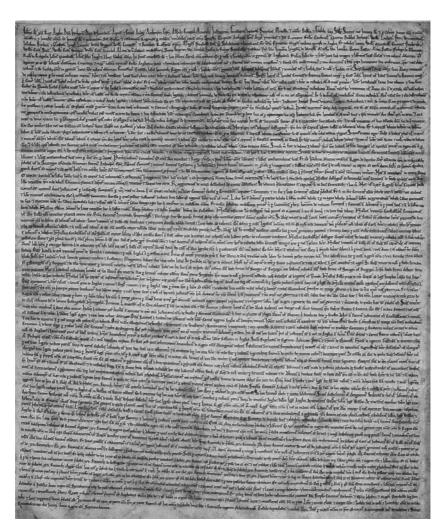
## MAGNA CARTA, RELIGION AND THE RULE OF LAW

Archbishop Stephen Langton hoped with Magna Carta to realise an Old Testament, covenantal kingship in England. At the Charter's 800th anniversary, distinguished jurists, theologians and historians from five faithtraditions and three continents ask how Magna Carta's biblical foundations have mattered and still matter now. A Lord Chief Justice, a Chief Rabbi, a Grand Mufti of Egypt, specialists in eight centuries of law, scholars and advocates committed to the rule of law and to the place of religion in public life all come together in this testimony to Magna Carta's iconic power. We follow the Charter's story in the religious life of the UK, America and now Continental Europe, and reflections on religio-legal traditions far from the common law enrich the story. *Magna Carta, Religion and the Rule of Law* invites all religions to ask what contribution they themselves should make to the rule of law in today's secular, democratic polities.

ROBIN GRIFFITH-JONES is the Reverend and Valiant Master of the Temple Church at the Temple, London, and Senior Lecturer in Theology at King's College London.

MARK HILL QC is a leading practitioner in the field of law and religion. He also teaches at Cardiff University's Centre for Law and Religion, as an Extraordinary Professor at the University of Pretoria, South Africa, and as a Visiting Professor at the Dickson Poon School of Law, King's College London.



Magna Carta, 1215. This is one of the four exemplifications from 1215 known to survive. Of the others, two are in the British Library, one is in Lincoln Cathedral. Reproduced courtesy of Salisbury Cathedral.

# MAGNA CARTA, RELIGION AND THE RULE OF LAW

Edited by

ROBIN GRIFFITH-JONES AND MARK HILL QC





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

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107100190

© Robin Griffith-Jones and Mark Hill QC 2015

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 2015 3rd printing 2015

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

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

*Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data* Magna Carta, Religion and the Rule of Law (Conference) (2014 : Temple Church,

London, England)

Magna Carta, religion and the rule of law / [edited by] Robin Griffith-Jones and Mark Hill QC.

pages cm

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-10019-0 (hardback)

Rule of law – Congresses.
 Magna Carta – Congresses.
 Constitutional law – Religious aspects – Congresses.
 Law – English influences – Congresses.
 Griffith-Jones, Robin, editor.
 Hill, Mark, 1965 – editor.
 Title.

K3171.A6M34 2015 340'.11 – dc23 2014046185

ISBN 978-1-107-10019-0 Hardback ISBN 978-1-107-49436-7 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

List of contributors page viii Preface and acknowledgments xv

## I Introduction

 The relevance and resonance of the Great Charter of 1215 for religions today
 BORIN CRIEFITH-IONES AND MARK HILL OC

ROBIN GRIFFITH-JONES AND MARK HILL QC

2 Magna Carta 19 LORD JUDGE

### 11 The birth of Magna Carta and the spread of its principles

- Due process in Magna Carta: its sources in English law, canon law and Stephen Langton
  JOHN W BALDWIN
- From Charter to common law: the rights and liberties of the pre-Reformation Church 53
  MARGARET MCGLYNN
- 5 Magna Carta and the law of nations 70 R H HELMHOLZ
- 6 Magna Carta and personal liberty 81 SIR JOHN BAKER QC
- 7 Towards a new Magna Carta for early modern England 109 JOHN WITTE, JR

vi

CONTENTS Differences over the foundation of law in seventeenth- and 8 eighteenth-century America 136 DAVID LITTLE Comparative religious approaches to Magna Carta's III rule of law Quranic Magna Carta: on the origins of the rule of law in 9 Islam 157 WAEL B HALLAQ 10 Justice in Islamic legislation 177 ALI GOMAA 11 Shari'a and the rule of law: preserving the realm 196 ANVER M EMON 12 Democracy and the power of religion: some lessons from India 215 SUDIPTA KAVIRAJ The still small voice of Magna Carta in Christian 13 law today 2.2.9 NORMAN DOE Magna Carta, rule of law and religious diversity 14 248 MALEIHA MALIK The contemporary inheritance of Magna Carta IV 15 The development of human rights thought from Magna Carta to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 267 SIR RABINDER SINGH Strasbourg's approach to religion in the pluralist democracies 16 of Europe 281 JAVIER MARTÍNEZ-TORRÓN The Great Covenant of Liberties: biblical principles and 17 Magna Carta 301

