain) 26 [2017], forthcoming.

³ See UTIDJIAN, "The Dvořák Mass in D" (< note 1), for a fuller discussion of the circumstances that led to this, and for evidence that the added part is indeed firmly attributable to Dvořák, drawing on very recent work by the musicologist David Beveridge, documented in his seminal study, BEVERIDGE, David R.: *Zdenka a Josef Hlávka – Anna a Antonín Dvořákovi: Přátelství dvou manželských párů a jeho plody v českém a světovém umění* [Zdenka and Josef Hlávka – Anna and Antonín Dvořák: A friendship of two married couples and its fruits in Czech and international art], Praha: Národohospodářský ústav Josefa Hlávky, 2012 [2013], see esp. pp. 113-117.

⁴ See UTIDJIAN, "Towards a stemma of the MS sources of Dvořák's Mass in D" (< note 2).

⁵ We note that the introductory bars added in *E1* differ from those of the 1893 edition of the Vocal Score (*VS1*), and also differ from the reduction from orchestra provided by Burghauser in his own edition of the organ version. In general, tracing out the progression from *S1* to *E2* to *A2* provides a vivid and graphic insight into the evolution of the composer's thinking. *S1* is a fascinating source, and one that has not been studied hitherto; the present writer plans to present his observations more fully in a future contribution.

⁶ A postcard from Dvořák addressed to Jan Elšnic has been preserved, in which Dvořák urges the copyist to send a copy and set of parts to Hlávka; see KUNA, Milan et al. (eds.): *Antonín Dvořák: Korespondence a dokumenty. Korespondence odeslaná / Antonín Dvořák: Correspondence and documents. Correspondence dispatched*, vol. 4: 1896-1904, Praha: Bärenreiter, 1995, p. 290; cited in BEVERIDGE, *Zdenka a Josef Hlávka* (< note 3), p. 106.

■ Autograph of orchestral version (A2)

Acceding to repeated requests from Novello's, Dvořák eventually produced an orchestral version of the Mass. He was obliged to ask for the return of E2 so that he could use it to prepare the orchestral version (a fact which suggests that he no longer had access to any alternative source at this time). He completed the autograph of the orchestral version, A2, on 15. 6. 1892 and made it available to Novello. After some delay, E2 was also eventually returned to Novello, and is at present the property of the Music Sales Group, loaned to the British Library, as is A2.

- The printed editions are of no direct interest here as sources, since none existed of the organ version (with or without strings) within Dvořák's lifetime. It is almost certain that he was able to inspect the 1893 Novello Vocal Score (VS1), which generally adhered to his at times somewhat idiosyncratic verbal text (but corrected errors in Latin). However, as it is associated with the orchestral version, it is not of direct relevance here. The later Novello Vocal Score (VS2) is undated, but some exemplars rather misleadingly bore the date 1893, and it became very widespread – for which reasons it has often been mistaken for the 1893 edition, from which, however, it differs, as the text has been bowdlerised (in the *Gloria* and, especially, *Credo*), with concomitant changes in the choral writing.

A conspectus of the peculiarities in the verbal text in manuscript and printed sources

We shall now slightly narrow our attention to sources A1, E1, E2, A2, VS1 and VS2 (and thus exclude the sketches S1 and S2 and vocal parts V1-4 from consideration). We note that VS1 and VS2 have identical paginations, as do E1 and E2.

There are substantial divergences from the standard text as well as omissions – some striking, others trivial:

■ In the *Gratias* section of the *Gloria*:

- (i) *Domine Jesu* instead of *Domine Deus* (A1, p. 12; E1, p. 17; E2, p. 17; A2, p. 27; exceptionally, this has been changed to the standard text in VS1⁷ as well as in VS2, p. 19);
- (ii) missing word *Deus* preceding *Pater* (A1, p. 12; E1, p. 18 – with a partial pencil correction made later; E2, p. 18; A2, p. 27; VS1 but not VS2, p. 19);
- (iii) *pater omnipotentem* instead of *pater omnipotens* (A1, p. 12; E1, p. 18 but corrected by pencil; E2, p. 18 but corrected by pencil; but not in A2, p. 27 – the one instance where Dvořák returned to the standard text; nor in VS1 or VS2, p. 19).

■ In the *Credo*:

- (iv) omission of the words *Patrem omnipotentem* (A1, p. 18; E1, p. 26; E2, p. 26; A2, p. 38; VS1 but not VS2, p. 28);
- (v) *Credo in unum Dominum*, instead of the standard *Et in unum Dominum* (A1, p. 19 – both early version and version subsequent to correction to modify of distribution of underlay; E1, p. 28; E2, p. 28; A2, p. 39; VS1 but not VS2, p. 29); and continuing: *Filius Dei unigenitum* instead of *Jesum Christum, filium Dei unigenitum* (A1, p. 19-20; E1, p. 28; E2, p. 28; A2, p. 39-40; VS1 but not VS2, p. 29);
- (vi) *Credo in Spiritum*, instead of the standard *Et in Spiritum* (A1, p. 30; E1, p. 44; E2, p. 44; A2, p. 55; VS1 but not VS2, p. 45);
- (vii) *Credo in unam sanctam* instead of *Et in unam sanctam* (A1, p. 32; E1, p. 47; E2, p. 47; A2, p. 60; VS1 but not VS2, p. 48);
- (viii) *Confiteor una baptisma* instead of *Confiteor unum baptisma* (A1, p. 33; E1, p. 48 – but later pencil correction on p. 49 during repetition, on bass line alone; E2, p. 48; A2, p. 61; but not VS1 or VS2, p. 49);
- (ix) omission of *Et expecto resurrectionem mortuorum* (A1, p. 33; E1, p. 49; E2, p. 49; A2, p. 61; VS1 but not VS2, p. 49).

- In the *Sanctus* and *Benedictus* – the composer's text *Osanna* in all the manuscript sources has been modified to *Hosanna* in all the printed editions.

If we examine the versions by Dvořák and compare them to the bowdlerised versions, it would seem that, if anything, the music is just "right" for the words that Dvořák did set. Thus, for instance, if we consider the omission of *Et expecto*, we notice that the general pattern is one whereby the alto (or sometimes the tenor) proclaims new text (in this case *Confiteor*) and then the same text is taken up by the chorus of other voices. It is the bowdlerised version that is an anomaly, because quite simply there is not "enough music" to go with the full text. Thus, instead of referring to any subsequent restoration of "omitted" text, it would behave us

⁷ I owe this observation to BEVERIDGE, *Zdenka a Josef Hlávkoví* (↵ note 3), p. 93, footnote 58.

rather to point out that the text that was not set by Dvořák was evidently just not considered at the time of composition, and thus the later (and unauthorised) standardisation of the text entailed a certain amount of violence to the overall pattern – as well as liberties being taken with Dvořák's music.

In the judgement of the present writer, it is improbable that Dvořák deliberately strove to exclude particular words, and there is unlikely to be any theological significance associated with his choice of words included. Rather, a more probable explanation may be that Dvořák seems to have composed, as it were, "in a single breath", and almost certainly to have set the entire text from memory. (The fact that he did not consult a Missal is borne out by the eccentricities in Latin grammar, recurrent in *S1*, *A1* as well as in *E1* and *E2*). He seems to have repeated the words where these most appealed to him (such as *Credo* instead of *Et in*); or perhaps for greater musical emphasis – the music is in triple time, and he may have deemed *Cre-do in*, with the *Cre-* on the downbeat, preferable to the anacrusis effect associated with: *crotchet rest*, *Et in*. Even his erroneous Latin grammar appears in all the manuscript sources (with a single exception in *A2*, where we find him correctly setting *pater omnipotens* instead of *pater omnipotentem* in the *Gratias* section). *VS1*, the only printed source he may have been in a position to check and approve, though correcting all minor errors in Latin, fully adheres to his choice of verbal text (with a single exception: *Domine Jesu* instead of *Domine Deus*, as we saw) – and thus to his departures from the standard text. *VS1* generally deviated from the *MSS* only in correcting the Latin, whereas *VS2* bowdlerised the text and altered the music to allow the complete standard text of the Ordinary to be heard. (The unconventional appearance of the words *Christe*, *Christe eleison* at the very end of the *Kyrie* movement (bars 112–114) seems more a sort of heartfelt poetic licence, rather than anything motivated by the desire to depart from orthodoxy, and was left unaltered even in *VS2*.) Furthermore, it was not theologically important for him to adhere precisely and comprehensively to the standard text. As Prof. Evžen Kindler has pointed out,⁸ in Dvořák's time, in liturgical usage it was not necessary for the musical setting to embrace the complete verbal text of the *Credo*, since the text in its entirety would in any case be recited by the celebrant. Moreover, as Iacopo Cividni points out, musically-motivated deviations (repetitions and omissions) from the text of the Missal were "widespread" in the nineteenth century.⁹ (Nonetheless, when the Mass came to be performed in England, the non-standard nature of Dvořák's text was commented upon in the press¹⁰ – and indeed this may account for the fact that the text was bowdlerised and the music suitably adapted in *VS2* (almost certainly by the Novello editors). Indeed, there are grounds for supposing that, whereas Dvořák approved of *VS1*, he is unlikely ever to have seen *VS2*.¹¹

