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Note

This contribution is part of a larger dialogue of four articles and one response piece that form the current issue of JOLCEL. The other contributions are "The *Incipit* Miniature of the Morgan Gospel of John" by Barbara Baert (pp. 44-67), "Language on Display: Latin in the Material Culture of Fascist Italy" by Han Lamers (pp. 69–101), and "Looking at Latin 1911–1965–2019: An Ancient Language in Modern Art" by Simon Smets (pp. 103–37). The response piece is "Towards a Codico-Ecology of Latin" by Vincent Debiais (pp. 139–47).

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Between Reading and Viewing: Mapping and Experiencing Rome and Other Spaces*

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on a Carolingian manuscript now kept in the Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln (Codex 326 (1076)), containing a collection of mostly Rome-centred writings, among others, a series of walking routes through the city (the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*). The theoretical concepts of 'affordances' and 'ergodic' reading are employed to explore the meanings and functions of the *Itinerarium* in its original context of use (i.e., the Carolingian monastery). After an analysis of the particular form of the written text on the parchment folio, the article contextualises the form and affordance of the *Itinerarium* by comparing the text with two other Carolingian artworks from roughly the same time and geographical context: the *Plan of St. Gall* and a diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre from an illustrated manuscript of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*. These sources resemble the *Itinerarium* through their ergodic approach to writing and reading, as well as their visual and meditational affordances. Subsequently, the *Itinerarium* is read in the wider context of the Einsiedeln collection, to explore how the 'ergodic' dimensions of the manuscript adds to the understanding of the meaning and function of the *Itinerarium*. Thus, the article highlights the importance to pay attention to the physical form of Latin script and the place of texts in the larger manuscript, in order to understand the meanings and functions of texts in particular contexts.

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1 Towards an 'ergodic' reading of a medieval manuscript

For several decades, there has been a growing awareness that a proper understanding of medieval texts requires attention to the material form in which they were handed down. In the famous 'New Philology' issue of *Speculum* in 1990, scholars advocate the design of a methodology that does justice to the 'variance' of texts throughout time.[1] In this new form of philology, the ideal is no longer to reconstruct the hypothetical primordial text independently of any manuscript context. As Stephen G. Nichols indicates in the introduction to the issue, the approach inevitably involves a focus on the material form of texts:

> It is that manuscript culture that the "new" philology sets out to explore in a postmodern return to the origins of medieval studies. If one considers only the dimensions of the medieval illuminated manuscript, it is evident that philological practices that have treated the manuscript from the perspective of text and language alone have seriously neglected the important supplements that were part and parcel of medieval text production: visual images and annotation of various forms (rubrics, "captions," glosses, and interpolations).[2]

In other words, new philology promoted attention and a new approach to what Jerome McGann calls the bibliographic code of texts, denoting all its material elements (page layout, letter forms, colours of ink, images, glosses, etc.), as distinguished from the "linguistic code," pertaining to the content and interpretation of texts.[3] The call for a new philology resulted in a rise of studies focusing on the physicality of manuscripts, its implications for the interpretation of texts in their variety of forms, and its impact on the human senses.[4] Whereas in the late 1990s it was still practically difficult to carry out large-scale manuscript research, the emergence of digital approaches in the humanities was another watershed moment.[5] It facilitated the making of digital catalogues and repositories of manuscripts (by library, country, work, genre, or other classifier),[6] comparative analysis of manuscripts from very different places and times (brought together in multiple versions on a single screen), and the zooming-in on those elements that did not matter in earlier philology: images, annotations, rubrics, glosses, interpolations, etc.[7]

The various digitisation projects and other digital humanities initiatives have led to a boom of surveys in manuscript studies that, in a paradoxical manner, can

1 Nichols, "Introduction," 1, following Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante*, 111. See also Nichols, *From Parchment to Cyberspace*, 107–42.

2 Nichols, "Introduction," 7. See also, by the same author, *From Parchment to Cyberspace*, 97–105.

3 McGann, *The Textual Condition*, 57–68; see also Bornstein and Tinkle, "Introduction," 1.

4 For a critical review of the effect of the call for a new philology in medieval studies, see Nichols, "Dynamic Reading." See Camille, "Sensations of the Page" and Segler, "Touched for the Very First Time" for the bodily sensation of reading manuscripts in their material form.

5 See Nichols, *From Parchment to Cyberspace*, 5–6, 97–105.

6 For an overview of various digital resources (including catalogues and repositories), see the "Medieval Manuscript Research" page of the University of Chicago Library, https://guides.lib.uchicago.edu/c.php?g=813534&p=5805534 (accessed on November 30, 2022). See Albritton and Treharne, "Introduction," 1–6 for an overview of various digital projects in the manuscript studies.

7 For the functional advantages of digitization of manuscripts, see Robertson, "A Note on Technology."

be carried out without even touching a manuscript, thus increasing the risk of visual distortion of the page layout and of losing the sense of the materiality and three-dimensionality of the manuscript.[8] As Michael Camille points out, reading was a multisensory experience in the Middle Ages, involving all senses: hearing as texts when spoken out loud, smelling and touching of fleshy parchment folios and even taste, for instance, when kissing images of the Crucifix.[9] The central question of this thematic issue is linked to the appeal of the physical manuscript to the sense of sight: what is the value and meaning of the visual and material form of text, in our specific case Latin text, in the particular way it is written in medieval manuscripts?

This article is based on the idea that the material form of text matters when one wants to get a deeper understanding of the various meanings and functions ('affordances') of texts in particular contexts. Aligning with the focus of the thematic issue, it concentrates on a particular aspect of the materiality of texts, namely the forms in which words are written down on the parchment folio. Even if theorists and scholars—among others, Nichols[10]—have highlighted the importance of the aspect of the physical form of writing for the understanding of medieval texts, it is still often overlooked in scholarship. Scholars often take the edition as their starting point for the analysis of texts, focusing on the 'linguistic code' without paying much attention to the 'bibliographic code': the physical form of texts in the manuscript and its meanings, functions, and effects on the audience. However, as the theorist Espen Aarseth already indicated some decades ago in his book *Cybertext: Perspectives on Ergodic Literature*, texts are more than a sequence of linguistic signifiers as recorded and reconstructed in a modern scholarly edition. As he argues, the material form or 'medium' of a text is "an integral part of the literary exchange." Hence, a full understanding of the medium and its effect on the audience also implies attention for what Aarseth calls the 'intricacies' of the written text, which he means the non-traditional ways in which words can be written down in the physical medium.[11]

One of these intricacies highlighted by Aarseth, which will also be of central importance in this article, is the use of non-traditional or "heterolinear" types of writing.[12] As Aarseth indicates, heterolinear types of writing require a different type of reader engagement than "homolinear" ones (which are usually from left to right in Western sources). Aarseth uses the term 'ergodic' to describe the kind of reading experience that results from types of non-homolinear writing:

> This phenomenon I call *ergodic,* using a term appropriated from physics that derives from the Greek words *ergon* and *hodos,* meaning "work" and "path." In ergodic

8 See Bornstein and Tinkle, "Introduction," 2–3. For the methodological questions and problems that digital humanities approaches posit to manuscript studies, see, for instance, Nichols, *From Parchment to Cyberspace*, 43–53; Warren, *Holy Digital Grail*, 31–32; Thomas, "What Is It to Be a Digitization Specialist"; van Lit, *Among Digitized Manuscripts*, 51–68; Whearty, *Digital Codicology* (especially the introduction); Treharne, "Fleshing Out the Text."

9 Camille, "Sensations of the Page."

10 Nichols, "Mind, Materiality."

11 Aarseth, *Cybertext*, 1.

12 Ibid., 79.

> literature, nontrivial effort is required to allow the reader to traverse the text. If ergodic literature is to make sense as a concept, there must also be nonergodic literature, where the effort to traverse the text is trivial, with no extranoematic responsibilities placed on the reader except (for example) eye movement and the periodic or arbitrary turning of pages.[13]

As Aarseth highlights, ergodic reading is particularly relevant for describing the reading experience of works in the digital age, usually called 'cybertexts,' in which hyperlinks allow the reader to move back and forth between texts on different webpages. But even if the term 'cybertext' has been mostly employed to digital texts, Aarseth indicates that non-homolinear types of writing occurred already in premodern times, mentioning the example of inscriptions on walls in Egyptian temples, which run from one wall to another and from room to room.[14] One could also think about Sumerian cuneiform texts written from top to bottom instead of horizontally, ancient Greek and Latin boustrophedon, or mirror writing in late medieval and renaissance in Latin Europe.[15] Moreover, as Aarseth argues, the idea of ergodic reading is also helpful to understand the construction and functioning of medieval codices, which often contain texts of different origins and invite the reader to go back and forth between the different writings.[16]

This article focuses on illustrative example of such an ergodic piece of medieval literature, namely a set of writings, collected in a composite manuscript from the ninth or tenth century now preserved in the Stiftsbibliothek of Einsiedeln in Switzerland.[17] It contains texts that to a greater or lesser extent focus on the city of Rome: an anthology of inscriptions in and around Rome (the so-called *Sylloge Einsidlensis*, fols. 67r–79v), a collection of walking routes through the city (the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, fols. 79v–85r) immediately followed by a description of the Aurelian walls (fols. 85r–86r), a description of the rites and stational processions in and between the S. Giovanni in Laterano and the S. Croce in Gerusalemme during the final three days of the Holy Week (also known as *Ordo Romanus* 23, fols. 86v–88r), and an anthology of mostly poetic texts, which are more loosely connected to Rome (fols. 88v–97v).[18] The writings form one codicological unit, being written in a fine Carolingian minuscule of the same hand.

Although the precise provenance of the codicological unit is unclear, there are indications that the collection originated from one of the Carolingian monasteries in current Southern-Bavaria or Switzerland. The book contains an ownership

13 Ibid., 1–2, original emphasis.

14 Ibid., 9.

15 For more information on the three examples, see Fitzgerald, "Pisan dub-ba" (on cuneiform script); Baert's contribution in this thematic volume (on boustrophedon); and Airaksinen-Monier, "Mirror Writing" (on mirror writing in the late Middle Ages and Renaissance).

16 Aarseth, *Cybertext*, 8–9.

17 Codex 326/1076, fols. 67r–97v, accessible via e-codices, "Codex 326(1076)," accessed May 12, 2022, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/searchresult/list/one/sbe/0326. The codex is described by Meier, *Catalogus codicum*, 297–300; and Lang, "Beschreibung für e-codices," in the link just cited (see there for the dating of the manuscript). The most up-to-date codicological description can be found in Allen, "Pilgrims on Earth," 46–47.

18 For editions of the texts, see Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung* (the *Sylloge, Itinerarium* and *Wall Description*); Andrieu, *Les* Ordines, 263–73 (*Ordo Romanus* 23, including commentary); and Mommsen, "Zur lateinischen Anthologie," 296–304 (the anthology of mostly poetic texts).

inscription of Ulrich of Marsöl, deacon and *rector ecclesiae* in Felsberg near Chur (d. ca. 1341), *Liber domini Vlrici de Murtzuls* (fol. 1r).[19] Another inscription is in the hand of Heinrich of Ligerz, librarian of Einsiedeln (1324–1356), identifying the book as part of the library of the abbey of Pfäfers, located not far from Felsberg, *Iste liber est monasterii Fabariensis* (fol. 104v).[20] The abbey of Pfäfers was founded by monks from Reichenau, one of the most important Carolingian monasteries, located on an island in the Bodensee. The anthology at the end of the collection contains two funerary epigrams dedicated to men with ties to the abbey of Reichenau: Gerold (d. 799), the prefect of Bavaria and brother of Charlemagne's wife Hildegard, who was a benefactor of the abbey of Reichenau and buried there,[21] and Bernald (d. 840), the bishop of Fulda who was trained in Reichenau and mentioned in the list of benefactors of the abbey in the *Confraternity Book of St. Gall, Reichenau and Pfäfers.*[22] Even if the epigrams cannot be seen as unassailable proof that the collection originated from Reichenau—as scholars have proposed—, they suggest that the manuscript was originally aimed at an audience in one of the monasteries in the Eastern part of the Carolingian territory.[23] Probably during the time of Heinrich of Ligerz, under whose administration there was a lot of loan traffic with other libraries and collectors, the collection entered the

19 For Ulrich of Marsöl, see von Mohr, *Archiv für die Geschichte*, 255.

20 See Meier, *Catalogus codicum*, 300; Jurot and Gamper, *Katalog der Handschriften*, 17. Gabriel Meier (*Catalogus codicum*, 298) attributes the *manicula* appearing here and there in the codex to Heinrich of Ligerz as well. For information about Heinrich of Ligerz, see Jäggi, "Ligerz, Heinrich von."

