

State Formation and Shared Sovereignty

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dozens of alliances asserting shared sovereignty formed in the Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries. Many accounts of state formation struggle to explain these leagues, since most studies characterize state formation as a process of internal bureaucratization within individual states. This comparative study of alliances in the Holy Roman Empire and the Low Countries focuses on a formative time in European history, from the late fifteenth century through the aftermath of the 1648 Peace of Westphalia, to demonstrate how the sharing of sovereignty through alliances influenced the evolution of the Empire, the Dutch Republic, and their various member states in fundamental ways. Alliances simultaneously supported and constrained central and territorial authorities, while their collaborative policy-making process empowered smaller states, helping to ensure their survival. By revealing how the interdependencies of alliance shaped states of all sizes in the Empire and the Low Countries, Christopher W. Close opens new perspectives on state formation with profound implications for understanding the development of states across Europe.

Christopher W. Close is Associate Professor in the Department of History at Saint Joseph's University. He has received several prestigious research grants from organizations including the German Academic Exchange Service and the American Philosophical Society. He is the author of *The Negotiated Reformation: Imperial Cities and the Politics of Urban Reform, 1525–1550* (2009) and numerous articles in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* and *European History Quarterly*.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83762-0 — State Formation and Shared Sovereignty
Christopher W. Close
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

State Formation and Shared Sovereignty

*The Holy Roman Empire and the Dutch
Republic, 1488–1696*

Christopher W. Close
Saint Joseph's University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-83762-0 — State Formation and Shared Sovereignty
Christopher W. Close
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India
79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108837620

DOI: 10.1017/9781108946827

© Christopher W. Close 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Close, Christopher W., author.

Title: State formation and shared sovereignty : the Holy Roman Empire and the Dutch Republic, 1488–1696 / Christopher W. Close.

Description: First edition. | New York : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020043696 (print) | LCCN 2020043697 (ebook) | ISBN 9781108837620 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108925082 (paperback) | ISBN 9781108946827 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Netherlands – Politics and government. | Nation-building – Netherlands – History. | Christianity and politics – Netherlands – History. | Netherlands – Foreign relations – Holy Roman Empire. | Holy Roman Empire – Foreign relations – Netherlands. | Alliances. | Sovereignty.

Classification: LCC DJ156 .C57 2021 (print) | LCC DJ156 (ebook) | DDC 949.2/03–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020043696>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020043697>

ISBN 978-1-108-83762-0 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

<i>List of Maps</i>	page vi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	vii
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	ix
Introduction	1
1 The Swabian League and the Politics of Alliance (1488–1534)	24
2 Alliances and the Early Reformation (1526–1545)	56
3 Alliances and New Visions for the Empire and the Low Countries (1540–1556)	96
4 Shared Sovereignty and Regional Peace (1552–1567)	135
5 Shared Sovereignty and Multi-confessionality in the Empire and the Low Countries (1566–1609)	168
6 Religious Alliance and the Legacy of Past Leagues (1591–1613)	209
7 Religious Alliance and the Thirty Years' War (1610–1632)	245
8 Westphalia and Politics of Alliance in the Empire and the Dutch Republic (1631–1696)	287
Conclusion	329
<i>Bibliography</i>	338
<i>Index</i>	361

Maps

- 1 Alliances in the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt (1579). Adapted from Wikimedia.org under Attribution-ShareAlike 2.5 Generic (CC BY-SA2.5) *page xi*
- 2 The Holy Roman Empire (ca. 1560). Adapted from Wikipedia.org under Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0) *xii*

Acknowledgments

Any project that takes over a decade to complete accrues numerous debts. This book is no exception. First and foremost, I wish to thank the amazing staff of the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Munich (Bavarian Main State Archive), Staatsarchiv Bamberg (Bamberg State Archive), Staatsarchiv Nuremberg (Nuremberg State Archive), Stadtarchiv Augsburg (Augsburg City Archive), and Stadtarchiv Ulm (Ulm City Archive). Without their support, aid, and advice, this project would not have been possible.

My editor at Cambridge, Elizabeth Friend-Smith, has been a stalwart supporter for years and showed great patience as I completed the manuscript. I am immensely grateful for her encouragement and recommendations. I extend my deep thanks to the anonymous reviewers she commissioned. Their comments played a central role in shaping this book, and their influence appears throughout its pages. All errors and omissions remain my own.

