Alsace and Burgundy: Spatial Patterns in the Early Middle Ages, c. 600-900

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EDITOR’S NOTE

Cet article fait référence aux cartes 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 et 10 du dossier cartographique. Ces cartes sont réinsérées dans le corps du texte et les liens vers le dossier cartographique sont donnés en documents annexes.
The following overview concerns the question of whether forms of spatial organisation below the kingdom level are discernible in the areas corresponding to present-day Western Switzerland and Western France during the early Middle Ages. The two objects of our observation, Alsace and Burgundy, must first be defined in greater detail. From a spatial point of view, the entirety of early medieval Alsace will be considered during the years 600 to 900. In the case of Burgundy, we will concentrate on the area situated between Jura and the Alps that formed the basis of the kingdom of Rudolph the First during the late Carolingian age, following the year 888. This landscape is typically referred to by the names «Upper Burgundy», «Transjurane Burgundy», or «Transjurania»\(^1\). But these names are not contemporany significations of the landscape – a fact we have to consider, when we reflect about the spatial structures of a region as a political space in the early Middle Ages\(^2\).

We will begin with a description of the conditions during the late Roman period. In late fifth century, Alsace and northern Switzerland were still a part of the Roman Empire. The Burgundians in particular, who were settled in the area as *foederati*, in the southern part of *Maxima Sequanorum*, could rely on the basic structures of late Roman administration (cf. map 1). The Burgundian settlements included the so called *Sapaudia*, in other words the three civitates of *Genava*, *Colonia Iulia Equestris* and *Aventicum* – the area from Lake Geneva to the High Rhine in the vicinity of the mouth of the River Aare. Here the late Roman Civitas constitution remained largely intact\(^3\).
Conversely, in *Germania Prima* upheavals appear to have taken place even during the fifth century. It is possible that members of the border troops were still residing in Strasbourg and Mainz even after the year 413, however just how long the Roman border ducat remained intact remains unknown. Such statement can also be said of the reign of the *Alemanni* in the region along the left banks of the Rhine, at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries. The image of a Greater Alemannia at the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, extending from Troyes to Passau, as handed down by the so-called « Geographer of Ravenna », is a figment of the imagination of the poorly informed compiler. More authoritative is the hypothesis that the *Alemanni* briefly exercised a loosely construed suzerainty over the lands to the left of the Rhine before the Franks under Clovis intervened between 497 and 506.

Following the defeat of the first Burgundian royal dynasty at the hands of the sons of Clovis in 534 the Merovingian, the Franks finally took matters in hand. The landscape there was now shaped by the sub-realms of Austrasia and Burgundy, with their respective *sedes regia* Reims, and later Metz as well as Chalon-sur-Saône.

**Spatial structures in the Merovingian era**

« Tribal region » of the Austrasian-Burgundian border area

The first records of groups of persons of non-Roman origin in the region date to the earlier Franconian era of the early Middle Ages. Their names spread into larger areas, such as in the case of the *Alesaciones* in the *civitas Argentoratensis*, which was soon named « Strasbourg ». This name is certainly of Germanic origin and likely means « those who
live abroad ». With the dawn of the documentary tradition, Alsace is soon mentioned as a *pagus* in 695.

6 From where the first Alsatians came cannot be determined in detail, however, in what is referred to as the « Chronicle of Fredegar », they are identified as the educators of the Austrian Prince Theuderic II. This indicates that the early Alsatians were clearly in the service of the king. Their origins in this capacity are to be sought in the triangle of the palatinates of Strasbourg, Marlenheim and Selz. Northern Alsace was a core area of Merovingian Austria, which was regularly on the travel route of the Austrasian rulers.

7 Southern Alsace and northern Burgundy, however, remained beyond the reach of the Merovingian kings for a long time. The remoteness of royalty is reflected in the security situation. Even after the subjugation of the *Alemanni*, the Belfort Gap and the northern Jura were exposed to constant threat. Marauding *Suebi* could be found in the area that surrounds Luxeuil Abbey into the early seventh century.

