

# A New Dramatic Repertoire for Andrés de Claramonte

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This is a translation of the article "Un nuevo repertorio dramático para Andrés de Claramonte".

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## Abstract

Claramonte is one of the playwrights who has had the most unusual fate in our theatrical heritage. Reviled by early scholars as a plagiarist, recaster and, ultimately, a second-order author, in recent decades he has reemerged as a possible author of capital works of our theatre. Using stylometric techniques that have been proven to be effective and less contaminated by previous judgments, we have analyzed an extensive corpus of Golden Age theatre (2.800 plays) in order to isolate his authorial style and form a new repertoire. After the tests, up to 39 comedias and 7 autos can be entirely or partially attributed to the dramatist. We, thus, reconfirm the authorship of texts that were not previously questioned (*De lo vivo a lo pintado*, *Deste agua no beberé*, *La infelice Dorotea*, etc.), support recent attributions (*La Estrella de Sevilla*, *Tan largo me lo fiáis*, etc.), identify up to 16 new attributions that had not been previously recognized (*Allá darás, rayo*, *De un yerro nacen mil*, *La lindona de Galicia*, etc.), and dismiss some risky attributions (*El alcalde de Zalamea*, *El condenado por desconfiado*, *El médico de su honra*, etc.). The complete reports on each of the texts can be found at <https://etso.es/>.

Keywords. Claramonte; Spanish Golden Age theatre; Bibliography; Stylometry.

# 1. Claramonte and the Growing Authorship Issues of Golden Age Theatre

Every<sup>1</sup> playwright of the Siglo de Oro poses challenges for defining their repertoires. Researchers in this field have become accustomed to a significant list of anonymous works or those with disputed authorship, which includes some considered canonical in classical Spanish theater, that elite group of pieces that have frequently found their way to bookstores and stages. It appears that this list will continue to grow as tools to exhaustively and objectively analyze each playwright's practices regarding the various components of their works are refined, particularly in how their characters express themselves. Some of these tools have been with us for a while, like strophic or orthological analyses, while others are being normalized now, facilitated by digital technologies.

One tool that has proven its effectiveness is stylometry applied to the statistical comparison of lexical uses in dramatic works. To harness this for the theater of the Siglo de Oro, we created ETSO in 2017, whose processes and methods we will discuss shortly. What's crucial to note is that with this tool, we began to realize the complexity of attributing Golden Age plays is even greater than previously thought, despite it already being substantial. As soon as we started the project, surprises emerged that affected works whose attribution had never been in doubt, neither in their time nor ours. However, stylometric analyses detected lexical uses that did not match traditionally assigned authorships. The initial reaction was to doubt the method's validity. Nonetheless, staying true to the principle that all scientific knowledge must be verifiable, we proceeded to do so with the best demonstration in literature: subjecting the seemingly discrepant texts to various philological tests such as documentation studies, material bibliography, metrics, intertextuality, etc. This approach was applied to works whose results we have already documented, such as *La monja alférez*<sup>2</sup>, *Las lágrimas de David*<sup>3</sup>, *La mujer por fuerza*, *El platero del cielo*<sup>4</sup>, and *La francesa Laura*<sup>5</sup>. Meanwhile, we could confirm suggestions in favor of Lope de Vega made by various researchers recently, which were already backed by a myriad of evidence compiled by these discoverers<sup>6</sup>.

The evidence increasingly suggests that attributions were subject to the interests

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<sup>2</sup>Vega García-Luengos, 2021

<sup>3</sup>Vega García-Luengos, in press.

<sup>4</sup>Vega García-Luengos, 2023.

<sup>5</sup>Cuéllar and Vega García-Luengos, 2023.

<sup>6</sup>These are the cases, among others, of Antonio Roca's *La conquista de México*, *Don Diego de noche*, *Mujeres y criados*, *Siempre ayuda la verdad*, and *Yo he hecho lo que he podido*, *Fortuna lo que ha querido*. The results of the stylometry and Artificial Intelligence analyses can be found in Cuéllar, 2022 and Vega García-Luengos, 2023.

of those trading texts, both in their stage and printed dimensions. These interests led them to prioritize the names of playwrights they deemed more appealing. However, this appeal didn't necessarily align with our tastes; depending on genres, moments, and territories, other authors, whom we might consider not as prominent, could attract attention. A case in point is Pérez de Montalbán, a frequent choice of Seville's booksellers who released many works under his name that weren't his, later reprinted by others, misleading modern scholars<sup>7</sup>. But the cases of apocryphal attributions are vast and sometimes very puzzling: consider the previously mentioned *Yo he hecho lo que he podido*, credited in a Seville print by Francisco de Lyra to Miguel Bermúdez while Lope was alive and dominating the market; and it was that same bookseller, who was keen on using Lope's name on works from a variety of authors, including *La vida es sueño*<sup>8</sup>. Different is the case of the playwright we now focus on regarding the direction of the transfers. The signs indicate that his works weren't attributed to other poets as much as his works were used to enhance others' repertoires or even bring them prestige.

Challenges in managing the corpus grow with playwrights who did not publish part of their works, although that does not exempt them from the problems discussed. One such playwright was Andrés de Claramonte y Corroy, who, to add to the confusion, took part in all facets of theater activity, from performing to writing and artistic and business management<sup>9</sup>. Among professionals from the early decades of the 17th century, he was the most notable representation of the pioneering spirit embodied best by Lope de Rueda, being most similar in his multifaceted approach to Shakespeare or Molière. His artistic genius might not have placed him at the summit of universal Parnassus, but had he been recognized from the outset for works like *La Estrella de Sevilla* or *Tan largo me lo fiáis*, he would have been situated more prominently. And it's very likely that many other works, which haven't drawn as much attention as those just mentioned, will need to be credited to him, their titles to be discussed throughout this study.

The challenges of controlling this corpus increase with playwrights who did not publish a portion of their works. One such playwright was Andrés de Claramonte y Corroy. He dabbled in all facets of theater, from acting to writing and even directing. Among the professionals of the early 17th century, he was an epitome of the pioneer spirit, much like Lope de Rueda and akin to Shakespeare or Molière in versatility. While he might never have reached the pinnacle of world renown, he would have occupied a more prominent position had works like *La Estrella de Sevilla* or *Tan largo me lo fiáis* been rightfully attributed to him. It's likely that more works, overlooked thus far, will be attributed to him in this study.

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<sup>7</sup>See Vega García-Luengos, 2021, pp. 101-103.

<sup>8</sup>See Madroñal, 2021, pp. 40-44.

<sup>9</sup>A synthesis of his various endeavors over time, based on the data we have today, can be found in García-Reidy, 2019.

All of this is the result of the stylometric analyses we have conducted at ETSO on a number of comedies and plays close to three thousand pieces, following procedures that will be explained in the next section. And, of course, included in this collection are all the works related to Claramonte that we are aware of, whether through the testimonies conveyed in the texts, references in ancient documents, or by scholars from the 19th century to today.

In this exhaustive endeavor, the classic indexes have been of great value to us, from Fajardo (1716), Medel (1735), and Mesonero (1858) to the catalogs of La Barrera (1860) or Urzáiz (2002). With a specific focus on Claramonte, we have taken into serious consideration the sections dedicated to him in the works of some of his scholars, such as Hernández Valcárcel<sup>10</sup>, Ganelin<sup>11</sup>, Rodríguez López-Vázquez<sup>12</sup>, and García-Reidy<sup>13</sup>.

## 2. Foundations and Methods of Stylometric Analyses

For the comparison and formation of this new Claramonte corpus, we employ a set of stylometric tests that allow the comparison and classification of texts based on their lexical usage. Each playwright uses words in different proportions, thus creating a characteristic authorial fingerprint. The style we are now interested in, if correctly measured, allows distinguishing it from other contemporary writers like Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca, or Tirso de Molina. It is necessary to clarify that in this stylometric approach, we are not trying to find specific lexical elements that distinguish Claramonte from other playwrights. Instead, we rely on common words and their statistical differences in use, which are imperceptible and, in many cases, incomprehensible to the human brain. Fortunately, the mechanical brain is capable of detecting these differences and offering authorship relationships with a high degree of accuracy, as happens with the continuous control experiments we conduct within the ETSO project<sup>14</sup>.

The tool used for the analyses is the now common Stylo, in its 0.7.4 version, an open library for R that allows a wide range of tests to be performed on the prepared corpus<sup>15</sup>. In our case, the corpus consists of 2800 works by about 350 playwrights who currently (end of 2022) are part of the ETSO project and have been collected through various means: from team collaborations and individual contributions to the transcription and modernization of old printed

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<sup>10</sup>His edition of Claramonte, *Comedias*, 1983, pp. 51-60.

<sup>11</sup>His edition of Claramonte, *La infelice Dorotea*, 1987, pp. 23-30.

<sup>12</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010a, pp. 341-352; his edition of Claramonte, *La estrella de Sevilla*, pp. 128-136.

<sup>13</sup>García-Reidy, 2009.

<sup>14</sup>See, for example, the hundreds of reports on canonical works by Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Calderón de la Barca, Vélez de Guevara, etc., which relate the texts to the repertoire of their playwright appropriately, available at <https://etso.es/>.

<sup>15</sup>Eder, Rybicki y Kestemont, 2016.

works and manuscripts<sup>16</sup>. To reach conclusions about authorship around Andrés de Claramonte, we have employed two complementary analysis methods, which we will now explain.

Firstly, we understand that obtaining stylometric distances between texts is of great interest to the researcher. We can measure the frequency of word usage in texts and relate them using various mathematical models. The smaller the distance between texts, the greater their lexical similarity, which is usually directly related to their authorship. In general, results tend to be similar using different parameters (most frequent words, different models, etc.) and lead us to the authorial clue<sup>17</sup>. For instance, these are the twenty works with lexical usages closest to *La dama boba* (Lope de Vega), *Don Gil de las calzas verdes* (Tirso de Molina), and *El médico de su honra* (Calderón de la Barca) using the complete corpus of 2,800 texts.

Posición	La dama boba (Lope)			Don Gil de las calzas verdes (Tirso)			El médico de su honra (Calderón de la Barca)		
	Título	Autor	Distancia	Título	Autor	Distancia	Título	Autor	Distancia
1*	<i>Bobo del colegio, El</i>	Lope	0,6279	<i>Villana de Vallecas, La</i>	Tirso	0,6069	<i>Con quien vengo, vengo</i>	Calderón	0,709
2*	<i>Al pasar del arroyo</i>	Lope	0,6562	<i>No hay peor sordo que el que no quiere oír</i>	Tirso	0,6447	<i>Ver y creer</i>	Mato	0,711
3*	<i>Perro del hortelano, El</i>	Lope	0,6563	<i>Marta la Piadrosa</i>	Tirso	0,6541	<i>Tres justicias en una, Las</i>	Calderón	0,7291
4*	<i>Melindres de Belisa, Los</i>	Lope	0,657	<i>Desde Toledo a Madrid</i>	Tirso	0,6569	<i>Mejor está que estaba</i>	Calderón	0,7348
5*	<i>Anzuelo de Fenisa, El</i>	Lope	0,6597	<i>Celosos de sí mismo, La</i>	Tirso	0,659	<i>Niña de Gómez Arias, La</i>	Calderón	0,7349
6*	<i>Malcasada, La</i>	Lope	0,6612	<i>Santa Juana, La (Tercera parte)</i>	Tirso	0,6728	<i>Amigo, amante y leal</i>	Calderón	0,7359
7*	<i>Villana de Getafe, La</i>	Lope	0,664	<i>Huerta de Juan Fernández, La</i>	Tirso	0,6734	<i>Gustos y disgustos son no más que imaginación</i>	Calderón	0,7365
8*	<i>Cortesía de España, La</i>	Lope	0,665	<i>Villana de Getafe, La</i>	Lope	0,686	<i>Bien vengas mal, si vienes solo</i>	Calderón	0,749
9*	<i>Santiago el verde</i>	Lope	0,6691	<i>Amor médico, El</i>	Tirso	0,6871	<i>Peor está que estaba</i>	Calderón	0,7506
10*	<i>Arcadia, La</i>	Lope	0,6752	<i>Bellaco seas Gómez</i>	Tirso	0,6872	<i>Clama de Inglaterra, La</i>	Calderón	0,7564
11*	<i>Niña de plata, La</i>	Lope	0,677	<i>Por el sótano y el turno</i>	Tirso	0,6881	<i>A secreto agravio, secreta venganza</i>	Calderón	0,7565
12*	<i>Batalla del honor, La</i>	Lope	0,6773	<i>Santa Juana, La (Primera parte)</i>	Tirso	0,6899	<i>Amor después de la muerte</i>	Calderón	0,7589
13*	<i>Hidalgos del aldea, Los</i>	Lope	0,6774	<i>Santo y zastre</i>	Tirso	0,6912	<i>Banda y la flor, La</i>	Calderón	0,7601
14*	<i>Sembrar en buena tierra, El</i>	Lope	0,6804	<i>Pretendiente al revés, El</i>	Tirso	0,6958	<i>Purgatorio de San Patricio, El</i>	Calderón	0,7605
15*	<i>Burgalesa de Lerma, La</i>	Lope	0,6807	<i>Villana de la Sagra, La</i>	Tirso	0,6963	<i>Señora y a la criada, La</i>	Calderón	0,7616
16*	<i>Almuerzo de Toro, Las</i>	Lope	0,6866	<i>En Madrid y en una casa</i>	Tirso - Calderón	0,6973	<i>Lances de amor y fortuna</i>	Calderón	0,7618
17*	<i>Victoria de la honra, La</i>	Lope	0,6872	<i>Cebos prudente, El</i>	Tirso	0,7015	<i>Hija del aire, La (Primera parte)</i>	Calderón	0,7664
18*	<i>Discreta enamorado, La</i>	Lope	0,6879	<i>Balcones de Madrid, Los</i>	Tirso	0,7055	<i>Saber del mal y el bien</i>	Calderón	0,7686
19*	<i>Servir a señor discreto</i>	Lope	0,688	<i>Venganzas en palacio, El</i>	Tirso	0,706	<i>Como noble y ofendido</i>	Cueva	0,7694
20*	<i>Hombre de bien, El</i>	Lope	0,6881	<i>Esto si que es negociar</i>	Tirso	0,7084	<i>Dama duende, La</i>	Calderón	0,7695

