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BOOKS AND BOOK TRADE AS TRIGGER OF *THE GLOBAL MODERNITY*

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RESUMEN

El propósito de este artículo es investigar el papel del comercio transatlántico de libros en el proceso de construcción de una modernidad global (concepto definido por Arif Dirlik) a principios del siglo XVII, utilizando como ejemplo de intercambio libresco entre Europa y Perú, en concreto un envío particular de libros a Potosí de 1608. Dentro del artículo se examinan las redes del comercio internacional del mercader de libros Juan de Sarriá I, investigando si se pueden considerar dichas redes como un ejemplo de globalización moderna temprana.

PALABRAS CLAVE

globalización; potosí; libreros; comercio; mundo atlántico

ABSTRACT

“This article investigates the role of transatlantic book trade in the development process of a *global modernity* (Arif Dirlik) at the beginning of the 17th century, by the example of the interchange between Europe and Peru. With focus on one particular shipment of books to Potosí in 1608 the paper examines the international trade connections of the publisher and book trader Juan de Sarriá I and questions if these connections can be considered as an expression of early modern globalisation.”

KEYWORDS

middle ages; sermons; preaching; sacraments; visitation.

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Printed books were present in Peru as early as the beginning of its colonial history. They came in the baggage of the conquistadores for their own entertainment or spiritual use or as tool to evangelise and save the souls of the New World's inhabitants. When Lima had become a metropolis in the 17th century book trade from Europe to the viceroyalty of Peru was a flourishing enterprise. All legally shipped books were traded via Seville, which had the monopoly on all trade with the Spanish colonies in America. All merchandise that was sent from here to the Spanish Indies needed to be registered in the *Casa de la Contratación* in Seville¹. From these records which are kept today in the Archivo General de India (AGI), one knows that books were part of the regular cargo of the *flota* and the *galeones* that left Seville twice per year to supply the settlers in the New World with basically everything, what they could not (yet) produce in the colonies.²

Several contracts and protocols in notarial archives in Seville and Lima give evidence about the books that were sent to the viceroyalty as well as the people that took part in those transactions. Seville had the key position in the transatlantic trade network. Book traders active in Seville bought books on the main Spanish book fair in Medina de Campo or ordered copies by book dealers in other European cities. From Seville these books were then sent to the Spanish Indies.

One of those booksellers was Juan de Sarriá I, who came to Seville to convey the books to the Spanish Indies by ship as of 1604.³ In the year 1608 he registered two shipments of books into the same *flota*: one for Lima and one for Potosí.⁴ His overseas contact persons were his son Juan de Sarriá II and Juan Arias de Valencia. The entry in the *registros* explains that the books would finally be delivered to the trader Christobal Sánchez (Charana?) in Potosí while the books in Lima should be sold on Sarriá's own account.⁵

1 P. J. RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la carrera de Indias (Siglo XVII)*. Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2005, pp. 31-38.

2 This included even the briques that build the foundation of the Convent of San Francisco in Lima.

3 J. MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá de Henares (1502-1600)*. Madrid: Arco/Libros, 1991, p. 149.

4 AGI, Contratación, 1151, Jesús, María y San Esteaban, 468-471; AGI, Contratación, 1151, Jesús, María y San Esteaban, 476-479.

5 Christobal Sánchez co-operated with factor Manuel Santos Saldaña (AGI, Contratación, 1151, Jesús, María y San Esteaban, 468-471). To Saldaña see also: L. GARCÍA FUENTES, *Los per-*

The shipment list to Potosí shows 72 different titles. 69 of these can be connected to titles of still existing copies of books that were edited in the period from 1590 to 1609.⁶ - Even if the *flota* left already in 1608, it is significant that copies of three titles in this list were published in 1609 by different printers, who very likely provided other titles to this specific delivery. Assuming that the listed titles were correctly identified, there are two possible interpretations of this coincidence. Either a possible 1608 edition was (exclusively) shipped to the Indies (and still needs to be traced in Peruvian collections), while no copies can be found in major European collections, or the title pages were predated to 1609 to provide the audit in Potosí with brand new books at arrival of the delivery.⁷ In general the identification of a specific edition in shipment lists is not very reliable, because the *registros* do not provide any information on the editors or the print location. Nevertheless with respect to a specific printing period one can make an educated guess due to the fact that the imprints of books financed by Juan de Sarriá reveal some of the business connections he maintained to several printers.

As far as known today Juan de Sarriá I started his career as editor in 1588, when he worked with the heirs of Juan Gracián in Alcalá de Henares publishing García Rodríguez de Montalvo's book: *El ramo que de los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula sale*.⁸ In his investigation about the printers in Alcalá de Henares J. Martín Abad states that Sarriá was a neighbour of María Ramírez, the widow of Juan Gracián.⁹ Until 1597 six other books were published in collaboration with the print shop of the Gracián family. In 1601 Sarriá worked with Justo Sánchez Crespo, also from Alcalá.

As of 1597 Juan de Sarriá I was connected to Pedro Madrigal in Madrid. Based on the imprints in the books Sarriá financed in the following years, one can assume that he moved to Madrid, even if archived documents state that he was still "vecino de la villa de Alcalá á de Henares."¹⁰ The *Discursos predicables*

uleros y el comercio de Sevilla con las Indias, 1580-1630, Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, 1997, p.119 and p.121.

⁶ In order to identify the copies the *Karlsruher Virtual Catalog* (<http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html>) was used, because it allows a simultaneous online-search in the catalogues of several international collections. The tool localises a reference copy of the according title.

⁷ The titles in question are: Ángel Manrique, *Laurea evangélica hecha de varios discursos predicables* (Ramírez, Salamanca, 1609); Luis de Granada, *Contemptus mundi, o Menosprecio del mundo* (Sánchez, Madrid, 1609); and Luis de la Puente, *Guia espiritual, en que la oracion, meditacion, y contemplacion* (Bostillo, Valladolid, 1609).

⁸ MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, No. 1005 A; . A.S. WILKINSON, *Iberian books: books published in Spanish or Portuguese or on the Iberian Peninsula before 1601*. Leiden: Brill, 2010, p. 644, No. 16490.

⁹ MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, p. 149.

¹⁰ AGI, Contratación, 1145. N. S. del Rosario, f. 36 r (see: RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 48 and p. 486.

sobre los Evangelios written by Diego Murillo in 1602 give the first evidence of the cooperation between Juan de Sarriá and Luis Sánchez. Archived contracts provide further evidence regarding the question who was part of Sarriá's economic network. In 1598 Sarriá got into business with the Madrilenian printer García Martínez - an enterprise that resulted in the edition of Hernando de Santiago's *Consideraciones sobre los evangelios* executed by Pedro Madrigal in 1603.¹¹ In the same year Sarriá co-financed the edition of the *Flos Sanctorum* of Francisco Ortiz Lucio, edited in Madrid by Miguel Serrano de Vegas in 1605.¹² In 1605 he bought also the rights ("la propiedad") on Francisco Ortiz Lucio's "*Devocionario y Horas en romance*".¹³ A year later he published an edition of the *Discursos predicables* authored by Tapia de la Camara that was produced in the Imprenta Real. In 1609 one finds Sarriá's name listed as creditor for the *Practica civil y criminal* of Gabriel de Monterroso y Alvarado. The book was printed by Juan de la Cuesta in Madrid, with whom Sarria worked on at least one other project: the edition of Juan Gutierrez' *Practicarum Questionum* in 1612.