8 As was already the case in Alsace, this uncertain situation is the reason for the settlement in the Belfort Gap by groups such as the *Scotingi*, *Varasci*, *Chattwari* and the *Chamavi* – who lent their name to the *pagi* of Escuens, Varais, Attuyer and Amous (cf. map 2) ? The German historian Eugen Ewig referred to these *pagi* on the Austrasian-Burgundian border area as « tribal *pagi* ». The latest onomastic studies identify these *gentes* in the Belfort Gap as « of Burgundian origins ».

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

9 Nevertheless, land grants were a difficult undertaking and were inconceivable without participation of the kingdom. Therefore a decisive role will be ascribed to the Merovingian rulers in the settlement of these groups, in the Austrasian-Burgundian border region.
The *Transiorani* and their *pagus*

In addition to the Alsatians, a *pagus* – with the geographical name *pagus Ultraioranus* – emerged during the Merovingian period. It was probably comprised of the five smaller *pagi* of Avenches, Valais, Nyon, Geneva and Belley, and was thus tied to the civitas structure of Sapaudia, of the former Burgundian heartland (cf. map 5). Romainmôtier monastery was situated in the southwest of the *Ultraioranus* (cf. map 10). The question of just how far this *pagus* extended to the east can only be partly answered thanks to Burgundian *patrocinia* on upper Lake Zurich. The effort to locate the northern frontier must also rely on guesswork; it is possible that Solothurn was a part of this.

Map 5 – Alsace, Swabia and Burgundy during Rudolph the First’s reign (9th century)
The Chronicle of Fredegar offers a wealth of material concerning the direction of the *pagus*. It identifies an uninterrupted series of dukes who held the title of *honor ducatus* between 590 and 614. One of them with the rank of patricius received the *pagus Scotingorum* to the south of Besançon in addition to the *pagus Ultraioranus*. This establishes the ducat as a probably militarian office granted by the king over the district of the *pagus Ultraioranus*, in the Merovingian *regnum Burgundiae*. The *duces* were used to ward off the military hazards emanating from the invading Lombards, who penetrated into the *pagus* via the Aosta Valley in Italy.\(^\text{11}\)

The *pagenses* of the Ultraiuranus had great independance. When Chlothar II sought to introduce a new duke in 614 (they started?) the resistance and murdered the partisan of Chlothar.\(^\text{12}\) Local officials, including a count and a bishop, were at the forefront of this movement. Apparently, Clothar did not renew the office after that and instead placed the groups between the Alps and Jura – *gentes qui intra Alpes septa et Iurani saltus arva incolent* –, under the direction of a duke who exercised authority on both sides of the Jura and had his seat in Besançon. Waldelenus and his son Chrannelenus, also known through the *Vita Columbani*, were also active as military leaders.\(^\text{13}\) The reports about the dukes in Besançon come to an end with Chrannelenus but the *pagus Ultraioranus* survived the crises of the late seventh century – although likely in a reduced form. Its traces can be followed into the Fifties of the eighth century, as shown recently by Brigitte Kasten and Wolfgang Haubrichs.\(^\text{14}\)

**The Etichonid dukes of the Alsatian *pagus***

The model of a great *pagus* under the direction of a duke can also be found in Alsace (cf. map 3). There is a demonstrable, continuous sequence of five dukes around the 40s of the
eighth century. The office became hereditary under the official known as Eticho. Eticho may have come from the Burgundian sub-realm, more precisely from Attuyer (cf. map 2). The documentary evidence of an impressive series of monasteries founded during the Etichonids’ time in office attests to their sphere of influence. The common spatial designations can be reconstructed with what is now a more abundant documentary tradition. The last Duke Liutfrid consistently used the term *pagus Alsacensis* to describe the area under his reign\(^7\). The domain of the dukes in Alsace also included Sornegau, the territory around Delémont with Moutier-Grandval Abbey, as well as the Ajoie, a small region in the Belfort Gap (cf. map 5).

**Map 3 – Monasteries and palaces in Alsace (until 775)**

Still not fully understood is the relationship between the two Etichonid brothers, the Duke Liutfrid and the Count Eberhard, who after 722 and following the division of an inheritance, acted alongside but not against one another in Alsace (cf. map 4). While it can be assumed that Eberhard sought proximity to the emerging Carolingian mayor of the palace, Duke Liutfrid resigned from office after 743 for reasons not entirely known\(^8\).
This last fragile phase of the Etichonid Duchy marked the first rebellion on the part of the Alemannic Leader Theobald in 741 in Alsace. Not without reason he selected Alsace, the accessible heartland of Merovingian Austria, as the theatre of his rebellion.