<sup>16</sup>In this task, the Transkribus tool and the models developed by Álvaro Cuéllar (in press) have been of great help to us to transcribe and automatically modernize prints and theatrical manuscripts from the Golden Age (Cuéllar 2021a, 2021b, 2021c).

<sup>17</sup>For our tests, we used Classic Delta, 500 MFW, 0% culling, and we made the decision to remove about fifty words that caused problems in automatic transcriptions, such as qué/que, dé/de, etc. However, as we mention, varying these parameters does not usually significantly alter the authorial inferences observed.

As can be seen, the bulk of the works closest in each case corresponds to that of the playwright of the comedy we are analyzing. This test is thus capable of clearly indicating authorship. However, we must always be cautious regarding the connections that might arise between texts from different authors, perhaps because they share a particular genre, theme, dating, or a very pronounced style. If we now apply the process to works of dubious attribution, the results, as in the case concerning Claramonte, will be very valuable in drawing conclusions. It's important to note that for the distance tests we undertake, we always use the complete corpus at our disposal. We don't restrict our experiments to a few works within the scope, in our case, of Andrés de Claramonte, which would greatly reduce the validity of the results. Instead, we compare the work against the entire corpus. Our hypothesis is as follows: if, even when comparing our text with 2800 works by 350 different playwrights, it can show a clear relationship with the repertoire of a specific playwright, we may be onto a very strong clue of authorship that is worth considering.

Therefore, the nearly 3000 works from the corpus have been meticulously examined, one by one, searching for these stylistic distances and a potential relation with Andrés de Claramonte. The findings have been highly satisfactory from a general perspective, given that a significant portion of the canonical repertoire of the playwright has responded well to the distance tests. On the other hand, works that have been associated with Claramonte in recent decades also spontaneously emerged in the analyses, which further supports these attributions from our research approach. This fact gives us great confidence in the accuracy of our tests, since, without influencing the experiment in any way, we found associations with works that critics had previously identified, and of which we were unaware until after the stylometric tests. Lastly, works that had never been attributed to Claramonte have also displayed an unexpected connection to him, leading us to seriously consider enlarging his corpus in light of the findings. As examples, consider these three works: *La infelice Dorotea*, one of his canonical works; *La Estrella de Sevilla*, which has been attributed to him on several occasions; and *La prudencia en el castigo*, never before associated with our playwright. All three cases show a particular lexical proximity to the classic repertoire of Andrés de Claramonte. These connections become even clearer and more logical when we also consider the attributions made to him in this study, marked with an asterisk. Each asterisk, therefore, denotes a work that has been uniquely related to his repertoire, both by these tests and by the classificatory methods we will explain shortly.

Posición	La infeliz Dorotea (Claramonte)			La estrella de Sevilla (Desconocido)			La prudencia en el castigo (Lope)		
	Título	Autor	Distancia	Título	Autor	Distancia	Título	Autor	Distancia
1*	Tejedor de Segovia, El (Primera parte)*	Calderón*	0,6956	Este agua no beberé	Claramonte	0,6857	Tan largo me lo fiáis*	Tirso*	0,728
2*	Rigor en la inocencia, El*	Montalbán*	0,6979	Tejedor de Segovia, El (Primera parte)*	Calderón*	0,7136	Estrella de Sevilla, La*	Desconocido*	0,733
3*	Esclava del cielo, La	Claramonte	0,7201	Paciencia en la fortuna, La*	Desconocido*	0,7311	De un yerro nacen mil*	Desconocido*	0,7398
4*	De lo vivo a lo pintado	Claramonte	0,721	De lo vivo a lo pintado	Claramonte	0,7311	Secreto en la mujer, El	Claramonte	0,7408
5*	San Carlos	Claramonte	0,7262	Milagrosa elección de San Pío Quinto, La*	Moreto*	0,7334	Santa Teodora	Claramonte	0,7415
6*	Pastoral albergue, El*	Lope*	0,7324	Prudencia en el castigo, La*	Lope*	0,7348	De lo vivo a lo pintado	Claramonte	0,7493
7*	Estrella de Sevilla, La*	Desconocido*	0,7422	Fuerza lastimoso, La	Lope	0,7407	Burlador de Sevilla, El*	Tirso*	0,75
8*	Paciencia en la fortuna, La*	Desconocido*	0,7429	Santa Teodora	Claramonte	0,7428	Infeliz Dorotea, La	Claramonte	0,7502
9*	De un yerro nacen mil*	Desconocido*	0,7467	Infeliz Dorotea, La	Claramonte	0,743	Este agua no beberé	Claramonte	0,7694
10*	Prudencia en el castigo, La*	Lope*	0,7513	De un yerro nacen mil*	Desconocido*	0,7465	Allá darás rayo*	Lope*	0,77
11*	Rey don Pedro en Madrid, El	Claramonte	0,7524	Residencia horrada y condesa Matilde, La	Lope	0,7528	Paciencia en la fortuna, La*	Desconocido*	0,7702
12*	Don Duarte de Pacheco	Cordero	0,7525	Novios de Hornachuelos, Los	Lope ¿?	0,7535	Muertos vivos, Los	Lope	0,7748
13*	Mayor corona, La*	Lope*	0,758	De Alcalá a Madrid	Claramonte	0,7536	Tejedor de Segovia, El (Primera parte)*	Calderón*	0,7763
14*	Segundo Job, El	Desconocido	0,7604	San Carlos	Claramonte	0,7547	Renunciación del rey Wamba, La	Desconocido	0,7764
15*	Santa Teodora	Claramonte	0,7615	Católica princesa Leopolda, La	Claramonte	0,7577	Palacios de Galiana, Los	Lope	0,7794
16*	Gallega Mari-Hernández, La	Lope	0,7618	Perder para tener	Tirso - Calderón	0,7579	Milagrosa elección de San Pío Quinto, La*	Moreto*	0,7806
17*	Fortunastráquicos del Duque de Memorana, Las	Byron	0,7631	Conde Fernán Gortáiz, El	Tirso	0,758	Argel fingido y renegado de amor, El	Lope	0,7811
18*	Valiente negro en Flandes, El	Claramonte	0,7664	Hamete negro de Toledo, El	Tirso	0,7595	Ocasión perdida, La	Lope	0,7813
19*	Allá darás rayo*	Lope*	0,7694	Santa Juana, La (Primera parte)	Tirso	0,7598	Cautiva virtuosa y perseguida, La	Desconocido	0,7815
20*	Rama del mejor árbol, La	Valasco	0,7698	Esclavitud más dichosa, La	Tirso	0,7602	Mayorazgo dudoso, El	Lope	0,7819

Due to space constraints, we cannot present the distance results for each work related to Claramonte in this article, so we refer readers to the reports at <https://etso.es/>, where, in addition to providing the updated results, each text will be detailed with specific explanations and even broken down by act when necessary.

To complement the distance results, the works were also subjected to classificatory processes through machine learning. This is a parallel approach to the one previously described, as it also starts from word frequencies to infer authorship conclusions. However, the internal process here is different and is based on Artificial Intelligence systems that, using training materials, learn to classify correctly. These procedures can also be executed with the Stylo library, although some tasks need to be programmed to conduct the tests properly. For these analyses, we believe it's appropriate to assign the machine a simple binary task: differentiate the texts between those written by Claramonte and those not written by Claramonte. We could train the machine to recognize various playwrights simultaneously (Lope, Calderón, Claramonte, etc.), but this would introduce

noise, complication, and thus, more error to the assigned task. The chosen system is the Support Vector Machine (SVM) with the 2,500 most frequent words<sup>18</sup>. With this method, a controlled experiment was conducted<sup>19</sup>, which largely supported the distance results: the majority of Claramonte's classic texts were classified as being written by him, while some, the same that had failed in the distance tests, were classified as not written by Claramonte. Setting these last works aside, we used the control corpus to search the entire corpus available to us. Each theatrical work was therefore classified as written or not by Andrés de Claramonte, both in its entirety and in fragments. The outcomes were highly revealing. Firstly, the vast majority of analyzed works were classified as not written by Claramonte, which makes sense since they belong to hundreds of different playwrights. However, just like the distance tests, amidst the vast expanse of the Golden Age theatre, the process managed to identify a handful of texts attributed to Claramonte, many of which had already been associated with him in previous philological studies. One advantage of this system over the distance method is that we can scan all the theatre of the Golden Age much more efficiently and classify not only the entire work but also when divided into smaller parts. This was particularly revealing in certain cases where, although the work as a whole is related to Claramonte's style, there might be issues in parts of the text, which we also note in the subsequent results.

In conclusion, by combining both distance tests and machine learning tests, we believe a new repertoire for Andrés de Claramonte can be proposed. In it, a series of texts are confirmed while others are rejected, illuminated, in this case, by the computational tests conducted, which will, of course, need to be further refined in the future.

### 3. New Proposal for a Dramatic Repertoire for Andrés de Claramonte

We believed that an alphabetical arrangement of all the dramatic works that came to our attention would aid in their consultation, without distinguishing genres (comedies, autos, loas) or the status of each (attributable, doubtful, lost). The nature of each is specified in its respective entry, and in any case, a distribution of all the works according to these categories will be proposed at the end. The sections dedicated to each work provide concise data of various

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<sup>18</sup>The choice is due to it being one of the most effective in the tests conducted in the thesis "Propuestas de autoría y datación en el teatro de Lope de Vega a la luz de la Inteligencia Artificial" by Álvaro Cuéllar, in which results above 99% are achieved separating works written or not by Lope de Vega with a wide range of MFW (most frequent words).

<sup>19</sup>For this, a set of about a thousand works of controlled authorship was taken, it was divided into Works written by Claramonte and Works not written by Claramonte, and a leave-one-out cross-validation was carried out, where each text was extracted and forced to classify into one of the groups. More than 99% was classified appropriately, except for some that tradition attributes to Claramonte, but in which this playwright very likely did not participate, judging by our analyses and subsequent checks.



kinds: preservation (main manuscripts and prints) or loss, where applicable; existence of modern editions; references in indexes and catalogs; records of the first performances; attribution proposals, etc. Each is concluded with the results obtained from the analysis of the work's text conducted at ETSO. This merely declares the complete or partial affinity, or the non-affinity, of said text with Claramonte's lexical uses. As previously mentioned, detailed results (distance tables, graphs, etc.) can be consulted on the ETSO website or by requesting from the authors. The decision to adopt this approach was to save space in this publication and mainly because the detailed data of each analysis are subject to change as CETSO continues to expand and refine its texts.

