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Spatializing Meerssen : Monasteries in Jurassian Burgundy (6th-9th c.)¹

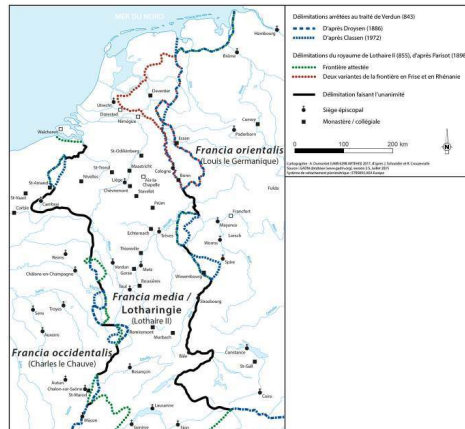
Jens Schneider

EDITOR'S NOTE

Cet article fait référence aux cartes 2, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11 et 12 du dossier cartographique. Ces cartes sont réinsérées dans le corps du texte et les liens vers le dossier cartographique sont donnés en documents annexes.

Introduction

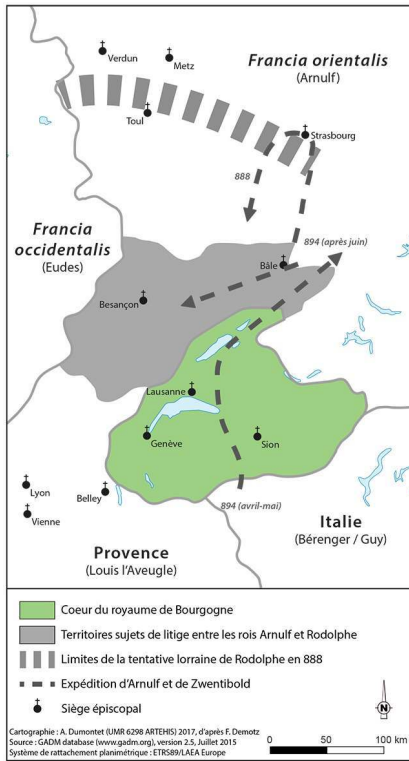
1 Jurassian Burgundy was part of the Middle kingdom of Lothar II (855-869), even if he only set foot in it on two occasions (cf. maps 5 and 12)². While Lothar's last visit to Besançon several months before his death is proved by a diploma, less is known of his first visit to Burgundy; his presence in Orbe is very probable in 856 or 863 and there are good reasons to suppose that he then sojourned in Besançon as well³. It is well known that the Treaty of Verdun marked the beginning of the existence of two Burgundies : the future duchy being part of the *regnum* of Charles the Bald, and the future county belonging to Lothar's (I) part (cf. map 9). We may note that there was also a third part of the former Burgundian kingdom, today in Switzerland, known as the *pagus transjuranus* or *ultraioranus*⁴.



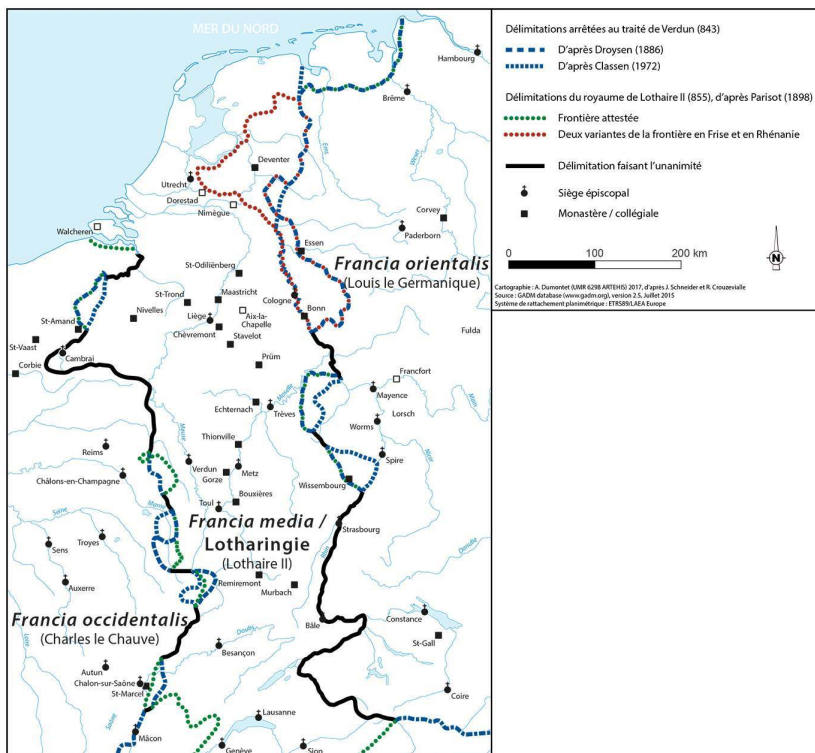
Map 5 – Alsace, Swabia and Burgundy during Rudolph the First's reign (9th century)



Map 12 – The Birth of the Burgundian kingdom (888–895)



Map 9 – Lotharingia of the Verdun treaty (843)

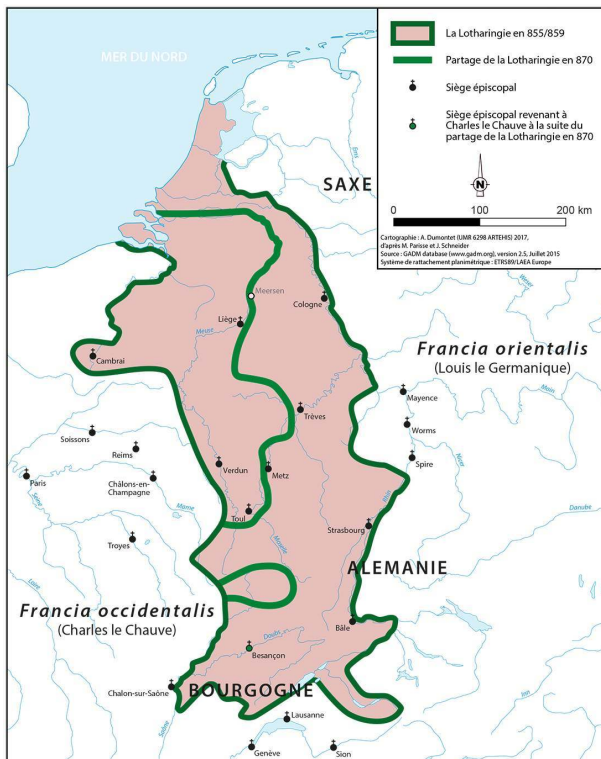


2 At the end of the ninth century the Eastern and Middle kingdoms, as well as Italy, found themselves formally associated under the emperor Arnulf. The region we might name

Jurassian Burgundy was theoretically ruled by the last Lotharingian king Zwentibold (895-900), Arnulf's son, who failed to reject a claim set on it by Rudolph, one of the new *reguli* Regino of Prüm disapproves in 888 (see map 12)⁵. Even though he seems to have pushed Rudolph gradually out from the South of Alsace there is no documentary proof that Zwentibold ever went to Burgundy. Still, Rudolph's chancellor the archbishop of Besançon, Theodoricus, abandoned him to join the new but Carolingian king Zwentibold⁶. The rare maps drawn of this particular period show a Welf kingdom centred around Raetia and the Burgundian landscape of the fifth and sixth century around Lake Geneva⁷. In creating this (ephemeral) political realm Rudolph renewed the Lotharingian South-West, his son Rudolph II taking Provence from Charles, the youngest son of Lothar I⁸. This paper endeavours to consider what became of this Lotharingian heritage of Burgundy during the Carolingian reshaping of the political landscape in the ninth century, and in how far it was conditioned by the ecclesiastical landscape.

