

CHAPTER 18

Illustrating Golden-Age Spanish Drama

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The theatre texts of the Spanish Golden Age were published either in volumes consisting of the work of one or several authors, as individual plays (*sueeltas*) or playlets, or as fragments. There was a diverse array of dramatic works printed during this period, including plays, which formed the core of the theatre at the time, as well as playlets, which were staged along with them. Among these playlets were the prologue, which inaugurated the theatrical festival¹, and the interludes, dances and comic ballads inserted between acts, or at the end of the last act.² From the end of the seventeenth century, and through the eighteenth, the publishing industry also promoted single printed items, often fragments of a play, such as a monologue. These short items were particularly successful – probably a consequence of the ban on performing comedies in the city of Seville between 1679 and 1767 which was enforced in spite of a voracious public appetite for the theatre.³ In addition, with the aim of accessing well-known dramatic fragments in *tertulias* and private academies, the so-called *relaciones de comedias*, also known as *coloquios*, *letras* or *pasillos*, also came to be printed.⁴

¹ During the 17th century theatrical festivals were celebrated in public and private theatres held in different Spanish cities. Those festivals, executed by professional theatre companies, have a fixed structure composed by prologue, first act, interlude or comic ballad, second act, interlude or comic ballad, third act, final dance.

² On the publishing system of the theatre from the incunables to Calderón, see Don Cruickshank, ‘Calderón y el comercio español del libro’, in Kurt & Roswitha Reichenberger (eds), *Manual bibliográfico calderoniano*, (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1981), pp. 9–15; and Germán Vega García-Luengos, ‘La transmisión del teatro en el siglo XVII’, in J. Huerta Calvo (dir.), *Historia del teatro español* (Madrid: Gredos, 2003), pp. 1298–1320, and his ‘La investigación sobre los formatos del teatro español del siglo XVII en la imprenta’, *Bibliologia*, 4 (2009), 21–45.

³ Rafael González Cañal, *Las relaciones de comedias de Rojas Zorrilla* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2014), p. 2.

⁴ Vega García-Luengos, ‘La investigación’, p. 44.

Analysis of these theatrical texts published during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveals an iconographic system which consisted almost exclusively of ornate capitals, printers' devices or typographical ornaments of a structural nature, such as the borders, friezes and garlands which head some editions, baskets of flowers employed on the title-pages, plant motifs located at the end of the acts, hands to indicate the beginning of the act, or ivy leaves which separate the names of the characters.⁵ Far rarer indeed were illustrations - images linked in some way to the actual content of the text. Such images, which will form the focus of this chapter, generally consisted of prototypical illustrations which could be reused in different prints and which were linked to the typical characters of comedies, the subject of the play or the characters of the fragment. However, there were also other, arguably more interesting illustrations which printers commissioned directly in order to illustrate a particular text. Some examples of these can also be identified and explored.

Prototypical illustrations of *partes de comedias* and *relaciones de comedias*

During the initial phase of the publication of theatre texts in Spain, volumes entitled *Doce comedias famosas de cuatro poetas valencianos* (1609) and *Norte de la poesía española* (1616) were published in Valencia. They contain twelve plays by Valencian playwrights who contributed, as Vega García-Luengos pointed out, to the city's theatre boom.⁶

These volumes consist of a title page, a series of legal preliminaries, followed by the twelve plays. In addition to the ornamental elements found on the title page, the illustrations on the first page of each play, immediately below the title and the author's name, and before the list of *dramatis personae*, are worthy of note. They consist of a series of illustrations of

⁵For the typology of elements constituting the decorative graphic system in the printing industry, I have followed José Manuel Pedraza Gracia, 'La estructura material del libro antiguo', in J. M. Pedraza, Y. Clemente & F. de los Reyes (eds.), *El libro antiguo* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2003), p. 191.

⁶Vega García-Luengos, 'La investigación', p. 35.

typical characters linked with the participants of Golden-Age plays (for example, a lady, a knight or an elderly person), which were not created *ad hoc* for each edition. Rather, the publisher in question would have had access to a set of woodblock figures which could be used and reused on different occasions, given that they were suitable for different texts. Good examples of this practice include the illustrations seen on the title pages of Carlos Boyl's *El marido asegurado* and Francisco de Tárrega's *El cerco de Pavía*, both published in the 1616 volume.

Figure 1: Woodcut illustration of two ladies and two knights, main characters of the play, taken from *Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1616, Carlos Boyl's, *El marido asignado*, titlepage. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Bavarian State Library, 1056709 4 P.o.hisp. 51. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/c3S3zU> (USTC 5038230)

Figure 2: Woodcut illustration of two knights, a lady and a king, main characters of the play, taken from *Norte de la poesía española*, Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1616, Tárrega's, *El cerco de Pavía y prisión de Francia*, titlepage. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek – Bavarian State Library, 1056709 4 P.o.hisp. 51. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/c3S3zU> (USTC 5038230)

Such graphical elements date back to the previous century.⁷ Indeed, the tradition originated in the 1530s, when these kinds of woodblocks of figures, or *babuines*, began to be used for theatre chapbooks, such as those employed in the *Églogas pastoriles* by Juan de Paris or Pedro de Salazar, or in the farces and plays of Alonso de Pedraza and Bartolomé Palau.⁸

⁷ See Vega García-Luengos, 'La investigación', p. 35.

⁸ Mercedes Fernández-Valladares, 'Biblioiconografía y literatura popular impresa: la ilustración de los pliegos sueltos burgaleses (o de babuines y estampas celestinescas)', *eHumanista: Journal of Iberian Studies*, 21 (2012), p. 105.

