Among the most distinctive features of late medieval churches were the screens that marked the division between the choir and the nave. Known variously as “rood screens,” “jubés,” or “Lettner,” they have traditionally been viewed as barriers that divided the clergy from the laity and thus accentuated the exclusivity of the mass and office liturgies celebrated in the east end of the church. Only recently have they been recognized as facilitating communication between clerics and laypeople. Just as preachers delivered sermons in the vernacular from atop the screens, so these structures featured sculptural reliefs that depicted stories from the bible in a naturalistic style comprehensible to the laity and aptly described as a “visual vernacular.”

Equally important, the screens were sites of musical performances. At Notre Dame of Paris, for instance, the canons typically sang organum (i.e. polyphony) at High Mass from the eagle lectern situated in the middle of the choir behind (and at some distance from) the jubé. On select Christological and Marian feasts, however, they first processed to the crucifix atop the screen, where as many as six of them sang a responsory verse polyphonically.

The following abbreviations denote libraries and archives: ACPist = Archivio Capitolare, Pistoia; BCIS = Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati, Siena; BCL = Biblioteca Capitolare, Lucca; BGV = Biblioteca Guarnacci, Volterra; BRF = Biblioteca Riccardiana, Florence; BUB = Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna.


2 C. Wright, Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550 (Cambridge University Press), 341. According to Wright (p. 340, n. 104), there survive only fragments of the original, thirteenth-century choir screen, which was replaced by a second enclosure in the fourteenth century, on which see D. W. Gillerman, The Clôture of Notre-Dame and its Role in the Fourteenth Century Choir Program (New York: Garland, 1977).

In such cases, the *jubé* was not a barrier between clergy and laity but instead a backdrop to the public performance of organum.

Less familiar but equally suggestive cases in which choir screens amplified the public character of liturgical polyphony emerge in connection with the cathedrals of medieval Tuscany. Pertinent evidence survives in six ordinals compiled for the wealthiest dioceses of the region (Table 3.1). Detailled witnesses to the musical and ritual life of their mother churches, these books document a tradition distinctive of (though not unique to) Tuscany. At High Mass on solemn Christological feasts, as related below, soloists sang the Alleluia from the pulpit atop the choir screen, typically *cum organo* (i.e. with polyphonic elaboration) and sometimes with additional text called prosulas. Together, such ritual, musical, and literary embellishments not only amplified the longstanding association of the Alleluia with heavenly, angelic song, but also mirrored the unusually elaborate scenes from the life of Christ sculpted in relief on the pulpits. Through the coordination of liturgy and iconography, choir screens thus became vehicles for public musical performance as well as the creation of a visual vernacular.

The six ordinals provide invaluable yet uneven evidence for the tradition of polyphonic singing from the pulpit in medieval Tuscany. As collections of liturgical prescriptions, they include no music but rather text of two kinds: incipits of chants, readings, and prayers, and rubrics that specified, to varying degrees, matters of ritual context and performance practice.

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4 Citations to the Tuscan ordinals refer to the original manuscript source. The following studies establish the dating of the Tuscan ordinal: M. S. Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual in Late Medieval and Renaissance Florence: The Service-Books of Santa Maria del Fiore* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 94–98 (Ritus); G. Cattin, “‘Secundare’ e ‘Succinere’. Polifonia a Padova e Pistoia nel duecento,” *Musica e storia*, 3 (1995), 63–86, at 70 (OOPist); R. Argenziano, *Agli inizi dell'iconografia sacra a Siena: Culti, riti e iconografia a Siena nel XII secolo* (Florence: Galluzzo, 2000), 34–58 (OOES); B. Brand, “Liturgical Ceremony at the Cathedral of Lucca, 1275–1500,” Ph.D. diss., Yale University (2006), 6–7 (OOL). A. Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125–1325* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005), 9, dates OOP to the late twelfth century. That OOP makes no mention of St. Ranierius, who was buried in the cathedral in 1160, nonetheless suggests an earlier date of compilation. Moreover, its self-identified author is surely the same Rolando whose name appears in several acts drafted in the 1140s and 1150s and published in N. Caturegli, *Regestum pisanum* (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1938). An eponymous deacon and cathedral canon consecrated the church and hospital of San Marco in 1141 (no. 381, p. 256) and witnessed three public acts, two at the episcopal palace in 1147 (no. 407, p. 274) and 1154 (n. 433, p. 297), and one in Pisa in 1158 (no. 457, p. 318).

