USQUEMODO, ALIQUOMODO, QUOQUOMODO:
AN EARLY CISTERCIAN PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

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*U*SQUEMODO, ALIQUOMODO, QUOQUOMODO IS THE INCIPIT of a curious Latin text: a list of 135 seemingly unrelated words or expressions that offers a mystery, not only in terms of how it was organized and how it was used, but also in terms of its origins. Earlier scholars, if they noticed the text at all, seem to have been ignorant of its use. This article seeks to remedy that ignorance, to unravel the mystery of the text, and to show how it served as an important reference tool for performative reading at meals, as well as in liturgical, legislative, and contemplative contexts – from refectory to choir to chapter to cell – among the monastic orders that used it. In that sense, we will see how *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo* was a customary text that served other texts. Though it is difficult to know which other texts, we will offer a few suggestions. Finally, *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo* represents further evidence for how monastic rules and customs tried to anticipate and regulate every need in monastic life, in this case the need for proper pronunciation.

To date, I have discovered six witnesses to this text, though there are likely more. I will focus on four of these. I first encountered the text in question in a codex containing the Caulite customary and other documents relevant to the Caulite order: Moulins, Archives départementales de l'Allier, H232, which is housed in the departmental archives in Moulins-sur-Allier. I will call this manuscript *M*. The Caulite monastic order was one of the last embers of the so-called monastic reform movement of the twelfth century, which included the Cistercians and Carthusians. Having established elsewhere that the Caulites borrowed heavily from the Cistercians, both in terms of their customs and governing documents, I posited that the text in question was not a Caulite invention, but also a borrowing.[1] This supposition led me to search for other witnesses to the text. Of the three other witnesses discussed in this article, two are indeed from well-known Cistercian houses. One is in the martyrology of Cîteaux: Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 633, fol. 1r (manuscript *D*).

(1) Concerning the relationship of Caulite and Cistercian documents, see Phillip C. Adamo, "The Manuscript Tradition and Origins of the Caulite Customary: An Historiographic Examination", *Revue Mabillon*, n.s. 11 (= 72) (2000), pp. 197-220; Phillip C. Adamo, "*Secundum morem Cisterciensium*: The Caulite Critique of Cistercian Practice", *Cîteaux. Commentarii Cistercienses*, 55 (2005), pp. 201-29; Phillip C. Adamo, *New Monks, Old Habits: The Formation of the Caulite Monastic Order, 1193-1267* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 2014).

The other is from the martyrology of Clairvaux: Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Recueil de textes sur Clairvaux, MS 1093, fol. 142v (manuscript *T*). The fourth witness is from an unnamed Cistercian house in Antwerp: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 14683-14685, fol. 91-91v (manuscript *B*). Since manuscript *M* is the one that started my quest to unravel this puzzle, let me begin there, before moving on to the other witnesses.

Historiography

Concerning the presence of *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo* in manuscript *M*, earlier scholars have been either uninterested or dismissive. Manuscript *M* is a codex containing, among other texts, the martyrology of Usuard, the Rule of Benedict, the text in question (*Usquemodo, aliomodo* [sic]*, quoquomodo*), and the Caulite customary.[2] The archivist, Georges Grassoreille's, description of manuscript *M* misidentified the codex as the "Martyrologe de l'abbaye du Val-des-Choux." The codex is a martyrology, but not from the motherhouse of Val-des-Choux, in the diocese of Langres, southeast of Châtillon-sur-Seine. It is rather from the Caulite filial house of Petit-Saint-Lieu in the diocese of Dijon, founded in 1224.[3] Most important for our purposes, Grassoreille's description of the codex skips from the Rule of Benedict, which starts at fol. 50, to the bull of Innocent III, dated 1205, which starts at fol. 75. The text in question is at fol. 74v, of which Grassoreille makes no mention.[4] Walter de Gray Birch's critical edition of the Caulite customary, *Ordinale conventus Vallis Caulium*, which used manuscript *M* as the base document, does not include our Latin text, or make any mention of it. In the description of the codex that Birch did include, from the work of the archivist Ferdinand Claudon, the Latin text received no mention.[5] Hubert Gautier's article concerning the Caulite documents in Moulin's departmental archives contains Grassoreille's description and excerpts from Claudon's description, each of which skips over the text in question.[6] The description of the martyrology by Jean-Loup Lemaître is the most thorough. Concerning our text, it says:

> fol. 74v: following the Rule (of St Benedict) and by the same hand: list of adverbs. *Inc*[*ipit*]*: Usque modo, aliomodo* […]"[7]

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(2) The martyrology of Usuard first came into being when Charles the Bald (823-77) asked the Parisian monk Usuard (d. 877) to create a calendar of Christian martyrs with brief synopses of their lives, one for each day of the year. The original purpose of the martyrology was to help Christians keep track of when they should celebrate the feasts of the saints. Monks soon chose to record other important dates in the margins of their copies of the martyrology, for example, the days on which they commemorated the anniversary of their founders and other donors, which makes martyrologies invaluable as historical sources.

(3) We know that manuscript *M* belonged to the Caulite priory of Petit-Saint-Lieu (*Sanctus Locus*) because its name appears in the novice's oath of profession, see fol. 118r: *Ego frater* […] *in hoc loco qui vocatur Sancti loci* (I, brother […] in this place which is called Saint Lieu).

(4) Georges Grassoreille, *Catalogue des manuscrits conservés dans les dépôts d'archives départementales, communales et hospitalières* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1886), 2; available online at the Internet Archive (San Francisco), <http://www.archive.org/stream/cataloguedesmanud00fran/cataloguedesmanud00fran_djvu.txt>.

(5) *Ordinale conventus Vallis Caulium: The Rule of the Monastic Order of the Val des Choux in Burgundy*, ed. by Walter de Gray Birch (London, etc.: Longmans, Green, and Co, 1900), p. xii.

(6) Hubert Gautier, "Les Documents d'Archives du Grand Prieuré du Val-des-Choux", *Bulletin de la Société d'Émulation*, 28 (1925), pp. 20-38, 87-103.

(7) "À la suite de la règle [de Saint Benoît] et de la même main: liste d'adverbes" (Jean-Loup Lemaître, *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale and C. Klincksieck, 1980), p. 217, no. 268).

This is good, as far as it goes, but the text in question is much more than just a list of adverbs. I would even question Lemaître's assertion that it is in the same hand as the Rule of Benedict, above it.

The other witnesses to our text receive similar short shrift in archival descriptions. According to the title on the spine of the codex, manuscript *B* is a martyrology from Antwerp (*Usuardus Antwerpiensis*).[8] According to the description by Joseph van den Gheyn, it contains a Cistercian hagiology, the Rule of Augustine, the martyrology of Usuard, our curious Latin text, which van den Gheyn describes as a "fragment of grammar," and the Rule of Benedict.[9] The incipit catalog on the CD-ROM "*In principio*," produced by the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, has but one single case of the incipit *Usque-modo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo*, from manuscript *B*, which it describes as a *grammatica latina*.

