

War, State and Society in Liège

How a Small State of the Holy Roman Empire
Survived the Nine Years' War (1688-1697)



Roeland Goorts

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

AVISOS DE FLANDES 17

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“Il n’ya plus un pays en Europe que soit plus surchargé que celui ci.”

P. Harsin, *Les relations extérieures de la principauté de Liège sous
Jean Louis d’Eldereren et Joseph Clément de Bavière (1668-1718)*

(Liège - Paris, 1927), p. 78.



G. Demarteau, *La France témoigne son
affection à la ville de Liège* (s.l., 1771).

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List of archival abbreviations

AAE	<i>Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères à Paris</i>
AEB	<i>Archive de l'Etat de Bruxelles</i>
AEH	<i>Archive de l'Etat de Huy</i>
AEL	<i>Archive de l'Etat de Liège</i>
AGC	<i>Le Grand Curtius museum of Liège Bibliothèque Ulysse Capitaine et Centre de documentation du Grand Curtius</i>
ARE	<i>Archives des relations Extérieures de la France</i>
BayHSTA	<i>Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv</i>
BNA	<i>British National Archives</i>
BNF	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale de France</i>
DHNA	<i>Den Haag Nationaal Archief</i>
GSPK	<i>Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz</i>
KHA	<i>Koninklijke Huisarchief Den Haag</i>
LNA	<i>Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen</i>
MBN	<i>Madrid Biblioteca Nacional</i>
NA	<i>Nationaal Archief Den Haag</i>
RAB	<i>Rijksarchief Brussel</i>
RAH	<i>Rijksarchief Hasselt</i>
RHCL	<i>Regionaal Historisch Centrum Limburg</i>
TNA	<i>The National Archives of the United Kingdom</i>

Collections in the Archive de l'Etat de Liège (AEL)

EPL	<i>Etats de pays de Liège</i>
EPLL	<i>Etats de pays de Liège en du Comté de Looz</i>
FEPLL	<i>Finances des Etats de Liège en du Comté de Looz</i>
CPL	<i>Conseil Privé de Liège</i>
EN	<i>Etat Noble/Secondaire</i>
TE	<i>Tiers Etat</i>

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Note on the nomenclature of the Nine Years' War

Fought between the Franco-Dutch War (1672-1678) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714), the Nine Years' War (1688-1697) was a closely contested conflict that manifested a reversal of French ambitions. Since this war influenced and shaped European domestic and international state structures, it has accordingly been referred to by a variety of politically loaded names. It is sometimes referred to as the 'War of the Palatine Succession', the 'Pfalzischer Krieg', or the 'Guerre d'Orléans', which acknowledges the fact that it started with the shocking devastation of the Palatinate by Louis XIV (1638-1715) on behalf of his sister-in-law Elisabeth Charlotte von der Pfalz, the duchess of Orléans (1652-1722).¹ However, the titles 'War of the League of Augsburg' and the 'War of the Grand Alliance' refer specifically to the coalition of Louis XIV's adversaries. Traditionally, Anglo-Saxon historiography has designated this conflict as the 'War of William of Orange', 'King William's Continental War', or the 'War of the English Succession' to designate its association with the hereditary issue affecting England, namely the struggle of the Protestant William of Orange (1650-1702) against the Catholic James II Stuart (1633-1701) and his 'supporter', his French cousin, Louis XIV. To avoid confusion, the neutral nomenclature 'Nine Years' War' is used throughout this book.

¹ J.P. Bothe, 'Vom Mordbrennern und Feuer-Hunden: Heidelbergs Zerstörungen im Neunjährigen Krieg als frühneuzeitliche Medienereignisse', in F. Redlich (ed.), *Arbeitskreis Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit e.v.*, 18 (2014) (Potsdam, 2016), p. 11.

CHAPTER I

Introduction to the Nine Years' War

Forty-six years before the outbreak of the Nine Years' War, the parish priest of Emael referred to war as one of the four Modern horsemen of the Apocalypse that ravished his Liégeois village.¹ During the 'Ancien Régime', war was by far the severest test that faced both the local communities and the state.² The political, economic, and social consequences of military intervention could often make or break a nation in the long-term.

In the early modern age, dynastic pursuits proved imperative in creating the dynamism of governments. Since the nineteenth century, nationalistic scholars have generally approached the history of states from a national and geo-strategical perspective. Large states, such as the newly created German second 'Reich' and Napoleonic France, received most of the attention. In recent years, scholars have looked past the Great Powers and have turned their attention to the study of the impact of war upon smaller European entities, such as Savoy, Lorraine, and the Habsburg Netherlands.³ Unfortunately, little attention has been paid to the phenomena of 'Kleinstaaterei', or the many small states situated within the Holy Roman Empire.

¹ Next to war, the priest incorrectly considered sickness, famine, and fire to be the three other riders of the Apocalypse. Cited in: E. Van Wintershoven, 'Chronique tirée des registres paroissiaux d'Emael', *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique et Littéraire du Limbourg*, 22 (1904), pp. 58-9.

² C.R. Friedrichs, *The Early Modern City: 1450-1750* (New York, 1995), p. 292; I.A.A. Thompson, *War and government in Habsburg Spain: 1560-1620* (London, 1976), p. 1. Important to keep in mind is that states not only made war but war also made states. Mentioned in: L. Pádraig (ed.), 'Conquest and Resistance: War in Seventeenth-Century Ireland', *History of Warfare*, III (Leiden - Boston - Cologne, 2001), p. 345

³ C.T. Lipp, *Noble Strategies in an Early Modern Small State: The Mabuet of Lorraine* (Rochester - Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 14-5; T. Osborne, *Dynasty, and diplomacy in the court of Savoy, political culture and the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge, 2002); B.J. Kaplan, and F. Kleinhegenbrock, *Die Grafschaft Hohenlohe im Dreißigjährigen Krieg: Eine erfahrungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Herrschaft und Untertanen* (s.l., 2003); D. Dee, *Expansion and Crisis in Louis XIV's France: Franche-Comté and Absolute Monarchy, 1674-1715* (University of Rochester Press, 2009); Idem, 'Wartime Government in Franche-Comté and the Demodernization of the French State, 1704-1714', *French Historical Studies*, 30/1 (Winter, 2007).

Throughout this publication, a specific terminology has been used to differentiate between the impact different states had on a political and military international level. This sounds as a mere simplicity or technicality, but will prove of the utmost importance to demonstrate how a small state such as the Prince-Bishopric of Liège managed the issues caused by the outbreak of the Nine Years' War. Although far from perfect and due to a lack of any academic definition we will use the following unfamiliar descriptions to define the international different political positions in power between these states. First-rate or large nations (e.g. the Great Powers of France, Spain, the Dutch Republic and also the Habsburg German dominions and possibly England) were involved and could start either deliberately or unintentionally, due to dynastic or geo-strategical interests, large-scale European wars, and consequently influenced the international relationships of smaller nations.⁴ Middle-sized (from a geographic and demographic perspective) nations of the second-rate regularly belonged to rulers who often combined several functions and held strong dynastic aspirations. These rulers specifically influenced the international political scene by changing sides, gaining monetary support, and favourably influencing first-rate nations in order to achieve short-or long-term dynastic aspirations (e.g. Bavaria, Brandenburg, Savoy,...).⁵

Third-rate or small nations were clearly smaller in size, population, and financial capabilities. Sometimes their rulers, consequently, had either less international prestige or a much smaller noble network than the larger dynasties who ruled the first- and second-rate nations (e.g. Liège, Münster, Hesse-Kassel, ...). The first- and even second-rate states influenced decidedly the internal and international policies of these small nations. Accordingly, small powers such as Liège, could be defined as being the weakest link in an unequal affiliation with other states that were capable of influencing the small state's foreign and domestic policies.

⁴ The renowned historian Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886) defined a Great Power as a country that could military maintain itself against all others, even when the other countries were allied. Although lacking in detail, this definition suits France at the end of the seventeenth-century, when it survived as a political and military independent country both the Nine Years' War and the War of the Spanish Succession. In: L. von Ranke, 'The Great Powers', in L. von Ranke and G.G. Iggers and K. von Moltke (eds.), *The Theory and Practice of History* (Indianapolis - New York, 1973), p. 86.

⁵ Blanning also referred to Brandenburg in 1688 as a second- or even third-rate state. He estimated that in 1713 this state was as political influential and comparable to states such as Piedmont and Saxony. In: T. Blanning, *Frederick the Great, King of Prussia* (St. Ives, 2016), pp. 13, 15.

This publication on the Principality of Liège will contribute to the history of small states in early modern Europe by offering new empirical insights into the functioning of the Prince-Bishopric during the Nine Years' War. This book utilizes new sources and research that combines narrative and analysis. It will offer the reader a significant new theoretical insight and provide important information on a very specific state structure yet unknown to early modern scholars. Due to its constitutional organisation, as the largest Prince-Bishopric in the realm of the Holy Roman Empire, the Liégeois canons were responsible for electing their sovereign. In addition, the Principality that dominated the Meuse valley, functioned as an important transit route bordering all opposing Western-European Great Powers of the 17th century. The Prince-Bishopric was a valuable strategic asset and functioned as a corridor allowing any army to bypass the buffer zone of the Spanish Netherlands towards either France, Germany or the Republic of the Northern Netherlands. The Liégeois their precarious geographical location implied a constant peril of facing stronger enemy states and thus acquired the need for a vigilant diplomatic corps. While being surrounded by Spain, France and the Dutch, the Prince-Bishopric successfully survived just as many German small states (Nördlingen, Kleve, Mark, Münster, Württemberg...) or other European second rank states (Savoy, Lorraine...) that were better situated for the ordeals of war.

