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### A Brief History of the Danish Royal Titles

n the Hungarian constitutional history, one of the groups of royal prerogatives is called "honorary rights" (or "personal prerogatives of the king", based on the corresponding Latin expression jura majestatica stricte personalia). The royal titles are discussed within this category. In the Hungarian history, such titles were mainly connected to the so-called "co-reigns" and "claimed lands" of the Holy Crown, covering the neighbour countries of the historical Hungarian kingdom.<sup>1</sup> The history of the style of the Danish kings provides us with a similar picture, however, that extent of cumulation of the titles as we could see at the example of the Hungarian monarchs throughout the centuries, was not characteristic of Denmark, not even in the periods when the Danish monarchy was a middle-power state in the Northern and Baltic regions.

#### 1. King of the Danes

According to our contemporary documentary sources of the period of the Árpád dynasty, the Hungarian kings were not used to be called "kings of Hungary" until the end of the 11th century. They rather used the title "king of the Hungarians" (usually in the forms of *Ungrorum rex* or *Hungarorum rex*). The expression *rex Hungariae*, already referring to the territorial extent of royal power, appeared the first time at the time of rex Coloman the Learned (*Könyves Kálmán*, r. 1095–1116). In the middle ages, the royal titles of the Danish kings also referred to the population as the king's subordinates instead of the territory of the country he was the ruler of, for they were usually named as "king of the Danes" and not "king of Denmark".

The *Annales Regni Francorum* already called the (alleged) 8–9<sup>th</sup> century Danish kings, Sigfred and Godfred, as *reges [rex] Danorum*,<sup>4</sup> and the same wording was used by Canute the Great (*Knud den Store*, r. 1019–1035),

son of Sweyn Forkbeard (*Svend Tveskæg*, r. 987–1014), too.<sup>5</sup> In contrast with the Hungarian custom, this was not replaced with the territorial variant "king of Denmark" until the late middle ages, the establishment of the Danish–Norwegian personal union (1380) and Kalmar (Danish–Norwegian–Swedish) Union (1397). Since this period the title *rex Daciae* (the traditionally used spelling of *rex Daniae*) has been in use.

However, in the 12th century, in parallel with the recognition of the spiritual (sacral) legitimation of the royal power,6 the expression "by the grace of God" appeared in the style of the Danish monarchs as well. Similarly to the Hungarian royal title,<sup>7</sup> the first Latin expression used for such purpose was Divina favente clementia also in Denmark, at the period of reign of Erik II the Memorable (Erik Emune, r. 1134–1137), but this already changed to Dei gratia (in Danish: af Guds Nåde) in the second part of the 12th century, at the time of Valdemar I the Great (Valdemar den Store, r. 1157-1182). Thus, at this time the full style of the Danish kings was "by the grace of God king of the Danes". As a characteristic example, we may refer to the charter of the Vitskøl Abbey founded by Valdemar I, that began with the words "ego Waldemarus, dei gratia Danorum rex".8

#### 2. King of the Wends and the Goths

After the conquest of Mecklenburg in 1185 (according to the researches of Roland Steinacher, at some time between 1187 and 1193), the style was supplemented with the title "king of the Slavs" (in the form "king of the Danes and the Slavs", in Latin: *Danorum Sclavorumque rex*) and this remained in use for almost eight consequent centuries, until 1972.<sup>10</sup> A good example of the use of this title is, among others, the famous charter of 29 July 1282 ("the Danish Magna Carta") issued by Eric V Klipping (r. 1259–1286), referred to as "Ericus dei gracia danorum slauorumque rex". 11 The habitual Danish translation of the expression rex Sclavorum is Venders konge ("king of the Wends"), of course not referring to the historic denomination used for Hungarian Slovenes ("vendek"), but deriving from the common medieval German name of Slavic people "Wends" (Wenedi, Wenden).12

In 1361 a further royal title appeared besides the name of the Danish kings. This was "king of the Goths" (in Latin: *Gothorum rex*) that had already been part of the

style of the Swedish monarchs for a long time, and was adopted by Valdemar IV Atterdag (r. 1340–1375) at the time when he not simply reconquered Scania (*Skåne*) together with Blekinge and the southern part of the province of Halland from the Swedes, but also managed to occupy the island of Gotland. This title, together with "king of the Wends" (altogether used in the form "king of the Wends and the Goths", in Latin: *Sclavorum Gothorumque rex*) was kept in the style of the Danish kings until 1972, nevertheless Denmark had to give Gotland back to the Kingdom of Sweden already in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century (by virtue of the Peace of Brömsebro of 1645). The style of the Peace of Brömsebro of 1645).

