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Autor: Vatke, Th.

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Kontakt/Contact

[Digizeitschriften e.V.](#)
SUB Göttingen
Platz der Göttinger Sieben 1
37073 Göttingen

✉ info@digizeitschriften.de

Bildung und Schule in Shakespeare's England.

Von
Th. Vatke.

Die Gründung von Schulen in Alt-England war der Privat-Wohlthätigkeit der Fürsten wie der Unterthanen, sowie der einzelnen Korporationen überlassen. Man stiftete auch Hospitäler, die mit Schulen verbunden waren.¹⁾

In tymes paste when any ryche man dyed in London, they were wonte to healp the pore scholers of the universitye wyth exhibition.²⁾ When any man dyed, they woulde bequeth græte summes of money towarde the releue of the pore. When I was a scholer in Cambrydge my selfe, I harde verye good reporte of London, and knewe manie that had releue of the rytche men of London, but nowe I can heare no such good reporte, and yet I inqyure of it, and herken for it, but nowe charitie is waxed colde, none helpeth the scholer nor yet the pore. And in those dayes what dyd they whan they helped the scholers? Mary, they maynteyned and gaued them liuynges that were verye papists and professed the popes doctrine; and nowe that the knowledge of Gods word is brought to lyght, and many earnestelye studye and laboure to set it forth, now almost no man healpeth to maynteine them. Oh! London! London! repente, repente, for I thynke God is more displeased wyth London then euer he was with the citie of Nebo. Repente, therfore, repent, London, and remembre that the same God liueth nowe that punysshed Nebo, euen the same god and none other, and he wyl punyshe synne as well nowe as he dyd then, and he will punishe the iniquitie of London as well as he did then of Nebo.

¹⁾ I assure you,
I shall employ it [the gold] all in pious uses,
Founding of Colleges and Grammar schools,
Building of Hospitals. Ben Jonson, Alch. II. 3.

²⁾ Ein Stipendium (*exhibition*) hatte Ben Jonson gehabt. *Scholarship* ist wohl dasselbe, cf. Staunton, Great Schools.

So klagt Bishop Latimer, A. D. 1549, bereits darüber, daß wohlhabende Bürger nicht mehr in dem Grade wie es in seiner Jugend der Fall gewesen, Mittel für Schüler und Schulen hergeben.¹⁾

Hugh Latimer, A. D. 1549, Sermon on the Ploughers (Specimens of English Literature, 1394—1579, by W. W. Skeat, Oxf. 1871).

Der Unterricht pflegte, wie auch im kurfürstlichen Berlin, um 6 Uhr früh zu beginnen: daher spricht Shakespeare von den *shining morning faces* der Schulknaben. Furnivall, Education in Early England p. IXI.

Es wird von Wykeham, Bischof von Winchester, um 1366, berichtet:

At the same time, he seems to have formed the plan of those noble foundations at Oxford and Winchester upon which he had determined to bestow the bulk of his abundant wealth. In pursuance of his design, he purchased ground at Oxford for the site of his College there, and supported a Grammar School at Winchester preparatory to the erection of Winchester College, the intended nursery for that at Oxford. (Staunton p. 52.)

Ueber die Gründung von St. Paul's School schreibt Staunton p. 139:

„For many years it had been his (Colet's) practice to expend the greater part of his revenues in acts of piety and benevolence. Being now in possession of an ample fortune, and, since the deaths of his brothers and sisters, without any near relations, he at length resolved to consecrate a good portion of his estate to some great and enduring benefaction. After much deliberation as to what design would promise most benefit to the Church and the nation, he determined to provide a Grammar School in London, as near as possible to the Metropolitan Church. Accordingly, about the year 1509, the first of Henry's reign, Dean Colet commenced the erection of suitable buildings, and employed himself in framing the Statutes, providing proper Masters, and settling the endowments of St. Paul's School. The structure was completed in three years, and is said by Wood to have cost £ 4,500. This is, no doubt, an exaggerated estimate, for, at a time when a quarter of malt cost three shillings and four pence, an ox six shillings, a sheep one shilling, and a capon twopence, such a sum could scarcely have been absorbed by any edifice which a man in his senses would erect for the purposes of a School. Be this as it may, by the conveyance of certain of his estates in Bucks to the Mercer's Company, in trust, he endowed the Foundation with a yearly income of something more than one hundred and twenty pounds, a revenue which is understood to have increased to about £ 12,000, with the prospect, it is generally reported, of a further and enormous augmentation.

¹⁾ Citizen. *I'll have his nose, and at mine own charge build
A College (B. Fletcher, Philaster V. 4).*

In his Statutes of the School, Dean Colet declares that it shall be open to the „children of all nations and countries indifferently“. What a beautiful and noble catholicity this provision displays! We are supposed in these days to have more enlightened notions of toleration than in the days of Dean Colet, but in some respects there reigned a more exalted and embracing charity at the beginning of the 16th century than in the middle of the 19th. The number of children attending the school was to be one hundred and fifty-three. No children to be admitted but such as could say their Catechism, as well as read and write „competently“.

Each child was required to pay fourpence on his first admission to the School, which sum was to be given to the „poor scholar“ who swept the school and kept the seats clean. The hours of study were to be from seven until eleven in the morning and from one till five in the afternoon, with prayers in the morning, at noon, and in the evening. It was expressly stipulated that the pupils should never use tallow candles, but only wax, and those „at the cost of their friend“.¹⁾

Vgl. Sh. H. VIII. IV, 2: die Gründung der Schule von Ipswich durch Kardinal Wolsey.