As of 1604 at the latest, Sarriá started to do business with the Indies. In 1604 Antonio de Toro registered a cargo, on Sarriá's account, of 42 titles from Seville to Veracruz in Mexico.¹⁴ In 1605 Juan de Sarriá the father sent books to Tierra Firme. The 21 boxes were addressed to Manuel Santos de Saldaña (and in case of the absence of this contact person to Christóbal Salas, respectively Tomas Manera) in Portobello. The sending was meant to be redirected to Lima, where it had to be handed over to Miguel Méndez and Juan de Sarriá II on whose account the shipment was done.¹⁵

A notarized quittance from the 5th of June, 1606 in the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima confirms that "miguel mendez mercader De libros" had business relations with Juan Sarriá II.¹⁶ Méndez countersigned that he received 45 boxes of books. From this document one learns that these boxes were part of a delivery sent by Juan de Sarriá I that had arrived with the *flota* in 1605. The cases were

11 C. PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña de los siglos XVI y XVII: descripción cronológica de las obras impresas en Madrid desde el establecimiento de la imprenta en Madrid en el año 1566 al 1625*, vol. 2. Amsterdam: van Heusden, 1971, No. 850.

12 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 914 (The edition of 1971 has a typo saying No. "114").

13 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 915.

14 RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 484.

15 RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 48.

16 I. A. LEONARD, *Books of the brave, Being an account of books and of men in the Spanish conquest and settlement of the sixteenth-century New World*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992 (online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://ark.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/ft1f59n78v/>), p. 86. Appendix, Document 7, transcript of: AGN (former Archivo Nacional del Perú), Protocolos de Francisco Dávalos, *Rescibo Miguel mendez De Ju° De Sarria*, 1606, , Lima, fols. 315v-337v.

List of editions in Alcalá de Henares and Madrid that show Juan de Sarriá as creditor ("a costa de Juan de Sarriá") in the imprint:				
1587	Girolamo Manfredi	El Porque provechosissimo para la conservacion de la salud, y para conocer la fisionomia y las virtudes de las yervas ¹	Alcalá	en casa de Juan Iníquez de Lequerica
1588	García Rodríguez de Montalvo	El ramo que de los quatro libros de Amadís de Gaula ²	Alcalá	heredos de Juan Gracián
1592	Antonio de Córdoba	Tratado de casos de consciencia ³	Alcalá	en casa de Juan Gracián
1594	Juan Bernal Díaz de Luco	Singularis et excellentissima Practica criminalis canonica ⁴	Alcalá	apud haeredes Ioannis Gratiani
1594	Solís, Feliciano de	Commentarii de censibus, quatuor libris fere omnem materiam de censibus complectentes ⁵	Alcalá	ex officina Joannis Gratiani defuncti
1596	Geronimo (Saint)	In vitas Sanctorum Patrum Aegiptiorum, et eorum, qui in Scythia Thebaida, et Mesopotamia morati sunt ⁶	Alcalá	ex officina Joannis Gratiani apud viduam
1597	Juan García de Saavedra	Tractatvs, de hispanorvm nobilitate ⁷	Alcalá	ex officina Ioannis Gratiani
1597	Matienzo, Juan de	Commentaria in librum quintum relectionis legum Hispaniae ⁸	Madrid	exudebat Petrus Madrigal
1601	Fonseca, Cristóbal de	Primera parte de la vida de Christo Señor Nuestro	Alcalá	en casa de Iusto Sánchez Crespo
1602	Murillo, Diego	Discursos predicables sobre los Evangelios ⁹	Madrid	Casa de Luis Sánchez

1604	Pedro de Valderrama	Exercicios espirituales para todos los dias de la quaresma ¹⁰	Madrid	Luis Sánchez
1604	Camara, Tapia de la	Discursos predicables de diuerso tratados de la passion de Christo, de las siete palabras ¹¹	Madrid	En la Imprenta Real (...) Por Juan Flamenco
1609	Gabriel de Monterroso y Alvarado	Practica civil y criminal ¹²	Madrid	En casa de Ivan de la Cuesta
1612	Ioannes Gutierrez	Practicarum Quæstionum circa Leges Regias Hispaniæ secundæ Partis novæ Collectionis Regiæ ¹³	Madrid	apud Ioannem de la Cuesta

1 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, No. 998.

2 See footnote 8.

3 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, No. 1076.

4 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, No. 1076.; Wilkinson (Iberian Books, p. 173, nº 4612) list Iohanes Gratian as printer, but that is not congruent with the bibliographical reference in the online catalogue of the National Library of Spain with the imprint *apud haredes Ioannis Gratiani*.

5 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, No. 1105.

6 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, No. 1122.

7 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, No. 1141.

8 C. PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña de los siglos XVI y XVII: descripción cronológica de las obras impresas en Madrid desde el establecimiento de la imprenta en Madrid en el año 1566 al 1625*, vol. 1. Amsterdam: van Heusden, 1970, No. 540. Wilkinson, *Iberian Books*, No. 12628.

9 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 818.

10 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 895.

11 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 893.

12 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 1050.

13 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 1175.

part of a cargo of “sesenta y Una caxas De libros” to Portobello.¹⁷ One of Sarriá’s agents in Panama was “gregorio de la puerta su Primo” (Sarriá’s cousin), who forwarded a part of the delivery from Panama to Lima.¹⁸ From another source, a notarial document from the 6th of June, 1606, one learns that Sarriá and Méndez traded books to Cusco, too.¹⁹ Other documents in the National Archive of Lima confirm that in 1611 Juan de Sarriá II and Miguel Méndez were still partners and active in the Peruvian book business.²⁰

In 1608 Juan de Puerta registered two cargos with a total of 171 titles to be shipped on Sarriá’s behalf from Seville to Tierra Firme.²¹ In the same year Sarriá himself got the clearance of the inquisition to dispatch the above mentioned delivery to Potosí (74 titles).²² In the same *flota* he registered additionally two other deliveries: One of 27 boxes (97 titles) to Juan de Sarria II and Juan Arias de Valencia in Lima and another one to be send to Portobello (96 titles).²³

While the recipients of Sarriá’s parcels are (partly) identified information on the origin of titles listed in the *registros* is missing. The imprint of those books could reveal this piece of information, but for most of the titles different editions exist from different places in Europe. Even confining the timeframe in which the books were published during the period between 1590-1609 provides only a doubtful identification. Nevertheless, in attempting to identify books that were shipped to Potosí in 1608 (see the appendix to this article) the names of printers that might have edited those titles appear familiar if one compares them with Sarriá’s business partners from other projects.