A brief intermediate conclusion for the Merovingian era: The bearer of the title of dux was in charge of pagi. The spatial jurisdiction of the dukes in northern Burgundy and in Alsatia was the pagus, not the ducatus. This by no means detracts from the position of the late Merovingian dukes, especially in Alsace. They collected taxes that included the universal draft, the pacification due and others – taxes later reserved for the king. This indicates the military function of the office which is also testified to by the Etichonid’s possession of a gynæceum. In late Antiquity, garments for the Roman army were produced in these workhouses for women.

Carolingian innovations

**Ducatus Alsacensis**

For Alsace under the Carolingians, the previously discernible split manifested itself through the ecclesiastical geography of the assignment between the southern region and the Diocese of Basel.

As a result, there were different counts active in the South and in the North, although this had no impact at all on the name of the region. In their official documents, the first Carolingian kings – Pepin, Carloman and then Charlemagne – made constant use of the pagus terminology. During the reign of Louis the Pious, however, notable changes occurred in geographic terminology. In the year 817 in two diplomas for Murbach Abbey, Louis’ chancellery used « in ducatu Alsacensi » in the address. In the respective successions between 840 and 878 the term ducatus Alsacensis was continued. The Introduction of the term ducatus Alsacensis thus bears the signature of Louis the Pious.
We need to remember that this was a ducatus without a dux. That’s the difference with the honor ducatus of the Merovingian time. This ducatus also comprised the Sornegau, as attested in a diploma of Lothar the First for the Moutier-Grandval Abbey. This again established a connection between Alsace and Sornegau and probably Elsgau as well.

The ducatus Elisatiae of the ninth century can be traced further. In 839, it was the subject of the plan for the division of the kingdom between Louis the Pious and Lothar the First. As part of Lotharingia between 843 and 870, Louis the German increased his efforts to acquire the region, ultimately meeting with success after the division of the regnum Lotharii (cf. map 8).

**Map 8 – Lotharingia during the ninth century**

The portio regni ultra Iuram montem

By 860 already, Lothar II, under pressure from many sides, had transferred Alsace to Louis the German – a provision that was obviously not carried through to completion. To date there has not been sufficient appreciation of the fact that Lothar II, in the immediate vicinity, proceeded in very similar fashion in the area of the now well-known pagus Ultraioranus. In 859, one year prior to the transfer of Alsace to Louis the German, he had transferred the land beyond the Jura – portio regni ultra Iuram montem – over to his brother Louis of Italy. According to Regino of Prüm, Hugbert, brother of queen Theutberga and the lay abbot of St Maurice, received the ducatus between Jura and Great St Bernard, but Hugbert rebelled against Lothar after his separation from Theutberga. Hugbert was defeated by Konrad, the father of the later King Rudolph – initially a count as well as lay abbot of St Maurice before serving as margrave between Jura and the Alps. The identity of this region with the pagus Ultraioranus is obvious.
Additionally, the group of people who lived there apparently enjoyed special rights. As the Annals of St Vaast note of the year 888: « But those beyond the Jura and on this side of the Alps campaigned for Rudolph. » Just how important this group was had already been shown after the division of Meerssen. Louis sent his son Karl to the terra ultra Iurum to secure an oath of allegiance from as many as possible following the death of his nephew, Louis of Italy. Ultimately, he also succeeded in this. Rudolph remained loyal to the East Frankish house until the death of Karl in 888. The Annales Fuldenses, from an Eastern Frankish point of view, described a part of Rudolph’s realm as Burgundia superior, an expression unused by Rudolph, who called himself rex Jurensium. A contemporary of the eleventh century baptized it as Jurensis Burgundia.

Nordgau and Sundgau in Alsace

The rise of Rudolph had consequences for Alsace. Under the Treaty of Meerssen, two counties were merged comitatus. Research owes Michael Borgolte for developing the insight that the split of Alsace, as laid down in the geographical names of Nordgau and Sundgau, does not surface until the reign of the East Francian ruler Arnulph, during the last decade of the ninth century, when the two names appear nearly simultaneously in traditional sources. The different districts of the counts and the assignment to different dioceses speak to a nomenclature oriented around long-existing structures that would place greater emphasis upon Alsace as a part of East Francia, partly in order to fend off claims by Rudolph.