21 *Epitaphium Geroldi*, fol. 97v, Mommsen, ed., "Zur lateinischen Anthologie," 299–300. According to Walahfrid Strabo, Gerold was an important benefactor of the abbey of Reichenau and buried there; see *Visio Wettini* 821–26, Traill, ed., *Walahfrid Strabo's Visio Wettini*, 204. Indeed, his name appears in the list of *comites* ("commanders") in the *Necrology of Reichenau* (second half ninth century, and updated until the thirteenth century), which records the deceased monks and patrons of the Reichenau abbey. Keller, ed., "Das alte Necrologium," 66; see 40–41 for the dating of the necrology. The necrology is preserved in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. hist. 27, fols. 6r–13v. A digital reproduction and description of the manuscript can be found in the Database e-codices, accessed December 9, 2022, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/zbz/Ms-Rh-hist0027. The *Confraternity Book of St. Gall, Reichenau and Pfäfers* (*Libri confraternitatum sancti Galli Augensis Fabariensis*), written in the early ninth century in Reichenau and continuously updated in the Middle Ages, is preserved in the same codex as the Reichenau necrology: Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. hist. 27, fols. 14r/1–80r/134. For the dating, see the manuscript description at the 'e-codices' Database, accessed December 12, 2022, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/description/zbz/Ms-Rh-hist0027/. Gerold's name appears in the lists of benefactors of Reichenau (II 172.3 and 662.7) and Pfäfers (III 77.11); Piper, ed., *Libri confraternitatum*, 209, 346, and 375. If the references in the *Confraternity Book* are indeed to Charlemagne's brother-in-law, they confirm Gerold's links with both Reichenau and Pfäfers.

22 *Epitaphium Bernaldi*, fol. 97, see Mommsen, ed., "Zur lateinischen Anthologie," 300; see Piper, *Libri confraternitatum*, 160 and Blennow, "Wanderers and Wonders," 50–51. The funerary monument for which the epitaph was likely intended is now lost. Nevertheless, the name (Pernnoltus eps., "Bernald the bishop" is mentioned in the *Reichenau Necrology* (see previous footnote) on the date of his death (April 17); see Keller, "Das alte Necrologium," 58. Bernald is also mentioned in the list of benefactors of the abbey in the *Confraternity Book of St. Gall, Reichenau and Pfäfers*; see Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. hist. 27, fol. 16v/16; Piper, ed., *Libri confraternitatum*, 160 (II 25) (identification of Bernald in the footnote on the same page).

23 For Reichenau as the possible place of origin of the collection, see Santangeli Valenzani, "'Itinerarium Einsidlense,'" 36; and Blennow, "Wanderers and Wonders," 34. Other scholars (among others, Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 9; and Maskarinec, *The City*, 138–54) contribute it to a scribe trained in Fulda, following Bischoff's analysis of the script in *Katalog*, 242 (no. 1133). However, the fact that a scribe is trained in a certain place (e.g., Fulda) does not mean that the manuscript was written there.

library of the Monastery of Einsiedeln;[24] here, it was combined with other writings in the manuscript miscellany in which it still appears today.

As we will see below, the collection of mostly Rome-centred writings in the Einsiedeln miscellany is an ergodic piece of work, not just capitalising on different directions of writing and reading, but also including cues that allow to move freely between the different writings in the manuscript. In this article, I use the theoretical concept of the affordance to describe and better understand the possible effects and usages of the collection of writings. The aim is to demonstrate that the texts, through the particular way in which they are written down and brought together in one manuscript, call for various affordances in the monastic context in which the collection was most likely read originally. In what follows, I will first discuss in more detail the concept of the affordance (section 2). Subsequently, I will focus on one text in the Einsiedeln collection, the *Itinerarium*, and explore the affordances yielded by the ergodic way in which the Latin text is written down (section 3). In section 4, I will contextualise the findings by comparing the form and affordances of the *Itinerarium* with two other ninth-century works from the same area: the famous *Plan of St. Gall*, and a diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in an illuminated manuscript of the description of the Holy Land (*De locis sanctis*) by the Irish monk Adomnán of Iona. Both works carry the hand of Reginbert (d. 846), the famous scribe and librarian of Reichenau.[25] In section 5, I read the *Itinerarium* in connection with the other writings in the codicological unit to see how an ergodic reading of the wider unit helps to better understand the affordances of the individual texts in the manuscript. In the concluding section (6), I will make a number of additional remarks about the value of looking beyond the mere level of the linguistic code and to consider the material or bibliographic aspect of Latin writings in order to understand their significance.

2 Affordances

The term 'affordance' was introduced for the first time by the psychologist James J. Gibson, as a neologism derived from the verb *to afford* (in the meaning of "to provide"). Gibson defines it as follows: "The *affordances* of the environment are what it *offers* the animal, what it *provides* or *furnishes*, either for good or ill."[26] Affordances relate to the possible usages and functions that objects get in the interaction with certain users in particular contexts. As Caroline Levine puts it, "*[a]ffordance* is a term used to describe the potential uses or actions latent in materials and designs."[27] Terence Cave gives the example of a tree, which has the affordances of—among others—perching, nesting, nourishment for birds, a habitat for insects and animals, fruit-gathering and construction materials for living beings, and shade.[28]

[24] See Helbling, "Die Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln," 31.
[25] Tischler, "Reginbert Handschriften."
[26] Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 119, original emphasis.
[27] Levine, *Forms*, 6, original emphasis.
[28] Cave, *Thinking with Literature*, 48.

Affordances are no physical or phenomenological properties of the object, but relative properties.[29] On the one hand, affordances are dependent on the object itself: its medium, substance, surface, and layout, etc.[30] On the other hand, they are "part of an ecology," depending on the context and the capacities of the user engaging with the object.[31] Hence, affordances are both a "fact of the environment" and "a fact of behaviour."[32] Objects may have different affordances, depending on the context throughout time. This does not mean that affordances may change, in the sense that they are no longer valid if they are no longer observed in a given context.[33] All affordances contribute to the various possibilities of action of an object. Moreover, affordances may bring forth other affordances or relate to one another hierarchically, forming what Cave calls "'nests' of affordances."[34] For instance, a chair has seating as its primary affordance, but could also be used as a step to grab something that would otherwise be out of reach.

The concept of the affordance can be applied to any object in order to analyse its function and usage. The concept has also been applied to think about the functions and usages of literary texts.[35] According to Levine, literature implies a variety of formal constituents, which all have their affordances:

> Literature is not made of the material world it describes or invokes but of language, which lays claims to its own forms—syntactical, narrative, rhythmic, rhetorical—and its own materiality—the spoken word, the printed page. And indeed, each of these forms and materials lays claim to its own affordances—its own range of capabilities. Every literary form thus generates its own, separate logic.[36]

Scholars have drawn the attention to the affordances of literary forms such as genres and text types (e.g., literary lists, studied by Eva von Contzen), poetic conventions (rhyme, metre, etc.), commonplaces and plotlines.[37] As suggested already, Stephen Nichols highlights the fact that also the physical form of texts yields affordances, drawing particular attention to what he calls the "pluripotential aspect of the manuscript folio."[38] According to Nichols, the various constituents of the manuscript page—script in different colours of ink, miniature paintings, rubrics in red ink, decorated capitals, decorative patterns, glosses, and the like—have different affordances:

> Manuscript painting frequently illuminate such texts by way of providing a visual commentary on and counterpoint to the verbal text. (...) Rubrics, decorated initials, and miniature painting help the reader to navigate the different sections of these works,

29 Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 119–20, 135; Von Contzen, "Die Affordanzen," 320.
30 Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 122–28.
31 Cave, *Thinking with Literature*, 48; Levine, *Forms*, 7.
32 Gibson, *The Ecological Approach*, 121.
33 Ibid., 139; Von Contzen, "Die Affordanzen," 320.
34 Cave, *Thinking with Literature*, 49.
35 Ibid.; Levine, *Forms*; Von Contzen, "Die Affordanzen" and "Experience."
36 Levine, *Forms*, 10.
37 Cave, *Thinking with Literature*, 46–62; Von Contzen, "Die Affordanzen" and "Experience."
38 Nichols, "Mind, Materiality," 13, with more discussion on 9–13 of the same publication; see also Nichols, "Dynamic Reading," 27–28.

> while contributing yet another set of indexical signs bespeaking manuscript intentionality.[39]

As Nichols suggests, in addition to the affordances of the manuscript folio, also larger constituents of the medieval book (the codicological unit, and the codex as a whole) have their affordances.[40] As we will see in the next sections, these observations also apply to the Einsiedeln collection.

3 The *Itinerarium Einsidlense*: ergodicity and affordances

The *Itinerarium* is a good starting point for analysing the ergodic dimension of the Einsiedeln collection, because of the highly unique way the text is formatted on the parchment folio. The *Itinerarium* consists of a collection of twelve walking routes through Rome, often starting or ending at one of the main gates in the Aurelian walls and leading along all kinds of sites inside and outside the city, such as, churches, *diaconiae* ("deaconries" or lodges for pilgrims), martyrs' graves, ancient monuments, arches, columns, aqueducts, and squares. The *Itinerarium* was most likely written in the early ninth century, featuring many monuments that were restored during the building and restoration campaigns of the popes Hadrian I (d. 795) and Leo III (795–816).[41]

Since the early nineteenth century—which was also precisely the period in which the first modern travel guides came into being—the *Itinerarium* (in the physical form it has been handed down today) has been interpreted as a travel guide for a Frankish pilgrim, with routes along the most important monuments in the city, both Christian and secular.[42] The *Sylloge* and *Wall Description* were read in the same framework, as explanatory guides on the inscriptions encountered on the way and the Aurelian walls, while the *Ordo Romanus* text was seen as the pilgrim's report of liturgies performed in Rome. It had been surmised that the Einsiedeln collection was composed by and aimed at a Frankish pilgrim. The *Sylloge* contains inscriptions from Pavia (besides Roman ones), which is on the route to Rome for pilgrims coming north from the Alps.[43] Moreover, the liturgical terminology in the *Ordo Romanus* was more common in texts from north of the Alps.[44] But how plausible is the idea that the *Itinerarium* was meant as a travel guidebook for pilgrims to Rome?

To be sure, there is a long history of travelling in and to Rome. Already in Antiquity, the Romans designed a special infrastructure of roads and staging posts (the *cursus publicus*) that was used by officials, soldiers and messengers to move

39 Nichols, "Mind, Materiality," 16, with more discussion on 18–19 of the same publication.

40 See Nichols, "Dynamic Reading," 34.

41 Bauer, "Das Bild," 206–9.

42 See Hänel, "Der Regionar," 116–17; Hülsen, *La pianta*, 3–4; Jordan, *Topographie*, 329–56; Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung,* 9–11 and 159–60; Del Lungo, *Roma in età carolingia*, 18–20; Blennow, "Wanders and Wonders," 33–87 (including an elaborate discussion of this interpretation, with further references).