For 12 of these titles Luis Sánchez might have been the printer.²⁴ Luis Sánchez was the son of Francisco Sánchez who had a printing workshop in Madrid in the late 16th century that his son took over as of about 1590.²⁵ (Francisco Sánchez is possibly the same person, who shows up in the census lists of Alcalá in the years 1619, 1642 and 1648 and who lived in a house in the part of Alcalá that was

17 LEONARD, *Books of the brave*, p. 394.

18 LEONARD, *Books of the brave*, p. 394.

19 LEONARD, *Books of the brave*, p. 112. Appendix, Document 8: AGN (former Archivo Nacional del Perú), Protocolos de Francisco Dávalos, *R° Juan de ssarria De miguel mendez*, 1606, fols. 342v–344.

20 AGN, Protocolos de Christobal de Arauz, *Sarria, Joan de- Mendez Miguel/Carta de pago y finiquito*, 1611, fol 0857-938.

21 RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 489.

22 My counting (72 identified titles, 2 unreadable entries) is in discrepancy with Rueda’s counting of 86 titles (RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 489). This can be caused by different interpretation of the manuscript entries.

23 AGI, *Contratación*, 1151A, N5 Jesús, María y San Esteaban, f. 476; see also: Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 489; RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 489.

24 Pérez Pastor quotes that Juan de Sarriá had in 1602 an obligation to “1000 reales que debe a Luis Sánchez impresor de Madrid” (PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 2, No. 818).

25 PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 1, p. XXVII.

named: *Portal de Mercado y la haçeria de los Libreros*.)²⁶

“Luis Sánchez was a prolific printer, active in Madrid until his death in 1626, except for a period of time during the five years (1601-1606) when Philippe III moved the court to Valladolid.”²⁷

Another six titles are likely to have been printed in the shop of the Gracián family in Alcalá. Juan de la Cuesta (Madrid) might have added five and Pedro Madrigal (Madrid) and Antonia Ramirez (Barcelona) could each have added three titles to this delivery.

Assuming that the identification of the titles in the shipment list is more or less accurate Luis Sánchez, Juan de Flamenco and Sebastián de Cormellas supplied the biggest quantity out of all copies that were shipped in this cargo to Potosí.

Breaking these data down according to cities where these printers were located, one finds that the majority of titles was produced in Madrid. (See table “Possible print locations of copies and titles in Sarriá’s to Potosí in 1608”).

One can conclude that the business network of Juan de Sarriá I was concentrated in Madrid, Barcelona, Alcalá, Salamanca and Antwerp/Douai. And he may have had connections to the Iunta family, too, that provided prints from Burgos.

The hypothesis that Luis Sánchez, Juan de la Cuesta, Pedro Madrigal²⁸, the Imprenta Real, Miguel Serrano de Vargas and Alonso Martin delivered books for this specific cargo is substantiated by the archival evidence and imprints which prove contacts to Sarriá. This is as well the case for the connections Sarriá had to printers in Alcalá de Henares.

For direct or indirect business connections between Juan de Sarriá I and Sebastián de Cormellas or Jayme Cendrat, both active in Barcelona, clear evidence is (still) missing. The assumption that Philippe de Iunta’s edition of the *Tratado del gouierno de la familia y estado de las viudas y donzellas* authored by Gaspar Astete was included in this delivery to Peru, is only supported by the fact that the according editions were published relatively close in time to the Potosí shipment. The same argument supports the idea that Sarriá’s network included partners in Barcelona and Burgos. Jayme Cendrat and the Iunta family belonged to the key players in the book business at the beginning of the 17th century and relations between them and the bookseller Sarriá are very likely. Indirect contact might also have been established via the book fares in Medina de Campo.²⁹ A connec-

26 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, p. 70; PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 1, p. XXIII.

27 W. PETTAS, *A history and bibliography of the Gunti (Junta) printing family in Spain (1526-1628)*. New Castle (Delaware): Oak Knoll Press, 2005, p. 67.

28 Pedro Madrigal was (like Gracián) married to María de Rodríguez de Rivalde (PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 1, p. XXVI).

29 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, p. 149.

Possible print locations of copies and titles in Sarriá's shipment to Potosí in 1608		
Place of publication	Number of copies (541 identified copies from 598 copies listed)	Number of titles
Madrid (Luis Sánchez, Iuan de la Cuesta, Pedro Madrigal, Imprenta Real, Miguel Serrano de Vargas, Alonso Martin, Juan Flamenco)	262	26
Barcelona (Sebastián de Cormellas, Jayme Cendrat)	60	4
Alcalá de Henares (Heirs of Juan Gracián, Justo Sánchez)	38	7
Salamanca (Antonia Ramirez, Pedro Lasso)	41	4
Antwerp (Martin Nucius, Ioannes Bellerus, Jan Moretus (Plantiniana))	38	4
Burgos (Philippe de Iunta)	32	1
Douai (Balthazar Bellerus)	28	1
Valladolid (Luis Sánchez, Heirs of Diego Fernandez de Cordoua, Juan de Bostillo)	18	4
Zaragoza (Angelo Tavanno)	7	2
Lisbon (Jorge Rodrigues, Pedro Crasbeeck)	5	2
Mainz (Balthasar Lippius)	4	1
Cologne (Joan. Crithius)	3	1
Seville (Andrea Pescioni)	3	1
Paris (Petrus Landry)	2	1
Medina del Campo (Sebastian Martinez)	1	1
Grand Total	541	60

tion between Juan Boyer in Medina de Campo and Juan Sarriá I is documented. A link to Sebastián Cormellas I can be constructed by the fact that he originated from Alcalá like Sarriá.³⁰ He was a business partner of Pedro Robles with whose grand-son, Franciso de Robles, Juan de Sarriá entered into a partnership in 1612 to edit the *Practicarum Questionum* of Ioannes Gutierrez.³¹ Further documents give evidence of this connection:

“Su [Sarriá’s] actividad como librero se muestra intensa en los años 1598 y 1609, en que le encontramos ajustando cuentas con María de Rodríguez de Rivalde, la viuda de Juan Gracián, y con Francisco de Robles, importando libros de Lyon o adquiriendo un bueno número de resmas de papel (...) para imprimir”.³²

The family of the de Robles and the person of Miguél Méndez connect the Sarriás (father and son) indirect to business with printers from the Southern Netherlands such as Nucius, Plantin, Moretus and in particular the printer family Beller that very likely had a key role in this trade.