**A firma de labios, fuerza de brazos: see Allá darás, rayo.**

### 3.1. La adúltera virtuosa

A comedy attributed to Antonio Mira de Amescua. DICAT records the sale by Juan Catalán and several representatives of ten comedies and two interludes to author Andrés de Claramonte on March 7, 1609, which would include one thus titled, as well as the two parts of *El mayor rey de los reyes*, which we will discuss later. The text known today is preserved in two standalone prints without a publisher's name on behalf of the playwright<sup>20</sup>. Modern editions are available from Juan Manuel Villanueva (1998) and Mayte García Godoy (2001). To our knowledge, its attribution to Mira de Amescua has never been questioned. Our ETSO analyses, based on the 2001 text available at the Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes (BVMC henceforth), have yielded results that do not favor Mira de Amescua's candidacy but strongly suggest Claramonte as the author, which implies a novel research proposal to expand the playwright's repertoire.

### 3.2. El alcalde de Zalamea

This comedy, different from Pedro Calderón's, has been attributed to Lope de Vega, and more recently to Luis Vélez de Guevara and Andrés de Claramonte. Lope de Vega's name appears in the three preserved ancient testimonies: a standalone print from the British Library, seemingly early and from Seville, and two manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE from now on) and the Biblioteca Palatina de Parma. Several scholars from the 19th century onwards believed it was from Lope. However, Morley and Bruerton noted serious metric obstacles, such as the presence of the first *silva* or couplets, apart from andalusian rhymes<sup>21</sup>. Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez recently edited the work, and in his introduction, he proposes Andrés de Claramonte as the author<sup>22</sup>. The ETSO results, based on the 2014 text, do not favor Claramonte or Vélez de Guevara, who was suggested by George Peale<sup>23</sup>. They also don't fully support Lope, although many of his works are in top positions on the distance table.

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<sup>20</sup>Valladares Reguero, 2004, p. 23.

<sup>21</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, pp. 411-412.

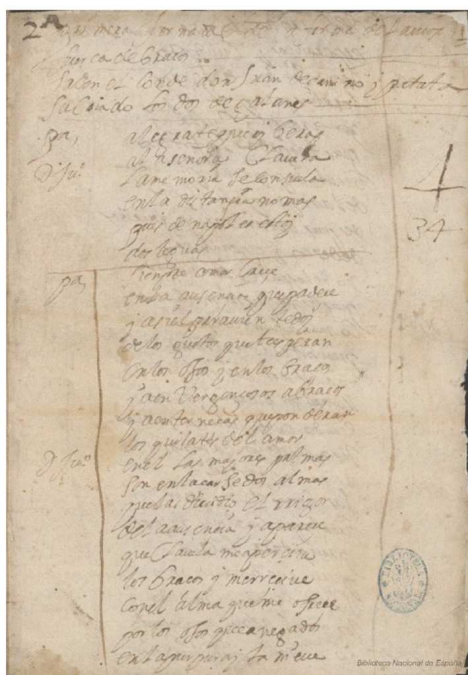
<sup>22</sup>Lope de Vega, *Alcalde de Zalamea*, 2014, pp. 1-51.

<sup>23</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2014, pp. XI-XV.

### 3.3. Allá darás, rayo / A firma de labios, fuerza de brazos

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega. Preserved in a print included in Part XXVII of the Different Authors collection (Barcelona, 1633<sup>24</sup>), a fragment of which was part of Volume 133 from Osuna<sup>25</sup>. The header has the note "Performed by Manuel Vallejo". Edited by Federico Ruiz Morcuende (1930). The text is also preserved in a BNE manuscript (Ms. 16833), previously unrecognized: the anonymous comedy A firma de labios, fuerza de brazos, listed in catalogs since Medel (1735) to Urzáiz (2002), is indeed the same, with variations, as Allá darás rayo. This means one less comedy in the overall repertoire of preserved plays. This discovery was possible thanks to several processes: complete digitization of the BNE's theatrical manuscripts, automatic recognition through models generated with Transkribus, and analysis in ETSO, where the manuscript's text was compared to the entire corpus using the Stylo program. This operation revealed the immense lexical closeness between these two differently titled texts. Human examination confirmed that they essentially belong to the same comedy.

The human visualization of both confirmed that they essentially belonged to the same comedy.



First page of the manuscript of A firma de labios, fuerza de brazos - Allá darás rayo. BNE, Ms. 16833

<sup>24</sup>Profeti, 1988, pp. 63 y 65.

<sup>25</sup>Vega García-Luengos, 2000, pp. 121-122.

The ETSO analyses, carried out from the 1930 edition, have produced results that discard its assignment to Lope and strongly support Claramonte, suggesting a novel research proposal to expand the playwright's repertoire.

### **3.4. Los amantes de Teruel**

A play attributed to Tirso de Molina and to Andrés de Claramonte. Published in the problematic Parte II of Tirso de Molina (Madrid, 1635<sup>26</sup>), where it is stated that it was performed by Avendaño. The attribution to Claramonte has been proposed by Fernando Cantalapiedra (1993).

The results from ETSO, based on the text from the Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes, do not support the authorship of either Tirso or Claramonte, but they do encourage research in the direction of Luis Vélez de Guevara, a lead that represents another of the novelties of our work.

### **3.5. La Araucana**

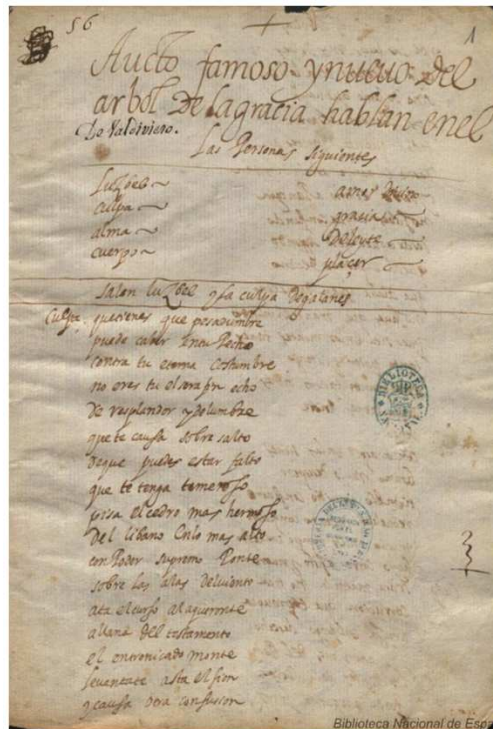
A sacramental play attributed to Lope de Vega and Andrés de Claramonte. DICAT indicates that in the 1621 Seville Corpus, Hernán Sánchez de Vargas presented a play titled *Los indios*. Under this title, the record of a play that matches *La Araucana* is preserved. It appears as anonymous in the *Índice de Medel* (1735) and in the *Catalog of La Barrera* (1860). It is preserved in a BNE manuscript (Ms. 16738), where on one of the final pages the text reads: "... by Lope de Vega Carpio, it's true, I swear to God and this †". Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo edited it in his academic collection (1893). Patricio Lorzundi published it as anonymous (2011). Rodrigo Faúndez Carreño (2017) proposes Claramonte's authorship, based on parallels with the comedy *El nuevo rey Gallinato*. His argument mainly relies on some parallels with different works of the playwright and the metrics. He edited the text in Claramonte's name (2018). ETSO analyses, based on Faúndez's text, support the attribution to Claramonte.

### **3.6. El árbol de la gracia**

A sacramental play attributed to José de Valdivieso. The title does not appear in *Medel* (1735) nor in *La Barrera* (1860). It is preserved in a BNE manuscript (Ms. 15255), which belonged to Durán, and another handwriting added "by Valdivieso" to the heading.

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<sup>26</sup>Zugasti, 1999, p. 30.



First page of the manuscript of *El árbol de la gracia*, BNE, Ms. 15255

ETSO analyses, based on the automatic transcription of the manuscript with subsequent text cleaning, support Claramonte's authorship, especially in the second half of the play. This represents a new proposal to increase his repertoire, made possible by the convergence of automatic transcription and stylometry analysis.

### 3.7. La asunción de la Virgen

A sacramental loa attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Published along with the loa *Las calles de Sevilla*, in editions from 1620 and 1621, in Sevilla by Francisco de Lyra<sup>27</sup>. The text wasn't analyzed by ETSO because its length isn't sufficient to produce reliable results.

### 3.8. El ataúd para el vivo y el tálamo para el muerto

A comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. It is preserved in two BNE manuscripts (Ms. 15368 and Ms. 16069). The first one belonged to Durán and includes copies of the original licenses from 1624; García-Reidy<sup>28</sup> mentions it.

<sup>27</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010a, p. 347.

<sup>28</sup>García-Reidy, 2019, pp. 143-144.

The second one seems to have been modeled after an individual edition or a part since the text is arranged in two columns and has headlines, etc. On the cover, someone overlaid Andrés de Claramonte's name with Antonio Valladares. There is a modern edition by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (1993). ETSO analyses, based on the 1993 edition, support Claramonte's authorship for the first and third acts, but have more doubts about the second.

### **3.9. Audiencias del rey don Pedro**

A comedy attributed to Lope de Vega. Preserved in an anonymous 17th-century manuscript from the BNE (Ms. 16762). Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo believed it was by Lope and included it in his academic edition (1899). Morley and Bruerton have many doubts about its attribution to the Phoenix and point to some similarities in the tenths with Claramonte<sup>29</sup>. Our ETSO analyses, based on the ARTELOPE text, neither support the attribution to Lope nor Claramonte. They also don't clearly point to any other playwright.

**El burlador de Sevilla:** see **Tan largo me lo fiais**

### **3.10. El caballero de Olmedo o La viuda por casar**

A comedy by an unknown author. Preserved in a BNE manuscript (Ms. 15777), dated 1606. Also in a printed version attributed to Lope de Vega within a volume without preliminaries, known as the "old tome" of Adolf Schaeffer, its owner and editor (1887), now deposited in the University of Freiburg library. Maria Grazia Profeti considered the possibility that it was Parte XXI of the *Diferentes autores* collection<sup>30</sup>. The attribution to Claramonte was proposed by Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo<sup>31</sup> as a "malicious" hypothesis, driven by the aversion he always felt. After ruling out various playwrights as authors, he suggests: "A lesser-known genius is needed than these, and no other name comes to mind but Andrés de Claramonte, whose coarse and rude style prevails in this piece, which he may not even be the original author of, but merely a reviser." ETSO results, based on Schaeffer's text, neither support the attribution to Lope nor Claramonte. Nor to another playwright.

**Las calles de Sevilla:** see **Loa en metáfora de las iglesias de Sevilla**

### **3.11. La capitana del cielo**

A comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. CATCOM registers four notices of performances of this comedy between 1624 and 1628. In the one from the latter year, Claramonte is credited in the inventory that the treasurer of Valencia's General Hospital made of the comedies that Jerónimo Almella left as loan

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<sup>29</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, p. 423.

<sup>30</sup>Profeti, 1988, pp. 21-27.

<sup>31</sup>Menéndez Pelayo, 1899, p. IXXII.

guarantees: among the fifteen in the list assigned to the playwright, one is this. It's either lost today or preserved under a different title.

### **3.12. La católica princesa Leopolda, prima de doña Margarita de Austria, reina de España, y elección del emperador Matías**

Drama associated with Andrés de Claramonte. A manuscript from 1612 attributes it to this playwright and is currently kept in the BNE (Ms. 15334) from Durán's library. Results from ETSO, after analyzing an automated transcription of the manuscript, strongly support Claramonte's authorship.

### **3.13. Los comendadores de Córdoba**

Drama attributed to Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón. It was published in Part X of the collection "Nuevas escogidas" (Madrid, 1658<sup>32</sup>) titled La mayor venganza de honor and attributed to Álvaro Cubillo. Another version is in a manuscript at the BNE (Ms. 16086) named Los comendadores de Córdoba, believed by Menéndez Pelayo<sup>33</sup> to be from Claramonte<sup>34</sup>. However, an analysis using ETSO finds no evidence to support Claramonte's authorship but suggests Álvaro Cubillo de Aragón may be the playwright.

### **3.14. El condenado por desconfiado**

Comedy attributed to Tirso de Molina, Andrés de Claramonte, and other playwrights. The authorship of this work constitutes one of the greatest enigmas of the theatrical repertoire of the Golden Age. Included in the controversial Parte II de Tirso de Molina (Madrid, 1635<sup>35</sup>), there are researchers who consider it one of the four comedies that the Mercedarian friar claims as his own in the preliminaries of that volume. Others have proposed different authors. Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez has been particularly notable in attributing it to Claramonte (2008 and 2016). The results of ETSO, based on the text by Luis Galván for Canon 60 (2014), do not support the attributions to Tirso or Claramonte, or to any of the other proposed playwrights (Remón, Godínez...).

