# FIRST FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS DOCUMENTS IN EUROPE

# Commemorating 800 Years of Magna Carta

Markku SUKSI Kalliope AGAPIOU-JOSEPHIDES Jean-Paul LEHNERS Manfred NOWAK (EDS)



Cambridge — Antwerp — Portland

Intersentia Ltd Sheraton House | Castle Park Cambridge | CB3 0AX | United Kingdom Tel.: +44 1223 370 170 | Email: mail@intersentia.co.uk

Distribution for the UK: NBN International Airport Business Centre, 10 Thornbury Road Plymouth, PL6 7PP United Kingdom Tel.: +44 1752 202 301 Fax: +44 1752 202 331 Email: orders@nbninternational.com

*Distribution for Austria:* Neuer Wissenschaflicher Verlag Argentinierstraβe 42/6 1040 Wien Austria Tel.: +43 1 535 61 03 24 Email: office@nwv.at Distribution for the USA and Canada: International Specialized Book Services 920 NE 58th Ave, Suite 300 Portland, OR 97213 USA Tel.: +1 800 944 6190 (toll free) Email: info@isbs.com

Distribution for other countries: Intersentia Publishers Groenstraat 31 2640 Mortsel Belgium Tel.: +32 3 680 15 50 Email: mail@intersentia.be

First Fundamental Rights Documents in Europe Markku Suksi, Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides, Jean-Paul Lehners and Manfred Nowak (eds)

© 2015 Intersentia Cambridge – Antwerp – Portland www.intersentia.com

Cover photograph © The British Library Board

ISBN 978-1-78068-360-7 D/2015/7849/146 NUR 828

No part of this book may be reproduced in any form, by print, photoprint, microfilm or any other means, without written permission from the publisher.

### PREFACE

In 2015, we are celebrating the 800th anniversary of Magna Carta, adopted on 15 June 1215, and the 15th anniversary of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, adopted on 7 December 2000. Between 1215 and 2000, and perhaps also before and after that period, various jurisdictions in Europe have adopted documents that are of significance for the protection of fundamental rights and, ultimately, after 1945, of internationally recognised human rights. Historians and others like to commemorate 'round' birthdays: 25 years, 100 years, 800, etc. An event is not important *per se* because of a specific birthday, but it may be worthwhile to take the opportunity to contextualise fundamental rights by studying history and thus at the same time recognise the value of Magna Carta and other fundamental rights documents.

With this book we wish to celebrate 800 years of Magna Carta. At the same time, we congratulate the European Union on the first 15 years of its first fundamental rights document. This volume can be seen as a birthday present to the teenager from the rest of the family, all of whom are older, some very old or even ancient.

But why the *first* fundamental rights document? Do we want to show that some states, regions or cities have been more progressive than others or to imply that there has been no development in some states? Certainly not; this is not a beauty contest. Whenever the first fundamental rights document has been adopted or issued in a jurisdiction, it is likely to have had similar relevance for the individuals living at the material time as a document adopted in some other place at some other point of time, be it earlier or later. Therefore, the topic is fitting for a joint study as part of the cooperation between the universities in the European Master's Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation. Even Magna Carta itself, adopted 800 years ago, is not important *per se*, but it is significant because of the use that has been made of it during the centuries, alongside its strong symbolic value; the same observation is probably true concerning the other fundamental rights documents reviewed here, albeit in most cases to a somewhat lesser extent.

This book takes the reader on a journey across Europe in different times and places within a broad common frame, that of the first signs of emergence of fundamental rights documents. In the beginning of this enterprise, we thought that it would be an excellent result of our project if we could find historical documents to show that the fundamental rights dimension is not limited to England in the thirteenth and France in the eighteenth century but that other peoples in Europe have also managed to secure such rights. We feel that we have achieved this objective and that we have uncovered 'artefacts' that may have Preface

previously been known only to a very limited group of people. In doing so, we have mapped out waters previously uncharted and revealed a landscape in the deeper layers of our collective history which has not been generally visible at a European level. We also wanted to make the first fundamental rights documents available to a wider audience by complementing this book with internet access to the documents, provided by the E.MA and EIUC structures in Venice. A selection of the documents is thus available for further study at http://www.eiuc.org/first-fundamental-right-documents.

The idea of compiling this volume was hatched during a relaxed dinner in Venice in September 2014 at which the E.MA professors gathered after a long day of sessions of exam commissions. During the day, E.MA students had defended their Master's Theses on human rights issues of all sorts, so the brains of the professors had been exposed to many interesting and original topics and approaches. As with the previous book produced jointly by the E.MA community, published in 2009 on the reception of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Europe,<sup>1</sup> it was again proven that academics can be productive even when not doing anything particular: an innocent question about whether we could carry out a similar joint project immediately received an affirmative reply. Having become aware of the celebrations planned for Magna Carta in 2015, the question was posed whether there were other historical documents of the same kind in other countries. Nobody could give any definite answer, not even necessarily about their own country, but the question sparked the idea that perhaps this uncertainty could be used as a pretext for carrying out a joint inquiry into the roots of rights-thinking in Europe.

