The Relationship Between Ambrosian Chant and Gregorian Chant
In the Light of Recent Research

Abbreviations:

AMM/Suñol  Antiphonale Missarum juxta ritum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis, Romæ, MCMXXXV

Gal  Gallican liturgical-musical tradition

Greg  Gregorian repertoire

Mil  Milanese repertoire

MSS  Manuscript sources

Lon  cod. London, Br. Mus., add. 34209, sec. XII, Antifonario, pars hyemalis, (Paléographie Musicale, I, 5-6)

Mg1  cod. Vendrogno, a. 1387, Antifonario di S. Lorenzo in Muggiasca, pars hyemalis

Mg2  cod. Vengrogno, a. 1388, Antifonario di S. Lorenzo in Muggiasca, pars æstiva

Rom  Ancient-Roman liturgical-musical tradition

I thank the board of directors of the Associazione Internazionale Studi di canto Gregoriano, which is celebrating its 8th Congress at this time, for inviting me to give a talk on the theme: The Relationship between Ambrosian Chant and Gregorian Chant, in the light of recent research.

I was pleased to accept this invitation, both because this topic has been the object of my study for many years and because this talk takes place at a distance of a year and half from the publication of the Antiphonale Missarum Mediolanense.

It is well known that the most ancient musical script of the melodies of the Milanese Rite is “diastematic” and does not go back to before the 12th century, and that the more ancient Ordo Missae et Officii, with the texts alone, taken from a manuscript of the Val Travaglia of the canon Marco Magistrette, goes back to the 11th century.

Moreover, the other important document on the Milanese rite, the Beroldus sive Ecclesiae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis Kalendarium et Ordines, edited by M. Magistretti, in 1894, belongs to the 12th century.
These witnesses just cited on the chant of the Milanese church are later by two centuries than the corresponding Gregorian witnesses. There is a reason of the historical-liturgical order that explains this fact; writes Dom J. Claire: “the (Milanese) liturgists witnessed in that period (9th century) a hybridization of the Milanese sacramentaries with the Roman sacramentaries. It is even easier to observe the hybridization of Milanese chant with the Gregorian chant … one can be sure that the Milanese yielded to this Roman influence only to save their repertoire…”

After having completed the process of adopting texts from Gregorian and with them the “re-eleboration” of the respective melodies, in order to be able to have a sung liturgy for every celebration of the year, following a further phase of oral tradition, the Milanese musicians subjected their chant to the procedure of a proper “diastematic” musical script.

In the manuscript sources, the ancient Milanese and the new Gregorian-Milanese live side by side with one another. The identification of these two different layers is indispensable to know and to value the “genuine” chant of the Milanese rite. This can be obtained only in the light of definite criteria, after an extensive and scientific sounding. Such criteria, with regard to the texts and the melodies, are enunciated, both by the monks of Maria Laach, who in 1930 were entrusted by Blessed Cardinal Schuster with the task of publishing the “scientific” edition of the Ambrosian Breviary, and by Michel Huglo in “Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano”. P. Odila Heiming, a monk of Maria Laach, affirms that, in case of a divergence between the Roman Psaltery and the Milanese Psaltery, the pieces of Ambrosian chant common to Gregorian go back to the Roman Psaltery. This means that the texts common to both of the above named repertoires passed from the Roman liturgy to that of Milan.

Huglo arrived at exactly the same conclusion, with his survey: “the examination of the texts and a variety of liturgical indications lead one to believe that Milan derived from Rome a good part of its repertoire, and that above all with regard to the chants of the Mass”. And again: “the careful and simultaneous comparison of the 3 repertoires (Ambrosian, Gregorian and Ancient Roman) allows one to respond that the architecture of the Ambrosian chants is much closer to “Gregorian” than to “Ancient Roman”. Not infrequently does one find Ambrosian passages that are almost identical to the first, precisely in those places where the Ancient Roman differs considerably, while it is an extremely rare thing to find “Ancient Roman” agreeing with Milan when it differs from “Gregorian”.

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4 M. HUGLO, *op. cit.*, p. 128.
5 M. HUGLO, *op. cit.*, p. 129.
For Dom J. Claire “the conclusion seems clear: the pieces common to the two liturgies, Roman and Milanese, come from the Roman liturgy in the Gregorian musical idiom.\textsuperscript{6}

In view of such solid scientific statements, it was not possible to re-publish in its entirety the \textit{Antiphonale Missarum} of 1935, edited by Abbot Suñol, in which, among other things, the pieces that constitute the formularies for the feasts instituted after the 11\textsuperscript{th} to 12\textsuperscript{th} centuries, not mentioned by the \textit{Manuale Ambrosianum}, were composed by the editor himself.