## 3. The first territorial titles: Duke of Jutland and Duke of Estonia

The first Danish royal title that actually referred to the territorial scope of the king's power was not *rex Daciae* (as we mentioned earlier and we shall see soon in more

details, this was not used until the end of the 14th century), but dux Juciae (literally "duke of Jutland", in fact duke of Schleswig). The Danish kings were using this title in the periods when the positions of the king of Denmark and the duke of Schleswig were united in one hand, such as for example at the coronation of Valdemar II the Victorious (Valdemar *Sejr*, r. 1202–1241) in Christmas 1202, or at the coronation of king Abel (r. 1250-1252) on 1 November 1250.16

A similar title was "duke of Estonia" (in Latin: dux Estoniae) that appeared from time to time in the 13th and early 14th centuries, from the Danish victory in the Livonian Crusade against the Estonians (Battle of Lyndanisse, 1219) until August 1346 when Valdemar IV Atterdag sold the Estonian possessions to the Teutonic Order for 19,000 silver marks, in the framework of financial consolidation of the Danish treasury.<sup>17</sup> It is worth to be mentioned that the

king's epithet *Atterdag* (literally: "Return of the Day") recalls the fact that Valdemar IV actually re-established the Danish state after an eight-year *interregnum* (1332–1340), a kind of feudal anarchy, while the counts of Holstein exercised sovereignty over Denmark as its main creditors, and possessors of major part of the old royal lands.

#### 4. Style of the Danish kings at the time of the Danish–Norwegian personal union (1380–1814) and the Kalmar Union (1397–1523)

On 12 September 1380, by the death of Haakon VI (r. in Norway: 1343–1380), his underage son Olaf II (king of Denmark already from 1375, elected by the Danish Council of the Realm to the throne as Valdemar IV's grandson) became the king of Norway as well, based on the fact that Norway had been a hereditary kingdom since the beginning of the history of the Norwegian monarchy. By the accession to the throne of Olaf II (r. in Denmark: 1375–1387, in Norway: 1380–1387), his style was supplemented with the title "king of Norway" (rex Norwegiae). This was the change that resulted the transformation of the Danish royal title from Danorum rex to Daciae rex, making thus the first reference to the territorial characteristic of the king's power.

Consequently, Olaf II's full title was "king of Denmark and Norway, the Wends and the Goths" (in Latin: Da-

ciae Norwegiae Sclavorum Gothorumque rex, in Danish: Konge til Danmark og Norge, de Venders og Gothers). The difference between this usage and the earlier custom can be well seen in the coronation charter of the underage king issued in 1376 and signed by both of his parents, Margrete Valdemarsdatter and Haakon VI of Norway, who was then king of Sweden too. At the end of the text of the charter Olaf was officially indicated still as "king of the Danes, Wends and the Goths" (Danorum, Sclavorum, Gothorumque rex), but his father Haakon was mentioned as "king of Sweden and Norway" (rex Sveciae et Norwegiae), and as a reference to the earlier mentioned Olaf, the expression rex Daciae ("cum dicto domino Olauo rege Daciae") was used the second time in his relation as well.<sup>18</sup>

Olaf's successor, Erik VII of Pomerania (r. 1397–1439), who was elected as king of Sweden as well, and by this

the Kalmar Union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms was established for almost one and a half century, frequently used the special title *Koningen af thissæ thry righæ* ("king of these three kingdoms").<sup>19</sup> "These kingdoms" were usually listed in the fully explicit royal title as *Daciae Sveciae Norwegiae*... (in Danish: *Danmarks Svergies Norges*...),



Eric V Klipping<sup>13</sup>



i.e. Denmark, Sweden and Norway were following each other in this order. Furthermore, Erik was entitled to bear the title of duke of Pomerania (in Latin "dux Pomeraniae", in Danish: "Hertug i Pommern") as well.