Collectively, the books illustrate a growing desire to codify these latter two dimensions of the liturgy: the thirteenth-century ordinals feature longer, more detailed rubrics than the twelfth-century ones, and consequently include more directions to sing polyphonically (cum organo) and/or from the pulpit (in pulpito).\(^6\) That the Ordo Officiorum of Pisa fails to mention the marble pulpit of its cathedral, on which more will be said below, thus does not necessarily indicate that its clergy eschewed this public stage for musical performances. It more likely reflects the brevity of the rubrics of the Pisan ordinal, which make little if any reference to any liturgical furnishing of its church. That the ordinals of Volterra and Florence do not prescribe the performance of organum is likewise attributable to the concision of their rubrics rather than an indifference or hostility to polyphony on the part of their clergy.\(^7\)

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Table 3.1. The Tuscan Ordinals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diocese</th>
<th>Title/Incipit</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Manuscript</th>
<th>Organum</th>
<th>Pulpit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pisa</td>
<td><em>Ordo Officiorum</em> (OOP)</td>
<td>1140–1160</td>
<td>BUB 1758</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volterra</td>
<td><em>Ordo Officiorum Volterrane Ecclesia</em> (OOVE)</td>
<td>1161</td>
<td>BGV 5789</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Florence</td>
<td><em>Ritus in ecclesia servandii</em> (Ritus)</td>
<td>1180–1190</td>
<td>BRF 3005</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siena</td>
<td><em>Ordo Officiorum Ecclesie Senensis</em> (OSES)</td>
<td>1215</td>
<td>BCIS G.V.8</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pistoia</td>
<td><em>Ordo officiorum Pistoriensis ecclesie</em> (OOPist)</td>
<td>late thirteenth century</td>
<td>ACPist, C 102</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lucca</td>
<td><em>Ordo Officiorum</em> (OOL)</td>
<td>Ca. 1292</td>
<td>BCL, 608</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^7\) Indeed, the proscription of organum during periods of mourning (i.e. the Easter Triduum and a canon’s funeral) in Ritus, fols. 37v and 115r, suggests that such music was regularly sung on other occasions in Florence: M. Tacconi, *Cathedral and Civic Ritual*, 129–130, and G. Cattin, "Novità dalla cattedrale di Firenze: Polifonia, tropi, e sequenze nella seconda metà del XII secolo," *Musica e storia*, 6 (1998), 29–34.
Unlike the celebrated organum of Notre Dame of Paris, polyphony in Tuscany (as throughout the Italian peninsula) remained a largely unwritten, extemporized art. Alone among the six ordinals, the *Ordo Officiorum* of Lucca alludes to the way in which singers improvised an organal voice against pre-existing chant. In one instance, it directs clerics to perform a matins invitatory “with organum by concordant modulation,” and in another it obliges them to sing a responsory “with organum or discant.” Such phrases suggest that Lucchese (and perhaps other Tuscan) organum involved “concordant” intervals (i.e. perfect consonances) and conformed to the strict, note-against-note style denoted by the term “discant.” They accord with a rare example of notated, two-voice polyphony in a twelfth-century antiphoner from the Lucchese convent of Santa Maria di Pontetetto. It adheres to the “post-Guidonian” style of organum espoused in the treatise *Ad organum faciendum* (ca. 1100): the organal voice sounds above and in contrary motion with the original chant, forming intervals as large as an octave. Tuscan singers, such anecdotal evidence indicates, cultivated a widespread improvisatory tradition of “singing on the book” (*cantare super librum*) that endured both north and south of the Alps through the late Middle Ages.

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8 “Ad nocturnum invitatorium Alleluia Christus resurrexit [sic] a mortuis a quattuor cum organo cumcordi modulatione cantetur” (OOL, fol. 32r). “Responsorium Homo quidam sollemniter cum organo seu discantu” (ibid., fol. 41v).

