

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

Abbreviations:

AMM/Suñol	<i>Antiphonale Missarum juxta ritum Sanctæ Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis, Romæ</i> , MCMXXXV
Gal	Gallican liturgical-musical tradition
Greg	Gregorian repertoire
Mil	Milanese repertoire
MSS	Manuscript sources
Lon	cod. London, Br. Mus., add. 34209, sec. XII, <i>Antifonario, pars hyemalis</i> , (Paléographie Musicale, I, 5-6)
Mg1	cod. Vendrogno, a. 1387, <i>Antifonario di S. Lorenzo in Muggiasca, pars hyemalis</i>
Mg2	cod. Vengrogno, a. 1388, <i>Antifonario di S. Lorenzo in Muggiasca, pars æstiva</i>
Rom	Ancient-Roman liturgical-musical tradition

I thank the board of directors of the Associazione Internazionale Studi di canto Gregoriano, which is celebrating its 8<sup>th</sup> 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 12<sup>th</sup> century, and that the more ancient *Ordo Missæ et Officij*, with the texts alone, taken from a manuscript of the Val Travaglia of the canon Marco Magistrette, goes back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Moreover, the other important document on the Milanese rite, the *Beroldus sive Ecclesiæ Ambrosianæ Mediolanensis Kalendarium et Ordines*, edited by M. Magistretti, in 1894, belongs to the 12<sup>th</sup> 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 (9<sup>th</sup> 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...”<sup>1</sup>

After having completed the process of adopting texts from Gregorian and with them the “re-elaboration” 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*”<sup>2</sup>.

P. Odila Heimig<sup>3</sup>, a monk of Maria Laach, affirms that, in case of a divergence between the Roman Psalter and the Milanese Psalter, the pieces of Ambrosian chant common to Gregorian go back to the Roman Psalter. 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”<sup>4</sup>. 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”<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. CLAIRE, *Vecchio-milanese*, in “*Antiquæ Monodiæ Eruditio – V*”, Rome 2006, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. HUGLO – AGUSTONI – CARDINE – MONETA CAGLIO, *Fonti e paleografia del canto ambrosiano*, Milano, MCMLVI, pp. 127-137.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. O. HEIMIG, *Offertori romani pregregoriani della liturgia Milanese*, in “*Ambrosius*”, XV, 1939, pp. 83-88 (Trans. from *Vorgregorianisch-römische Offertorien in der mailändischen Liturgie*, “*Liturgisches Leben*”, V, 1938, pp. 152-159).

<sup>4</sup> M. HUGLO, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> 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”<sup>6</sup>.

In view of such solid scientific statements, it was not possible to re-publish in its entirety the *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<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, not mentioned by the *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”:

Liturgical use	name	AMM	provenance	AMM – MSS
transitorio	Viderunt omnes	40	Veniet fortior	transit., p.8
transitorio	Tui sunt cæli	73	Tua est potentia	sallenda, Lon 94
Ingressa	Exsultet gaudio	79	In Patre manet	Ingressa, p.52
post Ev.	Descendit Iesus	80	His est Deus	post.Ev. Lon 97
offerenda	Tulerunt Iesum	80	Splendet	offerenda, Lon 94
Ingressa	Benedicta sit	261	In conspectu	Ingressa, p. 48
confract.	Te laudamus o beata	263	Conformatum est	confract., p.24
transitorio	Hæc est fides cathol.	263	unknown	
post. Ev.	Ave rex noster	343	Cæli enarrant	post. Ev., p.17
transitorio	Sedebit Dominus	344	Apparuit gratia	antiphon, Lon 113
Ingressa	Gaudens gaudebo	409	Superextolletur	Ingressa, p.8
psalmellus	Fundamenta	410	Fundata est	respons. Mg1, 327
post. Ev.	Benedicta es tu	411	a patchwork of multiple antiphons	
offerenda	Per unum hominem	411	Per Gabrielis	respons., Mg1, 327
Ingressa	Narraverunt	458	Dedisti eum	sallenda, Mg1, 189
Ingressa	Vox exsultationis	468	Vox infantis	sallenda, Mg2, 36
Ingressa	Caritas Dei	473	Dominus memor (psalm tonality)	post. Ev., p. 214
confract.	Iustus ut palma	527	Iustus in perpet.	Ant. ad crucem, Mg1, 188
Ingressa	Dixit Simeon	530	Dicit Dominus Samaritanæ <sup>7</sup>	transit., p.123
psalmellus	Domine ante te	531	Animæ impiorum	respons., Lon 251
post Ev.	Stabat non degeneri	532	Ad defensionem	antiphon, Lon 304
offerenda	Nemo gaudet	532	Si ambulavero	resp. cum infant., Lon 210
confract.	Tuam o beata mater	533	Ego sum panis Rogat sanctos	antiphon, Mg2, 161
confract.	Benedicite omnes	546	Benedicite omnia	antiphon, Lon 124
				antiphon, Lon 146