### **3.15. Los corporales de Daroca**

A sacramental act associated with Andrés de Claramonte. According to CAT-COM, in 1623 during the Corpus festival, Alonso de Olmedo's company showcased the act in Seville attributing it to Claramonte. The piece is now lost.

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<sup>32</sup>Cotarelo y Mori, 1931, pp. 422-426.

<sup>33</sup>Menéndez Pelayo, 1900, p. IXXXIV.

<sup>34</sup>Ver Profeti y Zancanari, 1983, pp. 103-104.

<sup>35</sup>Zugasti, 1999, p. 30.

### 3.16. De Alcalá a Madrid

Drama linked to both Andrés de Claramonte and Pedro Calderón. The text was found in a BNE manuscript (Ms. 15084) from 1801, credited to Claramonte. There are also independent versions attributed to both Claramonte and Calderón<sup>36</sup>. ETSO analysis, after reviewing an independent version from Menéndez Pelayo's library, strongly backs Claramonte's authorship.

### 3.17. Deste agua no beberé

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. According to Héctor Urzáiz<sup>37</sup>, it was performed by Antonio de Prado in 1617, a fact not recorded by CATCOM. Its text was included in the fraudulent volume *Doze comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio, y otros autores. Segunda parte*, which claims to have been printed in Barcelona by Gerónimo Margarit in 1630, with a single copy preserved in the BNE (R/23136). This copy also contains the first edition of *El burlador de Sevilla*. Its true identity was discovered by the brilliant work of Don W. Cruickshank on this first print of the monumental work, who concludes:

To sum up: in 1630 Simón Faxardo of Seville collected prints of six sueltas produced by his own presses, two sueltas probably produced by Manuel de Sande, also of Seville, one suelta produced by an unidentified Seville printer, and bound them all together with three desglosables from a volume produced by Sande. He gave this hotchpotch the title of *Doze comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio, y otros autores*, and added the words *Segunda parte*<sup>38</sup>.

There are also standalone editions without data<sup>39</sup>. It is one of the author's most reprinted comedies today: Mesonero Romanos (1857), Ebersole (1973), Hernández Valcárcel (1983), Rodríguez López-Vázquez (1984 and 2008). The examinations in ETSO, based on the text from the BVMC, which reproduces that of Mesonero, clearly support the attribution to Claramonte.

### 3.18. De los méritos de amor el secreto es el mayor

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. La Barrera cites it as *De los méritos de amor, el silencio es el mayor*<sup>40</sup>. It has been preserved in a manuscript of the BNE (Ms. 17408), attributed to Claramonte, showing signs of having been based on a printed model. For particularly metric reasons, Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez has questioned this attribution, suggesting that it might be a reworking of a Claramonte text<sup>41</sup>. The results of our analysis in ETSO, based on an automatic and subsequently corrected transcription of the manuscript,

<sup>36</sup>K. and R. Reichenberger, vol. I, 1979, pp. 756-757.

<sup>37</sup>Urzáiz Tortajada, 2002, p. 256.

<sup>38</sup>Cruickshank, 1981, p. 457.

<sup>39</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010a, pp. 344-345.

<sup>40</sup>La Barrera, 1860, pp. 93 y 541.

<sup>41</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010a, p. 344.

dismiss the attribution to Claramonte, and do not support any other playwright, although they do provide some insight into the late character of the text.

### **3.19. De lo vivo a lo pintado**

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. It has been preserved in a manuscript with 17th-century handwriting and attributed to the playwright from Murcia, currently in the BNE (Ms. 15669). At least two standalone editions of the work are located: one without printing data, appearing to be from the 17th century —there's a copy in the BNE, available in the Biblioteca Digital Hispánica (BDH from now on) of the BNE, T/55273/5— and another with an 18th-century colophon by Francisco de Leefdael (also with copies in the same library, available in the BDH: T/3426 and T/19602). Modernly, Mesonero included it in his selection of the author's comedies in volumes dedicated to playwrights contemporary to Lope de Vega (1857). The examinations in ETSO, based on Mesonero's text, support the attribution to Claramonte.

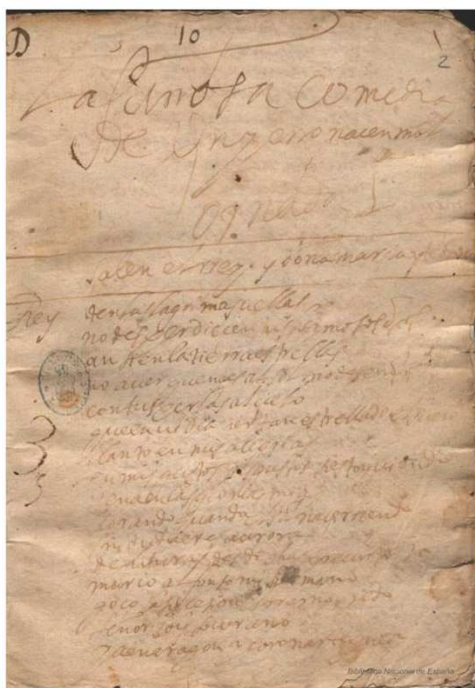
### **3.20. De un yerro nacen mil**

Comedy of unknown authorship. La Barrera considers it anonymous<sup>42</sup> and notes that its title is mentioned in the *Loa sacramental de los títulos de las comedias de Lope de Vega*. Its text has been preserved in two manuscripts of the BNE, coming from the library of the Duke of Osuna, and both have reproductions in the BDH. The oldest one has 17th-century handwriting (Ms. 17335). The handwriting of the second (Ms. 16318) is from the 18th century and enhances its title with another, *De un yerro nacen mil yerros y Don Artal de Aragón*, stating that it's a "new comedy".

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<sup>42</sup>La Barrera, 1860, p. 542.





First page of the manuscript of *De un yerro nacen mil*, BNE, Ms. 17335

Our analyses in ETSO, based on an automatic and later refined transcription of the manuscript Ms. 17335, have produced results that strongly support Claramonte, representing a novel research proposal to expand the repertoire of the playwright, achieved through stylometry.

**El dichoso desdichado, Poncio Pilato:** see *Vida y muerte de Poncio Pilato*

### 3.21. El difunto vengador

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. A play with this title and attributed to the playwright from Murcia is mentioned in the already alluded inventory made in 1628 by the treasurer of the General Hospital of Valencia, listing the comedies that Jerónimo Almella used as collateral for a loan. We do not have its text unless it is an alternative title for *El burlador de Sevilla*, as suggested by A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez (1989).

### 3.22. Dineros son calidad

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega, Andrés de Claramonte, and Jerónimo de Cáncer. According to CATCOM, it was performed by the company of Felipe Sánchez de Echevarría for His Majesty in 1623. A manuscript is preserved in the

BNE (Ms. 16924) attributed to Lope. It was also published under his name in Parte XXIV de Lope [and others] (Zaragoza, 1633<sup>43</sup>). There are some individual editions in the name of Fénix (that of Antonio Sanz), but in Seville, several were published attributed to Jerónimo de Cáncer (those by Navarro and Armijo and the Widow of Francisco Lorenzo de Hermosilla). Emilio Cotarelo in his academic edition (1930) considers it Lope's work, as do Hugo A. Rennert and Américo Castro<sup>44</sup>. However, S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton view its authenticity with skepticism<sup>45</sup>. Alfonso D'Agostino does not believe it's by Claramonte but by Lope<sup>46</sup>. A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez has recently published it under the name of the playwright from Murcia (2000). The ETSO analyses, based on Cotarelo's text, support the attribution to Claramonte.

### 3.23. Don Gil de la Mancha

Comedy attributed to Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla, Lope de Vega, and Alonso Castillo Solórzano. The text has come down to us in two anonymous 17th-century manuscripts, one preserved in the Library of the Institut del Teatre (Vitr.A Est.5) and the other in the BNE (Ms. 14097); and in an individual edition without publishing details, but showing characteristics of 17th-century Seville (BNE: T/19804 and T/55328/19). There is a modern edition by Pedro J. Isado (2002). Its attribution has been debated. La Barrera tentatively attributes it to Lope or Rojas<sup>47</sup>. Morley and Bruerton reject its attribution to Fénix and note that Paul Luenow, who was writing his thesis on this work, attributed it to Alonso Castillo Solórzano<sup>48</sup>. This proposal seems based on the fact that one of the two located copies of the individual edition has the name of Rojas overwritten by hand with that of this writer from Tordesillas. Emilio Cotarelo does not believe it's by Rojas, although he assigns it the individual edition, the only testimony with an attribution<sup>49</sup>. Urzáiz lists it among Claramonte's works<sup>50</sup> without specifying the source of this information, which no other researchers seem to have used as far as we can verify. ETSO analyses, especially machine learning tests, indicate Claramonte's style only in the final part of the work. Thus, there is a new aspect to consider regarding the playwright's repertoire.

### 3.24. Don Jaime el conquistador

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. In CATCOM, under the title El rey Don Jaime de Aragón, there are four records of performances between 1620 and 1628, with different attributions. The one for Claramonte is noted in the inventory made in 1628 by the treasurer of the General Hospital of Valencia,

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<sup>43</sup>Profeti, 1988, pp. 39-45.

<sup>44</sup>Rennert and Castro, 1969, p. 459.

<sup>45</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, pp. 446-447.

<sup>46</sup>D'Agostino, 2010, p. 68.

<sup>47</sup>La Barrera, 1860, p. 542.

<sup>48</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, p. 450.

<sup>49</sup>Cotarelo y Mori, 2007 [1911], p. 247.

<sup>50</sup>Urzáiz Tortajada, 2002, p. 256.

listing the plays that Jerónimo Almella left as collateral for a loan. It is now lost.

### **3.25. Las dos bandoleras y fundación de la Santa Hermandad de Toledo**

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega. It was published under the name of Fénix in *Doze comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio, y otros autores*. Segunda parte, the same volume that contains the first editions of *El burlador de Sevilla* and *Deste agua no beberé*, whose imprint (Barcelona, Gerónimo Margarit, 1630) was refuted by Don W. Cruickshank, who identified it as a Seville product by Simón Faxardo from that same year<sup>51</sup>. Although M. Menéndez Pelayo, H. A. Rennert, and A. Castro, among others, believed it was by Lope, Morley and Bruerton express doubts<sup>52</sup>. The proposal in favor of Claramonte was made by A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez:

There are many signs pointing to Claramonte as the author, including its publication alongside, at the very least, another play by Claramonte, in Seville, during the years when the Murcian playwright's works were posthumously published. Moreover, the metric model used fits perfectly with two other known works by Claramonte<sup>53</sup>.

The results of the ETSO analyses neither support its attribution to Lope nor Claramonte. However, they suggest the possibility that its author may be Matías de los Reyes. Hence, stylometry opens a new line of research, not previously considered.

### **3.26. El dote del Rosario**

Sacramental play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Preserved in a manuscript at the BNE (Ms. 15254), which once belonged to Durán, and on its cover is attributed to Claramonte. Jorge Ferreira Barrocal has recently edited it (2022). Our ETSO analyses, based on Ferreira's text, support the attribution to Claramonte.

### **3.27. Escarramán**

Sacramental play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Preserved in a manuscript at the BNE (Ms. 15375), which once belonged to Durán. On the recto of the second leaf, to the right of the *dramatis personae*, another hand has written "Claramonte." The text has corrections; some of them made by Francisco de Rojas. Jean-Louis Flecniakoska attributes it to Claramonte<sup>54</sup>. The ETSO analyses,

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<sup>51</sup>Cruickshank, 1981, p. 457.

<sup>52</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, pp. 454-455.

<sup>53</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 1988, p. 9.

<sup>54</sup>Flecniakoska, 1976, p. 203.

based on the automatic transcription of the manuscript's text, especially support its attribution to Claramonte in the first half of the work.

### **3.28. La esclava del cielo, Santa Engracia**

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. CATCOM records eight performance notices between 1619 and 1643. With the first part of the title, it is among the fifteen plays by Claramonte that in 1628 are listed by the treasurer of the General Hospital of Valencia in the collateral document for the loan given to Almella. The play is preserved in a manuscript at the BNE (Ms. 15705), digitized in the BDH, where the author's name is not mentioned. Alejandro García-Reidy (2009) has convincingly argued for its attribution to the Murcian author. The ETSO analyses, based on the automatic transcription of the only manuscript, after error correction, reaffirm its attribution to Claramonte.

