

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

This collaborative volume offers the first historical reconstruction of the concept of popular sovereignty from antiquity to the twentieth century. First formulated between the late sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries, the various early modern conceptions of the doctrine were heavily indebted to Roman reflection on forms of government and Athenian ideas of popular power. This study, edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner, traces successive transformations of the doctrine, rather than narrating a linear development. It examines critical moments in the career of popular sovereignty, spanning antiquity, medieval Europe, the early modern wars of religion, the revolutions of the eighteenth century and their aftermath, decolonisation and mass democracy. Featuring original work by an international team of scholars, the book offers a reconsideration of one of the formative principles of contemporary politics by exploring its descent from classical city-states to the advent of the modern state.

RICHARD BOURKE is Professor in the History of Political Thought and co-director of the Centre for the Study of the History of Political Thought at Queen Mary University of London. His books include *Peace in Ireland: The War of Ideas* (2003, 2012) and *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke* (2015).

QUENTIN SKINNER is Barber Beaumont Professor of the Humanities at Queen Mary University of London. His books include *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (2 vols., 1978), *Reason and Rhetoric in the Philosophy of Hobbes* (1996), *Liberty before Liberalism* (1998), *Hobbes and Republican Liberty* (2008), *Forensic Shakespeare* (2014) and a three-volume collection of essays, *Visions of Politics* (2002).

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

---

# Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

---

*Edited by*

**Richard Bourke**

*Queen Mary University of London*

and

**Quentin Skinner**

*Queen Mary University of London*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective  
Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

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

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107130401](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107130401)

© Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner 2016

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

First published 2016

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

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

ISBN 978-1-107-13040-1 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-107-57139-6 Paperback

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

## Contents

---

<i>List of figures</i>	page vii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	viii
<i>List of contributors</i>	ix
Introduction	1
RICHARD BOURKE	
1 Athenian democracy and popular tyranny	15
KINCH HOEKSTRA	
2 Popular sovereignty as control of office-holders: Aristotle on Greek democracy	52
MELISSA LANE	
3 Popular sovereignty in the late Roman Republic: Cicero and the will of the people	73
VALENTINA ARENA	
4 <i>Popolo</i> and law: late medieval sovereignty in Marsilius and the jurists	96
SERENA FERENTE	
5 Democratic sovereignty and democratic government: the sleeping sovereign	115
RICHARD TUCK	
6 Parliamentary sovereignty, popular sovereignty, and Henry Parker's adjudicative standpoint	142
ALAN CROMARTIE	
7 Popular sovereignty and representation in the English Civil War	164
LORENZO SABBADINI	

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

vi	Contents	
8	Prerogative, popular sovereignty, and the American founding ERIC NELSON	187
9	Popular sovereignty and political representation: Edmund Burke in the context of eighteenth-century thought RICHARD BOURKE	212
10	From popular sovereignty to civil society in post-revolutionary France BRYAN GARSTEN	236
11	Popular sovereignty as state theory in the nineteenth century DUNCAN KELLY	270
12	Popular sovereignty and anti-colonialism KARUNA MANTENA	297
13	Popular sovereignty in an age of mass democracy: politics, parliament and parties in Weber, Kelsen, Schmitt and beyond TIMOTHY STANTON	320
	<i>Bibliography</i>	359
	<i>Index</i>	398

## Figures

---

- |      |   |         |
|------|---|---------|
| 1.1  | Stele, called Marble of Choiseul, with Greek inscriptions, c. 410/409 BCE. Ma 831. Musée du Louvre, Paris, France.<br>© Musée du Louvre, Dist. RMN-Grand Palais/Daniel Lebéé and Carine Déambrosis/Art Resource, NY.  | page 33 |
| 4.1  | <i>Lex de imperio Vespasiani</i> (CIL VI 930; ILS 244), Capitoline Museum, Rome. © Steve Kershaw, licensed under (CC) BY-NC-SA.   | 103     |
| 11.1 | Adolph Menzel, 'Machiavelli', in <i>Adolph Menzel's Illustrationen zu den Werken Friedrichs der Grossen</i> , Jubilaeums Ausgabe, 2 vols. (Berlin: R. Wagner, 1886), I, image 66. Image courtesy of the text at the Internet Archive, via the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (83-B7391). | 288     |

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective  
Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