9 While “discant” had originally served as a Latin equivalent to “diaphony,” by the thirteenth century it had acquired the more precise meaning of note-against-note polyphony as distinct from florid organum: M. Beiche, “Discantus / Diskant,” in Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie, ed. H. H. Eggebrecht (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1997).


More distinctive to Tuscany than its organum were its marble pulpits (Table 3.2). The earliest surviving example was executed for the cathedral of Pisa in 1152–62 and transferred to Cagliari (in Sardinia) in 1312. Its inscription describes its sculptor, Guglielmo, as “most excellent among the modern masters,” intimating the novelty of its iconographic scheme. Now divided into two parts set against the façade of its present church, it originally formed one platform encircled with at least eight panels sculpted in bas-relief (Figure 3.1). If the very appearance of figurative sculpture was novel to twelfth-century Tuscany, so too was the narrative formed by fourteen scenes from Christ’s life depicted in the panels. With their naturalistic style and explanatory inscriptions (or *tituli*), they anticipate the visual vernacular characteristic of choir screens in the late Middle Ages. The veritable “fons origens of Romanesque sculpture in western Tuscany,” Guglielmo’s work set the precedent for no fewer than five pulpits created for cathedrals and collegiate churches in the region, ones that likewise told the story of Christ’s death, and resurrection.

The Tuscan clergy surely associated the visual vernacular of their pulpits with the longstanding role of such stages in conveying the visual and aural splendors of the liturgy to the congregation. In a letter addressed to the clergy and laity, Bishop Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258) described the pulpit as a place from which a reader “is seen by his brothers,” and “is heard to the joy of his brethren.” Isidore of Seville (d. 636) defined it as “that in which a reader or singer, situated in public, can attract the notice of the populace

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12 A. Peroni, ed. *Il Duomo di Pisa*, 3 vols. (Modena: F.C. Panini, 1995), vol. 1, 598: “Hoc Guillelmi opus pr(a)estantior arte modernis qua(tu)uor annorum spatio, sed Do(mi)ni centum decies sex mille duobus.” An inscription on the façade of the cathedral of Pisa likewise marks “the tomb of Master Guglielmo, who made the pulpit of Santa Maria” (*Sepultura Guillelmi (m)agistri qui fecit pergum S(an)c(t)e Marie*) (vol. 1, 340).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sculptor</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Present State</th>
<th>Narrative Scenes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1152–62</td>
<td>Guglielmo</td>
<td>Pisa</td>
<td>Cathedral of Pisa</td>
<td>Reconstructed</td>
<td>Annunciation; Visitation; Nativity; Magi before Herod; Massacre of the Innocents; Epiphany; Return of the Magi; Baptism of Christ; Presentation in the Temple; Transfiguration; Ascension; Last Supper; Kiss of Judas; Women at the Tomb; Resurrection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1170s</td>
<td>Guglielmo (?)</td>
<td>Pistoia</td>
<td>Cathedral of Pistoia</td>
<td>Fragmentary</td>
<td>Visitation; Last Supper; Capture of Christ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1239–50</td>
<td>Guido da Como</td>
<td>Pistoia</td>
<td>San Bartolomeo</td>
<td>Reconstructed</td>
<td>Annunciation; Nativity; Adoration of the Magi; Presentation; Harrowing of Hell; Christ at Emmaus; Apparition of Christ to the Apostles; Incredulity of St. Thomas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1250–75</td>
<td>Guido da Como (?)</td>
<td>Barga</td>
<td>San Cristoforo</td>
<td>Intact</td>
<td>Annunciation; Nativity; Adoration of the Magi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1270</td>
<td>Fra Guglielmo</td>
<td>Pistoia</td>
<td>San Giovanni</td>
<td>Reconstructed</td>
<td>Annunciation; Visitation; Nativity; Adoration of the Magi; Epiphany; Presentation in the Temple; Washing of the Feet; Crucifixion; Lamentation; Harrowing of Hell; Ascension; Pentecost; Death of the Virgin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and is more freely heard,” words that Papias Grammaticus quoted nearly verbatim in a widely circulating dictionary of ca. 1056. Tuscan readers had access to both passages: the cathedral canons of Lucca, for instance, owned

copies of Cyprian’s letters and Papias’s dictionary. Equally if not more influential, however, was the liturgical commentary, the *Mitrale* (1205), by Sicardo of Cremona. Tracing the origins of the pulpit to the platform from which Ezra had recited the Law to the Israelites, Sicardo explained that it rendered a man “visible above the entire people.” Echoing Isidore, he further noted that such platforms were “called ‘pulpits,’ as if almost ‘public’.” The Tuscan clergy were among the earliest readers of the *Mitrale*: the Sienese ordinal of 1215 quoted extensively from the commentary and the cathedral canons of Lucca possessed a copy by at least 1239.

