JOANNA BOCIANOWSKA

The Emergence of Legal Rights in Modern Europe – the Example of Achievements of the French Revolution

Abstract

The paper is intended to provide a concise analysis of the origins of modern legal rights created during one of the most momentous upheavals in religious and social life – the French Revolution. It presents the processes and conditions for the creation of some of the most important legal rules of the early modern period. The paper highlights a paradox – a well-ordered legal system that emerged from a turbulent and bloody revolution. Not to mention another paradox: the revolution took place in the Age of Enlightenment and was led by people who represented that very humanistic trend. Experts in the field note that the French Revolution was an ongoing process, not a sequence of events in a particular period beginning in 1789. The expression of this process is shaping new legal rights such as abortion law, same-sex marriage law, and many others.

KEYWORDS: legal rights, the French Revolution, Code Civil, codification

JOANNA BOCIANOWSKA, PhD in law, SWPS University in Warsaw,
ORCID – 0000-0002-2228-7810, e-mail: joanna.bocianowska@gmail.com

HTTPS://DOI.ORG/10.36128/PRIW.VI49.659

1 Introduction

1.1. General remarks

Much has been said about the role of the French Revolution in the constitution of modern rights. However, the subject of the rights that emerged from the Revolution, such as the human rights and freedoms that are still practiced today by most modern European nations, still seems to be an inexhaustible source of inspiration for more and more authors. The task of this article, however, is to draw attention not only to the achievement itself, but also to the complicated background from which it emerged. From both a philosophical and a social point of view, the environment in which these exalted human rights were coined was very complex and, at first glance, probably not very conducive. And yet it seems that it is thanks to these very harsh circumstances that these profound rights are still respected. At least the sacrifice of thousands of victims of the revolution was not forgotten.

It was during this difficult epoch, in a period of instability, that the first legal rights were established in France. The new perspective gave the people unprecedented freedoms and liberties. The Declarations of Rights of 1789, 1793 and 1795, according to their authors, did not introduce new regulations, but only declared the natural rights that already existed, and the role of the revolutionary legislators was to specify these rights in various domains[1]. The legal rights analyzed in this article are those granted to citizens in other branches of law derived from this general concept of natural law. The revolutionary codification included such provisions as property rights, family law, and inheritance law – which began to treat citizens as equals.

The concepts promoted by the Revolution emphasized that equality is given by nature, not by law, and should therefore be fully respected. This model is mainly manifested in the property that is given to people by the right of birth[2]. As history later shows, these ideas were disregarded during the Reign of Terror, but they eventually survived the difficult times and returned to later concepts included in the Napoleonic Code.

---

1 Brigitte Basdevant-Gaudemet, Jean Gaudemet, *Introduction historique au droit XIIIe – XXe siècle* (Issy-les-Moulineaux Cedex, Lextenso editions, 2016), 316.

2 Lech Dubel, *Historia doktryn politycznych i prawnych do schyłku XX wieku* (Warszawa: Lexis Nexis, 2012), 243.

Despite the many theories about the real effect of the French Revolution in terms of changing rights and political regime, one thing is certain: the Revolution provoked many discussions about the role and power that uprisings can bring. As Perez Zagorin noted: „This influence became powerful with the French Revolution, which, both by its actual character and by the mythologies it inspired, opened an era of profound change in human affairs"[3].

1.2. Influences of the main predecessors – the English and the American Revolutions

Since both revolutions – the English and the American – are far-reaching issues, which is not the point of this article, only a few summary remarks will be made about their influence on French thought. In the words of Perez Zagorin: „The English Revolution, for instance, was not caused by class antagonism, was not preceded by the desertion of the intellectuals, and did not produce a reign of terror". Similarly, a political scientist has written of the American Revolution that „we find neither victory of the extremists, nor the terror, nor the Thermidor, nor yet the »tyrant« dictator who reestablished order [...] (Carl J. Friedrich, Revolution: Nomos, VIII (New York, 1966), p. 6) Furthermore, neither in England nor in America did one ruling class replace another"[4].

First, a brief note on the influence of the English Revolution of the 17th century. Although the French were not the first to execute their king and become a republic, there was no real influence of Cromwell's actions in the France of Louis XIV.

