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DOI:

[10.1093/res/hgad009](https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgad009)

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Document Version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Citation for published version (Harvard):

Challinor, J 2023, 'A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of the Academic Drama Lingua', *The Review of English Studies*, vol. 74, no. 314, pp. 254-273. <https://doi.org/10.1093/res/hgad009>

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A Seventeenth-Century Manuscript of the Academic Drama *Lingua*

Jennie Challinor

This article explores a previously unknown manuscript of the anonymous academic drama *Lingua*. Housed in the Bridgeman family archives in Staffordshire Record Office, the manuscript is similar but by no means identical to the 1607 printed edition. I examine the manuscript's possible provenance, its distinctive features and key variants (including its attention to act music), before focusing on two substantial original passages. Both of these episodes demonstrate a clear satirical interest in Wales, recycling as they do various Welsh stereotypes common in professional drama of the early seventeenth century. I argue that these sections—which also bear the mark of an engagement with Spenser and Rabelais—enrich our understanding not only of *Lingua* but of the links between university drama and wider literary and theatrical cultures. I conclude that these sections are likely authorial, and that Thomas Tomkis (to whom the play is usually attributed) may well have contributed to or overseen the production of the manuscript.

The university drama *Lingua*, published anonymously in 1607 as *Lingua; or, The Combat of the Tongue, and the Five Senses for Superiority*,¹ found an unusual level of popularity and longevity outside of its original academic context, being published in further editions in 1617, 1622, 1632, and 1657, along with another one undated. The allegorical comedy follows the attempts of the play's only female character, *Lingua*, who represents speech, to be recognized as a sense. Her efforts, assisted by her page *Mendacio* (falsehood), are opposed by the five established senses—*Visus* (sight), *Auditus* (hearing), *Tactus* (touch), *Olfactus* (smell), and *Gustus* (taste)—and she seeks to cause division between them. Their competing cases are heard by the judge, *Common Sense*, but *Lingua*'s disruptive plot to engender discord is finally discovered and she is sentenced to imprisonment (in *Gustus*'s house, i.e., the mouth) and effectively silenced. The play is written predominantly in English rather than the Latin favoured by elite institutions, perhaps in part explaining its wider popularity in print throughout the seventeenth century.

The title page of the 1657 edition offers the detail that *Lingua* was 'first acted at Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, after at the Free-School at Huntington'.² No record survives of *Lingua*'s performance at Cambridge, but Sir John Harington's 1610 notebook entry offers an authorial attribution: referring to *Lingua* as one of 'a bundle of Comedies', he states that the play was

¹ Thomas Tomkis, *Lingua; or, The Combat of the Tongue, and the Five Senses for Superiority* (London, 1607).

² Thomas Tomkis, *Lingua; or, The Combat of the Tongue, and the Five Senses for Superiority* (London, 1657).

'made by Thom[as] Tomkis of Trinity collidge in Cambridge'.³ Little is known of the circumstances of *Lingua's* early performances. Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson suggest a première between 1602, since there is an internal reference to this date (discussed below), and 1607 (the year of publication), with 1606 being the most likely date.⁴ Publication records indicate an enduring interest in *Lingua*, and by the 1660s Oliver Cromwell's name had mysteriously become attached to the play: the bookseller Simon Miller (who published the 1657 edition) advertised that it had been 'acted by *Oliver Cromwel* the Late Usurper', and by 1687 the poet and biographer William Winstanley (who mistakenly assigned the play to Anthony Brewer) was peddling the attractive but dubious claim that a young Cromwell had once played the role of the crown-fixated Tactus.⁵ There is, however, no evidence for this Cromwellian connection,⁶ and the link was probably devised as a post-Restoration marketing strategy. Our understanding of *Lingua* has thus been dependent on a limited amount of evidence, much of which seems to have been embellished long after the play's production.

This article contributes to the patchy knowledge of *Lingua*, and to our wider understanding of early seventeenth-century academic drama,⁷ by discussing a previously unknown contemporary manuscript of the play that survives in the Bridgeman family archives of Staffordshire Record Office.⁸ The newly recovered fair copy (and only known surviving manuscript of *Lingua*) offers a few more pieces of the comedy's puzzle, while also contributing its own mysteries. How the manuscript came to be in this collection is unclear. The rich Bridgeman archive holds other literary manuscripts from later in the century, including a miscellany of Restoration verse satire,⁹ a commonplace book from the 1680s containing copies of seven Katherine Philips poems, and an early eighteenth-century verse miscellany compiled by Sir John Bridgeman, third baronet.¹⁰ Despite the Bridgeman family's engagement with and access to manuscript culture after the Restoration, the play-script is anomalous within the collection: it is the only evidence of an interest in drama, and it pre-dates the other literary material. It does, however, suggest a way in which an obscure (if once relatively popular) academic drama might have found an unexpected afterlife, perhaps furnishing the shelves of a familial library alongside more curated collections of manuscript poetry.

Seeming to date from the early seventeenth century, the manuscript of *Lingua* offers a text that is close, but not identical, to the printed edition. Transcribed in three hands, there are a substantial number of minor variants (including individual words, synonyms, and transposed phrases); several additional lines; references to music played between the acts; and, most interestingly, the addition of two original passages. These take the form of a Welsh genealogy in 3.1, and 16 lines of verse spoken in 4.5 by an entirely new allegorical character, Metheglin (representing a Welsh mead and further accentuating the interest in Wales). Analysis of these two passages reveals a complex set of intertextual allusions, with identifiable echoes of Spenser and Rabelais,

³ Alan H. Nelson (ed.), *Cambridge, Records of Early English Drama*, 2 vols (Toronto, 1989), 2. 853; London, British Library Add. 27,632, f. 30.

⁴ Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson (eds), *British Drama, 1533–1642: A Catalogue*, Vol. 5: 1603–1608 (Oxford, 2015), 349–50.

⁵ James Heath, *A New Book of Loyal English Martyrs and Confessors* (London, 1663), sig. *4^v; William Winstanley, *The Lives of the Most Famous English Poets; or, The Honour of Parnassus* (London, 1687), 114–15.

⁶ Nelson (ed.), *Cambridge*, 2. 942.

⁷ Key studies exploring university dramatic culture include Frederick S. Boas, *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1914); J. Walker and Paul D. Streufert (eds), *Early Modern Academic Drama* (Farnham, 2008); Christopher Marlow, *Performing Masculinity in English University Drama, 1598–1636* (Farnham, 2013); Elizabeth Sandis, *Early Modern Drama at the Universities: Institutions, Intertexts, Individuals* (Oxford, 2022).

⁸ Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, D1287 19/6/47.

⁹ Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, D1287/19/6/2; see also the entries for D 1287/19/6, *Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts* <https://celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/staffordshire-record-office.html#staffordshire-record-office_id360495> accessed 12 Nov 2022.

¹⁰ Stafford, Staffordshire Record Office, D1287/19/6/69; D1287/19/6/1. See Jennie Challinor, 'A New Manuscript Compilation of Katherine Philips: The Commonplace Book of Robert Mathewes', *The Library*, 17 (2016), 287–316; and 'A Manuscript of Rochester's "Upon Nothing" in a Newly Recovered Eighteenth-Century Miscellany of Restoration Verse', *Seventeenth Century*, 32 (2017), 161–90.

but also a wider engagement with contemporary trends in the commercial theatres. The manuscript only highlights the way in which *Lingua* looks for inspiration beyond the confines of a closed academic environment. Indeed, recent research has illuminated the extent of academic drama's 'interaction with contemporary vernacular plays'; Dana F. Sutton goes on to note that 'after the London popular theater started up, drama at Cambridge and Oxford was quickly drawn into its orbit and adopted a number of features calculated to appeal to similar audience tastes and expectations', despite the fact that the universities prohibited students from attending performances on the professional stage.¹¹ This article first explores the possible origins of the manuscript, with evidence suggesting an educational setting (although the possibility of a more local Welsh connection will also be considered), before going on to examine its most significant variants.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Bound in parchment and measuring 300 mm by 250 mm, the manuscript consists of 38 leaves made of 19 sheets folded in half to create four pages in each gathering. The first three leaves are blank (ff. 1^r–3^v), after which the text begins on f. 4^r with the *Dramatis Personae* (providing a list of characters but no actors' names); the prologue (f. 4^v) and epilogue (f. 38^v) bookend the play, as in the printed edition. The presence of only a small title above the *Dramatis Personae* on the recto of the first leaf (Fig. 1) and the lack of a dedication indicate that the manuscript was not created as a formal presentation copy (especially as the first page is the first leaf of the gathering and the covers are contemporary, indicating that no pages have been lost or removed). It is not possible to date the manuscript precisely. The paper's watermark—a crudely drawn one-handed pot beneath a crown and containing three indecipherable letters—is similar to many seventeenth-century examples, but the *Gravell Watermark Archive* does not record an identical mark. There is one loose half sheet from the same paper stock, which has been used as notepaper. It contains a cryptic (though probably banal) message, written in a hand different from those of the transcribers of the play, promising an assignation: 'I lost my dinner & am gone into y^e feilds where I stay for you'. The missive is apparently contemporary, using a secretary script (Hand F).

Of greater interest are the jottings on the back outer cover. The writing on the front cover has faded to illegibility, but on the back are two passages. The first reads:

William Sambath is my name
And with my pen I writt this same
If my penn had beene better
I should have mend it every letter

This was a standard rhyme, often employed by young readers, perhaps constituting what Brayman Hackel terms 'sassy records of ownership'.¹² Its naivety (and the clumsiness of the letter formation) might suggest a boy, perhaps practising his penmanship, indicating that the manuscript was in the possession (at least at some point) of a child, old enough to write but youthful

¹¹ Dana F. Sutton, *Cambridge Drama in the Late Tudor and Early Stuart Periods*, Oxford Handbooks Online (2016) <<https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-20>> accessed 18 July 2022. On the university authorities' distaste for professional drama, see Sandis, *Early Modern Drama*, 31–8.