The following is a brief list of pieces composed by Suñol, on pre-existing melodies, which do not constitute “modal tonalities”:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liturgical use</th>
<th>name</th>
<th>AMM</th>
<th>provenance</th>
<th>AMM – MSS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>transitorio</td>
<td>Viderunt omnes</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>Veniet fortior transit., p.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitorio</td>
<td>Tui sunt caeli</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>Tua est potentia sallenda, Lon 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post Ev.</td>
<td>Exsultet gaudio</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>In Patre manet Ingressa, p.52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offerenda</td>
<td>Tulerunt lesum</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>His est Deus offerenda, Lon 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingressa</td>
<td>Benedicta sit</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>In conspectu Ingressa, p. 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post Ev.</td>
<td>Ave rex noster</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>Caeli enarrant post. Ev., p.17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitorio</td>
<td>Sedebit Dominus</td>
<td>344</td>
<td>Apparuit gratia antiphon, Lon 113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingressa</td>
<td>Gaudens gaudebo</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>Superextolletur Ingressa, p.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psalmellus</td>
<td>Fundamenta</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>Fundata est respons. Mg1, 327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post Ev.</td>
<td>Benedicta es tu</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>a patchwork of multiple antiphons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offerenda</td>
<td>Per unum hominem</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>Per Gabrieli respons., Mg1, 327</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingressa</td>
<td>Narraverunt</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>Dedisti eum sallenda, Mg1, 189</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingressa</td>
<td>Vox exsultationis</td>
<td>468</td>
<td>Vox infantis sellenda, Mg2, 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingressa</td>
<td>Caritas Dei</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>Dominus memor post. Ev., p. 214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post Ev.</td>
<td>Benedicta es tu</td>
<td>527</td>
<td>a patchwork of multiple antiphons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>psalmellus</td>
<td>Domine ante te</td>
<td>531</td>
<td>Animae impiorum respons., Lon 251</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post Ev.</td>
<td>Stabat non degeneri</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>Ad defensionem antiphon, Lon 304</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>offerenda</td>
<td>Nemo gaudet</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>Si ambulaveri resp. cum infant., Lon 210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contract.</td>
<td>Tuam o beata mater</td>
<td>533</td>
<td>Ego sum panis antiphon, Mg2, antiphon, Lon 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>contract.</td>
<td>Benedictae omnes</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>Rogat sanctos antiphon, Lon 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{6} J. CLAIRE, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{7} Cf. Table 1.
But let us approach the question of the identity of the pieces of the Milanese Antiphonale Missarum, following the liturgical order. With the short time at our disposal, let us take a look at the Proprium of Advent, of Lent and, in overview, the Proprium of the Sundays after Pentecost.

**TEMPUS ADVENTUS**

**DOMINICA I**

**Ingressa**  
*Ad te levavi*: text and melody from Gregorian. The Milanese composer chooses the melody of the Offertory as well as that of the Introit, because it is of more ornate and homogeneous style.

**Psalmellus**  
*Deus manifeste. V. Deus deorum*: text common to Rome and Greg. With melody of 2nd mode Milanese tonality.

**Post Epistolam**  
*Alleluia. Præveniamus*: from the Week of Easter

**Post Evangelium**  
*Parce Domine*: Mil.

**Offerenda**  
*Pronunciabo*: Mil.

**Confractorium**  
*Dirige me*: Greg. text and melody, from v.1 of the Off. *Ad te levavi*, including the response (*Etenim universi qui te expectant, non confundentur*).

**Transitorium**  
*Sicut fulgur*: Mil.

**DOMINICA II**

**Ingressa**  
*Memento nostri*: this is a rather unusual piece, of Gregorian provenance (cf. cod. Compiègne, mid-9th century for the dominica vacat of the Quattro Tempora of December), but with a great textual variance (*in laetitia gentis tuae*). Because of this irregularity, the piece does not seem to belong to the primitive Milanese fund. The melody is Milanese, with the exception of the intonation: protus in Greg, deuterus in Mil.
Psalmellus

A summo cælo. V. Cæli ennarrant: text common to Rom and Greg., with melody of 2nd mode Milanese tonality.

Post Epistolam

Alleluia. Venite exsultemus: from the Week of Easter

Post Evangelium

Annuncietur in Sion: Mil.