- 3 The diocese of Besançon (*civitas Vesontionensis*), roughly outlined by today's Franche-Comté, was part of the kingdom of both Lothars after 843 and 855 (see map 8 and 9). The Meersen treaty of 870 cut through this region and it is difficult to say which parts of it depended on the authority of the new Burgundian or of the already established Carolingian kings at the end of the ninth century. Janet Nelson has characterized the Carolingian partition treaties, especially that of Verdun in 843, as professional work⁹. This observation is confirmed by the meticulous description of how many bishops, counts and other counsellors were admitted to the meetings of the year 870 : in May Charles the Bald received ten *missi* from his brother Louis at his palace of Attigny, in August each of the two brothers took four bishops, ten *consilarii* and not more than thirty other vessels with him to the definitive redaction of the Meersen treaty on the river Meuse¹⁰. Even so, it is still difficult to identify all of the monastic houses mentioned in the partition treaty concluded in Meersen¹¹. The uncertainties remaining have been detailed by Hermann Henze in his PhD thesis in Geography which was presented in 1919, posthumously published in 1939 and analysed more recently by Michèle Gaillard¹². Both conclude on the impossibility to draw a precise map of the spatial situation resulting from the Meersen treaty. On the other hand, several generations of Carolingian government had accustomed the aristocracy to the habit of fixing practicable partition treaties, the Verdun treaty of 843 being the tenth division project since 742¹³. The issue may still be worth investigating.

Map 8 – Lotharingia during the ninth century

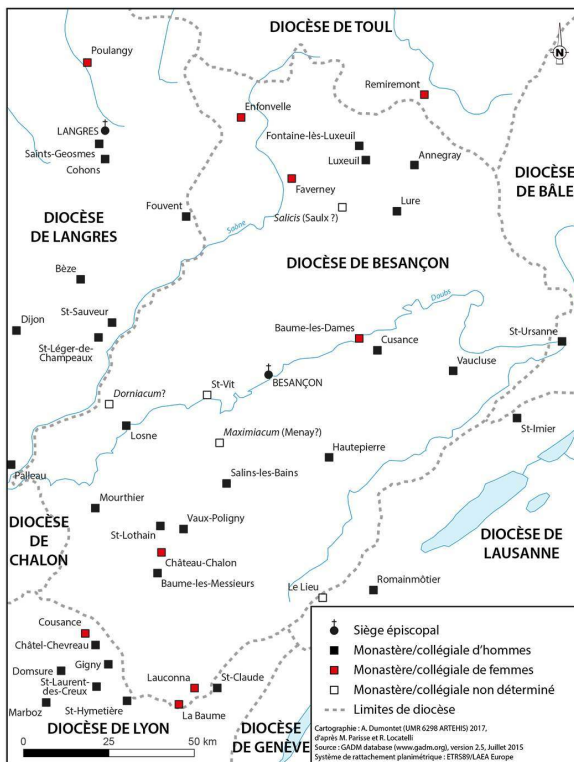


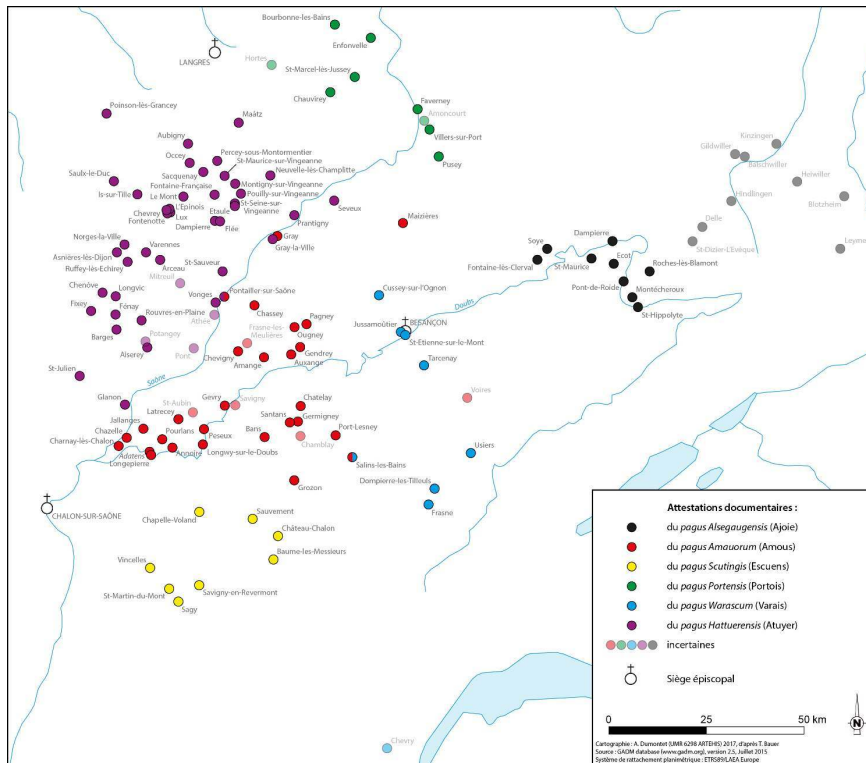
- 4 The approach chosen for the present article is to trace back to their foundation the history of the monasteries mentioned in the Meerssen treaty, especially the problematic ones. The ecclesiastical and political contexts of their evolution may shed some light on their situation in the second half of the ninth century. It will become clear that the political and ecclesiastical landscapes in a region did not inevitably coincide but that their structure and institutions could influence each other. The history of the partition treaties the Carolingian kings realised has sufficiently shown the crucial role of Episcopal sees and monasteries, while the geographical space occupied by a diocese does not always seem to be taken into account. In the present case, the analysis of the foundation of monasteries, their evolution and possible interaction (or clustering) helps to understand their political impact. In addition the spatial analysis of the information contained in the Meerssen treaty contributes to our knowledge of early medieval techniques of geographical data storage. The focus of this paper lies in the monastic structures, not on the far more problematic situation of the early medieval *pagi*¹⁴. It does not pretend to give an exhaustive overview of the massive complexity of Jurassian and Columbanian monasticism, rather it gathers historical data on monasteries in order to « spatialize » Meerssen¹⁵. First a brief survey will be given on the monastic foundations in this area until the ninth century. Secondly we will have a closer look at their fate in the Meerssen treaty of 870 and the supposed limits fixed by the latter, before finally suggesting some brief conclusions.

Monasteries in the diocese of Besançon

- 5 Jurassian Burgundy can roughly be located between the Vosges and the Jura Mountains. For practical reasons we can borrow the term of the diocese of Besançon, known to us since the third century, which is as far back as we might trace its territorial shape (see map 10)¹⁶. Historical research often employs the five large *pagi* named (from North to South) Porto, Amous, Ajoie, Varais, and Escuens, known from the eighth and Varais only from tenth century onwards (see map 2)¹⁷. We have to deal on the one hand with a difficult to access and demographically not very dense South (*pagus Scotingorum*/Escuens) hosting the first religious foundations of the so-called *Patres Jurensium*, then with the Episcopal see of Besançon on the river Doubs quite in the Middle, and finally some *castra* or *villa* like Gray and Favorney in the North¹⁸ where Columban and his followers established the first communities. We can observe two waves of foundations, and a third one beginning at the turn of the ninth to the tenth century, with the efforts of Berno and Odo leading to the vast Cluny complex. Berno arrived in the Jurassian area about 870 and founded Gigny, dependant on the bishop of Lyon. The recently founded *cella* Balma (probably Baume-les-Messieurs) mentioned in a diploma of Lothar II in 869 was soon given to Gigny¹⁹. By the end of the tenth century a couple of other foundations in our region have joined the Cluny reform movement²⁰.

Map 10 – Monasteries of the Besançon's diocese until the year thousand



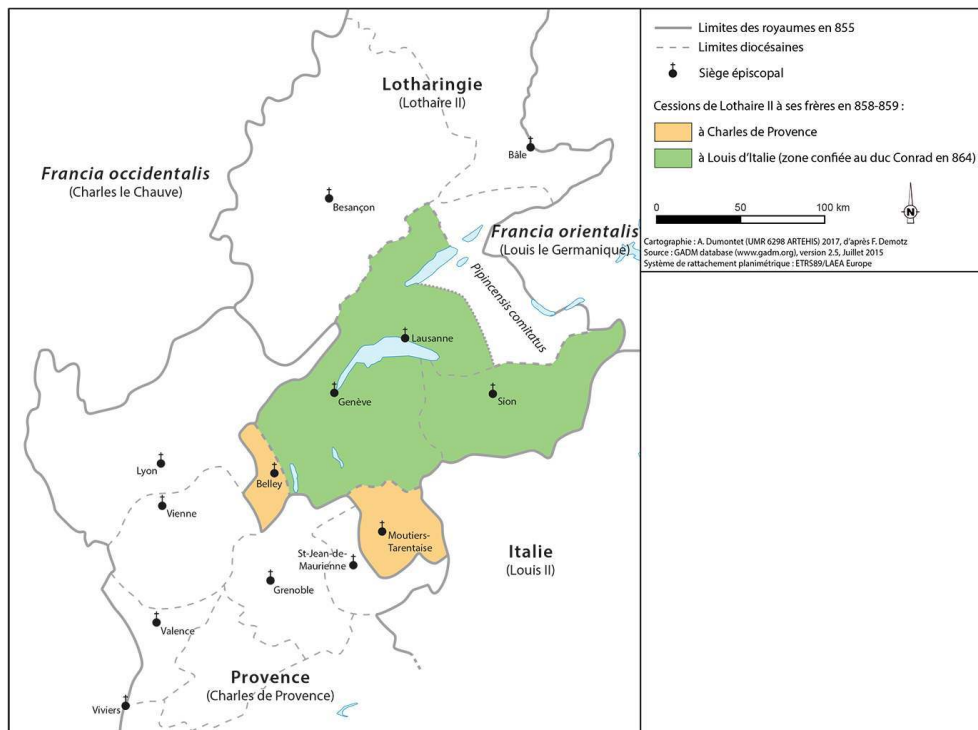
Map 2 – *Pagi* in the Besançon diocese and its western front (7th–11th c.)