Auch in den *Old Plays* XII, 59: *The Old Couple, A Comedy*, London 1658, wird unser Gegenstand erwähnt:

*And all the charitable deeds, which you
After your death shall do, as building schools
Or hospitals, shall go in your own name.*

Uebrigens scheinen die „Freischulen“ in gutem Ruf gestanden zu haben:

The Free-Schools generally afford the best breeding in good letters. Tom of All Trades p. 144, New Shakspeare Society VI, 2.²⁾

¹⁾ Aus Staunton, *The Great Schools of England*, p. 101, führen wir an: *It was at „untaintedly loyal“ Westminster that the famous South,³⁾ then a boy at school, heard the monitor pray publicly for King Charles I. by name on the fatal 30th of January, 1648, „but an hour or two before the monarch's head was struck off“. Here, too, the famous Busby is reported to have walked beside Charles II. with his head covered, apologizing at the same time to the King for his apparent breach of decorum by saying that, if his boys supposed there were any greater in the realm than he, there would be at once an end to his authority.* — Ueber eine Schulbelustigung des mittelalterlichen Englands berichtet William Fitzstephen (*Vita Sancti Thomae*, auctore Wilhelmo filio Stephani (Names) ed. Giles p. 178): „Außerdem, um mit den Spielen der Knaben von London anzufangen, denn wir alle sind ja Knaben gewesen, bringt zur Fastnachtszeit jeglicher Schulknabe seinem Lehrer einen Kampfhahn, und der ganze Vormittag vergeht, indem die Knaben in den Schulen den Kämpfen ihrer Hähne zusehen.“ (Alwin Schultz, *Das höfische Leben* I, 134.)

²⁾ *The Free Schools of Edward VI.* werden häufig erwähnt. Dieser König ist überhaupt Wiederhersteller des Schulwesens in England: *The grammar school at Stratford was suppressed in the usual way by royal mandate, but after*

³⁾ Dr. South † July 13, 1716.

Kleinere Knaben aber wurden, wie später Oliver Goldsmith, auch in Alt-England wohl von Lehrerinnen unterrichtet:

*tell their school-mistress
What truants they are and bid her pay them soundly.*
(*The Antipodes*, by Rich. Broome 1633.)

Diese Sitte war sehr alt: *thet (avarice) is the maystresse thet heth zuo greate scole thet alle guoth thrin uor to lyerni, as zayth the wrytinge.* (*Ayenbit of Inwyt*, bei Mätzner, Alt-Engl. Sprachproben S. 88).

Ine this clergie heth dame auarice uele scolers, and of clerkes and of leawede, and specialliche zeue manyeres of wolke thet alle thus studieth'. (ib. S. 94.)

Reichere Leute schickten ihre Kinder oft gar nicht zur Schule, sondern hielten ihnen Hauslehrer.¹⁾

Dagegen eifert auch Ben Jonson: Kinder im Hause erziehen, sagt er, heiße sie im Schatten erziehen, während in der Schule sie Licht und Sonne hätten.

Es war auch Mode in Shakespeare's London seitens der Erwachsenen Privatlehrer zu halten, und sich von denselben mit französischen und italienischen Phrasen ausstatten zu lassen. Das thaten die Pedants:

Your pedant should provide you some parcels, or some pretty commodity of Italian, to commence with, if you would be exotic and exquisite. Asot. Yes, sir, he was at my lodging, t'other morning, I gave him a doublet (Ben Jonson, Cynth. Rev.).

Gewiß war der Rock nicht neu: damit stimmt die Behandlung, welche der Pedant, Shrew IV, 2, erfährt:

Pedant ist aber auch der school-master überhaupt:

*„He's in yellow stockings.
Sir To. And cross-gartered?
Mar. Most villanously, like a pedant that keeps a school i'the church.*
(Tw. Night III, 2.)

being in abeyance for a few years it was restored by Edward VI; in the last year of his reign (1553).' (Baynes, *What Shakespeare learnt at School: Frazer's Magazine* 1879/80.)

¹⁾ *One of the conditions prescribed to a humble chaplain and tutor, in an esquire's family, according to Hall, 1599, was*

*First that he lie upon the truckle-bed,
While his young master lieth o'er his head.* Virg. B. II. Sat. 6.

Vgl.: Holofernes, bei den Eltern eines seiner Schüler eingeladen, spricht das *grace* bei Tische.

Fen's Paston Letters (middle of the fifteenth century): Agnes Paston, enters among her errands in London a commission to her son's tutor, {Greenfield, to „belash“ his charge till he amend, he being then fifteen and having been some time at Cambridge.

(Auch in Berlin wurde noch unter Friedrich dem Großen die Garnisonsschule in der Garnisonkirche abgehalten.)

Furnivall, *Education in Early England*, p. XXIV schreibt über Privatlehrer:

Note lastly, on this subject of private tuition, that Mulcaster in his Elementaries, 1582, complains greatly of rich people aping the custom of princes in having private tutors for their boys, and withdrawing them from public schools where the spirit of emulation against other boys would make them work. The course he recommends is that rich people should send their sons, with their tutors, to the public schools, and so get the advantage of both kinds of tuition.

