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Titel: Das Theater und das Londoner Publikum in Shakespeare's Zeit

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Ort: Weimar

Jahr: 1886

PURL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?338281509_0021 | log15

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Das Theater und das Londoner Publikum in Shakespeare's Zeit.

Von
Th. Vatke.

Wenn Lord Macaulay, aus der Fülle historischer Anschauung schöpfend, geurtheilt hat, daß im 17. Jahrhundert die Kanzel des Geistlichen dem Volke auch die Zeitung ersetzte, so darf man für die weltliche Kanzel, die Bühne, im Shakespeare'schen England eine ähnliche Wichtigkeit und Weite des Wirkungskreises in Anspruch nehmen: sie ersetzte den Roman und das Feuilleton, sie war die Quelle der Geistesnahrung auch für jene vielen Tausende, welche des Lesens unkundig waren: das gesprochene, nicht das geschriebene Wort beherrschte die Geister. Und diese Bühne war allerdings, wie Shakespeare es bezeichnet, ein Spiegelbild der Zeit: freilich auch nach der Seite hin, daß der Dramatiker in seinem Hohlspiegel auffing und zurückstrahlte, was ihn umgab und was er beobachtete, ohne einen Ausblick auf Höheres und Besseres zu eröffnen: ein Shakespeare, Jonson, Massinger und ihre Genossen stellen ihre Zeit mit der ganzen Härte ihrer feudalen Anschauungen dar, ohne für Humanität und die Entwicklung der Menschheit ein sympathisches Interesse zu haben: man schildert die Scheußlichkeit der Justizpflege¹⁾) ohne ein Wörtchen der Mißbilligung, und ein

¹⁾ Man denke nur an die grausame Behandlung der Wahnsinnigen in Shakespeare's England, die Dr. Reinh. Sigismund in Schwarzbürg im XVI. Bande des Jahrbuchs so sachgemäß wie ergreifend dargestellt hat: Shakespeare sagt ganz unumwunden, daß dem Verliebten ebenso wie dem Wahnsinnigen '*whip and a dark room*' gehörten. Und ebenso selbstverständlich ist dies für Massinger, der

käuflicher Friedensrichter wie Shallow bei Shakespeare oder Greedy bei Massinger werden — aus der traurigen Wirklichkeit herausgegriffen — als stehende Figuren in den dramatischen Haushalt aufgenommen; für die Entwicklung und das Emporkommen des „Dritten Standes“ — des *Citizen* von London, des Urbildes vom modernen englischen *Gentleman*, — haben Shakespeare und Genossen nur Pfeile des giftigsten Hohnes, keine Spur von Verständniß.

Fassen wir nun die Schaubühne auf die angedeuteten Gesichtspunkte hin in's Auge. Der massenhafte Besuch der Theater auch seitens der ärmeren Bevölkerung wurde durch die niedrigen Eintrittspreise der Theater wesentlich befördert (vgl. unsren Aufsatz im vorigen Bande des Jahrbuchs). Besonders aber ist es Sache des *Gallant*, des feinen Mannes, das Schauspiel zu besuchen und sich auf der Bühne selbst auf seinem Stuhle breit zu machen: ein neues Stück aber, *a new play*, läßt der Elegante nicht gerne vorüber:

A friend at court to place me at a masque;
The private box ta'en up at a new play,
For me and my retinue; a fresh habit,
Of a fashion never seen before, to draw
The gallant's eyes, that sit on the stage, upon me;
Some decayed lady for my parasite,
To flatter me. (Massinger, *The City Madam.*)
Rich apparel has strange virtues.. it furnishes your two shilling
ordinary; takes possession of your stage at your new play.
(Every Man out of h. h. II, 2.)
He dares not miss a new play or a feast.
(The Devil is an Ass I, 2.)

Um sich zu zeigen im Kleide vom neuesten Schnitt, so sehen wir, geht der *Gallant* ins Theater: wo aber kann er sich besser zeigen als auf der Bühne selbst? Auch *Ladies* suchten, wenn auch nicht so häufig wie *Gentlemen*, den Platz auf den Brettern selbst: *Gossip Mirth. What are you, gentleman-usher to the play?*

Pray you help us to some stools here.
Prologue. *Where? on the stage, ladies!*

am Schlusse seines höchst werthvollen Dramas ‘*A New Way to pay Old Debts*’ von Overreach, der aus Wuth wahnsinnig geworden zu sein scheint, sagen läßt:

Carry him to some dark room,
There try what art can do for his recovery.

Eine schöne „Kunst“! — Erst im 18. Jahrhundert begann durch Dr. Pinel von Paris aus eine humanere Behandlung der Irren, während J. Howard, geb. 1727, die menschlichere Einrichtung der englischen Gefängnisse anstrebte, worauf auch Thomson in den *Seasons* (Winter 355—370) mit ergreifenden Worten hingewiesen hatte.

Mirth. Yes, on the stage; we are persons of quality, I assure you, and women of fashion, and come to see and be seen.¹⁾...

Pro. Bring a form here. [A bench is brought in.] But what will the noblemen think, or the grave wits here, to see you seated on the bench thus? (B. Jonson, Staple of News, Induction.)

Zu den *Persons of Quality* auf der Bühne dürfen wir auch den Offizier — den allgemeinen Ausdruck kennt Alt-England nicht — rechnen, welchen der Satiriker den Lieutenant *Shift* nennt, nomen et omen: Den, der stets die Schlacht vermieden hat. Er

*Signs to new bonds; forfeits; and cries, God pays.
That lost, he keeps his chamber, reads essays,
Takes physic, tears the papers: still, God pays,
Or else by water goes, and so to plays;
Calls for his stool, adorns the stage: God pays.*

(B. Jonson, Epigrams XII.)