Concerning manuscript *T*, the codex from Clairvaux, the 1875 edition of the man-uscript by Charles Lalore makes no mention of our text.[10] Lemaître is again very brief, describing the text as a "liste of adverbs" with the incipit *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquo-modo*.[11] The online version of the codex at the Médiathèque du Grand Troyes gives the title for the text following *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo* (*Transcriptio quarundam chartarum apostolicarum de Cisterciense ordine*, fol. 143r-168v), but nothing for fol. 142v, where the text in question is found.[12]

As for manuscript *D* from Cîteaux, which is likely the oldest witness, Ernest Petit pub-lished a good description of the martyrology, but once again without mention of our text.[13] In fairness, Petit was explicitly interested in the genealogical information the martyrology could provide. Lemaître's description of manuscript *D* offered little more than "list of adverbs and adverbial phrases."[14]

Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo

Figure 1 shows the text in question as it appears in manuscript *M*. At the top of this folio we see the last lines of the Rule of Benedict, and the rubricated phrase, which shows up lighter in this image : *Explicit regula*. The lines following, which I have marked 1 through 18, comprise the text in question, which does indeed have some adverbs, but

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(8) A piece of paper attached to the cover bears the following note : *Hunc librum emi Leodii a D. Ioanne Hovio bibliopola. Videbatur cum aliis Mss. ex Lotharingia accepisse* (I bought this book in Liège from John Hovio, book-seller. It appeared with other manuscripts received from Lorraine). According to the *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique* 1, ed. by Joseph van den Gheyn (Brussels : H. Lamertin, 1901), p. 307, the note was written by the seventeenth-century Jesuit scholar, Jean Bolland ("Sur le premier feuillet de garde, il y a cette note, de la main de Jean Bollandus").

(9) *Catalogue des manuscrits*, ed. Van den Gheyn, p. 307, no. 486.

(10) Charles Lalore, *Le trésor de Clairvaux du XIIᵉ au XVIIIᵉ siècle* (Troyes : J. Brunard, 1875), pp. 174-83.

(11) Lemaître, *Répertoire*, p. 200, no. 218.

(12) Médiathèque du Grand Troyes, 1093 (Recueil de textes sur Clairvaux), fol. 142v, Provenance : Clair-vaux, catalogue de 1472 : V 42
(http://patrimoine.agglo-troyes.fr/simclient/integration/EXPLOITATION/dossiersDoc/voirDossManuscrit. asp?INSTANCE=EXPLOITATION&DOSS=BKDD_MS_1093_01 ; image 144).

(13) Ernest Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bougogne de la race capétienne* 5 (Paris : Le Chevalier, 1895), pp. 396-7.

(14) Lemaître, *Répertoire*, p. 225, no. 287 : "liste d'adverbes et de locutions adverbiales."

also includes adjectives, conjunctions, past participles, conjugated verbs, nouns, and proper names. These can be broken into groups according to shared sounds, word components, such as prefixes and suffixes, and word parts from compound words. Hence, lines 1 and 2 contain what I am calling the *-modo* group: *usquemódo, aliomódo, quoquomódo* [inserted above the line], *quonammmódo, siquomódo, dum módo, ullómodo, nullómodo, omnímodo, quodámm[o]do,* and *tantúmmodo.* Lines 2 and 3 contain the much smaller *-tenus* group: *ullátenus* and *aliquátenus.* Line 3 also contains the *-inde* group: *éxinde, súbinde, déinde, próinde,* and *périnde,* and the *unde* group: *ali únde* and *abúnde.* Line 4 contains the *-intus/-foris* group: *ábintus, déintus, déintro, déforis,* and *áforis*; and the *longe* group: *álonge* and *délonge.* Spread over lines 4 and 5 is the *-quis/-cuius/-cui* group: first comes *síquis,* then above the last letter in *síquis* are two red hash marks, indicating that a word should be inserted there. *Néquis* is written in red ink, further out in the right margin. This is followed by *sicúius, alicúius, nécuius, nécui,* and *alícui.* Lines 5 to 6 contain the *-modi* group: *alicuiúsmodi, istiúsmodi, nulliúsmodi, huiuscémodi.* The word *enímvero* follows, without an obvious group on line 6; but then from lines 6 to 7 come the *-quidem* and *-ubi* groups: *ét quidem, qua[n]dóquidem, omníquidem, síquidem; sícubi, alícubi, átubi, ástubi, ubí ubi,* and *úbinam.* Line 7 also contains *quamóbrem,* without an obvious group, followed by the *-tamen* group: *ét tamen, át tamen, séttamen, nectámen,* and, at the start of line 8, *sitámen.* Line 8 continues with the *-quando* and *-diu* groups: *síquando, néquando,* and *alíquando,* then *támdiu, quámdiu,* and *aliquámdiu.*

Line 8 feeds into lines 9 and 10 with the *-magus/-minus/-plus* group: *tantómagis, quantómagis, multómagis, paulóminus, nichilóminus, siquóminus, multomínus, tantomínus, quantomínus, quomínus, paulópost,* and *paulóplus.* Line 11 contains the *-quid* group: *eóquid, nonquídnon,* and *numquídnam.* These are followed by three outliers, the last two of which we might consider as rhyming: *propémodum, recensítum,* and *alfabétum.* From line 11 to line 12 we find the *forms of be* group: *ínterest, súperest, int[ér]sunt, supérsunt, intérerat, supérerat, intérfuit,* and *supérfuit.* The *-ia* group, entirely made up of nouns, begins in line 12 and carries through to line 14: *monarchía, tragedía, castrimargía, allegoría, psalmodía, homelía, zizanía, neoménia, scenophégia, controvérsia, cenodóxia,* and *philargíria.* Line 14 is also the beginning of the *J* group: *Júdas, Júda, Jórdanen,* and *Jordánem,* which spills over to line 15, where we find the *illi/isti* group: *illíc, istíc, illúc, istúc, istác, illác, illínc,* and *istínc.* The *-quis/-qua/-quo* group: *alióquin, quísnam, quánam, quóuis, quáuis, út quid,* and *úsquequo,* runs from the end of line 15 to the middle of line 16. The *-enim* group: *ét enim, sét enim, at énim,* and *nec énim* [*sic*], picks up in the middle of 16, with one word at the beginning of line 17. Line 17 has the *-modis* group: *multímodis* and *multismódis,* and the *-libet* group: *quantíslibet* and *utrúmlibet.* And finally, from the end of 17 into line 18, we see the *-duc* group: *índuc, déduc, intróduc, supérduc.* In a different, lighter hand, someone has written *supérduc* two more times at the very end, as if for practice.