Francisco de Robles was a *librero* (bookseller) and publisher. He became famous as the first editor of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* in 1605. Like his father Blas de Robles, Francisco held “el importante cargo de librero del Rey.”³³

Blas de Robles was an internationally connected book trader and court librarian of Philip II³⁴. He was born in Alcalá and married to María Lopez, descendant of a notable family of book traders in Madrid.³⁵ As of 1573 at the latest, Blas de Robles had direct contact with printers and booksellers in the Southern Netherlands as documented by the Plantin correspondence.³⁶ Another record dating

30 M. LLANAS (Universitat de Vic), “Els Cormellas”, in: *LletrAs, La literatura catalana a internet*, online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://lletra.uoc.edu/ca/autor/els-cormellas/detall>.

31 Francisco de Robles was the first one who edited Miguel de Cervantes’ *Don Quixote* in 1605. “Robles engaged Juan de la Cuesta to print *Don Quixote* in Madrid, and it seems likely that the printer was occupied during October and November, into December, with the book. The *errata* statement is dated 1 December 1604, in Alcalá, and the *tassa* 20 December, in Valladolid.” (KENNETH SPENCER RESEARCH LIBRARY, 1605 – *Don Quixote Conquers Europe*, online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://spencer.lib.ku.edu/exhibits/quixote/>).

32 MARTÍN ABAD, *La imprenta en Alcalá*, p. 149.

33 TODO LIBRO ANTIGUO 2012, *Biografías de personajes históricos: Francisco de Robles*, online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://www.todolibroantiguo.es/personajes-historicos/francisco-de-robles.html>.

34 G. MORISSE, “Blas de Robles (1542-1592), Primer editor de Cervantes”, in: P. M. CÁTEDRA and M. L. LÓPEZ-VIDRIERO, *El libro antiguo español: De libros, librerías, imprentas y lectores*. Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2002, p. 286; PÉREZ PASTOR, *Bibliografía madrileña*, vol. 1, No. 196.

35 A. JURADO, *Juan de la Cuesta, impresor de El Quijote por encargo del librero Francisco*, Madrid: C & G, 2007, p. 37.

36 JURADO, *Juan de la Cuesta*, p. 45; M. ROOSES and J. DENUCÉ, Jean, *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin* (1883), p. 31: Archives Plantiniensis, VIII, folio 77 (letters 9-15 November 1573), p.

from the 26th of February, 1576 proves that he agreed to pay the sum of 301.073 Marvedis for “los libros que Xaques Gozes le hay traído de Flandes.”³⁷

Alongside Jacques Gossens, Blas de Robles worked with Mathias Gast and Enrique Maclot as middlemen for his business with the Southern Netherlands.³⁸ Francisco de Robles continued his father’s business and one can assume that he maintained the existing business contacts as it is documented for the relations to the Sánchez family in Madrid. While Blas de Robles collaborated with Francisco Sánchez, Francisco de Robles ordered books from Luis Sánchez.

Another indirect extension of Juan de Sarriá’s professional network to printers and booksellers from the Spanish Netherlands at the beginning of the 17th century is established by Miguél Méndez.

From the above quoted documents one knows that Miguel Méndez and Juan de Sarriá II were partners in book trade in Lima and Cusco. In 1601 the book trader Miguél Méndez, a citizen of Córdoba, came to Seville from where he hoped to travel with the *flota* to Tierra Firme. In a notarial protocol, set up in Seville in February 1601, Méndez signed an agreement to pay 100 silver ducats to the bookseller Juan Bellerio for a case of books in Latin and Spanish.³⁹ He declared to pay his debts either in Cartagena or Portobello in the following six months, or earlier, in case he reached Tierra Firme (means the Isthmus of Panama) earlier than expected, where he planned to deal with these books. Bellerio granted Méndez a credit for several months while the latter took the risk of the journey in order to sell the books in Portobello with good profits.⁴⁰

Two copies of letters in the Plantin Moretus archive dating 1601, document the contact between “Juan Beller a Sevilla” and the Antwerpian printing house.⁴¹ It is certain that *Juan Bellerio*, *Jean Bellerus*, *Juan de Bellerio*, *Juan Belleros*, *Johannes Beelaert*, *Juan Beleros*, *Joannes Bellerus* and *Juan Bellère* are each a different spelling of the name Johannes Beller, Latinised: Bellerus.⁴²

183: folio 85-107 (24. October 1574); p. 206: Archives Plantiniensis, Registre Renette, folio 276 (5 December 1574); p. 303: Archives Plantiniensis, Missale et Breviarium 1 372-1 576, folio 553 (29 July 1575). Online on 13th of February, 2012: http://www.archive.org/stream/correspondancede-04plan/correspondancede04plan_djvu.txt.

37 JURADO, *Juan de la Cuesta*, p. 37.

38 CÁTEDRA and LÓPEZ-VIDRIERO, *De libros, librerías, imprentas y lectores*, p. 302.

39 RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 106. Rueda refers to: AHPS, Protocolos, leg. 3566, f. 181 r-v.

40 RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 106.

41 MUSEUM PLANTIN MORETUS - ARCHIV, Brieven 1597-1617, vol. XIII, fol. 140 and fol. 142. Folio 140 is not dated, the copy of the letter on folio 142 is neither dated, but framed by two other letters dated July 1601.

42 C. ÁLVAREZ MÁRQUEZ, *Impresores, libreros y mercaderes de libros en la Sevilla del quinientos, part II*. Zaragoza: Libros Portico, 2009, p. 78. Regarding the Bellerus family see: *Lijst van drukkers bij de Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht*, online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://drukkers.library.uu.nl/cgi-bin/drukkers.pl?letter=B&sorteer=Druk#Bellerus>.

The Bellerus' can be traced as a family of printers over several generations. The most popular printer was Joannes Bellerus I (1526-1595) who was active in Antwerp between 1553 and 1595.⁴³ The Bellerus family originated in Liege. Joannes Bellerus I was the son of Lucas Bellerus I and brother of Petrus Bellerus I and Lucas Bellerus II. Joannes' son, Balthasar Bellerus (1564-ca. 1640), worked as printer in Antwerp in 1589 and then moved to Douai (today in France), where he operated his print shop from 1590 until 1640.⁴⁴

Another printer with name of Joannes Bellerus, today named Joannes Bellerus II, was active in Antwerp between 1615 and 1635. He was a son of Petrus Bellerus I and was accepted in the Lucas Guild of Antwerp in 1609 with the remark that he was a bookseller.⁴⁵ Both of these Antwerpian printers figure in the imprints of their Spanish books as *Juan Bellerio*.