LORD SACKS

#### CONTENTS

vii

- The cardinal rule of religion and the rule of law: a musing on Magna Carta 314
   SIMON LEE
- Strengthened by the rule of law: the message of Magna Carta for religions today
  LORD DYSON

Appendix: The Charters in translation338Bibliography372Index389

## CONTRIBUTORS

SIR JOHN BAKER QC, FBA, is an Honorary Fellow of St Catharine's College and Emeritus Downing Professor of the Laws of England, University of Cambridge. He was Literary Director of the Selden Society for thirty years. His publications include *The Oxford History of the Laws of England*, *Volume IV: 1483–1558* (2003) and *Collected Papers on English Legal History* (3 volumes, Cambridge University Press, 2013).

JOHN W BALDWIN is the Charles Homer Haskins Professor of History Emeritus at the Johns Hopkins University, Corresponding Member of the British Academy and Membre de l'Institut de France. His principal publications include: *The Government of Philip Augustus: foundations of French royal power in the Middle Ages* (1986), *The Language of Sex: five voices from Northern France around 1200* (1994) and *Paris, 1200* (2010). After publishing *Masters, Princes and Merchants: the social views of Peter the Chanter and his circle* (1970) he has become interested in the career of Stephen Langton, who was a member of that circle. More recently he has published 'Master Stephen Langton, future Archbishop of Canterbury: the Paris schools and Magna Carta', (2008) 123 English Historical Review 811.

NORMAN DOE is Professor of Law and Director of the Centre for Law and Religion, Law School, Cardiff University. He is author of *Fundamental Authority in Late Medieval English Law* (Cambridge University Press, 1990), The Legal Framework of the Church of England (1996), Canon Law in the Anglican Communion (1998), The Law of the Church in Wales (2002), An Anglican Covenant (2008), Law and Religion in Europe (2011) and Christian Law: contemporary principles (Cambridge University Press, 2013). A visiting fellow at Trinity College Oxford (2011), he is an associate/visiting professor at the University of Paris and Catholic University Leuven. He is the Chancellor of the Diocese of Bangor in the Church in Wales.

#### LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

LORD DYSON was appointed as Master of the Rolls and Head of Civil Justice in 2012. It is the second most senior judicial position in England and Wales, after the Lord Chief Justice. He was called to the Bar (Middle Temple) in 1968 and made a bencher in 1990. His first judicial appointment was as a Recorder (1986–93), thereafter as a Judge of the High Court of Justice, Queen's Bench Division for 1993–2001. He was also the Presiding Judge for the Technology and Construction Court between 1998 and 2001. In 2001 he was appointed as a Lord Justice of Appeal, becoming a Justice of the Supreme Court in April 2010. He has been a Fellow of the Society of Advanced Legal Studies since 1998 and was made an Honorary Fellow of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2004. In 2013 he was awarded honorary law doctorates by University College London and the University of Essex. He is a visiting professor at Queen Mary University of London.

ANVER M EMON is Professor and Canada Research Chair in Religion, Pluralism and the Rule of Law at the Faculty of Law, University of Toronto. He is the author of *Islamic Natural Law Theories* (2010) and *Religious Pluralism and Islamic Law: dhimmis and Others in the empire of law* (2012), and co-editor of *Islamic Law and International Human Rights Law: searching for common ground?* (2012). He is the founding editor of *Middle East Law and Governance: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, and series editor of the Oxford Islamic Legal Studies Series.

ALI GOMAA is an internationally respected Islamic jurist, spending his academic career at the Faculty of Islamic and Arabic Studies at al-Azhar University in Cairo, and serving as the eighteenth Grand Mufti of Egypt from 2003 to 2013. He was an important public presence, working for public safety and calm, during the revolution of 2011. He was awarded an honorary doctorate from Liverpool Hope University in 2011 in recognition of his efforts in promoting tolerance and understanding between religions. In 2013, in retirement, he defended the legality of President Mursi's arrest, and in October 2013 Dr Gomaa launched a fund to help rebuild Christian churches in Egypt destroyed by Muslim extremists.