Zu den eleganten Theaterbesuchern aber gehören in erster Linie die Vergnügungssüchtigen überhaupt, die *Revellers* (cf. *Cynthia's Revels, the Master of the Revels*). Al. Schmidt, Shak.-Lex. erklärt *reveller* = one who feasts and makes merry. Der *Reveller* nun trägt gern ein Federbarett oder einen Federhut, den Rock aus Gold- oder Silbertuch und die *long stockings* des Tänzers:

*Why I have been a reveller, and at my cloth of silver suit,
and my long stocking, in my time.* (B. Jonson.)

In *The Masque of Christmas* des Jonson tritt *Misrule* auf ‘in a velvet cap, with a sprig (die Kappe mit der Feder), a short cloak, great yellow ruff, like a reveller.’

Zu den Erfordernissen des *Gallant* oder *Dandy* im Theater aber gehört auch Dies, mit dem Notizbuch versehen zu sein, um die bemerkenswerthesten Sentenzen und Sätze des Stückes sogleich schwarz auf weiß nach Hause zu tragen. Diese Nachschreiber sind wieder einmal unsrem Ben Jonson, in dessen Zornausbrüchen so manche Seite der damaligen Gesellschaft sich krystallisiert hat, ein besonderer Greuel: ‘Let them know the author defies them and their writing-tables.’ Der feine Mann führt nämlich u. A. auch das Notizbuch stets in der Tasche, welches er wie Ambler (*The Devil is an Ass V, 1*), beim Reiten leicht aus derselben verlieren kann: Ich büßte ein, sagt Jener,

*My hard-wax, and my table-books, my studies,
And a fine new device I had to carry
My pen and ink, my civet, and my tooth-picks’.*

¹⁾ It does not necessarily follow from this that ladies were ordinarily provided with seats upon the stage as gentlemen were. (Cunningham.)

Und so ist es denn ganz naturgemäß, daß auch Prinz Hamlet im Theater sein *table-book*, zum Festhalten der ihm aufstoßenden Gedanken, bei sich führt: Hamlet I, V, 107:

*My tables, — meet it is I set it down,
That one may smile, and smile, and be a villain;*

Dazu Clark (*Clarendon Press*) ‘Tables’, or ‘table-book’, means a memorandum book. Compare 2 Henry IV, iv, 1, 201. — Bacon uses the expression ‘a pair of tables’, Adv. of Learning I, 7 § 25. — Vgl. auch Nares, *Gloss. s. v. Table-book*, der indeß auf die Beziehung zum Theater nicht eingehet.

Und wie raffiniert weiß der Stutzer es anzustellen, die Aufmerksamkeit von dieser Stelle aus auf sich zu ziehen. Man höre:

*Here is a cloke cost fifty pound, wife —
Which I can sell for thirty, when I have seen
All London in't, and London has seen me.
To-day I go to the Blackfriars play-house,
Sit in the view, salute all my acquaintance,
Rise up between the acts, let fall my cloke,
Publish a handsome man, and a rich suit,¹⁾
As that's a special end why we go thither,
All that pretend to stand for't on the stage:
The Ladies ask, Who's that? for they do come
To see us, love, as we do see them'. (The Devil is an Ass I, 3.)*

Oder:

Carlo. ‘You must endeavour to feed cleanly at your ordinary, sit melancholy, and pick your teeth when you cannot speak: and when you come to plays be humorous, look with a good starch'd face, and ruffle your brow like a new boot, laugh at nothing but your own jests, or else as the noblemen laugh. — That's a special grace you must observe.

Sog. *I warrant you, sir.*

Carlo. *Ay, and sit on the stage and flout, provided you have a good suit.*

Sog. *O, I'll have a suit only for that, sir.*

(Every Man out of h. h. I, 1.)

¹⁾ Hierzu Cunningham: *Dekker's chapter on ‘How a gallant should behave himself in a play-house’*, is the very best exponent of Jonson's text. He is strongly recommended not to present himself upon the stage, especially at a new play, ‘until the quaking Prologue is ready to give the quaking trumpets their cue that he is upon the point to enter’. ‘Then it is time to creep from behind the arras, with your tripos or three-footed stool in one hand, and a teston (sixpence) mounted between a forefinger and a thumb in the other’. Besides showing off ‘the most essential parts of a gallant, good clothes and a propor-

Das ‘*sitting on the stage*’ wird ferner sehr lebhaft illustriert in der *Induction* zu *Cynthia’s Revels* des Ben Jonson, welche auf der Bühne spielt:

1. Child. *Excellent; give me my cloak*
3. Child. *Stay; you shall see me do another now, but a more sober, or better-gather’d gallant; that is, as it may be thought, some friend, or well-wisher to the house: and here I enter.*
1. Child. *What, upon the stage too?*
2. Child. *Yes; and I step forth like one of the children, and ask you, Would you have a stool, sir?¹⁾*
3. Child. *A stool, boy!*
2. Child. *Ay sir, if you’ll give me sixpence, I’ll fetch you one.*
3. Child. *For what, I pray thee? what shall I do with it?*
2. Child. *O lord, sir; will you betray your ignorance so much? why throne yourself in state on the stage, as other gentlemen use, sir.*
3. Child. *Away, wag; what, wouldst thou make an implement of me? ’Slid, the boy takes me for a piece of perspective, I hold my life, or some silk curtain, come to hang on the stage here! Sir Crack, I am none of your fresh pictures, that use to beautify the decayed dead arras in a public theatre’.*

An ein ruhig zuhörendes, anständig sich verhaltendes Publikum ist nicht zu denken: hatte doch auch früher bei den Aufführungen der alten Mysterien der Sprecher des Prologs Mühe, die Zuhörerschaft zur Ruhe zu vermahnen.²⁾ Man konnte nicht still sitzen,

tionable leg’, you have by sitting on the stage a signed patent to engross the whole commodity of censure, i. e. business of criticism.