### **3.29. La Estrella de Sevilla**

Play attributed to Lope de Vega and Andrés de Claramonte. The most recent approach to the problems of this play, one of the most debated attributions in the Golden Age dramatic repertoire, is due to Nàdia Revenga (2021), who dedicated her doctoral thesis to the work. It provides an updated state of the matter concerning the challenges posed by critical testimonies (the detailed edition, where it is recorded that Avendaño performed it, and the standalone version with a shorter text), and especially, the attribution. Support for Claramonte's authorship has significant landmarks in S. E. Leavitt (1931), A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez (1991 and 2010a), and F. Cantalapiedra (1993). N. Revenga (2021) accounts for all of this, adding new evidence from digital procedures, including our ETSO report, with stylometry analysis results decidedly in favor of its attribution.

### **3.30. Los favores de la Virgen**

Sacramental play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. We do not know where this attribution comes from. As far as can be ascertained, the first to record it is Mesonero Romanos<sup>55</sup>; it then passed to La Barrera<sup>56</sup>, Alenda<sup>57</sup>, and Urzáiz<sup>58</sup>. Today, it's lost unless it's an alternative title for the play *El dote del Rosario*, as A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez suggests<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>55</sup>Mesonero Romanos, 1859, p. II.

<sup>56</sup>La Barrera, 1860, p. 595.

<sup>57</sup>Alenda y Mira, 1917, p. 664.

<sup>58</sup>Urzáiz Tortajada, 2002, p. 258.

<sup>59</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010a, p. 346.

### 3.31. Filippo innamorato

Play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Registered by H. Urzáiz<sup>60</sup>, referring to it being mentioned as a work of our writer by Fabio Franchi (Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa) in his "Ragguaglio di Parnaso," part of the "Essequie poetiche overo lamento delle muse italiane in morte del Sig. Lope de Vega insigne e incomparabile poeta spagnuolo" (Venice, 1636). Today, it's unknown to us.

### 3.32. La gallega

Play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. This title appears with fourteen others attributed to the playwright in the inventory made by the treasurer of the General Hospital of Valencia, listing the plays that Jerónimo Almella left as a loan guarantee in 1628. Henri Mérimée identifies it with *La gallega Mari Hernández* by Tirso de Molina<sup>61</sup>. Although some of these fifteen plays, and others in the document, are not correctly attributed, in this case, it's more logical to think that the title *La gallega* refers to a probable play by Claramonte, never related to him before, which we will have a chance to see shortly: *La lindona de Galicia*.

### 3.33. El gran rey de los desiertos, San Onofre

Play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Performed in Seville by Ortiz and the Valencians in 1620, it appears in the list of fifteen plays by Claramonte owned by Almella in 1628. Its text is preserved in the volume *Autos sacramentales con cuatro comedias nuevas...* (Madrid, 1655). It's also included in an 18th-century standalone edition by Francisco de Leefdael. Both printings attribute it to Claramonte. A modern edition by A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez (2010) exists. Our analyses in ETSO, based on the 2010 text, confirm the attribution to Claramonte.

### 3.34. La hija de Carlos V

Play attributed to Antonio Mira de Amescua<sup>62</sup>. Preserved in several standalone editions with no print data attributed to Mira de Amescua, there are several modern editions; the most prominent are by Karl-Ludwig Selig (2001) and Juan Manuel Villanueva (2002). The ETSO study was conducted on Selig's text in The Association for Hispanic Classical Theater (AHCT from now on), and its results do not support the attribution to Mira de Amescua but do favor Claramonte's writing for the first half of the play. Thus, a door opens to add a new play to his repertoire based on stylometry.

**El honor en la sangría y médico de su honra: see *El médico de su honra*.**

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<sup>60</sup>Urzáiz Tortajada, 2002, p. 256.

<sup>61</sup>Merimée, 1919, p. 178.

<sup>62</sup>Valladares Reguero, 2004, pp. 87-88.

### 3.35. El honrado con su sangre

Play attributed to Lope de Vega and Andrés de Claramonte. Published in Part XXIII, extravagant, of Lope (Valencia, 1629<sup>63</sup>), whose only copy is preserved at the University of Pennsylvania, in the name of the Phoenix. The heading indicates that Vallejo performed it. In the Hispanic Society of America, there's a standalone edition of the play without publishing details attributed to Claramonte (PQ 6217.A2); it might be from the same edition preserved in BNE (T/55273/10), with features indicating its early nature. The heading states that Amarilis (María de Córdoba) performed it. Erasmo Hernández González edited it in the name of the playwright from Murcia (1995). He supports it with metric and thematic arguments. Our analyses in ETSO, based on E. Hernández's text, neither support the attribution to Lope nor to Claramonte. However, the presence of plays by Juan Bautista de Villegas among the thirty closest works in the resulting distance table, when he isn't a writer with many texts in the corpus, suggests considering this new stylometric clue and investigating in that direction.

### 3.36. El horno de Constantinopla

Sacramental play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. DICAT records that in June 1624, Tomás Fernández's company performed in Seville the autos *El horno* and *El rey David*. The former is preserved in a manuscript from BNE (Ms. 17391), with a Madrid license from June 1624. Carmen Hernández Valcárcel made a modern edition of the text (1983). The ETSO results, based on Hernández Valcárcel's text, corroborate the attribution to Claramonte.

### 3.37. El Infante de Aragón

Play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. CATCOM records that in the fall of 1622, Cristóbal de Avendaño performed this play for the queen. It's preserved in a single standalone edition, apparently, with copies in BNE (T/55273/11), the Public Library of Toledo (sign. 1-906 [V]), and the Royal Library of Palacio (VIII/17137 [7]). The ETSO results based on the standalone edition don't support the attribution to Claramonte at all. On this and other play issues, a study by Álvaro Cuéllar, Alejandra Ulla, and Germán Vega will be published shortly.

**El infanzón de Illescas: see *El Rey Don Pedro en Madrid*.**

### 3.38. La infelice Dorotea

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. According to CATCOM, in 1620 the Valencianos company performed it in Seville. It also appeared in 1628 among the titles of Claramonte that Almella left to the treasurer of the General Hospital of Valencia. The text has reached us in a manuscript kept in the BNE (Ms.

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<sup>63</sup>Profeti, 1988, p. 35.

15226), with a license from Vargas Machuca from November 1622. There is a modern edition by Charles Ganelin (1987). ETSO's analyses, which are based on Ganelin's text, confirm the attribution to Claramonte.

### **3.39. El inobediente o la ciudad sin Dios**

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega and Andrés de Claramonte. It appears under Lope's name in a manuscript at the BNE (Ms. 15443), in Part XXVI (extravagant) of Lope [and others] (Zaragoza, 1645<sup>64</sup>), and in a standalone copy without printing details from the British Library. It is attributed to Claramonte in Part II of the Nuevas escogidas collection (Madrid, 1652<sup>65</sup>). According to M. Menéndez Pelayo, the text would be a revision of another by Lope carried out by Claramonte. S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton believe that, as it stands, it is not from Lope<sup>66</sup>. The study in ETSO was based on the text from ARTELOPE, and its results do not support the attribution to Lope de Vega, while they do favor Claramonte's authorship for the first and third acts, but not so much for the second.

### **3.40. El juego del hombre**

Praise attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. It has a modern edition by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (1997). Text not analyzed by ETSO: its length is not enough for reliable results.

### **3.41. La jura de Baltasar**

Sacramental act attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Medel (1735) cites it with attribution to the playwright. According to Alenda, "it would be performed in 1632, the year when the oath of the ill-fated prince don Baltasar Carlos took place"<sup>67</sup>; which does not match the biography of Claramonte, who died in 1626. The text is not preserved.

**Las lanzas por lanzaderas: see El tejedor de Segovia. Primera parte**

### **3.42. La libertad restaurada**

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. This title is among the fifteen assigned to him in the aforementioned list of the treasurer of the General Hospital of Valencia, which lists the works left by Jerónimo Almella in 1628 as collateral for a loan. It is either lost today or preserved under another title.

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<sup>64</sup>Profeti, 1988, p. 59.

<sup>65</sup>Cotarelo y Mori, 1931, pp. 243-247.

<sup>66</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, pp. 433-434.

<sup>67</sup>Alenda y Mira, 1918, p. 221.

### 3.43. La lindona de Galicia

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega, Juan Pérez de Montalbán, and Agustín Moreto. Preserved testimonies and their different attributions to the three playwrights can be seen in Profeti<sup>68</sup>. Under Lope's name, an 18th-century manuscript is kept at the BNE (Ms. 14834/13). It also appeared in a standalone copy from the Preußische Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, cited by Tiemann<sup>69</sup>, lost after World War II, along with many other copies. Under Moreto's name, and with the title *La rica hembra de Galicia*, it is mentioned by La Barrera, but no copy is located today. Under Montalbán's name, there are records of a standalone copy without printing details (a copy exists in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich [4.p.o. hisp.29 d,1/21#B.5]) and three other 18th-century editions (J. González, 1733, and two from Orga, 1762). It was published in the collection *El teatro español* (Seville, 1887). Santiago Fernández Mosquera, in his insightful article on the play, already considered the ETSO report, which guides authorship research towards Claramonte (2021).

Indeed, our analyses in ETSO, based on the 1887 print text, clearly point to the playwright from Murcia. This means a new proposed addition to his repertoire, thanks to stylometry.

### 3.44. Loa en metáfora de las iglesias de Sevilla / Las calles de Sevilla

Sacramental praise attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Under the first title, it was published in Seville by Francisco de Lyra in 1620. The same printer published it along with the praise of *La asunción de la Virgen*, in separate editions from 1620 and 1621<sup>70</sup>. There is a modern edition by Mercedes de los Reyes (1999). Text not analyzed by ETSO: its length is not enough for reliable results.

### 3.45. Más vale volando

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. CATCOM records four performances between 1624 and 1628. The attribution to Claramonte occurs in the latter year, which corresponds to the list from the Valencian treasurer we have mentioned on various occasions: it is one of the fifteen titles attributed to him there. It is either lost today or preserved under another title.

### 3.46. La mayor corona

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega. Preserved in a 17th-century manuscript from the library of the Duke of Osuna and kept today at the BNE (Ms. 16969), it is attributed to Lope. It was published by Emilio Cotarelo in the academic edition

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<sup>68</sup>Profeti, 1976, pp. 459-462.

<sup>69</sup>Tiemann, 1939, pp. 93 y 493.

<sup>70</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010a, p. 347.



(1916). There is also an edition by Nicolás González Ruiz (1996). Cotarelo believed it was by Lope, though with some doubt. H. A. Rennert and A. Castro do not have such doubts<sup>71</sup>. S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton see serious metric problems in considering it from the Fénix<sup>72</sup>. ETSO's analyses, based on the text provided by ARTELOPE, which in turn comes from the 1996 edition, strongly support Claramonte, representing a new and innovative proposal from stylometry to increase the Claramontian theatrical repertoire.

### 3.47. El mayor rey de los reyes

A comedy attributed to Lope de Vega, Andrés de Claramonte, and Pedro Calderón. García-Reidy (2019) records various reports about the circulation of this title among the companies of the time. The first is from March 1609, which we have already considered regarding *La adúltera virtuosa*: the sale to the author Claramonte of ten comedies, among which are the aforementioned title and the two parts named *El mayor rey de los reyes*. According to García-Reidy, these "could be texts from another playwright that Claramonte used to prepare his eponymous comedy, perhaps not long after [...] or perhaps an earlier version that Claramonte himself would later merge into a single comedy."<sup>73</sup> There is another report on the work from 1617<sup>74</sup>. Three 17th-century manuscripts attributed to Claramonte are preserved in the BNE (National Library of Spain). One of them (Ms. 15278) dated 1631, is a copy by Diego Martínez de Mora and comes from Durán's library. The one with the reference Ms. 17133 belonged to the Duke of Osuna's collection, and the third is labeled Ms. 15268. In the BNE, there is also a loose sheet without printing details that attributes the work to Calderón (T/55270/19), and its text is the same as the 1631 manuscript. Another similar edition is in the Arsenal Library in Paris (4° 814113, 7a pièce) and another, incomplete, in the Public Library of Toledo (1-862). The existence of this or these editions meant that Calderón included its title among the rejected comedies in the preliminaries of Part IV (Madrid, 1672). The attribution to Lope is because Medel's<sup>75</sup> and García de la Huerta's<sup>76</sup> indices each assign him plays with that title, but no manuscript or print under his name survives. Cotarelo included it in his academic edition (1930). According to S. G. Morley and C. Bruerton, there are significant metric challenges to assume its authorship, so they don't believe it's his work<sup>77</sup>. Our study in ETSO was based on the automatic transcription of the text from the BNE T/55270/19, and its results do not support the attribution to Lope or Calderón but do favor Claramonte's authorship regarding the beginning and the second half of the work.

