

Azpilcueta in the Atlantic Book Trade of the Early Modern Period (1583–1700)

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Abstract

This chapter focuses on the works of Martín de Azpilcueta that circulated on the book distribution networks of the Hispanic Atlantic world. Shipping manifests and reports with the titles declared for shipment to the West Indies show which of Azpilcueta's works were present or absent, revealing their distribution via different channels and to different territories in the Americas.

1) To identify the presence of Azpilcueta's texts in the shipping manifests for books dispatched to the West Indies on the fleets of New Spain and Tierra Firme in the period of 1583–1700; 2.1) to analyse the networks of distribution and intermediation that facilitated the delivery of Azpilcueta's books; 2.2) to identify the agents who took part (e.g., booksellers, private individuals, and merchants) and the routes and circuits in active use between Seville and the Spanish Crown's American territories; 3.1) to analyse Azpilcueta's presence in a specific network of booksellers (Diego Mexía and his son Fernando); and 3.2) to gather detailed information on private shipments containing the texts of Doctor Navarrus (as Azpilcueta was also known), especially those of law professionals who set sail for the West Indies with their libraries aboard.

An analysis of shipping manifests from the 16th and 17th centuries in the colonial records known as the *Registro de Ida de Navíos* within the *Casa de la Contratación* held in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville. The analysis covers in the region of 325 shipping manifests from the 16th century (1583–1600) and 1,586 manifests or other reports with titles from the 17th century (1601–1700). The documents enable us to quantitatively track the shipments of each title (*Manual de confesores y penitentes*, *Compendium*, the *Opera*, and a few other works by Azpilcueta) and qualitatively analyse their presence in certain shipments of booksellers and private individuals.

The research has turned up 73 manifests from the 16th century that contain Azpilcueta's books, including 96 entries of different titles by the author. It has also identified 56 manifests from the period of 1601–1650. In shipments sent in the second half of the 17th century, however, Azpilcueta's works are no longer present.

Keywords

Martín de Azpilcueta – Books – Circulation of Knowledge – Booksellers – Seville

1 Introduction

The civil Mexican authorities asked all royal ministers or officials of the *Real Audiencia* of Mexico to submit a declaration of their assets. From their responses, we can see which books were in their possession. These Crown servants—specifically, lawyers, prosecutors, magistrates, and the like—put down in writing the characteristics and economic value of their libraries. Their declarations provide an overview of how they valued and categorised their books. It is interesting, for instance, to note how they described a professional library. Pedro Zamorano, a *corregidor* and *alcalde mayor*, declared that he had “los libros de derecho canónico y civil y de las leyes de Partida y Nueva recopilación y de diferentes autores así *teóricos* como *prácticos* que valdrán trescientos pesos poco más o menos”.¹ Interestingly, Zamorano divides the authors into theoretical and practical ones. Such a division points to the pragmatic character of a portion of the books in his library.

Normative texts enjoyed notable success among jurists and theologians.² The fluid normativity in Spanish colonial societies played an essential role in the adaptation of norms and standards brought from the European tradition. Joanne Rappaport points to the desirability of having a “constelación de prácticas” (“constellation of practices”) related to European norms and standards in order to implement them successfully in the new territories.³ In a newly written review, the recently deceased historian J.H. Elliott analyses a number of new approaches to the cultural objects in use in Spain’s American territories, pointing to how “this new interdisciplinary approach helped to enrich a story that in the past was too frequently depicted in monochrome. But enrichment by its nature creates new levels of complexity, and this in turn gives rise to new historical problems that are not easily solved.”⁴

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- 1 [“books on canon and civil law as well as books on the laws in the *Partidas* and the *Nueva recopilación* and books by different authors, both theoretical and practical ones, altogether worth approximately 300 pesos”]. AGI, Mexico, 262, no. 62, fols. 2^v–3^r.
 - 2 Danwerth, “The Circulation of Pragmatic Normative Literature in Spanish America (16th–17th Centuries)”.
 - 3 Rappaport, “Letramiento y mestizaje en el Nuevo Reino de Granada, siglos XVI y XVII”.
 - 4 Elliott, “Mastering the Glyphs”.