However, this tradition ended with the editions of the Valencian authors, as no other examples of theatrical publications with illustrations can be found until the eighteenth century. In this regard, some authors have pointed out that the seventeenth-century publications' lack of illustrations is related to the institutionalisation of the theatrical genre in print as a clearly defined area with regard to the scene, a circumstance which, however, did not arise in Renaissance theatre.⁹

If we go forward to the eighteenth century, it is common to find illustrations of figures similar to those mentioned in the chapbooks and, particularly, in the *relaciones de comedias*, a genre in which it is relatively easy to find examples of reuse. In this regard, we can mention the example of a *relación de mujer* from Juan Bautista Diamante's *La Magdalena de Roma Santa Engracia*, compared with the *relación de comedia* from Juan Pérez de Montalbán's *Los amantes de Teruel*, both of which came from the printing press of Agustín Laborda in Valencia.

Figure 3: Woodcut illustration of a lady and a knight, main characters of the play, taken from Juan Bautista Diamante, *La Magdalena de Roma Santa Engracia*, Valencia: Agustín Laborda, s.d., titlepage. British Library, item no. T28 in volume T.1953. Digitised by Cambridge Digital Library: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-T-01953-00028/1>

Figure 4: Woodcut illustration of a lady and a knight, main characters of the play, taken from Juan Pérez de Montalbán, *Los amantes de Teruel*, Valencia: Agustín Laborda, s.d. British Library, item no. T41 in volume T.1953. Digitised by Cambridge Digital Library: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-T-01953-00041/1>

⁹ Javier San José Lera, 'Teatro y texto en el primer renacimiento español. Del teatro al manuscrito e impreso', *Studia Aurea*, 7 (2013), 328.

However, there is no trace of the use of illustrations of this type in other theatre texts of the period, for example in single printed plays (*sueltas*). This was in large part the result of the low quality of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *sueltas*. The printers chose to save costs both in the quantity and quality of the paper they used. This led them to eliminate all types of ornaments which did not form part of their everyday fonts. There are very few exceptions to this rule and, therefore, very few theatre texts have been located with images created *ad hoc* for the text which they accompany.

Illustrations for a Collection of Interludes: the Publishing Project of Mateo Barceló (1779)

Of great importance, as far as illustration is concerned, are two publishing projects which belong to the final decades of the eighteenth century in Barcelona and Córdoba. The first was the work of Mateo Barceló, a Barcelona printer who was active in publishing between 1775 and 1794.¹⁰ Although he primarily printed medical and historical texts, he also had an interest in the theatre. He tried his luck, first of all, with *comedias sueltas* in quarto, a genre with which he apparently did not achieve much success; as far as we can tell, he only printed five. The first two, with serial numbers 1 and 2, are texts composed in the seventeenth century - Antonio Coello, Francisco de Rojas and Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El catalán Serrallonga*, and Carlos de Arellano's *El socorro de los mantos*.¹¹ Following their colophons, these were printed and sold in his workshop in the Calle del Estruch, although the dates when they were

¹⁰In 1775 Barceló, in collaboration with the printers Carlos Saperá y Raimundo Martí, started to publish *La Coronica de Cataluña que contiene sus primeros pobladores, naciones diversas que le imbadieron en diversos tiempos, reyes y condes que le gobernaron* (Barcelona: Raymundo Martí / Carlos Saperá y Mateo Barceló, 1775–1777); Xavier Espluga, A. Guzmán, M. Mayer, 'L'epigrafia a la *Corònica* de Jeroni Pujades (1569–1635)', *Història i Llegendes al Renaixement. Actes del IV Col·loqui Internacional Problemes i Mètodes de Literatura Catalana Antiga* (Girona: Universitat de Girona, Diputació de Girona (= Estudi General, 23–24), 2003), p. 267. In 1794 he printed *De analogia inter scorbutum et quasdam febres tentamen / auctore doctore Francisco Salvà* (CCPB000403991–2).

¹¹Biblioteca Nacional de España T/2667 and T/12819.

published are unknown. Later, he seems to have moved to new premises in the Puerta del Ángel, just two hundred metres away, from where he published his third and fourth *sueeltas*, of which we have knowledge only of *La doncella incansable*, written in the eighteenth century by Antonio Francisco de Tudo y de Peaguda, and which has the serial number 2, leading us to believe that there was a previous *suelta* numbered 1.¹² To these must be added a fifth *suelta*, with no serial number, entitled *El monstruo de Cataluña*, by Fray Juan Guarín - financed by the bookseller Juan Cerqueda.¹³

In spite of his efforts, Barceló does not appear to have accumulated a great fortune with these products, perhaps because several printers in Barcelona were printing plays in this period. In 1779, therefore, he began, and completed in just one year, a series of *entremeses* in octavo. Not all are dated, but at least numbers 1 and 41 are dated 1779. These offered a broad range of theatre pieces by famous Baroque authors such as Calderón de la Barca, Moreto and Sebastián de Villaviciosa, and by playwrights from the beginning of the eighteenth century, such as Francisco de Castro and Antonio de Zamora. All of these works have serial numbers, with the highest displaying 41.¹⁴ The *Sainete nuevo de Juanito y Juanita*, a 1761 translation by Don Ramón de la Cruz from the French text *George et Georgette*, carries the number 1, which is also found in the interlude *El informe sin forma*, perhaps in error. Possibly one of the two should be numbered 10 instead of 1, given that this is a very careful collection where it was not usual to repeat numbers, as occurred in other eighteenth-century Spanish theatre collections.¹⁵

Given that the interlude was a brief genre which enjoyed enormous success in the eighteenth century, the printer was obliged to find a way to ensure his sales and, taking advantage of the development of illustration in Barcelona at that time, he printed each

¹²Biblioteca Nacional de España T/7012.