At that time, France was dealing with the Fronde with its two versions – the parliamentarian and the princes. France's own problems and the excesses of Cromwell's experience, which had led to the beheading of King Charles I, only strengthened the rejection of the Republic in France. What is more, looking at the history of England, the French will be a long association of the Republic with a cruel regime[5]. It can be said that the

3 Perez Zagorin, „Theories of Revolution in Contemporary Historiography" *Political Science Quarterly*, No. 1 (1973): 23-52. https://doi.org/10.2307/2148647.

4 Perez, „Theories of Revolution in Contemporary Historiography", 23-52.

5 Jacques de Saint Victor, Thomas Branthôme, *Histoire de la république en France. Des origines a la Ve République* (Paris: Economica, 2018), 98-99.

actual influence of the English Revolution on the French was only negative, helping to postpone the change of the French regime for years to come.

As for the influence of English thinkers such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, the origins of French revolutionary thought are rather sought in the achievements of their native philosophers, such as those of John Jacob Rousseau, whose ideas differed from those of the English when it came to the concept, for example, of the social contract[6]. Some examples of the differences between the two approaches to this concept will be discussed later in this article.

With regard to the American Revolution, since it is a vast and controversial subject, only a few of the most important remarks will be made. It is well known that the achievements of the American Revolution were widely discussed in France, and that the American revolutionary spirit inspired other countries to change[7]. However, there are many differences in the approach to the main concepts and the whole social and historical background of the country where it took place – monarchical, conservative France and the New World of the American continent, where the rigid constructions of the old regime were not a problem. Above all, America lacked that: „Feudalism [that – JB] has come to include anything from the eleventh to the nineteenth centuries and to designate conditions as far apart as a full-blown seigneurial regime, absolute monarchy, and an order in which landed aristocracies merely enjoy superior social prestige and authority"[8]. For these reasons, although the ideas of the American revolutionaries were known in France, the social and legal problems they addressed were completely different. What is important is the way the revolutions were carried out. In America, it is hard to find a violent uprising, but rather a dialogue between the representatives and the people, who knew the concepts of freedom and liberty. In France, the revolutionaries knew these ideas only in theory, because they generally did not have the opportunity to practice them in Europe. Therefore, the struggle in France was more ideological. When it came to implementing the new liberal rights, their role was not understood by the average citizen, who was not used to many freedoms in the course of France's history.

6 Branthôme, de Saint Victor, *Histoire de la république en France*, 166.
7 Ibidem, 179.
8 Perez, „Theories of Revolution in Contemporary Historiography", 23-52.

2 The philosophy of the Enlightenment during the Revolution

First of all, when talking about the background of the Revolution, it is necessary to remember some facts. From the point of view of creating laws, the Revolution was deeply based on the ideas of the Enlightenment with a strong direct influence of such theorists as Montesquieu and John Jacob Rousseau[9]. According to him, one of the ideas proclaimed by Rousseau was that of the social contract, which meant that all participants (the nation) were equal, and the agreement guaranteed the egalitarian way of functioning of the nation. Speaking about the concept of social contract, one cannot overlook the father of this concept, i.e. John Locke, but for the sake of the French Revolution, the main and direct source of its ideas was the social concept coined by Rousseau. Nevertheless, in order to do justice to the pioneers of the concepts that influenced the legislation of that time, we must not forget the influence of the theories of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, coined in England, Hugo Grotius – in the Netherlands, Samuel von Pufendorf and Christian Wolff – representatives of German jurisprudence, best known for their concepts of natural law[10]. The use of theoretical concepts in the field of law meant the creation of rules through the power of reason, which was supposed to serve and be understood by the people. It resulted from the secularization of law, as it was separated from the power of God[11].

However, there are conflicting opinions about Rousseau's role in the formation of revolutionary rights. According to Jerzy Jellinek, Rousseau rejects the notion of a primary right that a person could retain when he became a member of society and that would limit authority[12]. Moreover, according to his interpretation of Rousseau's concepts, no law is binding on society; even the social contract does not have this meaning. Jellinek also

9 Charles Louis de Montesquieu, *O duchu praw*, t. I. (Warszawa, PWN, 1957) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, „Umowa społeczna", [in:] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Umowa społeczna oraz uwagi o rządzie polskim* (Warzsawa, PWN, 1966).