43 See Blennow, "Wanderers and Wonders," 37–38.

44 Andrieu, *Les* Ordines, 266.

between different parts of the empire.[45] The Peutinger Table, a thirteenth-century road map that probably goes back to a late antique model from the fourth of fifth century AD, is a visual representation of the *cursus publicus*, showing the important cities (*civitates*), lodgings (*mansiones*), and places where people could change horses (*mutationes*) at the main roads of the Roman empire. These gained renewed importance especially in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the rise of the cult of saints in Christianity brought a new impetus to travel. Travel was no longer primarily motivated by administrative and military reasons, but also by religious ones. People went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Rome and other places, in order to visit the tombs and sanctuaries of martyrs and saints or to see the important places of Biblical and Christian history with their own eyes. They went there for different reasons: in the hope of absolution of sins or healing, to earn access to heaven, or simply out of curiosity.[46] Pilgrims used the roads and the facilities of the *cursus publicus* and had guidebooks (*itineraria*) to navigate the empire. The guidebooks listed the most important *civitates*, *mansiones* and *mutationes* along the way and the shrines and other places that could be visited during the pilgrimage.[47] Examples include the *Itineraria* of the anonymous pilgrim of Bordeaux (333 AD) and the anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza (second half sixth c.), giving the most important halting posts on the way from the respective home towns to the Holy Land, and the *Notitia Ecclesiarum urbis Romae* and *De locis sanctis Martyrum quae sunt foris civitatis Romae* (both from the seventh c.), describing walking tours along churches and martyr sanctuaries in Rome.[48] Providing descriptive lists of noteworthy places and monuments, these texts resemble the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* in form. This raises expectations about the latter's function. As I said, scholars argue that the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* should be seen in the same tradition, intended as a travel guidebook for a pilgrim and offering an overview of the most important sanctuaries in Rome.[49] It has been argued that the relatively small size of the codex (178 x 126 mm) facilitated its practical use as a guidebook by a traveller in Rome.[50]

However, it is the question whether the text in its present form was intended for such a practical use. In fact, several arguments can be brought in against the interpretation of the *Itinerarium* as a guidebook for pilgrims to Rome. As Franz Alto Bauer argues, the format does not say much about the possible function of the book: it is a common format in the Middle Ages, used for books of different

45 Dietz, *Wandering Monks*, 11–24.

46 Ibid., 27–35; Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 39–41; Aist, *Jerusalem Bound*, 47–63.

47 Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 41–43.

48 Bauer, "Das Bild," 217–19; and Blennow, "Wanders and Wonders," 66–68 (including further references).

49 In addition, scholars argue that the *Itinerarium* was based on an iconographic map, listing the toponyms of a map of Rome on which pilgrim routes were drawn. See de Rossi, *Piante iconografiche*, 70–71; Hülsen, *La pianta*, 6–44; Jordan, *Topographie*, 329–56, esp. 334. Christian Hülsen (*La pianta*, tav. 5) also provides a reconstruction of the map, showing Rome from above in the form of a perfect circle, with the Porta S. Petri at the top: a city gate originally located next to Hadrian's Mausoleum, which appears several times as a starting or ending point of a route in the *Itinerarium*. Hülsen's map is reproduced in Frutaz, *Le piante 2*, plate 63, tav. 135, and commented upon in Frutaz, *Le piante* 1, 106–7. Kai Brodersen in "Ein karolingischer Stadtplan" questions the idea that it was based on a map, arguing that no such iconographic maps have been transmitted from the Carolingian time. See also Bauer, "Das Bild," 209–16.

50 Hülsen, *La pianta*, 6–7; Jordan, *Topographie,* 334.

kinds, such as Bibles, prayer books or edifying writings.[51] Moreover, even if it is clear that pilgrims used written texts as guidebooks (*itineraria*) during their journey, the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* would have been of little practical use for a pilgrim. As Bauer points out, the directions in the *Itinerarium* are often too vague and inaccurate to be of use to a pilgrim on the road.[52] Moreover, a pilgrim would probably not have taken along a valuable document such as the Einsiedeln compilation, simply because parchment books were too expensive and precious for that. Travellers would rather have taken notes and left the book home. On a more general level, one has to ask the question what is precisely meant by 'traveling' in late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. Although there was much travelling in the 'physical' sense of the term, there was also a growing interest from late antiquity onwards in more metaphorical and imaginary forms of travelling. The idea arose that one could also go on an imaginary journey, for instance, by reading about the experience of pilgrims in texts. As Georgia Frank argues in *The Memory of the Eyes*, this form of travelling is already evident in the late antique stories of the Egyptian desert saints, which do not just record the experiences of real travellers but but also aimed at "armchair pilgrims, those who demanded and consumed stories of travels to the saints without ever making such journeys themselves."[53]

There were several reasons why such a form of imaginative travelling was preferable to the real journey. Travelling had great dangers and challenges: difficult weather conditions, the limitations of the seasons, theft and attacks by robbers, and disease—all of them factors that could even lead to death in extreme cases. Travelling was also very expensive and time-consuming.[54] In addition, already earlier in Christian history critique arose of religious travellers. This particularly pertained to monks who wandered from one monastery to another without having a fixed residence. These 'gyrovagues' were criticised and feared for the destabilising nature of their travelling: because they did not belong to a particular monastic community, they fell outside the authority of abbots in monasteries where they sought shelter during the journey (and sometimes stayed for a long time without working and being part of the community). Sixth-century monastic rules such as the *Regula Magistri* and *Regula Benedictina* reject this form of monastic wandering and promote *stabilitas* instead: the monk should stay in the monastery and decline from travel without the abbot's permission.[55] Moreover, the focus on *stabilitas* led to the promotion of a metaphorical type of travelling, in the imagination and by reading.[56]

These various arguments pose the question what the function or affordance was of the *Itinerarium* in its physical form as we know it from the Einsiedeln

[51] Bauer, "Das Bild," 216–17.

[52] Ibid., 210–17; see also Santangeli Valenzani, "'Itinerarium Einsidlense'," 34–36 for a critical assessment of the interpretation of the *Itinerarium* as guidebook.

[53] Frank, *Memory of the Eyes,* 4.

[54] For the various risks and dangers involved in early medieval pilgrimage, see Birch, *Pilgrimage to Rome*, 55–71; and Aist, *Jerusalem Bound*, 126–38.

[55] For the critique on gyrovagues and their treatment in the two sixth-century monastic rules, see Dietz, *Wandering Monks*, 36–37, 69–70 and 88–105.

[56] Ibid., 39–42, 69–70; Aist, *Jerusalem Bound*, 62–63.

compilation. As I would like to argue, the *Itinerarium* is characterised by a nest of affordances, which cannot be seen apart from the monastic context of study and contemplation in which the book was mostly likely functioning. The affordances fit the wider tendency that texts could foster imaginary and spiritual travel experiences in readers. First of all, the content of the *Itinerarium* suggests that we have to do with something else than a list of noteworthy monuments interesting to a pilgrim, similar to the descriptive overviews we find in the late antique and early medieval itineraries (e.g., the *Notitia Ecclesiarum* and the *De locis sanctis Martyrum*). The older but often-overlooked study of the nineteenth-century Italian archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani provides an important key to understand the content of the *Itinerarium*. Lanciani compares the routes in the *Itinerarium* with descriptions of stational processions on feast days in the Roman liturgical calendar, as recorded in the *Liber Politicus*, written around 1140 by Benedict the Canon.[57] As Lanciani demonstrates, various routes in the *Itinerarium* follow the track of stational processions in the *Liber Politicus*.

For instance, route 12 in the *Itinerarium* corresponds—albeit in opposite direction—with Benedict's description of the stational procession on Christmas morning (*in vigilia nativitatis Domini*, 14), which led from the Sant'Anastasia, where a mass was traditionally held at dawn,[58] to the St. Peter's. The route in the *Itinerarium* is as follows (important monuments are numbered). Starting from the (1) Porta S. Petri near the pons Aelius (the present Pont'Angelo) it then takes off to the (2) San Lorenzo and Theatre of Pompey, passing by the site of the present Santo Stefano in Piscinula at the Via dei Bianchi Vecchi.[59] Subsequently, it continues via a portico to the (3) Sant'Angelo and the temple of Jupiter (i.e., the remnants of the ancient temple of Jupiter Stator), both in the (4) theatre of Marcellus (simply called *theatrum* in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*). The route then passes through a (5) *porticum* and arrives at the 'elephant,' most likely a statue near the vegetable market (Forum Holitorium). It then continues to the (6) Santa Maria in Cosmedin (*ecclesia Graecorum* in the *Itinerarium*) at the same forum, followed by various churches in the immediate vicinity. It stops at the (7) Sant'Anastasia, located close to the Santa Maria in Cosmedin. The procession in Benedict's description takes the opposite direction. The description runs as follows (with numbers indicating the corresponding topographical references in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*):

> In the morning [of Christmas] [the pope] says mass at Sant'Anastasia (7); when it is done, he goes down in procession by the street alongside the (6) Porticus Gallatorum[60] before the (4) Temple of the Sibyl, and between the Temple of Cicero[61] and the (5)

[57] For a discussion of Benedict's *Liber Politicus* and its focus on the papal liturgy, see Verbaal, "Making the Stones Speak," 221–32.

[58] Lanciani, "L'Itinerario," 88–90; Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 235–52 further analyses the similarities between route 12 and the *Liber Politicus*. For an edition and commentary of route 12 of the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, see Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 205–11.

[59] See Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 239 and 248.

[60] The Porticus Gallatorum was located between the Forum Holitorium and the Forum Boarium; Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 246.

[61] These temples were both located in the theatre of Marcellus, known now as the temples of Spes and Janus; Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 246.

> Porticus Crinorum;[62] and continuing between the (3) Basilica of Jupiter and the Circus Flamineus, thence he goes next to the Porticus Severianus,[63] passing in front of the Templum Craticulae[64] and in front of the Insula Militena of the Standard-Bearers. And so on the left hand he descends to the main via Arenula, passing by the Theatre of Antoninus and by the (2) Palace of Chromatius, where the Olovitreum[65] was, and under the (1) arch of the emperors Gratian, Theodosius, and Valentinian; and entering [the Vatican] by the Bridge of Hadrian in front of his temple.[66]

Most of the topographical references in Benedict's description are medieval, different from the ancient names used in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*. Nevertheless, the routes outlined in both sources are more or less the same.[67] Starting from the Sant'Anastasia, it leads along various monuments in the area of the Theatre of Marcellus to the Theatre of Pompey and the San Lorenzo in Damaso, ending at the pons Aelius, which was the entrance to the Vatican. Similarly, as Lanciani indicates, Benedict's description of the processions on the day of the purification of the virgin on February 2 (from the Sant'Adriano at the Roman Forum to the Santa Maria Maggiore) resembles the track in the second half of route 1 and the part of route 7 in the *Itinerarium*: from the Sant'Adriano to the Santa Lucia in Orthea, in the direction of the Santa Maria Maggiore.[68]

Perhaps also route 4 in the *Itinerarium* (fig. 1) may reflect the track of a stational procession, namely that on the day of the Great Litany or the Major Rogation (April 25).[69] The observance of the Great Litany was originally instituted by Pope Gregory the Great as a rite of penance. In his letter of institution Gregory defines the San Lorenzo in Lucina as the starting point and the St. Peter's basilica as the destination of the route.[70] As Joseph Dyer indicates, the more precise route of the

62 This porticus was located at the Forum Holitorium; Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 246–47.

63 The basilica is the temple of Jupiter Stator in the Theatre of Marcellus (not mentioned in the *Ordo*), which is located next to the Circus Flaminius and opposite the Porticus Octaviae (here called the Porticus Severianus); Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 247.

64 The Templum Craticulae is probably the medieval name of a structure on the site of the present San Salvatore in Caccabariis on the Via di Santa Maria del Pianto, to the south-east of the Porticus Octaviae; Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 247.

65 The Palace of Chromatius and Olovitreum were located at the site of the present S. Stefano in Piscinula, between the pons Aelius and the S. Lorenzo and Theatre of Pompey; Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 248–49.