- 6 To start from the beginning²¹: the first monastic implantations took place during the fifth century in the extreme South of the diocese of Besançon. The *Vita patrum Jurensium* report the arrival of the brothers Romanus and Lupicinus²². With these three texts we have a source that is comparatively near to these first monastic foundations in that they must have been written just before the foundation of Saint-Maurice-d'Agaune in 515, an abbey that later became a real place of power for the Burgundian royal family of the Rudolphians in the ninth and tenth centuries. In the first of those *vitae* we read how Romanus wanted to follow the ideal of an eremitic life in the desert and settled down in the Jura woods at a place called Condat²³. He was soon joined by his brother Lupicinus and others, thus establishing a religious community, later known as Saint-Claude or Saint-Oyend²⁴. According to the Life of Romanus, they soon founded two more communities at Lauconna (Saint-Lupicin) and Balma, the latter being a nun's monastery with their sister as first « mother ». The basilica there was the burial place for Romanus and gave the name of Saint-Romain²⁵. A fourth monastery often attributed to the two brothers was founded only in the seventh century, Romainmôtier *qui est constructus Ultraurani partibus*, that is to say at the Eastern slope of the Jura range, near the lake of Neuchâtel in the diocese of Lausanne (see map 10)²⁶.
- 7 Condat, Lauconna and Balma were evolving into a group of real monastic communities that might be called a monastic family or landscape, although using this notion requires caution²⁷. It might be worth noting that they are usually represented as belonging to different dioceses : that of Lyon for Condat, that of Besançon for Lauconna and Balma. The *Vita patrum Jurensium* do not seem very concerned about ecclesiastical jurisdiction limits. Besançon is only mentioned once in the context of the deposition of its bishop by Hilarius of Arles in 445²⁸. This detail might be read as modest evidence in favour of recent research arguing against the retrospective reconstruction of diocese limits²⁹. The case of

Condat, but also that of Gigny (ninth c.), can be explained either by the fact that the bishops of Lyon did not respect the spatial integrity of the province *Maxima Sequanorum*, or by the absence of clearly defined diocese borderlines in less dense regions.

- 8 Condat grew into an economic and spiritual centre while Lauconna became its priory. Balma seems to have disappeared and only resurfaced in the thirteenth century as another priory of Condat³⁰. These communities seem to have been influenced in one way or another by Lérins, perhaps as a result of Mediterranean contacts mentioned by Gérard Moyses, René Locatelli and Catherine Faure³¹. Later on, before adopting the *Regula Benedicti*, there might also have been Columbanian influence, which leads us to the second family of monastic houses. Jonas of Bobbio tells us the main facts about it in his *Vita Columbani abbatis*³². There were three monasteries founded by Columban by the end of the sixth century : Annegray, Fontaine and Luxeuil³³. Nearly two centuries later, two of them have become priories of Luxeuil, thus asserting the central position of the North of Burgundy in the Carolingian period and thereafter.
- 9 To this Columbanian family one could adjoin Cusance, over the Doubs valley, the already mentioned monastery of Romainmôtier (diocèse de Lausanne) and two other houses just outside of the city of Besançon, Saint-Paul and Sainte-Marie. The four of them were founded in the first half of the seventh century, at least three of them by the same family. We can recognise here, for the first time, a ducal family in this Burgundian region that later went under Frankish domination during the seventh century, even if it retained a certain autonomy for some time due to a gallo-roman aristocracy there³⁴. Even still, around 640 Jonas of Bobbio tells us about a *dux* Waldelenus and his son Chramnelenus following him *in eius honore*, so we might view them as dukes under Frankish rule in the Jurassian Burgundy as well as in the *pagus transjuranus*³⁵.
- 10 Waldelenus and his wife Flavia met Columban and following this encounter they had a son, whom Columban baptized with the name of Donatus³⁶. This Donatus became bishop of Besançon and founded the monastery of Saint-Paul *quem Palatium nuncupant ob veterum monimenta murorum*³⁷, that is to say on the remains of a Roman palatial building. The second son of Waldelenus and Flavia was the previously mentioned Chramnelenus, who probably founded Romainmôtier which became an important abbey of the Rudolphian kings in the tenth century³⁸. They later had two daughters for whom Flavia with her son Donatus founded a women's monastery, the second monastic house outside Besançon : Jussamoutier or Sainte-Marie. It is of minor importance for our purpose if we label Waldelenus and his children as « gallo-roman » or as « neustrian » while we bear in mind that they undeniably supported the Columbanian monasticism which was something new in Burgundy³⁹. As Karl Weber has pointed out, it is thanks to this ducal family and to the institutions they founded or appropriated for themselves that Besançon became a central place for our Jurassian area during the seventh century and for the transjurane Burgundy as well. Donatus and Waldelenus thus contributed to the genesis of a coherent space on both sides of the Jurassian mountains, a Jurassian region that would become the spatial basis of the Rudolphian kingdom (cf. map 5 and 11)⁴⁰. The monasteries have been described as elements of a material and spiritual colonisation in this evolution of the seventh century⁴¹.

Map 11 – Transjurane after the death of Lothar the First (850–870)



- 11 The *civitas* Besançon with the Episcopal see dedicated to John the Baptist had been an important crossroads from much earlier. The main road between Northern Italy and Reims and the royal places of the Île-de-France met here with the Rhine-Rhone-connection that reached the Saône at Chalon-sur-Saône, central place of the Burgundian kingdom of the fifth century⁴². The Doubs valley can be considered as a densifying vector of institutional power, especially as we come to the tenth and eleventh centuries when the evolution of the monastic landscape shows a decline of the oldest foundations. Only Condat (Saint-Claude/Saint-Oyend) and Luxeuil, in the extreme South and North, survived as important economic and spiritual centres⁴³. The other monasteries mentioned above did not survive the expansion from their eremitic origins to a monastic cosmos, comparable if not to Fulda, perhaps to Lorsch, Prüm or Wissembourg. Other monasteries mentioned in the Meersen treaty had been founded during the eighth and ninth centuries : Faverney, Baume-les-Dames, Vaucluse, Haute pierre and Château-Chalon⁴⁴.
- 12 We will observe in the second part of this paper to what extent the outlined data on the monastic foundations in Jurassian Burgundy can support the analysis of the spatial information given in the Meersen document of 870, and if it leads us to a better understanding of the storing practice in the early medieval period.

Spatializing Meersen

- 13 The constitution and the perception of early medieval borders is a question of places, not spaces. Recent research has shown the importance of places, points or poles for the storage of geographic data⁴⁵. Authors from Orosius and Isidorus on up to Thietmar of Merseburg at the beginning of the eleventh century were determining geographic information by listing the names of people or places. They were not interested in

describing the extent of areas through the use of borderlines. This becomes particularly clear in reading the Meersen treaty that above all uses the names of Episcopal sees and monasteries to indicate the areas annexed by Charles and Louis. This treaty is one of the rare sources during the early middle ages that provides us with precise information about two aspects : first how people managed spatial problems like the geographical definition of a zone of political influence (*regnum*) – what French historiography has become used to call *pratiques spatiales* –, and second, the way they saved and stored spatial data, in other words what kind of storage medium (*Speichermedium*) they used⁴⁶.