Comparison of manuscript *M* to the other three witnesses shows only minor variations (See Table 1). Some of these variations could be explained by scribal error – though, in one case, additions have clearly been made intentionally. For example, the second word in manuscript *M, aliomódo,* appears as *aliquomódo* in manuscripts *B, D,* and *T. Illínc,* on the other hand, only appears in *M* and *D.* Manuscript *M* is missing *nullátenus, néquis,* and *sícui,* which the three other witnesses all contain. Manuscript *T* is the only one with the word

omnímodis, a variation of *omnímodo*, which all four witnesses contain, although, manuscript *B* has an abbreviation for *-dis* above the line over *omnímodo*, which seems to indicate that the suffix should be attached to transform *omnímodo* into *omnímodis*. Manuscript *B* is missing the words *abúnde*, *ástubi*, *alfabétum*, *psalmodía*, and *homelía*, but it is the only manuscript to contain the word *quantúmlibet*. This last may be seen as a variation of *quantíslibet*, which all four manuscripts contain, but the addition of *torcúlar*, *spécular*, *iacúndati*, *circúndati*, and *venúndati* in manuscript *B* is clearly an innovation.

The manuscripts give clues that the text has been copied from one manuscript to another, though there are likely missing witnesses. A combination of the paleographic evidence and the foundation dates of the monasteries that created these manuscripts can help us to construct a relative chronology, if not an absolute stemma for their creation. For example, the addition of *quoquomódo* inserted above line 1 in manuscript *M*, tells us that it was likely copied from another manuscript, through perhaps a witness that we have not yet seen. Since manuscript *M* was created for the Caulite filial house of Petit-Saint-Lieu, founded in 1224, this confirms it as one of the later witnesses in our group. Manuscript *D* is the most stable manuscript. It has the least variation and is also the "cleanest" in terms of not having any interlinear or marginal additions. It is likely the earliest witness. The fact that manuscript *D* was created for Cîteaux, founded in 1098, also points to an earlier date for the manuscript, though it is likely not as early as the foundation. At the same time, Lemaître dated the range of documents in manuscript *D* from the thirteenth century.[15]

Manuscript *T*, from Clairvaux, is also relatively stable. Except for one addition (*omnímodis*), it is exactly the same as manuscript *D*. With a foundation date of 1115 for Clairvaux, it seems likely that this manuscript was copied directly from manuscript *D*, though, again, the date is likely not as early as the foundation. Lemaître dated the range of documents in manuscript *T* from the twelfth to the thirteenth century.[16] Manuscript *B* has the most variation in terms of missing words and innovation (*torcúlar*, *spécular*, *iacúndati*, *circúndati*, and *venúndati*). The spine of the codex containing manuscript *B* indicates that it came from a Cistercian monastery in Antwerp, though Jean Bolland, or whoever wrote this label, did not name a specific house.[17] Without a clear sense of the monastery for which manuscript *B* was created, it is impossible to suggest a *terminus post quem* for its creation. The script used for the text in question appears to be from the thirteenth century.

The text in *Usquemodo*, *aliquomodo*, *quoquomodo* is not an organic list, added to over time as the words occurred to the scribe. It is ordered and written in one sitting. Some of the words have related meanings or uses, based largely on a shared root. For example, some of the *-modo* group (*aliquomódo*, *quoquomódo*, *nullómodo*, *omnímodo*), might be translated as "in

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(15) Lemaître, *Répertoire*, p. 225**.**
(16) Lemaître, *Répertoire*, p. 199.
(17) Possible monasteries in Antwerp : St Saviour Abbey (*Abdij Sint Salvator Antwerpen*) : Cistercian monks ; Roosendael Abbey (*Abdij van Roosendael*) at Sint Katelijne (Antwerp) : Cistercian nuns, founded 1220 ; St Bernard's Abbey (extant), formerly Bornem Abbey (*Sint-Bernardusabdij, Bornem* or *Abdij van Bornem*) (Antwerp) : Cistercian monks, founded 1243 ; St Bernard's Abbey on the Scheldt (*Sint Bernaerdts op Scheldt* or *Sint Bernardusabdij*) at Hemiksem (Antwerp, moved to St Bernard's Abbey, Bornem, in 1836) : Cistercian monks, founded 1237.

some way, in any way, in no way, in every way." But the related meanings are a coincidence, and, in terms of solving the puzzle, a red herring. Apply the "related meanings" hypothesis to select members of the *-ia* grouping: *monarchía*, *tragedía*, *homelía*, *neoménia*, *Scenophégia*, and *cenodóxia*: "monarchy, tragedy, homily, the new moon, Feast of Tabernacles, and vanity." The words are grouped together according to shared sounds, not shared meanings. *Usquemodo*, *aliquomodo*, *quoquomodo* is a pronunciation guide.

A comparison of manuscript *M* (Figure 1) to manuscripts *T* and *D* (Figures 2 and 3, respectively) makes the case even stronger. Notice the accent marks in manuscript *M*. These are hardly noticeable, until one looks for them. They do not appear anywhere else in the codex containing manuscript *M*. Compare this to manuscript *T*, in which the accent marks are much more visible: strong, thick downward *minims* which look like the familiar "et" abbreviation, or the Arabic numeral 7. In manuscript *M*, only the first initial "U" is rubricated, in the very first word: *Usquemodo*, which is also true for manuscript *T*. But the groupings in manuscript *M* and *T* also have sub-groupings, based on accented syllables. For example, in the *-ia* group on lines 12 to 14 of manuscript *M*, the first seven words bear the accent on the penultimate syllable, e.g., *monarchía*, but the last five words in the group bear the accent on the antepenultimate, e.g., *controvérsia*. This would make the list more practical mnemonically. Manuscript *D* (Figure 3) also uses rubrication to set off groups of words – in this case the initial letter of the first word in each group – to make the groupings easier to find, a feature not found in the other witnesses. The place of the pronunciation guide at the very front of manuscript *D*, at fol. 1r, could well be proof of its importance and regular use. This would be the easiest place for table readers, those regular users of the Cîteaux martyrology, to find the pronunciation guide before they set to work preparing their daily reading.

Reading Aloud

In contrast to how most children are taught to read in our own time, without speaking or even moving their lips, in late antiquity it took Augustine of Hippo (354-430) by surprise when he witnessed Ambrose of Milan (337-97) reading silently. According to the description in Augustine's *Confessions*, "When [Ambrose] read, his eyes scanned the page and his heart sought out the meaning, but his voice was silent and his tongue was still [...] he never read aloud."[18]

Reading in the Middle Ages has always had a performative aspect. Indeed, Nicholas Howe has shown how *raedan*, the etymological root of the word for reading, "originally referred to a public, spoken act within a community."[19] This was especially true in monastic

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(18) Augustine, *Confessions* 6, 3. Miles Burnyeat has argued that this oft cited passage from Augustine, used to make claims for the prominence of reading aloud in antiquity and the absence of reading silently, has taken on mythic qualities. See Miles Fredric Burnyeat, "Postscript on Silent Reading", *The Classical Quarterly*, n.s. 47 (1997), pp. 74-76.