¹² Heidi Brayman Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge, 2005), 158. Similar rhymes appear in various manuscript and printed material: see the young Thomas Andros's commonplace book (1589), Guernsey, Priaulx LOC 615.321 AND; and Elizabeth Benne's copy of Dorothy Leigh's *The Mothers Blessing* (1640), Washington DC, Folger STC 15,408. An adolescent Abraham Lincoln utilized a variation of the verse in 1826, Nerida F. Ellerton and M. A. (Ken) Clements, *Abraham Lincoln's Cyphering Book and Ten other Extraordinary Cyphering Books* (New York, NY, 2014), 147.

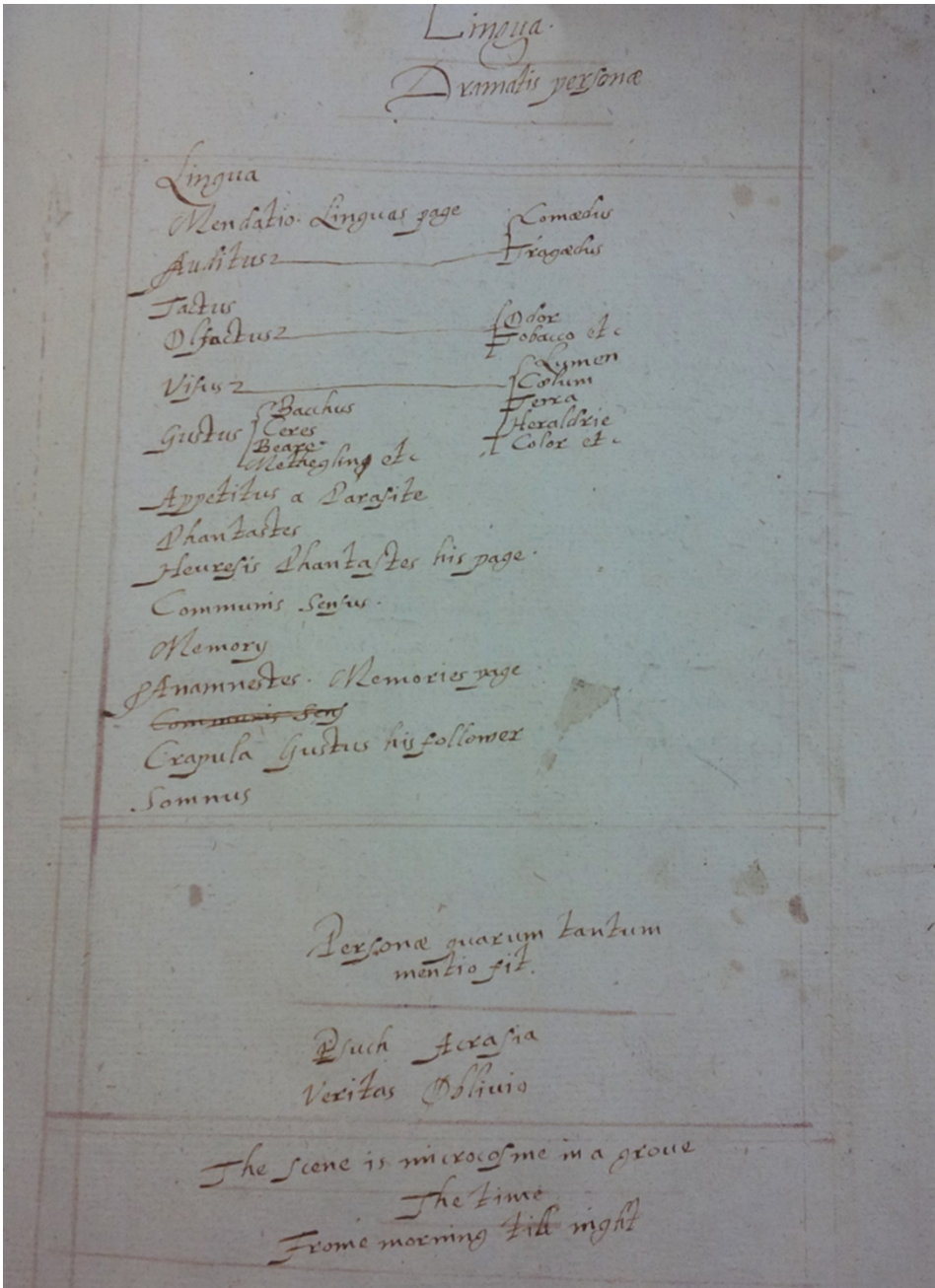


FIG. 1. Title page and Dramatic Personae (f. 4 r). Reproduced courtesy of Staffordshire Record Office.

enough to indulge in such playful assertions of proprietorship.¹³ Given this (admittedly inconclusive) evidence, one possibility is that the manuscript originates from a school environment.

¹³ On juvenile writing practices in books and manuscripts see Seth Lerer, 'Devotion and Defacement: Reading Children's Marginalia', *Representations*, 118 (2012), 126–53.

While there was a rich tradition of early modern academic drama associated with Oxford and Cambridge, plays were also performed at the Inns of Court and grammar schools.¹⁴ The title page of the 1657 edition states that the play was also acted at Huntingdon Grammar School (founded in 1565) in Cambridgeshire. Contemporary records of its schoolboys have not survived (although we know that Cromwell attended), but the school's master from 1603/04–1625 was the theologian Dr Thomas Beard (c.1568–1632), who himself wrote Latin plays to be enacted by his pupils, and who may have encouraged dramatic performance.¹⁵

The rhyme does provide a name—William Sambath—but this is not as helpful as it initially seems: there are several potential candidates whose timelines might fit, but none is conclusive.¹⁶ One possibility is Sir William Sambach of Broadway, Worcestershire (dates unknown), who became a Royalist politician, distinguishing himself as Solicitor General in Ireland before returning to England during the Civil War.¹⁷ Another William Sambach, son of Anthony Sambach, of [St?] Giles Wickwar, Gloucestershire, was admitted to the Middle Temple on 2 December 1606, and was called to the bar 20 years later.¹⁸ The surname may, alternatively, suggest a link with the prominent Sandbachs of Chester. The Bridgemans had strong connections in Cheshire, although I have been unable to establish any firm relationship between the two families. Dr John Bridgeman (1577–1652), royal chaplain to James I, was Bishop of Chester (1619–1646) and his son, Sir Orlando Bridgeman (1609–1674), future Lord Keeper under Charles II, was a key Royalist in the city during the Civil War.¹⁹ Both were educated at Cambridge: John Bridgeman took his Doctor of Divinity degree in 1612, and Orlando Bridgeman matriculated at Queens' College in 1619 before being awarded his MA at Magdelene in 1624.²⁰ It is possible that one of these men obtained the manuscript during their time at the university (although neither was educated at Trinity and academic drama was usually tied to individual colleges). The manuscript may, of course, have found its way into the Bridgeman collection through marriage, or by a now untraceable route. One further possibility is that the manuscript came into Bridgeman hands through a Shropshire connection, as by the mid-century the Bridgemans were prominent in the county. Very little is known of the author Thomas Tomkis's early or later life (records place him as a student and then scholar at Cambridge University between 1597 and 1615),²¹ but his father,

¹⁴ Firm details of the performance of academic plays in grammar schools are few, but institutions famed for their association with drama include St Paul's, Eton, Westminster, and Shrewsbury, as well as smaller provincial schools. Paul Whitfield White, *Theatre and Reformation: Protestantism, Patronage and Playing in Tudor England* (Cambridge, 1993), 105; Ursula Potter, 'The Spectre of the Shrew and the Lash of the Rod: Gendering Pedagogy in The Disobedient Child', in J. Walker and Paul D. Streufert (eds), *Early Modern Academic Drama* (Farnham, 2008), 65–86 (66–7). On the dramatic traditions of the Inns of Court, see Jessica Winston, *Lawyers at Play: Literature, Law, and Politics at the Early Modern Inns of Court, 1558–1581* (Oxford, 2016).

¹⁵ Ely, Cambridgeshire Archives KHAC4/4554/14; Alexandra Walsham, *Beard, Thomas* (c. 1568–1632), *Church of England Clergyman and Author*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1818>> accessed 8 June 2022.

¹⁶ There is no record of anyone with the surname of Sambath or similar matriculating at Cambridge University in the seventeenth century. A *Cambridge Alumni Database* <<https://venn.lib.cam.ac.uk/Documents/acad/enter.html>> accessed 8 June 2022.

¹⁷ H. Sydney Grazebrook, *The Heraldry of Worcestershire, being a Roll of the Arms Borne by the Several Noble, Knightly, and Gentle Families* (London, 1873), 492; Constantine J. Smyth, *Chronicle of the Law Officers of Ireland* (London, 1839), 177, 194.

¹⁸ Sir Henry F. Macgeagh and H. A. C. Sturges (eds), *Register of Admissions to the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple: Volume 1, Fifteenth Century to 1781* (London, 1949), 87.

¹⁹ See Ronald Hutton, *The Royalist War Effort, 1642–1646*, 2nd edn (London, 2003), 26, 38, 44, 127.

²⁰ Peter David Yorke, 'Bridgeman, John' (bap. 1577, d. 1652), bishop of Chester, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3391>> accessed 8 June 2022; Howard Nenner, *Bridgeman, Sir Orlando, first baronet (1609–1674), judge*, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3392>> accessed 8 June 2022.

²¹ S. P. Cerasano, *Tomkis [Tomkys], Thomas* (b. c. 1580, d. in or after 1615), playwright, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27519>> accessed 7 June 2022.