Drawing on the history of the book, this chapter seeks to reconstruct the context surrounding the circulation of the works of Martín de Azpilcueta in order to ascertain which ones circulated in the book distribution networks of the Hispanic Atlantic world.⁵ The analysis focuses on the dissemination of works produced in Europe and dispatched to Latin America in the 16th and 17th centuries, noting their presence or absence in shipments bound for Spain's Crown territories.⁶ It is crucial to define the reception of legal works, since not every printed title circulated in the same way.⁷ In this respect, this analysis identifies the presence of Azpilcueta in the book market, revealing aspects of the circulation of legal works that go beyond an examination of their distribution in the European space, which generally focuses on distribution markets connected to the Frankfurt book fair.⁸ As Manuela Bragagnolo notes, Azpilcueta's *Manual* achieved up to some 270 editions, translations, and compendia between 1549 and 1640.⁹ The question, however, is how many of them circulated in Spain's American territories. It is also of interest to identify other normative texts akin to Azpilcueta's *Summa* that entered the Atlantic book market. Making this comparison will help to show any publishing competition that may have existed between the texts in question.

Shipping manifests or other lists and reports featuring the titles declared for shipment to the West Indies reveal the distribution of books to Spain's territories in the Americas. In particular, we are interested in finding out how books circulated in distribution networks and whether the published titles aroused interest among American readers. It is important to know the network of agents (e.g., merchants, booksellers, and private individuals) and their interactions, as well as their motivations and interests in the traffic of books. It is equally important to know how the Atlantic routes worked (with their systems of fleets, ports of arrival, and trade fairs) and how they related to American geography and the circuits of exchange. This general framework of the Atlantic trade defined the opportunities for Azpilcueta's texts to travel to Spain's American territories. This chapter aims to increase our understanding of legal culture in a given context in accordance with Garriga Acosta's

5 This research is part of a project entitled "Networks of Knowledge: the Sale and Circulation of Printed Books in Spain and Latin America" (HAR2017-84335-P, 2018-2021), Ministry of Science and Innovation, Spain.

6 González Sánchez, *New world literacy*.

7 Beck Varela, "The Diffusion of Law Books in Early Modern Europe: A Methodological Approach".

8 Maclean, *Scholarship, Commerce, Religion*.

9 Bragagnolo, "Les voyages du droit du Portugal à Rome: Le 'Manual de confessores' de Martín de Azpilcueta (1492-1586) et ses traductions".

criteria, which proposes that the “tarea prioritaria de los historiadores del derecho habría de ser la reconstrucción de las culturas jurídicas históricas” [“priority task of legal historians is the reconstruction of historical legal cultures”].¹⁰

2 The Commercial Records of Book Shipments

Trade with the American territories under the control of the Spanish Crown was subject to controls in both directions. The shipment of books to the West Indies underwent a two-part procedure. First, the books were declared in a list submitted to the inquisitors in Seville. Then, the crates were registered by royal officials in the accounts office of the *Casa de la Contratación* and the customs office, also in Seville. In other words, all books passed through two systems of control (one inquisitorial in nature, the other an administrative inspection undertaken by the Crown).¹¹ The control of the goods in the customs office was carried out by the Crown through its agents of the *Casa de la Contratación* and the control of the titles was carried out by the inquisitorial agents of the Inquisition of the district of Seville.

All merchant ships that set sail were required to open a register or file of the goods loaded aboard. Such files are key documents that have enabled us to locate the manifests of titles dispatched to the West Indies. Each file contains dozens of pages of manifests with entries pertaining to goods that merchants sought to send to the West Indies. Detailed lists of titles appear in the cargo declarations and the reports submitted to the inquisitors, and these sources (whether registration sheets or lists of titles) are essential because they identify the works of Azpilcueta that were loaded onto ships.

That said, very few records prior to 1583 remain extant, even though some system of control governed the shipment of goods from the very beginning of the *Casa de la Contratación*. For example, there is a 1509 record called the *Registro de las mercaderías que se cargaron para las Indias en diferentes naos*, which declares medicines and “cinco libros de medicina” [“five books of medicine”].¹² As noted earlier, such records were only regularly preserved from 1586 onwards, that is, following Azpilcueta’s death, affording us some notion of his posthumous fame and the success of a handful of his works. This was a key moment since

10 Garriga Acosta, “Historia y Derecho: Perspectivas teóricas para una historia *localizada* del Derecho”.

11 González Sánchez, “El impacto de la tipografía europea en el Barroco hispanoamericano”.

12 AGS, Consejo Real, 43–5, fol. 83^r.

his texts had already been incorporated into normative practice in the Americas, for instance, in the *Directory for Confessors* of the Third Mexican Provincial Council (1585).¹³