REVD ROBIN GRIFFITH-JONES is Master of the Temple at the Temple Church and Senior Lecturer at King's College London. He convened the series of public discussions in the Royal Courts of Justice and Temple Church, 'Islam in English Law', that was launched by the then Archbishop of Canterbury's lecture on sharia law in England and that led to the book

ix

х

#### LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Islam and English Law: rights, responsibilities and the place of sharia (ed Robin Griffith-Jones, Cambridge University Press, 2013). He writes as well on the New Testament and early Christianity, and on architectural history.

WAEL B HALLAQ is Avalon Foundation Professor in the Humanities at Columbia University, New York, where he is a scholar of Islamic law and Islamic intellectual history. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including *Ibn Taymiyya Against the Greek Logicians* (1993), *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: an introduction to Sunni Usul alfiqh* (1997), *Authority, Continuity and Change in Islamic Law* (2001), *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (2009) and *The Impossible State: Islam, politics and modernity's moral predicament* (2013). In *Sharī'a: theory, practice, transformations* (2009) he examines the doctrines and practices of Islamic law within the context of its history, from its beginnings in seventhcentury Arabia, across lands as diverse as India, Africa and South-East Asia, to the present.

RICHARD HELMHOLZ is Ruth Wyatt Rosenson Distinguished Professor of Law at the University of Chicago, a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy. His publications include *Roman Canon Law in Reformation England* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *Marriage Litigation in Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). He is a member of the Editorial Board of the *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* (Cambridge University Press).

MARK HILL QC is a Bencher of Inner Temple, Honorary Professor of Law at Cardiff University's Centre for Law and Religion, and Visiting Professor at the Dickson Poon School of Law at King's College London. His publications include *Religious Liberty and Human Rights* (2002), *Ecclesiastical Law* (2007), *Religion and Discrimination Law in the European Union* (2012) and *Religion and Law in the United Kingdom* (2014). He is Consultant Editor of the *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* and a member of the Editorial Boards of the *Oxford Journal of Law and Religion* and the *Revista General de Derecho Canónico y Derecho Eclesiástico del Estado*. He is a Recorder of the Crown Court and Chancellor of the Dioceses of Chichester and Europe. He is an Extraordinary Professor at Pretoria University and former President of the European Consortium for Church and State Research.

#### LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

LORD JUDGE was Lord Chief Justice of England and Wales from 2008 until his retirement in September 2013. He was called to the Bar by Middle Temple, and elected a bencher in 1987, serving as its treasurer in 2014. Lord Judge was appointed a Justice of the High Court in 1988, assigned to the Queen's Bench Division. In 1996, he was appointed a Lord Justice of Appeal, becoming a privy councillor. He was the Senior Presiding Judge from 1998 to 2003, when he became Deputy Chief Justice. In 2005 he was appointed the first President of the Queen's Bench Division. He is President of the Selden Society and an honorary doctor of laws at Cambridge University and King's College London, where he is currently a distinguished fellow and visiting professor.

SUDIPTA KAVIRAJ is Professor of Indian Politics and Intellectual History at the Institute for Religion, Culture and Public Life, Columbia University. He is the author of *The Imaginary Institution of India* (2010) and *The Trajectories of the Indian State* (2012), and the editor of *Politics in India* (1999) and of *Civil Society: history and possibilities* (Cambridge University Press, 2001).

sIMON LEE is Director of the Cambridge Theological Federation, a Fellow of St Edmund's College, Cambridge, and Emeritus Professor of Jurisprudence at Queen's University Belfast. He is the author of books on law, ethics and religion from *Law & Morals, Judging Judges* (1988), *Believing Bishops* (1990) and *The Cost of Free Speech* (1990) to *Uneasy Ethics* (2003). He was a lecturer in law at King's College London before becoming Professor of Jurisprudence and Dean of Law at Queen's University Belfast.