(19) Nicholas Howe, "The Cultural Construction of Reading in Anglo-Saxon England", in *The Ethnography of Reading*, ed. by Jonathan Boyarin (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993), p. 74.

communities. Douglas Burton-Christie describes the recitation of scripture in the earliest eremitical *lauras* of the Egyptian desert. There, all the monks in a given area would gather for *synaxis*, a weekly public reading of Scripture, though it was also common to meditate upon and recite Scripture during the week.[20] Werner Kelber and William Graham have argued that the Gospels and other books of the Bible were created with oral components intended for "spoken word" performance.[21] Isabelle Cochelin has suggested that monks from the sixth to eleventh centuries "acted out and in some ways even incarnated the Bible."[22] According to Cochelin, the Bible "gave meaning to [the monks'] conduct, and often their gestures were accompanied by silent or vocal recitation, reading or singing, of the biblical text."[23]

The performative aspects of reading existed in multiple contexts within the monastery: from the gathered community listening to table readings in the refectory, to liturgical readings in choir, to legislative readings in chapter, to the single religious performing *lectio divina* in his or her cell. The very nature of the monastic practice of *lectio divina* is that the text is read aloud, so that the reader not only sees the words, but also hears them. Jean Leclercq described monks practicing *lectio* as hearing the "*voces paginarum*," the voices on the page.[24] According to Jessica Brantley, *lectio divina* is "a cognitive exercise that calls upon the creative energies of the solitary reader in ways that often overlap with… [the] performative."[25] Here Brantley refers to the work of Ivan Ilyich, who described *lectio divina* as follows:

> In a tradition of one and a half millennia, the sounding pages are echoed by the resonance of the moving lips and tongue. The reader's ears pay attention, and strain to catch what the reader's mouth gives forth. In this manner the sequence of letters translates directly into body movements and patterns nerve impulses. The lines are a sound track picked up by the mouth and voiced by the reader for his own ear. By reading, the page is literally embodied, incorporated.[26]

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(20) Douglas Burton-Christie, *The Word in the Desert: Scripture and the Quest for Holiness in Early Christian Monasticism* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 117.

(21) See Werner Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel: The Hermeneutics of Speaking and Writing in the Synoptic Tradition, Mark, Paul, and Q* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983); and William A. Graham, *Beyond the Written Word: Oral Aspects of Scripture in the History of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

(22) Isabelle Cochelin, "When Monks Were the Book: The Bible and Monasticism (6th-11th Centuries)", in *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages: Production, Reception, and Performance in Early Christianity*, ed. by Susan Boynton & Diane J Reilly (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), pp. 61-83 (61).

(23) Cochelin, "When Monks", p. 65.

(24) Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, transl. by Catherine Misrahi (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982³), p. 15.

(25) Jessica Brantley, *Reading in the Wilderness: Private Devotion and Public Performance in Late Medieval England* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 2.

(26) Ivan Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 54.

Hugh of St Victor (*c.* 1096-1141), in his description of the first necessity for reading, said that monks must "be able to *grasp easily what they hear*, and retain firmly what they grasp."[27]

In every monastic reading context – refectory, choir, chapter, and cell – in order to "grasp easily what they hear," precise pronunciation, including tonic stress, played an important role. It is easier to understand the need for pronunciation guides in such contexts once one remembers the Rule, and its attention to the qualities of readers. In the opening lines of chapter 38, "Concerning the weekly reader," Benedict tells us that the

> meals of the brothers ought not to lack reading, nor should *just anyone* who happens to pick up the book read there.[28]

And at the end of that same chapter:

> The brothers are not to read or sing in order, but only those who edify the listeners.

This is echoed in chapter 47:

> As regards singing and reading, no one should presume to carry out these functions unless he is capable of edifying the listeners.

Benedict wanted his readers to be prepared, especially when they were using codices that might not be punctuated, making their use all the more difficult.[29] Concerning the matter of brothers not reading in order, this refers to the order of entry into the monastic community, established in chapter 63 of the Rule. According to Terrence Kardong:

> Benedict is willing to break with that basic arrangement in order to insure that the public reading be truly useful to the hearers. While one might tolerate some lack of expertise in this matter in order to involve more of the members in the work, at a certain point inept reading becomes unintelligible and irritating […]. While very few monks are to be exempted from kitchen service [see RB 35], it could happen that only a few are capable of public table-reading.[30]

Words and reading were important to medieval monks in ways that we cannot fully appreciate. There was an incantational power to language that created harmony. Mispronunciation created disharmony. Little evokes more embarrassment for and from the reader than stumbling over difficult to pronounce words – ideas become secondary as both audience and the reader wonder how the tongue-twister will be resolved. With this in mind, it does not seem to be a stretch at all that table readers would have pronunciation guides to help them in their task. Indeed, the Dominican master, Humbert of Romans, insisted that every reader at table should pay attention to how he reads, not just in terms of pronunciation, but also with a sense for what he is reading. He should consult ahead of time with

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(27) Emphasis mine. See Jerome Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of Saint Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts. Translated from the Latin with an Introduction and Notes* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1961), p. 90 (bk. III, c. 6; quoted here from Illich, *In the Vineyard*, p. 51).

(28) Emphasis mine.

(29) See Terrence Kardong, *Benedict's Rule: A Translation and Commentary* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Order of St Benedict, 1996), p. 313.

(30) Kardong, *Benedict's Rule*, p. 318.

the *corrector mensae*, who was charged with overseeing the readings and guaranteeing good pronunciation. Finally, Humbert encouraged the reader to consult manuals on grammar and pronunciation, to make sure his public reading was the best it could be.[31]

Leonard Boyle has published significant works on aspects of public reading in monastic settings, including the use of pronunciation guides and the marking of tonic stress in manuscripts to aid in performance.[32] According to Boyle, Nicholas Maniacutia, a Cistercian monk, was the first medieval scholar to pay some attention to the issue of pronunciation. The main focus of Maniacutia's *Libellus de corruptione et correptione psalmorum*, written *c.* 1140, was to correct errors in the Latin Vulgate Bible, but he also touched on "the problem of accentuation." Maniacutia was particularly concerned with words such as *neomenia*, which might tempt some readers to stress the penultimate syllable (*neomenía*), while others chose to stress the antepenultimate syllable (*neoménia*).[33] Words with Greek etymology also caused concern for the creators of the *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo* text. These include *neoménia*, which our text stresses on the antepenultimate syllable, as well as *monarchía*, *tragedía*, *homelía*, *Scenophégia*, and *cenodóxia*.