To abstain from any entanglement in foreign military affairs the Liégeois situation implied the acquirement and application of a neutral political stance to which most foreign powers conceded. Despite the constant passage of troops, the Principality of Liège succeeded in following a semi-independent course by adopting a remarkable and unique kind of neutrality, its so-called 'neutralité perméable'. Although several early modern countries kept a form of neutrality throughout the 17th century, with the exception of the foreign policy of the Old Swiss Confederacy, these were all rather short lived. In addition, the likewise long-lasting Swiss armed neutrality deferred significantly from the Liégeois version, which was unique in its form of being a so-called permissible neutrality. Since the case study of this work is focussed on the impact of the sudden forfeiture of this neutrality in 1689, we will research how the government of the Prince-Bishopric reacted to the loss of their previous diplomatic stance. In other words: we will examine how this state coped with the altered economic, political and military situation once they had been forced to participate fully unprepared in a full-scale European early modern war.

We will check the validity of claims such as formulated by Napoleon (1769-1821) on the weaknesses of undefended states. His military maxim LVII. states that when a nation is without establishments and a military system, it is very difficult to organize an army.⁶ This publication will offer the reader insight into the specific state structures of a third-rate state, as well as on the reaction of its elite (the prince, his Estates and the Chapter) towards periods of early modern war.

The guiding principle, never to take sides in any conflict, guaranteed Liège its prosperous supply of resources: agricultural harvests, blossoming industrial production, and trade. It also, allowed foreign combatants' troops to pass through its territory, with the understanding that these soldiers would not commit any outrages and paid for their food and other supplies. In order to maintain this delicate neutrality and avoid foreign occupation, the Liégeois government showed a flexible diplomatic policy between the foreign courts who constantly tried to gain an influential foothold in the strategically and economically valuable corridor of the Prince-Bishopric. Although most surrounding countries started to develop a tendency towards centralized institutions, Liège refused to alter most of its earlier institutions and structures. During the Nine Years' War, the Prince Jean Louis d'Elderen (1620-1694), a local nobleman, and his government, were unable to resist allied and imperial pressure and were forced to actively participate in the war. This turning point in the constitutional approach to Liège's neutral policy is an excellent case-study to depict the impact of early modern warfare on a third-rate nation.

This book will focus on four fields of research:

1. An update on current academic research concerning Liège and its complex state structure, its constitution, and the different power factions in the realm will be discussed in Chapters I and II. These chapters will cover the territorial and political organisation of the Prince-Bishopric during the seventeenth century in general and the Nine Years' War in particular. The two chapters focus upon Liège as an example of the German 'Reichskirche', its divided geographical composition, its specific 'néutralité perméable', its complex feudal structure, and its different institutes of government.
2. The Nine Years' War proves to be a perfect case study to investigate the influence and the role of the prince-bishops and their relations towards the Chapter of Saint-Lambert and the Three Estates. The attempts to

⁶ G.C. D'Aguilar, *The Officer's Manual-Military Maxims of Napoleon: translated from the French by Lieut.-General Sir G.C. D'Aguilar, C.B.* (London, 1862), p. 138.

remain neutral, and how its relations with foreign countries influenced the Liégeois factions of the Chapter of Saint-Lambert. Chapters II and VI emphase how the local elite of a third-rate nation attempted to govern the realm and safeguard their privileges. The two chapters will give ample attention to the internal rivalries that arose between the prince-bishop, his Estates and the Chapter, and how the resulting issues were inevitably handled. The attempts to remain neutral and the way that domestic issues and relations with foreign envoys and their courts affected disputes among the different internal factions (prince and Privy Council, the Estates and the Chapter with its French, Liégeois-neutral and imperial parties) will be discussed. Moreover, due to their different dynastic backgrounds, both war-time princes held opposing attitudes to the war and the local Liégeois gentry. This book will explain whether these were successful and how their decisions influenced the institutions of the realm. Therefore, attention will be payed to the tension between the prince's dynastic desires and his competence to be the dominant power within the Principality.

3. The military aspects: the army and the defence structures of the Principality and its towns and villages, as well as the relationship between soldiers and the Liégeois. Nevertheless, even though the locals had always accepted the frequent movement of foreign troops through their territory, the Liégeois had not been involved in a war since 1467. Due to their forced participation in the Nine Years' War, Liège is a perfect case study on the pressures and military demands inflicted upon third-rate nations during the seventeenth century. Chapters IV, V, VII and VIII will provide us with an insight into how the Prince-Bishopric coped with allied military cooperation, logistical requests, and the organisation behind the defences of both towns and villages and the newly drafted army and militia. According to many social historians, soldiers started to act more civilly towards locals and people of different faiths after the Treaty of Westphalia. In both France and Liège, stricter rules were issued in 1692 for the conduct of the cavalry and the behaviour of the soldiers towards the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Liège, although disputes and general mistrust between soldiers and citizens did frequently occur during the Nine Years' War. We will pay ample attention to these conflicts.

4. In chapters III and IX the financial situation of this third-rate power, as well as the fiscal demands and repercussions of the war effort, are compared to other European nations. Furthermore, the readiness of both the government and its subjects to carry the burdens of war will also be considered. We will examine how they adapted to the changed political

reality, as well as how relationships and concerns developed between the Liégeois and foreign soldiers. As we will mention later on in this text, many historians have claimed that participation in war often resulted in a better rationalizing of a government's administration.⁷ Yet, as we will argue, this development was not seen in Liège, where participation in the Nine Years' War did not result in improvements in either government administration or tax-organisation. Instead, an institutional equilibrium remained in place, although the Chapter did succeed in establishing short-term control over the realm.⁸ In this matter, Liège's survival can be understood as resulting from its (in)significance in regard to its financial and political strength.

The historiographical legacy with which one engages when writing a book of this nature provides numerous challenges. The so-called 'New Military History' has revolutionised our understanding of the impact of conflict and opened up questions and topics that were wholly neglected four or more decades ago. Fortunately, a number of excellent studies of warfare and society in early modern Europe make it possible to incorporate the findings and methodological concepts behind New Military History into this study of Liège. However, the literature specific to the Prince-Bishopric leaves much to be desired. This chapter will deal with each literature set in turn.

Although the multitude of names used for the Nine Years' War prove its international significance, it still remains one of the most overlooked and under-researched conflicts in European history. The renowned Belgian scholar Henri Pirenne barely mentions the Nine Years' War in his *Histoire de Belgique* and *Histoire de l'Europe*.⁹ More recent authors such as Etienne Rooms only refer to this war within a wider perspective.¹⁰ As

⁷ J. Glete, *War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Spain, the Dutch Republic and Sweden as Fiscal-military States, 1500-1660* (London, 2002), p. 28.

⁸ As we shall discuss in the third chapter, the Estates proved themselves able to rapidly pay of their debts without disturbing the political equilibrium. See also: P. Janssens, *België in de zeventiende eeuw: De Spaanse Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik 1585-1715*, I (Brussels - Ghent, 2006), p. 279.

⁹ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, VII (Brussels, 1900-1932); Idem, *Histoire de l'Europe: Des invasions au XVIe siècle* (Brussels, 1936); Idem, *Histoire de Belgique*, V (Brussels, 1920), pp. 143, 153-4.

¹⁰ E. Rooms, *Lodewijk XIV en de Lage Landen* (Leuven, 2007). Professor dr. Rooms, in a recent small study, focused on the character of Louis XIV and his French wars against the Low Countries. The Nine Years' War is described in 30 pages, which is comparable to Child's explanation in his work on warfare in the seventeenth century. In: J. Childs, *Warfare in the seventeenth century* (London, 2001). Another Belgian expert, Professor Bragard, of UCL, wrote a well-grounded dictionary concerning

John Childs remarks, there is a general lack of recommendable works on any facet of seventeenth-century warfare.¹¹ This lacuna can be explained by the greater interest shown in the more influential War of the Spanish Succession or in the wars of 'der Alte Fritz', Frederick the Great (1712-1786). Scholars who do cover the period between 1688 and 1697 have a tendency to focus on the political aspect of this war.

Next to the vulgarising and generalising works of Wills, Wilson, and Dillon, the assembled essays of Jonathan Israel and Lois Green Schwoerer place the Glorious Revolution within a wider political and cultural context. Edward Vallance and Ted Harris consider this Revolution and its impact, but are devoid of the military implications of this event.¹² John Brewer did investigate the Revolution's effects on government, politics, and society, which transformed Britain into a major international power, but seems to have neglected to describe its military implications in detail.