John (d.1592), had been a clergyman based in Wolverhampton and later Shrewsbury, where he became a well-known reforming presence.²²

The verse's naivety perhaps suggests youthful practices, and the Latin phrases point to a stage in the writer's pedagogical development. In a roughly drawn box surrounded by pen trials of the miniscule *s*, a passage from Book I of Cicero's *De Officiis* is written in what seems to be a different hand from that of the William Sambath passage (although, as Seth Lerer notes, the primary identifying factor of children's handwriting is its inconsistency).²³ Cicero's treatise of moral philosophy, written for his son, was employed throughout the Renaissance to capture 'the humanist ideal of the civilised life', and to promulgate what Jonathan Bate terms 'the code of the gentleman'.²⁴ The work was a ubiquitous school and university text, both in Latin and English translation, introduced to boys at an early stage of their schooling, strengthening the sense that the manuscript emerges from an educational context. The epigram transcribed on the manuscript's back cover pays tribute to wisdom:

Sapientia est rerum divinarum
Scientia in qua continetur deorum
hominum que societas atque inter ipsos comunitas.²⁵

The passage does not follow any Latin source verbatim, and may therefore be an example of a pedagogical double translation exercise whereby students would translate a passage into English before translating it back into Latin and comparing it to the original.²⁶ A 1616 edition of Book I of *De Officiis* translates this passage as: 'that wisdom (which I named the princesse [i.e., principal]) is the knowledge of divine and humane things: wherein is contained the community of gods and men, and their society amongst the[m]selves'.²⁷ Cicero here argues that community—and the individual's obligations to society—is of greater importance to the concept of service than the acquisition of knowledge. Cicero's emphasis on public responsibility would have been foundational to a youth immersed in an institution, whether school or college, where he would have been given a humanist education and trained (with the help of writers like Cicero) for the gentleman's life of civic duty.²⁸ Indeed, Elizabeth Sandis notes the tight-knit nature of the performance and spectatorship of early modern academic drama, writing of 'the college show as a communal, shared experience in a familiar space with familiar faces', so this element of Cicero may be particularly apt.²⁹

THE PLAYBOOK

The manuscript represents a fair copy: the few deletions or alterations are minor and occasional, mainly corrections of spelling or clear mistranscription (often as a result of anticipation of coming words), and are usually swiftly corrected by the copyist in the process of writing the line. The text is carefully presented, with neat margins of varying widths ruled on each page, and otherwise

²² Patrick Collinson, *Tomkys, John (d. 1592), Church of England clergyman*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-68275>> accessed 7 June 2022.

²³ Lerer, 'Devotion', 129.

²⁴ Robin Headlam Wells, *Shakespeare's Humanism* (Cambridge, 2005), 9; Jonathan Bate, *How the Classics Made Shakespeare* (Princeton, NJ, 2019), 123.

²⁵ The Loeb edition gives the equivalent passage as, 'illa autem sapientia, quam principem dixi, rerum est divinarum et humanarum scientia, in qua continetur deorum et hominum communitas et societas inter ipsos'. *On Duties*, tr. Walter Miller, Loeb Classical Library 30 (Cambridge, MA, 2013), I. 153, 156–7.

²⁶ J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age* (Leeds, 1990), 291.

²⁷ *The First Book of Tullies Offices Translated Grammatically, and also according to the Propriety of our English Tongue*, tr. John Brinsley (London, 1616), 307.

²⁸ Helen L. Hull, "'Lowe and lay ministers of the peace': The Proliferation of Officeholding Manuals in Early Modern England", in C. Cobb (ed.), *Renaissance Papers 2009* (Rochester, NY, 2010), 37–54 (41). See also Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics: Volume 2: Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge, 2004), 218–20.

²⁹ Sandis, *Early Modern Drama*, 18.

emulating the *mise-en-page* of printed drama. The manuscript betrays none of the uncertainty or revision that might suggest original composition—the main hand (Hand A) is assured and the handwriting measured and well-spaced, with catchwords provided at the bottom of both recto and verso pages. There are no annotations to suggest that this was a bookkeeper's copy (often anachronistically referred to as a promptbook):³⁰ there are no marks in the margins, and cues, entrances, and exits have not been repositioned or made more prominent, although William B. Long points out that a theatrical playbook may be 'sparsely marked' or may not contain any of the bookkeeper's alterations at all.³¹ While the manuscript does not contain interventions from a bookkeeper, its particular attention to music and staging (as will be seen) suggests that it emerged from a performance context.

The transcription of the play itself features three distinct hands (A, B, and C), and a further three hands have written the two short pieces on the back cover and the note on the loose sheet (Table 1).³² Hand A, belonging to the scribe who copied the vast majority of the play-text, is a highly legible italic, a 'culturally prestigious' script influenced by the European humanist tradition, and typical of the late Elizabethan period.³³ The hand is neat, and the letters are predominantly printed rather than cursive, resembling the careful handwriting used primarily in academic contexts.³⁴ As Tiffany Stern notes, 'universities, obviously, did not have trained theatrical functionaries to perform menial scribal jobs: for college performances, student actors were their own copyists'.³⁵ The distinctive descenders on the y's, p's, f's, and s's are almost horizontal, and the feet on the r's suggest that the writing may be early seventeenth century. Hand B is a less sloping italic hand, containing Greek e's, while Hand C (which fills four pages) is a more cramped italic, containing occasional secretary glyphs. Vestiges of secretary practice are also found in the majiscules of Hand D, and Hand F is an upright secretary hand. The faintness and brevity of the two samples of writing on the back cover (Hand D and Hand E) compound the difficulty of comparing the hands, but neither seem to match any of the other examples of penmanship within the book. Without surviving documents in Tomkis's hand, it is impossible to determine his possible role in the manuscript's creation, but he may be the owner of Hand B, which undertakes a couple of corrections (discussed below).³⁶ The fact that the play-text is a composite of three hands demonstrates collaborative writing practices and may be a further reflection of the communal ethos and institutional context suggested elsewhere.

Some textual irregularities present in the (seemingly clumsily printed) 1607 edition are corrected in the manuscript. For example, 1607's nonsensical 'Well doth he fall that riseth with a fall' becomes 'Well doth he fall, that riseth with a crowne' (sig. B2^v; f. 7^v); the 'eyes' of Tactus (who attempts to hide the crown and robe he has found from the other senses) are fixed rather than his 'deeds' (sig. B3^v; f. 8^r); and Tactus laments aphoristically that man is keen to rush on the more likely 'hidden harmes' rather than 'bidden armes' (sig. C1^v; f. 9^r). Gulono the 'guttie Serjant' becomes Guloso in the manuscript, a word stemming from gluttonous (sig. C4^v; f. 11^r). Many such slight adjustments to individual words serve to illuminate whole sentiments, which read oddly in the printed edition. It makes sense that the love letter Phantastes (imagination) writes

³⁰ The historical accuracy of the term 'promptbook' has been challenged by William B. Long and Paul Werstine. See Long, "'Precious Few": English Manuscript Playbooks', in David Scott Kastan (ed.), *A Companion to Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1999), 414–33 (414–15); and Werstine, *Early Modern Playhouse Manuscripts and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 2013), Chapter 3.

³¹ See James Purkis, *Shakespeare and Manuscript Drama: Canon, Collaboration and Text* (Cambridge, 2016), 62–75; Long, "'Precious Few'", 416–17.

³² Steven W. May's article has informed my examination of the handwriting. 'Matching Hands: The Search for the Scribe of the "Stanhope Manuscript"', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 76 (2013), 345–75.

³³ Jonathan Goldberg, *Writing Matter: From the Hands of the English Renaissance* (Stanford, CA, 1990), 50–53.

³⁴ '[N]eat versions of this hand are most often found in school exercise books, English Handwriting Online 1500–1700 <<https://www.english.cam.ac.uk/ceres/ehoc/samples/sample4.html>> accessed 7 June 2022.

³⁵ Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2009), 239.

³⁶ No documents in Tomkis's hand are known to survive. Two manuscript copies exist of the academic play *Pathomachia* (pub. 1630), which has sometimes been attributed to Tomkis; these hands do not appear to match any of those in the *Lingua* manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian, MS Eng. misc. e. 5; London, British Library, MS Harley 6869, ff. 3^r–22^v).

Table 1. The manuscript's distinct hands

Hand A	Majority of the play-text
Hand B	f. 6 ^v (13 lines to the end of a page: 'Madame I fly' to 'gorgeous ornament'); line added to Metheglin's speech (f. 27 ^v); minor corrections (f. 27 ^r)
Hand C	ff. 29 ^r –30 ^v
Hand D (William Sambath)	Rhyme (back cover)
Hand E	Latin Cicero quotation (back cover)
Hand F	Loose half sheet

for Inamerato (male lover) should be 'melting' rather than 'netling' (sig. D2^r; f. 12^v); similarly, a joke punning on hearing/herring is missed in the printed text (sig. L1^v; f. 33^r). Many instances are likely the result of the compositor misreading his source text, such as at the opening of 1.2, where the printed text states that Mendacio enters, inexplicably, with a 'Hamper'; the manuscript supplies the word '*pumpes*', indicating the light footwear of the page (sig. B1^r; f. 6^r).³⁷ At other points, pentameter lines where words seem to be missing in the 1607 edition are completed. For example, in 1.2, when *Lingua* instructs Mendacio to imprison *Veritas*, the manuscript includes the additional half-line, 'In the deepe dungeon fast', which is then completed by Mendacio's 'I warrant you' (sig. B1^v; f. 6^v). Elsewhere, in 1.4, the printed edition reads, 'They say a golden Ball, | Bred enmitie betwixt three Goddesses', but the manuscript supplies four further syllables to the first line: 'The[y] say a golden ball by Ate throwne' (sig. B2^r; f. 7^r). While the practice of individual readers and book owners correcting 'faults' in texts (often introduced by printers) is well documented,³⁸ the consistency with which these oversights are rectified in the manuscript indicates a familiarity with the material and perhaps even a close relationship to the play's origins.