Boyle proposed Robert Grosseteste (*c.* 1170-1253) as the earliest scholar to deal with pronunciation in a comprehensive fashion. According to Boyle, Grosseteste's *Correctorium tocius biblie* "covers all the books of the Bible [starting with Genesis and…] was intended to correct misspellings in copies of the Bible and, in particular, to provide a guide to the pronunciation of difficult or unusual words."[34] Most likely written after 1245, the *Correctorium* uses accent marks in red ink to show the stressed syllables.[35] The thirteenth century saw other monks tackle the issue of pronunciation. In 1249, the Franciscan chronicler Salimbene di Adam (1221-*c.* 1290) witnessed the Franciscan *corrector mensae* Guillelmus Brito (the Breton) overseeing the pronunciation of readers in the refectory. Brito would later compile the *Summa Britonis*, a pronunciation guide for all the difficult words in the Bible. In 1291, the Norwich monk and chronicler Bartholomew Cotton used the *Summa Britonis* to comprise his own dictionary of frequently mispronounced biblical words.[36]

The Franciscans continued in later centuries to be concerned with correct pronunciation of biblical words, and continued to create tools to help table readers. In 1621, the Franciscan scholar Michael Assensio published the *Copia sive ratio accentuum omnium fere dictionum difficilium, tam lingua latinae, quam hebraicae, nonnullarumque Graecarum: sed praecipue earum quae in Bibliis, Breuiario, [et] martyrologio reperiuntur*, based on the 1564 work of a previous

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(31) Leonard Boyle, *Vox Paginae: An Oral Dimension of Texts* (Roma: Unione internazionale degi istituti di archeologia storia e storia dell'arte in Roma, 1999), pp. 30-31.

(32) See Leonard Boyle, "Tonic Accent, Codicology and Literacy", in *The Center and Its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*, ed. by Robert Taylor *et al.* Studies in Medieval Culture 33 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993), pp. 1-9; Leonard Boyle, "The Friars Reading in Public", in *Le vocabulaire des écoles des Mendiants au moyen âge. Actes du colloque, Porto (Portugal), 11-12 octobre 1996*, ed. by Maria Candida Pacheco (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 8-15; Leonard Boyle, *Vox Paginae*.

(33) Boyle, *Vox Paginae*, p. 27.

(34) Boyle, *Vox Paginae*, p. 26.

(35) *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste: Bishop of Lincoln 1235-1253*, ed. by S. Harrison Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940), pp. 127-28.

(36) Boyle, *Vox Paginae*, p. 27.

Franciscan, Francisco de Robles. "Abundance, or the rationale for the accents of almost all difficult words, both in the Latin language and in the Hebrew, and even some in Greek, but especially those which are found in the Bible, in Breviaries, and martyrologies" is a pronunciation guide for reading the scripture and other texts that men and women in religious life might use to great benefit. The *Copia* is arranged according to books in the Bible, or months in the Roman martyrology. A quick survey of the *Copia* reveals many of the same words from the list in manuscript *M*. For example, the *Copia* identifies *déforis*, from line 4 in manuscript *M*, as one of the difficult-to-pronounce words from the Gospel of Luke, chapter 11, and instructs the reader to emphasize the antepenultimate syllable.[37] The *Copia* also identifies *síquidem* and *aliquándo*, from manuscript *M*, lines 6 and 8 respectively, also in Luke, chapters 20 and 22 respectively.[38] Apparently these words were still as tricky to pronounce in the seventeenth century as they were in the thirteenth, though the preferred pronunciation did change over time: *síquidem* remained the same in both texts, but *alíquando* in the thirteenth-century text shifted to *aliquándo* by the seventeenth century.

Concerning the Lack of Titles, and the Discovery of Further Witnesses

One of the differences between the *Copia* and *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo*, aside from the obvious difference in length (a book vs. a single folio) is that the former has a clear, if characteristically long, title, which tells us exactly what it is, while our text has no such title – other than the *incipit* that we have assigned to it, by tradition, and for lack of something better to call it. This lack of title has led to much of the confusion that modern scholars bring to the text. It will also likely slow down the process of discovering more witnesses. There is some hope, however, as more and more manuscripts and archival catalogs become digitized. For example, Lemaître's two-volume *Répertoire des documents nécrologiques français* has not been rendered into an electronic format. It would take a great deal of time and a keen eye to examine both tomes for all instances of "liste d'adverbes," by which Lemaître described manuscripts *M*, *T*, and *D*. Then one would still need to track down the manuscripts in the archives. By contrast, van den Gheyn's *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale* has been digitized. An electronic search for "fragment de grammaire," by which van den Gheyn described manuscript *B*, rendered two possibilities worth pursuing: 9369-70, fol. 1-4v and 19095, fol. 171-171v.[39]

The problem of finding and identifying *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo* is exacerbated by the range of contexts in which it may appear. Thus far we have seen the text embedded in larger codices, usually martyrologies used in monastic settings. Most of these seem to contain the martyrology of Usuard, the Rule of Benedict, and then other texts which often comprise the customary of a particular monastic community or order. At least one witness breaks with that trend. A twelfth-century codex containing various works of Jerome and

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(37) *Copia sive ratio accentuum omnium fere dictionum difficilium, tam lingua latinae, quam hebraicae, nonnullarumque Graecarum: sed praecipue earum quae in Bibliis, Breuiario, [et] martyrologio reperiuntur*, edited by the Franciscan scholar Michael Assensio (1621), fol 56r.

(38) *Copia*, fol. 56v.

(39) See *Catalogue des manuscrits*, ed. Van den Gheyn, p. 152, no. 283; p. 380, no. 600.

Augustine also contains *Usquemodo*, *aliquomodo*, *quoquomodo*. Because of its location at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, we will call this witness manuscript *P*.[40]

The online description of manuscript *P* calls it a "list of derivative terms."[41] It is possible that the term "derivative" means "derived from texts that precede it in the manuscript," but this seems unlikely, since most of the words are also found in the other witnesses, which contain different texts, and are so common (e.g., *illíc*, *istíc*, *illúc*, *istúc*), that they could appear in any text. In fact, it is difficult to ascertain for what text, precisely, the pronunciation guide was constructed. Its proximity to the Rule of Benedict in some witnesses, appearing before and after the Rule in manuscripts *M* and *B*, respectively, suggests that *Usquemodo*, *aliquomodo*, *quoquomodo* might be used to help with pronunciation when reading the Rule. Yet, of the 135 phrases that appear in the pronunciation guide, only 12 can be found in the Rule: *omnímodo* (RB 39); *ullátenus* (RB 37, 53, 54, 60); *aliquátenus* (RB 64, 70, 73); *éxinde*, RB 35, 69); *déinde* (RB 1, 4, 9, 13, 18, 44); *alicúius* (RB 60); *alícui* (RB 52); *alíquando* (RB 1, 13, 58, 59); *támdiu* (RB 44, 71); *supérsunt* (RB 18); *psalmodía* (RB 10, 17, 18); and *illúc* (RB 1). Some of the terms appear in the Vulgate. A few examples from the less common of these terms include: *Júdas* (150 appearances in books from Genesis to Acts); *allegoría* (Gallatians 4:24); *zizanía* (Matthew 13:25-27, 29-30, 38, 40); *neoménia* (Judith 8:6, 1 Maccabees 10:34, Psalms 80:4, Isaiah 1:13, Hosea 2:11, Collosseans 2:16); *scenophégia* (1 Maccabees 10:21; 2 Maccabees 1:9 and 18); and *controvérsia* (Ezekiel 44:24; Hebrews 6:16).