Ferner aber wurden Knaben von 14 Jahren bereits, in wohlhabenden Familien, gar oft dem Unterricht entzogen, um als Pagen in ein vornehmes Haus einzutreten; und das war nicht bloß in England Sitte, auch der junge Peter Paul Rubens tritt als Page in das Haus der Gräfin Lalain, verläßt dasselbe jedoch bald wieder wegen des ausschweifenden Lebens seiner Mitpagen. Und über das unsittliche Pagenleben in England führt nicht nur Ben Jonson Klage; doch wir besitzen höchst drastische Schilderungen desselben.

In dem Drama *The New Inn* I, 1 spricht Jonson darüber. Lovel, *a soldier and a scholar* (wie Hamlet) läßt sich den Sohn der Wirthin vorstellen:

Lov. *Pretty boy! Goes he to school?*
Ferret (Lovel's servant). *O lord, sir,¹⁾ he prates Latin,
An it were a parrot, or a play-boy . .
He'll tell you what is Latin for a looking-glass,
A beard-brush, rubber, or quick-warming pan.*
Hostess. *Come hither, Frank, speak to the gentleman
In Latin; he is melancholy: say,
I long to see him merry, and so would treat him.*
Frank. *Subtristis visu es esse aliquantulum patri,
Qui te laute excipere, etiam ac tractare gestit.*
Lov. *A fine child!
You will not part with him, mine host?*
Host. *Who told you I would not?*
Lov. *I but ask you.*
Host. *And I answer to whom? for what?*
Lov. *To me, to be my page.*
Host. *I know no mischief yet the child hath done,
To deserve such a destiny.*
Lov. *Why? (Das soll der unverdorbene Knabe nicht hören.)*
Host. *Go down, boy,
And get your breakfaast. [Exeunt Frank and Ferret.]*

¹⁾ *O lord, sir*, war eine Mode-Phrase des *Courtier's* (cf. *All's well that ends well*).

*Trust me, I had rather
Take a fair halter, wash my hands, and hang him
Myself, make a clean riddance of him, than —*

Lov. *What?*

Host. *Than damn him to that desperate course of life.*

Lov. *Call you that desperate, which by a line,
Of institution, from our ancestors,
Hath been derived down to us, and received
In a succession, for the noblest way
Of breeding up our youth, in letters, arms,
Fair mien, discourses, civil exercise,
And all the blazon of a gentleman?
Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,
To move his body gracefuller, to speak
His language purer, or to tune his mind,
Or manners, more to the harmony of nature,
Than in these nurseries of nobility?*

Host. *Ay, that was when the nursery's self was noble,
And only virtue made it, not the market,
That titles were not vented at the drum,¹⁾
Or common out-cry; goodness gave the greatness,
And greatness worship: every house became
An academy of honour, and those parts
We see departed, in the practice now,
Quite from the institution.*

Level bleibt dabei, die Pagen würden unterrichtet²⁾)

in the arts
*To make their English sweet upon their tongue,
As reverend Chaucer says.*

Hostess. *Sir, you mistake;
To play sir Pandarus, my copy hath it,*

¹⁾ Dürfte auf die unter Jakob I. käufliche Ritterwürde sich beziehen.

²⁾ Zum Pagendienst wurden allerdings besonders die jüngeren Söhne (*les cadets*) herangezogen. Dasselbe war auch außerhalb Englands, auf dem Continent der Fall: Alw. Schultz, *Das höfische Leben* I, 132: „So war der Jüngling 12 Jahr und älter geworden, und wurde nun, wenn er nicht selbst ein Land zu ererben hatte, an einen Fürstenhof geschickt, um sich dort weiter auszubilden.“ *The next thing in a family is the entertainment of servants, which this honourable person knew best to chuse, because himselfe had been a servant. Though he was born of a most noble family, yet being a younger brother, as the usual custome of our cuntry is, he was compelled by necessitie to serve in a noble familie, but after was preferred to the late queene of happie memorie. Sermon at the Funerall of Henrie Grey, 7th Earl of Kent, 1614. Gifford zu B. Jons. New Inn. I, 1 und Gifford's Introduction to Massinger (p. XXXVIII).*

*And carry messages to madam Cressid,¹⁾
Instead of backing the brave steed, o' mornings,
To mount the chambermaid; and for a leap
Of the vaulting horse, to ply the vaulting-house:
For exercise of arms, a bale of dice
Or two or three packs of cards to show the cheat,²⁾
And nimbleness of hand; mistake a cloak
From my lord's back, and pawn it; ease his pockets
Of a superfluous watch, or geld a jewel
Of an odd stone or so; swinge three or four buttons
From off my lady's gown: these are the arts,
Or seven liberal deadly scienccs
Of pagery, or rather paganism,
As the tides run! to which, if he apply him,
He may, perhaps, take a degree at Tyburn,
A year the earlier.*

Lovel antwortet:

*. and talk above your seasoning,
. : it should not come, methinks,
Under our cap, this vein of salt and sharpness.*

(Wirthinnen also tragen caps, nicht French hoods.)