The manuscript does, however, include its own minor mistakes not in the printed edition: there are numerous instances of dittography and it is surely correct, for example, that Mendacio should address *Anamnestes* (remembrance) as 'my little *Nam*' rather than 'my little name' (sig. E3^v; f. 17^r). Often, the placement of stage directions and the lines they correspond to changes slightly (e.g., ff. 7^v, 8^r, 9^r), and there are variations in the setting of verse and prose throughout. The manuscript prologue, for example, includes a mistake in its lineation, disrupting two of the pentameter lines (f. 4^v). Such errors suggest that Hand A is not authorial but scribal.

The manuscript's stage directions are also sometimes slightly more detailed than those in the printed version, and an additional description of the musical interludes between acts is given. While the 1607 edition makes no mention of inter-act music, the manuscript offers an insight into the aural landscape of *Lingua*'s performance: '*loude Musicke of cornettes*' is heard between Acts 1 and 2 (the loudness signalling the martial implications of the discord between the senses); '*cornetts, and then ye retreat with trumpets affare of*' is specified between Acts 2 and 3; '*a consort of softe instruments and artificiall chirping of byrds*' sounds between Acts 3 and 4; and the final Act is preceded by '*a consort of soft Musique*'.³⁹ These details suggest that the manuscript was intended for use in a performance context in which professional musicians were available (university drama included instrumental music, sometimes provided by local musicians).⁴⁰

³⁷ See R. Turner Wilcox, *The Mode in Footwear* (New York, NY, 1948), 91.
³⁸ See Seth Lerer, 'Errata: Print, Politics, and Poetry in Early Modern England', in Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (eds), *Reading, Society and Politics in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2003), 41–71.
³⁹ 'Consort' appears in 'few' stage directions. Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson, *A Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642* (Cambridge, 1999), 56.
⁴⁰ Sutton, 'Cambridge Drama'.

Cornets and trumpets were used in a wide range of seventeenth-century drama, but stage directions specifying birdsong are relatively rare.⁴¹ The sound, probably created with a form of mechanical bird whistle, reflects a textual reference rather than introducing any surprises: Auditus invites Common Sense to accompany him to a grove so as to hear 'the sweete treble, of the chirping birds' (sig. G4^r; f. 22^v). The 'soft'e nature of the instrumentation (often produced by recorders) is more common, and was probably employed here to indicate the distance of Auditus's grove.⁴² Other points in the manuscript play see more detailed attention to stagecraft, although the printed edition itself demonstrates a remarkable concern with outlining the detail of costume and use of objects. Notably, the manuscript stage directions that open 3.5 are substantial: the printed edition gives only the names of the characters onstage but the manuscript provides a description resembling a dumb-show, offering a visual sense of the way in which the court scene should begin:

Heuresis, carrying the roabe, and crowne upont walkes to the table before the Judgment seat, and pleaced it there.

Memory, and Phantastes sits one both hands, Common Sense in the midst, Heuresis, and Anamnastes at theire masters feet,

Lingua, and Mendatio belowe upon the stage. (f. 18^v)

The placement of Lingua and Mendacio 'belowe upon the stage' (a position not specified anywhere in the printed text) suggests that the court of judgement was intended to be enacted from an elevated situation, and that this manuscript of *Lingua* was imagined for performance in a space with an upper playing level, possibly a balcony or gallery. These could have been found in a variety of spaces including college dining halls, schools, and even private elite households.⁴³ It must, however, be remembered, that a playwright's instructions cannot necessarily be accepted as evidence of what was (or even could be) staged in practice;⁴⁴ it is conceivable that the stagecraft outlined in the manuscript may have proved too complicated or crowded.

INTERNAL DATING

Unlike much university drama, *Lingua* was printed fairly soon after composition (within five years) and so there would have been little need for a scribal copy to be made after that date. The manuscript play contains Memory's same recollection of the 'skewd kind of language' of 1602 as the printed edition (as mentioned above). This indicates that the creation of the witness is not far removed from this date, since if it were composed much later we might reasonably expect the year to have been altered (sig. F2^r, f. 18^v). While analysis of the handwriting and paper stock does not offer any firm date, these factors are compatible with composition in the early years of the seventeenth century. Attempts to date the manuscript from other internal evidence are similarly inconclusive, but one reference unique to the manuscript supports creation in this period.

This clue is found in 4.2, when Phantastes' archaic, 'pantomimicke' acting style prompts Memory to reminisce in the manuscript: 'I remember 20 yeares past yt gesticular speaking, and apish

⁴¹ Dessen and Thomson record stage directions featuring birdsong in in five plays: George Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris* (pub. 1584); Thomas Dekker's *Blurt Master Constable* (pub. 1602); John Fletcher's *The Pilgrim* (1621, pub. 1647); Richard Brome's *A Joviall Crew* (1641/2, pub. 1652) and *The Queen and Concubine* (c.1635, pub. 1659). *Dictionary*, 31, 57.

⁴² See Dessen and Thomson, *Dictionary*, 177, 205.

⁴³ Most university plays were performed in college dining halls adapted for theatrical events. See David Greenwood, 'The Staging of Neo-Latin Plays in Sixteenth Century England', *Educational Theatre Journal*, 16 (1964), 311–23 (311), and Alan H. Nelson, *Early Cambridge Theatres: University, College, and Town Stages, 1464–1720* (Cambridge, 1994), 36–9. Suzanne Westfall, "He who pays the piper calls the tune": Household Entertainments', in Richard Dutton (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theatre* (Oxford, 2011), 263–79 (265).

⁴⁴ Long, "Precious Few", 417, 419.

action was in request but now altogether exploded' (f. 25^v). The manuscript's corresponding stage direction further describes Phantastes' style as '*motory*', indicating a reliance on movement and motion. This allusion to a now old-fashioned acting style popular two decades ago recalls some of the criticisms levelled against Elizabethan commercial drama of the 1580s–1590s. The description bears some resemblance, for example, to a passage in John Marston's tragedy, *Antonio's Revenge* (pub. 1602), in which the grieving Pandulfo defends his laughing reaction to his son's death:

Would'st have me cry, run raving up & down,
For my sons losse? would'st have me turn rank mad,
Or wring my face with mimick action;
Stampe, curse, weepe, rage, & then my bosome strike?
Away tis apish action, player-like.⁴⁵

Ann Blake believes that Marston's reference might itself allude to the histrionic acting of older plays such as Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* (c.1582–1592) and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (c.1588–1593).⁴⁶ In the early years of James I's reign, when *Lingua* was likely written, both of these works—exemplifying the performative styles of their period—would have been nearing 20 years old. We might think too of other near contemporary plays that mimic old-fashioned actorly practices for comic purposes, such as the mechanicals' Pyramus and Thisbe in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (c.1595, pub. 1600, 1623) and *Hamlet's* dumbshow and play-within-a-play (c.1600–1601, pub. 1603, 1604, 1623). Pandulfo's speech mocks the emotionally excessive, physically exaggerated 'apish action', which Andrew Gurr argues was a feature of the acting mode of the commercial adult companies. *Antonio's Revenge* was performed by the Children of Paul's, and Gurr writes that the boys' companies subscribed to 'academically approved conceptions of what was natural', viewing Pandulfo's speech as evidence that 'some distinction must have existed between the unschooled professionals on the one hand [...] and the academically tutored schoolchildren on the other'; Gurr concludes that lines such as these reveal that playwrights gave the boys lines to 'belabour the common players with'.⁴⁷ If we read Marston's metatheatrical joke as a rivalrous dig at the formal acting style of the adult companies, the fact that *Lingua's* manuscript's line betrays a similar disdain for this dramatic method (employing the same epithet of 'apish action'), indicates that the manuscript originates from a scholarly environment removed from (but aware of) the acting techniques of the adult companies.⁴⁸

There seems to have been a trend for such self-referential explorations of acting style in the London theatres. Gurr identifies similar contemporaneous digs in Marston's *The Wonder of Women; or, The Tragedy of Sophonisba* (c.1605, pub. 1606) and in George Chapman's *The Widow's Tears* (c.1605, pub. 1612), both performed by the Blackfriars Boys.⁴⁹ In Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (c.1600, pub. 1601) the boy actors are advised to 'practise their language and behaviours, and not with a dead imitation. Act freely, carelessly, and capriciously'.⁵⁰ When Memory dismisses 'apish action', he would seem to be mocking overly studied dramatic performances that rely on the use of mime and gesticulation. While by no means conclusive, this does seem to link

⁴⁵ John Marston, *Antonios Revenge, the Second Part* (London, 1602), sig. C2^v.

⁴⁶ Ann Blake, "'The Humour of Children': John Marston's Plays in the Private Theatres", *Review of English Studies*, 38 (1997), 471–82 (478).

⁴⁷ Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642*, 4th edn (Cambridge, 2008), 116.

⁴⁸ As Gurr points out, mockery of exaggerated acting can also be found in *Richard III*, *Hamlet*, and *Troilus and Cressida*. *Shakespearean Stage*, 117–18.

⁴⁹ Gurr, *Shakespearean Stage*, 116.

⁵⁰ Ben Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, ed. Eric Rasmussen and Matthew Steggle, Ben Jonson Online <<https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/works/cynthia/facing/#>> accessed 12 Nov 2022 (2.1.4–5).

one of the lines unique to the *Lingua* manuscript to a dramatic trend apparent in the public playhouses of the first decade of the seventeenth century (aligning too with the timeline suggested by the critique of 20-year-old performative styles). The joke might also turn on a sense of cultural elitism: Sandis notes that college actors likely employed a consciously restrained style in an effort to set themselves apart from the ‘grubby, excessive world of commercial theatre.’⁵¹ This mockery of outmoded theatrical performance extends, however, to other forms of ridicule in the manuscript.