This chapter does not examine any American sources, such as the notary protocols of Mexico City or Lima, which would provide supplementary information and would involve analysing the internal distribution in the American market, as well as the buying and selling of books and the auctioning of books, in order to better understand the circulation in the American territories. For example, as a brief look at an American source, Gonzalo Franco, *doctrinero* of Indians in Kallapa (Bolivia), died in 1578 leaving a library of 49 volumes which was sold at public auction, acquiring Pakasa Indian titles, such as “don Phelipe Oturi yndio un *bocabulario de la lengua* en quatro pesos” and a “Juan Carrillo por un *Navarro viejo e desenquadrado* dos pesos”. The fact that Azpilcueta’s book was “old” (used) and unbound did not prevent its purchase in an area where barely 40 years had passed since the first contacts with Europeans.¹⁴

Indeed, American sources have received little attention, although there are studies by Irving Leonard that identify a shipment of printed books arriving in Lima in 1583. In this case, two references to Azpilcueta appear. Indeed, they are among the earliest references that we find in relation to the reception of printed works by Azpilcueta in the Lima book market: eight copies of his *Manual* in Latin in “los mejores y más enmendados en tablas de madera becerro y manos” [“the finest, most updated edition in wooden boards covered in calfskin and clasps”]—that is, bound in leather on boards with metal clasps (very likely of brass)—and four copies of “Nabarros en romance de los mejores con el capítulo veynte y ocho en tablas de madera becerro y manos” [“the finest edition of Navarrus in Spanish including chapter 28, in wooden boards covered in calfskin and clasps”].¹⁵ In other words, there were 12 copies of the *Manual*, eight in Latin and four in Spanish, all bound with great care. It was more common to bind texts in parchment on cardboard or in flexible parchment than in wooden boards, both of which are much more economical.

In this study, we are concerned only with the supply of the Atlantic market. A critical review of the documents, especially the shipping manifests, has been undertaken by economic historians who have analysed trade and culture

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- 13 Poole, “El *Directorio para confesores* del Tercer Concilio Provincial Mexicano (1585): luz en la vida religiosa y social novohispana del siglo XVI.”
- 14 Barnadas, “La cultura libresca a Xarques, 1557–1724: panorama, estat del debat i noves aportacions”.
- 15 Leonard, “Best Sellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1583”, 27. In the case of Mexico, see Mathes, “Humanism in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Libraries of New Spain”.

TABLE 8.1 Shipping files analysed from the General Archive of the Indies, by century

Centuries	Number of files from outgoing vessels heading from Europe to Latin America	Number of reviewed files from outgoing vessels	%
16th	516	189	35
17th	1,503	1,294	86
Total	2,019	1,483	73.4

through a study of the listed titles.¹⁶ At least 516 shipping files are extant from the period of 1583–1600, but some of the files are incomplete and, as we know, a much greater number of ships sailed at the time; between 1551 and 1600, some 4,000 vessels crossed the Atlantic. In any case, we have analysed only 189 files (roughly 35%) of the total number for the period, so it is necessary to exercise a good deal of caution with the results obtained. While the sample is significant, it still only covers a portion of the extant shipping records.

As for the 17th century, the total number of extant files is 1,503, although some of the files are incomplete and others are fragmented across more than one bundle in the General Archive of the Indies, etc. Without going into the methodological details, our analysis has focused on 1,294 records (86% of the total) from the 17th century. Once again, however, many more vessels actually crossed the Atlantic during this period; indeed, almost 5,000 made the Atlantic voyage between 1601 and 1700. This chapter undertakes a study of only a portion of the extant records. In addition, the documents make reference only to the books that were officially declared, but other books might have been taken aboard as contraband or in the luggage of passengers. As a result, the data is partial, but represents one of the few serial sources that can be used to analyse the book trade in the early modern period.

An examination of the records reveals that books were often present aboard outgoing ships. Out of 1,483 reviewed files, we have been able to identify the shipment of books in 683 cases. That means that 46.2% of the vessels carried books as goods. It is useful to recall that the passengers might also have taken goods with them on the voyage, which lasted several weeks, and some of them likely packed books to read on the crossing. Books taken aboard for reading

16 García-Baquero González, *La Carrera de Indias: suma de la contratación y océano de negocios*. Adorno, “*Los libros del conquistador*” de Irving A. Leonard: aportes y legados”.