10 Basdevant-Gaudemet, Gaudemet, *Introduction historique au droit XIIIe – XXe siècle*, 310.

11 Ibidem, 311.

12 Jerzy Jellinek, *Deklaracja praw człowieka i obywatela* (Warszawa: Skład Główny w Księgarni Powszechnej, 1905), 20.

points out that, according to Rousseau, some laws concerning freedom are anti-state, especially those concerning religious freedom. He explains that, according to the philosopher, anyone who does not profess the civil religion established by the authority can be exiled; furthermore, anyone who has accepted it but behaves as if he had not professed it is to be punished with death. And thirdly, anyone who dares to say that there is no salvation outside the church will be banished from the state. He also expresses his interpretation of the law of associations; according to Jellinek – in Rousseau's concepts – political associations that divide the nation prevent the true expression of the general will and therefore cannot be tolerated[13].

We can also mention Newton and Descartes, among other influential thinkers of the era. Although Newton's concepts do not seem to be as well known as those of John Locke and other forerunners mentioned above, it is still worth mentioning his influence when it comes to the rule of simplification of all aspects of life, including law. The creators of revolutionary ideas, transferring Newton's physical theories, tried to simplify the rules of law by applying a simple rule such as "Do not do to others what you do not want them to do to you"[14]. As far as it may sound, the implementation of these postulates became really complicated, because their general rule was based on a somewhat subjective perspective – different for each participant in legal transactions.

The idea of simplifying the law and reducing it to its essentials, i.e. natural rights, was naively promoted by the eulogists of this concept, such as Diderot, who urged the creation of short and transparent rules. However, these rules did not seem to be able to grasp all the complex legal relationships that citizens had to deal with. The consequences of the implementation of these ideas were, for example, the resort to arbitration with unqualified judges instead of the state courts, a total lack of respect for lawyers, and the liquidation of legal departments. To sum up, instead of a transparent and safe law, the creators developed a law that was rather totally impoverished[15] and hardly enforceable. At that time, deaths and disappearances of creditors became very common.

13 Ibidem, 20.

14 Xavier Martin, „Kwestia prawa rewolucyjnego", [in:] *Czarna księga rewolucji francuskiej*, ed. Renaud Escande (Dębogóra: Wydawnictwo Dębogóra, 2015), 363.

15 Ibidem, 364.

3 The revolutionary legislation

3.1. Civil law

It must be emphasized that the whole idea of the realization of natural rights echoes the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of August 26, 1789, which states that „the natural and imprescriptible rights of Man"[16]. The definition of freedom, which was introduced in Article 4 of the Declaration, stated that „freedom consists in being able to do anything which does not harm anyone else; thus the exercise of the natural rights of each man has no limits except those which ensure that all other members of society enjoy the same rights. These boundaries may be determined only by the law"[17]. In this definition we can find a very modern approach to legal rights, which limits them only to other participants in legal relations. The last novelty, i.e. the attitude to property, is also worth mentioning. According to Article 17 of the Declaration „Property being an inviolable and sacred right, no one may be deprived of it, except when public necessity, as attested in law, manifestly requires it, and on condition of just compensation, payable in advance"[18] which meant an absolute approach to the notion. The Declaration later served as the preamble to the first constitution of the French Revolution of 1791, and was also the source for other French constitutions of 1852, 1946, and 1958.

It is also worth mentioning that the Constitution of 1791 announced the idea of drafting a French civil code[19]. To summarize the main ideas of the Declaration, it is necessary to mention – in the field of political rights: the sovereignty of the nation, the statue as an expression of the universal will, equality before the law, and the separation of powers. In the area of personal rights, the Declaration introduced the following ideas: freedom

16 Marcin Merkwa, *U źródeł idei praw człowieka. Kształtowanie prawnych i filozoficznych podstaw koncepcji praw człowieka* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2018), 323.

17 *Tolerance: The Beacon of the Enlightenment*, ed. Caroline Warman (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016), 12.

18 Ibidem, 13.

19 Katarzyna Sójka-Zielińska, *Kodeks Napoleona. Historia i współczesność* (Warszawa: Lexis Nexis, 2008), 48.

of conscience and of thought and opinion[20]. The third area in which the Declaration guaranteed rights was that of justice, in which it formulated the concepts of personal inviolability, the rule *lex retro non agit* (widely violated during the Great Terror), and the formal definition of crime – *nullum crimen sine lege*, presumption of innocence, proportionality of punishment to the crime[21]. Unfortunately, during the Revolution, these concepts were somewhat frozen for the times of terror, only to return in a much more organized form, which came with the introduction of the Napoleonic Code, described in the following part of this article.