Regarding manuscript *P*, "derivative" more likely refers to the terms derived from Greek (*monarchía*, *tragedía*, etc.), but here the description has missed the mark again. Even Jean Leclercq dismissed this text as just one of many "grammatical fragments."[42] Nonetheless, it is our now familiar pronunciation guide. The text in this manuscript is also interesting because, like manuscript *B*, it is innovative. At the very end of the text, we see the addition of thirteen words not found in earlier witnesses: *prohdólor*, *pernéfas perpúdor*, *comedía*, *abrúpta*, *ábruta*, *coércui*, *etymología*, *tropología*, *analogía*, *átcontra*, *décontra*, *écontra*. The additions to the list seem to point to its adaptability. It was not intended as a pronunciation guide for one text or a limited set of texts, but for any and all texts, as needed. One can well imagine Jerome and Augustine using terms like *etymología*, *tropología*, *analogía* in their correspondence, which may explain the addition of these words to a copy of our text found among the works of these church fathers.

Returning to the issue of titles, our unlabeled pronunciation guide is not unlike certain neighborhoods throughout the world that have no street signs. These places seem to convey the attitude that if you do not know where you are, then you have no business

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(40) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2715, fol. 3r.

(41) "liste de termes dérivés", Bibliothèque nationale de France: Gallica bibliothèque numérique: http:// gallica.bnf.fr/Search?ArianeWireIndex=index&q=usquemodo&lang=PT&n=15&p=1&pageNumber=4&is-Search=false. This exemplar has only been uploaded since February of 2013, an excellent example of the advantages of digitization for research in the humanities.

(42) "[…] d'autres sont des fragments grammaticaux, par exemple, B.N. lat. … 2715, fol. 3." Jean Leclercq, "Le *De grammatica* de Hugues de Saint Victor", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 18 (1943-45), pp. 263-322 (264, note).

being there. So it is with *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo*. The monks who needed it and used it knew what it was and where to find it. No labels or titles were needed in their day. The one exception I have discovered thus far is from a *Kapiteloffizium* (a codex used during the daily chapter), from the cloister of Billigheim in Baden, Germany. It contains, among other texts, the martyrology of Usuard and the Rule of Benedict. Then at fol. 174v, after the recording of several new customs from the Cistercian general chapter, we find *Usque-modo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo*. Most importantly, above the pronunciation guide, we find the following phrase :

These expressions are pronounced in our order in this way.[43]

Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo is indeed a pronunciation guide. Yet the real impact of this discovery lies not in solving the antiquarian puzzle of "What is it ?" More research could further inform us of how monasteries shared and transmitted such learning aids, and how monastic readers prepared for their performances, whether in refectory, choir, chapter, or cell. Ultimately, *Usquemodo, aliquomodo, quoquomodo* tells us about how the monks of the thirteenth century (and beyond) thought about and trained for their duties as readers, with reference tools specifically designed to aid in correct pronunciation.