TABLE 8.2 Shipping files that contain books declared as goods

Centuries	Number of analysed files on outgoing vessels bound for Latin America	Number of vessels carrying shipments of books	%
16th	189	120	63.4
17th	1,294	563	43.5
Total	1,483	683	46.2

TABLE 8.3 Shipping files analysed from the General Archive of the Indies

Fleet	Number of files from outgoing vessels heading from Europe to Latin America	Number of reviewed files from outgoing vessels	%
New Spain	1,186	856	72.1
Tierra Firme	833	627	75.2
Total	2,019	1,483	70.5

en route do not appear in the declared manifests. It is interesting to note the importance of books as goods in the 16th century, since 63.4% of the ships included printed books among their declared goods, whereas the figure fell to 43.5% in the subsequent century.

Ships on the West Indies Run sailed in two fleets, one bound for the territories of Tierra Firme (supplying the territories of Panama and all of the territories of South America) and one bound for New Spain (supplying the Central American territories and the viceroyalty based in Mexico).¹⁷ The present study has sought to achieve a balanced analysis that represents the ships in both fleets. As a result, the analysis covers 856 files for the New Spain fleet and 627 for the Tierra Firme fleet, which represent 72.1% and 75.2% of the preserved files, respectively. In this way, we have been able to verify the cultural offering in each of the two territories.

As we shall see, a shipper can record one title or several. Overall, however, we have been able to find references to 182 mentions of titles by Azpilcueta

17 Martínez Ruiz, *Las flotas de Indias: la revolución que cambió el mundo*, 82–102.

TABLE 8.4 Titles of works by Azpilcueta in the shipments, by decade

Decades	Titles
1583–1590	16
1591–1599	93
1600–1610	54
1611–1620	7
1621–1630	8
1631–1640	1
1641–1650	3
Total	182

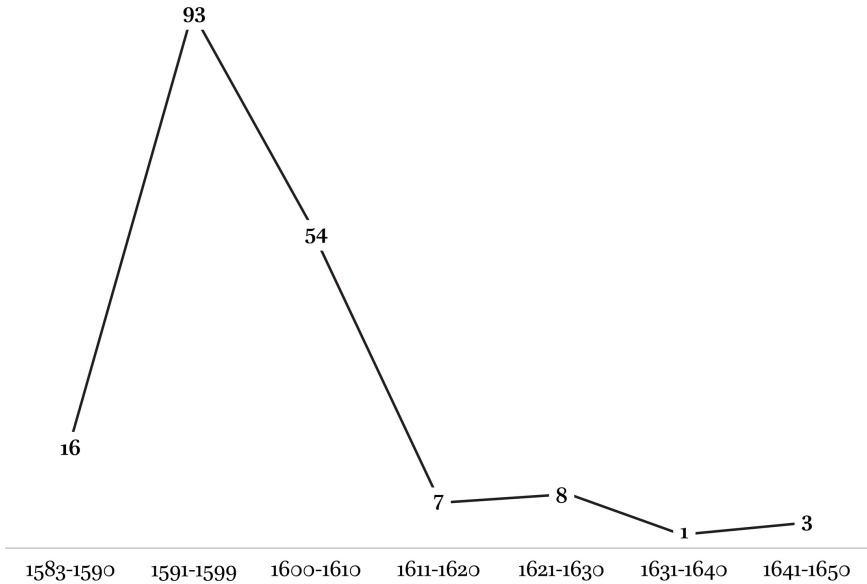
sent to the Americas in the period of 1583–1650. In the shipments between 1651 and 1700, by contrast, no title of Azpilcueta has been found. The last case in which a title by Azpilcueta appears is in the 1650 shipment of the private library of Francisco Rodríguez de Valcárcel, Bishop of Cartagena.¹⁸ The bishop brought with him an exquisite legal library, works on religion, Renaissance texts, such as Erasmus' *Apophthegmes*, and Greco-Roman classics in Latin and Greek, in addition to a book of his own that had just been published in Alcalá de Henares in 1647, the *Epitome Iuris Canonici*, of which he took 100 copies to the Americas.¹⁹ After the 1650 shipment, Azpilcueta vanishes from the analysed lists in the commercial records held in the *Casa de la Contratación*.