(Gifford-Cunningham II, 530.)

¹⁾ At the theatres, in Jonson’s time, spectators were admitted on the stage. Here they sat on stools, the price of which, as the situation was more or less commodious, was sixpence, or a shilling: here too their own pages, or the boys of the house, supplied them with pipes and tobacco. Amidst such confusion and indecency were the dramatic works of Shakspeare and his contemporaries produced . . .
(Gifford.)

²⁾ So mahnt Garcio, der Knecht, der gleichsam den Prolog spricht, das unruhige Publikum sehr derb zum Stillesitzen. Es ist der Eingang zu dem Towneley Myster Mactatio Abel (14. Jahrhundert):

‘All haylle, all haylle, bothe blithe and glad,
For here com I, a mery lad,
Be peasse your dyn, my master bad,
Or els the deville you spedē.
Wote ye not I com before,
But who that janglis any more,
He must blaw my blak hoille bore,
Both behynd and before,
Tille his tethe blede . . .’

schwatzte unaufhörlich und erörterte die Fragen, wer den besten Anzug habe? wo man am besten esse und trinke in London und dergleichen mehr:

*'For your own sakes, not his, he bade me say,
Would you were come to hear, not see a play.
Though we his actors must provide for those
Who are our guests here, in the way of shows,
The maker hath not so; he'd have you wise,
Much rather by your ears, than by your eyes;
And prays you'll not prejudge his play for ill,
Because you mark it not, and sit not still;¹⁾
With your discourse, to what is done and where;
How, and by whom —
Alas! what is it to his scene to know
How many coaches in Hyde-park did show
Last spring, what fare to-day at Medley's was,
If Dunstan²⁾ or the Phoenix best wine has?'*

(B. Jonson, Prologue to the Staple of News.)

Die Neugier überwiegt; das Aeußere des Schauspielers interessiert über die Maßen:

'O, Curiosity! you come to see who (nämlich, wer von den Schauspielern) wears the new suit to-day; whose clothes are best penn'd, whatever the part be; which actor has the best leg and foot; what king plays without cuffs, and his queen without gloves; who rides post in stockings, and dances in boots.'

Cen. Yes, and which amorous prince makes love in drink, or does overt act prodigiously in beaten satin, and having got the trick on't, will be monstrous still, in despite of counsel.

Book-holder [within]. Mend your lights, gentlemen. —
Master Prologue, begin.
Enter the Tire-men to mend the lights'.

(The Staple of News, Induction.)

¹⁾ Cf. Shak. Prol. zu Henry VIII:

— if they be still and willing
I'll undertake may see away their shilling.

²⁾ Dunstan: *Medley's was an ordinary or eating-house. Dunstan was better known in the poet's time by the name of the Devil Tavern. Here was the famous club, at which Jonson presided as perpetual chairman; and at which Shakespeare, Beaumont, Fletcher, Selden, Martin, a man of infinite humour . . . and others occasionally assisted. The Phoenix was situated somewhere near the playhouse of that name, in Drurylane.*

Mr. Waldron informs me that this tavern was shut up, and the sign (the Devil peeping over the shoulder of St. Dunstan) taken down about the year 1788.
See *Leges Conviviales*. —

(Gifford.)

Es ist, heißtt Dies, unpassend für einen Schauspieler, einen König zu spielen *without cuffs*, ohne Manschetten an der Hand, eine Königin, ohne Handschuh, Post zu reiten in *stockings*, und in *boots* zu tanzen; denn die *stockings*, genauer die *long stockings*¹⁾, gehören zum Tänzer, die Stiefel zum Reiter. — Die *cuffs* gehören zur Kleidung des *Elegant*, um 1654 auch zu derjenigen des *Citizen*, cf. *Cuff* in Nares, *Gloss.* — Fairholt, *Costume in England*, bemerkt: ‘*Cuff. The lower part of a sleeve, turned over the wrist. There is a curious coincidence between the Norman cuff, p. 75, and that of the reign of George II, p. 367.* — Der Schauspieler, von dem man weiß, daß er im Leben gern in Sammt und Seide stolzierte, möchte auch auf der Bühne, unbekümmert um seine Rolle, gern in möglichst eleganter Kleidung auf der Bühne auftreten: *whatever the part be.* „Zweihundert Schauspieler, die in Sammt und Seide stolzieren, müssen den Zorn des Himmels über London herabrufen.“ (*Stephen Gosson, Schoole of Abuse*, 1579). — Denselben Umstand, daß der Schauspieler auf der Bühne sich gern möglichst *gentleman-like* und stutzerhaft kleide, deutet Shakespeare an im Hamlet III, 2:

‘Would not this, Sir, and a forest of feathers (if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me), with two Provincial roses on my shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players?’