WALES

Most notable about the manuscript’s two unique passages is the mockery of the Welsh introduced into a play that is otherwise unconcerned with Wales.⁵² Although the Welsh were not as frequently caricatured as the Scottish or the Irish,⁵³ there was a rich tradition of representing the Welsh on the late-Elizabethan and Jacobean stage, reflecting what Philip Schwyzer terms ‘the contemporary cult of Cambrophilia.’⁵⁴ Grace Jones has pressed the ‘ambivalent and contradictory’ nature of early modern engagements with Wales, and Marisa R. Cull has highlighted not only the volume of Welsh characters on the early modern stage, but also the variety of their representations; while many portrayals were unflattering or reductive, some characters display admirable or heroic qualities.⁵⁵ Notable dramatic works that employ and recycle the mocking, indulgent, and sometimes dismissive or even derogatory stereotypes with which this article is concerned include George Peele’s *Edward I* (c.1591, pub. 1593); Shakespeare’s *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (c.1597, pub. 1602) and *Henry V* (1599, pub. 1600); the anonymous *Sir John Oldcastle* (1599, pub. 1600); Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton’s *Patient Grissil* (1600, pub. 1603); R. A.’s *The Valiant Welshman* (c.1611, pub. 1615); and Jonson’s *For the Honour of Wales* (1618, pub. 1641). The manuscript of *Lingua* is thus part of the early seventeenth-century dramatic tradition of presenting the national pride with which the Welsh were associated and for which they were often teased, although, as shall be seen, the references may also have further topical political applications.

The first passage is found shortly into 3.1, as Anamnestes enters rifling Memory’s purse, hoping to find valuables (f. 16^v). In the printed text he comes across only bills for money owed, but in the manuscript Anamnestes first discovers a pedigree, which he reads aloud. Using a variation of the Welsh patronymic ‘ap’ (meaning ‘son of’), this genealogical tree traces an ancestry stretching back from a William through the centuries to Brutus, then back through Julius (more commonly known as Ascanius), Aeneas, and Anchises, before finally culminating with the goddess Venus:

what! an old petegree! lets see
 William up harry.
 up John.
 up Richard. whats this in’t margent. up Richard ye first inventor of caseboby, and thlummery
 up Thomas.
 up Griffith.
 up Roberts ye first yt ever playd at dice wth spectacles

⁵¹ Sandis, *Early Modern Drama*, 32.

⁵² Phantastes briefly mentions ‘a Welch frise Jerkin’, amongst references to other European nations’ apparel (sig. F2^r).

⁵³ Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare’s Accents: Voicing Identity in Performance* (Cambridge, 2020), 161.

⁵⁴ Philip Schwyzer, ‘Thirteen Ways of Looking Like a Welshman: Shakespeare and his Contemporaries’, in Willy Maley and Philip Schwyzer (eds), *Shakespeare and Wales: from the Marches to the Assembly* (Farnham, 2010), 21–41 (40). See also Megan S. Lloyd, ‘Speak it in Welsh’: *Wales and the Welsh Language in Shakespeare* (Plymouth, 2007), and Stewart Mottram and Sarah Prescott (eds), *Writing Wales, from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Farnham, 2012).

⁵⁵ Jones, ‘Early Modern Welsh Nationalism and the British History’, in Mottram and Prescott (eds), *Writing Wales*, 21–38 (21); Marisa R. Cull, *Shakespeare’s Princes of Wales: English Identity and the Welsh Connection* (Oxford, 2014), 2–3.

up owen.
 up Loyd.
 up Rice.
 up Gin. ye antienst knight of ye most honorble, and odoriferuse order of liekes. marrie foh
 up Vaughan.
 up Pedwar. yt was an excelent ratcatcher
 up Lewis ye first deviser of dustpoint, and pushpin
 up Roger.
 up hughe whose eares were threescore mile asunder
 up Davie yt had a nose longer then his armes
 up, up, up, up, up, up, up, ups.
 up Cundah.
 up Clamorgan.
 up Ruddocke.
 up Cambor.
 up Brute.
 up Julius, up Æneas. Up Anchises. up Venus, up Venus! ha, ha, ha, ha up Venus! he should have
 sayd up Anchises But downe Venus, here's as much petigree, as will gard a welchmans freeze
 jerkin, and hose—what more stuffe,

This passage initially appears incongruous. The William with whom the pedigree begins is not mentioned elsewhere in either the printed play or in the manuscript play-text; we must of course wonder whether the name might be an internal reference to the William Sambath who once had the manuscript in his possession, or whether the other names could be in-jokes alluding to participants or spectators.⁵⁶ What the passage does suggest, however (along with the interpolated Metheglin speech, discussed below), is that the writer was engaging with a contemporary dramatic trend for parody of the Welsh. The passage collects together familiar elements of the early modern Welsh stock character: an audience would have been accustomed to the use of typically Welsh names, and these standard dramatic associations between Wales and 'caseboby' (a phonetic spelling of *caws pobi*, Welsh rarebit, a dish consisting of toasted bread and cheese),⁵⁷ 'thlummery' (or flummery), leeks, and frieze jerkins.⁵⁸

Similarly, the comically extended ancient Welsh pedigree (including many typical Welsh names) is a feature of several seventeenth-century comedies, including the anonymous *Sir John Oldcastle* (1599, pub. 1600) (sig. A4^r); Thomas Heywood's *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* (c.1606, pub. 1637) (sig. B1^v); William Rowley's *A Match at Midnight* (c.1622, pub. 1633) (sig. G2^r); and Thomas Randolph's *Hey for Honesty* (c.1627, pub. 1651) (sig. D3^r).⁵⁹ Thomas Dekker's *Satiromastix* (1601, pub. 1602) features the knight Sir Vaughan ap Rees (likely a satirical reference to Jonson's Welsh patron Sir John Salusbury).⁶⁰ Commercial drama of the period often mocked the Welsh nostalgia for a distant past and their investment in the idea that they as a people descended from ancient greatness. For example, in Peele's *Edward I* (c.1591, pub. 1593), Lluelien, Prince of Wales, enters wearing a frieze jerkin and outlines his distinguished heritage:

⁵⁶ University plays were performed by and before communities known to each other. Sandis, *Early Modern Drama*, 85.

⁵⁷ See Gillian E. Brennan, 'The Cheese and the Welsh: Foreigners in Elizabethan Literature', *Renaissance Studies*, 8 (1994), 40–64 (53–4).

⁵⁸ Sarah Ann Brown examines stage depictions of the Welsh in 'Welsh Characters in Renaissance Drama', PhD thesis, Texas Tech University, 2000.

⁵⁹ See the proverb, 'As long as a Welsh pedigree', Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1950), 530; Schwyzer, 'Thirteen Ways', 23–5.

⁶⁰ Ben Jonson, *Poetaster*, ed. Tom Cain (Manchester, 1995), 283–4.

Sprong from the loines of great *Cadwallader*,
 Discended from the loines of *Troian Brute*,
 And though the tariterous *Saxons, Normans, Danes*,
 Have spent the true Romans of glorious *Troy*⁶¹

The Welsh had long been noted for (and prided themselves on) their commitment to ‘culturally specific acts of memory’ and celebrations of their own antiquity.⁶² It is humorous that *Lingua*’s pedigree is in the possession of the forgetful Memory, described as ‘an old decrepit man’ who dully and hazily recounts the many events and people he recalls during his long life (sig. D3^v).

While conforming to a general dramatic vogue for humorous extended Welsh pedigrees, the passage seems to have more specific sources, and may even have a topical, more serious, significance. The more general framework of *Lingua*’s pedigree is seemingly indebted, as was much early modern history, to *Historia Regum Britanniae* (c.1136) by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who ‘conjured almost two millennia of ancient British history out of disjointed scraps of Welsh tradition and liberal doses of his own imagination.’⁶³ This broad historical tradition endured: since the reign of Henry VII the Tudors’ illustrious Welsh ancestry was frequently alluded to (though Schwyzer argues that the English response was generally unenthusiastic),⁶⁴ and in 1604, shortly after James I ascended the throne, his bloodline was traced and published under the title, *The Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch, James, by the Grace of God, King of Great Brittainne, &c. with his Lineall Descent from Noah, by Divers Direct Lynes to Brutus, First Inhabiter of this Ile of Brittainne; and from him to Cadwalader, the last King of the Brittish Bloud; and from thence, sundry wayes to his Majesty* (1604).⁶⁵ Compiled by the Welshman Owen Harry (and sanctioned by the king himself), the lengthy piece of propaganda begins with Noah, but goes on to include Anchises, Aeneas, Ascanius, Brutus, Ca[m]ber, Morgan, and Kunedha [Cundah] amongst many others in an effort to establish the new king’s legitimacy through an impeccable British (and specifically Welsh) lineage. The timing of this publication may have coincided with the composition of the manuscript of *Lingua*, which may in turn nod to the political moment, perhaps even satirizing or puncturing the monarch’s claims to unique greatness. While perhaps addressing a renewed interest in inheritance, *Lingua*’s pedigree simultaneously exposes the deficiencies of such a genealogical endeavour and reduces these efforts to a humble level.

This sense of a political charge is intensified by the reference to ‘up Gin. ye antienst knight of ye most honorble, and odoriferuse order of liekes.’ The creation of knights had become a fraught issue in 1603, after the new king attempted to unite his divided nations by fashioning a court that reflected the diversity of his kingdom (thus representing Scotland, Ireland, and Wales), while also establishing ‘a party of Englishmen bound to him by favour.’⁶⁶ Lawrence Stone has noted that the ‘reckless prodigality’ of this huge expansion of honours (and its social implications) was enormously unpopular in England.⁶⁷ It is possible that Gin’s reception into the order of pungent leeks (the Welsh national vegetable) is an irreverent reference to the way in which knighthoods were perceived to have been brought ‘into contempt’ by the king, as the honour was extended to anyone worth above £40 a year.⁶⁸ G. Dyfnallt Owen recounts an incident that occurred in a tavern in Carmarthenshire in January 1604, when a group of Welshmen performed a parody of

⁶¹ George Peele, *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First* (London, 1593), sig. B2^r.

⁶² See Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism, and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge, 2004), 87.

⁶³ Schwyzer, *Literature*, 10.