The idea was prepared for the meeting of the E.MA Council in December 2014, and the meeting adopted the project plan entitled 'The First Fundamental Rights Document'. The idea was met with enthusiasm by the participants in the E.MA Council, and the participating universities were quick to commit themselves to contributing to this book. It is our belief that the idea has resulted in a truly unique project in which contributors from almost all EU member states have reviewed the historical precursors to their current fundamental rights documents. Every country, old and young, tells a different story about the emergence of fundamental rights in their area. At the same time, they often indicate certain historical links to each other.

The production of this book was only possible on the basis of commitments by the contributing authors who agreed to participate in this endeavour and to submit themselves to a tight production timetable. Therefore, we wish to thank the authors featuring in this volume for their contributions. In addition, we wish to thank the European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and

V. JAICHAND and M. SUKSI, 60 Years of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Europe, Intersentia, Antwerp – Oxford – Portland 2009.

#### Preface

Democratisation (EIUC), its Board and its Secretary-General, Professor Florence Benoit-Rohmer for financial support for the editing process. We also wish to thank Ms. Raija Hanski of the Institute for Human Rights at Åbo Akademi University for the technical editing of the entire text and Ms. Anna Barlow of the Department of Law at Åbo Akademi University for correcting the English language of the contributions, most of which are not written by native speakers. Markku Suksi thanks separately Åbo Akademi University and the Pool of Professors for the one-year-long research grant that facilitated research for this volume in August and September 2015. Finally, we wish to thank Intersentia for accepting the book for publication and Mr. Nicola Tonon at EIUC for making the first fundamental rights documents available on the internet.

Nicosia, Luxembourg, Vienna, and Åbo on 15 June 2015

Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides, Jean-Paul Lehners, Manfred Nowak, and Markku Suksi

## CONTENTS

Preface List of Authors		v xi	
1.	Introduction (Markku Suksi, Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides, Jean-Paul Lehners, Manfred Nowak)	1	
PART I			
	<b>The United Kingdom: From Magna Carta 1215 to the Rule of Law</b> (Dawn Oliver)	11	
	Ireland: Individual and Group Rights in Ancient Irish Law (Brendan Tobin and Michael O'Flaherty)	25	
	Italy: The <i>Liber Paradisus</i> — A Vision of Good Governance (Paolo De Stefani) Hungary: The Historic Constitution as the Place of Memory	39	
	(Ivett Császár and Balázs Majtényi) Belgium: From Collective Privileges to Individual Rights	57	
7.	(Wim Decock and Koen Lemmens)	69	
	as Potential Antecedents in Fundamental Rights (Marija Wakounig)	85	
8.	Spain: The First Cry for Justice in the Americas — From Antonio de Montesinos to the Laws of Burgos (1512) (Felipe Gómez Isa)	93	
	Lithuania: From Equality to Inequality and to Equality Again (Vygantė Milašiūtė)	107	
10.	Poland: From the Golden Liberty of the Nobles to Fundamental Rights	100	
₽л	(Agata Hauser and Zdzisław Kędzia)	123	
	<ul> <li>France: Foundational Importance of the Declaration of 1789 (Florence Benoit Rohmer)</li> <li>Sweden: Free Press as a First Fundamental Right</li> </ul>	139	
<ul><li>12. Sweden: Free Fress as a First Fundamental Right (Anna-Sara Lind)</li><li>13. The Netherlands: The Batavian Staatsregeling as the First</li></ul>		151	
13.	Fundamental Rights Document (Louis Berkvens)	161	

ix

Contents

х

14. Portugal: 'Tropical Versailles' in the Beginning of	
the Nineteenth Century	
(Teresa Pizarro Beleza and Helena Pereira De Melo)	175
15. Luxembourg: Fundamental Rights in a Small State	
(Charlotte Wirth)	185
16. Greece: Reflections from the Hellenic Legal Tradition	
(Stelios Perrakis and Maria Daniella Marouda)	197
17. Denmark: In Love with Tradition	
(Eva Maria Lassen)	209
18. Germany: Fundamental Rights as an Instrument Towards	
the <i>Rechtstaat</i>	
(Anja Mihr)	221
19. The Czech Republic: On the Road to Rights and Freedoms	
(Jan Holzer and Hubert Smekal)	235
20. Romania: The Birth of Fundamental Rights as a Form of	
Political Contention	
(Liana Andreea Ioniță)	251
21. Bulgaria: The Liberal Tarnovo Constitution	
(Nikolay Natov)	267
22. Finland: Rights to Facilitate Participation	
(Markku Suksi)	277
23. Estonia: First Landmarks of Fundamental Rights	
(Hesi Siimets-Gross and Marelle Leppik)	295
24. Slovakia: The Right of a Nation	
(Tomáš Gábriš and Mária Patakyová)	309
25. Latvia: Second Part of the Constitution as a Project	
for Next Generations	
(Artūrs Kučs and Jānis Pleps)	329
26. The History of Fundamental Rights in Europe:	
A Long and Winding Road	
(Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides, Jean-Paul Lehners,	
Manfred Nowak and Markku Suksi)	343
,	
Index	355