„Zum Kostüm eines Schauspielers“, bemerkt Delius hierzu, „gehörten auch mit Federn geschmückte Hüte und geschlitzte Schuhe mit Bänderschleifen in Gestalt von Provencerrosen darauf.“ Beide Abzeichen indessen, der Federhut wie die Schuhrosen sind Merkmale des *Gallant* überhaupt, speciell im Gegensatz zum *Citizen*:

‘your citizen,
In’s grogram suit, gold chain and well-blacked shoes,
Bears under his flat cap oftentimes a brain
Wiser than burns beneath the cap and feather’.

(Read my Riddle.)

Belegstellen ließen sich leicht vermehren. In Ben Jonson’s Drama *The Poetaster* III, 1 sagt Minos, auf Crispinus weisend: *That’s he in the embroidered hat, there, with the ash-colour’d feather: his name is Laberius Crispinus.* Hierzu Gifford: *which Decker (or whoever is meant by Crispinus) probably wore: — at least he seems to resent the mention of it in his Guls Hornbook: ‘Now, sir, if the writer hath brought your feather on the stage.’*

¹⁾ If you had but your long stockings on, to be dancing a galliard as she comes by.
(B. Jonson, Every Man out of h. h. III, 2.)

— Daß die *shoe-roses* den *Gallant*, den *Traveller*, der die Modethorheiten des Auslandes nach England brachte, bezeichnen, belegt Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure: Master Shoe-tie, the great traveller.* — Bei Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, s. fin. ‘From wearing shoe-ties, Good Mercury defend us’ (fehlt bei Nares). Ferner im *Prologue to Every Man out of his Humour*.

Die *shoe-roses* erwähnt derselbe Jonson in *The Devil is an Ass* V, 1:

‘But that which grieved me, was
The gentlewoman’s shoes, with a pair of roses,
And garters, I had given her for the business’.

Und V, 1 ib.:

Ambler. This is my suit, and those the shoes and roses!

In der ersten Scene desselben Stückes werden die Schuhrosen ebenfalls unter den verwerflichen Luxusartikeln aufgezählt:

‘Tissue gowns,
Garters and roses, fourscore pound a pair,
Embroider’d stockings, cut-work smocks and shirts,
More certain marks of lechery now and pride,
Than e'er they were of true nobility!’

Ueber *Provincial roses* bemerken Clark und Wright (*Clarendon Press* 1880) zu unsrer Stelle: *Provincial roses, that is, rosettes of ribbon in the shape of roses of Provins, or Provence. Douce favours the former, Warton the latter locality. Cotgrave (French. Dict.) gives both: ‘Rose de Provence. The Prouince Rose, the double Damaske Rose’; and ‘Rose de Provins. The ordinaire double red Rose’. In either case it was a large rose. The Province or damask Rose was probably the better known. Gerarde, in his Herbal, says that the damask rose is called by some ‘Rosa provincialis’.* Mr. Fairholt (*Costume in England*, p. 238) quotes from *Friar Bacon’s Prophecy*, 1604:

When roses in the gardens grew,
And not in ribbons on a shoe:
Now ribbon roses take such place,
That garden roses want their grace’.

Auch die Perrücken der Schauspieler werden erwähnt, z. B. im *Knight of the B. Pestle I*, 3: *Citizen.* ‘Peace, cony! — Sirrah, you scurvy boy, bid the players send Ralph; or, by God’s wounds, an they do not, I’ll tear some of their periwigs beside their heads; this is all riff-raff?’

Wenn aber Dramatiker und Schauspieler mit dem Verhalten des Publikums im Allgemeinen nicht wohl zufrieden sind, so werden

sie dies noch weniger mit den Zuhörern auf den Gallerien sein können. Das deutet der Sprecher des Prologs zu *Every Man out of his Humour* an:

Prol. ‘An I do (speak the prologue) let me die poisoned with some venomous hiss, and never live to look as high as the twopenny room again’. [Exit.]

Der den Prolog sprechende Schauspieler wünscht lieber an dem giftigen Zischen des Publikums zu sterben, als in die Höhe, zur Gallerie, hinauf sehen zu müssen. Gifford erläutert: *The cost of admission to the theatres (such of them, at least, as many of our early dramas were exhibited in) was at this time very moderate. The price of the ‘best rooms’, or boxes, was a shilling; of the lowest places, two-pence; and, as Whalley says, in some play-houses only a penny. The two-penny room mentioned above was the gallery. Thus Dekker: ‘Pay your two-pence to a player, and you may sit in the gallery.’ Belman’s Night Walk. And Middleton: ‘One of them is a nip; I took him once in the two-penny gallery, at the Fortune.’ The place, however, seems to have been very discreditable, for it is commonly described as the resort of pickpockets and prostitutes.*

Keiner aber urtheilt wohl härter und schärfer über das Publikum als Ben Jonson, der es wiederholt ausspricht, daß er sich nur an gelehrte, gebildete Zuhörer wende. So im *Prologue for the Court* (des *Staple of News*), wo er sagt, er bringt

‘a work to scholars, that can judge, above the vulgar sort of nut-crackers, that only come for sight’.

Auch geraucht wird im Theater:

Shift. ‘You shall take it (tobacco) plausibly in any ordinary, theatre or tilt-yard’. (Every Man out of h. h. III, 1.)

Nicht minder von anderen Unarten des Publikums im Theater spricht Jonson, in der Person des Asper, *Prol. to Ev. M. out of h. h.*

‘still spitting . . . and turn
The good aspect of those that shall sit near him’.

Damen gehn maskiert ins Schauspiel, tragen die Maske jedoch auch abgesehen davon auf der Straße:

‘To go to the play and see a little of the vanity through her mask’.

Maske, Muff und Fächer aber gehören überhaupt zum Promadenanzug der Damen; dieselben sind für den Besuch des „Hofes“ und des „Schauspiels“ unerlässlich.