66 Ed. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, 125–6 (§16), translation borrowed from Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 245.

67 Kinney, "Fact and Fiction," 245.

68 Lanciani, "L'Itinerario," 96. See Route 1, l. 7–12 and route 7, l. 9–12 in the edition of Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 162 and 182. Benedict's description can be found in *Liber Politicus* 29, Mabillon, ed., *Museum Italicum*, 131–32; and Jordan, *Topographie*, 664. Also the description of the second half of the procession on Easter Monday (*secunda feria*, §50), from the St. Peter's to the St. John of Lateran in the *Liber Politicus* corresponds to parts of the beginning of routes 1 and 8 in the *Itinerarium*, both following the track of the Via Papalis: departing from the pons Aelius in the direction of the Roman Forum and (in the case of route 8) ending at the Lateran. However, the precise tracks of the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* and the *Liber Politicus* differ, probably as a result of infrastructural changes throughout time, see Lanciani, "L'Itinerario," 108. See Route 1, l. 1–8 and route 8, l. 1–19 in the edition of Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 162 and 189; Benedict's description can be found in *Liber Politicus* 51, Mabillon, ed., *Museum Italicum*, 143–44 (§51) and Jordan, *Topographie*, 665–66.

69 Route 4 is edited in Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 175.

70 Gregory the Great, *Register of Epistles* 2.2, quoted in Andrieu, *Les* Ordines, 239–40, n. 5 and Dyer, "Roman Processions," 114.

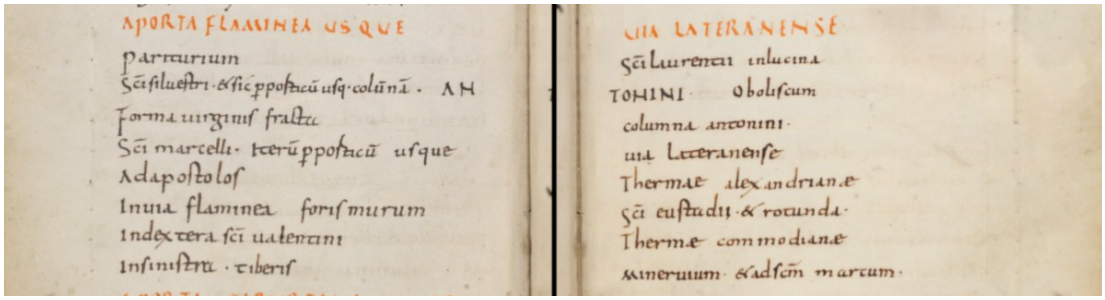

Figure 1: Route 4 in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, fols. 80v–81r.

procession can be derived from the Gregorian Sacramentary, which is considered as a representation from the first three decades of the seventh century of the Roman liturgy.[71] Later manuscripts of the sacramentary from the eleventh–thirteenth centuries provide topographical indications of the places where prayers and chants took place: the San Lorenzo in Lucina, the San Valentino at the Milvian Bridge (*Pons olibi* in the sources), a certain "cross" that was most likely located near the Villa Madama, and the atrium of the St. Peter's.[72] From the San Lorenzo, the procession probably went via the Via Lata to the Porta Flaminia and then towards San Valentino. This reflected the route of the ancient Robigalia.[73] As can be derived from table 1, route 4 in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* starts in the area of the San Lorenzo in Lucina and the column of Antoninus Pius (located next to the column of Marcus Aurelius on the present Piazza Colonna in Antiquity and the Middle Ages).[74] It then turns to the San Marcello on the Via Lata back to the Santi Apostoli, before leading to the area around the Pantheon ("Rotunda" in the Middle Ages) in the direction of the Porta Flaminia and the Via Flaminia. It ends at the San Valentino, located at the Tiber near the Milvian Bridge.[75] Here the route in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* breaks off, thus only representing the first half of the processional route of the Great Litany.

Although it remains unclear to what extent all routes in the *Itinerarium* correspond with a stational procession, the similarities that can be observed suggest that the *Itinerarium* is more than merely a collection of walking routes leading a pilgrim around important places and deaconries of Rome. Some routes in the *Itinerarium*—and perhaps by extension perhaps all of them—may be understood as the schematic representation of processional routes. Although the *Itinerarium* and *Liber Politicus* are centuries apart, the locations and directions of at least some

71 Dyer, "Roman Processions," 114–19.

72 See Wilson, *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, 70–71; and Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, 64–65 for the Latin text of the prayers at the various stations. As Dyer notes ("Roman Processions," 119), the procession is also described in the eight-century Frankish *Ordo Romanus* 21, edited (including commentary) in Andrieu, *Les* Ordines, 237–49. This text does not provide specific details about the locations of stations or directions of the route.

73 Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, 304–305; Andrieu, *Les* Ordines, 239; and Dyer, "Roman Processions," 115–19.

74 Walser, *Die Einsiedler Inschriftensammlung*, 171.

75 *Ordo Romanus* 23, edited (including commentary) in Andrieu, *Les* Ordines, 239–49. For further discussion of the text, see Dyer, "Roman Processions," 119. In this description, the route continues from the San Valentino in the direction of the St. Peter's in the Vatican.

Left column	**Middle column**	**Right column**	**Locations of the Great Litany (following the Robigalia and Gregorian Sacramentary)**
Pariturium		San Lorenzo in Lucina	San Lorenzo in Lucina
Monastery of San Silvestro in Capite and then to the Porticus [Vipsiana]	Until the column of Antoninus Pius	Obelisk [i.e., sun dial of Augustus]	
Remnant of the Virgo-aqueduct		[Again] the column of Antoninus Pius	
San Marcello. Again through the Porticus [Saeptorum Iuliorum] until ...		... the Via Lata	Via Lata
Santi Apostoli		The Baths of Alexander Severus Sant'Eustachio and the Rotunda [Pantheon] The baths of Agrippa Santa Maria sopra Minerva	
On the Via Flaminia, outside the walls			Porta Flaminia and Via Flaminia
To the right the San Valentino[76]			
To the left the Tiber			Milvian Bridge

Table 1: Route 4 in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*. Columns 1–3 represent the three-column structure of the text in the manuscript and provide a translation of the Latin text in three columns; column 4 gives the most important stations of the procession at the day of the Great Litany.

of the processional routes seem to have remained unchanged.[77] Some of the locations were the place of masses during processions; others should likely be understood as landmarks on the route. The ancient buildings mentioned in the itineraries—remnants of aqueducts, arches, the Roman Forum etc.—may be linked to the interest in antiquities that was typical of the Carolingian *renovatio*, according to which the Carolingian empire was seen as the renovation of the ancient Roman empire, and the literature, art and culture of the ancient Romans as the models of imitation and emulation for Carolingians.[78] Listing the various

[76] As the position of this legend demonstrates, sometimes the locations of monuments are inaccurate, or monuments are represented in the wrong column in the manuscript.

[77] It seems that routes and stations remained quite stable throughout the centuries in the early Middle Ages; see Willis, "Roman Stational Liturgy," 33–40.

[78] For the Carolingian idea of *renovatio*, see Garrison, "The Emergence," 129–31; and Bullough, "Roman Books." Bauer, "Die Stadt Rome," 110 also comments on the Carolingian interest in antiquities as an explanation of the occurrence of ancient monuments in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*. Something similar seems to pertain to the *Liber Politicus*: according to Wim Verbaal ("Resurrecting Rome"), the occurrence

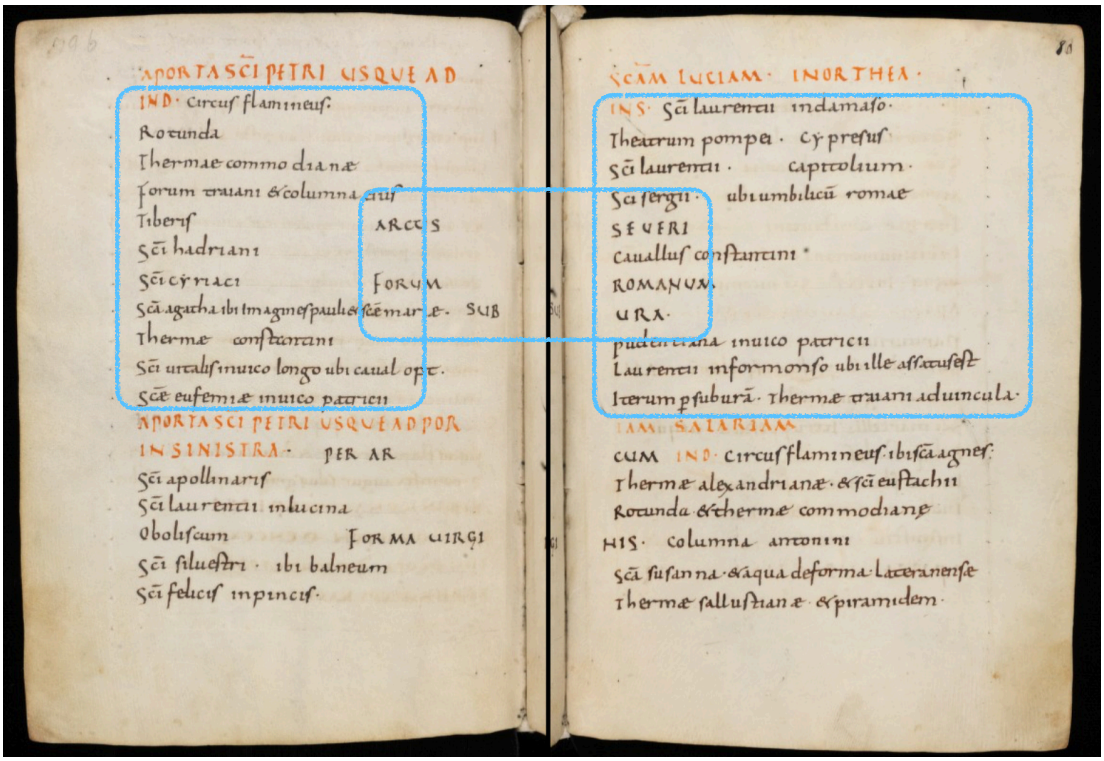

Figure 2: Routes 1 and 2 in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, fols. 79v–80r, with the three columns marked in blue.

places, the *Itinerarium* provides the reader with a schematic overview or "geschriebene Rom-plan" ("written map of Rome"), as Bauer calls it, charting the most important sites on the route of some stational processions on feast days in the Roman liturgical calendar.[79]

Thus, the *Itinerarium* fits the wider interest of monks in the Carolingian world. As Arthur Westwell demonstrates on the basis of a study of manuscripts, Carolingian monks and scholars had a lively interest in the Roman rite or *Ordo Romanus*.[80] They were the active compilers, producers, and collectors of descriptions of the Roman liturgical forms and rituals, in texts which were also called 'Ordines Romani'. Some of these texts contain extensive descriptions of the rituals and directions of stational processions, thus forming the more elaborate, descriptive counterpart of the schematic overviews provided in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*. The *Ordo Romanus* text in the Einsiedeln collection is an example of such an elaborate description of Roman rites from the Carolingian era.[81] *Ordines Romani* were collected in larger manuscripts, which often included texts of different origins and in different hands, and sometimes also other texts relevant to the

of ancient monuments there should be explained as an indication of the pope's interest in the renewal of ancient Rome.

79 Bauer, "Das Bild," 225–26. See also Bauer, "Die Stadt Rom," 107–9.

80 Westwell, *The Dissemination*; and Westwell, "The *Ordines Romani*."

81 According to Andrieu (*Les* Ordines, 266), the text should be dated to the eighth century (perhaps the first half), noting that it does not refer to some common rites in later versions of the Roman rite, Ibid., 266.

liturgy, such as *laudes* (hymns for liturgical feast days) and sacramentaries.[82] The Carolingian monks and scholars used these texts as the model for their own liturgies, mirroring the wider tendency in the Carolingian world to imitate the Roman example in the own cultural forms.[83] If the *Itinerarium* can indeed be seen as a schematic *Ordo Romanus*, it was most likely not meant to be taken on a real journey to Rome, but to be read within the walls of the monastery by monks interested in the Roman liturgy.