Several entities provided funding for this project. A Franklin Research Grant from the American Philosophical Society (APS) and a Reinvention Scholarly Research Grant from the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) allowed me to spend two summers in Germany performing archival research. Special thanks go to Ute Lotz-Heumann and Anthony Grafton for supporting my APS application, and to Mark Häberlein and everyone at the University of Bamberg for supporting my DAAD application. A summer research grant from Saint Joseph's University (SJU) and a grant from the Tuck Fund at Princeton University supported two additional summer research trips. The prelaw endowment at SJU provided crucial funds to facilitate my research. I owe a huge debt to the staff at SJU's Drexel library, who have been indefatigable in purchasing books and tracking down every obscure source I ordered through interlibrary loan. Denise Thomas and Alex Gould offered essential administrative support within SJU's history department.

Conversations with Thomas Max Safley and Rolf Kiessling influenced how I conceived of this book's parameters right from the start. I am deeply

viii Acknowledgments

indebted to both scholars for their selfless mentorship. Numerous colleagues read and commented on the manuscript as I composed it. I offer special thanks to Alan Allport, Thomas Lau, Ronald Rittgers, Philip Robinson-Roessner, Stephan Sander-Faes, Keith Shaw, and Amanda Irwin Wilkins. At SJU, the Interdisciplinary History Writing Group has been indispensable in my continued intellectual growth. Amber Abbas, James Carter, Melissa Chakars, Emily Hage, Catherine Hughes, Erik Huneke, Susan Liebell, Elizabeth Morgan, Leslie Schumacher, Rich Warren, and Brian Yates offered frequent advice that fundamentally altered this book. I could not hope for better colleagues.

Part of Chapters 2 and 6 previously appeared as “City-States, Princely States, and Warfare: Corporate Alliance and State Formation in the Holy Roman Empire (1540–1610),” *European History Quarterly* 47, 2 (2017): 205–28. Parts of Chapter 3 previously appeared as “Estate Solidarity and Empire: Charles V’s Failed Attempt to Revive the Swabian League,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 104 (2013): 134–57. I thank *EHQ* and *ARG* for permission to reuse this material.

Finally, I thank my wife, Lena, and my daughters, Eva and Emily, for putting up with me as I wrote this book. This project is as old as Emily, and it has taken me away from them for more time than I care to admit. Without their love and support, I could never have finished this book. I dedicate it to them, the three most important people in my life.

Abbreviations

<i>ARC</i>	<i>Acta Reformationis Catholicae</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>
<i>BA I</i>	Ekkehart Fabian, ed. <i>Die Schmalkaldischen Bundesabschiede, 1530–1532</i>
<i>BA II</i>	Ekkehart Fabian, ed. <i>Die Schmalkaldischen Bundesabschiede, 1533–1536</i>
<i>BayHStA</i>	Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv
<i>DKE</i>	Dreissigjähriger Krieg Entstehungsakten
<i>KÄA</i>	Kurbayern Äusseres Archiv
<i>KB</i>	Kasten Blau
<i>KS</i>	Kasten Schwarz
<i>BDLG</i>	<i>Blätter für deutsche Landesgeschichte</i>
<i>BOSS</i>	Ekkehart Fabian, ed. <i>Die Beschlüsse der oberdeutschen Schmalkaldischen Städtetage</i>
<i>BuA</i>	<i>Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges in den Zeiten des Vorwaltenden Einflusses der Wittelsbacher</i>
<i>BuANF</i>	<i>Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte des Dreissigjährigen Krieges. Neue Folge: Die Politik Maximilians I. von Bayern und seiner Verbündeten, 1618–1651</i>
<i>CEH</i>	<i>Central European History</i>
<i>GH</i>	<i>German History</i>
<i>Hj</i>	<i>Historisches Jahrbuch</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
<i>LCHY</i>	<i>The Low Countries History Yearbook</i>
<i>MÖS</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs</i>
<i>PC</i>	<i>Politische Correspondenz der Stadt Strassburg im Zeitalter der Reformation</i>
<i>PKMS</i>	<i>Politische Korrespondenz des Herzogs und Kurfürsten Moritz von Sachsen</i>
<i>RNR</i>	<i>Resolutien der Staten-Generaal. Nieuwe Reeks, 1610–1670</i>
<i>RTAj.R.</i>	<i>Deutsche Reichstagsakten unter Kaiser Karl V. Jüngere Reihe</i>