So sagt Chloë zu ihrer Gebieterin Cytheris, die sich anschickt, zu Hofe zu gehn: . . . *Give me my muff, and my dog there.* —

... O Cupid! Give me my fan, and my mask too. (Ben Jonson, *The Poetaster* IV, 1.) (Häufig wird auf Gemälden des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts die Dame im Gesellschaftsanzug mit dem Muffe, ähnlich wie der Mann in der Pelzschaube dargestellt.)¹⁾

Daß es keine Schauspielerinnen gab, daß die weiblichen Rollen von Schauspielern gegeben wurden, ist bekannt. Darüber handelt auch Nares, *Women on the Stage:*²⁾ ‘*It was not till after the Restoration that women were licensed to act in public theatres. The following is a clause in the patent granted to Sir W. Davenant: That, whereas the women's parts in plays have hitherto been acted by men in the habits of women, at which some have taken offence, we do permit, and give leave for the time to come, that all women's parts be acted by women’.* —

Ganze Klassen der Gesellschaft aber werden von der Bühne aus dem Spotte des Theaterpublikums preisgegeben: *physicians, lawyers, soldiers out of service, zumal aber die citizens, die Bürger von London:*

‘*Some come to take their ease, others to hear the city
Abus'd extremely, and to cry: — “That's witty!”*

(Shakespeare, Epilogue to Henry VIII.)

Das wissen auch die Bürger recht gut:

Citizen. ‘*This seven years there hath been plays at this house. I have observed it, you have still girds (= gibes, sarcasm) at citizens.*

Prol. . . . *by your sweet favour, we intend no abuse to the city’.*

(Beaumont and Fletcher, Knight of the B. Pestle, Ind.)

Doch verwahrt die Bühne sich gegen die Absicht oder den Vorwurf, Angriffe gegen einzelne Personen zu richten, ebenso wie gegen denjenigen, unanständige Reden zu führen:

1) Zu Zeiten einer öffentlichen Kalamität aber, wie der Pest, läßt ein angesehener Mann sich überhaupt nicht gern im Theater sehen oder erkennen: *To the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I came in; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of ‘The Mayd's Tragedy'; a good play and well acted.. and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses, since before the great Plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly. I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen to be at a play’.* (S. Pepys Diary Dec. 7th 1666.)

2) In Deutschland dürften Schauspielerinnen erst viel später Mode geworden sein als in England: Vgl. Lady Montague, Vienna, Jan. 1. 1717: ‘*No women are suffered to act on the stage*’.

*Fly far from hence
All private taxes¹⁾, [all] immodest phrases,
Whatever may but show like vicious!
For wicked mirth never true pleasure brings,
But honest minds are pleased with honest things. —*

(Beaumont and Fletcher, Knight of the B. Pestle, Induction.)

Von den *Lawyers* aber, den Juristen, werden zumal die Friedensrichter, die *Judges of Peace*, gern im scharfumrisseinen dramatischen Miniaturbild vorgeführt: nennen wir den gütigen Richter, den Clement in Ben Jonson's *Every Man in his Humour*, den habssüchtigen Greedy bei Massinger, *A New Way t. p. O. D.*, und den hohlköpfigen, vor dem Ritter kriechenden Shallow bei Shakespeare: sie alle fast beugen das Recht und sind im Bunde mit dem Stärkeren, wie einst die Richter im Israel des Alten wie des Neuen Bundes.²⁾.

Zahlreich sind die Anspielungen auf den *Lawyer* und sein Aeußeres bei den dramatischen Zeitgenossen Shakespeare's verstreut, z. B. bei Ben Jonson, *Ev. Man out of his Humour* II, 1:

'I see he was never born to ride upon a mule' i. e. he was never born to be a great lawyer.

It was the custom anciently for the judges or sergeants at law to go to Westminster in great state, and riding on mules. Thus Stow, describing the order of Wolsey's going to Westminster, in term-time: 'And

¹⁾ = All private taskings, or reflections on individuals. — (Weber.)

²⁾ Vgl. Thornbury, Shakespeare's England II, 242: 'The lawyers of Elizabeth's reign were rich and extortionate; thirteen or fourteen year's practice made them rich enough to turn wealthy landholders. 400 l. was thought only fair profits for a serjeant-at-law's gains in a single term. The old habit of sitting on stools under the pillars of St. Paul's to receive clients had grown into desuetude, and lawyers could not seldom be induced to stir from their chambers without a fee. They were known to receive several angels, and yet never appear in court; and their grasping avarice and neglect of the poor clients were loudly denounced by poets, dramatists, and historians. In spite of the local Chancery courts of York and Ludlow, poor men toiled up to London to visit Westminster Hall, and willingly ruined themselves in hopes of dragging down their adversaries in their own destruction. . . . The great lawyer who waited for clients at his pillar in St. Paul's by the money changers, had nothing in common with the pettifogger, who lived by fanning the animosity of mankind, by rousing pride, and keeping alive hatred. At Essex's trial, Coke loaded the unfortunate man with insult and abuse, and treated him as one already doomed to death before the verdict was returned. Much of what is now the province of the lawyer was then performed by the scriveners, who drew up marriage deeds, arranged contracts, and wrote letters. As might be expected, these irresponsible men were not unfrequently suspected of forgeries and other fraudulent subtleties'. —

when he come at the hall door, there was hys mule, being trapped all in crimson velvet, wyth a saddle of the same, and guilte styrops¹.
(Ann. Ed. 1580 p. 917 Whal.)