In the Constitution of 1791, we may find this regulation in Title I – Fundamental Provisions Guaranteed by the Constitution, which states: „The Constitution guarantees the inviolability of property, or a just and previous indemnity for that of which a legally established public necessity requires the sacrifice. Property reserved for the expenses of worship and all public benefit services belongs to the nation and is at its disposal at all times. The Constitution guarantees conveyances which have been or may be made according to the forms established by law"[22].

3.2. Family and succession law

As mentioned above, the creation of law during the French Revolution was based on the high philosophy of the time. The central values of the Revolution, such as liberty and equality, were also reflected in the regulations introduced at that time. First of all, with regard to the postulate of freedom, the leaders (it should be remembered that they were mainly lawyers[23]) introduced personal freedom and freedom of goods and property. The first was reflected in such regulations as the right to divorce, which unintentionally included the first women's rights, since both men and women were given the right to file for divorce[24]. With the regulations of the 12th of Brumaire of the year II (i.e., November 2, 1793), a new law of inheritance was introduced, putting all descendants on an equal footing, regardless of whether they were legitimate or illegitimate children.

20 Ibidem, 147.
21 Ibidem, 147.
22 https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/le-bloc-de-constitutionnalite/declaration-des-droits-de-l-homme-et-du-citoyen-de-1789; accessed 26th Nov. 2023.
23 For example, Maximilian Robespierre, Georges Danton et al.
24 Martin, *Kwestia prawa rewolucyjnego*, 366.

The new regulations gave equal rights to all. The idea behind this regulation was to loosen family ties, which, according to its authors, was the way to integrate citizens into the state instead of their families and other interest groups. It was a utopian idea to make the nation more involved in the interests of the state than in their own. A consequence of this general idea of freedom was the removal of almost all restrictions on the making of contracts. The result of this idea was easy to predict. Too much legal freedom led to profound chaos in legal relations, one of the examples being the right to cancel the contract based solely on the fact that the price was unsatisfactory for the seller (*rescision pour lésion*)[25].

During this unstable period of the revolution, a phenomenon aptly described in the literature as „legislative violence"[26] occurred. One of its most prominent examples was the retroactivity of the law. It included almost all new regulations, especially those concerning inheritance.

In the later period, the fugitives tried to restore the importance of well-drafted agreements as a source of permanence of the estate. A new law may serve as a sign of this attempt. It was introduced on August 31, 1798, and completely eliminated the possibility of invalidating contracts. The leaders also finally found great value in family relations, which, despite the earlier condemnation, were once again favored. The other decision that had to be revised was the introduction of liberal divorces. The law introduced in the previous stage proved to be detrimental to the estate, since it also loosened the family ties on which, in the end, the nation of any country is mainly based. Therefore, from July 1795, divorce was seriously restricted. This tendency was later reinforced by Napoleon who, with the help of the re-established Catholic Church in France, had more instruments to support the idea of holy matrimony.

3.3. Penal law

According to the rules of the revolution, the law should be the same for everyone, including the crimes and the punishment. The reform of this branch was important for the revolutionary legislators. The main concepts were to punish only the crimes provided for by the law according to a legal procedure that should be clear. It also supported the rule

25 Ibidem, 377.
26 Ibidem, 373.

of non-retroactivity of criminal law[27]. According to Article 7 of the Declaration of 1789 – „No man may be accused, arrested or detained except in cases determined by law, and according to the forms it has prescribed. Those who solicit, send, execute, or execute arbitrary orders must be punished. Still, every citizen called or seized under the law must obey immediately: he becomes guilty by resistance"[28].

In the Constitution of 1791, we may find this regulation in Title I – Fundamental Provisions Guaranteed by the Constitution, which states: „The Constitution guarantees as natural and civil rights [...] That similar offences shall be punished with similar penalties, without any distinction of persons"[29] and that „The Constitution guarantees likewise as natural and civil rights: Liberty to every man to come and go without being subject to arrest or detention, except according to the forms determined by the Constitution [...]".