Aehnlich der Pagen-Erziehung ist folgendes Herkommen in
Alt-England:

*In Elizabeth's time it was still the custom, as in the days of chivalry,
for the poorer gentlemen to send their sons to be educated at the house of
some friendly nobleman of their own faction and religion; here they learnt
to ride the great horse, to hunt and draw the bow, bear the ladies' train,
and follow her to Court.*

*Roger Ascham, the son of a good family, was thus brought up by
Sir Humphry Wingfield, of whom he speaks warmly in his „Toxophilus“.
„This communication of teaching youth“, he says, „maketh me remember
the right worshipful and my singular good master, Sir Humphry Wingfield,
to whom, next to God, I ought to referre for his manifold benefits bestowed
on me, the poor talent of learning which God hath lent me, and for his
sake do I owe my service to all other of the name and noble house of
Wingfield, both in word and deed. This worshipful man hath ever
loved and used to have many children brought up in learning in his
house, amonges whom I myself was one. For whom, at terme times,
he would bring down from London both bowe and shafts; and when they
would play, he would go with them himself into the fielde and see them
shoot, and he that shotte fayrest should have the best bowe and shafts,
and he that shotte illfavouredly should be mocked of his fellows till he
shotte better.“ (Thornbury, Shakspeare's England II, 400—401.)*

¹⁾ Die Pagen wurden in Ermangelung besserer Briefbestellung häufig hierzu verwendet.

²⁾ Das thun die spielenden Landsknechte auf Caravaggio's unvergleichlichem Gemälde.

Wie stand es um die Kenntniß des Lesens und Schreibens in Alt-England? Lesen war wohl allgemeiner verbreitet als die Kunst des Scheibens, doch auch jene war nicht sehr allgemein. In jener Landschule bei Chaucer werden nur Singen und Lesen als Unterrichtsgegenstände erwähnt.

Piers Ploughman I, 2949 (ed. Wright) sagt:

*For I lerned nevere rede on boke;
And I kan no Frensche, in feith,
But of the fertheeste ende of Norfolk.*

Der Vater Shakespeare's, so wird überliefert, konnte seinen Namen nicht schreiben.

Die Diener in Romeo and Juliet, welche die Einladungskarten zu überbringen haben, können nicht lesen: I, 1:

*Servant. I must to the learned. —
I pray you, Sir, can you read? . . . can you read any thing you see?
Romeo. Ay, if I know the letters, and the language.
. . . Stay, fellow, I can read.*

Aehnlich wird in The Shoemaker's Holiday (A. 1616) Jane, a journey-man's wife gefragt:

*Hammon. Can you read?
Jane. [Yes] I can.*

Macaulay, State of England in 1685, hebt hervor, daß die *signs* an den Häusern nöthig waren, da die Meisten nicht Hausnummern lesen konnten.

Ebensowenig wird die Kunst des Schreibens der Mehrzahl der Shakespeare'schen Zeitgenossen in England geläufig gewesen sein.

*I shall find a fellow
That can both write and read,*

sagt Michael Arden's *servant* im Arden of Feversham I, 1.

Und nun die vielbesprochene Stelle bei Shakespeare 2. Henry VI. IV, 2:

*Enter some, bringing in the Clerk of Chatham.
Smith. The clerk of Chatham: he can write and read, and cast accompt.
Cade. O monstrous.
Smith. We took him setting of boy's copies.¹⁾*

¹⁾ Er war gerade damit beschäftigt, die Arbeiten seiner Schüler zu korrigieren.
— Der verhaftete Küster ist zugleich Schulmeister. (Delius.)

Cade. Here's a villain!

Smith. H'as a book in his pocket, with red letters¹⁾ in't.

Die *red letters* der *ballads* u. s. w. vgl. A Yorkshire Trag. I, 1:
Der Servant sagt, ich habe *an almanack in my pocket, and three ballads in my codpiece* (Hosenlatz).

Cade. Nay, then he is a conjurer.

Dick. Nay, he can make obligations, and write court-hand.

By this hand — Would it might never write good court-hand more.

Cade. I am sorry for't; the man is a proper man, of mine honour; unless I find him guilty, he shall not.

Nach der Tradition des mittelalterlichen Europas aber war auch in Shakespeare's England ein Hauptzweck des höheren Schulunterrichts der, im Disputiren, in logischen Haarspaltereien gewandt zu werden:

As for the meeting of the schoolmasters on festival days, at festival churches, and the disputing of their scholars logically, &c. whereof I have before spoken, the same was long since discontinued; but the arguing of the school-boys about the principles of grammar hath been continued even till our time; for I myself, in my youth, have yearly seen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the scholars of divers grammar schools²⁾ repair unto the churchyard of St. Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree, some one scholar hath stepped up, and there hath opposed and answered, till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down, and then the overcomer taking the place, did like as the first; and in the end the best opposers and answerers had rewards, which I observed not but it made both good schoolmasters, and

¹⁾ *red letters* cf. Ben Jonson Alchemist I, 1:

*Erecting figures in your rows of houses,
And taking in of shadows with a glass,
Told in red letters;*

Gifford erinnert hier an *our old song books* mit den *red letters* to catch the eye of passengers. *Rubric titles to ballads, stories, etc. were then to be seen upon every post.* Es war auch Sitte, wie Gifford sagt, ganze Figuren *at the top of the ballad* zu setzen.

²⁾ Oeffentliche Disputationen waren überhaupt sehr üblich in Alt-England wie im älteren Europa überhaupt. Ein gutes Beispiel bietet der Besuch der Königin Elisabeth in Cambridge (August of 1564), verzeichnet bei Nichole's Progresses, vol. I. p. 160 (Had. MSS. 7037). (Thornbury, Shakspeare's England II, 330—240.) Es heißt dort p. 338:

Doctor Haddon then determined the questions. They are the following: —

Monarchia est optimus status reipublicae.