DAVID LITTLE is a research fellow at Georgetown University's Berkley Centre, and formerly TJ Dermot Dunphy Professor of the Practice in Religion, Ethnicity, and International Conflict at Harvard Divinity School. He is the author of the forthcoming book, *Essays in Human Rights, Religion, and Public Policy.* 

MALEIHA MALIK is a professor of law at King's College London and a barrister of Gray's Inn. Her research focuses on the theory and practice of discrimination law. She is the co-author of *Discrimination Law: theory and practice* (2008). She is, along with Dr Jon Wilson from the Department of History at King's College London, the co-ordinator of the AHRC project on 'Traditions in the Present', which explores the relevance of

xi

xii

#### LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

'tradition' in contemporary societies. Her current research focuses on the intersection between sexual and cultural equality. She teaches courses in Jurisprudence and Legal Theory, Discrimination Law and European Law to undergraduate and postgraduate students.

JAVIER MARTÍNEZ-TORRÓN is Professor of Law and Director of the Department of Law and Religion at Complutense University, Madrid and Vice-President of the Section of Canon Law and Church–State Relations of the Spanish Royal Academy of Jurisprudence and Legislation. He was a member of the OSCE/ODIHR Advisory Council for Freedom of Religion or Belief from 2005 to 2013 and serves on the Spanish Advisory Commission for Religious Freedom within the Ministry of Justice. Co-founder of the Spanish Association of Comparative Law and Member of the International Academy of Comparative Law, his most recent publication is *Religion and Law in Spain* (2014).

MARGARET MCGLYNN is Professor of History at Western University, Ontario. She is editing for the Selden Society the readings given by common lawyers at the Inns of Court in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which focus on the relationship between the Church and the common law, based on Magna Carta.

LORD JONATHAN SACKS is currently the Ingeborg and Ira Rennert Global Distinguished Professor of Judaic Thought at New York University, the Kressel and Ephrat Family University Professor of Jewish Thought at Yeshiva University and Professor of Law, Ethics and the Bible at King's College London. Previously, Rabbi Sacks served as Chief Rabbi of the United Hebrew Congregations of the Commonwealth between September 1991 and September 2013. He is a global religious leader, philosopher and author of over twenty-five books, including *The Great Partnership: God, science and the search for meaning* (2011).

SIR RABINDER SINGH is a Justice of the High Court. He is currently a Presiding Judge of the South Eastern Circuit. From 1986 to 1988 he was a lecturer in law at the University of Nottingham. He was called to the Bar by Lincoln's Inn in 1989 and elected a bencher in 2009. In 2002 he was appointed Queen's Counsel. His writings include *The Future of Human Rights in the United Kingdom* (1997) and (as a co-author) *Human Rights: judicial enforcement in the UK* (2008). He has held visiting posts at Queen

#### LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

xiii

Mary University of London and the London School of Economics and is currently an honorary professor at the University of Nottingham.

JOHN WITTE, JR is Robert W Woodruff University Professor of Law, Alonzo L McDonald Distinguished Professor and Director of the Center for the Study of Law and Religion at Emory University. His recent publications include *God's Joust, God's Justice: law and religion in the Western tradition* (2006), *The Reformation of Rights: law, religion, and human rights in early modern Calvinism* (2007), *Christianity and Law: an introduction* (2008), *Religion and the American Constitutional Experiment* (3rd edn, 2011); *Religion and Human Rights: an introduction* (2012) and *No Establishment of Religion: America's original contribution to religious liberty* (2012). He is co-editor of the *Journal of Law and Religion* and a member of the Editorial Board of the *Ecclesiastical Law Journal*.

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

On a glorious sunny Saturday in June 2014, we had the pleasure of convening a conference in the Temple, the beating heart of legal London, under the title 'Magna Carta, Religion and the Rule of Law', focusing on the powerful narratives – then and now – of faith and governance. We had in mind a modest gathering, and thus we were delighted that in excess of 200 people chose to attend. In his keynote address (which is reproduced herein as Chapter 2) Lord Judge, not one for overstatement, remarked:

Today's conference, *Magna Carta, Religion and the Rule of Law*, has brought together an extraordinary array of talent and expertise. I doubt whether any of the myriads of occasions from now on for the next two years, where Magna Carta will be discussed and dissected and analysed, will be equalled by a group of scholars of the international reputation and distinction which has been assembled here today.

The speakers did not disappoint. And thanks to Cambridge University Press their scholarship, insight and analysis will now reach a larger global audience. Their papers are supplemented in this volume by complementary chapters which we commissioned from others who were unable to be present at the conference but whose scholarship was of equal calibre to the speakers'. We are indebted to all the contributors for complying with an unusually strict and robustly enforced timetable, mindful of the looming deadline in the form of the 800th anniversary of the sealing of Magna Carta.