Auch die Behausung des Friedensrichters, seine von Waffen und Rüstungen strotzende „Halle“ wird bei Shakespeare wie Jonson u. A. erwähnt und geschildert. (Vgl. Drake, Shakespeare I, 76:

*'The halls of the justice of peace', observes honest Aubrey,
'were dreadful to behold. The screen was garnished with corslets and
helmets, gaping with open mouths, with coats of mail, launces, pikes,
brown bills, bucklers'. (Aubrey's MS. Malcolm p. 226.)*

Was aber die Kleidung und das Aeußere der *Lawyers* anbetrifft, so tragen dieselben gern die den höheren Ständen gemeinsame pelzverbrämte Schuba (*furred gown*¹), ferner die *velvet caps*²), ebenso wie die Aerzte (*Physicians*). So sagt Iniquity (*The Devil is an Ass* I, 1):

*'Or if thou hadst rather to the Strand down to fall,
'Gainst the lawyers come dabbled from Westminster Hall,
And mark how they cling, with their clients together,
Like ivy to oak, so velvet to leather'.*

Auch die Gattin des Juristen ist an ihrem Anzuge als solche zu erkennen: *'Drest like a lawyer's wife'* (*The Devil is an Ass* II).

Wie der *Lawyer* trägt auch der *Physician* die *square cap*: der Arzt auch reitet ebenso wie der Jurist auf dem Maulthier einher, welches gern mit der bis zur Erde hinabreichenden Decke behangen ist (*footcloth*):

*'how should their surgeons build else
Or ride on their footcloths?' (Massinger, The Bondman, II, 3.)*
*'Thou shalt have a physician,
The best that gold can fetch, upon his foot-cloth.³'*
(Ben Jonson.)

¹⁾ Vgl. *In a scrivener's furred gown*.

²⁾ Und zwar ist der Deckel der Mütze, wie noch heutzutage in England, bei den gelehrten Ständen viereckig, während die des Bürgers rund ist: *The city cap is round, the scholar's square.* (Old Plays.)

³⁾ *Foot-cloth* ist überhaupt die beliebteste Pferde-Decke des Gentleman, cf. Nares, Gl. s. v. *Foot-Cloth*. *A cloth protecting the feet; i. e. housings of cloth, which hung down on every side of a horse, and were used for state at some times, and affected merely as a mark of gentility at others . . . Cf. 2 Hen. vi. IV, 7:*

Thou dost ride on a foot-cloth, dost thou not?

Say. What of that?

*Cade. Marry, thou oughtest not to let thy horse wear a cloak,
when honester men than thou go in their hose and doublets.*

Der Sozialdemokrat Cade also nimmt Anstoß daran, daß das Pferd des Vor-

'That is, a genteel physician, who rides on a foot-cloth, or with a foot-cloth thrown over his saddle. Yet, notwithstanding the parade of the mule and foot-cloth, the fee of the physician was miserably small'. Howell writes, in 1660: 'Nor are the fees which belong to that profession, any thing considerable, where doctors of physic use to attend a patient, with their mules and foot-cloths, in a kind of state, yet they receive but two shillings for their fee, for all their gravity and pains'. (Parly of Beasts, p. 73.) *'Hervey rode on horseback with a foot-cloath to visit his patients his man following on foot, as the fashion then was, which was very decent, now quite discontinued. The judges rode also with their foot-cloaths to Westminster-hall, which ended at the death of sir Rob. Hyde, lord chief justice. And the Earl of Shaftesbury would have revivedit, but several of the judges, being old and ill horsemen, would not agree to it'.*

(Aubrey, in Letters from Bodl. Libr. II, 386.)

'If we had such horse-takers amongst us, and that surfeit-swoyne churles, who now ride on their foot-cloathes, might be constrainyd to carrie their flesh budgets from place to place on foote, the price of velvet and cloath would fall with their bellies'. (Nash, Pierce Penilesse 1592.)

Ein bemerkbares Kennzeichen des Arztes ist ferner seine Kopfbedeckung, seine *velvet-cap*. Dies belegt Nares, *Gloss. s. v. Velvet-cap: formerly the distinction of a physician.*

Theod. *'O monsieur, I have a singular care of your valetudo. It is requisite that the French phisitions be learned and carefull; your English velvet-cap is malignant and envious'.*

(Retorne from Parnassus 1606.)

So tritt in Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* I, 1 der Alchemist Subtle auf (I, 1) in *his velvet cap and gown*, und Dapper fragt: *Is he a doctor? Face. Yes. —*

Ebenso trägt der Jurist *cap and gown* (cf. B. J. *Poetaster* I, 1).

Verspottet aber werden von der Bühne die durch König Jakob I neu geschaffenen „Ritter“, *Knights*, und die käuflichen Titel derselben. Dies geschieht z. B. durch den Mund der Krämerfrau in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1613, deren Lehrling Ralph auf dem Theater mitwirkt, Act I, 2:

Wife. *'... Our knights neglect their possessions well enough ...*

Ralph. *There are no such courteous and fair wellspoken knights in this age'.*

Und bei Ben Jonson in *The New Inn* I, 1, nachdem das Lob der alten Zeit verkündet worden: früher habe ein Knabe als Page im

nehmen mit überflüssiger, den Boden berührender Bekleidung versehen einher schreite, während der Arme mit kurzer, ungenügender Kleidung, *doublet and hose*, ohne Mantel (*cloak*) sich behelfen müsse. Bereits Chaucer hat, nach anderer Richtung hin, denselben Punkt erörtert.