The deployment of slurs in the vocal parts in the manuscript sources

The manuscripts make sparing use of slurs over vocal parts, which renders the examples where slurs do appear worthy of investigation. It would seem that in some cases the slurs serve some special expressive purpose, whilst in others their appearance in *E2* may have a mundane explanation (and thus in such instances it would not be appropriate to ascribe them with interpretative relevance). Investigating possible antecedents in earlier manuscripts often suffices to shed some light on these matters.

Consider the *Kyrie*: following several pages with the choral melismata wholly devoid of slurs, slurs do make odd appearances. Now these may not necessarily be significant: in *A1* mu-

⁸ Personal communication to the author, July 2014.

⁹ CIVIDNI, Iacopo: "Fides, spes, caritas: Dvořák's musikalisches Glaubensbekenntnis in der D-Dur-Messe op. 86", in: TADDAY, Ulrich (ed.): *Antonín Dvořák* [= Musik-Konzepte, vol. 174], München: et+k, 2016, pp. 63–80: "Nun waren musikalisch motivierte Änderungen im Text des Missales, vor allem Wiederholungen bestimmter Stellen, aber auch Textauslassungen oder -umstellungen, sosehr sie im Kreis der cäcilianischen Reformer freilich auch verpönt wurden, in Messvertonungen des 19. Jahrhunderts durchaus verbreitet." I am indebted to Dr. David Beveridge for drawing this article to my attention.

¹⁰ See BEVERIDGE, *Zdenka a Josef Hlávkoví* (↵ note 3), p. 94, footnote 59.

¹¹ See BEVERIDGE, *Zdenka a Josef Hlávkoví* (↵ note 3), p. 93, footnote 58. Beveridge argues that Dvořák is very likely to have approved *VS1*, since it is documented that he received proofs from Novello and approved them, sending them back to Novello in 1893. Moreover, he must have been sufficiently pleased with *VS1*; Beveridge refers to one exemplar of *VS1* which Dvořák enthusiastically inscribed on the title page with "Právě vyšla!" ("Just published!") and posted to his friend Alois Göbl – see BEVERIDGE, *Zdenka a Josef Hlávkoví* (↵ note 3), p. 200 and footnote 53. Likewise, through an examination of advertisements of other titles included in the earliest print of *VS2*, Beveridge argued for 1903 as a *terminus post quem* for the publication of *VS2*; but Dvořák passed away on 1 May, 1904.

indicating (in tandem with the decrescendo hairpin) a legato effect, perhaps seeking to forfend any involuntary accent on the weak syllable -su on a downbeat.

The musical score for Example 3 shows the Gloria section of Antonín Dvořák's Mass in D. It includes vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and instrumental parts (Organ, Violoncello/Double Bass). The vocal parts have lyrics: "Do - mi - ne Je - - - su rex coe - les - tis". The organ part has a *pp* dynamic and a slur. The cello/bass part has a *pp* dynamic and a slur. The tempo is marked "Tutti [in Tempo]".

Example 3:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
Gloria, bars 90-94

It is, moreover, noteworthy that Dvořák continued to make use of slurs in a similar manner in A2, where we find some but not all of the slurs encountered in E2, as well as further examples which (judging from their context) must have expressive significance and can serve no other purpose. Consider bars 17-18 of the *Kyrie* in A2 (p. 2): over an eight-note melisma Dvořák has chosen to envelope notes 2-4 and 5-7 with slurs (which the corresponding bars 14-16 in A1, E1 and E2 all lack), thus creating two three-note groups. In A2 there are further slurs that seem to be across two syllables, such as in the alto part across bars 30-31 and over the soprano part over bars 30-32 – although admittedly here Dvořák may have been imprecise, perhaps inadvertently placing or ending some slurs slightly further to the right than he may have intended: this seems particularly likely to be the case in the tenor part in bar 34 (corresponding to bar 32 of A1, E1 and E2).

It follows, therefore, that slurs or phrase-marks in vocal parts in E2 covering more than a single syllable ought not to be ignored, but need to be evaluated on a case-by-case basis, with a view to establishing whether they may be of significance, or rather be present for more mundane reasons. We have found several instances of the latter in our investigation of the *Credo*, and briefly describe some particularly interesting examples.

Over bars 109-112 of the *Credo*, we find a characteristic example of phrase-marks covering four syllables of text: (*des*)-*cen*-*dit de coe*-(*lis*) over the female voices (see Example 4). We find this on p. 23 of A1, as also on p. 33 of both E1 and E2. The marks may thus be attributed to Dvořák's own hand in their ultimate origin, and they do not serve any practical purpose in signifying the distribution of notes to text; thus, one might be justified in thinking it likely that here the marks indeed signify legato. However, there is another intriguing possibility: upon consulting S1 (p. 20), it appears that Dvořák originally organised the verbal text somewhat differently, and instead of a repetition of *descendit* – that is, *descendit descendit de coelis* as at present, in S1 Dvořák had a single *descendit* where in A1 there are two; the slur in S1 thus did represent the music to be sung to a single syllable of text, namely -*cen*- of *descendit*. Could it not be that in proceeding from his own sketch S1 to his own autograph score A1, Dvořák absent-mindedly copied out the marking, even though it was no longer meaningful, and it is the result of this that we find in E2? (In contrast, in the examples from the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* cited above, there is nothing in S1 to suggest that the slurs in those cases may have had a comparable explanation.)

In the *Credo*, consider the choral bass over bars 161-162, where in E2 we find a slur across several syllables of verbal text. Now a slur of sorts is to be found in A1 as well as in E1 and E2. Inspection reveals that the slur initially arose in A1, p. 24, in the soprano and alto parts as well as in the bass. In the case of the soprano and bass, Dvořák appears to have had some difficulty deciding whether *et homo* was to be sung over those two bars by the sopranos and

Example 4:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
Credo, bars 107-112

basses, as opposed to *ho-mo* as in the case of the altos – whose *et* appears at the end of the previous bar. In the case of the bass part, Dvořák initially favoured but later emended an arrangement similar to that of the alto part (the emendation entailed scratching out a crotchet at the end of bar 160, scratching out *ho-* in bar 161 and overwriting it with *et*). Prior to the removal of the crotchet *et* at the end of 160, the slur from the beginning of 161 to that of 162 had served to indicated that *ho-* of *homo* would be sung across bars 161-162, extending to the minim at the beginning of 162. But when Dvořák eventually obliterated this version, he neglected to remove the now redundant slur (though he did so after a parallel dilemma in the case of the soprano part). Moreover, the slur in the bass part in A1 is very slightly too long but in fact clearly did end on the minim of bar 162. It is this redundant slur that was misinterpreted by Elšnic in E1 and E2, extended to the end of bar 162, and retained over the bass part, covering the three syllables *et ho-mo*. Thus, the slur is almost certainly of no interpretative significance whatsoever in this case – though it is undoubtedly an interesting detritus, capturing something of the history of Dvořák's thinking.

Again in the *Credo*, consider the tenor part in bars 179-180: here too, we find a slur over two syllables of text – *fac-tus* (see Example 5): in A1 (p. 25) the slur is *C – B natural*, that is over a single syllable of text, but in E1 the slur ends midway between the minim *B natural* and subsequent crotchet *A natural*; in E2 the slur has now been further extended to the end of bar 180 (and thus covers the two syllables, *fac-tus*). The E2 slur is thus likely to be spurious.