Intersentia

### **LIST OF AUTHORS**

*Kalliope Agapiou-Josephides*, PhD (Political Science), Assistant Professor of Political Science, University of Cyprus, Cyprus.

*Florence Benoit Rohmer*, PhD (Law), Professor of Law, University of Strasbourg; Secretary General of the European Inter-University Centre for Human Rights and Democratisation, France.

*Louis Berkvens*, MA (History); PhD (Law), Endowed Professor of Legal History, Maastricht University, the Netherlands.

*Ivett Császár*, PhD, Lecturer, International Coordinator, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary.

*Wim Decock,* BA, MA, LLB, PhD, Assistant Professor (BOF), Faculty of Law, University of Louvain, Belgium.

*Paolo De Stefani*, PhD (Law), Aggregate Professor of International Law, University of Padova, Italy.

*Tomáš Gábriš*, PhD., Associate Professor of Legal History, Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovak Republic.

*Felipe Gómez Isa*, Dr., Professor of Public International Law, Institute of Human Rights, University of Deusto (Bilbao), Spain.

*Agata Hauser*, Dr., Assistant Professor of Constitutional Law, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland.

Jan Holzer, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Social Studies, Masaryk University, Czech Republic.

*Liana Andreea Ioniță*, Dr., Researcher and Teaching Assistant, University of Bucharest, Romania.

*Zdzislaw Kedzia*, Dr., Professor of Human Rights and Constitutional Law, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland.

Artūrs Kučs, Dr., Professor of International Public Law, University of Latvia, Latvia.

Intersentia

List of Authors

*Eva Maria Lassen*, Mag.art., Ph.D., Senior Researcher, Danish Institute for Human Rights, Denmark.

*Jean-Paul Lehners*, PhD (History), Professor emeritus, UNESCO Chair of Human Rights, University of Luxembourg, Luxembourg.

Koen Lemmens, Dr. (PhD), Associate Professor, KU Leuven, Belgium.

Marelle Leppik, MA iur., theol., PhD student, University of Tartu, Estonia.

Anna-Sara Lind, Dr.iur., Associate Professor of Public Law, Uppsala University, Sweden.

Balázs Majtényi, PhD, Associate Professor, Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary.

*Maria Daniella Marouda*, PhD (International Law), Assistant Professor of International Law, Panteion University, Greece.

*Helena Pereira de Melo*, PhD (Law), Assistant Professor, Faculty of Law, New University of Lisbon, Portugal.

*Anja Mihr*, PhD, Associate Professor, Utrecht University and Humboldt Viadrina Governance Platform, the Netherlands and Germany.

Vygantė Milašiūtė, Dr., Lecturer, Vilnius University, Lithuania.

*Nikolay Natov*, Dr., Professor of Private International Law, The St Kliment Ohridski University of Sofia, Bulgaria.

*Manfred Nowak*, Dr, LL.M., Professor of International Law and Human Rights, University of Vienna, Austria.

*Michael O'Flaherty*, BCL, BPh, STB, MA, MPhil, FRSA, Solicitor, Professor of Human Rights and Director of the Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland, Galway, Ireland.

*Dawn Oliver*, BA, PhD, LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Constitutional Law, University College London, United Kingdom.

*Mária Patakyová*, JUDr., PhD, Professor of Civil Law, Comenius University in Bratislava, Slovakia.

*Stelios Perrakis*, Dr. (International Law), Professor of International and European Institutions, Panteion University, Greece.

*Teresa Pizarro Beleza*, Dr., Professor of Criminal Law, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Portugal.

Jānis Pleps, Dr.iur., Docent, University of Latvia, Latvia.

*Hesi Siimets-Gross*, Dr.iur., Associate Professor for Legal History and Roman law, University of Tartu, Estonia.

Hubert Smekal, PhD, Assistant Professor, Masaryk University, Czech Republic.

Markku Suksi, Dr., Professor of Public Law, Åbo Akademi University, Finland.

*Brendan Tobin*, Dr., Research Fellow, Griffith University, Australia, and Adjunct Lecturer, Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland, Galway.

*Marija Wakounig*, Mag. Dr.MAS, University Professor, Institute of East European History of the University of Vienna, Austria.

Charlotte Wirth, BA (History), Luxembourg.