Finally there is the above mentioned bookseller Juan Bellerio in Seville, who was active from 1586 until 1601. About this Juan Bellerio we know that he was in contact with Petrus Bellerus I.⁴⁶

Petrus Bellerus I like his brother, was a printer in Antwerp, where he was active between 1562 and 1600. In 1578 he travelled to Seville working together with Joannes Lippens, who imported books of Flemish printers to Seville.⁴⁷ Archival documents dating 1583 and 1588 prove that Juan Bellerio in Seville, Petrus Bellerus in Antwerp and Cornelis Bonard in Salamanca did business together. Another possible family member, Jacques Bellerio (only known as Jacques Bellère) is as well documented as citizen of Seville, where some years later in 1640 and 1642 Juan and Francisco Bellerio registered books for the *Carrera de Indias*.⁴⁸ It is likely that also this shipment contained books from Antwerp, seen the fact Francisco Bellerio was in correspondence with Jan Moretus in 1641.⁴⁹

Assuming Juan Bellerus II, the bookseller, went to Spain at the age of 20 and died in Antwerp at the age of 75, then he can be identified with Juan Bellerio; who

43 CERL *Thesaurus*, online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://thesaurus.cerl.org/cgi-bin/record.pl?rid=cnp01302811>. G. VAN HAVRE, *Marques typographiques de imprimeurs de librairs Anversois*. Antwerpen: Buschmann, 1883, p. 23; F. OLTHOFF, *De boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers in Antwerpen sedert de uitvinding der boekdrukkunst tot op onze dagen*. Antwerpen: Drukk. Buschmann, 1881, p. 5.

44 CERL *Thesaurus*, online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://thesaurus.cerl.org/cgi-bin/record.pl?rid=cni00033862>; A.E. C. SIMONI, "The hidden trade-mark of Laurence Kellam, printer at Douai," in: *Spiritualia Neerlandica*, pp. 430-443, p. 433, online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://www.boekgeschiedenis.be/kroniek/kron73.html>; OLTHOFF, *De boekdrukkers*, p. 6.

45 OLTHOFF, *De boekdrukkers*, p. 7.

46 ÁLVAREZ MÁRQUEZ, *Impresores, libreros y mercaderes de libros*, p. 78.

47 K. WAGNER, "Flamencos en el comercio del libro en España: Juan Lippeo, mercader de libros y agente de los Bellère in Amberes", in: CÁTEDRA and LÓPEZ-VIDRIERO, *De libros, librerías, imprentas y lectores*, pp. 431-497, p. 433.

48 RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio cultural*, p. 499.

49 MUSEUM PLANTIN MORETUS - ARCHIV, Ontvangene brieven, A - Beyerlinck, LXXVI, fol. 627.

lived in the “*collación de Santa María*” in Seville.⁵⁰ Unfortunately documental evidence of this hypothesis is (still) missing.

Therefore, in this article the number of people named Joannes Bellerus who took part in international book deals remains an open question. However it is in any case evident that in the first years of the 17th century Joannes Bellerus, the bookseller from Seville, connected Miguel Méndez and therefore Juan de Sarriá father and son with the traders who dealt with Flemish prints in Seville.

Visualising this data (figure 1) outlines the international business connections of the de Sarriá family, that concentrated in today's Spain and spread to neuralgic

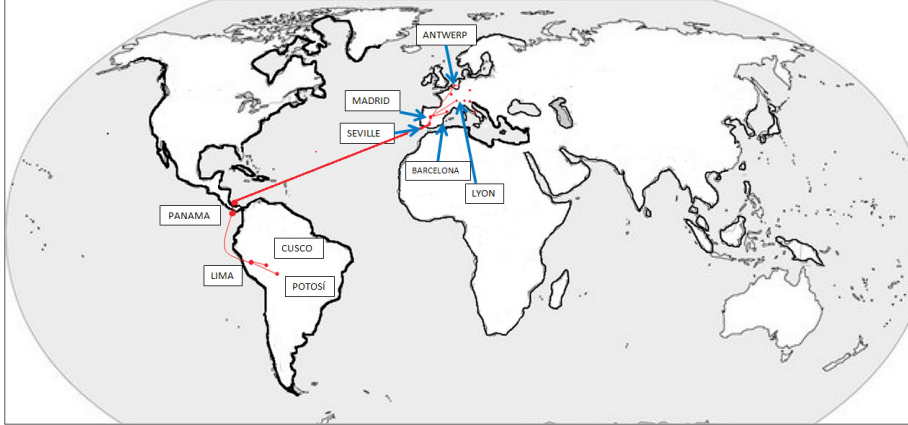


Figure 1

points in the Netherlands and France.

Juan de Sarriá I had an extended network in Western Europe that reached most probably indirectly to Frankfurt and Genève. Up to now there is no indication that he had direct relations to Italian booksellers. His direct connection to the Spanish Indies can be located at the Isthmus of Panama and in Lima. Juan Sarriá II expanded the family business to Cusco and Potosí.

The connections of the Sarriá family exemplify the existence of a cross and intercontinental network of publishers, printers and booksellers. Generally this network linked the major European centres of print production: Lyon, Venice, Paris, Rome, Antwerp and Madrid⁵¹ with each other and the rest of Europe. Via Seville, Lisbon and later in the 17th century via Amsterdam the network reached European and Europeanised readers in Spanish America, Asia and at the coasts of Africa.

50 ÁLVAREZ MÁRQUEZ, *Impresores, libreros y mercaderes de libros*, p. 78.

51 These are the names of the print locations mostly found in the editorials of the books that can today be found in baroque collections in Peru, Ecuador and Chile.

But are these links sufficient to talk about book trade as an example of globalisation in the early modern period? In the context of historical research the term *globalisation* mainly focuses on economic developments.⁵² This economic aspect only partly covers the elements that are related to this term in sociological and political research.⁵³ Compared to the total volume of transcontinental trade in the 16th and 17th century, the book trade was a lucrative but not very important part of the trading system that Immanuel Wallerstein characterised as the *European world economy*.⁵⁴ The European economic network included

“by the end of the 16th century not only northwest Europe and the Christian Mediterranean (including Iberia) but also Central Europe and the Baltic region. It also included certain regions of the Americas: New Spain, the Antilles, Terraferma, Peru, Chile, Brazil - or rather those parts of the regions, which were under effective administrative control of the Spanish or Portuguese. Atlantic islands and perhaps a few enclaves of the African coast might also be included in it”.⁵⁵

However, for Wallerstein, the Indian Ocean, the Far East and the Ottoman Empire were excluded from the economic interconnectedness as were most parts of Russia. This scenario changed in the 17th century with the intensified trade connections of the VOC to Asia. But neither in the 16th nor the 17th century did the book production and the practice of the book trade develop along Wallerstein's theory, which outlines the importance of the “division of labor”.⁵⁶ He describes the socio-political system in the 16th century in which the production work was mainly done by cheap manpower in the periphery of the system, while the gains were concentrated in the center of the system. In the case of the book trade to the European colonies there is no labour division between two different regions of the world. The production was done in Europe and the substantial part of all profit returned to Europe, too. Even from the perspective of the final consumers, only a minority were ethnic Non-Europeans or would have consid-

52 Among others: I. WALLERSTEIN, *The modern world-system*. New York: Academic Press, 1974; J. DE VRIES, “The limits of globalization in the early modern world”, in: *Economic History Review*, 63, 3 (2010), pp. 710–733; A. CRESPO SOLANA, “The Iberian Peninsula in the first global trade. geostrategy and mercantile network interests (XV to XVIII centuries)”, in: F. MAYOR ZARAGOZA (ed.), *Global trade before globalization (VIII-XVIII), Symposium London, 27-28 September, Brunei Gallery*, Madrid: Fundación Cultura de Paz, 2006 (online on 13th of February, 2012: <http://www.reccma.es/libros-pdf/ana-crespo-solana-02.pdf>).