Most of the vulgarised literature on the flamboyant figure of Louis XIV (1638-1715) is based on the 'mémoires' of the Duke de Saint-Simon (1675-1755), and gives much attention to his love of art and women, while offering little on the important military events that occurred during his long reign.¹³ A number of vulgarising works also exist for William

fortifications and engineers from the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, he does not provide specific information concerning the Nine Years' War in Liège, a further example of how this particular conflict and region has been neglected by even local researchers. See: P. Bragard, *Dictionnaire biographique des ingénieurs des fortifications. Pays-Bas espagnols, principauté de Liège, Franche-Comté 1504-1713* (Namur, 2011); Idem, *L'armée et la ville dans l'Europe du Nord et du Nord-Ouest: du XVIe siècle à nos jours* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2006).

¹¹ J. Brewer, *The Sinews of Power. War, Money and the English State, 1688-1783* (London, 1989), pp. 9, 19, 173. See also: J.U. Nef, *War and Human Progress* (Harvard, 1950), p. 147.

¹² J.E. Wills, *1688: A global history* (London, 2001); M. Wilson, *Happy and Glorious: The Revolution of 1688* (Stroud, 2014); J. Dillon, *The last revolution 1688 and the creation of the new world* (London, 2007); J. Israel (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge, 1991); L.G. Schwoerer, *The Revolution of 1688-89: Changing Perspectives* (Cambridge, 1992); E. Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution, 1688: Britain's Fight for Liberty* (London, 2006); T. Harris, *Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1658-1720* (London, 2006); S.C. Pincus, *England's Glorious Revolution 1688-1689: A Brief History with Documents* (Bedford, 2006); Idem, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (Yale, 2009).

¹³ A. Chéruel (ed.), *Mémoires complets et authentiques du Duc de Saint-Simon sur le siècle de Louis XIV et la régence*, XX (Paris, 1829); N. Mitford, *The Sun King* (London, 2011); V. Cronin, *Louis XIV* (Harvill, 1996); A. Fraser, *Love and Louis XIV: the women in the life of the Sun King* (London, 2007). More interesting publications on the character

III of Orange (1650-1702), such as Van der Zee's publication *William and Mary*, with others providing outdated research, like Nesca Robb's and Major Arnoldus Fabius' books. Mijers' more academic work, on the other hand, mainly focused on the public image of this 'Stadtholder-King'.¹⁴ Little is also written on the other relevant leading military figures operating in and influencing the Principality of Liège during the Nine Years' War. The general lack of academic publications from the period has caused researchers to primarily rely on source material and contemporary accounts, which include official edicts (such as the Liégeois placards) and the newspapers (European Mercurius, London gazette, Gazette de Bruxelles and others), autobiographies ('mémoires' of generals, courtiers...) and the correspondence of envoys, noblemen, local priests, etc.

Luckily, there is a larger variety in the assortment of available academic publications covering the early modern armies and political nation building during the 'Grand Siècle'.

of the 'Sun King' are: J.C. Petitfils, *Louis XIV* (Paris, 2008) and W. Beik, *Louis XIV and Absolutism* (Bedford - St. Martins, 2000); O. Chaline, *Le règne de Louis XIV* (Paris, 2005).

¹⁴ An interesting image of the political and diplomatic skill of William III is given in the published thesis of Oakley: P.S. Oakley, *William III and the northern crowns during the Nine Years' War 1689-1697* (New York, 1987). The military aspect of William III has been described in: K. Von Landmann, *Wilhelm III und Max Emanuel von Bayern im niederländischen Kriege 1692-97* (s.l., 1901); R. Kane, *The Campaigns of King William and Queen Anne from 1689-1712* (London, 1745). Vulgarised books concerning the figure of William III and Mary Stuart are: H. and B. Van der Zee, *Willem en Mary* (The Hague, 1975); J. Van der Kiste, *William and Mary: heroes of the Glorious revolution* (Stroud, 2011); C. Van Wessel, *Koning-stadhouder Willem III* (The Hague, 1939). A better description of the relation between both sovereigns is: G.N. Clarke, *The later Stuarts 1660-1714* (Oxford, 1939). Another interesting thesis concerning how the English thought about their Dutch monarch during his reign can be read in: G. Van Alpen, *De stemming van de Engelschen tegen de Hollanders in Engeland tijdens de regeering van den koning-stadhouder Willem III 1688-1702* (Assen, s.d.); R.A. Nesca, *William of Orange a personal portrait: 1674-1702*, II (London, 1966); A.N.J. Fabius, *Het leven van Willem III: 1650-1702*, V (Alkmaar, 1912); Good academic publications are: B. Bevan, *King William III: Prince of Orange, the First European* (s.l., 1997); W. Troost, *William II the Stadholder-King: a political biography* (Aldershot, 2005). A more recent scholarly work is: E. Mijers, and D. Onnekink, (eds.), *Redefining William II: the impact of the King-Stadholder in international context* (Hampshire, 2007). Interesting as a dual biography but lacking any references to sources is: L. Panhuysen, *Oranje tegen de Zonnekoning. De strijd van Willem III en Lodewijk XIV om Europa* (Amsterdam, 2016).

The link between military power, the growth of the state, and the establishment of national identity was one of the great themes of nineteenth century history.¹⁵ Traditionally, military history was the preserve of ex-military men, who regarded it as instrumental and to be used to provide lessons to members of their profession. Consequently, it privileged the study of military technology and institutions, battle instructions, tactics and strategy, weapon systems, cavalry and artillery. Most academic historians, such as Leopold von Ranke, showed an unwillingness to become involved with military history, although some very good historical accounts and essays still came out of European staff colleges.¹⁶ Whenever academics showed interest in military history, their outlook was scarcely less narrow than their military counterparts, especially in their concern with battles and campaigns.¹⁷

Moreover, most military history was not only battle-orientated, but often written up as part of a national narrative.¹⁸ Examples of these kinds of authors are John William Fortescue, Christopher Thomas Atkinson and, more recently, James Falkner.¹⁹ In the twentieth century, particularly after the Second World War, civilians started to realize that the study of

¹⁵ D. Parrott, *The business of war: Military enterprise and military revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 8-9; R.G. Asch, 'War and State building', in F. Tallett and D.J.B. Trim (eds.), *European Warfare: 1350-1750* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 322-26.

¹⁶ One could also cite the excellent works on naval history, written around the time of the first World War by Sir Julian Corbett: J.S. Corbett, *Naval and Military Essays: Being Papers read in the Naval and Military Section at the International Congress of Historical Studies, 1913* (Cambridge, 2009); Idem, *Drake and the Tudor navy: with a history of the rise of England as a maritime power*, II (London and New York, 1912); Idem, *England and the Mediterranean: A Study of the Rise and Influence of British Power Within The Straits, 1603-1713* (New York, 2007); Idem, *Campaign of Trafalgar* (London, 1910) and his *England in the Seven Years' War: a study in combined strategy*, I (Cambridge, 2010).

¹⁷ See for instance: C. Oman, *On the Writing of History* (New York, 1939); Idem, *A history of the art of war in the sixteenth century* (London, 1999); Idem, *History of the Art of War in the Middle Ages from the fourth to the fourteenth century* (Oxford, 1898); Idem, *History of the Peninsular War: 1807-1809: From the Treaty of Fontainebleau to the Battle of Corunna*, I (Oxford, 1922).

¹⁸ Von Moltke the Elder (1800-1891) even argued in favour of a national historical perspective: J. Keegan, *The Face of Battle* (London, 1976), p. 20. For an overview of the history of writing military history consult: Ibidem, pp. 54-62.

¹⁹ J.W. Fortescue, *The Sun Surmounted: the wars of the British army and the Duke of Marlborough: 1672-1712* (s.l., 1932); C.T. Atkinson, 'The British losses at Steenkirk: 1692', *The journal of the society of army historical research*, VII (s.l., 1938), pp. 200-204; J. Falkner, *Marlborough's War Machine: 1702-1711* (Barnsley, 2014).

conduct of war was too serious to be left to the generals, and military men.²⁰ Along with the changing nature of warfare, academics started to recognize that military history would simply cease to exist as a scholarly specialism if it did not broaden its vision.²¹

Today, military history, especially in Britain and the United States, remains popular with the public, but still retains a rather limited presence on university curricula, though it is now accepted that some knowledge of war is integral to a general understanding of political and societal developments. In the Anglo-Saxon world, Michael Roberts inspired a new approach to the writing of military history with his *Military Revolution in Europe between 1560 and 1660* by positing a clear link between military change and wider political and socio-economic developments.²² His thesis has been used by many scholars to re-evaluate the relationship between military and administrative developments in the early modern period.²³ In France, André Corvisier, who in 1964 produced a weighty study of his country's army during the seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries,

²⁰ Georges Clemenceau (1841-1929), French prime minister from 1917 until 1920, even remarked that: "La guerre! C'est une chose trop grave pour la confier à des militaires." Cited in: M. Ressi, *L'histoire de France en 1000 citations: Des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 2011), p. 410.

²¹ One of the first historians to analyse other aspects of warfare was Hans Delbrück (1848-1929). His most famous work *Geschichte der Kriegskunst* has been republished and translated into English in 1990: H. Delbrück, *The dawn of modern warfare: history of the art of war* (Lincoln - London, 1990).