¹³Noted in the colophon. Biblioteca Nacional de España R.MICRO/38167.

¹⁴ See the appendix to this chapter.

¹⁵For the location of copies of editions, see the final table of interludes.

interlude accompanied by a black-and-white illustration created specifically for the piece by an unnamed artist. None of the illustrations is accompanied by a signature or an anagram, as in other examples.¹⁶ The inclusion of illustrations in these editions probably helped the printer and seller to publicise the book as an object and to endow it with an aesthetic value and an identity which the buyer would unequivocally associate with the workshop of Mateo Barceló.¹⁷ On the other hand, the illustrations could have had a merely explanatory and illustrative function, as the images accompany the text and show what happens in it, helping the reader to identify the characters or the way in which the different scenes develop to form the plot, although their presence is not necessary in order to understand the text.¹⁸ From a modern perspective,¹⁶ these illustrations offer an extraordinary source for the study of different elements which form part of the history and culture of the eighteenth century, such as changing tastes in the fashion for clothes. Worthy of note in this regard is the eighteenth-century three-cornered hat worn by the characters depicted in certain illustrations, such as that of *Las conclusiones*.

Figure 5: Woodcut illustration of the play main characters, taken from *Las conclusiones*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (27. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/HKn8zV>

¹⁶It was usual for engravings to be considered as mere ornament, so the artist was rarely credited – see Blanca García Vega, *El grabado del libro español, siglos XV-XVI-XVII (Aportación a su estudio con los fondos de las bibliotecas de Valladolid)* (Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, Diputación Provincial de Valladolid, 1984), p. 83.

¹⁷ In relation to the function of illustration in early printed books, see María Mercedes Rodríguez Temperley, ‘Ecdótica e iconografía: reflexiones sobre el arte de editar textos con imágenes’, *Olivar: Revista de literatura y cultura españolas*, 22 (2014), unpag.

¹⁸Classification follows that offered by Ana Martínez Pereira, ‘La ilustración impresa’, in V. Infantes, F. López & J. F. Botrel (eds.), *Historia de la edición y de la lectura en España (1472-1914)* (Madrid: Fundación Germán Sánchez Ruipérez, 2003), pp. 50–65. For illustration functions see María del Carmen Agustín Lacruz, ‘El análisis documental de contenido de las ilustraciones del libro antiguo’, in M. J. Pedraza Gracia (ed.), *Comercio y tasación del libro antiguo: análisis, identificación y descripción (Textos y materiales)* (Zaragoza: Prensas Universitarias de Zaragoza, 2003), pp. 81–116.

Whatever the intention of the printer in including these illustrations, Barceló located them on the title page under the serial number and before the name of the author and the title. They can therefore be considered a prime element of a visual nature, which was received by the reader, and which most probably had an influence upon her/his process of reception and may have oriented her/his reading by restricting part of the text's meaning.¹⁹ We can take the title-page of *La fantasma* as an example.

Figure 6: Woodcut illustration of the play main characters, taken from *La fantasma*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (39. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/KBUL8y>

In addition to their position, it is important to note the size of the illustrations in respect to the page – they occupy more than a third of it. All the illustrations measure 67mm wide by 53mm deep on a page 146mm deep. This use of space sometimes obliged the printer to modify the size of the types in the middle of the play, or even to reduce the colophon so that the text did not occupy more than half a sheet or, at the most, the eight leaves of a whole sheet. For example, in the *Primera parte del entremés del órgano y el mágico* there is a reduction in the size of the font between pages 14 and 15 in order to make it possible to fit the text on eight leaves.

Figure 7: Woodcut illustration of the play main characters, taken from *Primera parte del entremés del órgano y el mágico*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca

¹⁹ Pierre Civil, 'Libro y poder real. Sobre algunos frontispicios de la primera mitad del siglo XVII', *El Libro Antiguo Española, V. El escrito en el Siglo de Oro. Práctica y representaciones* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1999), p. 70.

Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (35. Digitised by Google Books:

<https://goo.gl/mHXVSd>

Figure 8: Example of size types modification in the middle of the play, taken from

***Primera parte del entremés del órgano y el mágico*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, page**

14. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (35. Digitised by Google

Books: <https://goo.gl/mHXVSd>

Figure 9: Example of size types modification in the middle of the play, taken from

***Primera parte del entremés del órgano y el mágico*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, page**

15. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (35. Digitised by Google

Books: <https://goo.gl/mHXVSd>

We do not know how the process of designing and crafting the illustrations offered in the interludes of Mateo Barceló was carried out, but there seems to be no doubt that the artist was obliged to read the texts before producing the illustrations. Each one depicts a specific scene of the playlet, including all *El cuero* or some of the characters – most commonly the principal character *La ladrona*. This could coincide with the first scene, as is the case with the interlude entitled *El médico sordo*, where all the characters (the doctor and the neighbour) appear in the illustration.

Figure 10: Woodcut illustration of a doctor and a neighbour, main characters of the

play, taken from *El médico sordo*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca

de Catalunya, 6-V-24/22. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/N7JUF2>

It is also possible to find examples in which the illustration corresponds to a scene from the middle of the play, as is the case with *Los cuatro galanes*, in which a scene is depicted where Lorenzo is waiting for the four men with his sword.

Figure 11: Woodcut illustration of Lorenzo, main character of the play, taken from *Los cuatro galanes*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (28. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/oAi129>

Lastly, we can identify a third group in which the illustration represent the final scene, as is the case with the interlude entitled *La fantasma*, depicting all the characters in the play coming together at the end of the interlude after the entrance of the two devils.