Offerenda

Sperent in te: Greg offertory

Confractorium

Exsultavit ut gigas: Greg communion

Transitorium

Veniet fortior me: text and melody from Greg antiphon

DOMINICA III

Ingressa

Superextolletur super Libanum: Mil

Psalmellus

Qui sedes. V. Qui Regis: text and melody Greg.

Post Epistolam

Alleluia. Dominus regnavit: from the Week of Easter. Text common to Rom and Greg; melody Mil.

Post Evangelium

Paratus esto Israel: Mil.

Offerenda

Alienigenæ. V. Locutus est Dominus ad Iesum filium Nave: Mil.

Confractorium

Ecce veniet Dominus: text from Greg communion of the Ember Friday of Advent; melody Mil.

Transitorium

Regnum cælorum: Mil

DOMINICA IV

Ingressa

Vox clamantis: Mil.

Psalmellus

Universi. V. Vias tuas: Greg. graduale

Post Epistolam

Alleluia. Venite exsultemus: from the Week of Easter

Post Evangelium

Consolemini: Mil.

Offerenda

Benedixisti: Greg offertory, with the exception of the melody of the versus.
Confractorium
*Populus Sion:* Greg introit

Transitorium
Nunciate Joanni: Mil.

**DOMINICA V**

Ingressa
*Rorate cæli:* Greg introit
Psalmellus
*Ex Sion. V. Congregate:* Greg Graduale
Post Epistolam
*Alleluia. Præveniamus:* from the Week of Easter.
Post Evangelium
*Cæli enarrant:* Mil.
Offerenda
*Confortamini:* Greg offertory
Confractorium
*Ecce Virgo in utero concipiet:* Greg communion
Transitorium
*Dominus prope est:* Greg antiphon

**DOMINICA VI**

1. Missa in Ecclesia Hyemali (*de Adventu*)

Ingressa
*Credite Salvatorem:* text from *théotokion* of the Greek Vespers for the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist. Melody Mil.
Psalmellus
*Prope est. V. Laudem Domini:* text Greg; Melody Mil.
Cantus post Epistolam
*Suscipiant Domine:* this is a rather strange piece, because it does have the musical form either of a *cantus* because of the irregular disposition of the text of the verses (it begins with vv. 3-4, which are followed by v.1) or of a *psalmellus* because of the presence of two verses. Moreover, verse 2 (*Humiliabit*) is reprised with the same melody in the psalmellus *Benedictus Dominus* of Epiphany.
Post Evangelium
*Ipse tamquam sponsus:* Mil
Offerenda
*Ecce Dominus de Sion. V. Et fons:* Mil: with the exception of the verse, which is not found in the manuscript sources: it is a composition of Suñol.
Confractorium
*Confirmatum est:* psallenda Mil.
Transitorium
*Ave Maria:* Mil
2. Missa ad Sanctam Mariam, quae dicitur in omnibus Ecclesiis (de Incarnacione)

**Ingressa**

*Videsne Elisabeth*: Mil.

*Psalmellus*

*Respice* V. *Qui Regis*: Mil.

The other chants, as in the preceding Mass

**RECAPITULATION**

The Milanese fund is identified in the following pieces

**Ingressa**

Superextolletur

Vox clamantis

Credite Salvatorem

[Videsne Elisabeth]

**Psalmellus**

Deus manifeste. V. Deus deorum

A summon cælo. V. Cæli enarrant

Respice. V. Qui Regis

[Prope est. V. Laudem Domini]

**Post Epistolam**

Alleluia. Praeveniamus (Ps 94:2): Sundays I and V

Alleluia. Venite exsultemus (Ps 94:1): Sundays II and IV

Alleluia. Dominus regnavit (Ps 92:1): Sunday III

The original place of these three alluluias is in the Week of Easter:

Alleluia. Venite exsultemus (Ps 94:1): Monday, Tuesday, Friday;

Alleluia. Praeveniamus (Ps 94:2): Saturday;


**Post Evangelium**

Parce Domine

Annuntietur in Sion

Ipse tamquam sponsus

Paratus esto Israel

Cæli enarrant

Consolamini
All the post Evangelium Antiphons are Milanese, because this liturgical genre is foreign to Gregorian

**Offerenda**
- Pronunciabo
- Alienigenae non transibunt
- Ecce Dominus de Sion

**Confractorium**
- [Ecce veniet Dominus: only the melody is Milanese]
- Confirmatum est

**Transitorium**
- Sicut fulgor
- Regnum caelorum
- Nunciate Ioanni
- Ave Maria

With the pieces that are of Milanese background three complete Mass Propers for Advent Masses can be reconstructed. The lack of *confractorium* brings us back to the period in which only one communion chant existed. With the availability of three formularies the original existence of only three Advent Masses is confirmed\(^8\)

**TIME OF LENT**

**Dominica I (in capite quadragesimae)**

The pieces of this Sunday contain the alleluia, because it is the day of “goodbye alleluia”.