²² M. Roberts, *The Military Revolution, 1560-1660* (Belfast, 1956), reprinted in an amended form in: Idem, *Essays in Swedish History* (London, 1967), pp. 195-225. The best survey of the debate is in: C. J. Rogers (ed.), *The Military Revolution Debate: Readings on the Military Transformation of Early Modern Europe* (Oxford, 1995). See also: G. Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West: 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 1988). On the development of scholarly writing of military history in the Anglo-Saxon, French, Dutch and German worlds consult: V. Berg-hahn, 'Die Wandlungen der deutschen Militärgeschichte in britisch-amerikanischer Perspektive', in J. Echterkamp and T. Vogel and W. Schmidt (eds.), *Perspektiven der Militärgeschichte* (Oldenbourg, 2010), pp. 67-85; S. Martens, 'Die französische Militärgeschichte seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg', in ibidem, pp. 87-97; A. Corvisier, *Histoire militaire de la France. Des origines à nos jours* (Paris, 1997); J. Duindam, 'Geschiedschrijving en oorlogvoering: de metamorfose van een klassiek thema', *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review*, 118 (4) (2003), pp. 457, 466.

²³ See for instance: E. Cameron (ed.), *Early Modern Europe: An Oxford History* (Oxford, 2001); R. Mackenney, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict* (Basingstoke, 1993).

became the founding father of 'New Military History'.²⁴ Since that time, scholars have placed war within its social, economic and institutional contexts, as they focused upon the interface between war and society and, in order to achieve this, created new methodological approaches.²⁵ Historians began to look at new topics, such as the social composition of the armed forces, the role of women in the military, the relationship between bureaucratic change and military conflict, and war's impact on the development of the state.²⁶ Medieval and early modern specialists were among the first to recognise the value of this new vision since they had long known that they were dealing with a society dominated by, and imbued with the ideals of, a military caste system.²⁷

²⁴ The 'New Military History' insisted that war had to be placed in its social, economic, and institutional contexts by focusing upon the interface between war and society, and that to achieve this a new methodological approach would be required. See for instance: A. Corvisier, *Les Français et l'armée sous Louis XIV, d'après les mémoires des intendants 1697-1698* (Vincennes, 1975); Idem, *Armées et société en Europe de 1494 à 1789* (Paris, 1976); Idem, *L'armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul: Le soldat* (Paris, 1964); Idem, *Dictionnaire d'art et d'histoire militaires* (Paris, 1988); Idem, 'Le Moral des Combattants, Panique et Enthousiasme: Malplaquet' *Revue Historique des Armées*, 12 (1977), which rests upon a study of wounds sustained in battle. Also, see Keegan's *Face of battle*, which precedes most of Corvisier's publications. See also: T.M. Barker, 'Army, aristocracy, monarchy: essays on war, society and government in Austria 1618-1780', *Brooklyn College studies on Society in Change, East European Monographs*, 16/105 (1982).

²⁵ See as good examples of this new methodology: D. R. Shaffer, *After the Glory. The Struggles of Black Civil War Veterans* (Lawrence, 2004) which is based on a study of pension records, and Corvisier, 'Le Moral des Combattants'.

²⁶ On war and the impact on society see: Brewer, *The Sinews of Power*; Glete, *War and the State*; F. Tallett, *War and Society in Early-Modern Europe: 1495-1715* (London, 1992); R. Bonney (ed.), *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c. 1200-1815* (Oxford, 1999); M. Daunton, *Trusting Leviathan: the Politics of Taxation in Britain, 1799-1914* (Cambridge, 2001); C. Storrs (ed.), *The fiscal-military state in eighteenth century Europe: essays in honour of P.G.M. Dickson* (Farnham - Burlington, 2009). On women see: E.D. Leonard, *Yankee Women: Gender Battles in the Civil War* (New York, 1994); J.A. Lynn, *Real Women, Real War: Women in the campaign community, 1500-1800* (Cambridge, 2008); P.H. Wilson, 'German Women and War, 1500-1800', *War in History*, 3 (1996), pp. 127-60.

²⁷ J.A. Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army 1610-1715* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 239. See also: K. de Vries, *Guns and Men in Medieval Europe, 1200-1500: Studies in Military History and Technology* (Aldershot, 2002). This work clearly illustrates the relationship between technology and wider changes and is a healthy antidote to the technologically-determinist ideas about the evolution of the Middle Ages that can be read in: L. White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (New York, 1962).

The defect of this approach was that it concentrated so much on the ‘peripheries’ of warfare that it ceased to grapple, or in some instances, to be concerned at all with the central business of armies and navies: fighting.²⁸ Although the ‘War and Society’ approach to military history has not been dethroned, it has nevertheless tended to blend with a third discourse, which takes the best of both preceding schools and finds new value in the study of operational details, provided that these are set within a broader context. It recognises that, at the end of the day, armies and navies were there to fight and that, in order to understand how they fought, it is necessary to know about the complexity entailed in warfare’s conduct and impact.²⁹ War is now generally considered to have been crucial in the development of the modern state, and this has subsequently led to a number of studies on the relationship between war and state development.³⁰ While writing on early modern warfare, one also has to consider the post-modern view concerning the military (r)evolution debate as described by John Childs, Geoffrey Parker, and Jeremy Black.³¹ The historian John Lynn states that this revolution is concerned with how a society mobilizes its resources for warfare. The literature discussing this theory is extensive and encompasses conflicting views as to its nature.³² Frank Tallett and David Trim have recently taken this debate into consideration in their edited collection on War, State, and Society.³³

While older authors, such as David Chandler, still provided detailed illustrations of the importance of warfare in the seventeenth century, without taking into account the influence of warfare on local communities

²⁸ M. Howard, ‘Military history and the history of war’ in M. Williamson and R. Sinreich (eds.), *The Past as Prologue: the importance of History to the Military Profession* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 12-22.

²⁹ See for instance the intro to: Tallett and Trim (eds.), *European Warfare*, p. 2.

³⁰ Thompson, *War and government*, p. 1.

³¹ See for instance: J. Black, *A military revolution? Military change and European society 1550-1800* (London, 1991); Idem, *Rethinking military history* (London, 2004), pp. 67-82; Idem, *Beyond the Military Revolution: War in the Seventeenth Century World* (London, 2011).

³² J.S. Nolan, ‘The militarization of the Elizabethan State’, *The Journal of Military History*, 58, (1994), pp. 39, 393-94.

³³ For further information on the debate, see: Rogers, *The military revolution debate*; J. Black, *European Warfare 1660-1815* (New Haven, 1994); Idem, *Rethinking military history* (London, 2004); Idem, *From Louis XIV to Napoleon: The fate of a Great Power* (London, 1999); Childs, *Warfare*, especially the chapter on the death of the military revolution, pp. 16-7.

and on the development of nations, newer historians, such as John Stapleton, refer to this approach as outdated.³⁴ Consequently, Stapleton's thesis focussed on the relations between the allied powers during this period of warfare. The author also occasionally refers to the Prince-Bishopric of Liège. Anglo-Saxon academics, such as John Lynn, Benjamin Kaplan, and David Trim, who wrote articles on Catholic Communities in Protestant States, on War and Religion after the Peace of Westphalia and on Coexistence, Conflict, and the Practice of Toleration influenced this new third research attitude.³⁵

For the moment, British historians have taken the lead in early modern military research, but only Lynn, Childs and George Clark have conducted recent scholarly studies on the Nine Years' War.³⁶ Most of the latter's studies focus on the military campaigns and movements of the army of William III (1650-1702) in the Low Countries and Ireland.³⁷ He has also examined French campaigns and operations, as well as their use of siege warfare. Lynn's opus magnum still remains the 'Giant of the Grand Siècle'.³⁸ In this work, he describes the institution and organisation of the French early modern army. Next to his study on the organisation of

³⁴ D. Chandler, *The art of Warfare in the age of Marlborough* (London, 1976); J.M. Stapleton, 'Forging a coalition army: William III, The Grand Alliance and the confederate army in the Spanish Netherlands: 1688-1697' (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Ohio State University, 2003), pp. 26, 93. Stapleton's dissertation is an interesting starting point from which to study the Dutch efforts on the allies their behalf during the Nine Years' War.

³⁵ D.J.B. Trim, 'Calvinist Internationalism and the English Officer Corps, 1563-1642', *History Compass*, 4 (2006), pp. 1024-48; See the conclusion by B.J. Kaplan in: D. Onnekink (ed.), 'War and Religion after Westphalia, 1648-1713', in idem, *Politics and Culture in Europe 1650-1750* (Farnham, 2009), pp. 251-255; B.J. Kaplan, 'Coexistence, Conflict, and the Practice of Toleration', in R. Po-chia Hsia (ed.), *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 486-505. Another good starting point to study the micro-level of the relationship between soldiers and faith is: B. Marschke, *Absolutely Pietist: Patronage, Factionalism, and State Building in the Early Eighteenth-Century Prussian Army Chaplaincy* (Cambridge, 2005).

³⁶ J. Childs, *The British army of William III: 1689-1702* (Manchester, 1987). Lynn also frequently refers to this war in his publications: *Giant*; Ibidem, *The French Wars: 1667-1714: The Sun King at war* (Oxford, 2002). See also: Black, *From Louis XIV to Napoleon*, pp. 51-61.