Figure 12: Woodcut illustration of the play main characters, taken from *La fantasma*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (39. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/UTHN1b>

There is, however, an exception to this general rule in the interlude *Las naciones*, which narrates the imaginary travels of Manuela and Escamilla²⁰, a husband and wife, on a stick. The artist seems not to have paid too much attention to the content as the two people who appear in the illustration are men, whereas the characters in the play are a man and a woman.

²⁰ The interlude entitled *Las naciones* was performed for the first time in December 1679 in Madrid to celebrate the Spanish queen's, María Luisa de Orleáns, birthday. It was played by the Antonio de Escamilla theatre company, who was also a famous *gracioso* (funny character) within the context of the Spanish Golden Age theatre. According to the news, he worked between 1645 and 1690. Manuela de Escamilla was his daughter; she was born in 1645 and started to act at the age of seven in her father's company; she worked until 1721 when she died at the age in seven two. See Teresa Ferrer (dir.), *Diccionario biográfico de actores del teatro clásico español (DICAT)*. Edición digital (Kassel: Reichenberger, 2008), unpag.; s.v. Antonio de Escamilla; s.v. Manuela de Escamilla.

Another interesting example in the set of interludes printed by Mateo Barceló is that entitled *El retrato de Juan Rana* by Sebastián de Villaviciosa.

Figure 13: Woodcut illustration of the play main characters, taken from *El retrato de Juan Rana*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (30. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/7jgXCy>

Juan Rana, or Cosme Pérez, was a comic actor of the seventeenth century who achieved enormous success in the period. In the Royal Spanish Academy, there hangs a portrait which some critics have identified as the mask of Juan Rana, that is, of the character, not of the actor, which was possibly painted in the 1650s or 1660s, and may have inspired not only Villaviciosa's interlude but also one by Antonio Solís with the same title, as well as another by Agustín Moreto entitled *El retrato vivo*.²¹ Other later studies have rejected the possibility that it is a portrait of the actor due to the physical characteristics of the subject, which do not coincide with those of Juan Rana, and to the clothes depicted in the portrait, which appear to date from 1680 or 1690.²² Whatever the truth may be, it is important to note the fact that the Juan Rana depicted in the illustration made for Mateo Barceló's edition of the interlude has nothing in common with the hunchbacked, short and fat character of the seventeenth-century portrait, which is the only known surviving image of the actor. The same can be said regarding the illustration of *El desafío de Juan Rana*.

²¹ Hannah Bergman, 'Juan Rana se retrata', *Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino. Estudios de erudición que le ofrecen sus amigos o discípulos hispanistas norteamericanos*, ed. Homer J. Herriott, 2 vols (Madrid: Castalia, 1966), I, pp. 72–73.

²² Alicia Álvarez Sellers, *Del texto a la iconografía: aproximación al documento teatral del siglo XVII* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2007) and Tania de Miguel Magro, 'El aspecto físico de Cosme Pérez', *Anagnórisis. Revista de investigación teatral*, 16 (2017), pp. 325–356.

Figure 14: Woodcut illustration of the play main characters, taken from *El desafío de Juan Rana*, Barcelona: Mateo Barceló, 1779, titlepage. Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (25. Digitised by Google Books: <https://goo.gl/3ja4XD>)

Illustrations for a collection of Interludes: the publishing project of Félix Casas y Martínez (1788)

While the illustrations of Mateo Barceló are original, and it was he who commissioned them to illustrate the editions of his interludes and used them for the first time in the last decade of the century, there was another publishing project, in the city of Málaga, which appropriated some of Barceló's editions and illustrations and reprinted some of the interludes, copying their designs and reusing, most probably in a fraudulent manner, the original illustrations. In this case, however, the serial number of each interlude was changed. The printer behind this work was Félix de Casas y Martínez, whose workshop was located, according to the information supplied in the colophons, opposite the Cristo de la Santa Salud church. In this case, the highest number located to date is 34, of which number 5 was published in 1788 and number 26 (the last one dated of those found) in 1790.²³ In other words, the set went on sale very close to the time of Mateo Barceló's project, meaning that the editions of both printers must have coexisted in the Spanish publishing market of the time.

According to the information currently at our disposal, there are thirteen interludes printed by Casas y Martínez which coincide with those which came off the presses of Barceló: *El soldadillo*, *Los porfiados*, *La campanilla*, *Los pajes golosos*, *Los buñuelos*, *Las conclusiones*, *Los cuatro galanes*, *La manta*, *Zancajo y Chinela*, *Los sacristanes burlados*, *Los gigantones*, *La guitarra* and *El hambriento*. Casas y Martínez reused Barceló's edition and the illustration

²³ See the annexed table at the end of the chapter.

in twelve of the thirteen cases. He commissioned a new illustration only for *El soldadillo*, perhaps because he could not obtain a copy of Barceló's illustration. It shows only two characters (two soldiers) and has a serial number of 34.

However, Casas y Martínez broke new ground, in part with his selection compared with that of Barceló, printing at least nine interludes which are not found in the latter's collection: *La mariquita*, *La sombra*, *El pleito del gallego*, *El poeta*, *El batán*, *Candil y Garabato*, *Gori Gori*, *Las cortesías* and *El tembleque*. All of them, except for *Las cortesías* and *El tembleque* contain an illustration. It is easy to note a similarity between these illustrations and that which appears in *El soldadillo*. They do not represent a scene, merely the main characters, with no other details. The illustrations of this group of editions also share dimensions which have nothing in common with those of Barceló, as they are 44mm square. However, we are not sure if these illustrations were also copied from another collection of interludes previously printed in Spain, or if they were original. It would be very interesting to have a repository of all these illustrations, which would allow us to understand how and in what sense printers used them, whether honestly or fraudulently.