**Ingressa**
- *Invocabit me ...alleluia*: Gregorian introit
- *Psalmellus*
- *Scuto circumdabit. V. Qui habitat*: Greg. text: Milanese melody
- *Post Epistolam (Cantus)*
- *Non in solo pane*: in the manuscript sources, this piece has a melody with the tonality of the alleluia verse sung on solemnities. On *vivet* there is one extra melisma compared to the melodic version of the tonality. Saint Charles Borromeo had the alleluia removed, entitling the verse “cantus”

**Post Evangelium**
- *Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile*: text of the antiphon and responsory Greg.; melody Mil.

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Offerenda
Scapulis suis. V. Super aspidem: offertory and v. 3 Greg.
Confractorium
Dicet Dominus: Susceptor: Mil
Transitorium
Qui cognoscis: melody Mil., on an ecclesiastical text, vaguely inspired by Psalm 50.

DOMINICA SECUNDA QUADRAGESIMÆ (de Samaritana)

Ingressa
Deus in adiutorium: Greg. introit
Psalmellus
Redde mihi lætitiam. V. Miserere mei: the melody is a copy of the psalmellus Deus vitam.
Post Epistolam (Cantus)
Nisi quod Dominus: Mil.
Post Evangelium
Tollam vos: Mil.
Offerenda
Praecatus est: Greg. offertory
Confractorium
Si scires: Mil.
Transitorium
Dicit Dominus Samaritanæ: Mil.

DOMINICA TERTIA QUADRAGESIMÆ (de Abraham)

Ingressa
Misericors et misereator: Mil.
Psalmellus
Deus vitam meam V. Miserere mei: Greg. text: Milanese melody, but composed with the same aesthetic-modal criteria as Greg.
Post Epistolam (Cantus)
Ad Dominum: Mil.
Post Evangelium
Respice Domine: Mil.
Offerenda
Dixit Moyses: V. 2 of Precatus est, Greg.
Confractorium
Abraham pater vester: Greg. text, with variants; Milanese melody
Transitorium
Si manseritis: Mil.

DOMINICA QUARTA QUADRAGESIMÆ (de Cæco)
Ingressa
Circumdederunt me: Gregorian introit
Psalmellus
Ego dixi. V. Beatus qui intelligit: Gregorian gradual.
Post Epistolam (Cantus)
Levavi oculos meos: Mil.
Post Evangelium
Missus sum sanare: Mil.
Offerenda
Dict Dominus ad Moyses: V. 1 of Precatus est, Greg.
Confractorium
Ille homo: Mil.
Transitorium
Lutum fecit: Gregorian communion.

DOMINICA QUINTA QUADRAGESIMÆ (de Lazaro)

Ingressa
Videns Dominus sororem Lazari: Gregorian communion, with textual variants.
Psalmellus
Occurerunt Maria et Martha. V. Videns Iesus: Gospel text. It is found in the Gregorian Office as a responsory. The Manuale Ambrosianum assigns to this Sunday a second psalmellus (Exsurge Domine fer opem, Ps 43), taken from Greg.
Post Epistolam (Cantus)
Ecce quam bonum: Mil.
Post Evangelium
Infirrorum propiziator: Mil.
Offerenda
Haec dicit Dominus: Erit vobis. V. 1. Locutus est Moyses; V. 2. In die octavo: the text is taken from Leviticus (23:4-6). It announces Easter within fifteen days (quarto decimo die ad vesperum. Pascha Domini nostri est. With vv. 40-41, Palm Sunday is announced (in die octavo venture, sumite vobis ramos palmarum). This offerenda has a text of “circumstance”, of “international” character, because it can be used in any liturgy. However, the melody belongs to the ancient Milanese repertoire.
Confractorium
Domine si fuisses hic: Mil.
Transitorium
Martha surget: Mil.

SABATO ‘IN TRADITIONE SYMBOLI’
Psalmellus
_Deus canticum novum. V. Benedictus Dominus_: Mil.
_Cantus
Laudate Dominum. V. Quoniam confirmata est: a “pseudo-psalmellus”, Mil.
_Post Evangelium
Attendite popule meus: Mil.
_Offerenda
Lex Domini: text of Greg. introit; melody Mil.
_Confractorium
Venite ad me: Mil.
_Transitorium
Tollite iugum: Mil.