<sup>6</sup> J. CLAIRE, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Table 1.

Ingressa	Benedicite Deum	549	Extollite signum	sallenda, Lon 6
psalmellus	Benedicite Dominum	550	Benedicite gentes	psalmel., Lon 115
offerenda	Dixit Raphael angelus	552	Dixit Ruben	respons., Lon 201

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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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-9<sup>th</sup> 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 caelo. V. Caeli enarrant.* text common to Rom and Greg., with melody of 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 caelorum:* 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 not 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 Incarnatione*)

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. Præveniamus (Ps 94:2): Saturday;

Alleluia. Dominus regnavit (Ps 92:1): Wednesday.

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

Alienigenæ non transibunt

Ecce Dominus de Sion

Confractorium

[Ecce veniet Dominus: only the melody is Milanese]

Confirmatum est

Transitorium

Sicut fulgor

Regnum cælorum

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<sup>8</sup>

## TIME OF LENT

Dominica I (*in capite quadragesimæ*)

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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<sup>8</sup> Cf. P. BORELLA, *Il rito ambrosiano*, Brescia, 1964, p. 328.



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 lætitiā. 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

*Præcatus 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 *Præcatus 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

*Dixit 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

*Occurrerunt 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

*Infirmorum propiziator*: Mil.

Offerenda

*Hæc 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

Psalmellus

*Ego autem. V. Iudica Domine:* Greg. gradual

Post Epistolam (Pseudo-cantus)

*Pacificæ. 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<sup>9</sup>;
- four cantus: they are part of the “primitive” Milanese fund. *Cantus* has become a generic term to apply to any other melody.

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<sup>9</sup> 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 confractoria: *Si scires, Abraham, Ille homo, Domine si fuisses hic*. Although made up of Gospel texts, none of these confractoria are found in Greg;
- three transitoria: *Dicit 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),	<i>Nisi quod Dominus</i>	Psalm 123, vv. 1, 6-7, 8;
Sunday III (Abraham),	<i>Ad Dominum</i>	Psalm 119, vv. 1, 2, 5;
Sunday IV (man born blind)	<i>Levavi oculos</i>	Psalm 120, vv. 1, 2, 8;
Sunday V (Lazarus)	<i>Ecce quam bonum</i>	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-4<sup>th</sup> century), before the time of Saint Ambrose<sup>10</sup>.

## 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 feriales. On Saturdays of Lent the fast is suspended<sup>11</sup> and after the liturgy of the Word the Eucharist follows.

<sup>10</sup> St. Ambrose knows of the six-week Lent (cf. J. CLAIRE, *op.cit.*, p. 64).