Given that only separate interludes by Casas y Martínez have been preserved and that we have not been able to reconstruct the complete series, it is impossible to determine, as we have done in the case of Mateo Barceló, whether the complete set consisted of interludes, or was instead a project which included all kinds of chapbooks, as indeed is indicated in the colophon included in all of the editions: *Se hallará en Málaga en la Imprenta y Librería de D. Félix de Casas y Martínez, frente del Santo Cristo de la Salud, con otros muchos Romances, Entremeses, Historias, Relaciones y Estampas*²⁴. Whatever the case, Casas y Martínez

²⁴ 'To be found in Málaga in the printing house and bookshop of D. Félix de Casas y Martínez, opposite the Santo Cristo de la Salud, with many other ballads, interludes, stories, newsletters and prints.' The term 'relaciones' found in the original colophon could refer either to newsletters or to 'relaciones de comedias', chapbooks in which fragments from famous Spanish Golden Age plays were printed to be read in private meetings.

requested illustrations similar to those seen in *El soldadillo*, *La mariquita*, *La sombra*, *El pleito del gallego*, *El poeta*, *El batán*, *Candil y Garabato* and *Gori Gori*, which also have serial numbers for different chapbooks which came out of his workshop, making us suspect there was a complete series of illustrations which he commissioned to illustrate his editions, as demonstrated in the *Relación cómica hecha a una señora*, where the illustration is numbered 40.²⁵

There can be no doubt that this was a printer who attributed great value to illustration as an important element of his editions, possibly as a means of generating marketing and having a distinctive product. This can be supposed because, among the chapbooks which he printed, apart from the theatre texts, we can find images of all kinds as well as the series of illustrations mentioned above. He thus made use of prototypical theatrical figures in *relaciones de comedias*, as in the *Primera parte de Segismundo y Ardenia*. However, he also included illustrations related to the content of the text, which were larger than those belonging to the series mentioned before and were possibly created *ad hoc* in a group of publications of religious content, as can be seen in the *Despedimiento de Cristo y de su bendita madre*.

Figure 15: Woodcut illustration of a king, a lord and a lady, taken from *Primera parte de Segismundo y Ardenia*, Málaga: Félix de Casas y Martínez, s.d., titlepage. British Library (item no. T68 in volume 1074.g.24.). Digitised by Cambridge Digital Library: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-01074-G-00024-00068/1>

Figure 16: Woodcut illustration of Mary and Jesus, taken from *Despedimiento de Cristo y de su bendita madre*, Málaga: Félix de Casas y Martínez, s.d., titlepage. British

²⁵Biblioteca Nacional de España (VE/1374/13); Biblioteca Digital Hispánica: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000140291&page=1>

**Library (item no. T63 in volume 1074.g.24.). Digitised by Cambridge Digital Library:
<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PR-01074-G-00024-00063/1>**

The iconographic system of the publication of Golden-Age theatre texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ordinarily includes printers' devices, ornate capitals and ornamental typographic elements and that only occasionally can examples of publications with illustrations be found. These illustrations may consist either of woodblocks of figures which could be reused in different editions or which were designed specifically for a particular play, representing a specific scene or some of the characters. We have found examples of the first type in certain parts of some comedies printed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, later editions of comedies appear to have eschewed illustrations of this nature. Rather, it is necessary to look to the *relaciones de comedias*, printed in the eighteenth century, in order to find illustrations which represented the prototypical figures of the theatre of the Golden Age.

As far as illustrations created *ad hoc* are concerned, we have been able to find examples only in two series of interludes published in the eighteenth century. In these examples, the illustrations took pride of place on the title page, even before the name of the author and the title of the play. They represented the first visual element to which the reader had access, thus clarifying and guiding her/his reading, although the illustration is not essential for the comprehension of the text. There can be no doubt that these illustrations lend an artistic value to the interludes, which most probably served to attract potential buyers. They functioned primarily as a promotional element, a marketing tool.

Appendix: a reconstruction of Barceló and Casas y Martínez interludes series

In the following table we offer a reconstruction of the interludes series printed by Barceló and Casas y Martínez and that they sold in their respective printing houses. This recreation allow us to observe the coincidences and differences in terms of titles that are established between one and other.

From the research that we have carried out we can indicate that of 41 interludes printed by Mateo Barceló, 22 belong to 17th century Spanish authors, so they have been performed and published for the first time between 1600 and 1700. 6 of the interludes are anonymous, but we know that two were published in the 17th century and other four in the 18th century. Whereas the 13 remaining ones belong to authors of the 18th century, when they were printed. Then Barceló's catalogue is characterized by the predominance of Golden-Age works that, in many cases, have covered theatres and presses during something more about one century. This circumstance allows us to state, once again, the extensive success of the Golden-Age theatre and his survival still in the 18th century. Regarding the interludes composed in the 18th century we find authors who are still mostly debtors of the baroque theatre as Diego de Torres y Villarroel or Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar. Next to them we must mention, nevertheless, Ramon de la Cruz, one of the maximum exponents of a new way of doing theatre in the 18th century through the renovation of this genre in the shape of *sainete*, a jocular and popular dramatic piece.

From the nine new interludes printed by Casas y Martínez with respect to those published by Barceló, we could have identified the authorship of four of them, which belong to Golden-Age authors. From the five remaining ones only we have only the news of their publication in the 18th century.

Both catalogues are an example, so, of the conviviality during all the 18th century, of two forms of theatre that not only is typical of the presses and bookshops, but also of the stages, where they share place the inherited theatre of the Golden-Age and the new way of

making theatre proper of the 18th century. Both series of interludes allow us to study, in addition, the textual transmission of these pieces as well as their circulation in the publishing Peninsular market from the end of the 18th century.