- 14 To sum up the overview on the monastic foundations in the diocese of Besançon, we are dealing with 18 communities before 900, among them at least four chapters and *cellae*, and the cathedral chapter of St John the Baptist. More than half of these institutions can be identified in the Meersen treaty⁴⁷: eight for Louis the German, three for Charles the Bald being the cathedral chapter and two monasteries at Besançon *extra muros*. This proportion more or less reflects the evidence of the text enumerating two thirds of the Lotharingian kingdom for Louis and one third for his younger brother, a relation that does not necessarily represent the territorial partition, but rather the cited place names⁴⁸. The remaining dozen or so monasteries represent smaller houses, partly dependent on the more important ones.
- 15 We are used to thinking of the Meersen treaty as one in a long line of division treaties that marked the Carolingian period. Verdun was not the first one and Meersen was not the last. It may be worth remembering that the partition enacted at Meersen was the result of secret negotiations between Louis and Charles on how to proceed in the case of the death of their nephew Lothar II⁴⁹. As Lothar obediently died in 869 the division project was realised and can neatly be reconstructed. The Meersen division cut through the diocese of Besançon, leaving to Charles the Bald the *civitas* proper, with the suburban abbey of Brégille and Sainte-Marie and, to be added, Saint-Paul, not mentioned in the treaty. Shortly after, Saint-Martin-de-Brégille was given to the archbishop Arduicus of Besançon by King Charles⁵⁰. For his part, Louis the German received, following the traditional point of view that we find on the maps, the South of the diocese.
- 16 Unlike the Verdun treaty of 843, the Meersen treaty is conserved in several copies edited in the *MGH Capitularia* collection ; moreover, we can rely on the personal account of the diplomatic exchanges by Hincmar of Reims⁵¹. Using this information, historians and geographers have tried to learn more about the Verdun treaty in the hope of reconstructing the borders between the Middle kingdom of Lothar and of Western and Eastern Francia⁵². Utilizing a spatial reading of the text reveals some problems, especially concerning Frisia, in the North, and the Rhineland, in the North-East⁵³. The different interpretations have produced a quantity of maps representing the political situation in 843 ; map 9 suggests a synoptic view of the most important among them.
- 17 The geographical extension of the so-called Francia Media created in 843 as the kingdom of Lothar I goes further southward until Italy. In 855, the northern part remaining with Lothar II still points a sole finger out West of the Rhône to reach the Mediterranean. However Lothar († 869) and the last Lotharingian king Zwentibold († 900) exchanged or gave up these difficult to control regions so that by the end of the ninth century the Jurassian Burgundy, the see of Besançon and even the South of Alsace are disputed between Zwentibold and Rudolph (map 5, 11 and 12)⁵⁴. Before being claimed as part of the Burgundian kingdom by Rudolph in 888 this region is already partitioned between Charles the Bald and Louis the German. With the Meersen treaty we dispose of a proper

list of monasteries that indicate the parts belonging to Louis and those to Charles. The Meersen text begins with Louis the German :

Est haec divisio, quam sibi Hludowicus accepit. [...] Faverniacum, Polemniacum, Luxovium, Luteram, Balmam, Offonis-villam, [...] Altam-petram, [...] Vallem-Clusae, Castellum Carnones [...]

*Et haec est divisio, quam Karolus de eodem regno sibi accepit. Lugdunum, Vesontium, [...] Sanctae Mariae in Bisintione, Sancti Martini in eodem loco, Sancti Augustii [...]*⁵⁵.

- 18 In modern terms these are Faverney, *Polemniacum*, Luxeuil, Lure, Baume (probably Baume-les-Dames), Enfonvelle, further on Haute-pierre, Vaucluse and Château-Chalon. Charles' part encloses the see of Besançon (*Vesontium*) and the two monasteries there, Sainte-Marie and Saint-Martin-de-Brégille, and finally Condat (Saint-Oyend) in the extreme South, being part of the diocese of Lyon.
- 19 We can observe that at least three of the former Lotharingian monasteries mentioned within the areas of Louis and Charles depend of non-Lotharingian dioceses. The monastery *Sancti Gangulfi*, listed after Echternach and Trier and just before Faverney, here identified with Varennes⁵⁶, depends on the authority of the bishop of Langres ; Montfaucon (*Montemfalcons*), inserted between Uzès far in the South and St-Mihiel, depends of Reims ; the monastery *Sancti Augustii*, mentioned between Saint-Martin-de-Brégille and Saint-Marcel near Chalon-sur-Saône can be identified with Saint-Claude/Saint-Oyend, diocese of Lyon.
- 20 The crucial problem remains the identification of *Polemniacum*. The MGH edition identifies *Polemniacum* with Poligny in the South of the diocese of Besançon⁵⁷. The documentation on Poligny is scant. Michel Parisse and Jean Richard locate a *castrum Poloniacum* in the eleventh century among the possessions of the counts of Besançon⁵⁸. The *Series archiepiscoporum Bisontinorum* copied in eleventh century mention the restitution of a *villa Pauliaci* to the church of Besançon by King Zwentibold, probably to recompense his leaving the Burgundian King Rudolph.
32. *Theodoricus.*
*Per hunc restituit Zuentebolchus rex ecclesie sancti Stephani villam Pauliaci*⁵⁹.
- 21 Robert Parisot in his *magnum opus* of 1898 identified this *villa* as Poligny together with Besançon in the same *pagus Warascorum* (Varais). Some years later René Poupardin expressed doubts about this identification without suggesting an alternative⁶⁰. At any rate Poligny seems not to have existed as a religious community before the tenth or even eleventh century when it is known as a Cluniac priory⁶¹. Bernard de Vrégille names a *villa Pouilley* without further precision, identification confirmed (or rather just repeated) by Gérard Moyse (Pouilley-les-Vignes)⁶². In the early tenth century, Louis the Child gave an *abbatia Pauliniacensis* to Drogo bishop of Toul, identified with Poulangy, diocese of Langres⁶³. Finally, in 914, Charles III, king of the *Francia occidentalis*, gave some possessions in Poligny to Hugo « the Black » of Burgundy, son of count Richard and brother of the future King Raoul⁶⁴.
- 22 Map 10 can help to understand what this all entails. Poligny is clearly in the South of the diocese of Besançon. It will not come as a surprise if Drogo of Toul received Poulangy, which is not only near to his diocese but situated in the *pagus Bassigny* that was assigned, with Toul, to the East-Frankish kingdom of Louis in 870. The Bassigny, Lotharingian since 855, remained with the East-Frankish kings so that Louis the Child could dispose of Poulangy⁶⁵.

- 23 A spatial reading of the Meersen treaty may tell us more about the disposition of the place names. The text begins as follows with the places assigned to Louis⁶⁶ : Cologne, Trier, Utrecht, Strasbourg, Basel : these are the Episcopal sees. Thereafter, the abbeys : Süsteren, Berg (Netherlands), Münstereifel (not far from Prüm), Chèvremont (Belgium), Inda (Aachen), Saint-Maximin, Echternach, Horrea (near to Trier), thereafter Varennes, Faverney, *Polemniacum*, Luxeuil, Lure, Baume, Enfonvelle. Then the description switches to Lorraine : Moyenmoutier, Saint-Dié, Bonmoutier, Etival, Remiremont, – then to Alsace : Murbach, Saint-Grégoire (Munster), Maursmünster, Ebersmünster, Honau, Masevaux, Hohenburg (or Sainte-Odile), Saint-Etienne in Strasbourg, Erstein ; – finally we move to today's Switzerland : Solothurn and Moutier-Grandval, being still part of the diocese of Basel ; – and here we are again in the diocese of Besançon : Haute-pierre, Justinne (not clearly identified⁶⁷), Vacluse, Château-Chalon.
- 24 The succession of the monasteries cited in the Meersen document seems obviously to follow an inherent geographical logic. The description passes from the Rhinlands, quite in the North, to the Moselle region with Echternach and Trier, then around the Southern end of the Vosges – with our Columbanian monasteries – to pass on to Lorraine, Alsace, the Basel region with Solothurn and Moutier-Grandval, to come back to the South of the diocese of Besançon. The enigmatic *Polemniacum* fits well in the geographic neighbourhood to Varennes, both of them being part of the *pagus* Bassigny. The Bassigny (*Basiniacum*) is clearly listed among Louis' parts in the Meersen treaty, as well as the *pagi* of Basel (*Basalchowa*), Varais (*Warasch*), probably Escuens (*Scudingum*) and Amous (*Emaus*), too. The fact that the description occasionally seems to jump from Varennes to Faverney in the East, then to *Polemniacum* in the West, and back to Luxeuil and Lure does not necessarily contradict this reading ; we can observe the same effect some lines further between Haute-pierre, Vacluse and Château-Chalon. Even if we might detect spatial patterns in early medieval texts as shown here through the example of the Meersen treaty we do not necessarily understand every detail of the organisation of geographical data. We can probably assume that the authors of these partition treaties did not improvise but rather followed clearly set customs. Comparable patterns of spatial organisation of place names have been observed throughout the cartularies of Prüm, of Saint-Germain-des-Prés and of Wissemburg, being just another storage medium for monastic geographical and administrative data⁶⁸.