The Tuscan pulpits belonged to one of two types of screens, both of which accentuated their public character but in different ways. At the cathedrals of Lucca and Pisa, the choir and presbytery were situated only several steps above the nave, from which they were divided by a low enclosure. Obscured by subsequent renovations, this arrangement survives at the collegiate church of San Cristoforo of Barga (Figure 3.2). Comprising a series of rectangular marble panels, or plutei, that span the entire width of the basilica, the screen stands approximately one meter tall, thus allowing congregants an unobstructed view of the clergy and high altar in the east end. Extending into the nave, the pulpit remains the most prominent

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16 The earliest surviving inventory of the cathedral of Lucca (February 23, 1239) includes a “liber Sancti Cipriani,” perhaps the “liber epistolarum Cipriani” listed in a subsequent inventory of October 5, 1297. Papias’s dictionary appears in BCL, 614, fols. 1–161 (late twelfth century) and is likewise listed in the later inventory as the “liber Papie, magnus”: P. Guidi and E. Pellegrinetti, *Inventari del vescovato, della cattedrale e di altre chiese di Lucca* (Rome: Poliglotta vaticana, 1921), 123, l. 42, 189, l. 181, and 187, l. 114 respectively.


element of this intimate ensemble. At the cathedrals of Florence and Siena, by contrast, the arrangement likely resembled the more imposing one of the nearby church of San Miniato al Monte (Figure 3.3). Mounted upon a choir screen that stands atop a raised choir and presbytery, the pulpit remains the only space in which the populace might discern liturgical action from its position in the nave below.\textsuperscript{20}

In Tuscany as throughout western Christendom, the primary function of the pulpit was to provide a public stage for the recitation of hierarchically

related scriptural passages at High Mass. Although the first reading, the Epistle, usually derived from Apostles’ letters, such commentators as Sicardo nonetheless associated it with the Old Testament readings of the early Christian Mass. It thus anticipated the second reading, the Gospel, from the New Testament.\textsuperscript{21} Music and ritual reinforced this progression from lesser to greater. The subdeacon recited the Epistle to a simple tone, the deacon the Gospel to a more ornate one. At the cathedrals of Florence and Siena, the former stood on a low wooden pulpit in the presbytery, facing east and away from the populace; the latter ascended the loftier marble pulpit affixed to the choir screen, facing north west towards the nave.\textsuperscript{22} Elsewhere, double-lectern pulpits provided a single site for both readings but preserved the hierarchy through their iconography as illustrated by Guglielmo’s pulpit for the cathedral of Pisa (Figure 3.1). The lectern from which the subdeacon recited the Epistle is supported by St. Paul who holds open a book inscribed


\textsuperscript{22} While Ritus, fol. 103v, notes only that the subdeacon recited the Epistle “from above” (\textit{desuper}) the high altar, OOES, pt. 2, ch. 49, 450, identifies the location as a smaller pulpit next to the altar. On the variability of the positions for the delivery of the two readings, see J. A. Jungmann, \textit{The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development}, trans. F. A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York: Benziger, 1951–1955), 411–419.
with the opening of the Apostle's letter to the Romans. That from which the deacon recited the Gospel features the Evangelists: an eagle symbolizes John in traditional fashion while Mark and Luke hold books.