53 M. HART and A. NEGRI, *Empire*. London: Harvard University Press, 2000; A. DIRLIK, “The end of colonialism? The colonial modernity in the making of global modernity”, in: *Boundary* 2, 32 (2005), pp. 1-31; D. S. GREWAL, *Network Power: the social dynamics of globalization*. London: Yale University Press, 2008.

54 P. MACERA, “Bibliotecas Peruanas del siglo XVIII”, in: *Boletín Bibliográfico*, vol. XXXIII, No. 3-4 (1962), pp. 125-126; I. LEONARD, “Romances of chivalry in the Spanish Indies”, in: *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, vol. 16, No. 3 (1933), pp. 217-371, p. 230.

55 WALLERSTEIN, *The modern world-system*, p. 68.

56 WALLERSTEIN, *The modern world-system*, p. 66.

ered themselves as not being a European. Here, being European is understood as the equivalent in taking part in the Christian culture, and descending from white Christian ancestors.

From the perspective of political and economic science, a clear definition of the term *globalisation* is impossible: “the excessive use of the term (...) has largely emptied it of any analytical and explanatory value.”⁵⁷

Or, as Susan Strange evaluated the term: “The worst of them all is ‘globalisation’ - a term which can refer to anything from the Internet to a hamburger.”⁵⁸

In the *Global Transformation reader*, David Held and others describe globalisation as follows:

“The concept of globalization implies, first and foremost a stretching of social, political and economic activities across frontiers such that events; decisions and activities in one region of the world can come to have significance for individuals and communities in distant regions of the globe. In this sense, it embodies interconnect- edness, the widening reach of networks of social activity and power, and the possibility of action and distance. Beyond this, globaliza- tion implies that connections across frontiers are not just occasional and random, but rather are regularized such that there is a detect- able *intensification*, or growing magnitude, of interconnectedness, patterns of interaction and flows which transcend the constitu- ent societies and states of the world order.”⁵⁹

From the point of view of this concept one could consider Sarriá’s business connections as an expression of a form of early modern globalisation. However, I argue that the term *globalisation* is inadequate to describe the implications that are connected to book trade in general, because this description focuses on network relations and is not able to cover aspects of the cultural exchange that stretched far beyond personal and economic networks. Printers and booksellers were two basic elements in the unification of cultural structures in the modern world.⁶⁰

From the viewpoint that a book is not only a physical object but also explicitly transports within and between its lines ideal and cultural values the book trade as such played the intermediating key role in the process of a global knowledge transfer in the early modern period. This relation, unlike the trading of books as

57 C. SENGUPTA, “Conceptualising globalisation: issues and implications”, in: *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 36, No. 33 (2001), pp. 3137-3143, p. 3137.

58 S. STRANGE, *The retreat of the state: the diffusion of power in the world economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. XIII.

59 D. HELD ET AL., “Rethinking globalization”, in: D. HELD and A. MCGREW (ed.), *The global transformations reader*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000, pp. 54-61.

60 J. MOLL ROQUETA, Jaime, “El impresor y el librero en el Siglo de Oro”, in: F. ASÍN REMÍREZ DE ESPARZA (ed.), *Mundo del libro antiguo*, Madrid: Ed. Complutense, 1996, pp. 27-42, p. 27.

physical objects, was not *one-way-traffic* but information exchange. The transportation of knowledge was a crucial factor in the early development of the *global modernity*. The phrase *global modernity* was coined by the historian Arif Dirlik from the University of Oregon. The “global modernity as a concept is intended to overcome a teleological (and ideological) bias imbedded in the very term globalization: the suggestion of tendencies to global commonality and homogeneity.”⁶¹ Dirlik investigated theoretical conflicts resulting from contemporaneous coexistence of symptoms that indicate an enforcement of globalisation understood in the sense of an alignment of cultures, ideas and every-day problem-solving behaviour in geographically separated regions and simultaneously the existence of opposite trends in the same areas.

Applying this concept to the early modern period on a global scale allows to understand that the introduction of Latin in the colonies as the universal language of European learnedness is part of the same development as the use of the upcoming vernacular by scholars in Europe in the same period. The dominant language of academic books that reached Latin America in the 16th and early 17th century was Latin including all faculties from astronomy and mathematics to theology, philosophy, natural science and finally to jurisprudence. At the same period the Protestants in Northern Europe translated the Bible into local languages and the Catholics followed suit. In the *exact sciences* this trend was also adopted. Galileo Galilei wrote in Italian (to name only one example), “to appeal to a broad audience of educated non experts and to suggest that the issues raised were of general cultural significance.”⁶²

At the moment of their discovery by the Europeans the countries of the New World such as Tawantinsuyo (Peru’s name before the arrival of the Spanish) got involved in the evolution of this *global modernity*. This development is characterised by the fact that information was traded between the *Old World* and the *New World*. “What people knew was closely related to where they lived.”⁶³ Peter Burke differentiates in this context between a micro- and a macro-level in the “geography of knowledge”. While at the micro-level one investigates the knowledge transfer in monasteries, universities or libraries, whereas research at the macro-level describes the information flow between bigger geographical units: “At the macrolevel (...) cities played an important role as staging posts in the ‘long-distance networks’ which linked Europe to China and the Americas: Asian cities such as Goa, Macau and Nagasaki, American cities as Lima and Mexico, and European cities as Seville, Rome, Amsterdam and London.”⁶⁴

61 DIRLIK, *The end of colonialism*, p. 3.

62 G. GALILEO, M. A. FINOCCHIARO, *Galileo on the world systems: a new abridged translation and guide*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997, p. 4.

63 P. BURKE, *A social history of knowledge*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004³, p. 55.

64 P. BURKE, *A social history of knowledge*, p. 56

At both levels written and later printed text is the most important medium to process this transfer. The shared knowledge between the different geographical parts of the world triggered the evolution of the modern understanding of this world, even if only a limited group of people had direct access to the printed information. This knowledge was available for scholars and intellectuals who can be understood in a very general way as members of the *republic of letters*.⁶⁵ A modern expression for this social group is the *Faculty club*, a sociological term that describes “an international network of people who share similar values, attitudes, and research goals”.⁶⁶

The knowledge that was present in individuals of this group had practical consequences on cultural developments for the whole society. In his book *The gifts of Athena* Joel Mokyr explains that only a few members of a society need to know a specific information to allow the society as a whole to participate in the practical results of this knowledge.