Example 5:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
Credo, bars 172-182

In bars 273-275 of the *Credo*, there is a slur over five syllables in the alto part in *E2* (over *dex-te-ram pa-tris*, as shown in the Example 6), which may have had its antecedents in earlier sources. A spurious slur appears in *E1*, over the two syllables (*pa-tris*), in turn originating in a slur in *A1* (p. 28) in the alto part in bar 274 that merely served to indicate the notes to be sung to the single syllable *pa-* of *pa-tris* in the absence of the verbal underlay, but was drawn slightly imprecisely (and construed by Elsnic as ending in bar 275). This is yet another example of a meaningless – not expressive – slur over a vocal part in *E2*.

Example 6:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
Credo, bars 266-275

The above examples serve to demonstrate that, although it is important not to miss genuinely significant yet unconventional features in *E2*, it is necessary to appraise such instances on a case-by-case basis, in the light of possible antecedents in *A1* and (partly) *E1*, conceivably even in *S1*, as a means of evaluating them and ascertaining their true significance.

In some instances, puzzling readings in *A1* (e.g. in the *Gratias* organ part, bar 91 – as we shall later see) have been clarified in *E1* and *E2*, and the position of certain dynamic hairpins is subtly different. Divergences between *E1* and *E2* (especially if we consider the state of affairs prior to the corrections made on *E2*) are, however, minor for the most part, verging on the trivial: one very occasionally encounters a missing slur, or a dynamic hairpin dropped from an inner voice (though, possibly, not always necessarily through oversight).

The evolution of one bar as we traverse the stemma from *S1* through to *A2*

Qui venit dissonance:

Consider bar 63 of the *Benedictus*. This bar evolves as we proceed along the stemma of the piece. In *S1*, the passage now known as bars 61-64 was played by solo organ, with no voices; this organ part (bar 3 of p. 37 in *S1*) was retained with no alteration in *A1* (p. 42 – notwithstanding the rather unclear sharp sign or *pp* marking (?) placed immediately after the crotchet *G*), but an alto part was added. In bar 63, the syllables *ve-nit* were sung to repeated crotchets *G*, *G*, against the ascending organ crotchets *G*, *A* (with a held "pedal" semibreve *G* from above, the *A* constituting a prepared dissonance). By the time we reach *E1* and *E2* (p. 61) we find that the organ accompaniment has been altered – now a *G* replaces the previous *A*; the alto part retains the repeated *G* on the words *ve-nit*, but in *E2* this has subsequently been altered in ink,¹² with *ve-nit* now sung to *A*, *G* instead of the *G*, *G* prior to the alteration – in effect, introducing an appoggiatura *A* in the vocal part (as shown in the Example 7). This version was carried over to *A2* (p. 75), albeit with a slight modification of rhythm in the organ part. This example demonstrates the stage-by-stage, logical development whereby the self-sufficient solo organ part with its embedded dissonance of *S1* (a) was retained, with the addition of a (consonant) alto part in *A1* (b); the organ dissonance was ironed out whilst the alto part was retained in *E1* (c) and *E2*; but then *E2* itself underwent revision and the dissonant

¹² Similarly, a pencil has lightly added a crotchet *A* adjacent to the original *G* in the alto part of *E1*.

Example 7:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
Benedictus, bars 61-66

The musical score for Example 7 shows the vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and the organ/continuo parts for bars 61-66 of the Benedictus from Dvořák's Mass in D. The lyrics are 'ni be - ne - dic - tus qui ve - nit'. The Soprano part starts with a *pp* dynamic. The Alto part also starts with a *pp* dynamic. The Tenor part starts with a *pp* dynamic. The Bass part starts with a *pp* dynamic. The organ/continuo part starts with a *p* dynamic and includes a *con fco* marking.

A now returned, albeit now appearing in the alto part (d); the result was carried over to the orchestral version, A2, with a minor modification to the organ part (e).

This example demonstrates: (i) the utterly logical way in which progressively a self-sufficient solo organ part included a dissonance in *S1*, which then was removed in *A1*, with the introduction of the alto part; it was reproduced in the same form in *E1* and *E2*, but underwent revision, whereby the dissonant note *A* now returned, appearing now in the alto part; finally, this was carried over to the orchestral version, A2; but also (ii) the danger of combining versions for organ and orchestra. In the Burghauser edition¹³ the "dissonant" organ accompaniment is given (as per *A1*, p. 41), primarily with the *G*, *G* alto reading, but with the orchestral version's *A*, *G* alto part provided in parallel; should the latter be adopted, there would be an alto *A* against organ *G* in the first beat with the alto *G* against the organ *A* on the next beat. Whatever its aesthetic merits (or otherwise), such a resultant reading does not correspond to Dvořák's wishes in either version: Dvořák intended a dissonance on the second beat in the organ (*A1*), no dissonance (*E1*, *E2* prior to alteration), and dissonance on first beat via the alto part (further to the alteration in *E2*, and in *A2*), but never intended a hybrid reading entailing a combination resulting in dissonances on both beats. The version in *A2* is not represented at all in the Burghauser edition; the one version found in Pilkington's edition¹⁴ is an accurate reflection of *E2* alone, but fails to represent the version in *A1*, and likewise fails accurately to represent that in *A2*, p. 75 (which differs slightly from that in *E2*, p. 61). (In this passage the orchestral version too entails accompaniment by solo organ.)

The important question arises: on whose authority did Elsnic remove the dissonant *A* from the organ part, even whilst presumably producing *E1* and *E2* on the basis of *A1*? Dvořák must have been in a position to influence the process of preparation of the fair copies *E1* and *E2*; or else (conceivably) some intermediate documentary witness of some sort between *A1* and *E1* must have existed. Could the removal of the dissonant *A* of *A1* from the organ part in *E1* and *E2* have been an error on Elsnic's part, rather than a change dictated by the composer's wishes? We cannot be certain: in *A1* the *A* is clear, but we do have precedents for errors made by Elsnic being rectified by Dvořák in *E2* not by returning to *A1* but by dint of the adoption of new creative solutions.¹⁵

¹³ Strictly speaking, Burghauser and Čubr edition: BURGHAUSER, Jarmil and ČUBR, Antonín (eds.): *Antonín Dvořák, Mše D dur. Varhanní verze* [Mass in D major. Organ version], Praha: Supraphon, 1970; Praha: Bärenreiter, 2000. (The cover of the 2000 reprint, in the possession of the present writer, bears the word "URTEXT", whilst the title page includes "Kritické vydání podle skladatelova rukopisu" – appearing in English on the facing page as "Critical edition based on the composer's manuscript").

¹⁴ PILKINGTON, Michael (ed.): *Antonín Dvořák, Mass in D major / Mše D dur, Op. 86* [= The New Novello Choral Edition], London: Novello Publishing Ltd., 2000.

¹⁵ See the author's forthcoming article: UTIDJIAN, "Towards a stemma of the MS sources of Dvořák's Mass in D" (< note 2).

Some further problematic aspects

Organ part – con Pedal versus only Pedal?

There is general confusion, and in the *E2* we find instances of *Pedal* and *con Pedal*, as well as instances where the original marking was *Ped* but a *con* pencilled in later (the first such example arising in bar 7 of the *Kyrie*). Now the original *con Ped* markings (in ink) found in *E2* are generally also found in *E1*, which strongly suggests that the latter instruction (as opposed to *Ped*) is usually unrelated to the string part, given that it features in *E1* also. There does not seem to be any clear internal pattern: not all *con Pedal* markings are followed by *senza Pedal*, and nor are all *senza Pedal* markings preceded by *con Pedal* – for instance, we find a *senza Pedal* preceded by *Ped*, as opposed to *con Ped*, on p. 3 of *E2* (and also of *E1*). (In contrast, on p. 4 we find two occurrences of *con Ped*, each followed by *senza Ped*.) Thus, the overall picture is chaotic.

Now the addition in pencil of *con* before *Ped* in some instances and not in others might seem to suggest that some particular intention might be served other than mere standardisation. Yet, once again, no clear interpretation seems possible. For one thing, Dvořák does not specify the use of manuals, and it seems unlikely that the *con* might imply coupling (of the pedal part with the left-hand manual). In bar 21 of the *Benedictus*, the original instruction *Ped* has been reinforced by the addition in pencil of the words *con Pedal*, with a subsequent matching *senza Pedal* further down on the same page apparently added at a later stage in pen (and missing in *E1*); the dynamic is pianissimo, and thus it is (on musical grounds) highly unlikely that any coupling be intended by the *con*. On the other hand, the strings do enter at this point, so in this instance it is just possible that *con Pedal* may have been added in conjunction with the string parts (though the marking *Ped* was already present, as it was also in *E1*). Interestingly enough, the instruction *con Ped* also appears as a later addition in bar 37, where it is associated with the addition to the organ of a dotted minim G, crotchet A and minim B at the lower octave in pencil, to be played on the pedals.