The peculiar *mise-en-page* of the *Itinerarium* puts into further relief the text's aims and affordances. As can be seen on fig. 2, the text is written down in a highly remarkable manner, involving two writing systems that operate at the same time. They can be defined as ergodic, requiring from the reader a "non-trivial effort" when traversing the text. To be sure, the itineraries can be read in the traditional horizontal manner, from left to right, starting in the top left (the beginning of the route) and ending in the lower right (the final destination of the route). At the same time, however, a vertical system of writing applies, which asks for a different direction of reading. The descriptions of the walking routes do not consist of running sentences, but of separate terms denoting the monuments (which could also be called 'legends'). The legends are listed in three columns that take the full width of the bifolio: one on the left, one across the middle of the two pages, and one on the right. The columns correspond to the location of the monuments in relation to a person when walking through Rome and taking part in the procession. The monuments in the columns to the left and right are on the person's left and right when going through the city.[84] The monuments in the middle of the two pages correspond with the objects that the person must cross or pass through: squares such as the Roman Forum and triumphal arches such as the Arch of Septimius Severus. Sometimes indications such as "in sinistra" (*INS*) or "in dextra" (*IND*) are added to highlight the location of the monuments. The *mise-en-page* is unique to the *Itinerarium*; the preceding and subsequent texts (respectively the *Sylloge* and *Wall Description*) are written in the traditional manner, from left to right in one column on a single folio.[85]

The *mise-en-page* of the *Itinerarium* offers the reader a way to engage with the text in different ways. First of all, the reader gets an overview of the monuments that are encountered on the route, by reading the itineraries from beginning to end and following the horizontal direction of reading suggested by the manuscript. This type of reading invites the reader to approach the text *as a text*, which is *read* by deciphering the words and following the suggested reading from beginning to end. At the same time, the subdivision of the text in columns also invites the reader to take a step back, as it were, and to look at the text *as an image*. The

82 Westwell, *The Dissemination* provides the most elaborate and important discussion of the manuscript context of *Ordines Romani* in the Carolingian time, including many overviews of the content of specific manuscripts.

83 See Westwell, "The *Ordines Romani*."

84 This was noted already by Hänel, "Der Regionar," 116–17.

85 This is clearest on fol. 85r, where the *Wall Description* begins at the bottom of the page; the corresponding space on fol. 84v is left blank.

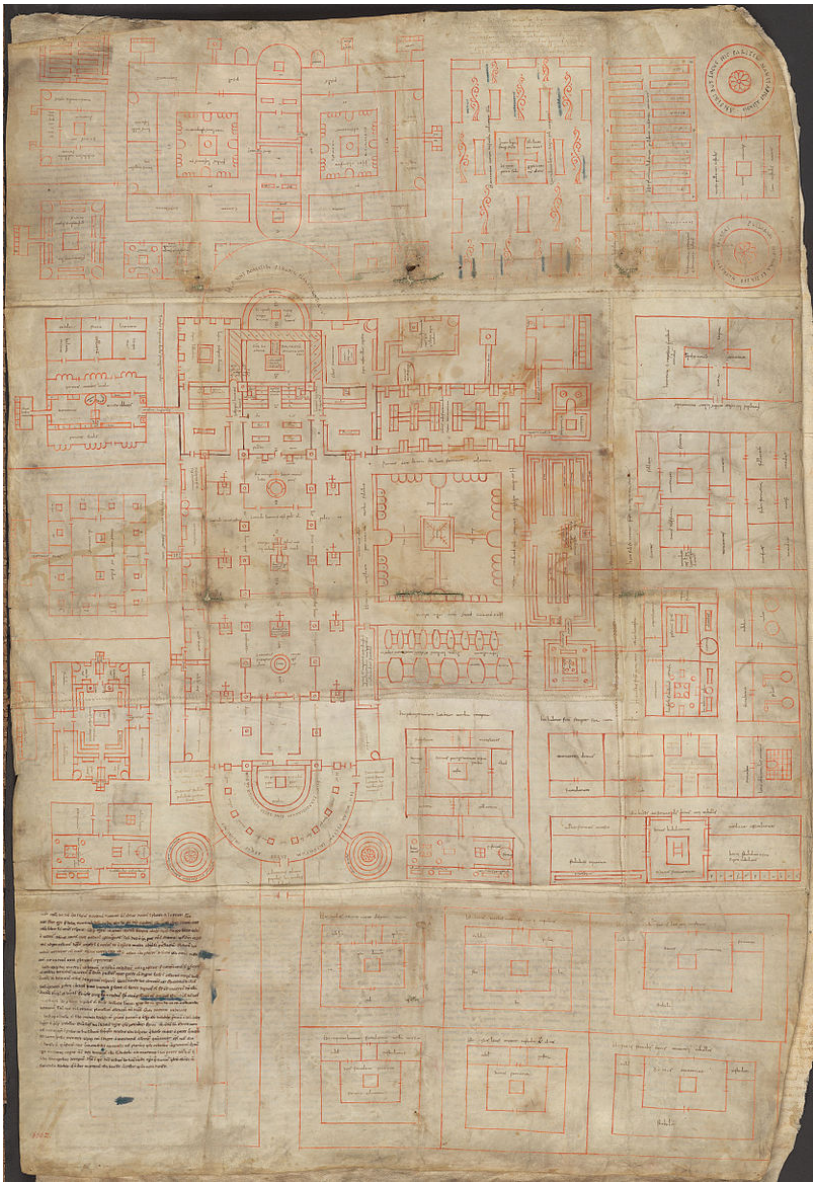

Figure 3: *Plan of St. Gall*, early ninth century. Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex Sang. 1092.

image is two-dimensional, consisting of rectangular blocks that extend in length and width on the flat sheet and can be viewed straight from above, without reading the text. Seen from the elevated standpoint, the text-as-diagram allows the user to get an overview and see at a glance where the various monuments are to be found in the real space.

The three-column *mise-en-page* of the text has also a second affordance, inviting the reader to make an image of the route in the three-dimensional space of the city and to 'walk,' as it were, the described route while reading. Consequently, reading becomes a form of imaginative travelling. As Bauer notes,

> [das *Itinerarium*] sollte dem Leser fern von Rom dienen, sollte ein Bild der Stadt Rom entwerfen, das gerade dem Romunkundigen eine Vorstellung von der Größe der Stadt,

> der Monumentenfülle, der dortigen antiken Bauten und christlichen Heiligtümer vermitteln konnte.[87]

The compiler did not want to provide a *vademecum*, but aimed at "der Vergegenwärtigung der Gesamtheit der Stadt Rome" ("the representation of the city of Rome in its entirety").[88]

4 The *Itinerarium* in context: other Carolingian examples of ergodic reading

The *Itinerarium* is not the only example of a Carolingian writing affording an ergodic reading experience. This is demonstrated by two works of art from roughly the same area and time. The first example is the *Plan of St. Gall*, commissioned by Heito abbot of Reichenau (806–823 AD) as a gift for abbot Gozbert of St. Gall (816–837 AD). It represents a monastery including standard elements such as the church, lodges and service spaces for monks and guests, the library, the abbot's house, the hospital, workshops and gardens (fig. 3). There has been much debate about the question what is represented, especially since the appearance of Walter Horn's and Ernest Born's seminal multi-volume study of the plan. Horn and Born interpret the *Plan of St. Gall* as a paradigmatic prototype for real monasteries—an interpretation which raised much objection by scholars, who suggested a more symbolic representation of the ideal monastery and monastic life.[89] The second example is the diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre (fig. 4), which comes from an illustrated version of *De locis sanctis*, a seventh-century description of the Holy Land by the Irish monk Adomnán from Iona. Several illustrated copies have been preserved from the Carolingian era, among others the one now kept in Zürich (Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 73), which was produced in Reichenau.[90] Since both

87 Bauer, "Das Bild," 225: "[The *Itinerarium*] should serve the reader far from Rome, should develop an image of the city of Rome, which could provide those who did not know the city an idea of its size, its pile of monuments, and the ancient and Christian sanctuaries there" (my translation).

88 Bauer, "Das Bild," 226.

89 For the plan as protoype, see Horn and Born, *The Plan of St. Gall* 1, 20–34; the idea was criticized by Sanderson, "The Plan of St. Gall Reconsidered"; Nees, "The Plan of St. Gall," and various other scholars. See Sullivan, "What was Carolingian Monasticism," 266–67 for an overview of the debate and bibliography. On 261–69 and 282–98, Sullivan sees the *Plan of St. Gall* as a more general source of inspiration for builders in the construction of monasteries, while also arguing that it is a more abstract articulation of the relationship between the sacred and profane in Carolingian monastic thinking. It has also been argued that the plan served was the representation of an 'ideal' monastery, meant for reflection on the meaning and order of monastic life; see Braunfels, *Abendländische Klosterbaukunst*, 52–65; Carruthers, *The Craft*, 228–31; and Collins, *The Carolingian Debt*, 70–81.

90 The manuscript is accessible online via UCLA Digital Collections, "Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 73," accessed on May 12, 2022, https://digital.library.ucla.edu/catalog/ark:/21198/zz0028rnww. For an analysis of this diagram and other images of Constantinian basilicas in the Holy Land in the manuscript, see Gorman, "Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*." For a discussion of the function of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* and its diagrams in the monastic context of Iona, see O'Loughlin, *Adomnán*, "Adomnán's Plans," "The View from Iona," "Perceiving Palestine"; and Blair Moore, "Adomnán's *On the Holy Places*." O'Loughlin, *Adomnán*, on 251–52, provides a list of manuscripts of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*.

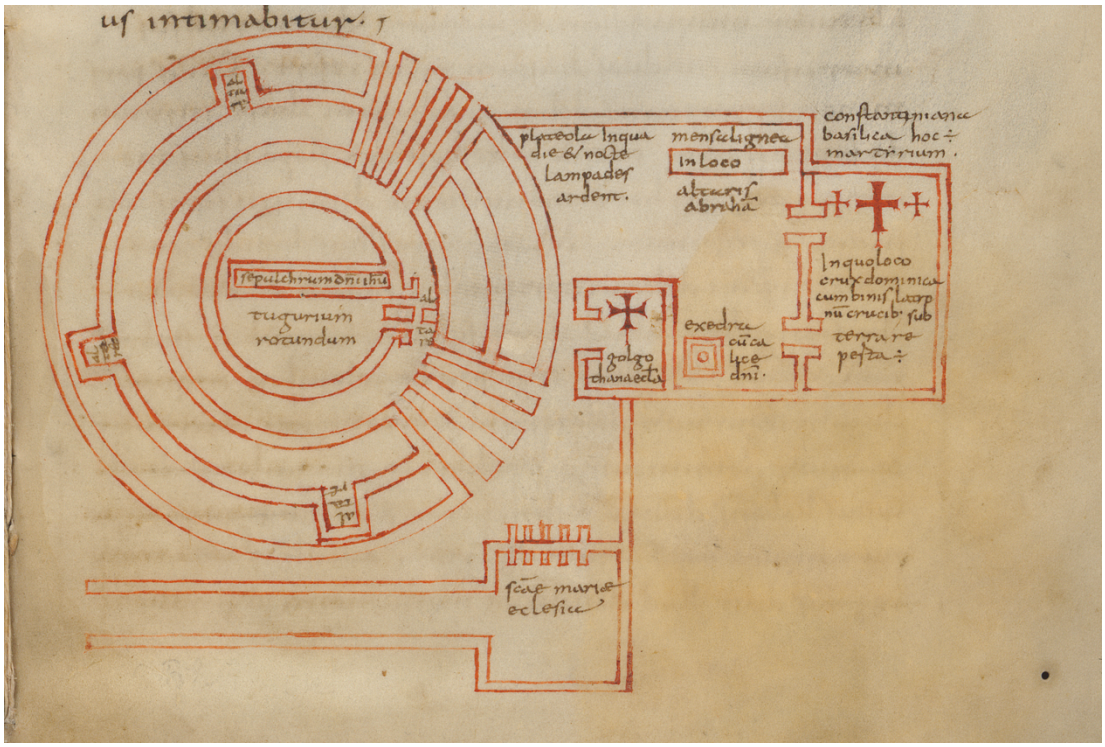

Figure 4: Diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. From Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 73, fol. 5r.

sources originate from similar times and contexts as the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, they are interested sources of comparison to better understand the affordances of the latter's content and script. Obviously, the two examples differ from the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* in medium, being mostly pictural representations—even if they also contain textual elements, namely the inscriptions or 'legends' denoting the nature or function of the various represented spaces. Nevertheless, despite the generic differences, they convey some interesting similarities with the *Itinerarium* in terms of representation and approach.