5 The great codification

In addition, the legislator had to deal with the chaos caused by inflation in this area. In the first stage of the Directorate, the number of enacted regulations was 15,000, which later increased to 40,000[30]. This amount of legislation involved an unreasonable number of officials who prepared regulations that radically increased the state's expenses. In this legal environment, it was decided to organize the chaotic legislation by systematizing it. The person in charge was Jean-Jacques Cambacérès, whose goal was to prepare a codification of civil law and to systematize the existing regulations. However, it is well known that the Code was not published until ten years later and that all of Cambacérès' earlier attempts failed. This failure

27 Basdevant-Gaudemet, Gaudemet, *Introduction historique*, 319.

28 „Nul homme ne peut être accusé, arrêté ni détenu que dans les cas déterminés par la loi, et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites. Ceux qui sollicitent, expédient, exécutent ou font exécuter des ordres arbitraires, doivent être punis; mais tout citoyen appelé ou saisi en vertu de la loi doit obéir à l'instant : il se rend coupable par la resistance". https://www.conseil-constitutionnel.fr/le-bloc-de-constitutionnalite/declaration-des-droits-de-l-homme-et-du-citoyen-de-1789. [accessed: 26.11.2023].

29 https://wp.stu.ca/worldhistory/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2015/07/French-Constitution-of-1791.pdf.

30 Martin, *Kwestia prawa rewolucyjnego*, 383.

was mainly due to the unrealistic expectations of the committee charged with drafting the code. First of all, in the first attempt in 1793, the drafters were given only one month to work on a short and transparent text. As a result, the proposed draft, which contained 719 articles drafted by enlightened jurists, was rejected by the Convention, which considered it too complicated and too „lawyerish"[31]. The proposals of 1794 and 1796 shared the fate of the first, which led to the abandonment of the idea of a great codification. However, as history has shown, Cambacérès returned victorious as one of the great authors of the Napoleonic Code of 1804.

When we talk about the achievements of the French Revolution, we must include the Code of 1804. It reflected the collected ideas and afterthoughts of the Revolution. The Revolution itself, a long and complex process, incorporated the earlier ideas and influences of the time, such as the philosophy of natural rights, which had emerged in France in the 17th century. However, from a French perspective, the approach to this idea was very pragmatic and focused mainly on the possible systematization of rules, rather than on a more profound idea, as it was in Germany[32]. During the era of the Enlightenment, also called the era of great codifications[33], law became one of the main subjects of focus. Accompanied by the social unrest of the time, the changes proved to be truly revolutionary, especially in the approach to legislation.

The aforementioned general analysis of the context in which the title rights were created gives a certain picture of the very complex and revolutionary state of France at the time. However, in spite of the unrest of the period, it gave way to the emergence of quite sophisticated and highly recognized codifications. It goes without saying that the Civil Code is considered one of the most important results of the Great Revolution.

In order to summarize the legacy of the Revolution and, at the same time, its aftermath with regard to the Civil Code, we must first draw attention to the egalitarian system it establishes, which is undoubtedly one of the most revolutionary ideas put into practice. The egalitarianism of the Code can be seen especially in its approach to such rights as property. The genesis of the importance of this right lies in the influence of the French physiocrats, who postulated the concept of one and indivisible property. By property, however, they meant not only the ownership of material goods, but also

31 Sójka-Zielińska, *Kodeks Napoleona*, 51.
32 Ibidem, 24.
33 Ibidem, 27.

personal rights such as independence, autonomy, and the right to determine one's own destiny[34]. The Civil Code was also based, as mentioned above, on the revolutionary ideas proclaimed in the Declaration of 1789, which postulated such values as personal liberty, equality before the law, and unrestricted property[35]. These concepts were formulated by Cambacérès as early as 1794, when he declared that three things were necessary for man to find happiness: to use oneself and one's decency to satisfy one's needs, and to be able to use one's goods and one's self to one's advantage[36].

