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Д. Дэвис: образ ирландцев в раннестюартовских источниках

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Биография автора

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колонизация Ольстера (the plantation of Ulster)

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Какое место занимает описание ирландцев в теории Дэвиса?

Источники и античная традиция

Ссылки на античные тексты: Тацит (“Агрикола”), Вергилий (“Энеида”), Клавдий.

Исторические тексты: Гиральд Камбрийский, Роджер Ховеденский, Жан Фруассар, Рафаэль Холинshed, the Book of Howth, Матвей Парижский, Патрик Финглас, etc.

Делопроизводственные документы: the Parliament Rolls; the Pipe-Rolls; the Black-book of Christ Church in Dublin; the Patent-Rolls (the Tower); the White-book of the Exchequer; Acts of Parliament in Ireland; the Red-book of the Exchequer; the Common Plea Rolls; Charters of Denization; статуты; etc.

P. 217-218: ЭКСПОЗИЦИЯ

During **the time of my service in Ireland**, which began in the first year of His Majesty's reign, I have visited all the provinces of that kingdom in sundry journeys and circuits; wherein I have observed **the good temperature of the air; the fruitfulness of the soil; the pleasant and commodious seats for habitation; the safe and large ports and havens lying open for traffic into all the west parts of the world; the long inlets of many navigable rivers and so many great lakes and fresh ponds within the land, as the like are not to be seen in any part of Europe; the rich fishings and wild-fowl of all kinds; and lastly, the bodies and minds of the people endued with extraordinary abilities of nature**. The observation whereof hath bred in me some curiosity to consider what were the true causes why this kingdom, whereof our kings of England have borne the title of sovereign lords for the space of four hundred and odd years, a period of time wherein divers great monarchies have risen from barbarism to civility, and fallen again to ruin, was not in all that space of time thoroughly subdued and reduced to obedience of the Crown of England, although there hath been almost a continual war between the English and the Irish; and why **the manners of the mere Irish are so little altered since the days of King Henry the Second**, as appeareth by the description made by Giraldus Cambrensis, who lived and wrote in that time, albeit there have been since that time so many English colonies planted in Ireland as that, if the people were numbered at this day by the poll, such as are descended of English race would be found more in number than the ancient natives.

P. 218-219: как завоевать варварскую страну-1

The defects which hindered the perfection of the conquest of Ireland were of two kinds, and consisted, first, in **the faint prosecution of the war**, and next in **the looseness of the civil government**. For the husbandman must first break the land before it be made capable of good seed; and when it is thoroughly broken and manured, if he do not forthwith cast good seed into it, it will grow wild again and bear nothing but weeds. So **a barbarous country must be first broken by a war before it will be capable of good government**; and when it is fully subdued and conquered, if it be not well planted and governed after the conquest, it will eftsoons return to the former barbarism.

P. 220-221: как завоевать варварскую страну-2

For, albeit Tacitus in the Life of Agricola doth report that Agricola, having subdued the greatest part of Great Britain, did signify to the Senate of Rome that he thought Ireland might also be conquered with one legion and a few aids, I make no doubt but that if he had attempted the conquest thereof with a far greater army he would have found himself deceived in his conjecture. For **a barbarous country is not so easily conquered as a civil**, whereof Caesar had experience in his wars against the Gauls, Germans, and Britons, who were subdued to the Roman Empire with far greater difficulty than the rich kingdoms of Asia. And, again, **a country possessed with many petty lords and states is not so soon brought under entirely as an entire kingdom governed by one prince or monarch**. And, therefore, the late King of Spain could sooner win the kingdom of Portugal than reduce the states of the Low Countries.

P. 223: ирландское (само)управление при Генрихе II

For, to give laws unto a people, to institute magistrates and officers over them, to punish and pardon malefactors, to have the sole authority of making war and peace, and the like, are the true marks of sovereignty, which King Henry the Second had not in the Irish countries, but **the Irish lords did still retain all these prerogatives to themselves.**

For they governed their people by the Brehon law; they made their own magistrates and officers; they pardoned and punished all malefactors within their several countries; they made war and peace one with another without controlment; and this they did not only during the reign of King Henry the Second, but afterwards in all times, even until the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

P. 229-230: английские колонии

Besides, the English colonies, being dispersed in every province of this kingdom, were enforced to keep continual guards upon the borders and marches round about them; which guards consisting of idle soldiers were likewise imposed as a continual burthen upon the poor English freeholders, whom they oppressed and impoverished in the same manner. And because the great English lords and captains had power to impose this charge when and where they pleased, many of the poor freeholders were glad to give unto those lords a great part of their lands, to hold the rest free from that extortion; and many others, not being able to endure that intolerable oppression, did utterly quit their freeholds and returned into England. By this means the English colonies grew poor and weak, though the English lords grew rich and mighty; for they placed Irish tenants upon the lands relinquished by the English; upon them they levied all Irish exactions; with them they married, and fostered, and made gossips; so as within one age the English, both lords and freeholders, became degenerate and mere Irish in their language, in their apparel, in their arms and manner of fight, and all other customs of life whatsoever

By this it appeareth why the extortion of coigny and livery is called in the old statutes of Ireland a damnable custom, and the imposing and taking thereof made high treason. And it is said in an ancient Discourse of the Decay of Ireland [By Baron Finglas of Wespalstown.], that though it were first invented in hell, yet if it had been used and practised there as it hath been in Ireland, it had long since destroyed the very kingdom of Beelzebub.