³⁷ Childs, *Warfare*, p. 218; Idem, *The Nine Years' War and the British Army 1688-1697: the operations in the Low Countries* (Manchester, 1991).

³⁸ J.A. Lynn, *Giant*. An interesting publication describing the French army's early modern origin, its composition, and equipment can be found in: O. Chaline, *Les armées du Roi: Le grand chantier - XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 2016).

the French army, this author concentrates on various martial aspects in his different studies on the wars of the 'Roi-Soleil'.³⁹

In addition, Guy Rowlands investigated the structure of the French army and its influence.⁴⁰ George Clark contributes to our understanding of this conflict with his outdated publication on the origins of the Nine Years' War.⁴¹ Moreover, the academic Roger Mettam studied the internal administration of France between 1661 and 1683, while Joel Cornette focused on Louis XIV as a warrior king.⁴² David Parrott examined the rise, success, and transformations of military enterprise in early modern Europe, especially within the army of Richelieu.⁴³ In his *Business of war*, which investigates the truly significant and hitherto misunderstood role of private enterprise in conflicts, he noted that foreign troops remained useful for third-rate states, such as Liège.⁴⁴ By building and revising Fritz Redlich's fundamental work, Parrott offered important material for any discussion on military provisioning and contributions.⁴⁵

In his most recent publication, Christopher Storrs assembles first-rate articles on the fiscal-military state in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe. Tallett, whose publication illustrates the influence of warfare on the state and society in early modern Europe, focuses more on the social-economic level.⁴⁶ Tallett and Joel Felix, his co-author, point out

³⁹ J.A. Lynn, *The wars of Louis XIV*; Idem, *The French Wars*; Idem, 'Recalculating French army growth in the Grand Siècle: 1610-1715', in Rogers, *Military Revolution Debate*, pp. 117-48; Idem, 'Tactical evolution in the French army 1560-1660', *French Historical Studies*, 14 (1985), pp. 176-91.

⁴⁰ G. Rowlands, *The dynastic state and the army under Louis XIV: Royal service and private interest 1661-1701*, (Cambridge, 2002).

⁴¹ G.N. Clark, *The Character of the Nine Years' War* (Cambridge, 1954).

⁴² J.S. Cornette, *Le roi de guerre: Essai sur la souveraineté dans la France du Grand Siècle* (Paris, 1993).

⁴³ D. Parrott, *Richelieu's army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624-1642* (Cambridge, 2001); Idem, 'War and International Relations in Seventeenth-Century Europe', in J. Bergin (ed.), *The Oxford History of Seventeenth-Century Europe*, (Oxford, 2001); Idem, 'Strategy and tactics in the Thirty Years War', in Rogers, *Military Revolution Debate*, pp. 227-52; R. Mettam, *Power and faction in Louis XIV's France* (New York, 1988).

⁴⁴ See footnote 10, p 83.

⁴⁵ See Ill. 3 (p. 354) for a printed request. F. Redlich, 'The German military enterpriser and his workforce', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 2 (1964), pp. 47-8; Idem, 'De Praede Militari, Looting and Booty, 1500-1815', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 39 (1956), pp. 41-53, 225-6; D. Parrott, 'From military enterprise to standing armies: war, state and society in western Europe, 1600-1700', in Tallett and Trim (eds.), *European Warfare*, pp. 74-95.

⁴⁶ Tallett, *War and Society*.

the long-term consequences of the French war policy.⁴⁷ Mark Fissel has edited an additional study that concerns the political aspect of warfare in seventeenth century Britain.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, the conduct, policy, and international perspective of the German, Northern Netherlandish, and other troops who fought in the Nine Years' War is scarcely mentioned in most French and Anglo-Saxon publications.⁴⁹ Among German scholars such as Bernhard Kroener, there is a tendency to focus their 'neue Militärgeschichte' more on diversity and the numerous cultural issues of military history.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ F. Tallett and J. Félix, 'The French experience 1661-1815', in Storrs (ed.), *The fiscal-military state*, pp. 147-66. See also: J. Glete, *Swedish Naval Administration, 1521-1721* (Leiden, 2010); M.E. Ailes, *Military migration and state formation: The British Military Community in Seventeenth-Century Sweden* (University of Nebraska Press, 2002); J. Brewer and J.A. Styles (eds.), *An Ungovernable people: the English and their law in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (London, 1980); J. Brewer and H. Eckhart (eds.), *Rethinking Leviathan: The Eighteenth-Century State in Britain and Germany* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 1-23, 127-49; S. Gunn, D. Grummitt, and H. Cools, 'War and the State in Early Modern Europe: Widening the Debate', *War in history*, 15 (2008), pp. 371-88; C. Jones, *The Great Nation. France from Louis XIV to Napoleon* (London, 2002), p. 52.

⁴⁸ B.M.C. Fissel, (ed.), *War and government in Britain 1598-1650* (Manchester, 1991).

⁴⁹ P.H. Wilson, *German armies War and German politics, 1648-1806* (London, 1998).

⁵⁰ B. Kroener, *Lebenswelten: militärische Milieus in der Neuzeit: gesammelte Abhandlungen* (Münster, 2010), p. 105; Idem, 'Europa im Zeitalter Friedrichs des Großen. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kriege', *Beiträge zur Militärgeschichte*, XXVI (Munich, 1989); T. Wollschläger, *Die "Military Revolution" und der deutsche Territorialstaat unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Brandenburg-Preußens und Sachsens* (Norderstedt, 2002), p. 25; J. Nowosadtko, *Krieg, Gewalt und Ordnung. Einführung in die Militärgeschichte* (Tübingen 2002), p. 35; D. Hohrath, 'Der Bürger im Krieg der Fürsten', in R. Bernhard and B. Kroener and R. Pröve (eds.), *Krieg und Frieden: Militär und Gesellschaft in der frühen Neuzeit* (Paderborn, 1996), pp. 205-322. See also: R. Bernhard, 'Militär in der Gesellschaft. Aspekte einer neuen Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit', in T. Kühne and B. Ziemann (eds.), *Was ist Militärgeschichte?* (Paderborn, 2000), pp. 283-299; M. Messerschmidt, (ed.), *Militärgeschichte: Probleme, Thesen, Wege* (Stuttgart, 1982); S. Morillo and M.F. Pavkovic, *What is Military History?* (Cambridge, 2013); R. Pröve, 'Vom Schmuttelkind zur anerkannten Subdisziplin? Die neue Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit und der AMG', *AMG - Bulletin*, (5) 1 (Potsdam, 2001), pp. 6-17; F. Schönfuß, *Mars im hohen Haus: Zum Verhältnis von Familienpolitik und Militärkarriere beim rheinischen Adel 1770-1830* (Göttingen, 2017). Concerning the Military Revolution debate in German scholarship it must however be noted that: "Das Konzept der Military Revolution ist längst zu einer festen Größe innerhalb der Militärgeschichte geworden. Umso mehr erstaunt der scheinbare Widerwille, mit dem die deutschsprachige Forschungslandschaft sich noch immer dieser Herausforderung nähert, die in englischsprachigen Publikationen bereits seit Jahrzehnten ebenso hitzig wie gewinnbringend diskutiert wird." Cited in: S. Petersen (ed.), *Arbeitskreis Militär*

Next to a large number of general studies, their research often concern interesting case studies on the micro-level, the contemporary ideas and ‘Wertvorstellungen’ of the ‘military men’, and, especially, the handlings and interactions of the soldiers and their environment.⁵¹ In a similar spirit, Frank Kleinhagenbrock wrote on the Thirty Years’ War (1618-1648), while Jürgen Luh composed a summary of conflicts in his publication on the Holy Roman Empire.⁵² Markus Meumann studied some interesting social aspects on the micro-level of warfare. He researched the soldier as an ‘entrepreneur’ and described the consequences of military occupation in the Empire.⁵³

Other scholars, the most prominent of which is likely Jutta Nowosadtko, wrote on violence and the impact of the quartering foreign soldiers.⁵⁴ Ralf Pröve referred to the army as a safeguard for the social political order

und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit e.v., 19/2015 (Potsdam, 2017), p. 133. On the ‘deutschen Militärgeschichte’ consult: T. Wollschläger, ‘Die “Military Revolution” und der deutsche Territorialstaat unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Brandenburg-Preußens und Sachsens. Determinanten der Staatskonsolidierung im europäischen Kontext 1670-1740’ (Unpublished PhD dissertation, Halle-Saale, 2002), pp. 21, 25, 43.

⁵¹ Consult for instance: A. Pühringer (ed.), *Militär und materielle Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, XIII, nr. 1 (Potsdam, 2009); J. Nowosadtko and R. Matthias, ‘Mars und die Musen’, *Das Wechselspiel von Militär, Krieg und Kunst in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Münster, 2008); J. Nowosadtko, *Stehendes Heer im Ständestaat: Das Zusammenleben von Militär- und Zivilbevölkerung im Fürstbistum Münster 1650-1803* (Paderborn, 2011); B. Kroener, ‘Violenta und Potestas. Perzeptionsprobleme von Gewalt in Söldnerstagebüchern des 17. Jahrhunderts’, *Lebenswelten*, pp. 25-27, 72.