Both the general importance and hierarchical relationship of the twin readings found musical expression in two intervenient chants likewise laden with symbolism. With their melismatic verses sung by small ensembles of able singers, the Gradual and Alleluia featured the most ornate melodies of the Mass Proper. The Sienese ordinal provide detailed prescriptions and glosses derived from Sicardo's *Mitrale*, ones that reveal how the performance of these chants underscored their symbolic resonance. Two clerics chanted the Gradual slowly (*gradatim*) from the stairs (*gradibus*) that divided the choir from the presbytery, the deliberate tempo underscoring their labors “in laments of penitence” and struggles to “climb (*gradi*) from one virtue up to the next.” Afterward, the cantor joined his subordinates and all three ascended to the pulpit to sing the Alleluia with organum, thus amplifying its joyous (rather than penitential) character while concomitantly evoking the traditional association of this chant with angelic choirs.23 Quoting Sicardo, the Sienese *ordo* cast the cantor and his deputies as “perfect and contemplative [ones] who sing the Alleluia harmoniously in the pulpit and whose place is in heaven. They are not men but angels.”24 The handpicked soloists hence underscored the transition from the Epistle to the Gospel by assuming the role first of humble penitents and second of angelic choristers.

Singing (as opposed to simply reciting) from the pulpit was a practice that originated in late Antiquity. Isidore of Seville, as noted above, identified the pulpit as a place for a “singer” (*psalmista*) as well as a reader.25 Writing in the late fifth century, Victor of Vita (b. ca. 430) told how an Arian heretic felled a North African lector with an arrow to the throat while his victim was singing the Alleluia from the pulpit on Easter.26 In early medieval Rome, the singing of responsorial chants from this lofty position likewise became associated with major Christological feasts as indicated by the *Ordines*

25 See above, n. 15.
Romani. Traditionally dated to the first half of the eighth century, the earliest of these liturgical rules instructs the cantor to sing the Gradual and, time permitting, the Alleluia from the pulpit on Easter.27

Although the Ordines Romani circulated throughout the Frankish territories, few transalpine churches seem to have adopted the practice of singing from the pulpit at High Mass. In the cathedrals of Laon, Paris, and Rheims, for instance, clerics chanted the Gradual and Alleluia from a lectern situated in the middle of the choir. Those of Amiens, by contrast, sang the Gradual from the pulpit, thereby eschewing the symbolism of heavenly song described by Sicardo of Cremona.28 That the French rarely used the pulpit as a public stage for musical performance explains why such northern commentators as Amalarius of Metz (d. ca. 850), Honorius Augustodunensis (1080–1154), and Johannes Beleth (fl. 1135–82), from whose treatises Sicardo otherwise borrowed extensively, make no mention this practice.29

The evident disinclination of transalpine clerics to sing from the pulpit makes the penchant of their Italian counterparts to do so all the more remarkable. Table 3.3 illustrates how the canons of five Tuscan cathedrals adhered to the principles described by Sicardo, albeit with significant local variation.30 Most reserved this practice of “singing from the pulpit” (cantare in pulpito) to the principal feasts of the Temporale as well as to the Monday and Tuesday after Easter.31 Only the Florentines extended

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27 M. Andrieu, Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Age, 5 vols. (Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–1961), vol. 2, Ordo I, no. 57, 86, which was the likely source for a similar prescription in Ordo IV, no. 27, 160.

28 For the liturgical customs of the cathedrals of Laon and Rheims, see U. Chevalier, Ordinaires de l’église cathédrale de Laon (XIIème et XIIIème siècles) (Paris: A. Picard, 1897) and U. Chevalier, “Ordinarius servicii Remensis ecclesie,” in Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l’Abbaye Saint-Remy, Martyrologe, calendrier, Ordinaires et Prosaire de la métropole de Reims (VIIIe–XIIIe siècles) (Paris: Picard, 1900). The practice of the canons of Notre Dame of Paris of singing the Gradual and Alleluia from the lectern situated in the middle of the choir has already been mentioned above, n. 2. At the cathedral of Amiens, two subdeacons sang the gradual from the pulpit, and two chaplains, whose location was not specified, sang the Alleluia as, for instance, on the first Sunday of Advent: G. Durand, “Ordinaire de l’église Notre-Dame cathédrale d’Amiens par Raoul de Rouvroy (1291),” Mémoires des Antiquaires de Picardie, 22 (1934), 25.


30 Table 3.3 employs the following abbreviations: Gr = Gradual; Al = Alleluia; Ch = from the choir; Pu = from the pulpit; M = monophonically; P = Polyphonically; – = not specified.