Many of the revolutionary achievements were incorporated into the Code. To give just a few examples, it maintained the new idea of property rights for peasants, giving them the right to buy the land they cultivated (Article 530). It included the definition of property introduced by the Declaration of 1789 (Article 544). However, the right of the state to expropriate the owner was slightly modified in favor of the former. Under Article 545, the Code allowed the State to expropriate the owner's land if the land was useful to the State – in the original version announced by the Declaration, this could only be done for justified necessity. In article 1134, the Code legitimized the freedom of contract, but it was limited by the rules of public order and good morals (article 6). In the field of matrimonial law, it legalized divorce, but the grounds were limited by articles 229-233. With regard to the law of succession, however, the provisions of the Code were a retrograde step. Although it extended the heirs to a certain extent and included children born of cohabitation under certain conditions, at the same time it excluded children born of incest and adultery. It was clear that Napoleon was mainly protecting the so-called „legal family".

For the first time in French history, the Code became a common rule for the whole country and its citizens. Thus, with the introduction of the Code, the idea of legal particularism was generally abandoned. However, some of the rules from the Revolutionary period remained, but at the same time, the newly codified rules took precedence[37].

34 Ibidem, 36.
35 Ibidem, 75.
36 Ibidem, 75.
37 Ibidem, 75.

6 Summary

In summary, the Napoleonic conquests spread the Code throughout the new territories of the French Empire, including Belgium, Luxembourg, parts of Italy, and Austria. It also had an impact on other continents, such as the Americas (Latin America and part of the United States), Africa (Algeria), and Canada (Quebec). It even became a source of inspiration for countries such as Israel and Japan.

In summary, Alexis de Tocqueville's words may still be apt: „For sixty years, we have been deceiving ourselves by imagining that we saw the end of the Revolution. It was supposed to be finished on the 18th Brumaire and again in 1814; I thought in 1830 that it might be over when I saw that democracy, having in its march passed over and destroyed every other privilege, had stopped before the ancient and necessary privilege of property. Like the ocean, I thought it had finally found its shore. I was wrong. It is evident that the tide is rising, and the sea is still enlarging its bed; not only have we not seen the end of the stupendous revolution that began before our day, but the infant just born will scarcely see it. Society is not in the process of modification but of transformation. Into what form? I have not the least idea, and I think that no one has"[38]

Although much has been said about the consequences of the French Revolution, with more negative and open opinions being expressed recently, it is impossible to ignore its role in the creation of law in the modern sense. And this, despite the unnecessary bloodshed, may be one of the most outstanding achievements of the Revolution. As a process, however, the rights once secured by the Revolution continue to evolve as part of a natural process of change in the world's societies. The lesson of the revolution should be that senseless violence should be avoided while society is changing. This can be achieved by listening to the nations before it is too late.

38 Alexis de Tocqueville, *Memoirs, Letters, and Remains of Alexis de Tocqueville* (London, 1861), p. 423.

Bibliography

Brigitte Basdevant-Gaudemet, Jean Gaudemet, *Introduction historique au droit XIIIe – XXe siècle*. Issy-les-Moulineaux Cedex, Lextenso editions, 2016.

de Montesquieu Charles Louis, *O duchu praw*, t. I. Warsaw, PWN, 1957.

de Saint Victor Jacques, Thomas Branthôme, *Histoire de la république en France. Des origines à la Ve République*. Paris: Economica, 2018.

de Tocqueville Alexis, *Memoirs, Letters, and Remains of Alexis de Tocqueville*. London, 1861.

Dubel Lech, *Historia doktryn politycznych i prawnych do schyłku XX wieku*. Lexis Nexis, Warsaw, 2012.

Dziadzio Andrzej, *Powszechna historia prawa*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2008.

Jellinek Jerzy, *Deklaracja praw człowieka i obywatela*. Warsaw: Skład Główny w Księgarni Powszechnej, 1905.

Martin Xavier, „Kwestia prawa rewolucyjnego", [in:] *Czarna księga rewolucji francuskiej*, ed. Renaud Escande. 359-386. Dębogóra: Wydawnictwo Dębogóra, 2015.

Merkwa Marcin, *U źródeł idei praw człowieka. Kształtowanie prawnych i filozoficznych podstaw koncepcji praw człowieka*. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2018.

Sójka-Zielińska Katarzyna, *Kodeks Napoleona. Historia i współczesność*. Warsaw: Lexis Nexis, 2008.

Tolerance: The Beacon of the Enlightenment, ed. Caroline Warman. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2016.

Zagorin Perez, „Theories of Revolution in Contemporary Historiography" *Political Science Quarterly*, No. 1 (1973): 23-52. https://doi.org/10.2307/2148647.