The latter was of course not part of the style of the next union king, Christopher III of Bavaria (r. in Denmark: 1440-1448, in Sweden since 1441, in Norway since 1442), however he was entitled to use two other additional titles on his own right, "count palatine of the Rhine" and "duke of Bavaria" (in Latin: comes palatini Reni et dux Bavariae).<sup>20</sup> It is interesting to mention that Christopher was granted at his coronation ceremony held in 1 January 1443 in the Cathedral of Ribe with the title archirex Daniae.<sup>21</sup> The Greek prefix archi- referred to the fact that Denmark had an especially important position among the three Nordic kingdoms forming the Kalmar Union, similarly to the place of late medieval Hungary among the "lands of St. Stephen's Holy Crown", that was also often referred to as archiregnum ("main realm") and the Hungarian king as archirex.<sup>22</sup>

#### 5. The Legacy of the Oldenburgs<sup>23</sup>

The appearance of the House of Oldenburg on the Danish throne in the 15<sup>th</sup> century resulted in further changes in the style of the kings of Denmark. The first Oldenburg king, Christian I (r. 1448–1481)<sup>24</sup> brought his home titles with himself to Denmark. As he had already been the count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, these titles were incorporated in the Danish royal titles in the form "comes de Oldenborch et Delmenhorst" (in Danish: Greve i Oldenborg og Delmenhorst). In 1460, when his uncle count Adolphus died, he inherited the duchy of Schleswig (an originally Danish province in Southern Jutland, possessed by the counts of Holstein since the 14th century) together with the county of Holstein. At this occasion, the estates of Schleswig and Holstein forced him to sign the Treaty of Ribe in which he had to promise that these two territories would be governed "forever undivided" ("ewich tosamende ungedelt", in later sources: "up ewig ungedeelt").25 From this time on, Christian I and his successors were entitled to use the titles "duke of Schleswig" (not in the old Latin form "dux Juciae" any more, but as "dux Slesvicensis")26 and "count of Holstein" (in Latin: comes Holsatiae).

After 1474 – when Holstein was elevated by the Holy Roman Emperor to the rank of duchy, and thus Christian as the duke of Holstein was recognized as his direct vassal<sup>27</sup> – the Oldenburg titles were transformed to the quite complex form "Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, Stormarn and Dithmarschen, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst"). For an example we may refer to the treaty of peace and alliance between the Kingdoms of France and Denmark concluded on 8 July 1498 (still effective today!),<sup>28</sup> in which king John (r. 1481–1513) was named with his full style "Joannes, Dei gratia, Daciae, Sueciae, Norvegiae, Slavorum Gothorumque Rex, Dux Slesvicensis ac Holsatiae, Stormariae et Ditmarsiae, Comes in Oldenburg et Delmenhorst".<sup>29</sup>

Interestingly, an indirect reference to the German provinces of Holstein, Stormarn and Dithmarschen could already be found among the titles of Valdemar II as well, in the ancient form of "Lord of Nordalbingia" (in Latin: *dominus Nordalbingiae*). However, this title had no connection with those of the Oldenburgs at all: King Valdemar the Victorious was recognized as the ruler of these old Saxon territories at the frontiers of the historical Kingdom of Denmark – also mentioned in Adam of Bremen's famous ecclesiastical chronicle *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* written in the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>30</sup> – after his successful military campaign in Holstein in 1201, and the conquest of the cities of Hamburg and Lübeck in 1202.<sup>31</sup>

Similarly to the title "king of the Goths", the German count and ducal titles brought to Denmark by the Oldenburgs remained in the style of the Danish kings until as late as 1972, in spite of the fact that, by virtue of the Vienna peace treaty of 30 October 1864 closing the quick second Schleswig war in a devastating way from Danish point of view,<sup>32</sup> Denmark not just had to hand over the provinces of Holstein and Lauenburg to Prussia and Austria (in fact only to Prussia), but also the whole territory of Schleswig, including the area between the rivers Kongeå and Eider, i.e. those parts (traditionally called *Sønderjylland*, Southern Jutland) as well that had already been recognized as belonging to the realm of the Danes by Charlemagne in a peace with the envoys of the Danes concluded in 811.<sup>33</sup>