⁵² F. Kleinhagenbrock, ‘Nun müßt ihr doch wieder alle katholisch werden: der Dreißigjährige Krieg als Bedrohung der Konfession in der Grafschaft Hohenlohe’, in A. M. Asche and A. Schindling (eds.), *Das Strafgericht Gottes. Kriegserfahrungen und Religion im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Beiträge aus dem Tübinger Sonderforschungsbereich Kriegserfahrungen - Krieg und Gesellschaft in der Neuzeit* (Münster, 2001), pp. 59-122; J. Luh, *Unheiliges Römisches Reich: Der konfessionelle Gegensatz 1648-1806* (Potsdam, 1995).

⁵³ M. Meinhardt and M. Meumann (eds.), ‘Die Kapitalisierung des Krieges: Kriegsunternehmer in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit’, *Herrschaft und soziale Systeme in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 11 (Berlin, 2013); M. Meumann, ‘Soldatenfrauen und uneheliche Kinder. Ein soziales Problem im Gefolge der Stehenden Heere: Krieg und Geschlechterverhältnisse. Untersuchungen, Überlegungen und Fragen zur Militärgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit’, in R. Pröve (ed.), *Klio in Uniform? Probleme und Perspektiven einer modernen Militärgeschichte der frühen Neuzeit* (s.l., 1997). For Liège see also for instance: AEL, CPL, 3 Dec. 1695. and 23 Feb. 1696, *Inventaire, Interdiction aux bourgeois de Liège d’acheter de la viande des militaires au préjudice du métier des bouchers*, nr. XXXVII, f. 190 r.

⁵⁴ Nowosadtko *Krieg, Gewalt und Ordnung*; Idem and N. Sönke, and D. Hohrath (eds.), ‘Kriegsgreuel. Die Entgrenzung der Gewalt in kriegerischen Konflikten vom Mittelalter bis ins 20. Jahrhundert’, *Krieg in der Geschichte* (Paderborn, 2008).

and collaborated with Karen Hagemann on examining the gender role of soldiers' wives and female sutlers.⁵⁵ Moreover, Hagemann has also focussed on the birth of modern war heroism in Prussia and nineteenth-century gender studies. Beate Engelen provides a good study on early modern soldier marriage and garrison life from a woman's perspective.⁵⁶ A different point of view was added by Daniel Hohrath, who specialises on the role of science in warfare.⁵⁷ Marian Füssel, who is primarily renowned for his publication on the Seven Years' War, contributed to this changing trend by examining the history of battles from a cultural perspective.⁵⁸ This model of 'neue Militärgeschichte' allows the military scholar to expand his or her research into the socio-economic, scientific and cultural consequences of war and peace in society. Some of the aforementioned conclusions and theories on the relationship between soldiers and civilians and war and state development will allow us to compare our research results.

Sociologists and political historians generally consider that only sovereign states and, eventually, strong nation states evolved in Europe after the Peace of Westphalia (1648).⁵⁹ This conclusion, however, derives from the fact that most studies have, until recently, been focused on larger countries, such as France, Britain, Spain, and second-rate regions, such as Savoy and Bavaria.⁶⁰ One has to keep in mind, though, that the situation

⁵⁵ K. Hagemann, and R. Pröve (eds.), *Landsknechte, Soldatenfrauen und Nationalkrieger: Militär, Krieg und Geschlechterordnung im historischen Wandel* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998); R. Pröve, 'Der Soldat in der guten Bürgerstube: Das frühneuzeitliche Einquartierungssystem und die sozioökonomischen Folgen', in B.R. Kroener and R. Pröve (eds.), *Krieg und Frieden: Herrschaft und Soziale Systeme in der Frühen Neuzeit*, 11 *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit e.v.* (Paderborn, 1996), pp. 39-68.

⁵⁶ B. Engelen, 'Warum heiratet man einen Soldaten? Soldatenfrauen in der ländlichen Gesellschaft Brandenburg-Preussens im 18. Jahrhundert', in K. Neitmann and J. Theil and O. Grundel (eds.), *Die Herkunft der Brandenburger* (Potsdam 2001); Idem, *Soldatenfrauen in Preussen: eine Strukturanalyse der Garnisonsgesellschaft im späten 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Potsdam, 2003); K. Hagemann, 'Reconstructing front and home: gendered experiences and memories of the German wars against Napoleon: a case study', *War in History*, XVI (s.l., 2009).

⁵⁷ D. Hohrath, 'Spätbarocke Kriegspraxis und aufgeklärte Kriegswissenschaften. Neue Forschungen und Perspektiven zu Krieg und Militär', *Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, XII (s.l., 2010).

⁵⁸ M. Füssel, *Der Siebenjährige Krieg. Ein Weltkrieg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Munich, 2012); Idem, 'Zur Kulturgeschichte eines Ereignisses', *Waterloo 1815* (Munich, 2015).

⁵⁹ S.D. Krasner, *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy* (Princeton, 1999), p. 20; T.E. Aalberts, *Constructing Sovereignty between Politics and Law* (Abingdon, 2012), pp. 37-8.

⁶⁰ Only Thompson mentions that war did not necessarily produce stronger states: Thompson, *War and government*, p. 283.

of every state was unique, an aspect that has not been fully considered when taking into account the effect of the military (r)evolution.⁶¹ Geoffrey Parker's general assumption, that the need for a standing army and stronger fortifications implied a better administration and taxation, has been widely agreed upon and accepted, despite the acuity with which Irving A.A. Thompson argued that sixteenth-century Spain represented a counter-case during the reign of Philip II Habsburg (1527-1598).⁶²

Other noteworthy publications are Olaf van Nimwegen's book that positions the Dutch Republic as a European power during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), Marion De Jong's publication on the military reforms in the United Provinces between 1585 and 1621, and Robert I. Frost's first attempt to understand the very different impact of the change of warfare in north-eastern Europe.⁶³

In addition, the historiography of the Holy Roman Empire has often been either neglected or generalized.⁶⁴ In comparison to the studies of Joachim Whaley, Jason Philip Coy, and Friedrich Heer, James Bryce's reprinted works offer a good summary of imperial institutions.⁶⁵

Unfortunately, this work is quite outdated.⁶⁶ Often, these authors try to cover and describe the complicated imperial organisation in only one volume.⁶⁷ Researching the Liégeois' 'imperial identity' and their

⁶¹ A. Hughes, *The causes of the English Civil War* (New York, 1998), pp. 12-4, 39; Nolan, 'The militarization of the Elizabethan State', p. 394.

⁶² Thompson, *War and government*, pp. 2-4, 6, 67, 99-100.

⁶³ O. van Nimwegen, *Deser landen krijghsvolck: het Staatse leger en de militaire revoluties: 1588-1688*, 2006); M.A.G. De Jong, *Staat van oorlog: Wapenbedrijf en militaire hervorming in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden: 1585-1621* (Hilversum, 2005); R.I. Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558-1721* (Harlow, 2000). Also interesting from this perspective are: C. Stevens, *Russia's Wars of Emergence 1460-1730* (New York, 2007).

⁶⁴ On 'Kleinstaaterei' consult: P.H. Wilson, *War, state and society in Württemberg: 1677-1793* (Cambridge, 1995); C.R. Friedrichs, *Urban society in an age of war: Nördlingen 1580-1720* (Princeton, 1979); R. Pröve, *Stehendes Heer und städtische Gesellschaft im 18. Jahrhundert: Göttingen und Seine Militärbevölkerung: 1713-1756* (Oldenbourg, 1995); Nowosadtko, *Stehendes Heer im Ständestaat*.

⁶⁵ The most recent publication on the Empire is: P.H. Wilson, *The Holy Roman Empire: a thousand years of Europe's history* (St. Ives, 2017). Although very interesting his work does lack a chronological overview of the evolution of the Empire.

⁶⁶ J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire* (New York, 2009); F. Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire* (London, 1986).