Conclusions

- 25 A spatial reading of the Meersen treaty from 870, taking into account the history of the mentioned monastic houses suggests a revised tracing of the negotiated borderline between the kingdoms of Charles the Bald and Louis the German – see map 8 for a cartographical proposition. The place cited as *Polemniacum* is no longer identified with Poligny but rather with *Pauliniacum*, or Poulangy, in the diocese of Langres. Consequently there only remains a very modest part of Jurassian Burgundy for Charles the Bald, granting him the *pagus* Portoise (*Portus*). The Archiepiscopal see of Besançon, one out of three in former Lotharingia, seems to represent an isolated exclave of Charles' part : a phenomenon already encountered with the important monastery of Saint-Vaast at the treaty of Verdun in 843. It seems justified to deduce that the spatial design in our period did not follow the modern ideal of proper spaces with linear borders as can be observed with the political reshaping of Africa by the European powers in nineteenth century⁶⁹.

Not only is the extension of Episcopal jurisdiction neglected but also the geographical division experts did not hesitate to create politically isolated exclaves for their administration. We may notice in passing that with the Waldelenus family enrooted at Besançon we have an example of the duke-type as master of a region that Karl Ferdinand Werner observed for the sixth and seventh century⁷⁰.

- 26 From the Meersen document we can learn how geographical information was fixed and stored. In the Carolingian period people did not indicate areas or territories but rather they enumerated place names, episcopal sees and monasteries in most cases. Only in addition to these did the authors of early medieval division treaties use river or county names – diverging from the uses of charter production where the mention of *pagus* or *comitatus* was systematic. Moreover, the disposition of the place names is not accidental.
- 27 There are modest clusters of early monastic foundations that cannot be explained with the (still ambiguous) concept of a monastic landscape. The examples analysed here seem to completely ignore the eventual delimitations of dioceses. We find the earliest foundations of the so-called *Patres Jurensium* around the meeting point of the dioceses of Lyon and Besançon: *in eremo* we might say. Two centuries later, the Columbanian monasteries discussed here – one might add Remiremont and Moutiers-Grandval – mainly cover the contact zone between the dioceses of Besançon, Toul and Basel.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix : Treaty of Meersen

Capitularia regum Francorum, éd. A. BORETIUS et V. KRAUSE, *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, *Leges*, 2.2, t. 2, Hannover, 1897, n° 251 : *Divisio regni Hlotharii II*. 870 Aug. 8, p. 193-195

Est haec divisio, quam sibi Hludowicus accepit. Coloniam, Treveris, Utrech, Stratsburch, Basulam, abbatiam Suestre, Berch, Niu-monasterium, Castellum, Indam, Sancti Maximini, Ephterniacum, Horream, Sancti Gangulfi, Faverniacum, Polemniacum, Luxovium, Luteram, Balmam, Offonis-villam, Meieni-monasterium, Sancti Deodati, Bodonis-monasterium, Stivagium, Romerici-montem, Morbach, Sancti Gregorii, Mauri-monasterium, Eboresheim, Hoinowa, Masonis-monasterium, Homburch, Sancti Stephani Stratsburch, Erenstein, Sancti Ursi in Salodoro, Grandivallem, Altam-petram, Iustinnam, Vallem-Clusae, Castellum Carnones, Heribodesheim, abbatiam de Aquis, Hoenchirche, Augustchirche, comitatu Testebant, Batua, Hattuarias, Masau subterior de ista parte, item Masau superior, quod de ista parte est, Liugas, quod de ista parte est, districtum Aquense, districtum Trectis, in Ribuaris comitatus quinque, Megenensium, Bedagowa, Nitachowa, Sarachowa subterior, Blesitchova, Seline, Albechowa, Suentisium, Calmontis, Sarachowa superior, Odornens, quod Bernardus habuit, Solocense, Basiniacum, Elischowe, Warasch, Scudingum, Emaus, Basalchowa, in Elisatio comitatus II, de Frisia duas partes de regno,

quod Lotharius habuit. Super istam divisionem propter pacis et caritatis custodiam superaddimus istam adiectionem : civitatem Mettis cum abbatia Sancti Petri et Sancti Martini et comitatu Moslensi, cum omnibus villis in eo consistentibus, tam dominicatis quam et vassallorum ; de Arduenna sicut flumen Urta surgit inter Bislanc et Tumbas ac decurrit in Mosam, et sicut recta via pergit in Bedensi, secundum quod communes nostri missi rectius invenerint – excepto quod de Condrusto est ad partem orientis trans Urtam – et abbatias Prumiam et Stabolau cum omnibus villis dominicatis et vassallorum.

Et haec est divisio, quam Karolus de eodem regno sibi accepit. Lugdunum, Vesontium, Viennam, Tungris, Tullum, Viridunum, Cameracum, Vivarias, Uceciam, Montemfalcons, Sancti Michahelis, Gildini monasterium, Sanctae Mariae in Bisintiono, Sancti Martini in eodem loco, Sancti Augustini, Sancti Marcelli, Sancti Laurentii Leudensi, Sennonem, abbatiam Niellam, Molburium, Laubias, Sancti Gaugerici, Sancti Salvii, Crispinno, Fossas, Marilias, Hunulfcurt, sancti Servatii, Maalinas, Ledi, Sunniacum, Antonium, Condatum, Merrebecchi, Ticlivinni, Luttosa, Calmontis, sanctae Mariae in Deonant, Echa, Andana, Wasloi, Altum-montem, comitatum Texandrum, in Bracbanto comitatus IV, Cameracensem, Hainoum, Lomensem, in Hasbanio comitatus IV, Masau superior de ista parte Mosae, Masau subterior, quod de ista parte est, Liugas, quod de ista parte est Mosae et pertinet ad Veosatun, Scarponinse, Viridunense, Dulmense, Arlon, Wavrense comitatus II, Mosminse, Castricum, Condrust, de Arduenna, sicut flumen Urta surgit inter Bislanc et Tumbas ac decurrit ex hac parte in Mosam, et sicut recta via ex hac parte occidentis pergit in Bedensi, secundum quod missi nostri rectius invenerint ; Tullense, aliud Odornense, quod Tetmarus habuit, Barrense, Portense, Salmoringum, Lugdunense, Viennense, Vivarias, Ucecium, de Frisia tertiam partem.

NOTES

1. This article is dedicated to Jörg Jarnut, Paderborn, who introduced me to spatial and identity problems of the Barbarian *gentes*.
2. See on the spatial evolutions our introduction to this dossier (*Bucema* 21.2) and the contributions of K. WEBER, « Alsace and Burgundy : Spatial Patterns in the Early Middle Ages, c. 600-900 » [<https://journals.openedition.org/cem/14838>] and J. STROTHMANN, « Burgund und das “unsichtbare Römische” Reich im Spiegel der sogenannten merowingischen Monetarmünzen » [<https://journals.openedition.org/cem/14848>]. I am grateful to Josiane Barbier, Paris-Ouest, for information on Merovingian Burgundy, and to Barry Foster, Linköping, for his corrections on my text.
3. *Die Urkunden Lothars I. und Lothars II*, ed. T. SCHIEFFER, Berlin/Zurich, 1966 (*MGH Diplomata Karolinorum*, 3) [désormais *MGH DD Lo II*], n° 33, p. 438-440 : Besançon, 869 January 22 ; *ibid.*, n° 44, p. 455 ; *Annales de Saint-Bertin*, ed. F. GRAT, J. VIELLIARD and S. CLEMENCET, Paris, 1964, 4a. 863, p. 96 ; *Series archiepiscoporum Bisontinorum : III. Nomina episcoporum Vesontionensis ecclesia*, in *MGH Scriptores (in folio)*, t. 13, ed. G. WAITZ *et al.*, Hanover, 1881, p. 373, n° 31. Cf. R. PARISOT, *Le royaume de Lorraine sous les Carolingiens (843-923)*, Paris, 1898, p. 90-91 and 224-226 ; J. SCHNEIDER, *Auf der Suche nach dem verlorenen Reich. Lotharingen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 2010, p. 70-76 and 102-106 ; H. PETTIAU, « Présences et déplacements des souverains de la Francie médiane de 843 à 869 : contribution à l'étude de l'espace politique de Lothaire I^{er} et Lothaire II », in T. MARTINE and J. NOWAK (dir.), *D'un regnum à l'autre : la Lotharingie, un espace de l'entre-deux ?*, Freiburg (forthcoming). See the excellent map in K. HEIDECCKER, *The Divorce of Lothar II. Christian Marriage and Political Power in the Carolingian World*, Ithaca/London, 2010, p. 190-191.