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<sup>71</sup>Rennert and Castro, 1969, p. 475.

<sup>72</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, p. 504.

<sup>73</sup>García-Reidy, 2019, p. 139.

<sup>74</sup>García-Reidy, 2019, p. 143.

<sup>75</sup>Medel del Castillo, *Índice general alfabético...*, p. 69.

<sup>76</sup>García de la Huerta, *Teatro español. Catalogo alfabético de las comedias...*, p. 114.

<sup>77</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, pp. 508-509.

### 3.48. El médico de su honra / El honor en la sangría y médico de su honra

A different comedy from Calderón's namesake, it has been attributed to Lope de Vega and recently to Andrés de Claramonte. Under Lope's name, it was included in what would be Part XXVII of the collection of *Diferentes autores*, which had two editions (Barcelona, 1633<sup>78</sup>). Its header states that Avendaño performed it. A loose sheet of the work was part of Volume 133 of *Osuna*<sup>79</sup>, and today it's kept in the BNE (R/23244/9). M. Menéndez Pelayo included it in his academic edition (1899). A modern edition by Ana Armendáriz Aramendía was published in 2007. Concerning the work's relationships with other texts, F. Antonucci's work on Calderón's tragedy (2014) is of interest. A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez recently edited it (2020), attributing it to Claramonte and titling it *El honor en la sangría y médico de su honra*, derived from the mention made in its last two verses. In the introduction, the reasons for this new attribution are briefly outlined, though it concludes by leaving the door open for more precise clarifications:

This allows us to argue that *El honor en la sangría* forms, together with *Deste agua no beberé*, a duology attributable to Claramonte, according to what the last verses of *Deste agua no beberé* announced: a second comedy about King Don Pedro, which should complete the tragic surroundings of this king's figure and his tragic journey. For a definitive attribution, one would need critical studies like those approached by Fausta Antonucci or José Fradejas, which would approach Andrés de Claramonte's dramatic work without prejudice<sup>80</sup>.

Our analyses in ETSO, in line with Rodríguez López-Vázquez's demands, were based on the text by Armendáriz Aramendía (2007), and their results do not favor Claramonte. They also do not favor Lope and do not point towards another possible playwright.

### 3.49. El mejor consejo

A comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. The title and attribution appear in the list of comedies left as collateral for a loan by Almella to the General Hospital of Valencia in 1628 (CATCOM). It's considered lost unless it's been preserved under a different title.

### 3.50. La milagrosa elección de San Pío Quinto

Comedy attributed to Juan Pérez de Montalbán, Agustín Moreto, and Andrés de Claramonte. According to Héctor Urzáiz, Juan de Morales's company performed

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<sup>78</sup>Profeti, 1988, pp. 61-69.

<sup>79</sup>Vega García-Luengos, 2000, p. 120.

<sup>80</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, on his edition of *El honor en la sangría y médico de su honra*, pp. 23-24.

it at the palace in 1622-1623<sup>81</sup>. The attribution has been controversial, as it has been associated with several playwrights, with even the titles being confused. This is the case for the proposal in favor of Godínez, since in Medel's Index (1735) *La milagrosa elección* is attributed to him. This likely refers to the also titled *La corona derribada*, which tells the story of Moses and is attributed to Lope in a Parma manuscript<sup>82</sup>. The dispute lies between Montalbán, Moreto—both with preserved testimonials under their names—and Claramonte, proposed by Adolf Schaeffer due to a character named Clarindo<sup>83</sup>. A detailed record of the various testimonials can be seen in M. G. Profeti<sup>84</sup>. Under Montalbán's name, there's a manuscript at the Institut del Teatre (sign. 60777), titled *El cardenal Morón*, and a standalone with no printing details titled *El premio de la humildad y elección de Pío Quinto*. Moreto's name is found in the edition included in the Parte XXXIX of *Nuevas escogidas* (Madrid, 1673<sup>85</sup>) and three 18th-century Sevillian standalone editions from the Leefdael printing house, all titled *La milagrosa elección de san Pío Quinto*. Profeti agrees with Ruth L. Kennedy's (1936) deductions that it is not the work of Moreto nor Claramonte (in this case the reason given is that Clarindo plays a grotesque role). Thus, Pérez de Montalbán seems the most likely author. On the other hand, Profeti argues that the testimonials attributing it to him are stronger than those for Moreto. Profeti also adds Montalbán's attention to Philip II as a distinguishing mark. The attribution to Claramonte is supported by A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez<sup>86</sup>. The ETSO study is based on the BVMC text, which has digitized Luis Fernández-Guerra's in the BAE, and its results do not support the attribution to Montalbán or Moreto, but they do favor Claramonte's authorship regarding the middle and final parts.

### 3.51. La ninfa del cielo (auto sacramental)

Attributed to Tirso de Molina and Andrés de Claramonte. According to DICAT, it was performed in Seville in 1619 by Juan Acacio's company. It's preserved in a BNE manuscript (Ms. 15250), which belonged to Durán. Both the comedy and the sacramental play of the same title have been attributed to Tirso de Molina. There's an edition of the sacramental piece by Ignacio Arellano, Blanca Oteiza, and Miguel Zugasti (2000). Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez attributed both works to Andrés de Claramonte (1988). He later edited the comedy *La ninfa del cielo* under Luis Vélez de Guevara's name (2008). The ETSO results, based on the GRISO text, doubtfully relate the work to Claramonte (the distances show proximity, but the classification processes only sometimes assign it to our playwright), so this attribution should continue to be explored.

<sup>81</sup>Urzáiz Tortajada, 2002, p. 257.

<sup>82</sup>Vega García-Luengos, 1987.

<sup>83</sup>Schaeffer, 1890, vol. II, p. 183.

<sup>84</sup>Profeti, 1976, pp. 407-411.

<sup>85</sup>Cotarelo y Mori, pp. 812-816.

<sup>86</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010b, pp. 134-135.

### 3.52. La ninfa del cielo (comedia)

Attributed to Tirso de Molina, Andrés de Claramonte, and Luis Vélez de Guevara. See the previous entry dedicated to the sacramental play of the same name. The ETSO results strongly support the attribution of the comedy to Luis Vélez de Guevara.

### 3.53. No sois vos, mi vida, para labrador

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Its authorship in his favor is listed in the known inventory of comedies left by Jerónimo Almella as collateral for a loan to the General Hospital of Valencia in 1628. It is considered lost unless it has been preserved under another title.

### 3.54. El nuevo rey Gallinato, y la ventura por desgracia

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. It was performed in Salamanca in April 1604, as referred to in the Diary of Girolamo da Sommaia (1977). This would be the first mention of a work by Claramonte when he was an actor enlisted in Baltasar de Pinedo's company<sup>87</sup>. It's preserved in a 17th-century BNE manuscript (Ms. 15319), which came from Durán's library. It has recently been published by Carmen Hernández Valcárcel (1983). The ETSO study, based on Hernández Valcárcel's text, supports the work's attribution to Claramonte with some outside interferences in its beginning.

### 3.55. La paciencia en la fortuna

Comedy by an unknown author. It's preserved in an anonymous BNE manuscript (Ms. 16459). Francisco Gómez Martos (2019) has suggested its author is Lope de Vega. Jorge Ferreira Barrocal (2023) suggests Claramonte, juggling arguments ranging from the play's stage life to style traits. Among the clues, he had an ETSO report that supports this attribution. Indeed, our stylometry analyses, based on the text prepared by Ferreira, clearly point towards Claramonte, representing a new proposal to add to his repertoire in which stylometry has played a significant role.

### 3.56. El pan de Vallecas

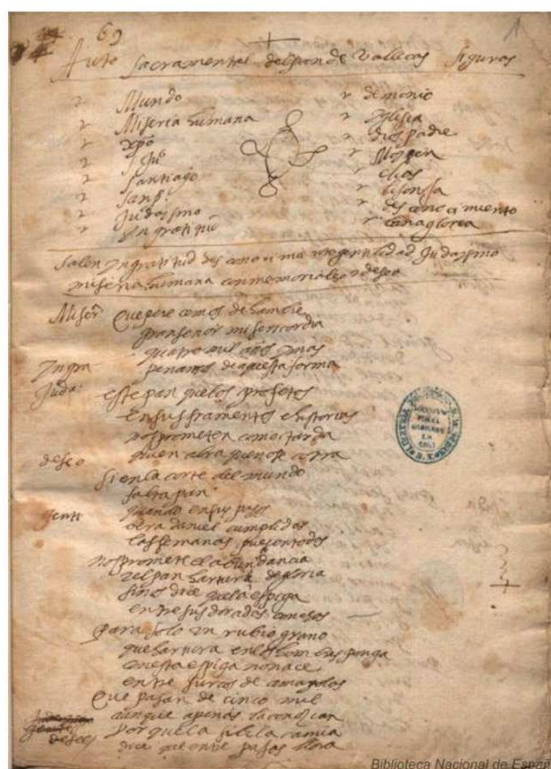
Sacramental play by an unknown author. Its text is preserved in an anonymous BNE manuscript (Ms. 15373) from the 17th century, which belonged to Durán. It's not listed in Medel's (1735) or La Barrera's (1860) lists but is mentioned by Jenaro Alenda<sup>88</sup> and Héctor Urzáiz<sup>89</sup>, referring to the manuscript.

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<sup>87</sup>García-Reidy, 2019, p. 139.

<sup>88</sup>Alenda y Mira, 1920, p. 497.

<sup>89</sup>Urzáiz Tortajada, 2002, p. 110.



First page of the manuscript of El pan de Vallecas, BNE, Ms. 15373

The ETSO analyses, based on the automatic transcription of the manuscript with subsequent text correction, support Claramonte's authorship. This represents a novel proposal to increase his repertoire, made possible by the convergence of automatic transcription and stylometric analysis.

### 3.57. El premio de la virtud y sucesos prodigiosos de don Pedro Guerrero

Comedy attributed to Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza. Preserved in a standalone edition with no printing data, of which there is a copy in the BNE (T/20666), reproduced in the BDH. According to Urzáiz, this would be the first work written by the court playwright<sup>90</sup>. The study in ETSO was conducted based on the automatic transcription of the only standalone edition, and its results suggest that Claramonte might have written sections in the middle of the comedy. We are therefore faced with another proposal to expand Claramonte's repertoire based on stylometry.

<sup>90</sup>Urzáiz Tortajada, 2002, p. 369.

### 3.58. La prudencia en el castigo

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega and Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla. It is preserved in two editions with differing attributions: the one included in Parte XLIV of *Nuevas escogidas* (Madrid, 1678<sup>91</sup>) is attributed to Rojas; whereas a standalone edition without printing data, but with features of being from Seville and early, has the name of Lope de Vega in the header<sup>92</sup>. Although scholars such as E. Cotarelo or A. G. Morley and C. Bruerton<sup>93</sup> dismiss it as a work of the Phoenix (Lope de Vega), Rafael González Cañal (2014) has argued in favor of its candidacy. The ETSO examinations do not confirm either of the two options but instead point decidedly towards Andrés de Claramonte, an option never considered until stylometry proposed it.

### 3.59. Púsoseme el sol, saliome la luna / Santa Teodora

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega and Andrés de Claramonte. Its text is preserved in two manuscripts of the BNE (Ms. 16986, from Durán's library, and Ms. 14955), in neither of which the author's name appears in contemporary handwriting. It was also published, attributed to Lope de Vega, in Parte XXVI (extravagante) of *Lope [y otros]* (Zaragoza, 1645<sup>94</sup>) and in the spurious Parte XXIX of *Lope [y otros]* (Huesca, 1634<sup>95</sup>). There are also several standalone editions, always under the name of Lope. Medel lists the title attributing it only to Claramonte<sup>96</sup>. Agustín González Palencia included it in the academic collection of Lope, believing it to be a work of the Phoenix (1930). Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez has modernly published it under the name of Claramonte (1985). The ETSO results, which are based on the BVMC text, do not favor Lope de Vega, but clearly favor Claramonte.

### 3.60. El rey David

Sacramental play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. The only reference to this title in association with the Murcian playwright is due to Jean Sentaurens<sup>97</sup>, who considers it his, as well as that of *El horno [de Constantinopla]*, both performed in Seville by Tomás Fernández's company in 1624. Text unknown.