Frequens legum mutatio est periculosa.

The physical questions were: —

also good scholars, diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland. I remember there repaired to these exercises, amongst others, the masters and scholars of the free schools of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peter's at Westminster, of St. Thomas Acon's hospital,¹⁾ and of St. Anthonie's hospital; whereof the last-named commonly presented the best scholars, and had the prize in those days. This priory of St. Bartholomew being surrendered to Henry VIII., those disputations of scholars in that place surceased; and was again, only for a year or twain, in the reign of Eduard VI., revived in the cloister of Christ's hospital, where the best scholars, then still of St. Anthonie's school,²⁾ were rewarded with bows and arrows of silver, given to them by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith. Nevertheless, however the encouragement failed, the scholars of Paul's meeting with them of St. Anthonie's, would call them Anthonie pigs, and they again would call the other pigeons of Paul's, because many pigeons were bred in St. Paul's church, and St. Anthonie was always figured with a pig following him; and mindful of the former usage, did for a long season disorderly in the open street provoke one another with, *Salve tu quoque, placet tibi mecum disputare? Placet.* And so proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fell from words to blows with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers; so that finally they were restrained with the decay of St. Anthonie's school. Out of this school have sprung divers famous persons, whereof although time hath buried the names of many, yet in mine own remembrance may be numbered these following: — Sir Thomas More, knight, lord chancellor of England, Dr. Nicholas Heath, sometime Bishop of Rochester, after of Worcester, and lastly Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor of England³⁾

Simplex cibus praeferendus multiplici.

Coenandum liberalius, quam prandendum.

... The questions were determined by the Queen's own physician, with whom she jested when he asked permission.

... At three o'clock the University bell rang, and the disputations recommenced in St. Mary's Church. The theses were —

Major est auctoritas scripturae quam ecclesiae.

Civilis magistratus habet auctoritatem in rebus ecclesiasticis.

Lord Robert then reminded her that Dr. Baker had not been heard; and the Queen commanded him to dispute... This man Dr. Baker proved to be a concealed Papist (such men still hang about colleges), and fled to France in 1579.

¹⁾ Vgl. S. 173.

²⁾ Howsoever the same be now fallen both in number and estimation. — *First Edition*, p. 56.

³⁾ Bekannte Pädagogen in Shakespeare's London waren z. B. Camden von Westminster School, der Lehrer des Ben Jonson:

Camden, most reverend head to whom I owe

All that I am in arts and all I know —

ferner Mulcaster (Moncaster) appointed School-master of Merchant Tailors'

Aus dieser Thatsache, daß in Shakespeare's England das Disputiren — *to chop logic* — den Schülern der höheren Stufen eifrigst beigebracht wurde, begreift sich dann leicht jene Scene in dem Drama *When you see me, you know me* (trefflich herausgegeben von Karl Elze), wo der junge Sohn Heinrich's VIII. dem Knaben Will das Problem vorlegt:

Mark my problem. Bona virga facit bonum puerum: bonum est, te esse bonum puerum, ergo bona virga res bona est.

Vgl. unsern Aufsatz über Altenglische Erziehung im 72. Bd. von Herrig's Archiv.

Auch im 14. Jahrhundert schon bildet die Fähigkeit, Subtilitäten der Aristotelischen Logik, die ja mit denjenigen der christlichen Dogmatik eng verbunden waren, zu erörtern, den Gipfel der Schulweisheit.

Warton, *History of E. Poetry* p. 184. *Piers Ploughman*:

*Than shalt thou se Sobrietie, and Simplicite of speche
That ech might be in his wyll, his wytte to shewe
And thus shall ye come to Cleargye that can mani thinges
Saye hym thys signe, I sette him to schole
And that I grete wel his wife, for I wrot her many bokes
And set hir to Sapience, and to the psalter glose
Logike I learned her, and many other lawes,
And all the unisons to musike, I made hir to know,
Plato the poete, I put him firste to boke,
Aristotle and other moe, to argue I taught
Grammer for gyrles, I garde firste to wryte
And beat hem with a bales, but if they would learne
Of all kinnes craftes, I contrived tooles.*

Ferner lesen wir bei Chaucer, Prologue v. 285:

*A Clerk ther was of Oxenford also,
That unto logik hadde longe i-go.
As lene was his hors as is a rake,
And he was not right fat, I undertake;
But lokede holwe, and therto soberly.
Ful thredbare was his overeste courtepy,
For he hadde geten him yit no benefice,
Ne was so wordly for to have office.
For him was levere have at his beddes heede
Twenty bookes, clad in blak or reede.*

School at its original institution in 1561: Weber, bei Keltie zu Beaum. and Fl. Knight of the B. Pestle 1613; dort fragt die Frau des Citizen I, 1:

I pray you . . . were you never none of Master Moncaster's Scholars?