Organ dynamics

The manuscript sources sometimes appear to be erratic in the placement of organ crescendo hairpins, which appear variously over the right-hand staff, above the left-hand staff, or sometimes even below the left-hand staff. For instance, in bars 13-16 of the *Kyrie* (see Example 8), the organ dynamic hairpins deserve attention: in *E2* the hairpin of bars 13-14 is placed at the bottom of the LH staff, supported by “dimin”¹⁶ over the right hand in the second half of bar 14,

The image shows a musical score for the Kyrie of Antonín Dvořák's Mass in D ("Lužanská"), bars 12-16. The score includes vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and organ parts. The organ part has a hairpin at the bottom of the left-hand staff in bars 13-14. The dynamics include *ff*, *f*, *p*, and *pp*. The organ part has a hairpin at the bottom of the left-hand staff in bars 13-14.

Example 8:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
Kyrie, bars 12-16

¹⁶ Contrary to later practice, where organ *hairpins* were generally intended to be realised by opening or closing shutters whilst instructions such as *cresc.* or *dim.* were intended to be realised by adjustments in registration (activated by the manipulation of a foot-operated device, or else through the services of an assistant who would pull out or push further stops as required), in this score the deployment of the verbal instructions as opposed to hairpins seems to be random, and is found in the vocal parts as well as in the organ. I am indebted to the leading organist and scholar specialising in the works of Bedřich

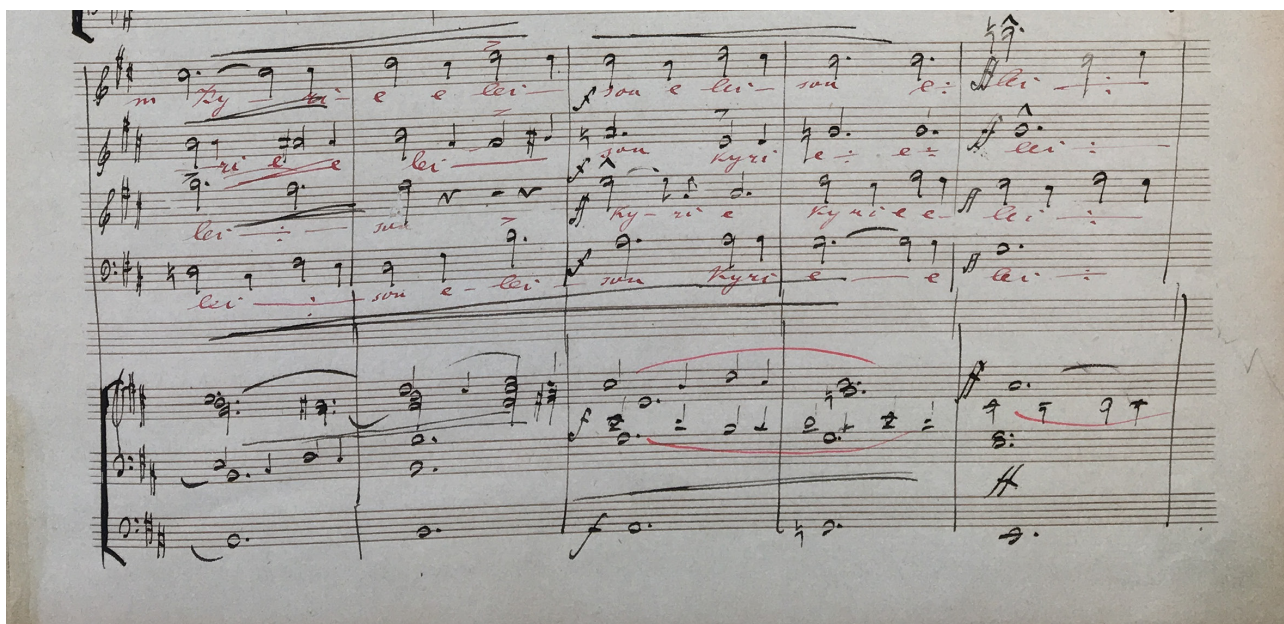


Illustration 1:

Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
 p. 6 of manuscript A1,
 © National Museum –
 Czech Museum of Music
 (Prague)

whilst the diminuendo hairpin starting in the middle of bar 15 has been placed both above and below the organ part. The same is found in E1 (with the difference that there we find "dim" instead of "dimin". (In the example, as in our edition, "dim" and "dimin" have been standardised and appear uniformly as "dim".

The hairpin and "dimin" of bars 13-14 are also found in A1 ("diminu"), but the hairpin over the organ part in bars 15-16 is missing there, whilst that below the part is shorter and confined to within bar 16. However, Dvořák must have approved of the positioning of the lower hairpin in E2, since he chose to emulate it for the added string part. Further, A1 (which in the *Kyrie* movement has the pedal part written out on a separate staff) includes a particularly interesting instance where Dvořák appears quite deliberately to have placed an independent crescendo in the pedal part (see bottom system of p. 6 of A1, Illustration 1); here there is a crescendo hairpin in bars 101-102, placed between the left-hand and right-hand staves, followed by a crescendo hairpin in the pedal part over bars 103-104.¹⁷

Some differences introduced by Dvořák in preparing the orchestral version: how A2 differs from E2

General

It is noteworthy that, in addition to orchestrating the organ accompaniment in E2, in A2 Dvořák provided two introductory bars, scored for the second violins and violas – evidently added later to the very beginning of the *Kyrie* on the first page of A2, through the simple expedient of overlaying a rectangular piece of paper with adhesive.¹⁸ Furthermore, for a number of passages (in the *Gratias* and the *Benedictus*) the composer retained the original organ accompaniment, in the form of an obbligato solo part. Inspecting A2 reveals that the decision was not necessarily an easy one in the case of the *Benedictus*: having copied the organ solo over the first page (p. 72) of the *Benedictus* in A2, Dvořák made an abortive attempt to transcribe

Antonín Wiedermann (1883-1951, a pupil of Josef Klíčka, who himself performed the organ part of Dvořák's Mass in D under the composer's direction), Dr. Martin Maximilian Kaiser for his insights on notational practice in Czech organ music of the post-Dvořák period.

¹⁷ It is, however, conceivable, that Dvořák positioned the latter hairpin over the pedal part for a rather more mundane reason – namely, that there was quite simply insufficient space for him to place it between the two manual staves!

¹⁸ The added bars were no doubt intended to allow the sopranos to pitch their opening note. The question arises why this appears to have become a requirement in connection with the orchestral version. After all, an organ would be available even in orchestral performances (being required for the obbligato solo passages). We can only speculate on the explanation. It may have been felt that, whereas in liturgical performances there is nothing unusual about the organ sounding the first note to enable the singers to pitch their note, such a practice would be less acceptable in a concert situation and in the presence of an orchestra. It is, however, interesting to note that the two introductory bars were also added – again belatedly – by an unknown hand to the organ version in E1, as we saw above.

the first nine bars of the opening for strings – but abandoned it on the second page of the movement. The strings make their entry somewhat later, in bar 21.

Dynamics

It is interesting to note that A2 has dynamics that are considerably more detailed than those found in sources A1, E1 and E2, and are at times even in direct contradiction to (and therefore incompatible with) them. In contrast, differences in this respect between A1, E1 and E2 are very minor and comparatively rare.

We shall investigate three examples. For convenience, we have taken our illustrations from the Pilkington edition, which endeavours to present a conspectus of the dynamics in A2 and E2.

The first example is from the *Kyrie* (see Example 9). The hairpins with the “cut” lines are from A2, whilst those in square brackets are in the organ version only. In bar 24 in the Example (bar 22 in our count, since we do not include the introductory two bars at the beginning of the *Kyrie* found in the orchestral version) it is clear that the organ version has a decrescendo over the soprano part at the end of the phrase, but the orchestral version continues the cumulative build-up, which continues over the following two bars also. Thus, the dynamics of the orchestral version are rather “longer-range” in scope.