Summary: Geographic patterns in early-mediaeval Alsace and Burgundy

I conclude my remarks with four summary theses:

1. Characteristics of the Austric-Burgundian border are the so-called « tribal pagi » that date back to the settlement of groups under royal supervision during the sixth century. During the Merovingian era great pagi such as Alsace and the pagus Ultraioranus are under the leadership of dukes, who describe their realms not as duchies but rather relate their honor ducatus to dominion over several pagi. In these pagi, as was shown with the example of Alsace during the late phase of the Merovingian era, they exercised rights that were tantamount to those of royalty.

2. The introduction of the spatial ducatus terminology for Alsace as a political term is a conscious innovation from Louis the Pious. Up until the Treaty of Meerssen, the term was used as an ordering category for an Alsace that had been expanded through addition of Sornegau, a layout that was lost after 870. It was a ducatus without a dux.

3. For the area in the North of Switzerland, there are no discernible efforts to revive the function of duxes as military leaders in the pagus that had already been interrupted by the year 614. The rise of the Rudolphians begins based on the office of the count and not as rulers of a spatial duchy. An adequate description of the base of the Rudolphian kingdom was the regnum Iurense (tenth century) in the tradition of the pagus Ultraioranus.

4. We can discern the following long-term spatial patterns:
   • An administrative link between Alsace and the area of the northern Jura was established under the Merovingian dukes and was discontinued only under Arnulph and Rudolph;
The independence of the territory between Jura and Alps. The relatively broad freedom enjoyed by the people living there can be explained with the key position of their territory along the passes to Italy.

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13. R. KAISER, Die Burgunder..., op. cit., p. 171. Cf. ibid., p. 177 the references to the Regnum Burgundiae as a territorial term in merovingian times.


17. K. WEBER, Die Formierung des Elsass..., op. cit., p. 142.

18. K. WEBER, Die Formierung des Elsass..., ibid., p. 142.


22. K. WEBER, Die Formierung des Elsass..., op. cit., p. 147.


This paper examines the long-term spatial concepts in today’s Northern Switzerland, in the north-east of Burgundy and in Alsace during Merovingian and Carolingian times (ca. 600-900). As a result of the examination of the words pagus and ducatus in the sources, it seems clear that the dukes of the Merovingian era in our region ruled on pagi, not duchies. However, Alsace formed a core area of the Austrasian regnum on the left side of the Upper Rhine Valley. In the late Merovingian period the dukes of Alsace received the authority over the former Burgundian parts in the Jura region. The introduction of the spatial concept ducatus in Alsace was an innovation acted under Louis the Pious (814-840). The ducatus Alsacensis was a duchy without a duke. The close relationship between the southern parts of Alsace and the former Burgundian parts were also maintained later. In 10th century, the landscape discussed here became the nucleus of the Rudolphian regnum Jurense.

Cet article étudie, sur la longue durée, les concepts spatiaux, en vigueur du VIIe au IXe siècle, dans la région qui s’étend sur le nord-est de la Bourgogne, le nord de l’actuelle Suisse et l’Alsace. L’emploi des mots pagus et ducatus dans les sources montre bien que les ducs des temps mérovingiens ont exercé leur pouvoir dans le cadre administratif d’un pagus plutôt que d’un duché. L’Alsace a formé une région centrale au cœur de l’Austrasie, sur la rive gauche de la vallée moyenne du Rhin. À la fin de l’époque mérovingienne, les ducs d’Alsace reçoivent le pouvoir sur les parties anciennement burgondes du Jura. C’est sous le règne de Louis le Pieux (814-840) qu’est introduit en Alsace le concept spatial, novateur, de ducatus. Le ducatus Alsacensis constituait un duché sans duc. Les relations étroites entre le sud alsacien et l’ancien pays burgonde ont continué à jouer un rôle considérable : au xè siècle, la région étudiée ici devient le nucleus du regnum Jurense des rois Rodolphiens.

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