### 3.61. El rey don Pedro en Madrid / El infanzón de Illescas

Comedy attributed to Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Andrés de Claramonte, and Pedro Calderón. Two manuscripts are preserved: one in the BNE (Ms. 16639), which has a license from December 1626 and an attribution to Claramonte

<sup>91</sup>Cotarelo y Mori, 1932, pp. 171-175.

<sup>92</sup>González Cañal, Cerezo and Vega García-Luengos, 2007, pp. 361-362.

<sup>93</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, pp. 542-543.

<sup>94</sup>Profeti, 1988, p. 59.

<sup>95</sup>Profeti, 1988, p. 159.

<sup>96</sup>Medel del Castillo, *Índice general alfabético...*, p. 93.

<sup>97</sup>Sentaurens, 1984, vol. II, p. 1141.

(although later someone on the cover ascribes it to Calderón), which is the longer version; and another in the Municipal Library of Madrid (Tea 1-9-4). As a printed work, attributed to Lope and titled *El infanzón de Illescas*, it was published in Parte XXVII of the collection of *Diferentes autores* (Barcelona, 1633<sup>98</sup>). Under Calderón's name, it was included among the ten comedies of the considered false Parte V (Madrid, 1677), although in reality all but this one are by the author of *La vida es sueño*<sup>99</sup>. There are also standalone editions under Calderón's name. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch edited it as a work by Tirso de Molina (1848). Carol Bingham Kirby, leaning towards Lope's attribution, published both versions (1999 and 2003). Fernando Cantalapiedra, who already published a study on the work in relation to Claramonte (1990), is finishing a new proposal. The ETSO results, based on the text provided by F. Cantalapiedra, strongly support Claramonte's candidacy, while not favoring the other suggested playwrights or any other.

### 3.62. El rigor en la inocencia

Comedy attributed to Juan Pérez de Montalbán. In the lists of Fajardo (1716) and Medel (1735), the title is attributed to Montalbán, but in Mesonero's list, it is mentioned among those of Claramonte as [El] rigor y la inocencia, without knowing where he got the reference, nor if it's a sacramental play or comedy<sup>100</sup>. On the other hand, the preserved testimonies are attributed to Pérez de Montalbán: a 19th-century manuscript from the BNE (Ms. 16052) and two standalone editions without printing information<sup>101</sup>. Paz y Meliá<sup>102</sup> mentions another standalone edition where the comedy would be titled *Privarse de privar*, but he is most likely echoing the last verse: "No diré, mas diré que esto / es privarse de privar." In any case, no printed version with that title has been found. None of the experts on Montalbán have questioned the attribution.

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<sup>98</sup>Profeti, pp. 61-69.

<sup>99</sup>Vega García-Luengos, 2005.

<sup>100</sup>Mesonero Romanos, 1859, p. II.

<sup>101</sup>Profeti, 1976, pp. 336-337.

<sup>102</sup>Paz y Meliá, 1934, p. 481.





document from 1642, in which Bartolomé Romero records his ownership of the comedy, acquired from Andrés de Claramonte<sup>104</sup>. From this information, and with special attention to the metrics of the work, he confirms the attribution. The ETSO results, based on García-Reidy's text, support the attribution to Claramonte.

**Santa Teodora:** see **Púsoseme el sol, saliome la luna**

### **3.64. El secreto en la mujer**

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Its text has been transmitted in a manuscript from the BNE (Res/169), from Durán, with corrections by the emender Francisco de Rojas. It was published in the collection *El teatro español* (Seville, 1887), where it is labeled "Unpublished Comedy". There is a modern edition by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (1991). The ETSO analyses, conducted from an automatic transcription of the manuscript, corrected by Marina Mayor, support Claramonte's writing for most of the work, except at the beginning and some middle parts of the text.

### **3.65. La semejanza engañosa**

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. CATCOM records three performance notices between 1625 and 1628. Claramonte is attributed in the one from the latter year, which corresponds to the known list of comedies that Jerónimo Almella leaves to the Hospital General of Valencia's treasurer. It's lost today, unless, as A. Rodríguez López-Vázquez suggests, it is an alternative title for *De lo vivo a lo pintado*, which is preserved<sup>105</sup>.

### **3.66. La serrana de Aravalle**

Comedy attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. A work titled this and attributed to the playwright from Murcia is named in the inventory that in 1628 the treasurer of the Hospital General of Valencia made of the comedies that Jerónimo Almella deposited as collateral. Its text is not preserved.

### **3.67. La sinagoga**

Sacramental play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. Performed, along with *El horno de Constantinopla* and *El rey David*, during the 1624 Seville Corpus, but in this case, the performance was by Andrés de la Vega's company<sup>106</sup>. The text is not preserved.

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<sup>104</sup>García-Reidy, 2008a, p. 183.

<sup>105</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 1984, p. 170.

<sup>106</sup>Rennert, 1907, p. 434.

### 3.68. Tan largo me lo fiáis / El burlador de Sevilla

Comedy attributed to Tirso de Molina, Pedro Calderón, and Andrés de Claramonte. The text, titled *El burlador de Sevilla* and attributed to Tirso de Molina, was included in the volume of *Doze comedias de Lope de Vega y otros autores*, whose imprint "Barcelona, J. Margarit, 1630" is false, as demonstrated by Don Cruickshank, who assigned it to Manuel de Sande's workshop in Seville between 1627 and 1629. The text titled *Tan largo me lo fiáis* and attributed to Pedro Calderón is in a loose Sevillian edition of Francisco de Lyra, according to a typographic study by Cruickshank<sup>107</sup>. The comedy author Jerónimo Sánchez performed in Córdoba on August 4, 1617, a comedy titled *Tan largo me lo fiáis*<sup>108</sup>. The priority of one text over the other and, especially, its attribution has given rise to one of the most heated debates that Golden Age literature has witnessed in recent decades, mainly due to the central importance of the work, the starting point of one of the most exploited and versatile myths of universal culture. Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez has the longest trajectory in favor of attributing it to Claramonte, whose latest milestone is the recent edition of the work (2022). We do not intend to delve into the different proposals or intervene in the controversy with a sufficiently substantiated position; for now, as a first approach to the problem, we will communicate the results of the analyses to which we have subjected both texts. Well, both show affinity with Claramonte's methods, although neither extends to the entire work. It's more pronounced in *Tan largo*, while *Burlador* shows more external participation. Another interesting piece of evidence is that in the parts of the text that coincide between both versions, the ETSO results favor Claramonte's responsibility. According to the stylometric analysis guidelines for double-version cases applied by Miguel Campión Larumbe and Álvaro Cuéllar (2021), *Tan largo* would be the earlier work.

### 3.69. El tao de san Antón

Comedy attributed to Guillén de Castro and Andrés de Claramonte. Preserved in a 17th-century manuscript stored in the BNE (Ms. 16937), from the library of the Duke of Osuna, where it is attributed to Claramonte. Another testimony is the edition included in what is known as the Schaeffer Volume, which for A. Restori and M. G. Profeti might correspond to Part XXI, which would begin the *Diferentes autores* collection<sup>109</sup>; here it is attributed to Guillén de Castro. The ETSO exams, based on a text by García-Reidy, do not support Guillén de Castro, and only partially Claramonte, who appears to be responsible for some segments in the middle parts of the work.

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<sup>107</sup>Cruickshank, 1989, p. 251.

<sup>108</sup>García Gómez, 2006.

<sup>109</sup>Profeti, 1988, pp. 21-27.

### 3.70. El tejedor de Segovia. Primera parte / Las lanzas por lanzaderas

A comedy attributed to Juan Ruiz de Alarcón, Pedro Calderón, and Andrés de Claramonte. The text, titled *El tejedor de Segovia. Primera parte*, circulated in various individual editions of the 18th century under the name of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón. He is the author of the more well-known play about the character, considered the *Segunda parte*, and which he published himself in Part II of his comedies (Barcelona, 1634). Other editions attribute it to Calderón, leading Don Pedro himself to reject it as his own in the preliminary list of Part IV (Madrid, 1672). Eugenio de Ochoa included it, under Alarcón's name, in his *Tesoro del teatro español* (1838). Erasmo Hernández, in his study for the edition of *El honrado con su sangre*, finds connections between this play and the first *Tejedor*, leading him to suggest that the author might be Claramonte. The paradox is that everything points to him not being the author of *El honrado con su sangre*. The proposition supporting the authorship of the Murcian is reinforced with various types of analyses in the edition of the play done by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (2016), where he suggests restoring what he believes to be the original title *Las lanzas por lanzaderas*. The same volume includes Alarcón's comedy, which he believes was written after the one he attributes to Claramonte, to exploit the potential of the character Ramírez de Vargas. The analyses from ETSO, which have taken Ochoa's text as their basis, strongly support the attribution to Claramonte.

### 3.71. Transformaciones

Play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. CATCOM identifies it with *Transformaciones de amor* from Villaizán. There are four records of performances between 1623 and 1628. The one from this last year attributes the title to Claramonte and corresponds to the well-known list of plays left as a guarantee by Almella to the treasurer of the General Hospital of Valencia. The play has been lost unless, in fact, it should be identified with that of Villaizán, which would imply an error in the attribution from the 1628 list.

### 3.72. Un pastoral albergue

Play attributed to Lope de Vega. It has been preserved in a 17th-century manuscript from the BNE (Ms. 14982) in the name of Lope de Vega. Feliciano Ramírez de Arellano and J. León Sancho Rayón edited from it, believing it was a play by three authors, with Lope responsible for the first act<sup>110</sup>. Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, in the preliminary study of his academic edition (1902), does not believe it's from the Phoenix (Lope de Vega), considering that he wouldn't say certain things about himself that are read in the play, and neither does he believe it's the work of three authors, but rather "one of the most vehement cultured poets". Our analysis in ETSO, based on the Academy's text, has yielded

<sup>110</sup>Ramírez de Arellano Fuensanta del Valle and Sancho Rayón, 1873, p. XIII.

results that do not favor Lope's candidacy for authorship, but rather clearly favor Claramonte, representing a novel proposal to expand his repertoire initiated by stylometry.

### **3.73. El valiente negro en Flandes**

Play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. CATCOM records four performances in the 17th century, the first of which dates to September 1637 when Segundo de Morales's company showcased it at the palace; the others are from 1651, 1675, and 1688. There's a manuscript of the work in the BNE (Ms. 15690), with censorship from December 1651. The first dated edition is from Part XXXI of the collection *Different Authors* (Barcelona, 1638<sup>111</sup>). There are numerous separate editions from the 17th and 18th centuries. Nelson López edited it recently (2007), and Ana Ogallas completed her doctoral thesis at the University of Córdoba on the work (2010). The ETSO analysis, based on Ogallas's edition, supports Claramonte's authorship.

### **3.74. El valle de la muerte**

Sacramental play attributed to Andrés de Claramonte. According to Alejandro García-Reidy, in 1623 the Seville City Council commissioned the playwright to produce this titled play alongside *Los corporales de Daroca*, which would be performed by the company of Tomás Fernández<sup>112</sup>. Today it is considered lost.

### **3.75. La venganza de Tamar**

Comedy attributed to Tirso de Molina, Felipe Godínez, and Andrés de Claramonte. There exists a manuscript of the play in the BNE, without an author's name and titled *La fuerza de Tamar* (Ms. 15058), dated 1632. It was published in the *Parte III de Tirso de Molina* (Tortosa, 1634). There's also, attributed to Felipe Godínez, a standalone edition by Francisco de Leefdael, with variations, especially in the third act, which Miquel Beltrán (2017) has studied, who considers the possibility that the work and that particular last act were retouched by the playwright from Moguer. Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez, on the other hand, based on its title being listed among the fifteen attributed to Claramonte in the frequently referenced list from 1628 created by the treasurer of the Hospital General de Valencia, has explored the possibility that it may indeed be his work. In his view, there are various circumstances that raise doubts about the attribution to Tirso: that *Parte III* (1634) in which it's included was released before *Parte II* (1635); that in this there are only four comedies by the Mercedarian; that the third act is used as the second act in *Los cabellos de Absalón* by Calderón; that there exists that 18th-century version attributed to Godínez. He has suggested in various works that it is a collaborative comedy

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<sup>111</sup>Profeti, 1988, pp. 97 y 101.

<sup>112</sup>García-Reidy, 2019, p. 140.

(1982 and 2010b). In the latter, he asserts that, after a metric and stylistic study, the conclusion is that Mira de Amescua, Claramonte, and Calderón, in that order, are the authors of *La venganza de Tamar*<sup>113</sup>. The results of our analysis in ETSO, conducted on the text provided by the AHCT portal, both of the complete comedy and each of its acts, unequivocally support that the entire work is by Tirso de Molina<sup>114</sup>.