“Even if very few individuals in a society know quantum mechanics, the practical fruits of this insights of this knowledge to technology may still be available just as if everybody had taught advances physics (...) what counts is the collective knowledge.”⁶⁷

This was the case in the Old World with regard to the European expansion. Travellers to the New World increased the average knowledge about the discovered countries and their cultures, based on the information they acquired in and about those countries. This information was spread in the beginning in the form of *relaciones*. The content of these *newspapers* was often used later for the compilation of books. The awareness of other existing *gentes* like the Indians in Spanish America was the starting point of the discussion on human rights and the law of nations. Medicine and botany in Europe developed as well, based on the new information from the colonies.⁶⁸ On the other hand, the Europeans exported their cultural heritage of Christianity and Hellenistic philosophy and the system of natural sciences, as it was revived in the Renaissance. All this built the basis of the system of sciences as we know it today. This knowledge trade in the early modern period was trans-cultural as well as transcontinental. One must bear in mind that in this interchange several concepts which entered a combined knowledge pool

65 The term *republic of letters* is like *globalisation* not stringently defined across academic disciplines. An example of a more general use of the phrase can be found in: S. BARR, “The Republic of Letters: town and gown”, in: *The Journal of Higher Education*, vol. 34, No. 6 (1963), pp. 301-310.

66 “Cultural Globalisation”, in: ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA, online on 12th of February, 2012: <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1357503/cultural-globalization/224991/Davos-culture>.

67 J. MOKYR, John, *The gifts of Athena*, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005, p. 7.

68 A. I. PRIETO, *Missionary scientists: Jesuit science in Spanish South America, 1570-1810*, Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011.

were suppressed or favoured by political circumstances such as the predominance of the Spanish in South America.

The de Sarriás were intermediators of this knowledge exchange. Juan de Sarriá I concentrated on economic interests in the Madrid area. His connections extended to several other European cities and at times, he did business with book traders in Peru. Both de Sarriás, father and son, were actors in “the economy of the various interrelated spaces in Europe with diverse Atlantic areas.” The selection of prints, they sent to Potosí reflected the structure of their European business network as well as the presumed taste of the transatlantic readers. The shipment list to Potosí shows a clear dominance of books about religion and spirituality. History books, manuals on law and administration, grammar books and novellas supplemented the assortment. With regard to all copies that were shipped in this delivery the *oratorios* of Luis de Granada (75 copies) were the most numerous, followed by Nebrija’s grammar book (45 copies). In order to understand in more detail what influence specific religious and devotional literature had on the colonial society and / or if those books provoked academic discussions further investigation will be needed. In the future, this kind of research might then demonstrate how far Peruvian scholars actively took part in the evolution of the *global modernity*.

Appendix

Possible identification of titles in the Juan de Sarriá's shipment list to Potosí (1608) (AGI, <i>Contratación</i> , 1151, Jesús, María y San Esteban, 476-479)						
	Total number of copies	Name of the author	Proposed identification of the title	Printer of the title	Place of publication	Year of the edition
1	2	Fonseca, Cristóbal de	La vida de Christo Señor Nuestro (part 1-3)	?	?	?
2	6	Murillo, Diego	? (<i>Santysyna</i>) ¹	?	?	?
3	2	Núñez de Toledo y Guzmán, Hernán (= el Pinciano)	Pelayo	?	?	?
4	2	Palencia, Alfonso de	Guerra de Granada	?	?	
5	8	San Francis	Oficios	?	?	?
6	2	Sánchez, Tomás	Disputationum de Sancto Matrimonio Sacramento	?	Madrid	1604
7	10	Zamora, Laurencio de (?)	De santis	?	?	?
8	3	Zamora, Laurencio de (?)	? (<i>De katya</i>)	?	?	?
9	16	Balbuena, Bernardo de	Siglo de Oro, en las Seluas de Erifile	Alonso Martin	Madrid	1608
10	3	Kempis, Thomas a	Contemptus mundi	Andrea Pescioni	Seville	1582
11	6	Sierra, Alonso la	El solitario poeta	Angelo Tavanno	Zaragoza	1605
12	1	Yepes, Diego de	La vida y milagros de la bienaventurada Madre Teresa de Jesus	Angelo Tavanno	Zaragoza	1606

13	26	Granada y Mendoza, Leandro	Insinuacion de la diuina piedad / (...) reuelado a Santa Gertrudis (...) de la Orden de San Benito	Antonia Ramirez	Salamanca	1605
14	5	Manrique, Ángel	Laurea evangélica hecha de varios discursos predicables	Antonia Ramirez	Salamanca	1609
15	6	Santa Gertrudis	Oraciones y ejercicios espirituales: con la práctica de los quales, Sancta Gertrudis subió a la alteza de la Gloria que posee oy en los Cielos	Antonia Ramirez	Salamanca	1605
16	4	Suarez, Francisco	Metaphysicarum disputationum: in quibus et unversa naturalis theologia ordinate traditur et quaestiones ad omnes duodecim Aristotelis libros pertinentes, accurate disputantur	Balthasar Lippius	Mainz	1605
17	28	Arias, Francisco	De la Presencia de Dios	Balthazar Bellerus	Douai	1606
18	4	Toledo, Francisco de	Summae, de sacerdotum instructione libri VII.: De peccatis mortalibus liber vnus (...)	Ioannes Bellerus	Antwerp	1600
19	5	Manrique de Granada, Leandro	Luz de las maravillas que Dios ha obrado desde el principio del mundo en las almas des sus profetas y amigos	Diego Fernandez de Cordoua (herederos de)	Valladolid	1607

20	5	Fragoso, Juan	C[ir]ugia Uniuers[a]; aora nueuamente emendada, y añadida en esta sexta impressiõ	en casa de Iuan Gracián	Alcalá de Henares	1601
21	12	Moreno, Cristobal	Libro intitulado Iornadas para el Cielo	en casa de Iuan Gracián	Alcalá de Henares	1606
22	2	Vázquez, Gabriel	Commentariorum, ac disputationum in Primam secundae S. Thomae	Ex officina Ioannis Gratiani	Alcalá de Henares	1605
23	5	Vega, Diego de la	Conciones vespertinae quadragésimales super septem poenitenciales psalmos	Ex officina I. Graciani	Alcalá de Henares	1595
24	5	Zamora, Laurencio de	La Monarquía mística de la Iglesia	en casa (...) de Iuan Gracian	Alcalá de Henares	1605
25	16	Ortiz Lucio, Francisco	Horas deuotissimas	Juan Flamenco	Madrid	1605
26	10	Los Angeles, Juan de	Tratado espiritual de los soberanos mysterios y ceremonias santas del diuino sacrificio de la Missa	Imprenta Real	Madrid	1604
27	7	Santa Teresa	Los Libros de la Madre (...) Sta Teresa de Jesus	Imprenta Real	Madrid	1607
28	4	Puente, Luis de la	Guia espiritual, en que la oracion, meditacion, y contemplacion	Iuan de Bostillo	Valladolid	1609
29	8	Blosius, Franciscus Ludovicus	Obras (...) Traduzidas de latin en romance por (...) Gregorio de Alfaro	Iuan de la Cuesta	Madrid	1608