Hause des *Nobleman* gute Sitte und Kenntnisse sich erwerben können, sagt die Wirthin:

*'Ay, that was when the nursery's self was noble,
And only virtue made it, not the market,
That titles were not vended¹⁾ at the drum,
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.'*

Hierzu bemerkt Cunningham (zu Gifford) mit Recht: '*This is rather hard upon Jonson's old friend and patron, King James, the inventor of this degrading plan for raising money, or at least of something very like it. See the Calendars of the State Papers of his reign*'. Und wie hat Jonson ferner das Füllhorn der Schmeichelei vor seinem erhabenen Gebieter ausgeschüttet! Wir meinen in der Maske von den „Zigeunern“.

Skizzieren wir zum Schluß in den Hauptzügen das Bild des Puritaners, wie es bei dramatischen Zeitgenossen Shakespeare's uns entgegentritt.

Der Grundgedanke des Puritanismus ist bekanntlich im Anschluß an das Paulinische Christenthum derjenige, daß der menschliche Geist und Alles, was er hervorbringt, sündhaft, in menschlichere Rede übersetzt, im besten Falle werthlos sei.

Wie soll bei so menschenfeindlicher Lehre Wissenschaft und Schule, Literatur und Kunst überhaupt noch athmen können?

Und doch war das Alles bitterer, blutiger Ernst: Wer direkt im Namen Gottes zu handeln glaubt — Wer mithin den Irrthum, der das eigentliche Lebenselement des Menschen ist, ausschließt, wird um so sicherer zur Bestie, als er ein Gottesmensch zu sein glaubt.

Der kulturfeindliche oder sog. fromme Grundgedanke des Pu-

1) Auch die Höhe des für den Ritter-Titel nöthigen Vermögens wird bei den Dramatikern aufgezeichnet: '*I will be knighted, for my state will bear it, 'tis sixteen hundred, boys*'. — Auch shopkeepers and merchants wurden zu Rittern gemacht:

*'but since
My master, to gain precedence for my mistress,
Above some elder merchant's wives, was knighted,
'Tis grown a little'.*

ritanerthums ist sehr unumwunden ausgesprochen bei John Lyly,
Euphues and his Ephoebus (A. D. 1579):¹⁾

'Euphues having ended his discourse and finished those precepts which he thought necessary for the instruction of youth, gave his minde to the continual studie of Philosophie, insomuch as he became publique Reader in the Universitie ... (Folgt ein Selbstgespräch:)

'Why Euphues, art thou so addicted to the studie of Heathen, that thou hast forgotten thy God in heaven? ... Is Aristotle more deare to thee with his booke, then Christ with his bloud? What comfort canst thou finde in Philosophy for thy guiltie conscience? What hope of the resurrection? What glad tidings of the Gospell? Consider with thy-selfe that thou art a gentleman, yea, and a Gentile; and if thou neglect thy calling, thou art worse than a Jewe

'Besides this, I my-selfe haue thought that in Diuinitie there could be no eloquence, which I might imitate; no pleasaunt inuention which I might follow, no delicate phrase that might delight me; but now I see that, in the sacred knowledge of Gods will, the onely eloquence, the true and perfeci phrase, the testimonie of salvation doth abide; and seeing without this all learning is ignorance, al wisdome mere folly, al witte plaine bluntnes, al justice iniquitie, al eloquence barbarisme, al beautie deformitie — I will spend all the remainder of my life in studying the olde Testament, wherin is prefigured the comming of my Sauiour, and the new Testament, wherin my Christ doth suffer for my sinnes, and is crucified for my redemption; whose bitter agonies should cast every good christian into a sheeueringague to remember his anguish; whose sweating of water and bloud should cause every devout and zealous Catholique to shedde teares of repentaunce, in remembraunce of his torments.

'Euphues having discoursed this with himselfe, did immediately abandon all light company [wie Cromwell!] all the disputationes in schooles²⁾, all Philo-

¹⁾ Auch Richard Hooker (1554—1600), der berühmte Theologe, der, wie Thomas Morus, die Vernunft über die offenbarte Religion setzte, bekämpfte in der *Defence of Reason* Prinzip und Gebräuche der „Heiligen“: *'But so it is, the name of the light of nature is made hateful with men; the star of reason and learning, and all other such like helpes, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of, than if it were an unlucky comet; or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but esteemed as that star in the revelation, called Wormwood, which, being fallen from heaven, maketh rivers and waters in which it falleth so bitter that men tasting them die thereof. A number there are who think they cannot admire as they ought the power and authority of the word of God, if in things divine they should attribute any force to man's reason; for which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace reason'. — Und ferner: They which, under pretence of the law ceremonial abrogated, require the abrogation of instrumental music, approving nevertheless the use of vocal melody to remain, must show some reason wherefore the one should be thought a legal ceremony, and not the other. —*

²⁾ Vgl. unsern Aufsatz über Schule und Bildung in Shakespeare's England Jahrb. XX 180 f.

sophie, and gave himselfe to the touchstone of holinesse in diuinitie, accompting all other things as most vile and contemptible. —

Wie entsetzliche Folgen in der allgemeinen Bildung des Engländer diese puritanische Raserei und Richtung hervorrief, hat Macaulay, *State of England in 1685*, angedeutet:

'Ladies highly born, highly bred, and naturally quick-witted, were unable to write a line in their mother tongue without solecisms and faults of spelling such as a charity girl would now be ashamed to commit . . .