*Of Aristotle and his philosophie,
Then robes riche, or fithel, or gay sawtrie,
But al be that he was a philosophre,
Yet hadde he but litel gold in cofre,
But al that he mighte of his frendes hente,
On bookes and on lernyng he it spente,
And busily gan for the soules preye
Of hem that yaf him¹⁾ wherwith to scoleye,
Of studie took he most cure and most heede.
Not oo word spak he more than was neede,
And that was seid in forme and reverence,
And schort and quyk, and ful of high sentence.
Sownynge in moral vertu was his speche,
And gladly wolde he lerne, and gladly teche.*

Auch im höheren Schulunterricht Frankreichs bildet ja bis ins 18. Jahrhundert hinein Uebung im Disputiren einen Hauptbestandtheil. Wir führen nur Le Sage, Gil Blas I, 1 an; dort wird von Doktor Godinez gesprochen, der für den geschicktesten Pedanten von ganz Oviedo galt:

„Ich benutzte auch seinen Unterricht so gut, daß ich nach Verlauf von fünf bis sechs Jahren die lateinischen Dichter ziemlich gut und die griechischen Autoren ein wenig verstand. Ich beschäftigte mich auch mit der Logik und brachte es im Schließen und Urtheilen zu einer bedeutenden Fertigkeit. Dabei hatte ich eine solche Freude am Disputiren, daß ich alle Vorübergehenden, Bekannte und Unbekannte dazu einlud und ihnen Sätze und Themata vorschlug. Zuweilen wandte ich mich an Leute, denen man die Schulfuchserie gleich an der Nase ansah. Diesen waren dergleichen Anträge eben recht, und nun nahm der Spektakel seinen Anfang! Welche Gestikulationen! Welche Grimassen! Welche Körperverdrehungen! Unsere Augen flammten vor Wuth; unsere Lippen waren mit Schaum bedeckt. Man mußte uns eher für Besessene, als für Philosophen ansehen: so arg trieben wir das Ding.“

Die Gelehrten-Schulen der älteren Zeit wurden, wie bekannt, nicht ohne Grund, geradezu Latein-Schulen genannt. Und so

¹⁾ 302: *yaf him*. An allusion to the common practice, at this period, of poor scholars in the Universities, who wandered about in the country begging, to raise money to support them in their studies. In a poem MS. Lansd. 762, the husbandman, complaining of the many burdens he supports in taxes to the court, payments to the church, and charitable contributions of different kinds, enumerates among the latter the alms to scholars: —

*Than commeth clerkys of Oxford, and make their mone,
To her scole-hire they most have money.*

(See God spede the Plough, p. 71, in Pierce the Ploughman's Crede, ed. Skeat.) Skeat.

finden wir auch von Elyot's Governour, 1554 (bei Thornbury, Shakespeare's England II, 402):

That wise old tutor of Henry VIII's time, Sir J. Elyot advises that a child should be brought up among persons who spoke Latin, so that by seven he should be in some degree entered to the language.

Palsgrave, der gelehrte Londoner Grammatiker am Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts, spricht in der Einleitung zu dem Eclaircissement (éd. Génin) von Clerkes:

Whan it was commaunded that the grammar maistres shulde teche the youth of Englande joyntly Latin with Frenche, there were diuerse suche bokes diuysed.

Latein nun lernte auch der Knabe Shakespeare nach der Grammatik von William Lilly (Elze, Shakespeare S. 44). Dessen Latein scheint auch der nur allzu gelehrte Ben Jonson als das mustergültige angesehen zu haben:

Lord L. Is he a scholar?

Hostess. Nothing less;

*But colours for it as you see; wears black,
And speaks a little tainted, fly-blown Latin,
After the school.*

Lord B. Of Stratford o' the Bow:

For Lillie's Latin is to him unknown.

(The New Inn. II, 2.¹)

Das Bild einer Schulstunde in Shakespeare's England nun möge uns zunächst nach K. Elze, Shakespeare S. 45, entgegentreten:

¹) Latein zu lernen, lateinisch sprechen und schreiben zu können, war, wie bekannt, ganz besonders in Alt-England das Ziel des höheren Schul-Unterrichts: John Locke, On Education, eifert hiergegen, besonders auch gegen das Unwesen, die Schüler abzurichten, lateinische Verse zu machen. Zweck der Kindererziehung, nach Locke, ist *forming their minds to virtue*.

Writing and speaking Latin was now the great aim and end of education. 'All men', says Ascham, 'covet to have their children speak Latin, and so I very earnestly too'. (Thornbury II, 398.)

That wise old tutor of Henry VIII. 's time, Sir J. Elyot (Elyot's Governour, 1554, passim) advises that a child should be brought up among persons who spoke Latin, so that by seven he should be in some degree entered to the language. At seven he left the nursery, and was admitted to the company of men, but guarded by a worshipful matron. He then began Greek, and was introduced to the poets: he first learnt Æsop, then Lucan, Aristophanes, Homer, Virgil, Hesiod; and at thirteen began logic, rhetoric, cosmography, and history. He then studied Strabo, Xenophon, Quintus Curtius, Tacitus, and Livy.

(Thornbury II, 402.)