DOMINICA IN PALMIS

_Ingressa
In nomine Domini: Greg. introit
_Psalmmellus
Ego autem. V. Iudica Domine: Greg. gradual
_Post Epistolam (Pseudo-cantus)
Pacifico. V. Vidisti: Greg. gradual
_Post Evangelium
Statuite verba ista: Mil
_Offerenda
Eripe me Domine. V. In factis: Mil.
_Confractorium
Sitientes: Greg. introit
_Transitorium
Mittens hæc mulier: Greg. antiphon

RECAPITULATION

The Milanese liturgy of the first Sunday is drawn from the Roman liturgy with regard to the choice of the texts, that is, from Psalm 90, with the exception of the texts of the post. Evang. Antiphon. (Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile) and of the transitorium (Qui cognoscis), two liturgical genera that are unknown to the Roman tradition. The melodies however are Milanese, with the exception of that of the ingressa (Invocabit me).

The primitive background of the other four Sundays is rather limited:
- only one ingressa: _Misericors et miserator;_
- no psalmellus;
- four _cantus_: they are part of the “primitive” Milanese fund. _Cantus_ has become a generic term to apply to any other melody.

9 The psalmellus Redde mihi is a copy, with adaptation of the text, of Deus vitam meam, which comes from Greg.
- only one offerenda, with a text of “circumstance”: *Hæc dicit Dominus: Erit vobis*; the other offerenda (Sundays II, II, IV) are obtained by breaking up the (Greg.) Of. *Precatus est Moyes*;
- four post Evang. antiphons: *Tollam vos, Respice Domine, Missus sum, Infirmorum propitiator*;
- four contractoria: *Si scires, Abraham, Ille homo, Domine si fuisses hic*. Although made up of Gospel texts, none of these contractoria are found in Greg;
- three transitoria: *Dict Dominus Samaritanæ, Si manseritis, Martha surget*.

To this list we could add two pieces of Palm Sunday: *Statuite verba ista (post Evang. Antiphon) and Eripe me Domine. V. In factis* (offerenda).

The texts of the CANTUS are taken from the Psalms of Ascent (*cantica graduum*). Milan draws from Rome the idea of the use of these Psalms, without however retaining their numeric order:

- Sunday II (Samaritan woman), *Nisi quod Dominus* Psalm 123, vv. 1, 6-7, 8;
- Sunday III (Abraham), *Ad Dominum* Psalm 119, vv. 1, 2, 5;
- Sunday IV (man born blind) *Levavi oculos* Psalm 120, vv. 1, 2, 8;
- Sunday V (Lazarus) *Ecce quam bonum* Psalm 132, vv. 1, 2, 5;

The assigning to the Man Born Blind of Psalm 120 and to Lazarus of Psalm 132 appears to be due to their links with the Gospel. From the compositional point of view, the four cantus form a very regular “quasi-tonality”, with a melody freer in the intonation formulas. They have an element of esthetic-modal character in common with Rom-Greg psalmody in directum: the median cadence is at the subtonic Fa, as in Greg. This however is “suspensive” and “transitory”, such that it justifies the presence of the Sibequadro (Table II).

No modal tonality and no psalmody in directum contains formulas in common with the cantus. What we have are texts that draw on the Roman tradition at the time when Lent was transitioning from three to six weeks, and of the baptismal Gospels for Sundays (mid-4th century), before the time of Saint Ambrose.  

**THE SATURDAYS OF LENT**

The Saturday of the Milanese liturgy retained the connotation of a festive day, with an office different from that of the ferials. On Saturdays of Lent the fast is suspended and after the liturgy of the Word the Eucharist follows.

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10 St. Ambrose knows of the six-week Lent (cf. J. CLAIRE, *op.cit.*, p. 64).
11 On whether the fast should or should not be observed on Saturday St. Ambrose gives the following advice to Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, during her stay at Milan: “Follow the usage in force in the church where you happen to be. I too, when I am in Rome, fast on Saturday. But I do not practice this fast
In the six-week Lent there are five Saturday Masses (the sixth Mass coincides with the Easter Vigil). The fifth of these Masses, referred to as In traditione Symboli, has a proper Mass, but without ingressa. The texts of the Proprium are selected in reference to the Law of God:

Psalmellus: Deus canticum novum. V. Benedictus Dominus: Mil.
(Cantus) Laudate Dominum: psalmellus Mil.
Post Evangelium: Attendite populus meus: Mil.
Offerenda: Lex Domini: text of Greg. introit; Mil. Melody
Confractorium Venite filii: Mil
Transitorium: Tollite iugum: Mil.