In addition, we must record our thanks to those who shared with us the responsibility for moderating the sessions: Stephen Hockman QC and Sir Konrad Schiemann; and to two discussants who led an informal workshop on the morning after the conference: Sir John Laws and Professor David Kirkham. Fittingly, the conference concluded with Choral Mattins in the Temple Church at which the preacher was Canon Professor Nicholas Sagovsky. Inspired by the spirit of Pentecost, his sermon explored the

xvi

#### PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

covenantal nature of Magna Carta, and we have drawn on his reflections in our jointly authored opening chapter.

The conference would not have been possible without the considerable support of many people and institutions, including King's College London, a near neighbour, and its Institute of Contemporary British History, the Dickson Poon School of Law and the Department of Theology and Religious Studies in particular. Inner Temple and Middle Temple each gave every encouragement to the event, led by their respective Treasurers, Lord Justice Tomlinson and Lord Judge, in concert with the irrepressibly helpful staff of both Inns. Funding for the conference was provided by the Temple Church from its Aymeric Fund, aptly named after the Master of the Temple in 1215.

We have good reason in the Temple to study and celebrate Magna Carta: and have had, since 1214. It was one of King John's safe havens in the crisis of 1214–15. On 21 November 1214 he issued from the Temple the charter that granted the freedom of cathedral and conventual elections; it was reissued, again from the Temple, on 15 January 1215. This developed into Magna Carta's opening clause, on the freedom of the English Church. On that visit early in 1215 the King was confronted by a delegation of barons who demanded for the first time that the King declare his own fealty to a charter. The King was to be subject to a written law, in the terms of his own prior oaths but imposed and sustained by his own subjects. This demand took shape as Magna Carta's Security Clause (clause 61). In May 1215 he was back, and issued from the Temple the charter granting free mayoral elections to the City of London. Hero of the hour at Runnymede itself was William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who had mediated between the King and the barons. As Regent to the young Henry III, the Earl reissued the Charter in 1216 and 1217 under his own seal and so ensured its survival. William had arranged to be buried in front of the rood screen in the Temple Church; he was laid to rest beside his friend Aymeric de St Maur, Master of the Temple, who had also advised King John at Runnymede. It is a measure of William's achievement that his cortège was led to the Temple Church by former rebels, now pacified. Archbishop Langton described him as 'the greatest knight that ever lived'.

William's effigy still lies in the Temple Church. William's heir, William Marshal, 2nd Earl of Pembroke, was one of the twenty-five Surety Barons commissioned by the Security Clause at Runnymede to ensure the King's conformity to the Charter. In 1225 Henry III issued the Charter again, in the form in which it was eventually enrolled in England's statutes. The younger William Marshal married the sister of Henry III and was buried

#### PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

in the Temple Church in 1231; his effigy lies beside his father's. Ten years later the Templars rebuilt their Chancel, east of the Round, to be the funerary chapel of Henry III and his Queen. A church built as a shrine to Jerusalem and the Crusades had within eighty tumultuous years become a shrine to the heroes of England's fragile constitutional settlement. It remains a powerfully symbolic building, where history, topography and the ongoing life of the common-law world converge. It is aptly famous as the mother church of the common law.

As to this publication, as editors we are indebted to all the contributors whose gracious and speedy preparation of the manuscript turned a chore into a pleasure, creating and deepening many friendships. To complete the volume, we have added a conflated bibliography which provides a comprehensive overview of the accumulated literature on the subject and, by way of appendix, a translation of the text of Magna Carta in its 1215 and 1225 versions. Individual authors, however, have used a variety of sources and translations as appears from the text and footnotes, and variously prefer to refer to the Charter's chapters or clauses. We are grateful to Dr Hester Higton for bringing order and consistency to the stylistic potpourri of a multi-authored text, to Diane Ilott for her meticulous copy-editing, to Deepti Thakoor LLB for her work on the bibliography and to Carol Rowe for assisting with Arabic transliteration.

Finally, we must thank Cambridge University Press for sharing our vision for a lasting contribution to the octocentenary of Magna Carta and, especially, to Finola O'Sullivan, our commissioning editor, together with her colleagues at the Press, for working towards the realisation of that vision with fortitude and good humour.

Mindful of the conventional practice in legal textbooks, in this instance we take peculiar delight in declaring that the law is stated as at 15 June 1215, although eight centuries of further developments have, of course, been incorporated in the pages which follow.

> The Revd Robin Griffith-Jones, *Reverend and Valiant Master of the Temple*

Professor the Worshipful Mark Hill QC, Francis Taylor Building, Inner Temple