<sup>11</sup> 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:	<i>Deus canticum novum.. V. Benedictus Dominus:</i> Mil.
[Cantus]	<i>Laudate Dominum:</i> psalmellus Mil.
Post Evangelium:	<i>Attendite populus meus:</i> Mil.
Offerenda:	<i>Lex Domini:</i> text of Greg. introit; Mil. Melody
Confractorium	<i>Venite filii:</i> Mil
Transitorium:	<i>Tollite iugum:</i> 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.

Day	Psalmellus	Cantus
Saturday 1	Domine misericordia tua. V. Confitebor	Benedicam Dominum
Saturday 2	idem	idem
Saturday 3	Propitius esto. V. Nequando	idem
Saturday 4	Voce mea. V. In die tribulationis	idem

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

Inclina Domine aurem tuam	Greg
lustus es Domine et rectum	Greg
Factus est Dominus protector	Greg

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when I am in Milan” (cf. *Patrologiæ Cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris-Montrouge 1844-1864, XXXIII, 136 ff.; *ibid.* M. RIGLETTI, *Manuale di Storia Liturgica*, Milano, 1946, II, p. 27).

Exaudi Domine vocem meam	Greg
Respice in me	Greg
Dominus illuminatio mea	Greg
Manus tuæ Domine	Mil
Dicit Dominus: Ego cogito	Greg
Pereant omnes <sup>12</sup>	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 <sup>13</sup>
Domine refugium. V. Priusquam	Greg <sup>14</sup>
lacta cogitatum. V. Dum clamarem	Greg
Eleva Domine. V. Confitebor tibi	Mil <sup>15</sup>
Tibi Domine. V. Confitebor tibi	Greg in the <i>responsum</i> ; Mil in the <i>versus</i>
Domine audivi. V. In medio	Greg (Tract)

### Post Epistolam (Alleluia)

Prævenimus	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 <i>Resurrexit</i>
Verbo Domini	Mil, tonality of <i>Resurrexit</i>
Domine refugium	Mil, tonality of <i>Resurrexit</i>
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

<sup>12</sup> 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”.

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

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

<sup>15</sup> 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”.

Custodi Deus  
Manus tua

Mil  
Mil<sup>16</sup>

Offerenda

Exaltabo te  
Ego autem

Greg, Ash Wednesday  
Greg, V. 2 of *Exaltabo te*, with added  
*Responsum*

Exaudi Domine

Greg, V. 1 of *Perfice gressus meus*,  
With added *responsum*

Perfice gressus meos  
Domine convertere

Greg, Sexagesima Sunday  
Greg, Monday of the 5<sup>th</sup> Week of Lent,  
Plus V. 2

In te speravi  
Portio mea

Greg, Tuesday of the 1<sup>st</sup> Week of Lent  
Greg, V. 1 of *Meditabor*, without *responsum*,  
from Wednesday of the September  
Ember Days

Super flumina  
Si oblitus fuero  
Dominus regnavit

Greg, 20<sup>th</sup> Sunday after Pentecost  
Greg, V. 2 of *Super flumina*, no *responsum*  
Greg, V. 1 of *Deus enim firmavit*, with added  
*responsum*

Deus enim firmavit  
Benedixisti

Greg, Mass *in aurora* of Christmas  
Greg, 3<sup>rd</sup> Sunday of Advent

Confractorium

Qui meditabitur  
Voce mea

Greg, Communion, Ash Wednesday  
Greg, Communion, Saturday after Ash  
Wednesday

Domine Deus meus  
Domine Dominus noster

Greg, Communion, Ember Saturday in Lent  
Greg, Communion, Tuesday of the Second  
Week of Lent

Narrabo omnia mirabilia

Greg, Communion, Wednesday of the Second  
Week of Lent

Illumina faciem tuam  
Introibo  
Vovete et reddite

Greg, Communion of Septuagesima Sunday  
Greg, Communion of Sexagesima Sunday  
Greg, Communion, 17<sup>th</sup> Sunday after  
Pentecost

Transitorium

Accepta Christ  
Corpus tuum  
Angeli circumdederunt  
Qui manducaverit

Mil  
Mil  
Mil  
Mil<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> 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".