Barceló's series number²⁶	Interlude titles	Casas y Martínez's series number	Interlude titles
1?	<i>Juanito y Juanita</i> ²⁷		
2	<i>Lo que puede la aprehensión</i> ²⁸		
3	<i>Qué se pasa</i> ²⁹		
4	<i>El cuero</i> ³⁰	4	<i>Las cortesías</i> ³¹
5	<i>El soldadillo</i> ³²	5	<i>El tembleque</i> ³³
6	<i>Los porfiados</i> ³⁴	6	<i>La sombra</i> ³⁵

²⁶I would like to thank professors Don Cruickshank and Germán Vega García-Luengos for the generous assistance provided in relation to different aspects of this chapter, and specifically for their help in reconstructing Barceló's and Martínez de las Casas' series.

²⁷ Biblioteca Nacional de España, VE/1189/59. Written by Ramón de la Cruz in 1778. Mateo Barceló's edition seems to be the first one known. See Josep Maria Sala Valldaura, *El sainete en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII: la Mueca de Talía* (Alicante: Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, 2009), unpag.

²⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R. MICRO/37449. Written by Pedro Pablo Gregori, an 18th century Spanish author. See Héctor Urzáiz Tortajada, *Catálogo de autores teatrales del siglo XVII*, Madrid, Fundación Universitaria Española, 2002) p. 470.

²⁹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18261(21). Written by Juan Antonio Rizo, a 17th century Spanish. It was printed for the first time in the volume *Verdres del Parnaso*, Madrid, Domingo García Morrás a costa de Domingo de Palacio y Villegas, 1668 (IB: 128904) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 554).

³⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18261(10). Written by Francisco Bernardo de Quirós (1594-1668). It was printed for the first time in the volume *Ociosidad entretenida*, Madrid, por Andrés García de la Iglesia a costa de Juan Martínez Merinero, 1668 (IB: 128903) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 541).

³¹ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2 t.I. Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 74) mentions this play as anonymous. It was printed in Barcelona by Pedro Escuder (1747-1750) (CCPB000323699-4) and in Sevilla by José Padrino (1748-1775) (CCPB000693919-8) and by Nicolás Vázquez (1758-1774) (CCPB000815088-5).

³² Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18261(23). I have highlighted in bold those titles from Barceló and Casas y Martínez which coincide. The interlude was written by Félix Lope de Vega Carpio (1562-1635). It was printed for the first time in the volume *Fiestas del santísimo sacramento*, Zaragoza, Pedro Verges, 1644 (USTC: 5005535) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 692).

³³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/15298/22). No other printed edition with the same or similar title has been found. There is a manuscript from 18th century (CCPB001260125-X).

³⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18261(20). Written by Francisco Antonio de Monteser (1620?-1668). It was printed for the first time in the volume *Verdres del Parnaso*, Madrid, Domingo García Morrás a costa de Domingo de Palacio y Villegas, 1668 (IB: 128904) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 463).

³⁵ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2. Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 124) mentions this play as anonymous. It was printed in Sevilla by José Padrino (1748-1775) (CCPB000693920-1).

7	<i>La campanilla</i> ³⁶	7	<i>El pleito del gallego</i> ³⁷
8	<i>El pleito del cebadal</i> ³⁸	8	<i>El poeta</i> ³⁹
9	<i>El médico sordo</i> ⁴⁰	9	<i>El batán</i> ⁴¹
10?	<i>El informe sin forma</i> ⁴²		
11	<i>El espejo</i> ⁴³	11	<i>La campanilla</i> ⁴⁴
12	<i>Los pajes golosos</i> ⁴⁵	12	<i>Las conclusiones</i> ⁴⁶
13	<i>Francisco, ¿qué tienes?</i> ⁴⁷	13	<i>Los cuatro galanes</i> ⁴⁸

³⁶ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18274(7). Written by Agustín Moreto y Cavana (1618-1669). It was printed for the first time in the volume *Floresta de entremeses*, Madrid, por Antonio de Zafra vendese en casa de Juan Fernández, 1691 (IB: 128913) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 475).

³⁷ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2, t. II. Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 113) mentions this play as anonymous. There is an edition without printing place or date, but probably published in 18th century, preserved at the Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, Sig. 33486.

³⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/15298/9. Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 124) mentions an anonymous play entitled *El sordo y el letrado y pleito del cebadal* which is the same as Barcelò's text. It was printed in Seville by José Padrino who worked between 1748 and 1775 (CCPB000693887-6) and in Valencia by Agustín Laborda, who worked between 1734 and 1765.

³⁹ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2. Written by Agustín Moreto y Cavana (1618-1669) (María Luisa Lobato, 'Cronología de loas, entremeses y bailes de Agustín Moreto', *Criticón*, 46 (1989), 125-134.

⁴⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18263(22). Written by Diego de Torres y Villarroel (1693-1770). It was printed in Seville by Diego López de Haro who worked between 1724 and 1752 (CCPB000323735-4); in Seville without name or date but probably in 18th century (CCPB000693886-8) and in Valencia by Agustín Laborda in 1765 (CCPB000974787-7).

⁴¹ Biblioteca Menéndez de Pelayo, 33229. Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 65) mentions this play as anonymous. It was printed in Barcelona by Juan Centené who worked between 1784 and 1788 (CCPB000423179-1).

⁴² Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15. In some editions the play is attributed to José Julián López de Castro, a 18th century Spanish author. It was printed in Madrid by Antonio Sanz (1728-1770) (CCPB000323734-6); in Salamanca by Antonio de Villagordo (1734-1766) (CCPB 000815515-1); in Seville by the Viuda de Diego López de Haro (1752-1760) (CCPB000323736-2); in Seville by Manuel Nicolás Vázquez (1758-1774) (CCPB000693868-X).