#### 6. Conclusion

From the fact that both the title "king of the Goths" and those inherited in the 15<sup>th</sup> century from the Oldenburgs (as the German counts of Holstein and the connected territories) remained in use right until the second part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we can draw the conclusion that, at least after the Brömsebro (1645) and Roskilde (1658) peace treaties with Sweden, and the Peace of Vienna (1864) with Prussia and Austria, the style of the Danish kings not just contained fictive titles (like "Wends"), but, at least from a strict international law point of view, an unlawful usage of monarchic titles can also be observed. In the history of the Hungarian constitutional law, such "unlawful" titles are usually referred to as "igénycimek" ("titles of claim").<sup>34</sup>

Did it really cause an actual legal problem in the modern age? No, not at all. Let us just mention an early 20<sup>th</sup> century example from the Hungarian history for illustrating this matter. When the last Hungarian king, Charles IV (r. 1916–1918) was crowned on 30 December 1916 in Budapest, he was named, among others – and further to some incontestably existing titles like "king of Hungary" or "Croatia" –, as the "king of Serbia", "Cumania" (land of the Cumans in the 13<sup>th</sup> century on the territory of the later Romanian principalities) and "Bulgaria" as well. In the Treaty of Berlin of 13 July 1878, the Kingdom of Hungary (more precisely: the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy) confirmed to recognize the existence of these countries,



moreover, Hungary and Bulgaria were allies in World War I, and Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria personally attended the above mentioned coronation ceremony as the only foreign monarch,<sup>35</sup> being one of the closest friends of the royal family, and not being disturbed by the fact that his friend Charles was just crowned as the "king of Bulgaria".

Anyway, it was more than a wise decision from Margaret II of Denmark, when she has finally dropped all the politically disputable ("incorrect") historical titles from her style in 1972, deciding to let herself be called in the future simply as "by the grace of God Queen of Denmark" (af Guds Nåde Danmarks Dronning).

#### **Notes and references**

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- In the charter of privilege of the Pannonhalma Abbey probably written in 1002 (but dated to 1001) the title *Ungrorum rex* can be read, while the charter of donation to the Veszprém Diocese and charter of privilege of the Pécs Diocese (both dated to 1009 but only available in 13–14th century transscripts) contain the expression *Hungarorum rex*. See Györffy, György (ed.): *Diplomata Hungariae Antiquissima, accedunt epistolae et acta ad historiam Hungariae pertinentia*. Tomus I. (DHA I.) Budapest, 1992. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 39., 52., 58.
- <sup>3</sup> POMOGYI, László: Magyar alkotmány- és jogtörténeti kéziszótár [Dictionary of Hungarian constitutional and legal history]. Budapest, 2008. Mérték Kiadó, 570–571. Károly Kisteleki draws the attention to the fact that this title was already used in the survey of Tihany that had been compiled in 1092, i.e. in the era of St. Ladislaus I (r. 1077–1095). See KISTELEKI 2013. 72.; source referred by the author: DHA I., 282.
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- <sup>12</sup> For more details on this topic see STEINACHER 2004. 329–330.
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- <sup>17</sup> FINDEISEN, Jörg-Peter: Dänemark. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart. Regensburg, 1999. Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 75.
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- <sup>21</sup> Møller Jensen, Janus: *Denmark and the Crusades*, 1400–1650. The Northern World 30. Leiden–Boston, 2007. Brill. 68.; Olesen 1993. 205
- <sup>22</sup> Auge 2005. 523–525.; Hoffmann, Erich: Königserhebung und Thronfolgeordnung in Dänemark bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters. Berlin–New York, 1976. Walter de Gruyter, 161.; Mureşan 2019. 87.; Olesen 1993. 211. About the Hungarian concept of Archiregnum in more details see Kisteleki 2013.
- 23 "The Legacy of the Oldenburgs" is a paraphrase of the 1980's German (ZDF) TV-series Das Erbe der Guldenburgs.
- On the paternal line, Christian I was a descendant of Eric IV Ploughpenny (r. 1241–1250), while on the maternal line he was also descendant of kings Abel (r. 1250–1252) and Christopher I (r. 1252–1259) too, thus the first Oldenburg king was a late offspring of all three sons of King Valdemar II the Victorious.
- <sup>25</sup> The Treaty of Ribe of 5 March 1460 (often referred to as the Freiheits-brief) can be read in German in TAMM, Ditlev SCHUBERT, Werner JØRGENSEN, Jens Ulf (eds.): Quellen zur dänischen Rechts- und Verfassungsgeschichte (12.–20. Jahrhundert). Rechtshistorische Reihe 363. Frankfurt am Main, 2008. Peter Lang, 61–62. Document No. 12. About the historical and legal background and consequences of the clause "up ewig ungedeelt" in more details see: RIIS, Thomas: "Up ewig ungedeelt" ein Schlagwort und sein Hintergrund. In STAMM-KUHLMANN, Thomas ELVERT, Jürgen ASCHMANN, Birgit HOHENSEE, Jens (eds.): Geschichtsbilder. Festschrift für Michael Salewski zum 65. Geburtstag. HMRG Beihefte 47. Stuttgart, 2003. Franz Steiner Verlag, 158–167.
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- <sup>27</sup> JØRGENSEN-WESTRUP 1982. 40.; RIIS 2003. 161. footnote No. 23.