P. 260-264: ирландцы вне правового поля

...only the English colonies and some few septs of the Irishry which were enfranchised by special charters were admitted to the benefit and protection of the laws of England, and that the **Irish generally were held and reputed aliens**, or rather enemies to the Crown of England, insomuch as they were not only disabled to bring any actions, but **they were so far out of the protection of the law** as it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in the time of peace.

...the mere Irish were not reputed free subjects nor admitted to the benefit of the Laws of England until they had purchased **Charters of Denization**.

P. 266: ирландцы как враги

Hence it is that in all the Parliament Rolls which are extant from the fortieth year of Edward the Third, when the Statutes of Kilkenny were enacted, till the reign of King Henry the Eighth, we find the degenerate and disobedient English called rebels; but the Irish, which were not in the King's peace, are called enemies [...].

All these Statutes speak of English rebels and Irish enemies, as if the Irish had never been in condition of subjects, but always out of the protection of the law, and were, indeed, in worse case than aliens of any foreign realm that was in amity with the Crown of England.

P. 284: англичане становятся ирландцами

Besides, the English lords, to strengthen their parties, did ally themselves with the Irish, and drew them in to dwell among them, gave their children to be fostered by them, and having no other means to pay or reward them, suffered them to take coigny and livery upon the English freeholders; which oppression was so intolerable as that the better sort were enforced to quit their freeholds and fly into England, and never returned, though many laws were made in both realms to remand them back again; and **the rest which remained became degenerate and mere Irish**, as is before declared. And the English lords, finding the Irish exactions to be more profitable than the English rents and services, and loving **the Irish tyranny, which was tied to no rules of law or honour better than a just and lawful seignory**, did reject and cast off the English law and government, received the Irish laws and customs, took Irish surnames, as MacWilliam, MacFeris, MacYoris, refused to come to the Parliaments which were summoned by the King of England's authority, and scorned to obey those English knights which were sent to command and govern this kingdom; namely, Sir Richard Capel, Sir John Morris, Sir John Darcy, and Sir Ralph Ufford.

P. 290-292: описание ирландцев и их обычаев

For, if we consider the nature of the Irish customs, we shall find that the people which doth use them must of necessity be **rebels to all good government**, destroy the commonwealth wherein they live, and **bring barbarism and desolation** upon the richest and most fruitful land of the world. For, whereas by the just and honourable law of England, and by the laws of all other well-governed kingdoms and commonweals, murder, manslaughter, rape, robbery, and theft are punished with death, by the Irish custom, or Brehon Law, the highest of these offences was **punished only by fine**, which they called an ericke...

...Wherein they were **little better than cannibals**, who do hunt one another, and he that hath most strength and swiftness doth eat and devour all his fellows.

P. 292: прошлое ирландцев

though the Irishry be a nation of **great antiquity** and wanted neither wit nor valour, and though **they had received the Christian faith above twelve hundred years since**, and were lovers of music, poetry, and all kind of learning, and possessed a land abounding with all things necessary for the civil life of man, yet, which is strange to be related, they did never build any houses of brick or stone, some few poor religious houses excepted, before the reign of King Henry the Second, though they were lords of this island for many hundred years before and since the conquest attempted by the English.

P. 292, 295: печальное настоящее

all the Irish countries are found so waste and desolate at this day, and so would they continue till the world's end if **these customs** were not abolished by the law of England...

...Irish exactions, extorted by the chieftains and tanists by colour of **their barbarous seigniorie**, were almost as grievous a burthen as the other, namely, cosherings, which were visitations and progresses made by the lord and his followers among his tenants, wherein he did eat them, as the English proverb is, out of house and home.

P. 292-293: gavelkind

Again, that Irish custom of gavelkind did breed another mischief, for thereby every man being born to land, as well bastard as legitimate, they all held themselves to be gentlemen; and though their portions were never so small and themselves never so poor — for gavelkind must needs in the end make a poor gentility — yet did they scorn to descend to husbandry or merchandise or to learn any mechanical art or science. And **this is the true cause why there were never any corporate towns erected in the Irish countries**. As for the maritime cities and towns, most certain it is that they were built and peopled by the Oostmen or Easterlings, for the natives of Ireland never performed so good a work as to build a city. Besides, these poor gentlemen were so affected unto their small portions of land as they rather chose to live at home **by theft, extortion, and coshering than to seek any better fortunes abroad**, which increased their septs or surnames into such numbers as there are not to be found in any kingdom of Europe so many gentlemen of one blood, family, and surname as there are of the O'Neills in Ulster, of the Bourkes in Connaught, of the Geraldines and Butlers in Munster and Leinster. And the like may be said of the inferior bloods and families.