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(43) "*Iste dictiones in ordine nostro hoc modo pronunciantur.*" Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB I 64 ; description published in Johanne Autenrieth & Virgil Ernst Fiala, *Die Handschriften der Württembergi-schen Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, 2. Die Handschriften der ehemaligen königlichen Hofbibliothek* (Wiesbaden : Württember-gische Landesbibliothek, 1968), pp. 102-3.
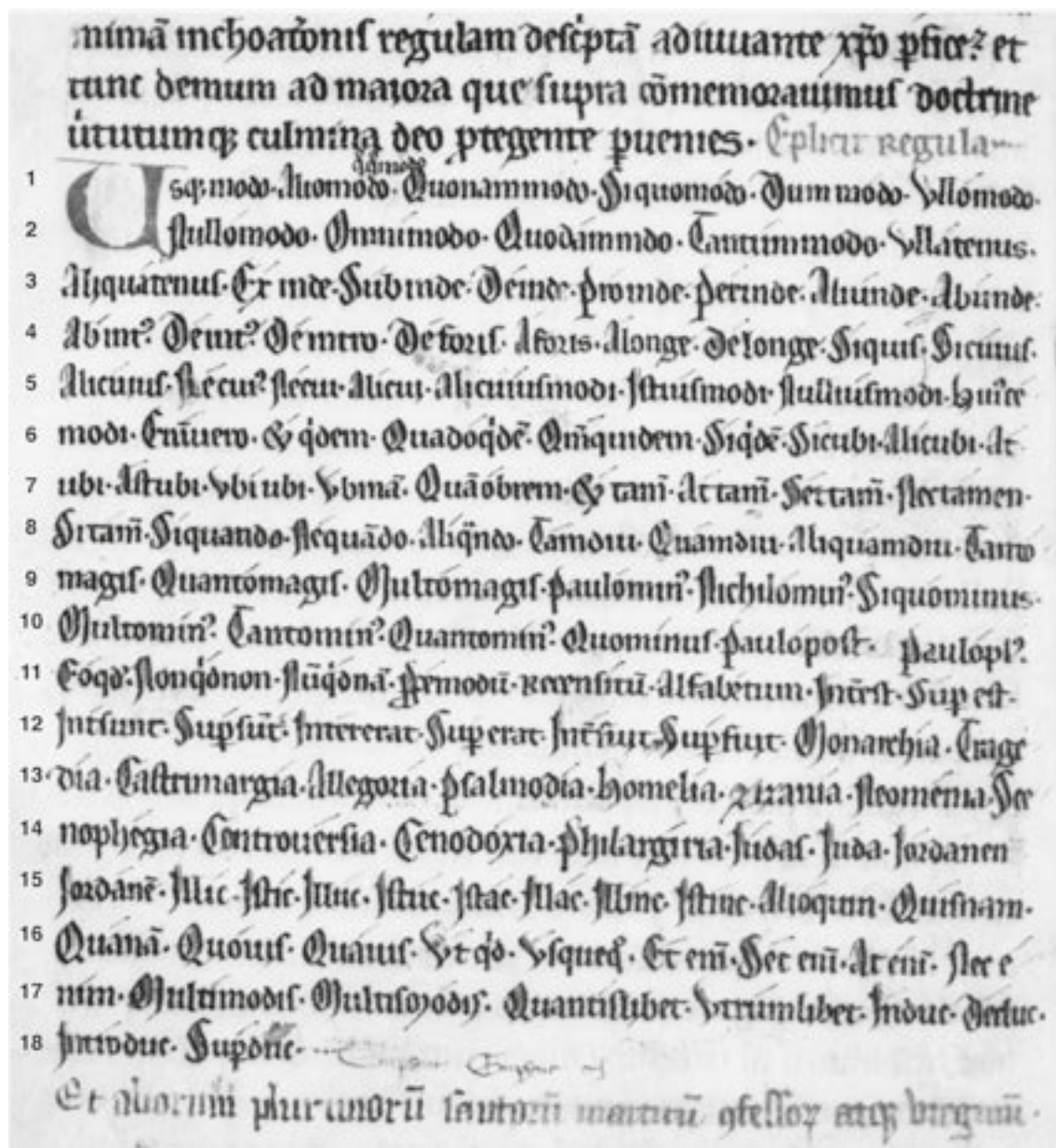
Fig. 1 : Moulins-sur-Allier, Archives départementales de l'Allier, ms H232 (manuscript *M*).
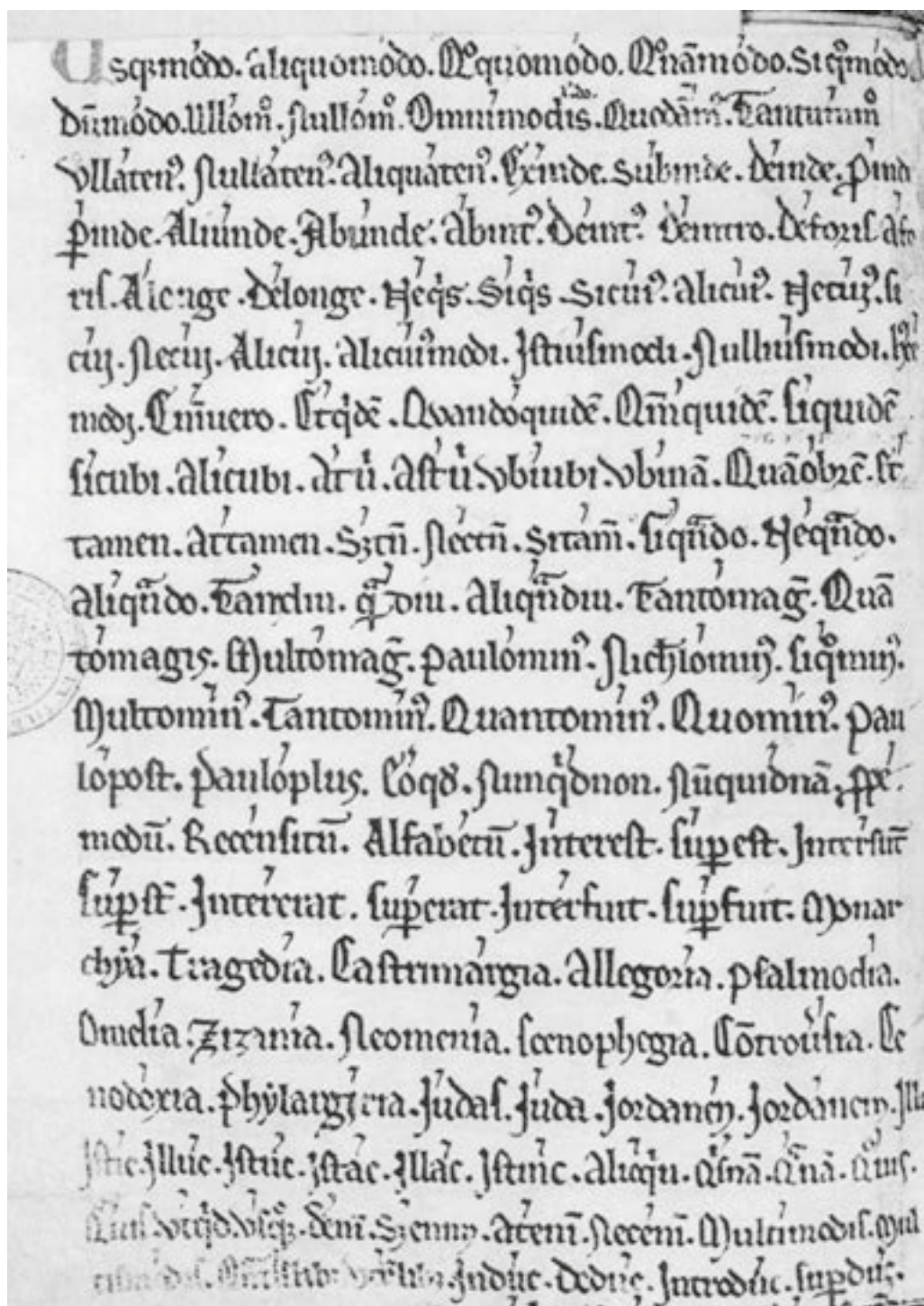
Fig. 2: Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Recueil de textes sur Clairvaux,
MS 1093, fol. 142v (manuscript *T*).

Fig. 3: Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 633, fol. 1r (manuscript *D*).

TABLE
PRONUNCIATION GUIDE IN EACH MANUSCRIPT

M = Moulins, Archives départementales de l'Allier, H 232, fol. 74v
B = Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 14683-14685, fol. 91-91v
D = Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, 633, fol. 1r
T = Troyes, Bibliothèque municipale, Recueil de textes sur Clairvaux, 1093, fol. 142v