The other four Saturday Masses take their chants from the preceding Sunday, with the exception of those between the readings: the psalmellus and the cantus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Psalmellus</th>
<th>Cantus</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saturday 1</td>
<td>Domine misericordia tua. V. Confitebor</td>
<td>Benedicam Dominum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday 2</td>
<td>idem</td>
<td>idem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday 3</td>
<td>Propitius esto. V. Nequando</td>
<td>idem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday 4</td>
<td>Voce mea. V. In die tribulationis</td>
<td>idem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the four psalmellus chants – all belonging to the ancient Milanese fund – Propitius esto and Voce mea have simply the responsorial psalm form; the other two retain traces of the transformation from psalmody in directum to responsorial psalmody.

The brief cantus Benedicam Dominum (Ps 15:7) is a patchwork, with the final formula (intellectus) taken from the Sunday cantus and with the interior formula (qui mihi tribuit) common to that of the ferial “cantus” chants of Advent.

**TEMPUS PER ANNUM**

The textual and musical analysis whose purpose is to establish the true identity of the Milanese Antiphonale Missarum, has naturally been extended to the other liturgical times as well, including the Sanctoral Cycle, with important, and sometimes surprising results. The repertoire for the Sundays after Pentecost, for example, is borrowed almost in its entirety from Greg. The following charts show this.

**Ingressa**

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inclina Domine aurem tuam</td>
<td>Greg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iustus es Domine et rectum</td>
<td>Greg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factus est Dominus protector</td>
<td>Greg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exaudi Domine vocem meam Greg
Respice in me Greg
Dominus illuminatio mea Greg
Manus tuæ Domine Mil
Dicit Dominus: Ego cogito Greg
Pereant omnes Mil

Psalmellus
Si ambulem. V. Virga tua Greg
Salvum fac. V. Auribus percipe Greg
Convertere Domine. V. Domine refugium Greg
Oculi mei. V. Respice in me Greg
Domine refugium. V. Priusquam Greg
lacta cogitatum. V. Dum clamarem Greg
Eleva Domine. V. Confitebor tibi Mil
Tibi Domine. V. Confitebor tibi Greg in the responsum;
Mil in the versus
Domine audivi. V. In medio Greg (Tract)

Post Epistolam (Alleluia)
Pævenimus Mil, from Easter Week
Venite exsultemus Mil, from Easter Week
Dominus regnavit Mil, from Easter Week
Resurrexit Mil, tonality of plagal tetrardus
Deus manifeste Mil, tonality of Resurrexit
Verbo Domini Mil, tonality of Resurrexit
Domine refugium Mil, tonality of Resurrexit

Domine Deus meus Mil

Antiphona post Evangelium
Sperate in eo Mil
Domine Domine Deus Mil
Domine Deus noster Mil
Nos populus tuus Mil
Quiescat ira tua Mil
Obsecramus Domine Mil

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12 This ingressa has been removed from the Missale Ambrosianum on the grounds that it is not “pastorally” suitable: “Lord, may your enemies perish; but as for those who love you, may they shine like the rising sun through its rays”.

13 The melody is comparable to that of the Gr. Oculi omnium, whose origin goes back to a Gallican tract.

14 For this gradual, Greg has two melodies: one in the modal tonality of the 2nd mode in A, the other in tetrardus. This last is common to Mil.

15 The text is pastorally not very suitable for use. It recites: “Lift up your hand, o Lord, against the arrogance of the enemies, which has reached its limit. V. Reserve, o Lord, your wrath for the people who love discord”.

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Custodi Deus
Manus tua

Offerenda
Exaltabo te
Ego autem
Exaudi Domine
Perfice gressus meos
Domine convertere
In te speravi
Portio mea
Super flumina
Si oblitus fuero
Dominus regnavit
Deus enim firmavit
Benedixisti

Confractorium
Qui meditabitur
Voce mea
Domine Deus meus
Domine Dominus noster
Narrabo omnia mirabilia
Illumina faciem tuam
Introibo
Vovete et reddite

Transitorium
Accepta Christ
Corpus tuum
Angeli circumdederunt
Qui manducaverit

The text of this antiphon is also pastorally problematic: “Your hand, o Lord, fought on behalf of our fathers; because you are the Lord our God. Let now your right hand break the resistance of your enemies, so that we may be able to sing to your name, o Lord, the praise that belongs to you”.