Example 9:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D (“*Lužanská*”),
Kyrie, bars 24-28,
reproduced from
PILKINGTON 2000
(< note 14), p. 3

The second example is taken from the *Credo*. The dynamics in square brackets (corresponding to the organ version) continue the initial crescendo of bars 141-142 (shared by either version). The climax is the chord of bar 145. In contrast, the orchestra version reaches its climax (enhanced by a *sforzando* accent marking) two bars earlier – on the syllable *-na-* of *incarnatus* in the alto part (see Example 10).

Example 10:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D (“*Lužanská*”),
Credo, bars 141-147,
reproduced from
PILKINGTON 2000
(< note 14), p. 35

Our third example (see Example 11) is an even more clear-cut case of a “shift” in crescendo-decrescendo “wave” between the two versions; in the passage below, the crescendo and decrescendo start as well as finish earlier in the orchestral version, and later in the organ version.

Example 11:
Antonín Dvořák:
Mass in D ("Lužanská"),
 Credo, bars 155-161,
 reproduced from
 PILKINGTON 2000
 (♭ note 14), p. 36

155

ex Ma - ri - a Vir - - - gi - ne: et

Vir - - - gi - ne: et ho - - -

* [Solo] Tutti

et

et in - car - na - - - tus est, et

155

* Ped.

In general, however, it would seem that the dynamics of A2 exploit the slow dynamic gradations achievable by an orchestra far more readily than on an organ, inculcating longer-range overall build-ups (and perhaps conducing to a slightly more “Wagnerian” impression thereby); A2 also provides rather more detailed local dynamic shading. (However, it is interesting that, as already noted, Dvořák did choose to retain two extensive passages for organ by way of solo obbligati – over substantial portions of the *Gratias agimus tibi* and *Benedictus*.)

Let it be thought that E2 “lacks” dynamics and requires “filling out” with reference to A2 (at least for instances where the respective dynamic schemes of the two sources are not downright mutually incompatible), we would argue that the absence of crescendi or decrescendi is demonstrably not a matter of omission in Dvořák’s choral writing, but often a matter of deliberate choice, with passages of “flat” dynamic rendering subsequent changes all the more effective. By way of an aside, it is worth considering the example of the opening page of *Napadly písně v duši mou* [Songs penetrated my soul], the first movement of *V přírodě* [In nature’s realm] (Op. 63 – see Example 12).

In the first four bars we have crescendo and decrescendo hairpins (in bars 2 and 4, respectively), nicely shaping the phrase in question; a similar dynamic treatment also appears over the next four bars (in bars 5 and 7, respectively). But the four bars after those (9-12), echoing the music of the opening four bars, are marked *pianissimo* and are wholly devoid of any crescendi or decrescendi. In our view, they are purposely intended to be sung at the same, "flat" (and low) dynamic. They prepare the ground for a dramatic crescendo in bar 13, accompanied by a rise in pitch (continued in bar 14). Bars 9-12 are deliberately starved of any growth with a view to rendering the growth and ascent to come later on all the more effective. It would be unwise indeed to assume that Dvořák refrained from adding crescendi or decrescendi through carelessness.

Differences in the choral parts

Differences in dynamic indications are by no means the sole difference to be found in the choral parts as we proceed from the organ version to the orchestral. There are differences in the part-writing itself (and these are especially prominent in the choral bass part). We enumerate the most prominent instances (using the bar numbering for the *Kyrie* pertaining to the organ version, devoid of the two introductory orchestral bars) where differences arise, also indicating instances missed by the editions of Burghauser¹⁹ and Pilkington²⁰ in underlined type:

- *Kyrie*: bar 83 (note that in *E2*, p. 8, this has been modified in ink to conform with *A2*, and the version prior to the modification – that is, in common with *A1* and *E1* – has unfortunately been ignored by Pilkington, who has retained the orchestral version alone, without comment).
- *Gloria*: bar 36; bar 65 (Pilkington has again tacitly adopted a correction made in ink on p. 15 of *E2*); possibly bar 123 (a correction in *A2*, p. 29, is inconclusive and genuinely ambiguous, but accepted as a new reading by Burghauser and by *VS1* and *VS2*, different from that

¹⁹ BURGHAUSER and ČUBR (eds.), *Antonín Dvořák, Mše D dur. Varhanní verze* (↵ note 13).

²⁰ PILKINGTON (ed.), *Antonín Dvořák, Mass in D major* (♭ note 14)

Andante

pp *5 pp*

Soprán
Na - pa - dly pís - ně v du - ši mou, ne - za - vo -

Alt
Na - pa - dly pís - ně v du - ši, v du - ši mou, ne - za - vo -

Tenor
Na - pa - dly pís - ně v du - ši mou, ne - za - vo -

Bas
Na - pa - dly pís - ně v du - ši mou, ne - za - vo -

lá - ny, zne - na - dá - ní, ja - ko když ro - sy

lá - ny, zne - na - dá - ní, ja - ko když ro - sy,

lá - ny, zne - na - dá - ní, ja - ko když ro - sy

na - pa - dá po sté - blo - ka - de - řa - vé

ro - sy na - pa - dá po sté - blo - ka - de - řa - vé

na - pa - dá po sté - blo - ka - de - řa - vé

na - pa - dá po sté - blo - ka - de - řa - vé

Example 12:
Antonín Dvořák:
V přírodě [In nature's realm], 1: *Napadly písň v duši mou* [Songs penetrated my soul], bars 1-14, reproduced from Antonín Dvořák, *V přírodě*, op. 63, Praha 1955, p. 2

of the organ version, but not by Pilkington); bar 142; bar 145; bar 165; bars 180 and 182; (especially prominently) bar 189; possibly bars 190-192 (where all the manuscripts, incl. A2, are in mutual agreement, but VS1 and VS2 present a different reading).

- *Credo*: the version in A1 of bars 183-186, 191-194, 207-210 was repeated but modified variously in blue pencil, red ink and ordinary ink in E2 (but not in E1), and the revised versions were adopted for A2; (prominently) bar 261; bar 407 (but the C on third beat of the tenor part is a doubtful reading in A2, as pointed out by Pilkington, though adopted by VS1 and VS2); bars 419 and 422 (the version in A1 and E1 has been revised in ink in E2, and the revised version has been adopted in A2 and is the only version to be included by Pilkington).
- *Sanctus*: bar 39 (here Burghauser ignores the variants found in the soprano and alto parts in A1, E1 and E2; both parts have been corrected in E1, and the soprano alone has been corrected in pencil in E2; Pilkington adopts the corrected versions from E2, commenting on the earlier version for the alto part only); second minim of bar 70, tenor part (A1, p. 37, has B corrected to D; E1, p. 54, has F corrected by pencil to D; E2, p. 54, has F corrected by ink to G;

A2, p. 69, has *G*, which appears in *VS1* and *VS2* and is the only variant found in Pilkington, whilst Burghauser adopts *D*, presenting the reading *G* in parallel, in association with the orchestral variant); bars 86-89, tenor part (the distribution of syllables of text vis-à-vis the music differs, with *A1*, *E1* and *E2* ignored by Burghauser, who provides the orchestral variant alone, as per A2, p. 71, *VS1* and *VS2*).

- *Benedictus*: bar 36 (*A1*, *E1*, *E2* all have dotted rhythm on the second beat of the alto part, whilst *A2*, *VS1* and *VS2* have equal quavers – a reading that has unfortunately been wholly overlooked by Burghauser and Pilkington alike!); bar 63; bar 73 (the tenor's crotchet on the first beat in *A1*, *E1* and *E2* is unacknowledged by Burghauser); bar 76; bar 88; bar 112 (Burghauser here fails to acknowledge the orchestral variant, which is a quaver instead of a crotchet).
- *Agnus Dei*: bar 10, alto quaver at the end of the bar (here the *C sharp* of the orchestral variant – attested by *A2* and followed *VS1* and *VS2* – seems questionable on musical grounds); bar 53; bars 55-57 (the variant associated with the organ version attested by *A1*, *E1* and *E2* having been missed by Burghauser and Pilkington alike).

Special features of the Elsnic manuscript with the added part (*E2*)

Choral forces required

Though here (as in *A1* and *E1*) Dvořák variously marks particular passages as *solo*, *solo sotto voce*, *solo m.[ezza] voce*, *m.[ezza] voce*, and *tutti*, the word "solo" when in combination with "sotto voce" or "m. voce" has been obliterated by pencil in *E2*; and on the title page the composer has written and signed the following instruction, in red ink:

"Při velkém sboru čítajícím aspoň 100-200 a více hlasů bude lépe, když místa 'Solo' naznačená zpívá jen menší sbor asi 10 – a né sám jediný zpěvák. Prosím račte tak učinit."