⁶⁷ See for instance: G. Naumann, *Deutsche Geschichte: Das Alte Reich 962-1806* (Wiesbaden 2013); J.F. Noël, *Le Saint-Empire* (Paris, 1986); J. Schillinger, *Le Saint-Empire* (Paris, 2002).

relationships with the emperor and other realms of the Empire will give us valuable new insights into this topic.⁶⁸

Recently, some researchers started to look into the development of smaller states and regions, such as Nördlingen, Württemberg, Savoy, Münster, Hesse-Kassel, Lorraine, and Brittany. A number of them have come to totally different conclusions.⁶⁹ In 1979, Christopher Friedrichs conducted an interesting study concerning the semi-independent 'Reichsstadt' of Nördlingen in which he proved that local studies are not the second-class citizens of historical literature, but rather can be useful as building blocks upon which broad comparative studies or works of historical synthesis can be constructed.⁷⁰ Peter Hamish Wilson is another academic who endeavoured to research the German 'Kleinstatenpolitik', often referred to as 'Kleinstaaterei', or the struggle of the prince to gain more domestic power, and whose studies focused upon the state of Württemberg. He argued that the structure of the 'Alte Reich' provided a kind of military security which permitted the smaller states to concentrate on their domestic policy. Many of these territories were run as family concerns

⁶⁸ On the history of the Holy Roman Empire consult: J. Whaley, *Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation und seine Territorien. 1493-1806* (Darmstadt, 2014); Idem, *Germany and the Holy Roman Empire: The Peace of Westphalia to the dissolution of the Reich: 1648-1806*, I and II (Oxford, 2012); P.H. Wilson, 'The Holy Roman Empire 1495-1806', *Studies in European History* (London, 2011); Idem, *Heart of Europe: A History of the Holy Roman Empire* (Harvard, 2016). For a non-chronological overview of its traditions please consult: J.P. Coy and B. Marschke and D.W. Sabeau (eds.), *The Holy Roman Empire: reconsidered*, I (New York, 2010); K.O. von Aretin, *Das Alte Reich 1648-1806*, IV (Stuttgart, 1993-2000); B. Stollberg-Rilinger, *Das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation. Vom Ende des Mittelalters bis 1806* (Munich, 2013); On the Holy Roman Empire during the early modern period consult: P.C. Hartmann, *Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation in der Neuzeit 1486-1806* (Stuttgart, 2005); A. Gotthard, *Das Alte Reich 1495-1806* (Darmstadt, 2003); H. Neuhaus, 'Das Reich in der frühen Neuzeit', *Enzyklopädie Deutscher Geschichte*, 42, (Munich, 2003); F.E. Schrader, *L'Allemagne avant l'État-nation. Le corps germanique 1648-1806* (Paris, 1998); G. Schmidt, *Geschichte des Alten Reiches. Staat und Nation in der Frühen Neuzeit 1495-1806* (Munich, 1999); J. Arndt, *Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Niederlande 1566 bis 1648: politisch-konfessionelle Verflechtung und Publizistik im Achtzigjährigen Krieg* (Böhlau, 1998).

⁶⁹ See for example: Lipp, *Noble Strategies*; C. Storrs, *War, Diplomacy and the rise of Savoy: 1690-1720* (Cambridge, 1999).

⁷⁰ Friedrichs, *Urban society*. On other regions such as Cologne and Münster consult also: Nowosadtko, *Stehendes Heer im Ständestaat*. On Cologne consult: L. Hüttl, *Max Emanuel. Der Blaue Kurfürst 1679-1726. Eine politische Biographie* (Munich, 1976). and R.E. Blacha, *Johann Friedrich Karg Von Bebenberg: Ein diplomat der Kurfürsten Joseph Clements von Köln und Maximilian-Emanuel von Bayern: 1668-1694* (Bonn, 1983).

in the manner of a landlord running a country estate. Wilson proves that no seventeenth century ruler was entirely absolute, since they all were hindered to a greater or lesser extent by estates, bureaucracies, and other obstacles.⁷¹ Although valuable, Wilson's conclusions are not entirely relevant to Liège which, as a Prince-Bishopric, had no hereditary prince who could pursue dynastic policies. Nevertheless, his work prompts the questions of how the competition for power between the ecclesiastical lord and the other sovereign units in Liège evolved and if this rivalry influenced their relations with different courts and, especially, with their overlord, the German emperor. In his work on Savoy, the earlier mentioned, Christopher Storrs follows the successful formation of an embryonic lordship into a well-defined sovereign unit between 1690 and 1713.⁷² Duke Victor Amadeus II (1666-1723) consolidated his absolute power by forcing the nobility to partake in an increasingly centralized administration. In this way, the experience of the Savoyard state largely conforms to the aforementioned pattern that is often referred to as the system of Westphalian sovereignty.

More relevant to research concerning the Principdom of Liège, the neighbouring Prince-Bishopric of Münster seemed to exist within a similar political and social climate, as it also successfully survived the wars of Louis XIV, but did so by following a completely different path in which provincial leaders opted for greater military engagement. Even though the discussion about a 'neutralité armée' remained idle talk in Liège, the 'military' Princes of Münster recognized that this form of neutrality would prove to be an unattainable goal for such a small state and they instead actively sought alignment with other powers.⁷³

Charles W. Ingrao has looked at the impact of conflict on another small state, though it should be noted that his research focuses upon the late-eighteenth century.⁷⁴ He suggests that although many second-

⁷¹ Friedrichs, *Urban society*, p. 16; Wilson, *War, state and society*, pp. 7, 10-2, 47; T. Jacobsen and R. Sampford (eds.), *Re-Envisioning Sovereignty: The End of Westphalia?* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 194; R. Axtmann, *Democracy: Problems and Perspectives* (Edinburgh, 2007), p. 135; S.D. Krasner, *Problematic Sovereignty: Contested Rules and Political Possibilities* (New York, 2001), p. 11.

⁷² Storrs, *War, Diplomacy*.

⁷³ Especially Prince-Bishop Christoph Bernhard von Galen (1606-1678) was renowned as a military entrepreneur. In: D.E. Kaiser, *Politics and War: European Conflict from Philip II to Hitler* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 189; R. Po-chia Hsia, *Society and Religion in Münster, 1535-1618* (Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 69, 202.

⁷⁴ C.W. Ingrao, *The Hessian mercenary state: Ideas, institutions and reform under Frederick II, 1760-1785* (Cambridge, 2003). While Theibault his academic publication focuses

rate German princes were obliged to work with their territorial estates and were therefore vulnerable to corporate opposition to controversial domestic reforms, this was not the case in the Landgraviate of Hesse-Kassel. Its advantageous mercenary trade ('Soldatenhandel') provided their 'Landgraf' with the necessary financial and constitutional resources to launch domestic programs of its own and allowed leaders to make decisions regardless of expense or the opposition of the estates. This relative freedom of the ruler differentiates Hesse-Kassel not just from Liège but from most German territories.

The recent work of Charles T. Lipp provides a critical and valuable insight into the survival of the Duchy of Lorraine during times of hardships. He proves the durability of the small state model in which a perceptive elite developed successful strategies to overcome the changes and chaos of its time. In addition, Lipp mentions that the elite of Lorraine developed a 'European attitude', meaning that they based their political alternations, preferences, and decisions upon actual West-European events. Comparable to the Liégeois, the elite favoured maintenance of the domestic equilibrium. James B. Collins, in his study on society in early modern Brittany, also stated that the primary goal of the French elite was the preservation of order in an ever-changing world, where the hierarchical social order gradually evolved into a sovereign state.⁷⁵

The aforementioned works are a starting point for our study on the survival of the Principality of Liège during the Nine Years' War. As in other German states, the prince had to cooperate, whether out of choice or necessity, with the corporate bodies, the political institutions, and the nobility that controlled them in order to preserve the people's welfare and independence. Thus, the Liégeois state structure did not evolve towards the Westphalian model but kept the former delicate power equilibrium intact.

on the period of the Thirty Years' War most research on Hesse-Kassel concerns the period of the American Revolution and the 18th century. Consult for instance: J. Theibault, 'German Villages in Crisis: Rural Life in Hesse-Kassel and the Thirty', *Studies in German History* (Boston, 1995); R. Atwood, *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1980). Even when its army was doubled during the Nine Years' War to 20,000 men, this war is mostly neglected in the research on this region. In: P.K. Taylor, *Indentured to Liberty: Peasant Life and the Hessian Military State, 1688-1815* (New York, 1994), p. 7; K. Bernhardt, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Landgrafen Karl von Hessen-Kassel: Von ihm selbst Dictirt* (Kassel, 1866).

⁷⁵ Lipp, *Noble Strategies*, p. 3. For a similar conclusion in Brittany see: J.B. Collins, *Classes, Estates, and Order in Early Modern Brittany* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 187.

As previously emphasised, the powerful empires, such as France and the Habsburgs, and second-rate powers, such as Sweden, Denmark, Prussia and Savoy, receive ample historiographical attention, but there is little on the issue of third-rate nations like Liège. Therefore, this study is inherently unique, as it contributes to a small, yet growing, field concerning this model of 'Kleinstaaterei' on the third-rate nations in the early modern period.

For decades, the history of early modern Liège has been neglected by historians, who paid little attention to the region's political organisation and even less to the consequences of warfare in the tiny Prince-Bishopric. Until recently, except for a few academic studies, both international and Belgian publications on early modern warfare have barely mentioned the existence of the former Princedom.⁷⁶ The reasons for this neglect are not hard to find. From its creation in 1830, the newly-established Belgium state needed a 'proper national' history, causing many scholars to focus their research upon the Southern Netherlands. The Prince-Bishopric's former territory was divided and integrated into four new provinces – Liège, Limburg, Namur, and Hainaut – and the County of Hoorn, and the city of Maastricht even became part of the neighbouring Netherlands. It was inconvenient, to say the least, for Belgian nationalist historiography to refer to neutral, independent Liège. However, by the turn of the twentieth century, some of the first great academic Belgian historians were inspired to research Liège's history. Recent historians disapprove of the enormous output of the nineteenth-century Liégeois archivist Jean Daris because he did not refer to the sources in his publications, although this was typical during that time. Still, his 'opus magnum', *Histoire du diocèse et du principauté de Liège*, and *Notices historiques sur les églises du diocèse de Liège* were great achievements because he compiled and transcribed records from numerous archives that have since disappeared, usually without fault.⁷⁷ During our research, most available sources in the archives prove that his work is generally trustworthy.