Mil
Mil
Greg, Ash Wednesday
Greg, V. 2 of Exaltabo te, with added Responsum
Greg, V. 1 of Perfice gressus meus, With added responsum
Greg, Sexagesima Sunday
Greg, Monday of the 5th Week of Lent, Plus V. 2
Greg, Tuesday of the 1st Week of Lent
Greg, V. 1 of Meditabor, without responsum, from Wednesday of the September Ember Days
Greg, 20th Sunday after Pentecost
Greg, V. 2 of Super flumina, no responsum
Greg, V. 1 of Deus enim firmavit, with added responsum
Greg, Mass in aurora of Christmas
Greg, 3rd Sunday of Advent
Greg, Communion, Ash Wednesday
Greg, Communion, Saturday after Ash Wednesday
Greg, Communion, Ember Saturday in Lent
Greg, Communion, Tuesday of the Second Week of Lent
Greg, Communion, Wednesday of the Second Week of Lent
Greg, Communion of Septuagesima Sunday
Greg, Communion of Sexagesima Sunday
Greg, Communion, 17th Sunday after Pentecost
Mil
Mil
Mil
Mil
Mil

16 The text of this antiphon is also pastorally problematic: “Your hand, o Lord, fought on behalf of our fathers; because you are the Lord our God. Let now your right hand break the resistance of your enemies, so that we may be able to sing to your name, o Lord, the praise that belongs to you”.

17
Declinant anni nostri Mil
Stant angeli Mil
Corpus Christi Mil
Sacramentum cæleste Mil
Diligamus nos invicem Mil
Accedite ad altare Mil
Da pacem Mil
Odor Christi Mil

Observations:
- For lack of offerenda, we do not have at our disposition any complete Mass Proprium
- The pieces that belong to liturgical genera foreign to Rom and to Greg, such as the antiphon post Evangelium and the Transitorium, are Milanese.
- The alleluia repertoire is poor. It consists of the three melismatic alleluias of the Week of Easter and two other melodies, of which one is in the "tone" form. After the verse, the jubilus of the alleluia is more developed than that of the alleluia that precedes it.
- The texts that come from Greg for the offerenda and, above all, for the contractorium chants, are for the most part taken from Lent, and accordingly have a penitential flavor.

CONCLUSION

1. The Milanese Cantatorium (the Sunday chants, the ferial psalmody in directum; the 2nd mode psalmellus chants; the psalmellus chants that come from the in directum psalmody and the alleluias) constitutes the most ancient and representative fund of the Antiphonale Missarum. In this sector of the repertoire, besides about ten forms of psalmody in directum, compared to two or three of the Gregorian repertoire, one finds: the canticles and the 8th mode tracts, the 2nd mode tracts and half of a 2nd mode canticle (Gloriosus).

   The modal tonalities of the psalmellus chants are numerous, compared to one only in the Gregorian repertoire, and that of the 2nd mode graduals in A is of Gallican origin.

   Milan too knows the tonality of the 2nd mode in A, in the melodic version maior and minor of the versus. In both, the terminatio of the responsum and of the versus is identical: this is an element that attests greater antiquity with respect to the Gregorian tonality.

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17 With textual version of the Vetus latina, in contrast to what is found in Rom and in Greg.
18 Penitential text: “Our years and our days are drawing to an end. While there is time, let us rise to render due praise to Christ. Let our lamps be lit, because the supreme Judge is coming to judge the nations. Praise, praise to the Lord”.

2. The Milanese *Antiphonale* is for the most part of Gregorian origin, with the exception of the chants of the liturgical genre of the *antiphona post Evangelium* and of the *Transitorium*. In this repertoire no modal tonality is given, but instead “styles” of composition that have the following characteristics:

- Rather free melodic movements
- Use of few formulas, above all in the cadences, and melodically “univocal”;
- Melodic ornamentation rich and repetitive on a structural chord, because of the length of the text
- Foreignness of the “esachordal” compositional technique.

The Milanese liturgy developed its musical repertoire based on the mother chord; in the case in point, the chord of Re. The primitive fund of its repertoire is formed by melodies in archaic modalities and in developed modalities, of archaizing type: protus and tetrardus (*diechos*).