30	2	de Messa, Christoual	La restauracion de España	Iuan de la Cuesta	Madrid	1607
31	13	Gracián de la Madre de Dios, Jerónimo	Lampara encendida compendio de la perfeccion	Iuan de la Cuesta	Madrid	1604
32	6	Mazanares, Jerónimo Paulo de	Estilo y formulario de cartas familiares, segun el gouierno de Prelados, y señores temporales	Iuan de la Cuesta	Madrid	1607
33	5	Santoro, Juan Basilio	Prado spiritual	Iuan de la Cuesta	Madrid	1607
34	13	Zamora, Laurencio de	Historia de Sagunto, Numancia, y Cartago	Iuan de la Cuesta	Madrid	1607
35	4	Pineda, Juan de	Segunda parte de la monarchia ecclesiastica, o historia universal del mundo	Jayme Cendrat	Barcelona	1594
36	8	Vega, Diego de la	Empleo y exercicio santo sobre los evangelios de las dominicas de todo el año	Jayme Cendrat	Barcelona	1607
37	3	Alcantara, Pedro de	De meditatione et oratione libellus aureus	Joan. Crithius	Cologne	1607
38	75	Granada, Luis de	Libro de la oracion y meditacion	Juan Flamenco	Madrid	1599
39	1	Castro, Melchor de	Historia de la Virgen Maria	Justo Sánchez	Alcalá de Henares	1607
40	8	Fonseca, Cristóbal de	Primera parte de la vida de Christo Señor Nuestro	Justo Sánchez	Alcalá de Henares	1601

41	2	?	Concordantiae Bibliorum utriusque Testamenti Veteris et Novi	Petrus Landry	Paris	1603
42	1	Antonio, Francisco	Tratados espirituales de algunas santas antiguas	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1603
43	12	Granada, Luis de	Contemptus mundi, o Menosprecio del mundo	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1609
44	2	Hevíá Bolaños, Juan de	Curia filípica : donde breve y compendioso se trata de los juyzios	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1605
45	21	Ledesma, Alonso de	Conceptos espirituales	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1600
46	2	Mariana, Juan de	Historia general de España	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1608
47	4	Morillo, Diego	Discursos predicables sobre los euangelios que canta la Iglesia en los domingos y ferias, desde la septuagesima hasta la Resurreccion del Señor	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1602
48	11	Oña, Pedro de	Primera parte de las Postrimerias del hombre	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1603
49	6	Pinelli, Luca	Tratado de la perfeccion religiosa	Luis Sánchez	Valladolid	1605
50	7	Ribadeneira, Pedro	Flos sanctorum, o Libro de las vidas de los santos	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1604
51	4	Ribera, Diego	Primera [-tercera] parte de Escrituras, y orden de particion y cuenta, y de residencia judicial, civil, y criminal	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1596

52	3	San Roman Monge de San Benito, Antonio	Historia General de la Yndia Oriental	Luis Sánchez	Valladolid	1603
53	5	Sandoval, Prudencio de	Chronica del inclito Emperador de España, Don Alonso VII	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1600
54	3	Valderrama, Pedro de	Exercicios espirituales para todos los dias de la quaresma	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1604
55	6	Vega, Alonso	Suma, Namada Nueva Recopilacion, y Pratica del Fuero interior & Tercera Imprefion <sic> ²	Luis Sánchez	Madrid	1606
56	3	Luque Faxardo, Francisco de	Fiel desengaño contra la ociosidad y los juegos, etc.	Miguel Serrano de Vargas	Madrid	1603
57	2	Madrigal, Juan Bautista de	Discursos predicables, de las dominicas de Adviento y fiestas de Santos, hasta la Qvaresma	Miguel Serrano de Vargas	Madrid	1606
58	4	Horatius Flaccus, Quintus	Q. Horatius Flaccvs, Cum erudito Laevini Torrentii Commentario, nunc primum in lucem edito. Item Petri Nannii Alcmariani in Artem Poëticam	Jan Moretus I	Antwerp	1608
59	20	Vega Carpio, Lope de	Las comedias	Martin Nucius	Antwerp	1607
60	2	Vega, Diego de la, (O.F.M.)	Parayso de la Gloria de los Santos, donde se trata de sus prerogativas y excellencias	Pedro Crasbeeck	Lisbon	1603

61	4	Pérez, Andrés	Historia de la vida y milagros del glorioso Sant Raymundo de Peñafort, frayle de la Orden de Predicadores	Pedro Lasso	Salamanca	1601
62	4	Cortés, Gerónimo	Lunario nuevo, perpetuo, y general, y Pronostico de los tiempos, vniuersal	Pedro Madrigal	Madrid	1598
63	5	Los Angeles, Juan de	Lucha espiritual y amorosa entre Dios y el alma	Pedro Madrigal	Madrid	1600
64	6	Pedro, Malón de Chaide	Libro de la conversión de la Magdalena	Pedro Madrigal	Madrid	1598
65	32	Astete, Gaspar	Tratado del gouierno de la familia y estado de las viudas y donzellas	Philippe de Iunta (Iuan Baptista Varesio)	Burgos	1603
66	10	Cícero, Marco Túlio	M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolæ familiares: cum Pauli Manutii annotationibus breuib, in margine adscriptis	Plantiniana (Jan Moretus I)	Antwerp	1605
67	3	Granada, Luis de	Primera parte de la introduction del symbolo de la Fe	Sebastián de Cormellas	Barcelona	1603
68	45	Nebrija, Antonio de	Aelii Antonii Nebrissensis Grammaticae Introductiones	Sebastián de Cormellas	Barcelona	1606
69	1	Fernández de Santaella, Rodrigo	Vocabularium ecclesiasticum	Sebastianum Martinez	Medina del Campo	1555

70	4	?		Evangelios	?	?	?
71	6	?		Romances general	?	?	?
72	8	?		Tragedias de amor	?	?	?

1 Rueda identified this title possibly as “Santorol”, but was neither able to provide any known edition (RUEDA RAMÍREZ, *Negocio e intercambio*, p. 306)

2 Quoting the online catalogue of the Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (via KVK), online on 25th of February, 2012: <http://porbase.bnportugal.pt>.