31 The Pistoiese, moreover, went further in singing the Alleluia from the pulpit on the Octave of Christmas and Easter (OOPist, fols. 12 and 30 respectively) while the Lucchese did so on all the Sundays of Eastertide (OOL, fol. 35r).
Table 3.3. Performance of the Gradual and Alleluia according to the Tuscan Ordinals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nativity</th>
<th>Epiphany</th>
<th>Easter Sunday</th>
<th>Easter Monday</th>
<th>Easter Tuesday</th>
<th>Ascension</th>
<th>Pentecost</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Al</td>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Al</td>
<td>Gr</td>
<td>Al</td>
<td>Gr</td>
</tr>
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<td>Florence</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Pu</td>
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<td>M</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pistoia</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siena</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volterra</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>Pu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
it to such non-Christological occasions as the principal Marian feasts (the Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, and Nativity), All Saints, the Dedication of the Church, and the dies natales of local saints. The Sienese invariably sang the Gradual from the choir steps and the Alleluia from the pulpit, substituting another Alleluia for the former chant on Ascension and Pentecost as was common practice. That the Sienese thus followed Sicardo’s Mitrale exactly suggests that they were influenced by the treatise quoted so extensively in their ordinal. The Lucchese and the Volterrans perhaps adhered to his order as well, but the failure of their ordinals to identify consistently the places from which they sang makes such an hypothesis unverifiable. Finally, the Pistoiese and (more often) the Florentines sang the verse of the Gradual in addition to the Alleluia from the pulpit, partially obscuring the association between mundane music and the first chant drawn by Sicardo.

Tuscan clerics employed other performance measures to differentiate the Gradual and Alleluia, measures only some of which Sicardo envisioned. The Florentines sang the Gradual “slowly and clearly” (tractim et distincte) in a manner akin to his association of the chant with the adverb “slowly” (gradatim). Like the Sienese, the Pistoiese consistently performed the Gradual monophonically and the Alleluia polyphonically as per Sicardo’s instructions (Table 3.3). More distinctive was the solution of the Lucchese, whose ordinal prescribed the singing of the Alleluia cum organo less reliably. On all the principal feasts of the Temporale and on all Sundays between Easter and Pentecost, however, they distinguished the Gradual or (during Eastertide) the first of two Alleluias from the (second) Alleluia by juxtaposing young and mature voices. Two choirboys or acolytes sang the first chant monophonically and from the choir; as many as eight canons sang the second, often polyphonically and invariably from the pulpit. Thus the association of the Alleluia with angelic song found expression not in the lofty tessitura of boys’ voices but rather in the consonant intervals of organum performed from on high.

A final way in which the Tuscan clergy underscored the importance of the Alleluia was through the addition of a new text (or prosula) as exemplified

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32 Ritus, fol. 98v. Such local patrons included St. Zenobius, St. Reparata, and St. John the Baptist.
34 E.g. OOL, fol. 35: “et duo Alleluia, unum [sic] a scolaribus loco gradualis, altera a canonicis in pulpitem cum organo. Et ita fit in ominibus dominicis diebus usque ad Pentecostem.” As many as eight singers performed the (second) Alleluia polyphonically on the Monday after Easter and on Pentecost (fols. 33v and 40 respectively).
by *Iam redeunt gaudia / Christe tu vita vera* sung by the Florentines and Pistoiese on Easter (Example 3.1). The text of Example 3.1 translates as follows (italic type indicates the prosula, roman type the canonical chant):

*Now joy returns. Alleluia. Now we [celebrate] the famous and great paschal feast. Alleluia. He seizes the arms of Hell and washes away our sins. He who governs rules the entire empire.*

V. Christ our pasch is sacrificed. Let us feast with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth. *O Christ, true life. Alleluia. Which infernal death itself begins to dread beyond measure. Our mouths now petition you to cleanse [our] hearts, you who rule all the heavens for ever.*

The verse of the original (or canonical) chant, *Pascha nostrum*, sets prose from 1 Corinthians 5:7–8. The prosula comprises irregular rhyming lines designed to fit the phrases of the original chant. The prosula consists of two parts: the first, *Iam redeunt gaudia*, ornaments the initial performance of the respond and the second, *Christe tu vita vera*, elaborates its reprise after the verse. As preserved in a Pistoiese troper, the first part of the prosula did not supplant the original, melismatic respond, but rather alternated with it, phrase by phrase. Each of its lines concludes with the same syllable as does the respond (i.e. “ia”), thus contributing to the integration of syllabic and melismatic declamation, of which the juxtaposition transformed the sound of the original Alleluia in a manner just as striking as its polyphonic elaboration.