First of all, the *Plan of St. Gall* and the image of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre resemble the *Itinerarium* in simultaneously providing an overview and allowing the spectator to go on an imaginative journey. They can be defined as diagrams: two-dimensional, schematic drawings of spaces represented straight from above, in a 'kataskopic' perspective.[91] Viewed from this elevated standpoint, the diagrams allow the spectator to see the various constituents of the monastery and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at a glance and to visualise the represented spaces. At the same time, the spectator is invited to leave the elevated position and to 'enter' the image, as it were, becoming not just a *reader* but also a *viewer*.

[91] The term *kataskopos* was used to denote the heavenly journey and the accompanying view from above in ancient theory and philosophy. It could denote real views and metaphorical views, resulting from an imaginary, spiritual flight of the soul. See Hadot, *Philosophy*, 238–50; von Koppenfels, *Der andere Blick*, 31–50; and De Jong, "The View," and "From Oroskopia." Sanderson, "The Plan of St. Gall Reconsidered," 323–24 suggests that there are conceptual similarities in the way space is depicted in the *Plan of St. Gall* and the diagrams in Carolingian illuminated manuscripts of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*.

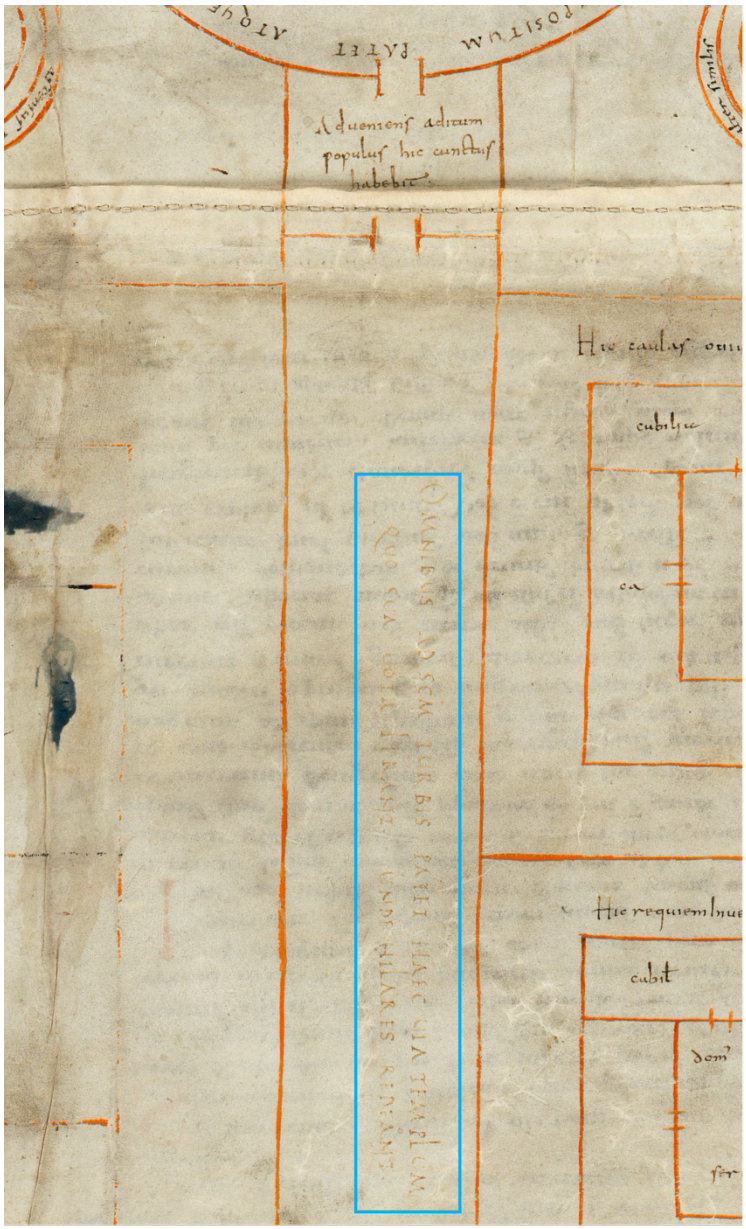

Figure 5: Detail of the *Plan of St. Gall*, showing the entrance road to the Church (on the left), with the inscription (marked in blue): "Omnibus ad sanctum turbis patet haec via templum / quo sua vota ferant unde hilaris redeant."

A critical role is played by the legends that help the user to navigate through the depicted space. They give an overview of what can be seen, but simultaneously lead the reader through the represented space, as a result of which reading becomes a form of travelling.

In the diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there are two entrances in the lower left corner, one leading to a space identified as the "Church of S. Mary" and the other to a space connected to the circular Dome of the Holy Sepulchre. The inscriptions lead around various sacred places and objects, from the upper left in clockwise direction: "a small place where lamps are burning day and night," the "wooden table where the altar of Abraham was located," the place

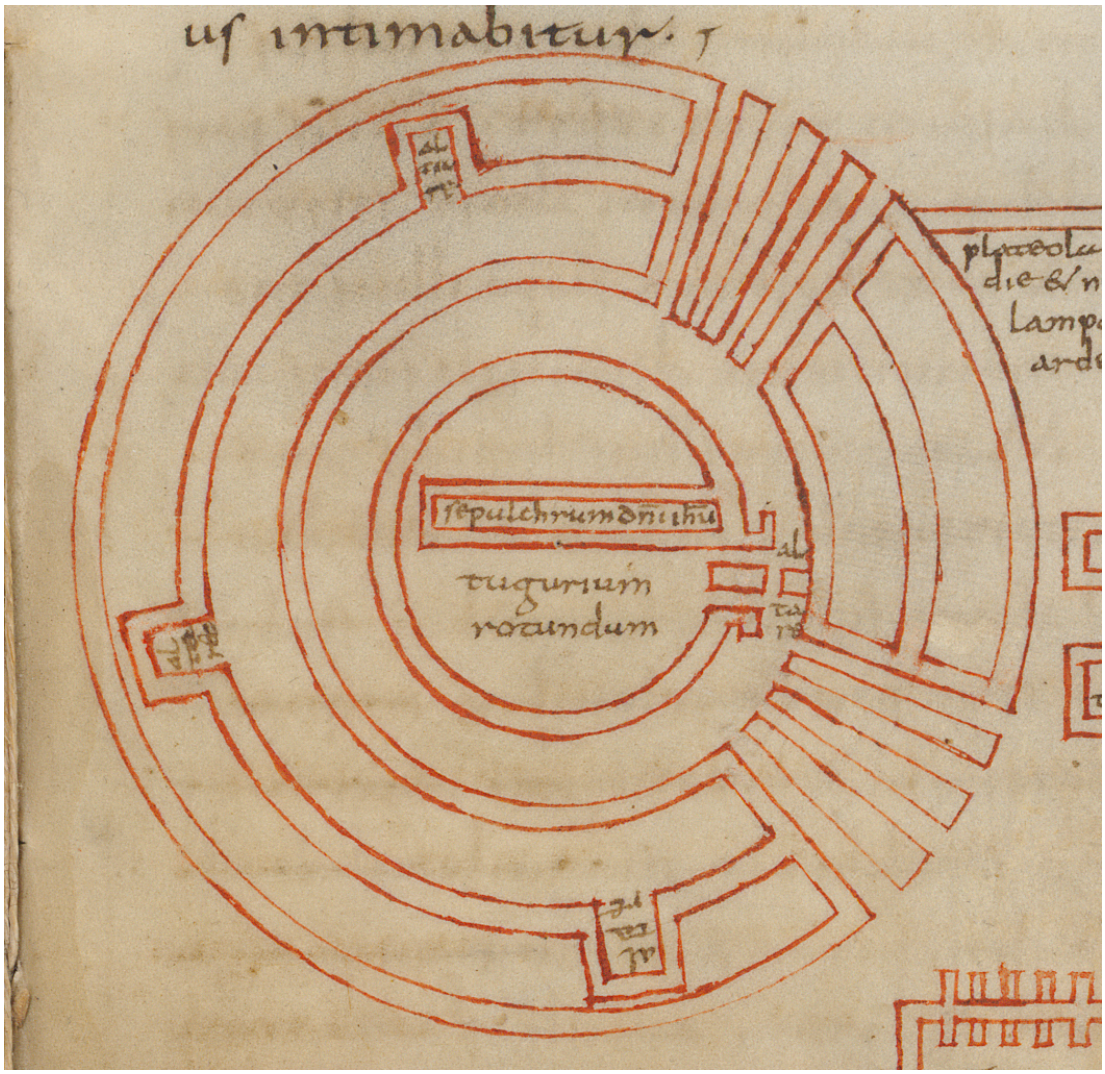

Figure 6: Detail of the diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, showing the inscriptions of the altars (*altare*) in the dome's perambulatory. Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Rh. 73, fol. 5r.

where "the Lord's cross was discovered in the ground, together with the crosses of the two criminals," and the "exedra with the cup of the Lord." The small square space opposite the dome is identified as Golgotha Church (*Golgotha ecclesia*). Inscriptions in the middle of the dome identifies it as the "round shelter" *(tugurium rotundum*) with the "sepulchre of the Lord Jesus" (*sepulchrum Domini Iesu*). In the perambulatory, various altars (*altare*) can be found. By reading the inscriptions, the reader is led through the intricate building complex of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the same time, the reader also gets an overview of the story of Jesus' passion: the last supper—symbolized by the cup of the Lord in the exedra—, the death on Golgotha, signified by the crosses, the burial and resurrection—both represented by the empty tomb. Thus, like what happens in the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, the inscriptions have the important function of guiding the reader's eye through the image and providing the overview.

The link between reading and travelling also applies to the *Plan of St. Gall*. Here, the reader's attention is immediately drawn by the metrical inscription on the road to the church in the lower left corner, longer than most other

inscriptions and written in a larger script. It reads "Omnibus ad sanctum turbis patet haec via templum / quo sua vota ferant unde hilaris redeant" ("The way to the holy church is open to all; to which they may offer their prayers and return in joy," my translation) (fig. 5). The inscription implicitly links the acts of reading and going, suggesting that by reading the inscriptions, the reader moves through the represented space. It offers the reader two directions: either to enter the church and from there explore the other parts of the plan, following the route suggested by the other inscriptions through corridors and doorways, or to pray and "return in joy."