4. First mentioned by Fredegar, *Chronique des temps Mérovingiens (Livre IV et Continuations)*, transl. O. DEVILLIERS and J. MEYERS, Turnhout, 2001, or *Fredegarii et aliorum Chronica. Vita Sanctorum*, ed. B. KRUSCH, Hanover, 1888 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 2), IV.13 (a. 591), p. 127 : *Teudefredus dux Ultraioranus moritur, cui successit Wandalmarus in honorem ducati*. Cf. F. DEMOTZ, *La Bourgogne transjurane (855-1056). L'évolution des rapports de pouvoirs dans le monde post-carolingien*, PhD thesis Neuchâtel/Lyon, 2002, p. 43-101 ; C. BONNET et al., *Province ecclésiastique de Besançon (Maxima Sequanorum) et Valais (Civitas Vallensium)*, Paris, 2007 (Topographie chrétienne des cités de la Gaule, 15), p. 18 ; K. WEBER, *Die Formierung des Elsass im Regnum Francorum. Adel, Kirche und Königtum am Oberrhein in merowingischer und frühkarolingischer Zeit*, Ostfildern, 2011, p. 61-70 ; *id.*, « Alsace and Burgundy... », *op. cit.*
5. REGINO OF PRÛM, *Chronicon cum Continuatione Treverensi*, ed. F. KURZE, Hanover, 1890 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 50), a. 888, p. 130 ; *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. F. KURZE, Hanover, 1891 (MGH *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, 7), a. 888, p. 116. Cf. A. HAUFF, « Carolingian Traditions and New Beginnings : The Coronation of Rudolph I of Upper Burgundy » [<https://journals.openedition.org/cem/14839>].
6. *Die Urkunden der burgundischen Rudolfinger*, ed. T. SCHIEFFER, Munich, 1977 (MGH *Diplomata regum Burgundiae e stirpe Rudolfina Diplomata et Acta*) [désormais MGH DD Burg.], p. 38-40. Cf. R. KAISER, « Besançon », in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1977, t. 1, col. 2052-2055 ; B. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, *Die Welfen. Herrschaft und Erinnerung (819-1252)*, Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne, 2000, p. 80-81.
7. R. POUPARDIN, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888-1038). Études sur les origines du royaume d'Arles*, Paris, 1907, see map supplement ; L. RIPART, « Le royaume rodolphien de Bourgogne (fin IX^e-début XI^e siècle) », in M. GAILLARD et al. (dir.), *De la mer du Nord à la Méditerranée. Francia Media, une région au cœur de l'Europe (c. 840-c. 1050)*, Luxembourg, 2011, p. 429-452, map p. 452.
8. L. RIPART, « Le royaume rodolphien... », *ibid.* ; F. DEMOTZ, *La Bourgogne transjurane...*, *op. cit.*, p. 203-227 ; G. BÜHRER-THIERRY and C. MÉRIAUX, *La France avant la France. 481-888*, Paris, 2010, map on p. 60. Cf. F. DEMOTZ, « Le processus seigneurial en zone royale bourguignonne : l'exemple des Mont (IX^e-XI^e siècle) » [<https://journals.openedition.org/cem/15205>].
9. J. L. NELSON, « Le partage de Verdun », in M. GAILLARD, *De la mer du Nord...*, *op. cit.*, p. 241-254, see p. 248.
10. *Annales de Saint-Bertin...*, *op. cit.*, a. 870, p. 169 and 17.
11. See Appendix for full text. Cf. map 8 and 10.
12. H. HENZE, « Zur kartographischen Darstellung der Westgrenze des Deutschen Reiches in karolingischer Zeit », *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 9 (1939), p. 207-254 ; M. GAILLARD, « La place des abbayes dans la politique territoriale des souverains francs et germaniques en Lotharingie, de 869 à 925 », *Revue du Nord*, 85 (2003), p. 655-666, see especially the map on p. 659.
13. J. L. NELSON, « Le partage de Verdun... », *op. cit.*, p. 248.
14. Cf. map 2 and n. 17.
15. See for this approach K. SCHLÖGEL, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit. Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik*, Munich/Vienne, 2003 ; S. WEIGEL, « Zum "topographical turn". Kartographie, Topographie und Raumkonzepte in den Kulturwissenschaften », *KulturPoetik*, 2 (2002), p. 151-165 ; J. SCHNEIDER, « La Lotharingie était-elle une région historique ? », in *Construction de l'espace au Moyen Âge : pratiques et représentations, 37^e Congrès de la SHMESP*, Paris, 2007, p. 425-433.
16. G. MOYSE, « Les origines du monachisme dans le diocèse de Besançon (V^e-X^e siècle) », *Bibliothèque de l'École des chartes*, 131 (1973), p. 21-104 and 369-485, here p. 53-55 ; on the see of Besançon, B. DE VRÉGILLE, R. LOCATELLI and G. MOYSE, *Gallia Pontificia. Répertoire des documents concernant les relations entre la papauté et les églises et monastères en France avant 1198*, t. 1 (*Diocèse de Besançon*), Göttingen, 1998, p. 29-103 ; C. BONNET, *Province ecclésiastique de Besançon...*, *op. cit.*, p. 21-34.