## Acknowledgements

---

This volume began life as a series of conferences held at Queen Mary University of London devoted to tracing the history of popular sovereignty. The editors are grateful to Queen Mary for hosting these events in such a congenial environment. The conferences were made possible by a research networking grant funded by the United Kingdom's Arts and Humanities Research Council. We should like to thank the AHRC for its generosity in supporting the project, and Emma Yates in the School of History at Queen Mary University of London for her help in administering the grant. We are also particularly indebted to Joanne Paul for the major role she played in organising the conferences and disseminating the conclusions of our research. The editors would also like to express their thanks to Richard Fisher and Elizabeth Friend-Smith for commissioning the work on behalf of Cambridge University Press, and Rebecca Taylor, Rosalyn Scott and Christina Sarigiannidou for seeing it through the production process. Finally, we are grateful to Sarah Lambert for her help in compiling the bibliographies, and to the anonymous readers commissioned by Cambridge University Press for their very helpful reports on the penultimate version of the typescript. As our book goes to press, we are very pleased to learn that there is still time to add our thanks to Mary Starkey, our copy-editor, who calmly and efficiently sorted out a considerable number of last-minute difficulties.



Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

## Contributors

---

VALENTINA ARENA is Lecturer in Roman History in the Department of History at University College London. She has published extensively on Roman oratory and political thought and is the author of *Libertas and the Practice of Politics in the Late Roman Republic* (2012).

RICHARD BOURKE is Professor in the History of Political Thought at Queen Mary University of London. His publications include the co-edited volume *Political Judgement* (2009) and *Empire and Revolution: The Political Life of Edmund Burke* (2015).

ALAN CROMARTIE is Professor in the Department of Politics and International Relations at the University of Reading. He is the author of *Sir Matthew Hale: Law, Religion, and Natural Philosophy* (1995) and *The Constitutionalist Revolution: An Essay on the History of England* (2006).

SERENA FERENTE is Senior Lecturer in Medieval and European History at King's College London. She is the author of *La sfortuna di Jacopo Piccinino: storia dei bracceschi in Italia, 1423–1465* (2005) and is currently working on a book on partisan identities in Italy between 1450 and 1500.

BRYAN GARSTEN is Professor of Political Science and Humanities in the Department of Political Science at Yale University. Among his publications is *Saving Persuasion: A Defense of Rhetoric and Judgment* (2006). He is currently completing a monograph on nineteenth-century liberalism titled *The Heart of a Heartless World*.

KINCH HOEKSTRA is Chancellor's Professor of Political Science and Law at the University of California, Berkeley. He writes about ancient and early modern political thought.

DUNCAN KELLY is Reader in Political Thought and a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. His publications include *The State of the Political: Conceptions of Politics and the State in the Thought of Max Weber*,

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-13040-1 - Popular Sovereignty in Historical Perspective

Edited by Richard Bourke and Quentin Skinner

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x List of contributors

*Carl Schmitt and Franz Neumann* (2003) and *The Propriety of Liberty: Persons, Passions and Judgement in Modern Political Thought* (2010).

MELISSA LANE is Class of 1943 Professor of Politics at Princeton University. Her books include *Method and Politics in Plato's Statesman* (1998) and *Greek and Roman Political Ideas* (2014).

KARUNA MANTENA is Associate Professor of Political Science at Yale University. She is the author of *Alibis of Empire: Henry Maine and the Ends of Liberal Imperialism* (2010) and is currently completing a monograph on the political thought of M. K. Gandhi.

ERIC NELSON is Robert M. Beren Professor of Government in the Department of Government at Harvard University. His books include *The Greek Tradition in Republican Thought* (2004) and *The Royalist Revolution: Monarchy and the American Founding* (2014).

LORENZO SABBADINI specialises in seventeenth-century political thought, with a particular focus on ideas of liberty and property in the 1640s and 1650s.

QUENTIN SKINNER is Barber Beaumont Professor of the Humanities at Queen Mary University of London. His books include *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 vols. (1978) and *Forensic Shakespeare* (2014).

TIMOTHY STANTON is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Politics at the University of York. He has published widely on the moral and political thought of the seventeenth century and the history of liberalism.

RICHARD TUCK is Frank G. Thomson Professor of Government in the Department of Government at Harvard University. His books include *Philosophy and Government, 1572–1651* (1993) and *The Rights of War and Peace: Political Thought and International Order from Grotius to Kant* (1999).