⁴³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18263(15). Written by Melchor Zapata (¿1620?-¿1681?). It was printed for the first time in the volume *Verdoses del Parnaso*, Madrid, Domingo García Morrás a costa de Domingo de Palacio y Villegas, 1668 (IB: 128904) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 735).

⁴⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/15298/28.

⁴⁵ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est 2 t.II. Written by Juan Manuel de León Marchante (1626-1680). It was printed for the first time in the volume *Floresta de entremeses*, Madrid, Imprenta Imperial por la viuda de José Fernández de Buendía vendese en casa de Antonio del Ribero Rodríguez, 1680 (IB: 128910) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 397).

⁴⁶ Biblioteca Menéndez de Pelayo, 33725.

⁴⁷ Biblioteca General de la Biblioteca de Castilla La Mancha, Fondo Entrambasaguas, E-1783, n° 2. Written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed for the first time in the volume *Alegria cómica*, Zaragoza, 1702 (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 241).

⁴⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/32663.

14	<i>Los buñuelos</i> ⁴⁹	14	<i>Los sacristanes burlados</i> ⁵⁰
15	<i>El desafío de Juan Rana</i> ⁵¹		
16	<i>La reliquia</i> ⁵²	16	<i>La guitarra</i> ⁵³
17	<i>El mesonero encantado</i> ⁵⁴	17	<i>Candil y Garabato</i> ⁵⁵
18	<i>El alcalde Pedro Cucho</i> ⁵⁶	18	<i>La mariquita</i> ⁵⁷
19	<i>El tribunal con uñas</i> ⁵⁸		

⁴⁹ Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (24). The interlude is attributed to Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneira (1610-1686) in an edition of one of their plays *Un bobo hace ciento*; however an interlude with the same title was published in *Arcadia de entremeses*, Pamplona, por Juan Micón, 1691 (IB: 128914) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 612).

⁵⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/32667.

⁵¹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18262(7). Written by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681). It was printed in *Tardes apacibles* (Madrid, Andrés García de la Iglesia a costa de Juan Martínez Merinero, 1663) (IB: 128901) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 204).

⁵² Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18264(19). Written by Agustín Moreto y Cavana (1618-1669); however it was printed under other author's name (López de Armesto) in *Verdones del Parnaso* (Pamplona, por Juan Micón, 1697) (IB: 128921) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 404).

⁵³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18263(17).

⁵⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18262(14). It was no possible to know the author of this play. There is a edition printed in Valencia by Agustín Laborda, who worked between 1734 and 1765 (José Luis Rodríguez Herrera, 'Una colección de entremeses del infante Antonio Pascual de Borbón (1755-1817)', in Luis Díaz Viana and Araceli Godino López (eds.), *Palabras para el pueblo: Aproximación general a la literatura de cordel*, (Madrid: CSIC, 2000), pp. 381-402. At the end of the interlude was a list of the theatre books sold at Barceló's printing house. The group combines some of those printed by him and some titles probably produced by other printers but which formed part of the stock on sale: *El sacristán niño*, *El cuero*, *El médico sordo*, *Los buñuelos*, *El trullo*, *Candil y Garabato*, *Los pajes golosos*, *Que se pasa*, *Melonar y Respondona*, *El Zapatero sordo*, *El batán*, *Lo que puede la aprehensión*, *El desafío de Juan Rana*, *La sombra*, *Poyatos y Pandurico*, *El pleito del cebadal*, *El informe sin forma*, *Francisco, ¿qué tienes?*, *El mochuelo*, *La requisitoria del borrico*, *El astrólogo tunante*, *El doctor borrego*, *La guitarra*, *El retrato de Juan Rana*, *El zapatero y d. Terencio Catalana*, *Los sacristanes burlados*, *Zancajo y Chinela*, *El espejo*.

⁵⁵ Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, 33726. Was written by Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco. It was printed in 1691 (*Arcadia de entremeses*, Pamplona, Juan Micón, 1691) (IB: 128914) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 216).

⁵⁶ Cambridge University Library, 7743.d.150.

⁵⁷ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/32671. Was written by Agustín Moreto y Cabana (1618-1669). It was printed in the volumen *Flor de entremeses* (Zaragoza, por los herederos de Diego Dormer, 1676) (IB: 128909) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 476).

⁵⁸ Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de Santa María de Guadalupe, CC-G-MON, L. 2960 [30]. Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 128) mentions this play as anonymous. There is an edition printed in Barcelona by Pedro Escuder who worked between 1747 and 1750 (CCPB000323724-9).

20	<i>Las conclusiones</i> ⁵⁹	20	<i>Los porfiados</i> ⁶⁰
21	<i>Los cuatro galanes</i> ⁶¹	21	<i>La manta</i> ⁶²
22	<i>La ladrona</i> ⁶³	22	<i>Los pajes golosos</i> ⁶⁴
23	<i>El astrólogo tunante</i> ⁶⁵	23	<i>El hambriento</i> ⁶⁶
24	<i>La manta</i> ⁶⁷		
25	<i>Zancajo y Chinela</i> ⁶⁸		
26	<i>El retrato de Juan Rana</i> ⁶⁹	26	<i>El soldadillo</i> ⁷⁰ <i>Zancajo y Chinela</i> ⁷¹
27	<i>La burla del sombrero</i> ⁷²		

⁵⁹ Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (27L.P. Seconda). Written by Antonio de Zamora (1665-1727) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 733). It was printed in Valencia by Agustín Laborda who worked between 1734 and 1765 (CCPB000758617-5).