- 28 See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign\_relations\_of\_Denmark# Europe.
- <sup>29</sup> Cited in MUREŞAN 2019. 136. Source of the document as indicated by Mureşan (footnote No. 286): Léonard, Frédéric (ed.): Recueil des traitez de paix, de treve, de neutralité, de confederation, d'alliance, et de commerce, faits par les rois de France, avec tous les princes, et potentats de l'Europe, et autres, depuis près de trois siècles. Vol. 1. Paris, 1693. [s.n.], 399–404.
- <sup>30</sup> In English ADAM of Bremen: History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen. Translated by TSCHAN, Francis J. New York, 2002. Columbia University Press, the description of Nordalbingia: 83.
- <sup>31</sup> Hybel 2003. 216–217.
- <sup>32</sup> Just for some examples how this episode of Danish history is seen by Danish historiography, let us quote Knud J. V. Jespersen who repeatedly calls in his book [JESPERSEN, Knud J. V.: A History of Denmark. London, 2019. MacMillan International–Red Globe Press] the peace of Vienna of October 1864 a "national catastrophe" for Denmark (7., 71.) or simply "catastrophe" (33., 76., 202., 203.); the loss of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein to Germany "the definitive national trauma" (31.); the result of the second Schleswig war "humiliating" (32., 77., 122., 212.), "catastrophic" (200.), "crushing" (205.) or "traumatic defeat" (217.). However, Jespersen is exaggerating just in order to emphasize the way how the modern Danish national identity has been, almost paradoxically, formed from such a historical trauma. Modern Denmark is a small country that has a greatness that is much more important than its size: it is able to provide the general welfare of its citizens at the highest imaginable level (220-226.).
- <sup>33</sup> BOHN, Robert: Dänische Geschichte. München, 2001. C. H. Beck. 7.; SKOVGAARD-PETERSEN, Inge: The making of the Danish kingdom. In Helle, Knut (ed.): The Cambridge History of Scandinavia. Volume 1: Prehistory to 1520. Cambridge, 2003. Cambridge University Press, 173.
- <sup>34</sup> KMETY, Károly: Magyar közjog [Hungarian public law]. Budapest, 1926. Grill Károly, 184–185.
- <sup>35</sup> MACZÓ, Ferenc: IV. Károly király és Zita királyné koronázása [Coronation of King Charles IV and Queen Zita]. *Rubicon*, No. 1–2, 2017. 96.



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### A Special Field of Hungarian Private Law, i.e., the Legal Historical Aspects of Alimony in the Post-Compromise Era of Hungary

pecial rights of women<sup>1</sup> have been essential parts of the legal norms regulating the social relationships among people. They can be especially found among the rules regulating the establishment of marriages as well as the inheritance rights upon the termina-

tion of marriage. Regarding such special rights – especially maintained for women – it can be concluded that the basis for their establishment is the social perception that judged the legal statuses of men and women in a different way until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Out of the special rights of women, this study aims to discuss the issue of alimony, based on the respective special literature sources of the given times as well as the practices of the Hungarian Royal Curia. This study may be continued in the future by assessing the subject based on archive research.

# 1. The appearance of alimony obligation in marriages

Naturally, the issue of alimony has been part of human practices ever since the communities of people accepted the partnership of men and women and the term of 'family'. As Lajos Staud said,