The inscriptions in both sources can be defined as ergodic, being written in all sorts of ways: linear, curved and interrupted. This requires from the reader a non-trivial way of reading. Sometimes the reading direction takes on a symbolic meaning, in the sense that it expresses the movement that the walker is supposed to make in the depicted space. For example, the legends denoting the altars (*altare*) in the dome of the Holy Sepulchre are written in such a way that the reader has to turn his or her head to read them (fig. 6); by reading, therefore, one makes a circular movement that corresponds to the movement that must be made if one wants to visit the altars in physical space. A similar example is the inscription in the abbot's house in the *Plan of St. Gall* (fig. 7), where the passage between the bedroom (*dormitorium*) and the abbot's sitting room (*mansio abbatis*) is marked with the legend "entrance" (*ingressus*), which very figuratively follows the movement someone makes to get from one room to another. Likewise, the inscription in the left belltower, "ascensus per c<l>ocleam ad universa super inspicienda" ("ascent through the round tower, to see the universe from above," fig. 8), follows

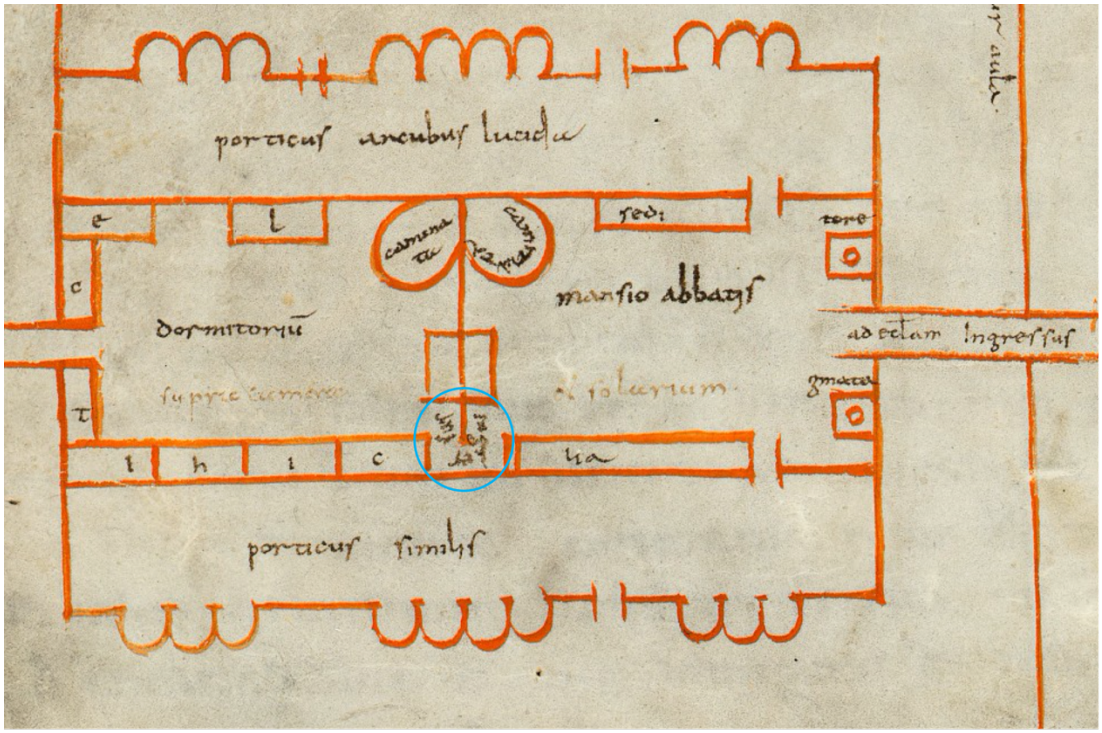

Figure 7: Detail of the *Plan of St. Gall*, showing the Abbot's House and the inscription *ingressus* (marked in blue) in the doorway between the *dormitorium* and *mansio abbatis*.

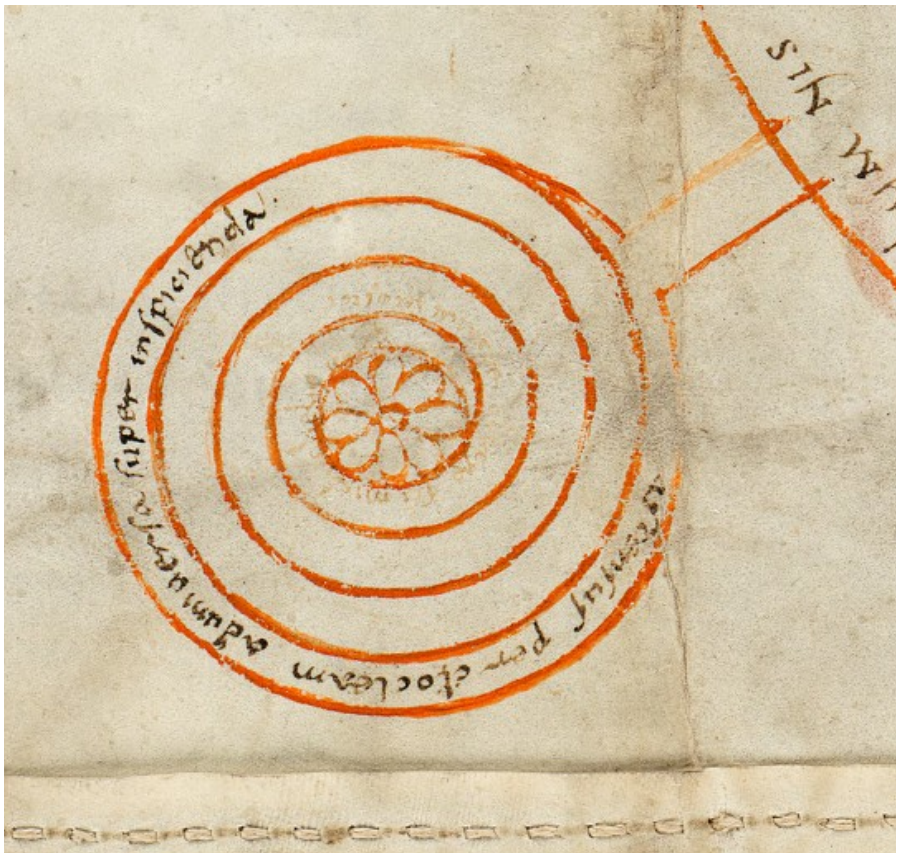

Figure 8: Detail of the *Plan of St. Gall*, showing the left bell tower. Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, codex Sang. 1092.

the course of the spiral staircase (also called *coclea* in Latin), allowing the reader to make the movement when climbing the tower.

The *Plan of St. Gall* and the diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre thus resemble the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* in having a double affordance, on the one hand allowing the user to take a step back, as it were, and to view things from above, getting an overview of the represented world—be it the city of Rome, the monastery, or the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. At the same time, they offer the user an imaginative travel experience through reading. The legends play a crucial role in this, guiding the reader through the represented space and having a symbolic meaning that support the imaginative travel experience, giving a sense of the location of the monuments in the case of the *Itinerarium*, or, in the two pictural diagrams, expressing the movement a traveller would make in the real world.

As I said already, theorists argue that affordances may bring forth other affordances and connect to one another in a hierarchal relation, forming a 'nest' of affordances. This also applies to the sources discussed here. In her book *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Mary Carruthers argues that images such as the *Plan of St. Gall* had a mnemotechnic function within medieval monastic meditation.[92] As Carruthers indicates, monastic meditation was inextricably linked to memory (*memoria*), involving the training

[92] Carruthers, *The Craft*, 228–31.

of monks to collect and store thoughts in an orderly way, so as to be able to return to them at a later time and use them to produce new thoughts about God and the world. Focusing on a range of examples, among others the *Plan of St. Gall*, Carruthers demonstrates that images (*picturae*) played a crucial role in monastic meditation, providing a structure in which to store previous knowledge and thus serving as a means to arrive at new thoughts. According to Carruthers, the *Plan of St. Gall* invited the monk to reflect on the main components of the monastery and the form of monastic life, including dichotomies such as the outside and inside, and sacred and profane.[93] The *Itinerarium Einsidlense* and the diagram of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre may have had a similar mnemotechnic affordance, encouraging meditation and reflection on religious topics such as respectively Rome and Roman liturgical rites, or the form of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the story of Jesus' death and resurrection remembered there.[94] They also stimulated armchair pilgrimage, allowing someone to visit places far abroad while reading.[95] The double affordance of the works—providing an overview from above and an imaginative travel experience from within—may have supported such a function. As Carruthers suggests with the example of the *Plan of St. Gall*, they work together in the monastic meditation: the kataskopic view from above or "aerial view" as she calls it, allows the viewer to also see the paths outlined in the image, leading along the separate constituents which together form the world of the monastery. Hence, the aerial view showed "a chart for a 'way' of meditation."[96]

If meditation is also a means to develop new ideas and thoughts, as Carruthers suggests, it is not unlikely that sources such as the *Itinerarium Einsidlense* or the two diagrams also inspired further affordances in the real world. Even if scholars now agree that the *Plan of St. Gall* was not meant as a model for a real monastery (instead of providing an image of an ideal one), one cannot be sure that it was never used as a source of inspiration for the design of monastic ground plans—it definitely had the potential for such an affordance.[97] Moreover, following Westwell's claim that the Carolingian interest in the descriptions of the *Ordo Romanus* might have been motivated and simultaneously inspired by the desire to re-enact Roman rite (or at least, what Carolingians thought that were Roman rites) in the Carolingian, local context, one could argue that the *Itinerarium Einsdidlense* may have served as model for new liturgical forms in the Carolingian world. As Kathryn Blair Moore argues, the diagrams of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the other Constantinian basilicas in the Holy Land in illustrated manuscripts of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* were likely used as architectural models for sanctuaries

93 Ibid.; Braunfels, *Abendländische Klosterbaukunst*, 52–65.

94 See O'Loughlin, *Adomnán*, 16–41 and 83–110 and "Adomnán's Plans," arguing that the diagrams in Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* should be understood in the monastic context: not so much as maps of realities in the physical world, but rather images that were employed by monks for exegetical aims, for instance, removing contradictions in textual descriptions of monuments in the Holy Land.

95 See Blair Moore, "Adomnán's *On the Holy Places*," 11–22.

96 Carruthers, *The Craft*, 79.

97 For overviews of the debate about the function of the *Plan of St. Gall*, see Carruthers, *The Craft*, 229, n. 12 and Collins, *The Debate*, 70–71.

in Europe, facilitating the transfer of the architectural form from Jerusalem to other places.[98]

As these examples suggest, texts and image—through the particular form they get on the parchment folio—have a range of affordances. They offer the audience the opportunity to get an overview of places elsewhere and simultaneously allowing them to experience the represented space from within and to go on an imaginative journey, visiting as it were the represented space while reading or viewing. This renders the works a meditational function. They may also have served as models for religious and architectural recreation by the user in the Carolingian realm. The 'nest' of affordances depends to a large extent on the peculiar, ergodic form of the written text on the parchment folio, suggesting a certain order of things (for instance, in the three-column presentation in the *Itinerarium*) or guiding the audiences' eyes when imaginatively navigating the represented space. In the next section, we focus again on the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, now also considering the wider material context in which the *Itinerarium* appears, namely, that of the parchment book or codex. As we will see, particularly the Rome-centred writings in the Einsiedeln compilation contain various elements encouraging or 'affording' an ergodic reading of the codex. The ergodic movement between the various elements in the codex in turn supports the affordances we have already outlined above.

5 The *Itinerarium Einsidlense* in the codex: ergodicity again

As Aarseth suggests, codices (with which he means both the medieval and the modern book) afford two types of reading: "homolinear reading (with the line) and heterolinear reading (tmesis)."[99] Aarseth here expands the notion of tmesis, which traditionally denotes the breaking down of a sentence into separate elements, between which additional components are added.[100] According to Aarseth, tmesis also occurs when larger units such as text fragments or entire texts are separated from one another by intermittent elements. Whereas the homolinear reading implies non-ergodic reading, the heterolinear reading or 'tmesis' can be defined as ergodic, requiring a non-trivial effort of the reader in traversing the text. To put it differently: one could read the book from the beginning to the end in a homolinear fashion. However, it is also possible to read elements in a different order or to go back and forth between different parts.