„Ein sehr anschauliches Bild von dem Treiben innerhalb der Schule wie von der Methode des Unterrichts verdanken wir einem Zeitgenossen Shakespeare's, Namens R. Willis, der in dem nämlichen Jahre geboren war wie der Dichter und folglich in den nämlichen Jahren zur Schule ging. Allerdings bezieht sich die in seinem Werke *Mount Tabor*¹⁾ enthaltene Erzählung auf die Schule zu Gloucester, allein es wird zwischen dieser und der Stratforder kaum ein wesentlicher Unterschied bestanden haben. 'Ehe Master Downhale', so erzählt Willis (nach Halliwell 90), 'unser Lehrer in Christ-School wurde, war ein alter Bürger von geringer Gelehrsamkeit unser Schulmeister, dessen Manier es war, uns jeden Abend verschiedene Lektionen aufzugeben, welche er jeder Abtheilung (*form*) vorkonstruirte, und uns dieselben am nächsten Morgen zu überhören; dabei ließ er alle Schüler der ersten Abtheilung aus ihren Bänken (*desks*) heraustreten und nach der Mitte des Schulzimmers kommen, ebenso die zweite Abtheilung und die übrigen der Reihe nach, während er selbst auf und ab ging und einen nach dem andern seine Lektion konstruiren ließ, und bald diesem, bald jenem ein Wort zu konstruiren aufgab. Wenn die beiden ersten Abtheilungen fertig waren, so kamen einige von ihnen, welche wir Vorsager (*prompters*) nannten und setzten sich zu uns in die unteren Abtheilungen und sagten uns die Antworten auf unseres Lehrers Fragen vor, während er neben uns auf und ab ging; so brachten wir es durch die Hülfe unserer Vorsager dahin, daß wir der Bestrafung (*correction*) entgingen, lernten aber wenig, indem wir dieselbe Kreisbewegung machten wie ein Mühlpferd, das den ganzen Tag geht, aber am Ende nicht um eine Elle weiter gekommen ist, als wo es anfing. Nun ereignete es sich eines Tages, daß einer der ältesten Schüler von der obersten Abtheilung sich beim Spielen draußen mit mir zankte, und um mir den größtmöglichen Schaden zu thun (den nämlich, daß ich die Ruthe bekäme), besprach er sich in seinem Zorne mit sämmtlichen Vorsagern, daß mir keiner von ihnen helfen sollte, so daß ich, wie er dachte, nothwendiger Weise Schläge bekommen müßte. In dieser Noth nahm ich, wie man zu sagen pflegt, meinen ganzen Verstand zusammen und hörte meinen Mitschülern, die vor mir konstruirten, aufmerksam zu, und da ich zufällig eine leichte Frage bekam, so entkam ich diesmal mit genauer Noth. Und da ich sah, wie meines Gegners Mißgunst fortdauerte, und ich auf keine Hülfe von den Vorsagern rechnen konnte, so verdoppelte ich meinen Fleiß und meine Aufmerksamkeit, als uns der Lehrer unsere nächste Lektion vorkonstruirte, und indem ich noch zwei oder drei Lektionen hindurch genau Acht gab, wie ein Wort auf das andere folgte und von demselben abhing, so kam ich dahin, daß ich keinen Vorsager mehr brauchte, sondern selbst ein Vorsager werden konnte; und so schlug der Nachtheil, den mein Mitschüler mir zufügen wollte, zu meinem großen Vortheil aus.“

Eine sehr lebhaft, die vorangehende ergänzende Schilderung

¹⁾ *Mount Tabor, or Private Exercises of a Penitent Sinner* by R. W. (i. e. R. Willis) Esq. 1639, 10.

einer Schulstunde in Alt-England findet sich in dem Drama: *How a Man may choose a good Wife from a bad*¹⁾, II, 1:

Enter Amindab, with a rod in his hand, and Boys with their books.

*Amin. Come, boys, come, boys, rehearse your parts,
And then, ad prandium; jam, jam, incipe!*

1. Boy. Forsooth, my lesson's torn out of my book.

*Amin. Quae caceris chartis deseruisse decet.
Torn from your book! I'll tear them from your breech.
How say you, Mistress Virga, will you suffer
Hic puer bonae indolis to tear
His lessons, leaves, and lectures from his book?*

*1. Boy. Truly, forsooth, I laid it in my seat,
While Robin Glade and I went into campis
And when I came again, my book was torn.*

Amin. O mus, a mouse; was ever heard the like?

1. Boy. O domus, a house; master, I could not mend it.

2. Boy. O pediculus, a louse; I knew not how it came.

*Amin. All toward boys, good scholars of their time;
The least of these is past his accidence,
Some at qui mihi; here's not a boy
But he can construe all the grammar rules.
Sed ubi sunt sodales? not yet come?
Those tarde venientes shall be whipp'd.
Ubi est Pipkin? where's that lazy knave?
He plays the truant every Saturday;
But Mistress Virga, Lady Willow-by,
Shall teach him that diluculo surgere
Est saluberrimum: here comes the knave.*

Enter Pipkin.

1. Boy. Tarde, tarde, tarde.

2. Boy. Tarde, tarde, tarde.

*Amin. Huc ades, Pipkin — reach a better rod —
Cur tam tarde venis? speak, where have you been?
Is this a time of day to come to school?
Ubi fuisti? speak, where hast thou been?*

Pip. Magister, quomodo vales?

Amin. Is that responsio fitting my demand?

*Pipkin. Etiam certe, you ask me where I have been, and I say quomodo
vales, as much as to say, come out of the alehouse.*

Amin. Untruss, untruss! nay, help him, help him!