This may be translated as:

"For choruses of at least 100-200 or more voices, it will be better if a smaller choir of 10 or so, and not individual singers, sing passages marked 'Solo'. Please be so good as to do so."

This is our justification for eschewing reference to "soloists" in the title to our edition – even though, admittedly, the solo indications from beginning of the *Agnus Dei* have not been removed from *E2*, and indeed on p. 16 of *E2* we even have "solo" added in blue pencil at the *Gratias agimus* (at the entry of the female voices, and then again on the next page at the entry of the male voices), and "tutti" on p. 17 at the *Domine Jesu* – directions that are not to be found in *E1* or *A1* here. (Interestingly, in *A2* we find:

"Remark! Small chorus means to be sung by 4 voices in each part. Solo would be also all right." [sic!],

where ink, handwriting and linguistic style are all suggestive of the composer's own hand.)

As a conductor, the author has found that, paradoxically, using a semi-chorus drawn from within the tutti chorus for solo passages (as well as those marked *sotto voce* or *mezza voce*) creates a more intimate, chamber-like effect than if four opera singers were employed as soloists and placed in front of the orchestra. Thus, strangely enough, despite the large number of singers involved (Dvořák recommended that there should be at least one hundred if soloists were to be eschewed), the intimacy and sense of integration so achieved makes large-scale performances of the Mass (including ones accompanied by orchestra) in some sense akin to those involving only a small vocal ensemble – perhaps bringing the effect closer to that of the private première, of which we know that 12-14 singers were involved, and that the soloists were drawn from amongst them.

The author's experience includes performing choral music at the Lužany chapel, experimenting with various configurations, including placing a small vocal ensemble in front of the altar, or variously disposing its members in the gallery. We do not know how Dvořák positioned his singers for the première. Given that the organ is asymmetrically positioned, at the front, left-hand-side corner of the gallery (as one faces the altar), and that there is rather limited space for singers to stand, it is possible that Dvořák may have placed the singers along the length of the gallery on either side, partly to the right and partly to the left; and to render himself visible to singers and organist alike, he may have stood at the back of the gallery. He would, however, thereby have distanced himself considerably from the singers and (again, judging from the author's own practical experience), unanimity of ensemble would not necessarily have been easy to achieve.

Implements used for markings, corrections and revisions made on E2

We have produced a thorough inventory of all discernible interventions to which the manuscript has been subjected. As it is our intention to publish the inventory and a detailed commentary elsewhere, a succinct summary will be presented.

- (i) Red is the colour in which Dvořák's handwriting is particularly readily recognisable, and in which, as we saw, his signature also appears. Now this need not in itself mean that all changes in red ink would necessarily have been undertaken by the same hand; but there is further evidence enabling us to attribute them to Dvořák, as we shall see below.
- (ii) A high proportion of the corrections have been made in dark ink – often similar to that used for the main body of the manuscript, though occasionally bolder. A number of these are mere corrections of obvious errors made by the copyist, many trivial though necessary; these need to be heeded irrespective of who undertook them. They are, however, likely to have been undertaken by the composer. The inserted sheet with the revised organ part for the last twenty bars of the *Credo* is also made in such an ink. It is highly unlikely that anyone other than Dvořák would have conceived such re-composition, since the original organ part is wholly adequate, and the creation of a version to replace it is not a matter of necessity, but the fruit of creative imagination of the sort which – even if it were available – would not have been countenanced by the Novello editors, who, generally, appear to have been scrupulous, bordering on the reverential, in their respect for the composer's letter (see also (iv) below).
- (iii) Blue pencil has been used to effect a change in the distribution of parts in the *Crucifixus* – of a sort unlikely to occur to anyone other than the composer himself, and which was carried over in his own orchestral autograph, A2 (on p. 36 of the score). Moreover, the writer has written “tenor a bas / jsem změnil / tenor f ---”²¹ at the bottom right-hand corner of the page. The handwriting appears to be Dvořák's, and it is unlikely that anyone other than the composer would have cause or opportunity retrospectively to impose such changes on E2 after A2 came about; this eliminates the possibility that someone later changed E2 on the basis of A2 – changes that Dvořák could have perhaps considered inappropriate for E2, and only desirable for A2. The next four bars of the choral *Crucifixus* (p. 37) have been similarly modified, but in red ink (the blue pencil was rather blunt, and the use of red ink may have made the corrections clearer), and the passage commencing with the words *passus* (pp. 37-38) has been similarly altered, but in ordinary ink.
 There are also prominent marks in blue pencil, almost certainly intended to be of use whilst using the score for conducting purposes (reinforcing or enlarging existing markings, or modifying them – with the result subsequently carried over to A2). Indeed, comparable marks also appear in A2 (though we have no evidence to suggest that A2 was ever used by Dvořák for conducting purposes). But we have already seen that markings in blue pencil may also be found in changing the distribution of vocal parts in the *Crucifixus*, for the first passage of several (following similar changes made in red ink – a medium in turn associated with comments made indisputably in Dvořák's own hand and with his signature) subsequently adopted in A2. Whilst we cannot prove beyond doubt that all blue pencil markings were necessarily by Dvořák, at the very least there seems no *prima facie* evidence to challenge the reasonable hypothesis that they were indeed made by Dvořák's hand.
- (iv) In contrast, cautious (well-nigh faint) markings have been made in ordinary pencil, including English translations (for instance, on the title page “Sept” has been added below the Czech “září”; and, perpendicularly to the horizontal writing in Czech (and rather faintly) we may discern “for voices and organ / composed for the consecration of the”), or tentative corrections accompanied by question marks, which are plausibly attributable to Novello's staff. The very fact that Novello's editors appear to have been careful, if not reverential, regarding the master's manuscripts in itself suggests that corrections boldly made in ink are all the more likely to be attributable to his own hand.
- (v) Finally, we note that, occasionally (where this was deemed necessary to ensure sufficient clarity), initial versions appear to have been obliterated by being scratched out with the aid of a sharp blade. However, even in such instances it is usually possible to discern the version removed.

²¹ This may be translated as “the tenor and bass/I have changed/tenor f ---”.

Why a new edition?

As far as printed sources are concerned, VS1 of 1893 generally adheres to the original verbal underlay and rhythms found in the manuscript sources, correcting only idiosyncrasies in the Latin; but is unsuitable for use in connection with performances of the organ version, as it reproduces the vocal writing and dynamics associated with the orchestral version, and as its keyboard part is largely a pianistic reduction of the orchestral accompaniment and not the original organ part. However, though it has a small number of minor errors of its own, it does more or less faithfully reproduce choral parts associated with the orchestral version of the Mass.

The only printed sources of the organ version worthy of consideration are the Burghauser organ version (historically, the first to have presented a more or less accurate transcription of the organ version of the Mass) and the Pilkington edition.

(i) *Burghauser edition*:

This edition, though a landmark in its time, was made without access to *E1* or *E2*, and thus deprived of much vital information. Though the Burghauser edition was largely based on *A1*, and despite its statement of intention to the contrary ("we deliberately overlooked tone, dynamics and other slight deviations since we regard the organ version as a specific stylistic form", p. 89), its dynamics are an implicit hybrid of the orchestral and organ versions, and one gets the impression that in situations of conflict precedence may have been given to the orchestral version (represented, as we shall see, primarily by VS2). The bowdlerised verbal text (and concomitant musical alterations) were adopted almost throughout;²² that is, VS2 (the bowdlerised version of the Novello Vocal Score) was evidently given precedence over *A2* – under the impression that VS2 was identical to VS1, the 1893 edition ("which we can assume was done in collaboration with the composer", p. 89).²³ An immediate and blatant example is bar 12²⁴ of this edition of the *Kyrie*, where all vocal parts have been tacitly endowed with crescendo hairpins, whilst in *A1* (or in *E1* or *E2* for that matter) none appear.²⁵ The edition is not an Urtext – for instance, Burghauser has changed the (admittedly musically not wholly convincing) reading found in all manuscripts and both vocal scores in bar 30 of the *Agnus Dei*, making his own tacit editorial emendation in the score, and though a suspicious reader may eventually find that this is mentioned in the Commentary, there is nothing in the main body of the score to indicate what has been altered – the weighty authority of *A1*, *E1*, *E2*, *A2*, VS1 and VS2 notwithstanding.