17. These observations refer recent research by Thomas Bauer, Münster, awaiting a more detailed map on our region with commentary (forthcoming). Cf. G. MOYSE, « La Bourgogne septentrionale et particulièrement le diocèse de Besançon de la fin du monde antique au seuil de l'âge carolingien (V^e-VIII^e siècle) », in J. WERNER and E. EWIG (dir.), *Von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter. Aktuelle Probleme in historischer und archäologischer Sicht*, Sigmaringen, 1979, p. 467-488, see p. 487-488 ; R. KAISER, « Besançon... », *op. cit.* Cf. W. HAUBRICHS, « Les Chamaves et les autres : une enquête linguistique sur les traces des Chamaves, Hattuares, Varasques, Scotinges et Burgondes au nord de la Bourgogne » [<https://journals.openedition.org/cem/14779>].
18. On Faverney see Fredegar, ed. B. KRUSCH, *op. cit.*, IV.29, p. 132 ; *Chronicon Hugonis monachi Viridunensis et Divionensis, abbatis Flaviniacensis*, in *MGH Scriptores (in folio)*, t. 8, Hanover, 1848, p. 285-287 (*Necrologium*), p. 287. G. MOYSE, « Les origines... », *op. cit.*, p. 390-392. On Gray, R. LOCATELLI, « Gray », in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, t. 4, col. 1661. Cf. *Atlas de la France de l'an Mil. État de nos connaissances*, ed. M. PARISSÉ and J. LEURIDAN, Paris, 1994, p. 76-77.
19. *MGH DD Lo II*, n° 33, p. 488-440 ; *MGH DD Burg.*, n° 9, a. 903, p. 106-107, and the lost n° 14, a. 888-890, p. 116-117 ; B. DE VRÉGILLE, *Gallia Pontificia I...*, *op. cit.*, p. 192 ; A. BULLY, « Les établissements religieux dans le diocèse de Besançon jusqu'à l'an Mil : enquête terminologique », *Bucema*, hors-série n° 10 (2016) [<https://journals.openedition.org/cem/14473>].
20. R. KAISER, « Besançon... », *op. cit.* : Enfonvelle, Poligny, Mouthier-Hautepierre, Vaucluse ; on Vaucluse see also B. DE VRÉGILLE, *Gallia Pontificia I...*, *ibid.*, p. 325-326 : *vallis clusa*, chartreuse du XII^e s. Cf. on Cluny F. DEMOTZ, « Les Mont... », *op. cit.*
21. On the following see G. MOYSE, « Les origines... », *op. cit.*, p. 56-70 and 97 ; R. LOCATELLI, G. MOYSE and B. DE VRÉGILLE, « La Franche-Comté entre le royaume et l'Empire (fin IX^e-XII^e siècle) », *Francia*, 15 (1987), p. 109-147 ; R. LOCATELLI, *Sur les chemins de la perfection. Moines et chanoines dans le diocèse de Besançon vers 1060-1220*, Saint-Étienne, 1992 ; E. GILOMEN-SCHENKEL, *Frühe Klöster, die Benediktiner und Benediktinerinnen in der Schweiz*, Berne, 1986 ; C. BONNET, *Province ecclésiastique de Besançon...*, *op. cit.* ; K. WEBER, *Die Formierung...*, *op. cit.* ; C. FAURE, « Scalam construere... ad caelestia regna conscendere ». *La fondation des établissements ecclésiastiques dans l'espace franc (fin VI^e siècle-début VIII^e siècle)*, PhD thesis, Limoges, 2013, p. 114 ; A. BULLY, « Les établissements religieux... », *op. cit.*, with a very helpful map : « Localisation et désignation des monastères dans le diocèse de Besançon avant l'an Mil (d'après G. Moysé et A. Bully) ».
22. *Vies des Pères du Jura*, ed. F. MARTINE, Paris, 1968, 2^e ed. 2004 (Sources Chrétiennes, 142). On the datation of the three texts (*Vita Romani*, *Vita Lupicini*, *Vita Eugendi* [BHL 7309, 5073, 2665]) between 512 and 515 see p. 532.
23. *Ibid.*, *Vita Romani*, chap. 6, p. 244. On the early christian topos of desert life cf. M.-E. BRUNERT, *Das Ideal der Wüstenaskese und seine Rezeption in Gallien bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts*, Münster, 1994.
24. *Vies des Pères du Jura...*, *op. cit.*, chap. 12-16, p. 252-256.
25. *Vies des Pères du Jura...*, *ibid.*, chap. 24-25, p. 264-266 and chap. 60, p. 304.
26. *Vita Wandregisili abbatis Fontanellensis*, ed. B. KRUSCH, Hanover-Leipzig, 1910 (*MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 5), p. 1-24, chap. 10, p. 18. See below with n. 37.
27. H.-D. HEIMANN and J. SCHNEIDER, « Zur Einleitung : Kloster – Landschaft – Klosterlandschaft ? Annäherungen und Ausblick », in R. CZAJA, H.-D. HEIMANN and M. WEMHOFF (dir.), *Klosterlandschaften. Methodisch-exemplarische Annäherungen*, Munich, 2008, p. 9-22 ; F. J. FELTEN, « Klosterlandschaften », in *id.* (dir.), *Landschaft(en). Begriffe – Formen – Implikationen*, Stuttgart, 2013, p. 157-191 ; N. SCHROEDER, « Sylves et monastères en Lotharingie : imaginaire et matérialité des paysages », in M. PAULY and H. PETTIAU (dir.), *La forêt en Lotharingie médiévale*, Luxembourg, 2016, p. 235-265, see p. 236.
28. *Vita Romani...*, *op. cit.*, chap. 18, p. 258-260. This paragraph has been suspected to be a later interpolation to endamage the memory of Hilarius of Arles : see the discussion *ibid.*, p. 16-44 and

534, the letter of pope Leo in B. DE VRÉGILLE, *Gallia Pontificia I...*, *op. cit.*, n° 2, p. 39. While the editor and translator of the *Vita patrum Jurensium*, F. Martin, tries to prove the authenticity of the whole text, he explains the use of *metropolis* by the fact that Besançon was capital of the Roman province *Maxima Sequanorum* in fifth century.

29. F. MAZEL, *L'évêque et le territoire. L'invention médiévale de l'espace (v^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Paris, 2016 ; S. PATZOLD, « L'archidiocèse de Magdebourg. Perception de l'espace et identité (x^e-xi^e siècle) », in F. MAZEL (dir.), *L'espace du diocèse. Genèse d'un territoire dans l'Occident médiéval (v^e-XIII^e siècle)*, Rennes, 2008, p. 167-193 ; J. SCHNEIDER, « D'empires et de frontières. La pratique de la frontière du ix^e au XIII^e siècle », *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 91 (2013), p. 1188-1208.

30. A. BULLY, « Les établissements religieux... », *op. cit.*

31. G. MOYSE, « La Bourgogne... », *op. cit.*, p. 470 ; *id.*, « Les origines... », *op. cit.*, p. 57-58. Cf. R. LOCATELLI, *Sur les chemins de la perfection...*, *op. cit.* and C. FAURE, *La fondation...*, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 109.

32. JONAS OF BOBBIO, *Vita Columbani abbatis discipulorumque eius libri duo auctore Iona*, ed. B. KRUSCH, Hanover/Leipzig, 1902 (*MGH Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, 4), p. 1-152. French translation by A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Vie de Saint Colomban et de ses disciples*, Bégrolles-en-Mauge, 1988. I was not able to use the new translation by I. N. WOOD and A. O'HARA, *Jonas of Bobbio. Life of Columbanus, Life of John of Reome, Life of Vedast*, Liverpool, 2017. On the following see n. 20 and B. DE VRÉGILLE, *Gallia Pontificia I...*, *op. cit.*, p. 104-191 ; C. FAURE, *La fondation...*, *op. cit.*, p. 113-120, 219-221, 225-226 and 233 ; S. BULLY, A. BULLY and M. ČAUŠEVIĆ-BULLY, « Les origines du monastère de Luxeuil (Haute-Saône) d'après les récentes recherches archéologiques », in M. GAILLARD (dir.), *L'empreinte chrétienne en Gaule du iv^e au ix^e siècle*, Turnhout, 2014, p. 311-356.

33. *Vita Columbani...*, *op. cit.*, I.5, p. 71 (ed. B. KRUSCH), p. 112-113 (ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ), and I.10, p. 76 (ed. B. KRUSCH), p. 119-120 (ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ).

34. G. MOYSE, « La Bourgogne... », *op. cit.*, p. 475-480 ; C. FAURE, *La fondation...*, *op. cit.*, p. 149, 238-239. Cf. W. HAUBRICHS, « Les Chamaves et les autres... », *op. cit.*

35. *Vita Columbani...*, *op. cit.*, I.14, p. 79-80 (ed. B. KRUSCH), p. 124-126 (ed. A. DE VOGÜÉ). See above with n. 4 on the discussion of cis- and transjurane territories which is not the subject of the present paper.

36. On the following see *ibid.* ; M. HEINZELMANN, « Donatus », in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, t. 3, col. 1237-1238 ; C. BONNET, *Province ecclésiastique de Besançon...*, *op. cit.*, p. 32-33 ; C. FAURE, *La fondation...*, *op. cit.*, p. 219-220.

37. *Vita Columbani...*, *op. cit.*, I.14, p. 79 (ed. B. KRUSCH).

38. *Vita Wandregisili...*, *op. cit.* K. WEBER, *Die Formierung...*, *op. cit.*, p. 35 with n. 37 argues against G. COUTAZ, « Romainmôtier », *Helvetia Sacra III.1*, *op. cit.*, p. 290. Cf. on 10th and 11th century F. DEMOTZ, « Les Mont... », *op. cit.*

39. FREDEGAR, ed. B. KRUSCH, *op. cit.*, IV.78, p. 160 (*ex genere romano*) ; K. WEBER, *Die Formierung...*, *op. cit.*, p. 69 (neustrian). Cf. R. KAISER, « Besançon... », *op. cit.*

40. K. WEBER, *Die Formierung...*, *ibid.*, p. 69.

41. G. MOYSE, « La Bourgogne... », *op. cit.*, p. 486 : « de véritables cellules de colonisation ».

42. A. REBOURG, *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*, t. 71/3 (*Saône-et-Loire*), Paris, 1994, p. 124-161 ; G. BÜHRER-THIERRY and C. MÉRIAUX, *La France avant la France...*, *op. cit.*, maps « La Gaule administrative au v^e siècle », p. 23 and « L'Austrasie mérovingienne au VII^e siècle », p. 278.

43. R. LOCATELLI, *Sur les chemins de la perfection...*, *op. cit.*, c. 2, p. 45 : « seule la vallée du Doubs semble avoir joué un rôle fixateur ».