As indicated already, various elements can be detected in the Rome-centred writings of the Einsiedeln compilation that encourage or afford such an ergodic reading of the codex. In fact, the *Itinerarium* has links with all other Rome-centred writings. The fourth text is closely connected to the *Itinerarium* in terms of genre and content, being one of the many *Ordines Romani* texts produced in the Carolingian era, and providing a description of the stational processions held on the final three days of the Holy Week by the bishop of Rome and his retinue in

98 Blair Moore, "The Architecture."
99 Aarseth, *Cybertext*, 79.
100 See Lausberg, *Handbuch*, §718.

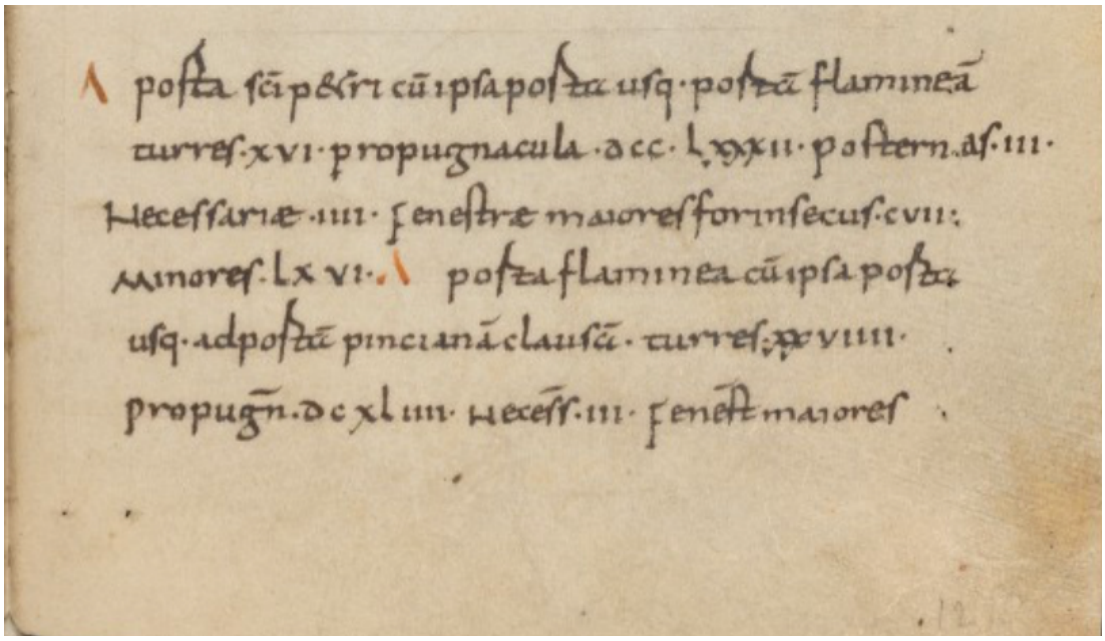

Figure 9: Detail of the *Wall Description*, in Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 326 (1076), fol. 85r.

and around the Lateran palace and the S. John of Lateran and the Jerusalem-church (the current S. Croce in Gerusalemme). As I suggested above, the text can be considered as the more descriptive counterpart of the rather schematic overview of stational processions in the *Itinerarium*. The two main churches in the *Ordo Romanus* also appear in the *Itinerarium*, which invites the reader to make cross connections between the texts on the basis of their shared content.

The two other Rome-centred writings not only contain overlapping elements on the level of content, but also certain cues in the written text that invite the reader to connect elements at different places within the codicological unit. An example is the *Wall Description*, which immediately follows on the *Itinerarium* and provides a list-like enumeration of the amounts of towers, battlements, windows, and latrines between the various main city gates of the Aurelian wall. Each new section is marked by the formula "A porta …" ("from the gate …"), which is then followed by the amounts of towers, battlements, windows and latrines on the track before the next important gate (fig. 9). The capital-A of "A porta" is usually written in red. Many of the gates occur also in the *Itinerarium*, often as the beginning or end point of the routes. In the *Itinerarium*, the start and end points are visually marked in rubrics in red capital uncial letters preceding each of the individual routes (see figs. 1 and 2). The visual cues in both texts—the rubrics, the recurring formula and the red, capitalised "A"—allow the reader to quickly recognise the marked elements. Moreover, they invite the reader to make an ergodic movement across the manuscript: to identify recurring elements in the *Itinerarium* and the *Wall Description* and to connect the dots, so as to come to a deeper understanding of the information provided about certain places in the two writings.

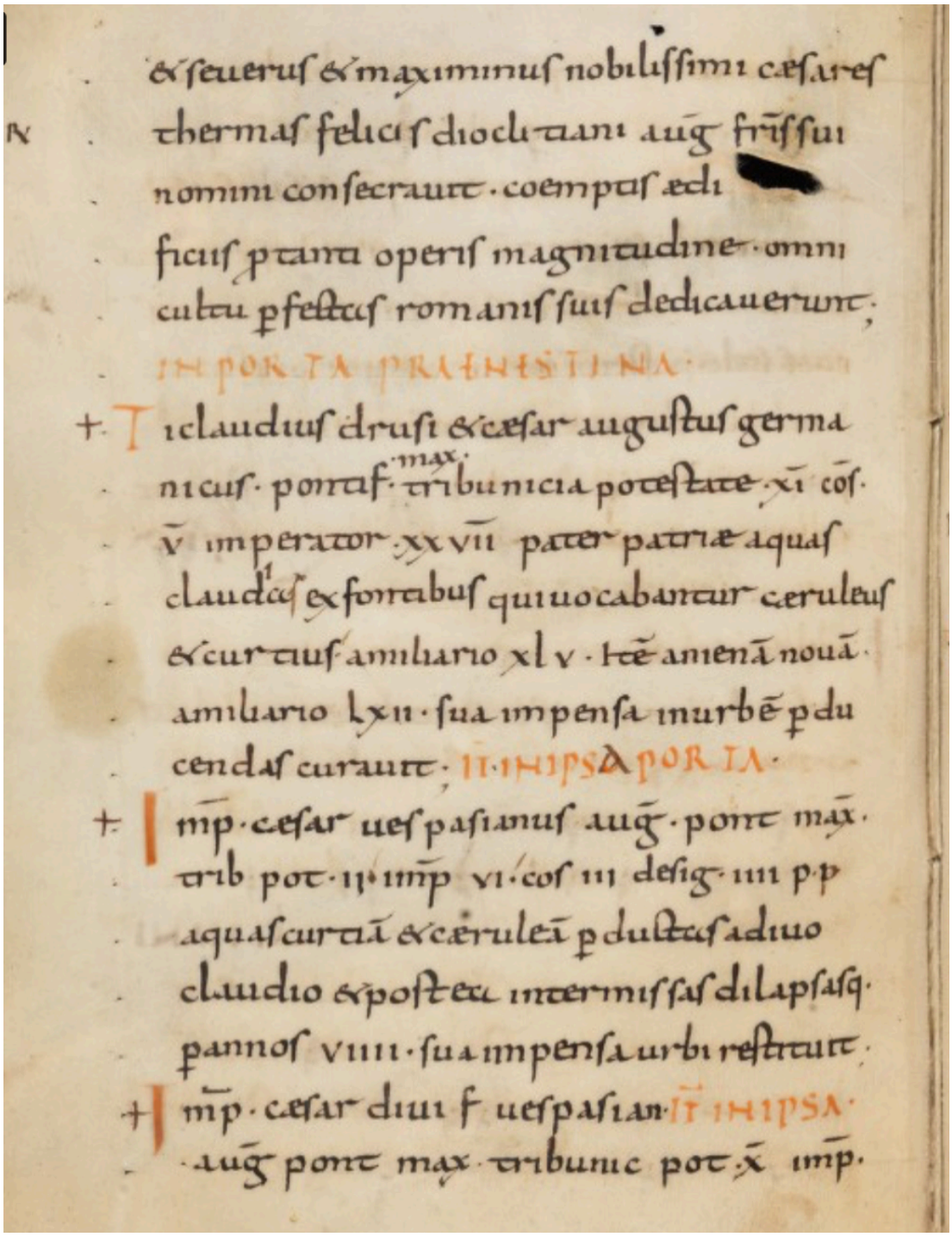

Figure 10: Detail of the *Sylloge Einsidlense*, showing inscriptions on the Porta Praenestina, with red rubrics denoting the location. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 326 (1076), fol. 69v.

Something similar pertains to places mentioned in the *Sylloge* of inscriptions. The inscriptions are usually preceded by rubrics in red capitals, denoting the location of the inscriptions in the real space. Various locations correspond with elements mentioned in the *Itinerarium*. An example is the Porta Praenestina, which is the end point of route 7 in the *Itinerarium* and the location of some inscriptions in the *Sylloge* (fig. 10). The rubrics have a double function, allowing the reader to

see at once where the epigrams are to be located in the real space, while simultaneously functioning as cross-references to the *Itinerarium*, in which many of the monuments and places occur as well.

The ergodic movement that is stimulated by the marked capital letters and rubrics contributes to the two affordances identified above. On the one hand, a reading of the texts together enhances the readers' understanding of the overview of processional routes in the *Itinerarium*, giving background information to places mentioned. On the other hand, the reading of the other Rome-centred writings offers other possible imaginative travel experiences. Significantly, all three writings describe movements through and around the city. The *Sylloge* offers a tour of the inscriptions found in the city and along Rome's main roads outside the walls. The *Wall Description* describes a tour along the Aurelian walls, starting from the Porta S. Petri and then turning in clockwise direction around the city. As I said already, the *Ordo Romanus* text in the codicological unit focuses on the stational processions held in and around two of Rome's main churches in the final three days of the Holy Week. Reading the texts, the reader 'far away' can get an idea of the different routes and processions that can be made in the city and meditate upon the question how they are interconnected. In this way, the writings offer the opportunity to develop an image of Rome, without going there physically.

6 Writing and the significance of material form: concluding remarks

In this article, I employed the notion of the ergodic to demonstrate and highlight the multiple affordances of writing on different levels, ranging from the form of individual words to compilation of writings in the larger unit of the manuscript. Words are invested with significance or symbolic meaning when written in different colours or in heterolinear ways of writing. Rubrics allow the reader to make cross connections and connect elements in different parts of the manuscript. Works (*erga*) offer the reader the opportunity to go on a journey (*hodos*) of the imaginative kind through the particular ergodic form of the text in manuscript, while simultaneously providing an overview of the represented space—be it Rome, the monastery, or a Church such as the one of the Holy Sepulchre. As such, they can be used as instruments of meditation by the monastic audience.

Evidently, the material form of a writing matters when one wants to get a deeper understanding of the various affordances of texts in particular contexts. In this article, I only focused on the affordances of works in their most original context of use, namely, the Carolingian monastery in which sources such as the *Itinerarium Einsidlense*, the *Plan of St. Gall* and the manuscript of Adomnán were most likely read and studied. Further research may elucidate other affordances of the sources in later times, thus opening up other new worlds that may not have been explored so far, but yield new insights in the affordances of script in the Latin tradition.

List of figures

29, 2023, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/1092/recto. License CC-BY-NC-4.0.

Figure 9. Detail from the *Wall Description*. Ninth or tenth century. Parchment, ca. 178 x 126 mm. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 326(1076), fol. 85r. Photograph from e-codices, "Codex 326(1076)," accessed May 12, 2022, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/doubleview/sbe/0326/85r/. License CC-BY-3.0.

Figure 10. Detail of the *Sylloge Einsidlense*, showing inscriptions on the Porta Praenestina, with red rubrics denoting the location. Ninth or tenth century. Parchment, ca. 178 x 126 mm. Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, cod. 326(1076), fol. 69v. Photograph from e-codices, "Codex 326(1076)," accessed May 12, 2022, https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/doubleview/sbe/0326/69v/. License CC-BY-3.0.

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