*Iam redeunt gaudia / Christe tu vita vera* served not only as an aural ornament to the Alleluia but also to underscore the intersection between the plainsong sung from the Tuscan pulpits and their narrative iconography, which, as noted above, is one of the most distinctive features of these structures. The first part of the prosula alludes to Christ’s Harrowing of Hell and his victorious return as king. Its second part likewise celebrates his conquering of “infernal death” and concludes with a petition for His intercession. Few episodes from Christ’s life captured the popular imagination in the central and late Middle Ages as did the Harrowing of Hell, which obtained prominent depiction in devotional literature, visual art, liturgical drama, and the music of these periods. Suggestive of a more local resonance,

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35 The prosula, *Iam redeunt gaudia / Christe tu vita vera*, circulated widely and appears in ACPist C. 120, fols. 72–72v, a gradual compiled for the cathedral of Pistoia between 1108 and 1127: J. V. Maiello, “On the Manufacture and Dating of the Pistoia Choirbooks,” *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 19 (2010), 21–33. By the late thirteenth century, however, the canons of that church had replaced the prosulated *Alleluia Pascha nostrum* with *Alleluia Angelus autem*: OOPist, fol. 28v. Ritus, fol. 45v, prescribes the performance of *Iam redeunt gaudia / Christe tu vita vera* at the cathedral of Florence.

however, is its inclusion in the sculptural narratives of only two surviving Tuscan pulpits, both of which stand in churches in Pistoia where cathedral canons had long sung *Iam redeunt gaudia / Christe tu vita vera* (Table 3.2). Perhaps the prominence given to Christ's celebrated descent in the Easter prosula inspired the sculptors Guido da Como and Fra Guglielmo to incorporate it into their visual narratives.

Nevertheless, the correlation between *Iam redeunt gaudia / Christe tu vita vera* and the Pistoiese pulpits remains but one example of the broader affinities between such plainsong and sculpture. The regional practice by which the canons of Tuscan cathedrals sang publically from their pulpits in turn mirrored the equally regional tradition of iconography associated with the pulpits. Singing from the pulpit, as noted above, was generally limited to feasts that commemorated key events in Christ's life: his birth (Nativity), revelation and baptism (Epiphany), resurrection (Easter), and ascension to heaven (Ascension). All these episodes feature prominently in the sculptural narratives of the sort pioneered by Guglielmo at Pisa in the mid-twelfth century (Table 3.2). Such reliefs told a more detailed story than did the feasts, supplementing the aforementioned episodes with others marked by non-Christological commemorations (e.g. the Annunciation of

Example 3.1. *Iam redeunt gaudia / Christe tu vita vera*. Italic type indicates the prosula, roman type the canonical chant.

the Virgin) or no feasts at all (e.g. the Kiss of Judas). Despite the difference in narrative detail, however, the public musical performances from and the visual vernacular of the Tuscan pulpits traced the same story, conveying the Gospel to the congregation through aural and visual means respectively.

If the Tuscan pulpits illustrate a coordination of music, ritual, and iconography hardly atypical of the medieval liturgy, they reveal in a more distinctive fashion the public dimension of this sacred rite. Sicardo of Cremona’s aforementioned entomology, “pulpita quasi publica” (pulpits, as if almost public), intimates that the Tuscan faithful who flocked to Mass on high feasts of the Temporale not only heard but also saw those handpicked clerics who sang the Alleluia, often prosulated or with organum. The pulpits, and the choir screens to which they belonged, were thus visual frames for virtuosic singing, accentuating rather than diminishing its public character. In this particular instance, the clergy did not restrict its polyphony to the exclusive confines of its enclosed choir but instead rendered it a performance in something approaching the modern sense of the term.

\[^{37}\text{See above, n. 17.}\]