Declinant anni nostri	Mil <sup>18</sup>
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 confractorium 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 2<sup>nd</sup> 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 8<sup>th</sup> mode tracts, the 2<sup>nd</sup> mode tracts and half of a 2<sup>nd</sup> mode canticle (*Gloriosus*).

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

Milan too knows the tonality of the 2<sup>nd</sup> 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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<sup>17</sup> With textual version of the *Vetus latina*, in contrast to what is found in Rom and in Greg.

<sup>18</sup> 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 Greg 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 tritus  
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  
Lex Domini

deuterus  
tetrardus

Transitorium

Dicit Dominus Samaritanæ  
Si manseritis  
Martha surget  
Tollite iugum

deuterus alla 3<sup>a</sup>  
authentic tetrardus  
tetrardus plagale  
tetrardus

Confractorium

Si scires  
Abraham  
Ille homo  
Domine si fuisses hic  
Venite ad me

authentic tetrardus  
authentic tetrardus  
tritus, in cadence Do  
authentic tritus  
archaic Re

2. COMMON OF SUNDAYS

Antiphona post Evangelium

Sperate in eo  
Domine Domine Deus  
Domine Deus noster  
Nos populus tuus  
Quiescat ira tua  
Obsecramus Domine  
Custodi Deus  
Manus tua

plagal tetrardus  
deuterus alla 3<sup>a</sup>  
authentic protus  
deuterus alla 3<sup>a</sup>  
tritus, derived from the Do chord  
plagal protus  
tetrardus  
protus

Transitorium

Accepta Christi  
Corpus tuum  
Angeli circumdederunt  
Qui manducaverit  
Declinant anni nostril  
Stant angeli  
Corpus Christi  
Sacramentum cæleste  
Diligamus nos invicem  
Accedite ad altare  
Da pacem  
Odor Christi

tetrardus  
tetrardus  
tetrardus  
tetrardus  
tetrardus  
tetrardus  
plagal protus  
tetrardus  
tritus/tetrardus  
tetrardus  
tetrardus  
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 11<sup>th</sup> century,
- the *Ordo Missæ* of the *Missale Ambrosianum* of 1981<sup>19</sup>;
- 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 Missæ* are found in totally new liturgical contexts.

Here is a very brief sampling:

Chants	AMM 1935 (Suñol)	Missale Ambrosianum 1981
Superextolletur	Ingressa: Dom.III Adv.	Ingressa: Dom II Adv.
Ecce veniet Dom.	Confract: Dom.III Adv.	Confract. Dom II Adv.
Qui sedes super Cherubim	Respons. ad II lect.	Ingressa: Dom.V Adv.
Consolamini	Post Ev.: Dom IV Adv.	Ingressa: Dom IV Adv.
Declinant anni	Transit: Dom. p. Pent.	Transit. Dom. III Adv.
O Emmanuel	Psallenda	Confract. Dom. III Adv.
Credite Salvatore	Ingressa: Dom IV Adv.	Ingressa: Dom. V Adv.
Misericors et miserator	Ingressa: Dom.III Quadr.	Ingressa: Dom. I Adv.
Domine ne dissipet	Transit.: Dom. Sexag.	Ingressa: Sab. Hebd. I Quadr.
Domine si inquiras	Antiphon de Litaniis	Ingressa: Sab. Hebd. II Quadr..
In Deo Salutari	Respons. in choir	Ingressa: Dom. III Adv.
Recordare Domine	Respons. de Litaniis	Ingressa: Dom. V Quadr.

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

<sup>19</sup> The *Missale Ambrosianum Duplex* did not concern itself with the ‘canti’ (cf. *Missale Ambrosianum Duplex* (Proprium de Tempore), editt. 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 9<sup>th</sup> 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

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