### 3.76. Ver y no creer

A comedy attributed to Lope de Vega. Preserved in a manuscript from the BNE (Ms. 14895), with a license from August 1619, it was published in Part XXIV of *Diferentes autores* (Zaragoza, 1633<sup>115</sup>). Federico Ruiz Morcuende included it in the academic edition of Lope's works (1930). There is another edition by George I. Dale (1923), who considers it to be Lope's work. A. G. Morley and C. Bruerton see little difficulty in this attribution<sup>116</sup>. The possibility of it being a work of Claramonte is mentioned by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez:

Works that we know were performed between 1615 and 1626, and that are part of what Morley and Bruerton call "works of uncertain or doubtful attribution," offer a test bench. The two anonymous manuscripts of *Ver y no creer* (BNE, 14895 and BNE, 15007 [the latter is actually a copy of the former made by Agustín Durán]), approved in 1619, allow for a solid initial research hypothesis<sup>117</sup>.

The results from ETSO, which have taken the text from the Academy as their basis, do not favor Lope de Vega and even less so Claramonte. They also do not support any other playwright.

### 3.77. La vida en el ataúd

A comedy attributed to Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla. Three printed versions are preserved: one included in Part XXXII of *Nuevas escogidas* (Madrid, 1669<sup>118</sup>) and two individual editions without printing details. All three are attributed

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<sup>113</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010b, p. 135.

<sup>114</sup>Therefore, the second act of *Los cabellos de Absalón*, attributed to Calderón, also displays an affinity with Tirso's lexical practices. Likewise, the ETSO analyses support the attribution to the Mercedarian friar of the remaining eleven comedies that make up Parte III (*Tortosa*, 1634), without exception. Despite the points made on various occasions by Alfredo Rodríguez López-Vázquez (2010a, p. 347 and 2010b, p. 135), this volume would not be affected by the attribution issues present in Parte II (Madrid, 1635). Indeed, Parte II does have these issues, and more than what Tirso de Molina himself claims in the prologue—"four that are mine"—and scholars have accepted, because everything suggests that in reality only three are his, given that neither *El condenado por desconfiado* nor *La mujer por fuerza* would be his works. The latter has been recognized as the fourth play in the volume that belongs to Tirso in a recent study by Rodríguez López-Vázquez (2010c), because, as has been pointed out in recent research, its author would be Lope de Vega (Vega García-Luengos, 2023).

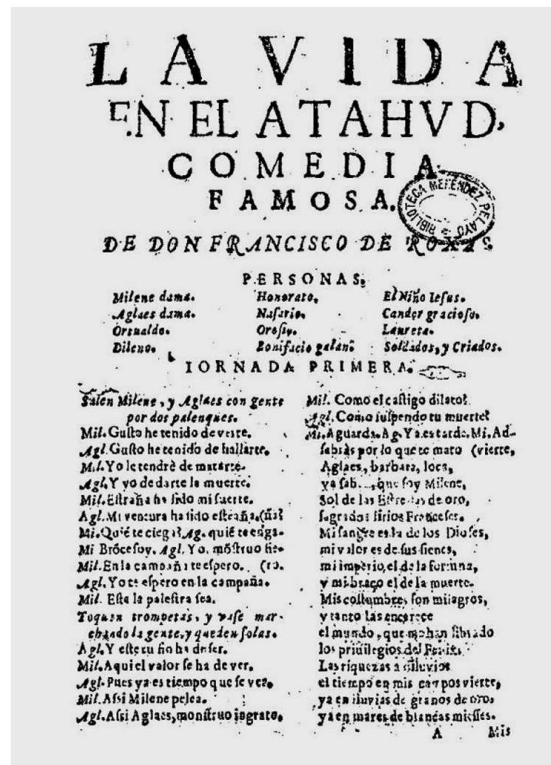
<sup>115</sup>Profeti, 1988, pp. 40-45.

<sup>116</sup>Morley and Bruerton, 1968, pp. 578-579.

<sup>117</sup>Rodríguez López-Vázquez, 2010a, p. 352

<sup>118</sup>Cotarelo y Mori, 1931, pp. 777-781.

to Francisco de Rojas, and as far as we know, his authorship has never been questioned.



Front page of an individual edition s.l., s.i., s.a. of *La vida en el ataúd*. Santander. Library of Menéndez Pelayo, sign. 33150

Our analyses in ETSO, based on the text provided by the Almagro Institute of Classical Theater, strongly support Claramonte, which represents a new proposal to expand the repertoire of the author based on stylometry.

### 3.78. *Vida y muerte de Poncio Pilato / El dichoso desdichado, Poncio Pilato*

A comedy attributed to Juan de Espinosa Malagón and Valenzuela. It is preserved in an anonymous manuscript, with 17th-century handwriting, in the Palatine Library of Parma. Restori believes it to be autograph, with corrections by the "corrector" Francisco de Rojas<sup>119</sup>. He considers its text superior to that transmitted by various individual editions with changing titles. The Italian Hispanist mentions one without details in the Parma library itself, which he

<sup>119</sup>Restori, 1893, p. 53.

finds old, with the title *Vida y muerte de Pilatos*. Also without details, but titled *El dichoso desdichado*, one is preserved in the Menéndez Pelayo Library. There are several 18th-century editions under the title *El dichoso desdichado*, Poncio Pilato, with colophons by Antonio Sanz, Joseph Navarro and Armijo, Royal Press of Seville, Joseph Padrino.

ETSO's analyses, based on the automatic transcription of the individual edition from BMP, indicate that Claramonte wrote the second half of the work. This suggests a novel research proposal to increase the playwright's repertoire, which should start by examining the Parma manuscript, which could hold the key as to why ETSO gives a partial attribution to the Murcian playwright.

## 4. The New Repertoire of Claramonte by Categories

### a) Comedias by Claramonte with authorship supported by ETSO<sup>120</sup>

**La adúltera virtuosa; Allá darás, rayo /A firma de labios, fuerza de brazos; El ataúd para el vivo y el tálamo para el muerto\***; La católica princesa Leopolda, prima de doña Margarita de Austria, reina de España, y elección del emperador Matías; De Alcalá a Madrid; Deste agua no beberé; De lo vivo a lo pintado; **De un yerro nacen mil**; Dineros son calidad; **Don Gil de la Mancha\***; La esclava del cielo, santa Engracia; La Estrella de Sevilla; El gran rey de los desiertos, san Onofre; **La hija de Carlos V\***; La infelice Dorotea; El inobediente o la ciudad sin Dios\*; **La lindona de Galicia; La mayor corona**; El mayor rey de los reyes\*; La milagrosa elección de san Pío Quinto\*; El nuevo rey Gallinato, y la ventura por desgracia\*; **La paciencia en la fortuna; El premio de la virtud y sucesos prodigiosos de don Pedro Guerrero; La prudencia en el castigo**; Púsoseme el sol, saliome la luna / Santa Teodora; El rey don Pedro en Madrid / El infanzón de Illescas; **El rigor en la inocencia**; San Carlos o Las dos columnas de Carlos; El secreto en la mujer\*; Tan largo me lo fiais / El burlador de Sevilla\*; El tao de san Antón\*; El tejedor de Segovia. Primera parte, Las lanzas por lanzaderas; **Un pastoral albergue**; El valiente negro en Flandes; **La vida en el ataúd; Vida y muerte de Poncio Pilato / El dichoso desdichado, Poncio Pilato\***.

There are a total of thirty-nine comedias. For eleven of these, ETSO detects Claramonte's usage only in a more or less extensive part of their verses. Fourteen are proposed by stylometric instances to enter the author's repertoire for the first time; this means an increase of almost 36%.

<sup>120</sup>In bold are the comedias that are associated with Claramonte for the first time. With an asterisk are those that have validation only for a part of the work.

**b) Comedias attributed to Claramonte whose authorship is not supported by ETSO:**

El alcalde de Zalamea; Los amantes de Teruel; Audiencias del rey don Pedro; El caballero de Olmedo o La viuda por casar; Los comendadores de Córdoba; El condenado por desconfiado; De los méritos de amor el secreto es el mayor; Las dos bandoleras y fundación de la Santa Hermandad de Toledo; El honrado con su sangre; El Infante de Aragón; El médico de su honra / El honor en la sangría y mé-dico de su honra; La ninfa del cielo; La venganza de Tamar; Ver y no creer.

There are fifteen comedias in total that have been proposed from ancient times or more recently as works of Claramonte.

**c) Lost Comedias:**

La capitana del cielo; El difunto vengador; Don Jaime el conquistador; Filippo innamorato; La gallega; La libertad restaurada; Más vale volando; El mejor consejo; No sois vos, mi vida, para labrador; La semejanza engañosa; La serrana de Arava-lle; Transformaciones.

**d) Autos sacramentales by Claramonte with authorship supported by ETSO<sup>121</sup>:**

La Araucana; **El árbol de la gracia\***; El dote del Rosario; Escarramán\*; El horno de Constantinopla; La ninfa del cielo\*; **El pan de Vallecas**.

There are a total of seven autos sacramentales, of which three would have confirmation for a part. Two others are new proposals, made at the request of the results of stylometry; this represents an increase of 28%.

**e) Lost Autos sacramentales:**

Los corporales de Daroca; Los favores de la Virgen; La jura de Baltasar; El rey David; La sinagoga; El valle de la muerte.

Six lost autos sacramentales in total.

**f) Loas:**

La asunción de la Virgen; El juego del hombre; Loa en metáfora de las iglesias de Sevilla, Las calles de Sevilla.

The attribution of these three pieces to Claramonte has not been verified with ETSO, as their short length does not guarantee the reliability of the results.

In total, stylometry considers 46 works to be in line with Claramonte's lexical usage: 39 comedias and 7 autos. With the 3 loas, whose attribution we cannot

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<sup>121</sup>In bold are the plays that are associated with Claramonte for the first time. With an asterisk are those that have validation only for a part of the work.



support, the total number would reach 49 works. Tests have been made on another 15, all of them comedias, but they did not pass. The Claramonte catalog is completed with 18 titles of lost pieces.

## 5. Non-final Conclusions

The results provided in this work, which now concludes, do not finalize anything but indeed open many avenues that philology, with all its resources, from the original to the latest, must address. The greatest attention should be directed to what is undoubtedly the most significant contribution of these pages: the sixteen titles, fourteen comedies and two sacramental plays, which we had never before seen associated with Claramonte. If it can eventually be confirmed that they are his, they would represent almost a 35% increase over the repertoire that we had until now. Without any intention of predisposing the objectivity of those who undertake these tasks, our experience with ETSO tells us that it is likely that they will withstand the most rigorous philological analyses and end up confirming the total or partial attribution to the Murcian playwright. This has happened so far with the works of other poets where the start of the reattribution process was signaled by the red light illuminated by the results of stylometry, such as *La monja alférez* or *La francesa Laura*, which we mentioned earlier. But these results have also confirmed reattribution proposals that came from other sources, like *Mujeres y criados* or *Yo he hecho lo que he podido*, *Fortuna lo que ha querido*. And this, as we have had the opportunity to see, has also happened with Claramonte: there are, to mention just the most striking cases, *La Estrella de Sevilla* and *Tan largo me lo fiais*.

What we have seen so far, and what we presume will happen, also highlights the power of the digital tools that we now have to address the serious problem - for the philologist few are so critical - of the attributions of the Golden Age theatre. We not only have stylometry but also automatic transcription. The possibility that some of the works seen can be considered the work of Claramonte - or of other authors, as will be shown in the corresponding studies - has been a consequence of the systematic digitization of a significant number of manuscripts, almost all of those from the early-modern theatre preserved by the BNE, which are undoubtedly and by far the most important collection in the world, now available online, thanks to the generous collaborative policy of the institution with research projects. Some of these specimens contain works that have only been preserved in that format and are often anonymous. The successive action of automatic transcription and stylometric analysis of the obtained texts has resulted in the detection of some of the works proposed for incorporation into Claramonte's repertoire. Something very similar to what happened with *La francesa Laura*, recently attributed to Lope de Vega.

We return to Claramonte to conclude. If the redefinition of the repertoire proposed so far is confirmed, it is clear that his image should greatly improve in terms of both quality and quantity of the works that support him. At least

among well-intentioned specialists, because experience tells us that it will be very difficult for anything to change beyond academic walls. We are all aware of the immobility of the canon of classical literature. But in 2026, the fourth centenary of the playwright's death will be a good opportunity to try.

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