¹⁾ *A pleasant conceited Comedie, Wherein is shewed how a man may chuse a good Wife from a bad. As it hath bene sundry times acted by the Earle of Worcesters Seruants. London Printed for Mathew Lawe, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Church-yard, neare vnto S. Augustines gate, at the signe of the Foxxe. 1602. 4°. — Old Plays, IX, 26.*

- Pip.* *Quaeso, praeceptor, quaeso, for God's sake do not whip me:
Quid est grammatica?*
- Amin.* *Not whip you, quid est grammatica, what's that?*
- Pip.* *Grammatica est, that, if I untruss'd, you must needs whip me upon
them, quid est grammatica.*
- Amin.* *Why, then, dic mihi, speak, where hast thou been?*
- Pip.* *Forsooth, my mistress sent me of an errand to fetch my master
from the Exchange; we had strangers at home at dinner,
and, but for them, I had not come tarde; quaeso, praeceptor!*
- Anim.* *Construe your lesson, parse it, ad unguem et contemnato to, I'll
pardon thee.*
- Pip.* *That I will, master, an 'if you'll give me leave.*
- Amin.* *Propria quae maribus tribuuntur mascula dicas; expone, expone.*
- Pip.* *Construe it, master, I will; dicas, they say — propria, the proper
man — quae maribus, that loves marrow bones — mascula
miscalled me.*
- Amin.* *A pretty, quaint, and new construction.*
- Pip.* *I warrant you, master, if there be marrowbones in my lesson, I
am an old dog at them. How construe you this, master,
rostra disertus amat?*
- Amin.* *Disertus, a desert — amat, doth love — rostra, roast meat.*
- Pip.* *A good construction on my empty stomach; Master, now I have
construed my lesson, my mistress would pray you to let me
come home to go of an errand.*
- Amin.* *Your tres sequuntur and away.*
- Pip.* *Canis a hog, rana a dog, porcus a frog.
Abeundum est mihi. [Exit.]*
- Amin.* *Yours, sirrah, too, and then ad prandium.*
- 1. Boy.* *Apis a bee, genu a knee, Vulcanus, Doctor Dee:
Viginti minis usus est mihi.*
- Amin.* *By Juno's lip and Saturn's thumb
It was bonus, bona, bonum.*
- 2. Boy.* *Vitrum glass, spica grass, tu es asinus, you are an ass. Precor
tibi felicem noctem.*
- Amin.* *Claudite jam libros, pueri: sat, prata, bibistis,
Look, when you come again, you tell me, ubi fuistis.
He that minds trish-trash, and will not have care of his rodix,
Him I will be-lish-lash, and have a fling at his podix. [Exeunt Boys.]*

An den Schluß unserer Erörterungen stellen wir einen Auszug aus der werthvollen Abhandlung: *What Shakespeare Learnt at School* (Fraser's Magazine Nov. 1879 — May 1880, by Thos. S. Baynes.)

Professor Baynes erörtert zunächst die Frage: *What was the course of instruction in a provincial grammar school like that of Stratford-upon-Avon?* Bezug nehmend auf Furnivall, Athenaeum for October 7, 1876.

Baynes will ermitteln

the different grades of progress, the forms into which the schools were commonly divided, and the books that a boy would usually read in making his way from the lowest to the highest. I shall endeavour to throw some light on these points by means of two works once widely known, but now forgotten. The older of these is the 'Ludus-Literarius, or Grammar Schoole', of John Brinsley, published in the year 1612. The expanded title: 'Shewing how to procede from the first entrance into learning, to the highest perfection required in the grammar schooles, with ease, certainly, and delight both to masters and schollars: only according to our common grammar and ordinary classical authours' — sufficiently illustrates the main design of the treatise.

Brinsley belonged to a band of educational reformers, including among others Mulcaster, Drury, Cooté, and Farnaby, who against the dominant influence of usage and tradition strove to give more directness, vitality, and power to the school teaching of their day.

Ein zweites reformatorisches Werk, auf welches Prof. Baynes sich bezieht, war: *A New Discovery of the old Art of Teaching Schoole: in foure small Treatises; concerning, A Petty School, The Usher's Duty, The Master's Method, and Scholastick Discipline: Shewing how Children in their playing years may Grammatically attain to a firm groundedness in an Exercise of the Latine and Greek Tongues.* Der Verf. Hoole war 1610 geboren, sein Werk erschien zwar erst 1659, war aber 23 Jahre zuvor geschrieben.

Hoole reflects the later impulse given to Protestant education by the labours of Comenius (Orbis Pictus).

Ueber die bei Hoole und bei Brinsley verzeichneten Schulbücher spricht Baynes dann weiter:

Brinsley gives a less detailed and coordinate enumeration of school-books;... Hoole, on the other hand, gives two lists: one of the books used in the classes of Rotherham Grammar School early in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the other of the works used in the different grammar schools throughout the country. In the lower the first class was of course engaged for a time in mastering the accidence and the rules of 'Lily's Grammar', and the bitterest complaints are made of the time usually wasted in the process... Brinsley gives the following, as the list of authors read in the lower school: 'Pueriles Confabulation-

culae, *Sententiae Pueriles*, *Cato*, *Corderius' Dialogues*, *Esop's Fables*, *Tully's Epistles gathered by Sturmius*, *Tully's Offices*, *with the books adjoined to them*, *the book De Amicitia*, *De Senectute*, *and the Paradoxes*, *Ovid De Tristibus*, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, *and Virgil*. *In the upper school... Plautus, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal.*¹⁾

Im 3. Theil seiner Abhandlung (May 1880) untersucht Prof. Baynes hauptsächlich die Frage, welche Bekanntschaft Shakespeare's mit den lateinischen Klassikern aus dessen Werken sich nachweisen lasse.

¹⁾ Furnivall, Introduction to The Babe's Book, Early English Text Society, gives some extracts from Brinsley.