The period of 1591–1601 has the highest number of shipments with titles by Azpilcueta (see Graph 1 below). It is important to bear in mind, however, that there are very few extant shipping manifests prior to 1583 and that the sample for Tierra Firme is somewhat limited in the present analysis.²⁰ In any case, the existing data shows that the traffic in titles of works by Azpilcueta was particularly strong from 1592 to 1608, which were growth years. Starting in 1611, by contrast, a period of stagnation begins (see Table 4). The final years of the reign of Philip II (especially from 1580 to 1599) witnessed a sharp increase in the pro-

18 AGI, Contratación, 5794, l. 1, fol. 53. His biography and previous postings appear in Indiferente, 192, n. 209.

19 AGI, Contratación, 1197, no. 4, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario y San Francisco Solano*, fols. 24–27.

20 Gil, "El libro greco-latino y su influjo en Indias".



GRAPH 8.1 Titles of works by Azpilcueta in the shipments, by decades (1583–1650)

duction of books by Spanish printers, with at least 16% of the titles addressing law subjects and 46% covering religious subjects. This was a time at which a strong increase can be observed in the circulation of Azpilcueta's works, many of them imported from Italy or France, since as Wilkinson recalls, "the Peninsula produced relatively few scholarly works in this period as a proportion of total output, vernacular production remained incredibly buoyant—at least in Spain".²¹

In the period of 1611–1650, Azpilcueta mostly appears in private libraries but vanishes almost completely from the Atlantic book market. At the time of Azpilcueta's inclusion in the 1632 index of the Spanish Inquisition, the circulation of his texts was already limited.²² His scarce presence, however, does not appear to be related to his appearance on the *Novus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum* or successive indices. Moreover, his purge seems to have affected only the first volume of his *Opera* (Lyon, 1595), which appeared as a banned book in successive indices from 1640, 1707, 1747, and 1790.²³

21 Wilkinson, "Exploring the Print World of Early Modern Iberia", 500.

22 Beck Varela, "La enseñanza del derecho y los Índices de libros prohibidos: Notas para un panorama ibérico, 1583–1640".

23 Martínez de Bujanda, *El índice de libros prohibidos y expurgados por la Inquisición española (1551–1819)*, 313.

TABLE 8.5 Titles of works by Azpilcueta, by fleet and decade (1583–1650)

Decades	Tierra Firme	New Spain	Total
1583–1590	12	4	16
1591–1599	36	57	93
1600–1610	16	38	54
1611–1620	7	0	7
1621–1630	2	6	8
1631–1640	0	1	1
1641–1650	3	0	3
Total	76	106	182

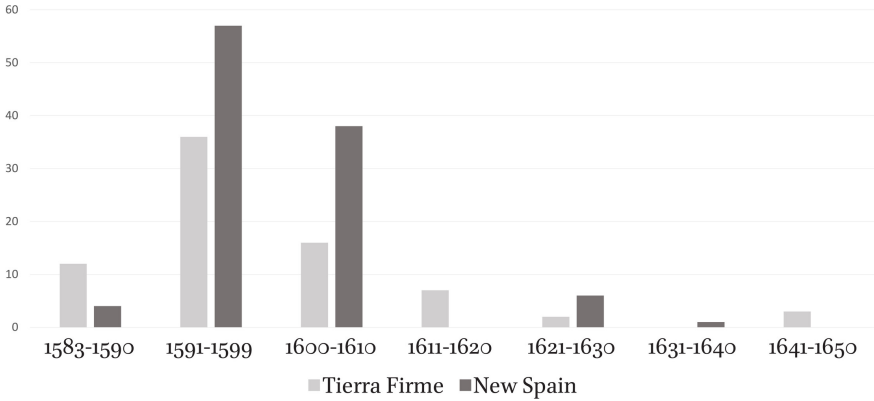
In the shipments for the period of 1591–1610, the total number of titles dispatched to New Spain was nearly twice as great (95 titles) as the number of titles going to Tierra Firme (52) (see Table 5). In the case of texts by Azpilcueta, there is a clear drop in circulation in both viceroyalties from 1610, with a slight increase in New Spain in 1621 and another one in Tierra Firme in 1622. However, these phenomena are short-lived. In the case of Mexico City, the uptick was the result of efforts made by booksellers like Diego de Ribera. In the case of Tierra Firme, it was down to the merchants Carlos de Covarrubias and Lorenzo de Garate. On the same ship, *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, the latter two merchants registered a “Suma de Navarro” [*Summa* of Navarrus] and the “*Compendio* de Navarro del padre Ávila” [*Compendium* of Navarrus belonging to *padre Ávila*], respectively.²⁴

The analysis by fleet reveals a more extensive and diversified circulation in the territories of New Spain (106 titles) than in those of Tierra Firme (76 titles). However, the distribution by decade points to similar behaviour in the two regions, with a concentration in the period of 1591–1610 in both cases, and quite a sharp decline in subsequent years.