⁶⁴ Lloyd Bowen, *Early Modern Wales, c. 1536–1689: Ambiguous Nationhood* (Cardiff, 2022), 118–22; Schwyzer, *Literature*, 25.

⁶⁵ George Owen Harry, *The Genealogy of the High and Mighty Monarch, James* (London, 1604).

⁶⁶ Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland, 1603–1608* (Edinburgh, 1986), 15. On further problems of the Union project, see Jenny Wormald, ‘The Creation of Britain: Multiple Kingdoms or Core and Colonies?’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2 (1992), 175–94.

⁶⁷ Stone estimates that 906 new knights were created in the first four months of James’s reign. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641* (Oxford, 1965), 74. See also Galloway, *Union*, 17–18.

⁶⁸ Stone, *Crisis*, 74, 75.

the knighting ceremony: each member of this disorderly group was jokingly knighted which, as David Baker writes, ridiculed 'not only the credentials of their fellow Welshmen but also the right of the new Scottish king to confer such honors within the realm.'⁶⁹ *Lingua's* manuscript might thus be seen to be touching upon a source of widespread discontent; such political resonances also increase the likelihood of *Lingua* being a Jacobean play (or at least a Jacobean revival) rather than Elizabethan.

More specifically, the manuscript's genealogy recalls elements of the early British history outlined in Canto 10 of Book 2 of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596). Given that the printed edition of *Lingua* engages with material in Cantos 9, 11 and 12 of Book 2 of the poem,⁷⁰ it is potentially telling that the manuscript passage seems to echo elements of that book's Canto 10, suggesting that the passage may well be authorial and reflect Tomkis's particular familiarity with or fondness for the later cantos of Book 2. Canto 10 chronicles British Kings, elaborating on early British history in celebration of Queen Elizabeth, who 'surmount[s]' all 'earthly Princes'.⁷¹ Spenser details how Brutus defeated giants to rule Britain, tracing the foundation of Wales ('the Western quart') to Brutus's fictional son, Camber (2.10.14.4); he goes on to outline the bloody feud between Cundah and Morgan, explaining how 'fierce Cundah' overthrew his cousin, who fled to Wales and was killed at the site now known as Glamorgan (2.10.33.2). That these two brothers are referenced in *Lingua's* pedigree but not their immediate ancestry is interesting: the children of Goneril and Regan respectively, Cundah and Morgan were supposedly direct descendants of King Lear, the history of whom was dramatized, first anonymously (c.1589, pub. 1605) and then by Shakespeare (1605–1606, pub. 1608). Memory's pedigree is noticeably incomplete and perhaps part of the joke is its imprecision (Ruddocke is misplaced—according to Spenser, the obscure 'Ruddoc' came much later (2.10.38.3)).

Presenting Venus as the source of the genealogy crafts a Welsh lineage that stretches back to the classical gods, but the inclusion of the only female figure in the pedigree also introduces sexual innuendo. Venus, goddess of love, is situated as Anchises' mother ('Anchises. up Venus') but since she was his lover (and consequently mother of Aeneas), the notion of Anchises 'up' Venus takes on a bawdy suggestiveness.⁷² That Anamnastes laughs and amends this to 'downe Venus'—allusive of a woman's prostrate sexual position (and possibly recalling the erotic manoeuvring of Venus in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593), as Adonis 'on her belly falls, she on her back')—further cements the sexual joke.⁷³ While the printed play does not include this episode, both it and the manuscript elsewhere make two references to the goddess Venus, both pressing her eroticism: in 4.4 Olfactus intends to lay his head on pillows 'Like faire Adonis twixt the paps of Venus' (sig. 11'), and in 4.6 Tactus regrets that he has not been able to present his case for the superiority of touch with actors portraying 'The Queene of pleasure, Venus and her Sonne' (sig. 12^v). Ultimately, the manuscript's embroidered pedigree elides the bloodshed and contested crowns with which Spenser was concerned, along with the labyrinthine complexities of national legend, to construct instead an (almost entirely male) ancestral line that appears inevitable, straightforward, and linear. Partly, the broad humour is derived from the combination of the noble credentials of the distant royal, heroic, mythological, and divine ancestors and the low caricature of contemporary Welshmen, with the likes of Davie, famed for his large nose,

⁶⁹ PRO Star Chamber 8 James I 287/17, quoted in G. Dyfnallt Owen, *Wales in the Reign of James I* (Woodbridge, 1988), 5–6; David J. Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford, CA, 1997), 44–6.

⁷⁰ Morris P. Tilley, 'The Comedy *Lingua* and the *Faerie Queene*', *Modern Language Notes*, 42 (1927), 150–57 (151).

⁷¹ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, rev. edn, ed. A. C. Hamilton, Hiroshi Yamashita, and Toshiyuki Suzuki (London, 2007), 2.10.1.9.

⁷² Gordon Williams, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* (London, 1994), 1458–9.

⁷³ Williams, *Dictionary*, 411; William Shakespeare, 'Venus and Adonis', in Katherine Duncan-Jones and H. R. Woudhuysen (eds), *Shakespeare's Poems* (London, 2007), l. 594.

and Hughe of the big ears.⁷⁴ A venerable lineage is established, humorously set against recent, less elevated achievements, which include inventing staples of Welsh cuisine, devising children's games, and catching vermin. This national inventiveness, however, nods more directly to another source.

Beyond apparently using elements of Spenser's chronicles as inspiration, the episode makes more direct allusion to a passage from Book 1 of François Rabelais's multi-volume prose adventure, *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, first published in France in 1532 as *Les horribles et épouvantables faits et prouesses du très renommé Pantagruel Roi des Dipsodes, fils du Grand Géant Gargantua*. The text was not available in English until Sir Thomas Urquhart's 1653 translation (published in further editions in 1664 and 1694), but Rabelais's influence is nevertheless discernible in a range of earlier English literature, including the printed text of *Lingua* itself.⁷⁵ Rabelais, a writer often condemned as vulgar, obscene, and atheistic, was favoured at elite centres of learning and by intellectuals throughout the seventeenth century, and familiarity with his work became a mark of sophistication, appreciated as it was 'in the interconnected social worlds occupied by courtiers, lawyers, and scholars'.⁷⁶ *Lingua*'s author possessed a knowledge of Rabelais's works: various detailed appropriations of specific moments from *Gargantua and Pantagruel* have been detected by scholars, and Tomkis's other known academic play, *Albumazar the Astronomer* (1615), also exhibits Rabelaisian elements.⁷⁷ Notably, the French author's work is mentioned explicitly in the printed edition of *Lingua*: Mendacio lies that over the course of his 3000-year life, he has aided the literary efforts of Homer, Herodotus, Pliny, Lucian, Stow, and Holinshed, along with having 'rounded Rabalais in the eare when he historified Pantagruell' (sig. D1^r).

The manuscript contains a further, more subtle nod to Rabelais. Early in Book I of *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, a famous genealogy traces the giant Pantagruel's heritage: Rabelais details who begat whom, with ancestors remembered for their obscure or innovative achievements: for example, Etion was 'the first man that ever had the pox'; Cabbara was the 'first inventor of the drinking of healths'; Hapmouche was 'the first that ever invented the drying of neats tongues in the Chimney'.⁷⁸ The list recounts 61 generations of giants, and while the *Lingua* manuscript's pedigree is less than half the length of Rabelais's (perhaps a concession to the audience's patience), it demonstrates a similar interest in commending innovation, such as the creation of the juvenile games dustpoint and pushpin.⁷⁹ One of Rabelais's entries, however, has an almost identical echo in the manuscript's genealogy. The dubious accomplishment of Rabelais's Morguan, 'lequel premier de ce monde joua aux dez avecques ses bezicles', is directly paralleled by the manuscript's Roberts, who was 'ye first yt ever playd at dice wth spectacles'.⁸⁰ Prescott observes that the printed play's Rabelaisian engagements elsewhere offer 'the language of novelty-seeking invention', satirizing 'fatuous confidence in improvement',⁸¹ and this interest is expanded upon in the manuscript. As Nicholas McDowell notes, the length of Rabelais's work and the initial lack of an English translation 'discouraged complete reading', possibly explaining

⁷⁴ The size of Hughe and Davie's facial appendages is likely a bawdy joke since the size of a man's nose, ears, and penis were often believed to be proportionate. Williams, *Dictionary*, 429, 955–6.

⁷⁵ See Huntington Brown, *Rabelais in English Literature* (Paris, 1933); Alan D. McKillop, 'Some Early Traces of Rabelais in English Literature', *Modern Language Notes*, 36 (1921), 469–74; Neil Rhodes, *Elizabethan Grotesque* (London, 1980), 37–9, 42–4, 108–10; Anne Lake Prescott, *Imagining Rabelais in Renaissance England* (New Haven, CT, 1998).

⁷⁶ Nicholas McDowell, 'Wit, Conversation, and Literary Transmission in Mid-Seventeenth-Century France and England: How Andrew Marvell Heard His Rabelais', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 69 (2016), 940–65 (941–2, 946–50); Prescott, *Imagining*, x.

⁷⁷ Brown, *Rabelais*, 94–6; McKillop, 'Some Early Traces', 471–3; Prescott, *Imagining*, 73, 88–9, 138–9.

⁷⁸ François Rabelais, *The First Book of the Works of Mr Francis Rabelais, Doctor in Physick Treating of the Heroick Deeds and Sayings of the Good Pantagruel*, tr. Thomas Urquhart (London, 1653), 5–8.

⁷⁹ See Francis Willughby, *Francis Willughby's Book of Games: A Seventeenth-Century Treatise on Sports, Games and Pastimes*, ed. David Cram, Jeffrey L. Forgeng, and Dorothy Johnston (London, 2016), 259, 276.

⁸⁰ François Rabelais, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Mireille Huchon and François Moureau (Paris, 1994), 220. Urquhart's translation credits Morguan with being 'the first in the world that played at dice with spectacles', *The First Book*, 7.