Whereby it came to pass in times of trouble and dissension that they made great parties and factions adhering one to another with much constancy because they were tied together vinculo sanguinis; whereas rebels and malefactors which are tied to their leaders by no band, either of duty or blood, do more easily break and fall off one from another; and, besides, their cohabitation in one country or territory gave them opportunity suddenly to assemble and conspire and rise in multitudes against the Crown. And even now, in the time of peace, we find this inconvenience, that there can hardly be an indifferent trial had between the King and the subject, or between party and party, by reason of this general kindred and consanguinity.

P. 293-294: coigny and livery

But the most wicked and mischievous custom of all others was that of **coigny and livery**, often before mentioned, which consisted in taking of man's-meat, horse-meat, and money of all the inhabitants of the country at the will and pleasure of the soldier, who, as the phrase of Scripture is, 'did eat up the people as it were bread,' for that he had no other entertainment. **This extortion was originally Irish, for they used to lay bonaght upon their people and never gave their soldier any other pay.** But when the English had learned it they used it with more insolency and made it more intolerable [...] And therefore, vox oppressorum, this crying sin did draw down as great or greater plagues upon Ireland than the oppression of the Israelites did draw upon the land of Egypt; for the plagues of Egypt, though they were grievous, were but of a short continuance, but the plagues of Ireland lasted four hundred years together. This extortion of coigny and livery did produce two notorious effects. First, it made the land waste; next it made the people idle.

P. 295: crafty Irish

this oppression did of force and necessity make the Irish a crafty people; for such as are oppressed and live in slavery are ever put to their shifts, Ingenium mala saepe movent; and therefore in the old comedies of Plautus and Terence the bond-slave doth always act the cunning and crafty part. Besides, all the common people have a whining tune or accent in their speech, as if they did still smart or suffer some oppression. And this idleness, together with fear of imminent mischiefs which did continually hang over their heads, have been the cause that the Irish were ever the most inquisitive people after news of any nation in the world; as St. Paul himself made observation upon the people of Athens, that they were an idle people, and did nothing but learn and tell news. And because these news-carriers did by their false intelligence many times raise troubles and rebellions in this realm, the Statute of Kilkenny doth punish news-tellers, by the name of skelaghes, with fine and ransom.

P. 297: обычаи

Now, these two customs [fostering, gossipred], which of themselves are indifferent in other kingdoms, **became exceeding evil and full of mischief** in this realm by reason of the inconveniences which followed thereupon. For they made, as I said before, strong parties and factions, whereby the great men were enabled to oppress their inferiors and to oppose their equals and their followers were borne out and countenanced in all their lewd and wicked actions. For fosterers and gossips, by the common custom of Ireland, were to maintain one another in all causes lawful and unlawful, which, as it is a combination and confederacy punishable in all well-governed commonweals, so was it not one of the least causes of the common misery of this kingdom.

I omit their common repudiation of their wives; their promiscuous generation of children; their neglect of lawful matrimony; their uncleanness in apparel, diet, and lodging; and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man.

P. 297-298: англичане становятся ирландцами-2

These were **the Irish customs** which the English colonies did embrace and use after they had rejected the civil and honourable laws and customs of England, whereby they became degenerate and metamorphosed like Nebuchadnezzar, who, **although he had the face of a man, had the heart of a beast**; or like those who had drunk of Circe's cup, and were turned into very beasts, and yet took such pleasure in their beastly manner of life as they would not return to their shape of men again; insomuch as within less time than the age of a man they had no marks or differences left amongst them of that noble nation from which they were descended. For, as they did not only forget the English language and scorn the use thereof, but grew to be ashamed of their very English names, though they were noble and of great antiquity, and took Irish surnames and nicknames.

P. 335-336: ирландцы становятся англичанами

Moreover, these civil assemblies at assizes and sessions have **reclaimed the Irish from their wildness**, caused them to cut off their glibs and long hair, to convert their mantles into cloaks, to conform themselves to the manner of England in all their behaviour and outward forms. And because they find a great inconvenience in moving their suits by an interpreter, they do for the most part send their children to schools, especially to learn the English language; so as we may conceive an hope that the next generation will in tongue and heart and every way else **become English**, so as there will be no difference or distinction but the Irish Sea betwixt us. And thus we see a good conversion and the Irish game turned again.

Irish

- Irish-Irishry
- Irish lords
- Irish enemies
- Irish countries
- Irish law
- Irish tyranny