x List of Abbreviations

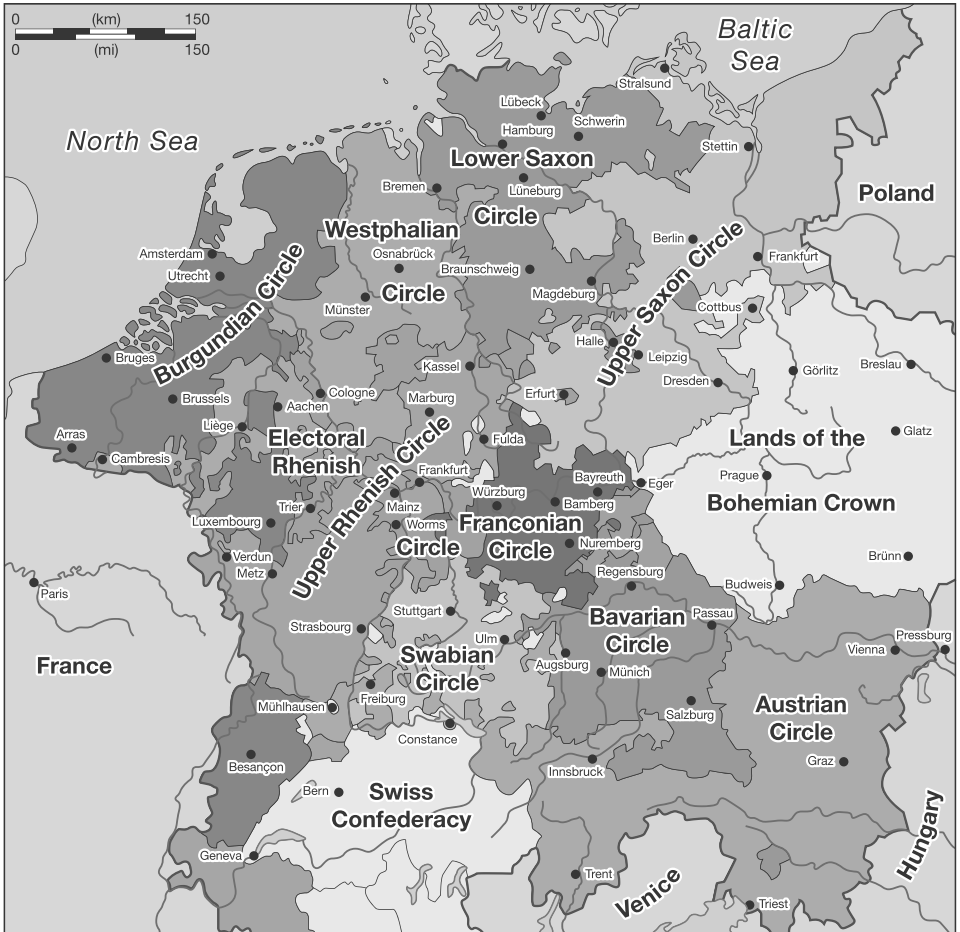
<i>SCJ</i>	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
StABa	Staatsarchiv Bamberg
GAB	Geheimes Archiv Bayreuth
GHAP	Geheimes Hausarchiv Plassenburg
StAN	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg
BB	Briefbücher der Herren Ältern
EUA	Evangelische Union Akten
RchstNbg	Reichsstadt Nürnberg
StadtAA	Stadtarchiv Augsburg
StadtAUL	Stadtarchiv Ulm
<i>UABK</i>	Lothar Gross and Robert von Lacroix, eds. <i>Urkunden und Aktenstücke des Reichsarchivs Wien zur Reichsrechtlichen Stellung des Burgundischen Kreises</i>
<i>UGSB</i>	Karl Klüpfel, ed. <i>Urkunden zur Geschichte des Schwäbischen Bundes (1488–1533)</i>
<i>ZBLG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte</i>
<i>ZGO</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins</i>
<i>ZHF</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung</i>
<i>ZHVS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Schwaben</i>
<i>ZSRG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte</i>

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-108-83762-0 — State Formation and Shared Sovereignty
 Christopher W. Close
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



1 Alliances in the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt (1579). Adapted from Wikimedia.org under Attribution-ShareAlike 2.5 Generic (CC BY-SA2.5)

Cambridge University Press
 978-1-108-83762-0 — State Formation and Shared Sovereignty
 Christopher W. Close
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



2 The Holy Roman Empire (ca. 1560). Adapted from Wikipedia.org under Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0)