There are also some embarrassingly audible errors in the organ part of the edition. Three examples will suffice:

- (1) The dotted semibreve *E* in the organ part in the *Kyrie*, p. 6 in the edition, bar 46 (according to Burghauser's bar-count, which includes the two introductory orchestral bars prior to the first soprano entry) ought to be a dotted minim (the correct reading is attested by the corresponding bar 44 in *A1*, p. 9, as also on p. 4 in *E1* and *E2*), and if left uncorrected creates an unwarranted dissonance.
- (2) So does the rather odd semibreve *E* in the organ part in the *Gratias* section of the *Gloria* (bar 91), on p. 23 of the edition. Fortunately, it does not appear in Burghauser's edition of the orchestral version of the work. Where did it arise from? It does not appear in *E1*, *E2* or in *A2*; but in *A1* (p. 12) there is a strange additional crotchet on the fourth beat that

²² And here unfortunately Burghauser seems somewhat inconsistent, if not erratic. In his edition of the organ version we find that in the *Gloria* (bars 94-95) he has adopted the bowdlerised text in the alto part (adding *Deus* before *Pater*) whilst, in contrast, leaving the soprano part in accordance with the manuscript sources, providing the bowdlerised version of the soprano part as a parallel version presented in smaller type, labelled as "Vers. orch.:" (even though it is not to be found even in *A2*). This is inconsistent with Burghauser's edition of the orchestral version, where in the critical notes we find the soprano and alto parts of the manuscript version accurately presented in full for bars 94-95.

²³ An interesting instance arises when all the manuscript sources are, as it were, pitted against all the printed sources, and the editor chooses the latter without comment – as evidenced by his tacit adoption (in the soprano part in bar 25 of the *Benedictus*) of the reading *G, G, F sharp*, at variance with all of *A1*, *E1*, *E2* and *A2* (which have *G, F sharp, F sharp*) but in accordance with VS1 and VS2.

²⁴ This corresponds to bar 10 of *A1* and *E2* – the Burghauser organ score has two introductory bars prior to the first bar of the *Kyrie*, which is thus reckoned as bar 3 in the edition.

²⁵ For all the above reasons, it will be clear that, in our view, combining this edition with the violoncello/bass part of *E2* (as was recently attempted by some performers in Prague's Dvořák Hall of the Rudolfinum) makes for a curious hybrid that cannot strictly correspond to Dvořák's intentions.

appears rather as a *D*, but could conceivably be taken to be a tied *E* – as a sort of “lesser evil” – no matter how musically unconvincing either eventuality might seem. This is one instance where one can only regret that Burghauser did not have access to *E1* or *E2* – either one of which would have enabled him to make the requisite correction. However, the correct version appears also in *A2* (the passage having been retained in the orchestral version as an obbligato organ solo), and, as we saw, was indeed reproduced in the Burghauser edition of the orchestral score. But in the Burghauser organ edition the semibreve *E* interpretation has been allowed to stand as the sole reading, with no comment.

- (3) On p. 70 of the edition, in bar 44 of the *Benedictus*, the fourth beat in the organ part should clearly be a *G natural* instead of *G sharp*. This is obvious from the musical context (further affirmed by the choral bass entry on the same beat), and is attested by the readings in *A1* (p. 40) as well as in *E1* and *E2* (p. 59); the omission of the natural sign here must therefore be considered a mundane misprint.

Though a landmark when it first appeared (and, of all the editions known to the present writer, still remaining the best in terms of clarity of presentation and thus convenience for performance purposes), in the light of the sources currently at our disposal this edition can no longer be considered to be a sufficiently faithful representation of the composer's intentions of any one version.

(ii) *Pilkington edition*:

No distinction is made between the three different manuscripts of the organ version, as of these *E2* alone appears to have been consulted; yet Dvořák's own added string part has been eschewed; various minor details have been overlooked (as well as the inserted page of organ part, and variants of the *Dona nobis* divisi passage with alternative distributions of the verbal underlay).

Pilkington too appears to conflate *VS2* with *VS1*. The evidence for this is the following. The editor mentions (referring to his own edition, published in 2000): “It is the vocal score of this 1893 edition that this new revised edition supersedes” (p. iii). But it is clear that Pilkington incorrectly uses *VS2* in the belief that it is *VS1*, from his statement “italic text from *Dii* [= Novello Vocal Score (1893)], p. v (in connection with bars 94-95 of the *Gloria*, regarding the missing word *Deus* preceding *Pater*); he clearly thinks that the text he has given in italics was obtained from the 1893 Vocal Score, i.e. *VS1*, but in fact *VS1* follows the MSS and does not manifest the reading in question, whereas *VS2* does. Clearly, therefore, Pilkington too made use of *VS2*, mistaking it for *VS1*. (However, in view of his access to *E2*, the consequences of the above error are, fortunately, somewhat mitigated.)

Finally, though undoubtedly the most up-to-date edition currently available, Pilkington's edition is unfortunately far from ideal for practical use. Thus, for instance, hairpins and slurs appear normally if found in both “organ” and orchestral versions, are in square brackets if found in the “organ” version but not in the orchestral, and endowed with vertical “cut” lines if found in the orchestral version only; in addition, square brackets and the cut lines are used for editorial additions. The first system on p. 2 of the edition demonstrates how all four types of hairpin occur in a crowded space, making it difficult correctly to interpret the information presented. The first system of p. 3 exemplifies the fact that the information from various sources may be mutually contradictory to boot.

In sum, the printed editions miss some information attributable to Dvořák (including, at a wholesale level, the entire added string part, and the revised organ passage associated with this addition over the last 20 bars of the *Credo*). Both miss the distribution of text *vis-à-vis* the choral divisi part of the organ version of *Dona nobis pacem* (bars 55-57 of the *Agnus Dei*), attested by *A1*, *E1* and *E2*, and have instead presented only the version of *A2* (also found in *VS1* and *VS2*) – which is indefensible, given that Burghauser did have access to *A1*, and Pilkington to *E2* (all the more so, as Pilkington provides a variant whereby the third soprano part is apportioned to the altos – clearly derived from *E2*, but retaining the distribution of text peculiar to the orchestral version!). The original version, as clearly found in *A1* (p. 47), *E1* and *E2* (both p. 70) does not appear even in the Commentaries of either edition! We have seen, moreover, that Dvořák attached special expressive value to slurs placed in vocal parts, at least in certain cases: sadly, all published editions of either version of the work have been shorn of these splendidly expressive indications (as we believe them to be) – in favour of the standard, mechanical usage whereby slurs merely indicate instances where more than a single note is to be sung to a syllable of verbal underlay. Both major editions of the organ version are, in various ways, “contaminated” or influenced by the orchestral version. Both editors have made use of *VS2* (the later Novello Vocal Score) whilst incorrectly assuming it to be *VS1* (that of

1893), and neither appear to have seen the 1893 edition. Moreover, Burghauser did not make use of *E1* or *E2*, whilst Pilkington seems unaware of the existence of *E1*. Burghauser as well as Pilkington (surprisingly, since he made use of *E2*) seem unaware of Dvořák's instruction, written and signed in red ink on the title page of *E2*, indicating his preference for smaller groups of singers from within the chorus to undertake passages marked as solo. They both have their inevitable share of inaccuracies. And both appear to strive for the impossible – to create a single version that can serve both as a vocal score in connection with orchestral performances, as well as for performance with organ alone.

Desiderata for a new edition of the pre-orchestral version(s)

The rationale behind our new edition is the following:

- (1) The overall intention was to arrive at the most accurate possible edition in our judgement representing Dvořák's most mature thinking reflecting the most "advanced" version – prior to his embarking on an orchestral version at the request of Novello (which, as we know, did not displace the organ version from his affections).²⁶

Since *E2* bears the composer's imprimatur – in the sense that it was corrected, annotated and approved by Dvořák and submitted by himself for publication, and includes the string part added in his own hand and not available in any other source (manuscript or printed), we treated *E2* as our principal source. The starting-point was therefore a diplomatic transcription of *E2*. At this stage, it became necessary to prepare a thorough inventory of all the layers of correction or revision that could be discerned in *E2*, undertaken in pencils and ink of various colours, and categorised as corrections, revisions and additional performance markings.