The pieces of Lent and those of the Milanese liturgical genre (*antiphona post Evangelium* and *transitorium*) of the Common of Sundays are in the following modalities:

1. LENT

*Ingressa*

| Misericors et miserator | transformation of tetrardus into titus |
| In the incipit and in the termination |

*Psalmellus*

| Deus canticum novum. V. Benedictus | protus in A |
| Laudate Dominum | tetrardus |
| Domine misericordia tua. V. Confitebor | tetrardus |
| Propitius esto. V. Nequando | responsum: archaic of Do (-Fa) |
| Versus: tetrardus |

*Voce mea. V. In die tribulationis |

| tetrardus |

*Cantus*

| Benedicam Dominum | tetrardus |

*Antiphona post Evangelium*

| Tollam vos | plagal protus |
| Respice Domine | plagal tetrardus |
| Missus sum | plagal protus |
| Infirmorum propitiator | protus |
| Statuite verba ista | tetrardus |
| Attendite popule meus | plagal deuterus |
Offerenda
Eripe me Domine. V. In factis deuterus
Lex Domini tetrardus

Transitorium
Dict Dominus Samaritanæ deuterus alla 3ª
Si manseritis authentic tetrardus
Martha surget tetrardus plagale
Tollite iugum tetrardus

Confractorium
Si scires authentic tetrardus
Abraham authentic tetrardus
Ille homo tetrardus, in cadence Do
Domine si fuisses hic authentic tritus
Venite ad me archaic Re

2. COMMON OF SUNDAYS

Antiphona post Evangelium
Sperate in eo plagal tetrardus
Domine Domine Deus deuterus alla 3ª
Domine Deus noster authentic protus
Nos populus tuus deuterus alla 3ª
Quiescat ira tua tritus, derived from the Do chord
Obsecramus Domine plagal protus
Custodi Deus tetrardus
Manus tua protus

Transitorium
Accepta Christi tetrardus
Corpus tuum tetrardus
Angeli circumdederunt tetrardus
Qui manducaverit tetrardus
Declinant anni nostril tetrardus
Stant angeli tetrardus
Corpus Christi plagal protus
Sacramentum cæleste tetrardus
Diligamus nos invicem tritus/tetrardus
Accedite ad altare tetrardus
Da pacem tetrardus
Odor Christi tetrardus
The tetrardus at times presents difficulties regarding the use of the flat, because in the pieces that come from the Re chord, they take in the script the transposed chord Sol. In the other modes the question of flat is easily solved.

I would like to end this paper with a statement of support for the present edition of the Antiphonale Missarum. The edition was prepared after almost a decade of reflection on the texts; a reflection whose results were assembled by Dom J. Claire in the book “Vecchio-milanese”, cited in the course of this paper. The liturgical assignment of the pieces was done taking into account:
- the Ordo Missæ of the Manuale Ambrosianum of the 11th century,
- the Ordo Missæ of the Missale Ambrosianum of 1981,
- the original liturgical collocation of the chants.

Anyone who has picked up a copy of the Missale Ambrosianum of 1981, currently in force, will have noted that, besides the insertion of a great number of “new” texts for which there is no melody, almost every one of the chants of the old Ordo Missae are found in totally new liturgical contexts.

Here is a very brief sampling:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chants</th>
<th>AMM 1935 (Suñol)</th>
<th>Missale Ambrosianum 1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domine si inquiras</td>
<td>Antiphon de Litanis</td>
<td>Ingressa: Sab. Hebd. I Quadr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Deo Salutari</td>
<td>Respons. in choir</td>
<td>Ingressa: Sab. Hebd. II Quadr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The new Antiphonale Missarum marks significant progress over the preceding liturgical books. The near totality of the chants offer a “Milanese” text.

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19 The Missale Ambrosianum Duplex did not concern itself with the ‘canti’ (cf. Missale Ambrosianum Duplex (Proprium de Tempore), edit. Puteobonellianæ et Typicæ (1751-1902) with continuous critical commentary from the manuscript charts Ant. M. Cerini, edited by A. Ratti – M. Magistretti, in “Monumenta sacra et profana, Opera collegii doctorum Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ, tomus IV, Mediolani MCMXIII.
and melody. A few chants with a text common to the Rom-Greg tradition were accepted, but on condition that they had a typically Milanese melody. Finally, an *Appendice* was added to hold a few chants of Gregorian provenance, or chants composed by Suñol on Milanese melodies, which one could not remove from the liturgy of Milan without suppressing certain *Propers* (Most Holy Trinity).

In the *Antiphonale Missarum* a more authentic form of the Milanese Rite is found than that which has been in use since the 9th century. One will have the clear impression that the whole ancient structure of the primitive liturgy, preserved down the ages, is inserted into the new complex that meets the requirements for today’s liturgy; new, but also traditional, for the consistent choice of authentic pieces.

Alberto Turco

Verona, 25 February 2007