It is interesting to note the greater market consolidation of the book market in New Spain, which contributed to the consolidation of distribution channels and enabled nearly twice as many books to reach New Spain in the period of 1591–1610 as the number of books that reached Tierra Firme in the same period.²⁵ This aspect is related to the role of Mexican booksellers in the Atlantic

24 AGI, Contratación, 1172, *Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria*, fols. 126, 209.

25 Jiménez, “Cuentas fallidas, deudas omnipresentes: Los difíciles comienzos del mercado del libro novohispano”.



GRAPH 8.2 Titles of works by Azpilcueta, by fleet (1583–1650)

TABLE 8.6 Typology of people who shipped titles by Azpilcueta

Number of titles in shipments			
Type of shipper	Tierra Firme	New Spain	Total
Merchant	54	20	74
Bookseller	9	66	75
Private individual	12	14	26
Religious order	1	6	7
Total	76	106	182

trade and the consolidation of civil and ecclesiastical organisations in the extensive territory of New Spain. Both of these helped to encourage the establishment of private and institutional libraries.²⁶

A significant share of the books shipped to New Spain were sent as part of booksellers' lists (66 cases, 36% of the total). In the case of Tierra Firme, however, it was more common for the works of Azpilcueta to be sent through merchants (54.29%), indicating that the book market differed in the two territories. The networks differed because the booksellers of New Spain were

26 García, "Orden dentro del desorden: circulación de libros de derecho en Nueva España, 1585–1640". Moncayo Ramírez, "Los saberes en los fondos conventuales de la ciudad de Puebla".

successful in establishing themselves and forging strong ties with their counterparts in Seville. By contrast, such networks took hold much later in Peru, where they depended on relationships that included, for example, the booksellers of Medina del Campo, such as Francisco del Canto and Benito Boyer, to name a few.²⁷ It is interesting to note the limited role of religious orders, which sporadically shipped the works of Navarrus, and the striking presence of Azpilcueta in private libraries dispatched to the West Indies. Over the years in question, 26 titles appear in the libraries of private individuals.

The *Manual* enjoyed considerable publishing fame and Azpilcueta played a key role in its fortunes, as Bragagnolo's chapter in this volume demonstrates. It is also important to bear in mind Azpilcueta's preparation of the *Compendium* in the Valladolid edition of 1586. The shipping manifests contain abbreviated information on titles and occasionally some data on formats, language, and binding. In 1586, the manifests feature "dos *sumas* de Nabarro en romance con el capítulo veyntiocho en veinte y ocho reales" ["two *Summae* by Navarrus in Spanish with chapter 28 at 28 reals"], which belonged to the Augustinian monk Francisco Tristán.²⁸ This level of detail helps to identify the *Manual* together with *Chapter 28 of the Addenda to the Manual of Confessors*, revealing the notable importance of the editions revised and amended by the author himself. Another example is a shipment in 1622 by the merchant Lorenzo de Garate, a resident of Seville, mentioned earlier, who sent an edition of the *Compendium* of Azpilcueta's *Summa* written by the Jesuit Esteban de Ávila, which figures in the list as a "*Compendio de Navarro del Padre Ávila*" ["*Compendium* of Navarrus by *padre Ávila*"].²⁹ The role played by the Jesuits was crucial in debates over law. Ávila played a key role, drawing on the texts of Azpilcueta to prepare a new book entitled the *Compendium Summae seu Manualis D. Nauarri: In ordinem alphabeti redactum, sententiasque omnes succinctè complectens*. This edition was prepared at the end of the 16th century, but it was not introduced into Peru until its publication in Europe in 1609, specifically in Lyon, and copies were dispatched to the Spanish Crown's territories in the Americas. Another edition was published in Venice in 1614.³⁰ The work had a role in the debates on moral theology that played out in the new chairs being set up in universities and schools, indicating the importance of having an American version to

27 González Sánchez, "El comercio de libros entre Europa y América en la Sevilla del siglo XVI: impresores, libreros y mercaderes".