44. See above n. 31 and map 10.

45. See the contributions on <http://www.territorium-project.eu> (16-06-17). G. BÜHRER-THIERRY, « Des évêques sur la frontière : christianisation et sociétés de frontière sur les marches du monde germanique selon Thietmar de Mersebourg (x^e-xi^e siècles) », in *EAD.*, *Aux marges du monde*

germanique : l'évêque, le prince, les païens (VIII^e-XI^e siècle), Turnhout, 2014, p. 321-350 ; J. SCHNEIDER, « D'empires et de frontières... », *op. cit.* ; G. BÜHRER-THIERRY, S. PATZOLD and J. SCHNEIDER (dir.), *Genèse des espaces politiques (IX^e-XII^e siècle). Autour de la question spatiale dans les royaumes francs et post-carolingiens*, Turnhout, 2018. Cf. F. MAZEL, *L'évêque et le territoire...*, *op. cit.*

46. W. ERNST, « "Medien" im Mittelalter ? Kulturtechnische Retrospektive », in H.-W. GOETZ and J. JARNUT (dir.), *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert. Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, Munich, 2003, p. 347-357.

47. See Appendix for full text. Cf. map 8 and M. PARISSÉ, « Noblesse et monastères », in R. KOTTJE and H. MAURER (dir.), *Monastische Reformen im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Sigmaringen, 1989, p. 167-196, map on p. 194 ; M. GAILLARD, « La place des abbayes... », *op. cit.*, map on p. 659.

48. M. GAILLARD, « La place des abbayes... », *ibid.*, p. 657 already states an equal partition.

49. *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. A. BORETIUS and V. KRAUSE, t. 2, Hanover, 1897 (*MGH Leges*, 2.2), n° 245 : *Hludowici et Karoli pactiones Mettenses*, 867, p. 167-168.

50. *Series archiepiscoporum Bisontinorum...*, *op. cit.*, p. 373, n° 31 ; cf. *MGH DD Lo II*, n° 33 and 44.

51. *Capitularia regum Francorum...*, *op. cit.*, n° 251 : *Divisio regni Hlotharii II*, 870 Aug. 8, p. 193-195, see p. 193 for the manuscript tradition (see Appendix for full text). *Annales de Saint-Bertin...*, *op. cit.*, a. 870, p. 169-174.

52. H. HENZE, « Zur kartographischen Darstellung », *op. cit.* ; P. CLASSEN, « Die Verträge von Verdun und von Coulaines 843 als politische Grundlagen des westfränkischen Reiches », J. FLECKENSTEIN (dir.), *Ausgewählte Aufsätze von Peter Classen*, Sigmaringen, 1983 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 28), p. 249-277 ; M. PARISSÉ, « Noblesse et monastères », *op. cit.*, map on p. 194 ; *id.*, « La frontière de la Meuse au X^e siècle », M. SOT (dir.), *Haut Moyen-Age. Culture, éducation, société*, Mélanges P. RICHÉ, Paris-La Garenne-Colombes, 1990 (Centre de Recherche sur l'Antiquité Tardive et le Haut Moyen Age de l'Université Paris-X-Nanterre), p. 427-437 ; *id.*, « La Lotharingie : Naissance d'un espace politique », H.-W. HERRMANN, R. SCHNEIDER (dir.), *Lotharingia. Eine europäische Kernlandschaft um das Jahr 1000. Une région au centre de l'Europe autour de l'an mil*, Sarrebruck, 1995, p. 31-48 ; M. GAILLARD, « La place des abbayes », *op. cit.* ; K. VAN VLIET, *In kringen van kanunniken. Munsters en kapitels in het bisdom Utrecht 695-1227*, Zutphen, 2002, p. 133-138, map on p. 134. Cf. the map cited above : K. HEIDECKER, *The Divorce*, *op. cit.*, p. 190-191. The author could not consult J. VERBEEEMEN, « L'ordre géographique suivi dans le traité de Meersen (870) et son importance pour la localisation de quelques abbayes y mentionnées », *Archives et bibliothèques de Belgique*, 35 (1964), p. 155-185.

53. Cf. J. SCHNEIDER, *Auf der Suche...*, *op. cit.*, p. 78-91 (on Frisia) and 91-93 (on the Rhinlands).

54. J. SCHNEIDER, *Auf der Suche...*, *ibid.*, p. 102-108 ; G. MOYSE, « La Franche-Comté... », *op. cit.*, p. 111-115. Cf. above (introduction).

55. See Appendix for full text.

56. J. SCHNEIDER, *Auf der Suche...*, *op. cit.*, p. 75-76 with n. 226.

57. *Capitularia regum Francorum...*, *op. cit.*, n° 251, p. 194, n. 12.

58. *Atlas de la France de l'an Mil...*, *op. cit.*, p. 76-77 ; J. RICHARD, « Burgund, Freigrafschaft », in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, t. 2, col. 1090-1092.

59. *Series archiepiscoporum Bisontinorum...*, *op. cit.*, p. 373, n° 32. On this text cf. B. DE VRÉGILLE, « Les origines chrétiennes et le haut Moyen Âge », in C. FOHLEN (dir.), *Histoire de Besançon. Des origines à la fin du XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1964, p. 143-321, here p. 147-149.

60. R. PARISOT, *Le royaume de Lorraine...*, *op. cit.*, p. 372 et 523 ; R. POUPARDIN, *Le royaume de Bourgogne...*, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

61. G. MOYSE, « La Franche-Comté... », *op. cit.*, p. 432-433 ; B. DE VRÉGILLE, *Gallia Pontificia I...*, *op. cit.*, p. 197-200 (Vaux-sur-Poligny).

62. B. DE VRÉGILLE, « Les origines chrétiennes... », *op. cit.*, p. 222 ; G. MOYSE, « Les origines... », *op. cit.*, p. 115.
63. *Gesta episcoporum Tullensium*, in *MGH Scriptores (in folio)*, t. 8, *op. cit.*, c. 30, p. 639.
64. G. MOYSE, « Les origines... », *op. cit.*, p. 29, n° XXV.
65. R. PARISOT, *Le royaume de Lorraine...*, *op. cit.*, p. 94, 106, 372 and 427.
66. See appendix for full text. Cf. map 8 and *Atlas de la France de l'an Mil...*, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and 75.
67. Cf. G. MOYSE, « Les origines... », *op. cit.*, p. 432, who doubts of the identification with Jussamoutier.
68. W. METZ, « Das Kloster Weißenburg und der Vertrag von Verdun », in C. BAUER, L. BOEHM and M. MÜLLER (dir.), *Speculum Historiale. Geschichte im Spiegel der Geschichtsschreibung und Geschichtsdeutung*, Fribourg/Munich, 1965, p. 458-468 ; J.-P. DEVRÈY, « Un monastère dans l'économie d'échanges : les services de transport à l'abbaye Saint-Germain-des-Prés au IX^e siècle », *Annales ESC*, 39 (1984), p. 570-598 ; C. HIGOUNET, « À propos de la perception de l'espace au Moyen Âge », in *Media in Francia... Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire par ses amis et collègues français*, Paris, 1998, p. 257-268.
69. U. SCHNEIDER, « Le politique dans la cartographie. Tracé des frontières, carte et territoire lors du Congrès de Berlin en 1878 », *Revue d'histoire du XIX^e siècle*, 46 (2013), p. 119-135 [<https://www.cairn.info/revue-d-histoire-du-dix-neuvieme-siecle-2013-1-p-119.htm>].
70. K. F. WERNER, *Naissance de la noblesse*, Paris, 1998, p. 308-310.

ABSTRACTS

Le traité de Meersen, qui partage le royaume lotharingien en 870 entre Charles le Chauve et Louis le Germanique, constitue un document d'importance majeure, aussi bien pour l'étude de la géographie politique du IX^e siècle que pour celle des techniques de sauvegarde d'information spatiale durant le premier Moyen Âge. Les informations fournies par ce traité, qui permettent de reconstruire le partage de Verdun de 843, posent plusieurs problèmes sur la partition concrète des *regna* en Frise, en Rhénanie et en Franche-Comté. Cet article propose une réponse aux questions liées à la situation dans l'espace jurassien en exploitant l'histoire de ses fondations monastiques.

Il s'agit là d'une tentative de spatialisation des établissements religieux du diocèse de Besançon, afin de voir si cette approche peut apporter de nouvelles connaissances concernant non seulement la perception des entités spatiales au haut Moyen Âge, mais aussi nos connaissances concrètes sur le sujet, ainsi que sur l'histoire des institutions politiques et monastiques.

INDEX

Geographical index: Jura, Lotharingie

Mots-clés: monastères, Colomban, espace, frontière, traité de partage

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