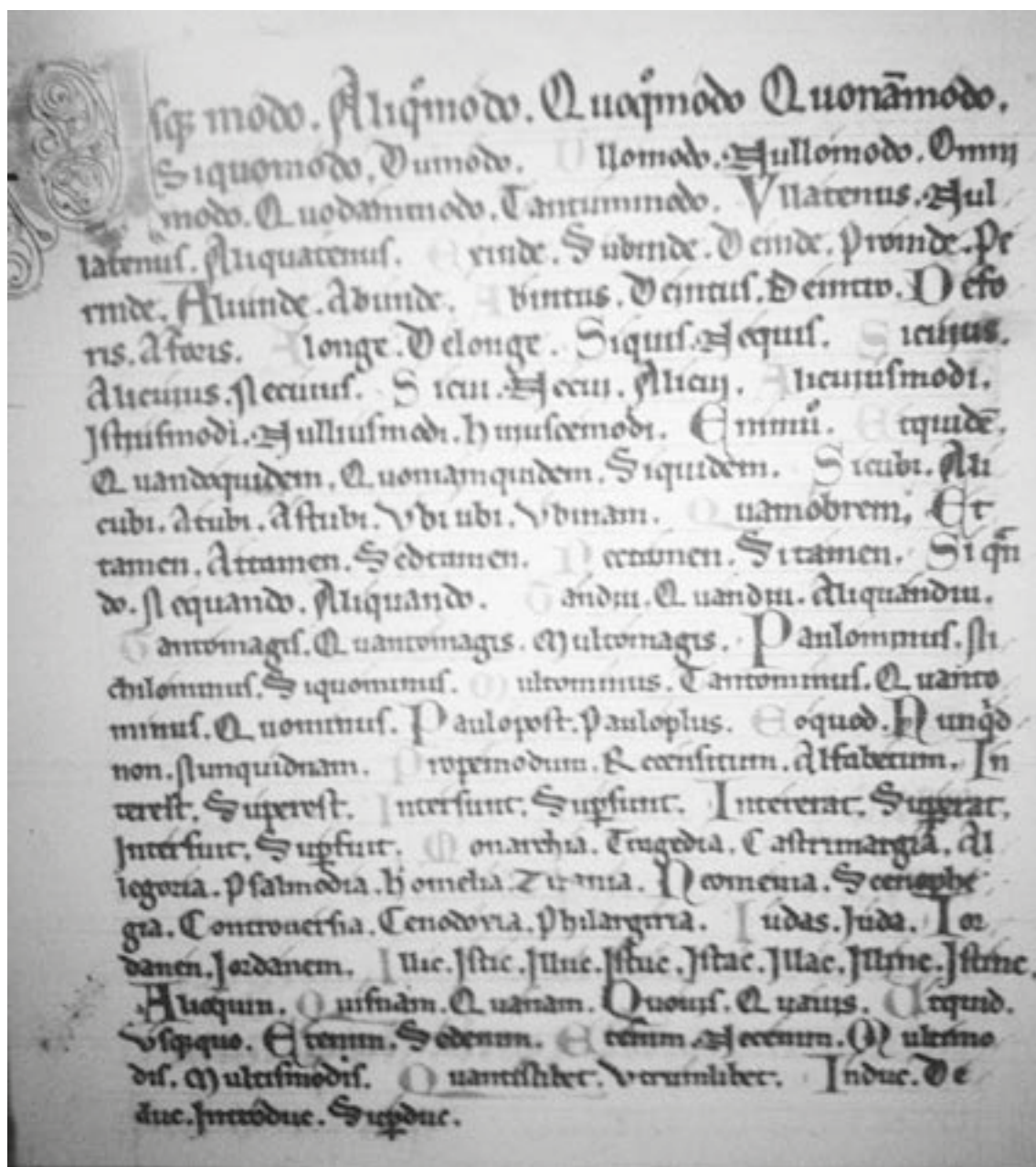| Expression	M	B	D	T
Usquemódo	×	×	×	×
Aliomódo	×			
Aliquomódo		×	×	×
Quoquomódo	×	×	×	×
Quonammmódo	×	×	×	×
Siquomódo	×	×	×	×
Dum módo	×	×	×	×
Ullómodo	×	×	×	×
Nullómodo	×	×	×	×
Omnímodo	×	×	×	×
Omnímodis				×
Quodámmodo	×	×	×	×
Tantúmmodo	×	×	×	×
Ullátenus	×	×	×	×
Nullátenus		×	×	×
Aliquátenus	×	×	×	×
Éxinde	×	×	×	×
Súbinde	×	×	×	×
Déinde	×	×	×	×
Próinde	×	×	×	×
Périnde	×	×	×	×
Ali únde	×	×	×	×
Abúnde	×		×	×
Ábintus	×	×	×	×
Déintus	×	×	×	×
Déintro	×	×	×	×
Déforis	×	×	×	×
Áforis	×	×	×	×
Álonge	×	×	×	×
Délonge	×	×	×	×
Néquis		×	×	×
Síquis	×	×	×	×
Sicúius	×	×	×	×
Alicúius	×	×	×	×
Nécuius	×	×	×	×
Sícui		×	×	×

Expression	M	B	D	T
Nécui	×	×	×	×
Alícui	×	×	×	×
Alicuiúsmodi	×	×	×	×
Istiúsmodi	×	×	×	×
Nulliúsmodi	×	×	×	×
Huiuscémodi	×	×	×	×
Enímvero	×	×	×	×
Ét quidem	×	×	×	×
Quandóquidem	×	×	×	×
Quoniamquídem	×	×	×	×
Síquidem	×	×	×	×
Sícubi	×	×	×	×
Alícubi	×	×	×	×
Átubi	×	×	×	×
Ástubi	×		×	×
Ubí ubi	×	×	×	×
Úbinam	×	×	×	×
Quamóbrem	×	×	×	×
Ét tamen	×	×	×	×
Át tamen	×	×	×	×
Séttamen	×	×	×	×
Nectámen	×	×	×	×
Sitámen	×	×	×	×
Síquando	×	×	×	×
Néquando	×	×	×	×
Alíquando	×	×	×	×
Támdiu	×	×	×	×
Quámdiu	×	×	×	×
Aliquámdiu	×	×	×	×
Tantómagis	×	×	×	×
Quantómagis	×	×	×	×
Multómagis	×	×	×	×
Paulóminus	×	×	×	×
Nichilóminus	×	×	×	×
Siquóminus	×	×	×	×

Expression	M	B	D	T
Multomínus	×	×	×	×
Tantomínus	×	×	×	×
Quantomínus	×	×	×	×
Quomínus	×	×	×	×
Paulópost	×	×	×	×
Paulóplus	×	×	×	×
Eóquod	×	×	×	×
[Num-] Nonquídnon	×	×	×	×
Numquídnam	×	×	×	×
Propémodum	×	×	×	×
Recensítum	×	×	×	×
Alfabétum	×		×	×
Ínterest	×	×	×	×
Súperest	×	×	×	×
Intérsunt	×	×	×	×
Supérsunt	×	×	×	×
Intérerat	×	×	×	×
Supérerat	×	×	×	×
Intérfuit	×	×	×	×
Supérfuit	×	×	×	×
Monarchía	×	×	×	×
Tragedía	×	×	×	×
Castrimargía	×	×	×	×
Allegoría	×	×	×	×
Psalmodía	×		×	×
(H)omelía	×		×	×
Zizanía	×	×	×	×
Neoménia	×	×	×	×
Scenophégia	×	×	×	×
Controvérsia	×	×	×	×
Cenodóxia	×	×	×	×
Philargíria	×	×	×	×
Júdas	×	×	×	×
Júda	×	×	×	×
Jórdanen	×	×	×	×

Expression	M	B	D	T
Jordánem	×	×	×	×
Illíc	×	×	×	×
Istíc	×	×	×	×
Illúc	×	×	×	×
Istúc	×	×	×	×
Istác	×	×	×	×
Illác	×	×	×	×
Illínc	×		×	
Istínc	×	×	×	×
Alióquin	×	×	×	×
Quísnam	×	×	×	×
Quánam	×	×	×	×
Quóuis	×	×	×	×
Quáuis	×	×	×	×
Út quid	×	×	×	×
Úsquequo	×	×	×	×
Ét enim	×		×	×
Sét enim	×	×	×	×
At énim/Et énim	×	×	×	×
Nec énim	×	×	×	×
Multímodis	×	×	×	×
Multismódis	×	×	×	×
Quantúmlibet		×		
Quantíslibet	×	×	×	×
Utrúmlibet	×	×	×	×
Índuc	×	×	×	×
Déduc	×	×	×	×
Intróduc	×	×	×	×
Supérduc	×	×	×	×
Torcúlar		×		
Spécular		×		
Iacúndati		×		
Circúndati		×		
Venúndati		×		