⁸¹ Prescott, *Imagining*, 139.

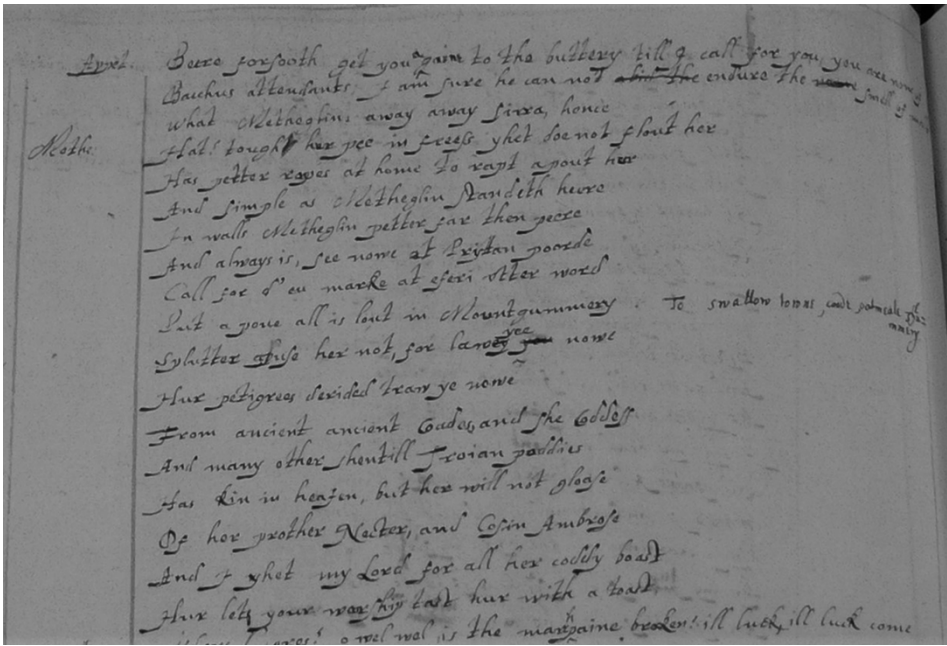


FIG. 2. Metheglin's speech (f. 27 v). Reproduced courtesy of Staffordshire Record Office.

why such an early passage is engaged with here.⁸² The interpolation adapts the original to offer a recognizable but distorted reference to the popular text; nodding to Rabelaisian absurdity, the author of the passage combines it with the contemporary dramatic trend for Welsh satire.

The second passage unique to the manuscript is found in 4.5 and introduces a new character (Fig. 2). Entering the stage in an unelicited attempt to support Gustus (taste) and speaking only once, Metheglin is named for a type of mead mixed from wine, honey, and spices, described by Randall the Welshman in Rowley's *A Match at Midnight* (c.1622, pub. 1633) as 'the wine of Wales'.⁸³ The character's entrance and exit are not given in stage directions, but Metheglin is listed in the manuscript's *Dramatis Personae* amongst Gustus's retinue, after Bacchus, Ceres, and Beere. The character's entrance and speech sit comfortably within a scene in which Gustus attempts to demonstrate the superiority of taste as a sense, having recruited Bacchus, god of wine, and Ceres, goddess of agriculture and grain, to appear in a dumbshow. Both have a purely visual function—Bacchus decked in grapes and vine leaves and Ceres carrying corn and poppies—and neither speak; Appetitus (Gustus's agent) is then irritated when Beere (whose entrance is not indicated in either source and who speaks under the name 'Boy') interrupts, admonishing him: 'get you gone to the buttery [...] you are none of *Bacchus* attendants, I am sure, he cannot indure the smell of Mault' (sig. II^v). The manuscript embellishes this joke (which plays upon culturally and socially reinforced notions of the inferiority of beer to wine),⁸⁴ as Appetitus continues, signalling his literal distaste for Metheglin, who by now is also on stage: 'What Metheglin, away away sirra, hence' (f. 27^v). Ignoring him, the personified Metheglin takes this opportunity to present his own case. When Metheglin speaks, it is in a strong Welsh

⁸² Nicholas McDowell, 'Rabelaisian Comedy and Satire', in Thomas Keymer (ed.), *The Oxford History of the Novel in English: Volume 1: Prose Fiction in English from the Origins of Print to 1750* (Oxford, 2017), 294–309 (297–8).

⁸³ William Rowley, *A Match at Midnight* (London, 1633), sig. D1^v.

⁸⁴ Cedric C. Brown, 'Sons of Beer and Sons of Ben: Drink as a Social Marker in Seventeenth-Century England', in Adam Smyth (ed.), *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 2004), 3–20 (7–8).

dialect, and he adopts many of the linguistic idiosyncrasies and cultural concerns of the stage Welshman:⁸⁵

Hat! tough her pee in freess yhet doe not flout her
 Has petter ropes at home to rapt apout her
 And simple as Metheglin standeth heere
 In walls Metheglin petter far then peere
 And always is, see nowe at Pryttan poorde
 Call for d'eu marke at eferi utter word
 Put a pove all is lovt in Mountgummery [To swallow towne, coode oatmeale Thlummery]⁸⁶
 Splutter apuse her not, for law yee nowe
 Hur petigreess decided traw ye nowe
 From ancient ancient Coades, and she Coddess
 And many other shentill Trojan poddies
 Has kin in heafen, but her will not gloase
 Of her prother Necter, and Cosin Ambrose
 And I yhet my Lord for all her coddly boast
 Hur lets your worship tast hur with a toast⁸⁷ (f. 27^v)

Once Metheglin concludes, Appetitus resumes his speech and the character is effectively dismissed as the banquet is brought in.

Metheglin's dialect employs common elements of stage Welsh-English: pronouns are muddled so that 'her' is used in place of 'he' and 'him', and plosive consonants are swapped—p's and b's are substituted, as are t's and d's and c's and g's.⁸⁸ Such features are consistent with depictions of the Welsh on the stage in the early seventeenth century. A similar dialect and patriotic sentiment can be found in the characters of Fluellen in Shakespeare's *Henry V* (1599, pub. 1600) and Tavi in the Cambridge play *Club Law* (c.1600), in R. A.'s *The Valiant Welshman* (c.1611, pub. 1615), and in Jonson's masque *For the Honour of Wales* (1618, pub. 1641).⁸⁹ The masque's song begins with the promise that,

I's not come here to tauk of Brut,
 From whence the Welse does take his root,
 Nor tell long pedigree of Prince Camber,
 Whose lineage would fill aull this chamber (ll. 175–8)

Jonson's singers then boast of the superiority of Welsh mutton over English, before turning to the advantages of Welsh beverages:

⁸⁵ *Lingua's* only other character to speak in dialect is Tobacco, King of Trinidad, who communicates in a nonsense language (signs H4r–v).

⁸⁶ Hand B has inserted this line, adjacent to the previous line.

⁸⁷ An Anglicized translation of Metheglin's speech: Hat! Tough her be in frieze yet do not flout her | Has better robes at home to wrap about her | And simple as Metheglin standeth here | In Wales Metheglin better far than beer | And always is, see nowe at Britain's board | Call for d'eu, mark at every other word | But above all is loved in Montgomery, | To swallow down, good oatmeal flummery | Splutter abuse her not, for Lord ye know | Her pedigree's decided true ye know | From ancient ancient Gods, and she Goddess | And many other gentle Trojan bodies | Has kin in Heaven, but her will not [dis]close | Of her brother Nectar, and Cousin Ambrose | And I yet my Lord for all her godly boast | Her lets your worship taste her with a toast.

⁸⁸ On the roots of such linguistic confusion, see Glanmor Williams, *Renewal and Reformation: Wales, c. 1415–1642* (Oxford, 1987), 465; and Lloyd, 'Speak it in Welsh', 130.

⁸⁹ Anon., *Club Law, A Comedy: Acted in Clare Hall, Cambridge, About 1599–1600*, ed. G. C. Moore Smith (Cambridge, 1907); R. A., *The Valiant Welshman; or, The True Chronicle History of the Life and Valiant Deedes of Caradoc the Great, King of Cambria, Now Called Wales* (London, 1615), signs B1^v–B2^v; Ben Jonson, *For the Honour of Wales*, ed. Martin Butler, Ben Jonson Online <<https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/works/wales/facing/#>> accessed 12 November 2022.

But aull this while was never think
 A word in praise of our Welse drinke;
 Yet for aull that is a cup of bragget,
 All England s'eere, may cast his cab at.
 And what you say to Ale of Webley,
 Toudge him as well, you'll praise him trebly,
 As well as metheglin, or cider, or meath,
 S'all s'ake it your dagger quite out o'the seath. (ll. 215–22)

Serving a purely allegorical function, *Lingua*'s Metheglin is enriched by little of what Sonia Massai identifies as the 'complex and nuanced' use of Welsh dialect in some contemporary drama.⁹⁰ This heavily accented Welsh idiom is implemented for humorous purposes and, as in the earlier passage, various familiar stereotypes of Welsh cultural identity are employed. Dressed (according to his speech) in coarse frieze material, Metheglin embodies an unsophisticated rusticity; the Welsh love of flummery is referenced;⁹¹ and, again, an illustrious genealogy descending from classical gods is outlined, the rough dialect and supposedly uncivilized traits comically at odds with the claims of legendary heritage. The passage's positive comparison between Welsh metheglin and the drinks of the gods may also echo a description in Holinshed's *Chronicles*: 'the welchmen make no lesse accompt [of metheglin], then the Greekes did of theyr *Ambrosia*, or *Nectar*, which for the pleasantnesse thereof, was supposed to bee such as the goddesse themselves did use.'⁹²

That neither passage has any crucial dramatic or narrative function and does not further the play's plot is not unusual; Megan S. Lloyd suggests that early modern playwrights often included dramatically superfluous Welsh characters because they made 'good theater' and were popular with audiences.⁹³ It is also uncertain whether such targeted satirical intent indicates or precludes the involvement of the Welsh, either in an authorial, performative, or spectatorial capacity. Certainly, Metheglin's almost incomprehensible speech is not especially complimentary about Welsh articulation in a play that presses the power of language. Some form of Welsh participation may, however, explain the passages' inclusion—for example, the Inns of Court had a strong Welsh presence in the period—and other academic environments (notably Jesus College, Oxford) fostered similar communities.⁹⁴

We might also, finally, consider possible family connections to Wales, or at least to border regions that shared an interest in Welsh culture and language. The Bridgemans did not become established as part of the Shropshire rural gentry until the mid-seventeenth century, and a firm link to Wales was later cemented in 1694, when Sir John, third baronet (1667–1747), married Ursula Mathewes of Llanyblodwel, Shropshire, a parish on the Welsh border. Some of Ursula's family's papers survive in the Bridgeman archive, notably the commonplace book of her brother Robert (c.1671–1690), which includes a copy of Katherine Philips's poem 'On the Welch Language'.⁹⁵ If there were a private regional connection to the manuscript, it is possible that it came into the possession of the Bridgemans through the Mathewes family.