One instance will suffice. Queen Mary had good natural abilities, had been educated by a bishop, was fond of history and poetry, and was regarded by very eminent men as a superior woman. There is, in the library at the Hague, a superb English Bible which was delivered to her when she was crowned in Westminster Abbey. In the title page are these words in her own hand, 'This book was given the King and I, at our crowntation. Marie R.'

... At Cambridge it was not thought by any means necessary that a divine should be able to read the Gospels in the original.'

Den heftigsten und offensten Kampf gegen die Puritaner hat von der Bühne herab, wie zu erwarten, Ben Jonson geführt.

Bereits im Prolog zu *Every Man out of his Humour* v. J. 1599 gießt er die Schale seines Zornes über dieselben aus. „Ihre Haare seien kürzer geschnitten als ihre Augenbrauen, ihr Gewissen aber sei weiter als der Ozean.“

*'Religion in their garments, and their hair
Cut shorter than their eye-brows, when their conscience
Is vaster than the ocean'.*

Das kurze Haar als Abzeichen des Puritaners wird von Ben Jonson ferner erwähnt in jenem Drama, welches seinen Kampf gegen die „Heiligen“ in aufsteigender Linie fortsetzt, in *Bartholomew Fair III*:

Knocken. 'Sir, I will take your counsel, and cut my hair. Busy: long hair, it is an ensign of pride, a banner; and the world is full of those banners'.

Hervorzuheben ist in dieser Beziehung Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair, Prologue to the King*, 1614:

*'with these, the zealous noise
Of your land's faction, scandalised at toys,
As babies, hobby-horses, puppet-plays,
Whereof the petulant ways yourself have known,
And have been vex'd with long'.*

Man sieht hieraus, daß Jonson das Gefährliche der puritanischen Bewegung keineswegs unterschätzte.⁴⁾

⁴⁾ Es kann daher nicht als richtig betrachtet werden, wenn Carlyle in seinem Werk über Cromwell I, 259 (ed. Tauchnitz) sagt: *Puritans were already spoken of in Shakespeare's time, though not yet dangerous.*

Im *Sad Shepherd* aber ist die aufsteigende Linie des Kampfes gegen die Puritaner bereits zur absteigenden, zur Resignation geworden: gegen Rabbi *Busy-Zeal-of-the-Land*, gegen den Puritaner-Führer ist der Kampf nicht mehr erfolgreich.

Die Volksbelustigungen des *Merry Old England* wurden von ihnen für heidnisch erklärt und auf Tod und Leben angegriffen:

'They call ours Pagan pastimes, that infect
Our blood with ease, our youth with all neglect;
Our tongues with wantonness, our thoughts with lust;
And what they censure ill, all others must.
Robin. I do not know what their sharp sight may see,
As 'twas, an happy age, when on the plains
The woodmen met the damsels, and the swains,
The neat-herds, ploughmen, and the pipers loud,
And each did dance, some to the kit or crowd,
Some to the bag-pipe; some the tabret mov'd,
And all did either love, or were below'd.
... And all these deeds were seen without offence,
Or the least hazard of their innocence.'

Ein scharfer Ausfall gegen die „Heiligen“ findet sich ferner bei Ben Jonson in *The Silent Woman* II, 1:

Truewit. 'If (your wife be) precise (= a puritan), you must feast all the silenced brethren, once in three days; salute the sisters; entertain the whole family, or wood of them; and hear long-winded exercises, singings and catechisings, which you are not given to, and yet must give for; to please the zealous matron your wife, who for the holy cause, will cozen you over and above'. —

Ferner über das Augenverdrehen der Puritaner:

'The jogging had made some crudities rise;
To help it he call'd for a puritan poach,
That us'd to turn up the eggs of his eyes'.

(*The Gipsies Metamorphosed* 1623.)

In den Epigrammen LXXV:

On Lippe the Teacher.
'I cannot think there's that antipathy
'Twixt puritans and players, as some cry;
Though Lippe, at Paul's¹⁾, ran from his text away,
To inveigh 'gainst plays, what did he then but play?'

Ausführliche satirische Schilderungen der „Heiligen“ bietet auch das Drama *The City Match*²⁾ (1639); dort wird z. B. auf die klei-

¹⁾ Es wurde im Freien am St. Paul's Kreuze gepredigt.

²⁾ Verf. ist Mayne, in den Old Plays vol. XIII.

nen Halskrausen derselben im Gegensatz zu den großen Mühlsteinkragen der Zeit angespielt:

‘*O miracle!*
Out of your little ruffe, Dorcas, and in the fashion,
Dost thou hope to be saved?’

(Bezieht sich auf die christliche Lehre von der Gnadenwahl, auf welche ja auch der trunkene Offizier auf der Wache im Othello anspielt.) — Von dem Luxus, den Puritanerfrauen besonders in gesticktem Weißzeug trieben, spricht dasselbe Stück:

Aur. ‘*Nay, sir, she is a Puritan at her needle too.*
Ban. *Indeed!*
Aur. *She works religious petticoats;¹⁾ for flowers*
She'll make church-histories. Her needle doth
So sanctify my cushionets: besides
My smock-sleeves have such holy embroideries
And are so learned, that I fear in time
All my apparel will be quoted by
Some pure instructor. Yesterday I went
To see a lady that has a parrot: my woman,
While I was in discourse, converted the fowl;
And now it can speak nought but Knox's works;
So there's a parrot lost’.

¹⁾ It appears to have been the custom at this time to work religious and other stories in different parts of the dress then worn. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *A Custom of the Country* II, 3 (Dyce's edit. IV, 422) Rutilio says —

Having a mistress, sure you should not be
Without a neat historical shirt’.