⁶⁰ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2 t. II.

⁶¹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18263(28). Written by Agustín Moreto y Cavana (1618-1669). It was printed in the volume *Flor de entremeses*, Zaragoza, por los herederos de Diego Dormer, 1676 (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 475) (IB: 128909).

⁶² Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2 t. II.

⁶³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18261(11). Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 87) mentions this play as anonymous. With a different title (*La garduña*) was printed in 1646 (*Entremeses varios*) and in 1674 (*Sainetes y entremeses*). No other information has been found about these volumes.

⁶⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/15298/24.

⁶⁵ Biblioteca Nacional de España, (R/18262(1). Written by Francisco Antonio de Bances Candamo (1662-1704). The play was performed in 1687 and printed in 18th century (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 153).

⁶⁶ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/55359/6.

⁶⁷ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18263(20). It was printed in the volume *Flor de Entremeses* (Zaragoza, por los herederos de Diego Dormer, 1676) (IB: 128909) under the name of Quiñones; however it seems to be a play by Quirós (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 537).

⁶⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18262(25). Written by Sebastián Rodríguez de Villaviciosa (¿1618?-1663). It was printed in the volume *Tardes apacibles* (Madrid, Andrés García de la Iglesia a costa de Juan Martínez Merinero, 1663) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 561).

⁶⁹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18272(11). As we have mentioned before there are two plays with the same title: one by Sebastián Rodríguez de Villaviciosa and one by Antonio de Solís. The first one was published in the volume *Tardes apacibles* (Madrid, Andrés García de la Iglesia a costa de Juan Martínez Merinero, 1663) (IB: 128901) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 561) while the second one was printed in 1660 (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 614).

⁷⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/55359/76.

⁷¹ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2 t. III.

⁷² Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est 2 Guerra X. Written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). The play was printed in the volume *Alegría cómica* (Zaragoza, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 241).

28	<i>Los sacristanes burlados</i> ⁷³		
29	<i>El mochuelo</i> ⁷⁴		
30	<i>¿Quién masca ahí?</i> ⁷⁵		
31	<i>El vejete enamorado</i> ⁷⁶	31	<i>Gori Gori</i> ⁷⁷
32	<i>El órgano y el mágico</i> I ⁷⁸	32	<i>Los buñuelos</i> ⁷⁹
33	<i>El órgano y el mágico</i> II ⁸⁰		
34	<i>Los gigantes</i> ⁸¹	34	<i>Los gigantes</i> ⁸²
35	<i>La Franchota</i> ⁸³		
36	<i>La almoneda</i> ⁸⁴		
37	<i>La fantasma</i> ⁸⁵		

⁷³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18271(24). It was printed under Moreto's name in the volume *Parnaso nuevo* (Madrid, por Andrés García de la Iglesia a costa de Francisco Serrano de Figueroa) in 1670 (IB: 128905) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 476).

⁷⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18270(9). Urzáiz (*Catálogo*, p. 104) mentions this play as anonymous. It was printed in Zaragoza in a volume entitled *Flores del Parnaso* without a date mentioned.

⁷⁵ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18264(18). Was written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed in Zaragoza (*Alegría cómica*, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 242).

⁷⁶ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18262(24). Was written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed in Zaragoza (*Alegría cómica*, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 242).

⁷⁷ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2 t. I. Was written by Luis Quiñones de Benavente (1581-1651). It was printed in the volume *Flor de sainetes* (1676) (IB: 128909). No other information about this volume has been found (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 535).

⁷⁸ Biblioteca Nazionale di Napoli, L.P. Seconda Sala 10. 2. 15 (35). Was written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed in Zaragoza (*Alegría cómica*, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 242).

⁷⁹ Biblioteca del Institut del Teatre, Vit A Est. 2 t. I.

⁸⁰ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18263(25). Was written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed in Zaragoza (*Alegría cómica*, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 242).

⁸¹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18276(26). Was written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed in Zaragoza (*Alegría cómica*, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 241).

⁸² Biblioteca Nacional de España, T/15298/12.

⁸³ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18262(9). Written by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681). It was printed in the volume *Ramillete de sainetes escogidos*, Zaragoza, por Diego Dormer a costa de Juan Martínez de Ribera Martes mercader de libros, 1672. (IB: 128962) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 204).

⁸⁴ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18270(10). Was written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed in Zaragoza (*Alegría cómica*, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 240).

⁸⁵ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18276(17). Was written by Francisco Antonio de Castro y Salazar (1675-1713). It was printed in Zaragoza (*Alegría cómica*, 1702) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 241).

38	<i>Las naciones</i> ⁸⁶		
39	<i>Melonar y Respondona</i> ⁸⁷		
40	<i>La guitarra</i> ⁸⁸		
41	<i>El hambriento</i> ⁸⁹		

⁸⁶ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18261(18). Probably written by Jerónimo de Cáncer y Velasco (¿1582?-1655). It was printed in the volume *Arcadia de entremeses*, Pamplona, por Juan Micón, 1691 (IB: 128914) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 218).

⁸⁷ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18278(8). The interlude is attributed to Antonio de Solís y Rivadeneira (1610-1686). The play was attributed to Antonio de Solís in an edition of one of their plays *Un bobo hace ciento* (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 103).

⁸⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de España, R/18277(3). Written by Antonio de Zamora (1665-1727). It was published in *Arcadia de entremeses*, Pamplona, por Juan Micón, 1691 (IB: 128914) (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 733).

⁸⁹ Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de Santa María de Guadalupe, CC-G-MON, L. 2960(12). Written by Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579-1644); however Agustín Moreto has one with the same title (1618-1669). It was printed for the first time in Madrid in 1659 (Urzáiz, *Catálogo*, p. 707).