⁹⁰ Massai, *Shakespeare's Accents*, 168.

⁹¹ Both passages mention flummery (spelt 'thlummery'), an oatmeal associated with Welsh cooking. The first recorded use of the word in both *OED* and *EEBO* is from 1623 but this does not mean that the word did not have a currency in spoken contexts before this date.

⁹² Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London, 1577), 96.

⁹³ Lloyd, 'Speak it in Welsh', 130.

⁹⁴ Sue Niebrzydowski, "'Ye know eek that in forme of speche is change': Chaucer, Henryson, and the Welsh Troelus a Chresyd', *Medieval English Theatre: The Best Part of our Play. Essays Presented to John J. McGavin. Part II*, 38 (2017), 38–56 (51); Stephen Porter, 'University and Society', in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *The History of the University of Oxford, Volume IV: Seventeenth-Century Oxford* (Oxford, 1997), 25–103 (60).

⁹⁵ See Challinor, 'A New Manuscript'.

Another route by which the manuscript might plausibly have reached the family, as mentioned above, is through networks in Chester (through John Bridgeman, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, or a Sandbach) or Shrewsbury (through the Tomkys family)—both border towns that might be considered bilingual and which had a strong association with Wales, functioning as ‘Welsh urban center[s]’.⁹⁶ Despite the contemporary stage popularity of engagements with Wales, such geographical links might explain the manuscript’s very particular interest in Welsh elements. Shrewsbury in particular had a strong dramatic tradition of both civic productions and drama performed by the boys at Shrewsbury School.⁹⁷ As Alho, Mäkilähde, and Sandis have shown, discernible connections existed between the dramatic activities of universities and schools, demonstrating an ‘interest in reviving earlier productions from other institutions.’⁹⁸ It is therefore conceivable that this manuscript of *Lingua* found its way into a school environment (as the 1657 title page claims), but in a region close to the Welsh borders.

One final possibility, given the variants’ geographical specificity, is that the play may have been adapted—with its particular attentiveness to Welsh dialect and custom—for a coterie performance within a household setting, perhaps before a gentry family in Shropshire or Chester.⁹⁹ Such drama was ‘meticulously planned and precisely stage-managed’, including musicians, visual display, and spectacle, and might be offered to a patron or performed to celebrate a particular occasion.¹⁰⁰ Although fuller consideration is beyond the scope of this article, nothing in the manuscript of *Lingua* requires us to dismiss the possibility that the manuscript represents a document of a more private form of entertainment. Ultimately, whether intended for use in a university, school, or even household setting, the peculiarly local preoccupations of the manuscript’s new passages must invite us to consider whether the interest in conceptions of Welshness extended beyond what was modish on the London stages.

CONCLUSION

One major question is, of course, the authority of the variants. Since the two unique manuscript passages are consistent in their focus on the Welsh, it seems probable that they were composed by the same person. This article has suggested that the two substantial new passages make use of identifiable sources that include Holinshed, Rabelais, and Spenser, all of which underlines the richness and vigour of the play’s intellectual and creative engagements. These writers’ works are all alluded to elsewhere in *Lingua* and, I believe, point to Tomkis as author of the two Welsh-focused sections. The manuscript’s inclusion of several fuller stage and musical directions further suggests the author’s involvement; as Long has argued, ‘if a stage direction exists in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century play text [...] it is most likely a playwright’s.’¹⁰¹ Certainly, as Tiffany Stern has established, manuscript variants do not necessarily indicate non-authorial intervention: ‘two variant playscripts [...] will be generally unlike each other in minutiae, even when more than one of them is authorially written’, since in the process

⁹⁶ See Marion Löffler, ‘Here in Britain’: William Fleetwood, His Welsh Translators, and Anglo-Welsh Networks before 1717’, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 84 (2021), 825–52 (849).

⁹⁷ J. Alan B. Somerset (ed.), *Records of Early English Drama: Shropshire*, vol. 2 (Toronto, 1994), 378–80. Records survive showing that drama was frequently performed at Shrewsbury School in the 1560s under the headmaster Thomas Ashton. J. A. B. Somerset, ‘Local Drama and Playing Places at Shrewsbury: New Findings from the Borough Records’, *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 2 (1985), 1–31 (2, 26–7).

⁹⁸ Tommi Alho, Aleks Mäkilähde, and Elizabeth Sandis, ‘Grammar War Plays in Early Modern England: from Entertainment to Pedagogy’, *Renaissance Drama*, 48 (2020), 235–71 (238).

⁹⁹ The Records of Early English Drama, ‘Patrons & Performances’ Database Records Known Performances, Venues, and Patrons <<https://library2.utoronto.ca/otra/reed/>> accessed 12 Nov 2022.

¹⁰⁰ Suzanne Westfall, ‘“What revels are in hand?” Performances in the Great Households’, in Arthur F. Kinney and Thomas Warren Hopper (eds), *A New Companion to Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 2017), 322–36 (324). See also Suzanne R. Westfall, *Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels* (Oxford, 1990), and ‘“He who pays”’, 263–79.

¹⁰¹ Long, ‘“Precious Few”’, 417.

of copying, a text is necessarily altered in an array of minor ways, such as in spelling, punctuation, synonyms and the use of plurals.¹⁰² While the occasional mistakes in the setting of verse as prose and vice versa (as well as some of the textual errors outlined above) suggest that the play's author was not the main scribe, it is more likely that Hand B is authorial. Contributing only a short passage to conclude a page (f. 6^v), Hand B (distinctive by its Greek e's and ink) can occasionally be seen to correct spelling and other minor errors, most notably supplying the missing line of a couplet in Metheglin's speech (with the unusual spelling of 'Mountgummery' manipulated in anticipation of its rhyme with 'Thlummery').¹⁰³ Such apparent scrupulousness may suggest that these amendments were made by Tomkis himself, and that he oversaw the production of the manuscript.

It is impossible to say whether the two sections were ever performed—as Stern usefully reminds us, '[t]he written play presented is never the script of the performed play, but a different text, neither fully a predictor nor fully a reflection of the staged performance'.¹⁰⁴ It is also possible that the manuscript represents a modified copy of *Lingua*, reworked at a later date, since 'plays regularly received "new additions" for revival'.¹⁰⁵ The two Welsh episodes may initially seem more indebted to popular dramatic trends than to those of cerebral, often moral university drama which so often had a pedagogical purpose but, as Martin Butler notes, intellectually rigorous academic plays could be 'popular in style' without ever being 'populist'.¹⁰⁶ While much scholarship has urged a distinction between commercial and academic drama—particularly given the universities' 'vilification of the professional stage' and its perceived immorality¹⁰⁷—critics have also begun to recognize that such a demarcation is not as clear cut as has sometimes been accepted. As Lynn Enterline argues, 'the pervasive critical tendency to separate "popular" drama so decisively from academic [...] produces anachronistic and misleading accounts of literary production', all of which demand further investigation.¹⁰⁸ As the manuscript of *Lingua* demonstrates so much more forcibly than does the printed edition, academic drama was distinctly aware of the popular impulses of the London theatres, seeking to reference, emulate, and satirize such trends within—but perhaps also outside of—college walls.

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¹⁰² Stern, *Documents*, 241. Stern also quotes E. A. J. Honigmann, 'The New Bibliography and its Critics', in Lucas Erne and M. J. Kidnie (eds), *Textual Performances: The Modern Reproduction of Shakespeare's Drama* (Cambridge, 2004), 77–93 (84).

¹⁰³ Montgomery, a town in the Welsh Marches, is more likely a convenient rhyme word than it is a clue to the manuscript's origins, although it is only around 20 miles from both Llanyblodwel and Shrewsbury.

¹⁰⁴ Stern, *Documents*, 251.

¹⁰⁵ Stern, *Documents*, 235.

¹⁰⁶ Martin Butler, 'Private and Occasional Drama', in A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge, 2003), 131–63 (154). On the educational functions of academic drama see Sandis, *Early Modern Drama*, 24–5.

¹⁰⁷ Sandis, *Early Modern Drama*, 31. Robert S. Knapp argues that '[a]cademic drama had by the late sixteenth century become forcefully distinguished' from commercial theatre, and Christopher Marlow identifies an 'elitist seclusion' within 'institutions withdrawn from the mainstream of English drama'. Knapp, 'The Academic Drama', in Arthur F. Kinney (ed.), *A Companion to Renaissance Drama* (Oxford, 2002), 257–65 (258); Marlow, *Performing Masculinity*, 2.

¹⁰⁸ Lynn Enterline, 'Drama, Pedagogy, and the Female Complaint: or, What's Troy Got To Do With It?', in Elisabeth Dutton and James McBain (eds), *Drama and Pedagogy in Medieval and Early Modern England* (Tübingen, 2015), 185–210 (186). See also Sutton, 'Cambridge Drama'.