Paul Harsin published another important, and very reliable, work in 1927 that concerned the reign of Jean Louis d'Elderden (r. 1688-1694) and

⁷⁶ P.H.J. Ubachs, *Algemene geschiedenis van Limburg: een handboek* (Hilversum, 2000), p. 20; J. Daenen, J. Mertens and R. Goorts, *Limburg in 't geweer, Oorlogsleed in het Land van Loo van Alva tot Napoleon* (Bilzen, 2008), pp. 7-9; H. Van Houtte, *Les occupations étrangères en Belgique sous l'Ancien Régime* (Ghent - Paris, 1930), pp. XIII, XVIII.

⁷⁷ His main works are: J. Daris, *Histoire du diocèse et de la principauté de Liège pendant le XVIIIe siècle* (Liège, 1887); Idem, *Notices historiques sur les églises du diocèse de Liège*, I-IX (Liège, 1867-1874).

Joseph Clemens Wittelsbach (r. 1694-1723).⁷⁸ His publication deals with the Principality's conduct in regard to foreign relations and diplomacy under the reign of both princes. The more populist work of Jan Lyna, dealing with the history of the County of Loon, the northern part of the Prince-Bishopric, dates from 1956 and is still considered one of the few standard works of reference.⁷⁹ With the exception of the 1975 exhibition catalogue by Jean Lejeune, there is no other publication that specifically focuses upon the Principality during the Nine Years' War.⁸⁰ Although Willi Paetzer and Rainer E. Blacha concentrate on Prince-Bishop Joseph Clemens in his function as Elector of Cologne, they also give interesting, albeit limited, information on his role as Prince-Bishop of Liège and his relations with his brother, Maximilian Emanuel II (1662-1726), who was the Elector of Bavaria and Governor-General of the Spanish Netherlands.⁸¹ Throughout the seventeenth century, the Chapter often elected members of the Bavarian dynasty to become their prince-bishop. Due to this reason, some Liégeois historians, such as Jean Douxchamp, Daris and Lejeune, described this century as "le siècle des Wittelsbach".⁸²

Fortunately, in recent decades a handful of researchers have started to exploit the local, and often unaccessible, archives on various topics concerning the former Prince-Bishopric. In his well-documented studies concerning the small town of Huy and its fortresses, Jean-Pierre Rorive exaggerates the importance of this fortification near the Meuse.⁸³ Bruno Demoulin, who followed in Harsin's footsteps, conducted a valuable study on the Liégeois economy during the early modern period.⁸⁴ Myron

⁷⁸ P. Harsin, *Les relations extérieures de la principauté de Liège sous Jean Louis d'Elderen et Joseph Clément de Bavière (1668-1718)* (Liège - Paris, 1927).

⁷⁹ J. Lyna, *Het graafschap Loon: Politieke en sociale overzichtelijke geschiedenis* (Beringen, 1956).

⁸⁰ J. Lejeune (ed.), *Le siècle de Louis XIV au pays de Liège (1580-1723)* (Liège, 1975).

⁸¹ W. Paetzer, *Das Verhältnis des Kölner Domkapitels zu den beiden letzten Kurfürsten aus dem hause Wittelsbach Josef Clemens und Clemens August, vornehmlich nach den protokollen des Kapitels* (Bonn, 2000).

⁸² J. Douxchamps, *Les Etats nobles dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux et la principauté de Liège* (Namur, 1995).

⁸³ J.P. Rorive, *La guerre de siège sous Louis XIV en Europe et à Huy* (Bruxelles, 1998); Idem, *L'enfer d'une ville au siècle de Louis XIV: Huy* (Liège, 1991); Idem, *Les misères de la guerre sous le Roi-Soleil: les populations de Huy, de Hesbaye et du Condroz dans la tourmente du Siècle de malheur* (Liège, 2000).

⁸⁴ P. Harsin, 'Etudes sur l'histoire économique de la principauté de Liège, particulièrement au XVIIe siècle' *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique Liégeois*, 52 (Liège, 1928), pp. 60-161; B. Demoulin, 'Les finances d'un pays d'Etats aux marches de l'empire. La principauté de Liège (1628-1728)', *Crédit communal Collection Histoire*, 8 (68), (Brussels, 1987).

Gutmann's PhD dissertation concerning the social-economic consequences of war in the Basse-Meuse area during the 'Ancien Régime' serves as a particularly useful study on the region.

Unfortunately, he examines villages from three totally different countries, i.e. the Protestant Dutch Republic, the Catholic Spanish Netherlands, and the neutral Principality of Liège. While his vision of the complicated effects of war in this small region remains interesting, his conclusions are not very useful to this study, as our research investigates the impact of war upon the formation of a nation. Because Gutmann tries to prove the military changes at the start of the eighteenth century, he barely mentions the specific constitution and the challenges the Prince-Bishopric faced during the Nine Years' War. This publication will hopefully fill in this important historical gap. In addition, some interesting exhibition catalogues, with a few academic local histories and smaller articles on specific topics, have been published in Dutch and French.⁸⁵ Jef Mertens composed an outstanding work on the village of Houthalen in Loon. In addition to the composition of several articles on various different subjects, the archivist Rombout Nijssen also specialises in the currencies utilized in the Prince-Bishopric.⁸⁶

The paucity of recent studies concerning the Principality of Liège in the seventeenth century obliges the researcher to place even more emphasis than usual upon both archival and other contemporary seventeenth-century sources. Exploiting the archival sources is far from easy. One reason for this difficulty is that the former Prince-Bishopric and its archives have been divided between four current Belgian provinces (Limburg, Liège, Namur and Luxemburg), and some documents have even been deposited in Maastricht in the Netherlands. Fortunately, most sources on the Nine Years' War remained centralized in Liège and Hasselt.

Secondly, many contemporary documents were destroyed or lost during one of the several major wars that raged through the realm in the centuries since their creation. In comparison to other regions, the number of administrative sources and military sources is rather limited. Although there surely were many muster rolls and other documents relating to the expenses of troops and general financial demands, only one substantial file that is explicitly on the Nine Years' War remains in Liège's

⁸⁵ The most recent exhibition was held in Alden Biesen, on the wars in the County of Loon during the seventeenth century. For the catalogue consult: Daenen, Mertens and Goorts, *Limburg*.

⁸⁶ R. Nijssen and R. Van Laere, *Klinkende munt. Muntvaluaties en muntordonnaties in Sint-Truiden 1437-1552* (Hasselt, 2003).

archives.⁸⁷ This file contains an almost complete collection of placards, which officially notified the locals of the domestic and international policies of the Liégeois government, and that have since proven to be an excellent resource.⁸⁸ The primary sources concerning this research are situated in the 'Archives de l'Etat' of Liège, Huy and Hasselt (further on abbreviated as AEL, AEH and RAH). These miscellaneous documents do include the 'placards' and edicts issued by the prince-bishop and his Privy Council (CPL), which illustrate all governmental issues, such as the curtailing of Protestant propaganda, notes sent by Liégeois envoys, military muster rolls, the payment of troops, and bills that concern the inflicted war damages throughout the realm.⁸⁹ Moreover the local parish archives offer us valuable information on the local communities of the Prince-Bishopric during the Nine Years' War. Other sources concern the War Council where the Liégeois strategy was discussed, the Chapter of Saint-Lambert, and the Three Estates. Some communal files and registers in other archives also represent a welcome addition to the official statements. Contemporary testimonies in diaries, memoirs, small publications, and old maps proved to be valuable additions to our research. This book will contribute to our knowledge of early modern military political research and the history of third-rate states during the 17th century.

Since the Habsburg Netherlands, the Dutch Republic, France, and Germany treated Liège as an appendage to their own wider history, studies from these countries also proved to be of some interest.⁹⁰ Although the publications of Henri Van Houtte study the foreign rulers of the Belgium territory during the 'Ancien Régime', they mainly focus on the

⁸⁷ AEL, EPLL, *Milice et troupes à la solde des Etats 1552-1715*, List of the company of the cavalry regiment of Captain Thiribri in 1697, nr. 2966. See Table 11 (p. 330).

⁸⁸ See for instance: J. Pieyns, *Guide général des fonds et collections des archives de l'état à Liège* (Brussels, 1997).

⁸⁹ An example of a contemporary publication dedicated to the Wittelsbach ruler of our period of research is R.P.T. Bouillé, *Histoire De La Ville Et Pays De Liège*, I (Liège, 1725).

⁹⁰ See for instance: F. Van Kalken, 'La fin du régime Espagnol aux Pays Bas' *Etude d'histoire politique, économique et sociale* (Brussels, 1907); B. Demoulin, 'Principauté de Liège.' *Recueil des instructions aux ambassadeurs et ministres de France*, 31 (1998); Idem, 'La Principauté de Liège et l'Europe. Analyse du mouvement général des prix agricoles (1678-1728)', *Centre Belge d'histoire rurale*, 74 (Leuven, 1982); E. Rooms, 'De organisatie van de troepen van de Spaans-Habsburgse monarchie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1659-1700)', (PhD dissertation, Koninklijke Militaire School/École Royale Militaire, Brussels, 2003); Idem, *Lodewijk XIV en de Lage Landen* (Leuven, 2007).