- (2) The inventory was analysed, and it was concluded that it was exceedingly likely that changes made in red and black ink and in blue pencil, though by no means all changes made in ordinary pencil, could be attributed to the composer. An analysis of the above inventory helped establish when corrections or modifications ought to be accepted without comment, and when discussed explicitly. It strongly suggested that, with precious few exceptions, the transcription – as presented as the main body of the score of our edition – ought to reflect the state of the score subsequent to the corrections and modifications undertaken (even if, in selected instances, the versions prior to such alterations may deserve inclusion in the Commentary). The exceptions are particular markings in ordinary pencil that appear likely not have been made by the composer, and therefore ought not to be allowed to constitute the main body of the text presented (albeit commented upon in the Commentary in appropriate instances). However, it was also decided to prevent the undue loss of particularly significant information in transcribing the post-corrections state of the manuscript; some such instances arose where the composer had re-considered earlier intentions: thus, for example, part of the added string part in the opening of the *Kyrie* was crossed out; this deserved to be presented as an *ossia* passage, with appropriate explanations, allowing performers to make an informed choice themselves as to which variant to adopt in performance. By the same token, the versions of the *Dona nobis divisi* passage were all provided. In contradistinction, the three passages in the *Crucifixus* (bars 183-186, 191-194, 207-210), where it was Dvořák who modified the distribution of chords in the vocal parts, and also carried over the result to the orchestral version, the mature version was deemed sufficient, since it unequivocally superseded the earlier version. In this instance, in a sense *E2* illuminates the moment in which Dvořák revised his earlier thoughts as evinced in *A1* and in *E1*, into those he proceeded to write directly into *A2*; a facsimile of *E2* would present the earlier version as well as its modification, but it was not deemed necessary to reproduce the early version in our edition.²⁷ The modified version reflected Dvořák's mature views in connection with the organ version, and is valid with or without the added string part; the revised version was adopted in the main body of the edition (and the fact of the revision having been carried out was merely pointed out in the Commentary).

²⁶ Dvořák indicated to Ondřej Horník in 1898 that he would have liked to hear it again, in a letter dated 8. 7. 1898 – Kuna et al. (eds.), *Antonín Dvořák: Korespondence a dokumenty*, vol. 4 (↵ note 6), p. 137; cited in BEVERIDGE, *Zdenka a Josef Hlávkoví* (↵ note 3), p. 194, esp. footnote 33.

²⁷ However, we would argue that, in general, the concept that *E2* might constitute an "intermediate" between *A1* and *A2* is one of very limited broader validity. The version represented by *E2* taken with its corrections and modifications is a finished and highly polished masterpiece in its definitive form, and a fully-fledged version in its own right, well worthy of holding its place alongside the orchestral version *A2*, and not as a mere precursor to it.

A particularly significant further example is the inserted organ passage (pp. 50 and 50a of *E2* – over the last twenty bars of the *Credo*), intended to replace the original version in the light of the added string part. Incidentally, the preservation of the original version of the passage nicely served to render the edition no less suitable for performances of the organ version in the absence of strings – that is, with the accompaniment of organ alone. Consequently, our edition is equally suitable for performances with organ accompaniment with or without the violoncello/double-bass part.

Conversely, though in our view the orchestral version ought to be treated as a separate version in its own right, and its dynamic and other nuances should not be applied retrospectively onto *E2*, thus contaminating it; yet, in a very small number of instances, it was considered appropriate to inform (through suitably annotated “*ossia*” versions – forfending against the danger of “contaminating” *E2* with the features of *A2*) the user of the readings found in *A2*, where these were of especial interest and it was felt possible that the composer – had he envisaged performances with organ or organ and strings even after composing *A2* – may have wished his most advanced thinking to be realised even in the absence of an orchestra. There does exist a very small number of instances where alterations in Dvořák’s choral part are not a function of the accompaniment, and thus may be deemed to be independent of the “organ versus orchestra” – or (conceivably) “Early Music versus Wagnerian melos” – aesthetic dichotomy. One example is the syncopation in the tenor part in bar 53 of the *Agnus Dei* over the word *nobis*. In contradistinction to the above situation, it may be noted that the alteration of the *D* over the second syllable of *a-scen-dit* in bar 261 in the *Credo* (to reflect the *E flat* version in *A2*) would be incompatible with the organ part of *E2* as it stands, and therefore the temptation of including the *E flat* as an “*ossia*” had to be resisted (though the variant was acknowledged in the Commentary, in view of its musical interest). In practice it could not be adopted without forcing the user to do violence to the organ part. In contrast, in the former case it seemed behove to acquaint the chorus-master with the possibility of adopting the version found in *A2* – in full cognizance of its later provenance. The priority, however, remains the provision of an accurate and reliable version of *E2* suitable for performance purposes.

- (3) As currently available editions leave much to be desired, yet Dvořák’s marvellous work deserved to be performed in a way as close to his intentions as possible, it was felt a duty to prepare an edition that was not primarily intended to supplant future study of manuscript sources (themselves, arguably, well worthy of publication as facsimiles), but rather would be primarily useful for performance. Although a diplomatic transcription was painstakingly prepared as a first step, it was decided that the edition ultimately presented to the public should be a performing Urtext (albeit one founded on the diplomatic transcription). This had two major implications:
 - (a) a mere diplomatic transcription of *E2* need not quite be sufficient (and nor would it be entirely possible). Given that it is closely related to *E1* (and, possibly, partly copied from *E1*), in turn derived from *A1*, it was possible that minor slips or omissions could have occurred (during the putative progression *A1-E1-E2* or indeed *A1-E2*). In the event, they are very small in number; it is conceivable that some of the differences need not have been slips but deliberate corrections, and it had to be borne in mind that it is *E2* alone that Dvořák is known to have approved. In a small number of instances, certain markings were added to the edition. (For example – slurs that were in *A1* and *E1* but had been dropped from *E2*, almost certainly accidentally; crescendo hairpins that were in all vocal parts in *A1* and *E1* but were omitted from one of the parts in *E2*.) But above all, recourse to *A1* and *E1* helped clarify various obscurities or ambiguities in *E2* that could not otherwise be resolved. Often, slurs in organ parts were placed ambiguously in *E2*, with unclear starting-points or points of termination; referring to the earlier manuscript sources was often helpful. And we have already seen that our comparative approach proved of value in indicating when slurs in the vocal parts were likely to have some expressive significance, as opposed to merely constituting the detritus of corrections and modifications in earlier manuscripts, rendered redundant yet (spuriously) appearing in *E2*.
 - (b) Clarity had to be a priority, in two senses: (i) It should be possible for the reader to tell at a glance what originates from the principal source (*E2*), and what is extraneous to it (that is, has been added from some sister manuscript or – very rarely – added or modified by the editor). (ii) Visual clutter had to be avoided, to render the score suitable for performance purposes. Consequently, no attempt was made to provide a complete record of corrections made in different colours on *E2*; in general, the final version alone was represented directly in the score, with the state of the manuscript prior to revisions provided



Illustration 2a-b:

Photographs taken at the live on 8. 7. 2014 at the first modern revival of the version of the Mass in D for choir, organ, violoncellos and double basses, at the Trinitatiskirche in Cologne, with the Collegium Musicum and Chamber Choir of the University of Cologne (chorus masters: Michael Ostrzyga and Alexander Schmitt), members of the University Orchestra, Laura Kalnina (organ), under the direction of Haig Utidjian

Photo: © Klaus-Hendrik Lorenz-Kierakiewitz, 2014

in the Commentary and only when it was deemed to provide valuable information to the performer; nor was an attempt made to provide a comprehensive comparison with sources *E1* or *A1* (interesting as that would be, as a means of providing us with snapshots of the evolution of the composer's thinking).²⁸ Accordingly, a crucial decision was taken to refrain from attempting to produce a score that could at the same time be pressed into service as a vocal score for use in connection with orchestral performances. The differences between the two are so very extensive, complex and far-reaching – indeed, sometimes verging on the mutually contradictory (and far transcending the small number of obvious differences explicitly indicated in the Burghauser edition of the organ version) that, in our view, such an attempt would result, on the one hand, in unacceptable compromises and enforced departures from the objective of faithfully reflecting the composer's intentions in either case; and, on the other, in a result that would be so complex as to jeopardise performances, as well as causing errors even when an attempt were made to disentangle either version in a study situation. In our view, if justice is to be done to Dvořák's intentions, recourse to a separate vocal score will be required – one that could accompany a new edition of the orchestral version of the Mass in D.

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²⁸ Such investigations could be a highly worthwhile and rewarding project for future research.