28 AGI, Contratación, 1085, *La Magdalena*, fol. 104.

29 AGI, Contratación, 1172, n. 2, r. 7, fol. 211^r.

30 Ávila, *Compendium Summae seu Manualis D. Nauarri*.

send back to the colonies after being printed in Europe so that its influence would continue to be felt at a time of major dispute between Dominicans and Jesuits.

It is interesting to note the important presence of the *Summa* or *Manual* (54 times) and the *Compendium* (44 times). In the sources, the *Manual de confesores y penitents* [*Manual of Confessors and Penitents*] is cited both as “*manual de Navarro*” and “*suma de Navarro*”, while the *Compendio del manual de confesores* [*Compendium of the Manual of Confessors*] is cited both as “*compendios de Navarro*” and, to a lesser extent, as “*compenditos Navarro*”. Notably, some commercial shipments carried both books, indicating a business strategy that permitted the diversification of sales opportunities, since the price of the two works was different; indeed, the higher price could be as much as double. In 1598, for example, the merchant Diego de Soria shipped to Peru “*Dos manuales de Navarro 4^o pergamino a doce reales*”³¹ [“*Two Manuals of Navarrus 4to parchment at 12 reals*”] and, in the same year, the merchant Juan González de Moya sent to Potosí “*Dos compendios de Navarro a seis reales*”³² [“*Two Compendia of Navarrus at 6 reals*”]. It is important to bear this economic aspect in mind when assessing the publishing success of the texts. The Portuguese version of the *Compendium* that came out in 1567, for example, made reference to the fact that it could “*ser usado e tratado dos menos doctos*” [“*be used and handled by the less learned*”], an aspect that was expanded on in the Spanish version of 1580, which stated in its foreword that it was intended for, among others, “*los que no pueden tener tantos libros de sumas y doctores como conviene a sus consciencias*” [“*those who cannot afford to have as many *Summae* books and scholars as might suit their consciences*”].³³ This summarisation of Azpilcueta’s text entailed making changes to the content, but it also reduced the production costs so that the resulting price was much lower. As a consequence, it was able to reach a more diverse audience. As Paul Dover notes about books in Latin that circulated in the trading networks for European books, “*like commodities, books became more impersonal objects, produced for a market instead of a specific patron or owner in mind*”.³⁴

31 AGI, Contratación, 1128, *San Francisco*, fols. 67^r–70^r.

32 AGI, Contratación, 1128, *San Francisco*, fols. 153^r–155^v.

33 Muguruza Roca, “Del confesionario ibérico de la Contrarreforma a los manuales para confesores en la América colonial: el *Manual de confesores y penitentes* de Martín de Azpilcueta como texto de referencia”, 43.

34 Dover, *The Information Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 163.

TABLE 8.7 Titles of works by Azpilcueta shipped to the Americas (1583–1650)

Titles of works by Azpilcueta in shipments	Period of shipments to the Americas	Total number of shipments
<i>Opera</i>	1592–1650	56
<i>Summa</i>	1584–1622	50
<i>Compendium</i>	1586–1628	44
<i>Consilia</i>	1594–1608	15
<i>Commentarius de Iobeleo et indulgentiis</i>	1586–1592	3
<i>Commentarius in cap. inter verba</i>	1594–1598	3
<i>Tractado de alabança y murmuración</i>	1592	2
<i>Apologia libri de redivibus ecclesiasticis</i>	1586	1
Capítulo veynte y ocho de las addiciones [Chapter 28 of the addenda]	1586	1
<i>Relectiones in capit. si quando</i>	1594	1

Shipments of the *Summa* and *Compendium* are concentrated in the period of 1591–1599. Gradually, however, their circulation declined. Azpilcueta's *Opera* came onto the market in the late-16th and early-17th century. The cost of the *Opera* might have ranged from 110 to 220 reals, as in the shipment of “1 *Obras de Navarro de las nuevas León* [i.e., *Lugduni*] en becerro con sus consejos 220 reales” [“1 *Opera* of Navarrus published in Lyon in vellum with his *Consilia* at 220 reals”] sent on a ship bound for Honduras by the merchants Fernando and Bartolomé de Carmona.³⁵ The Lyon editions of the *Opera* are mentioned on five occasions, indicating the importance of the French city in the traffic of scholarly books bound for institutional libraries and the private libraries of learned men, such as the collection belonging to the jurist Juan Marín de Nava, who had a number of copies of “*Navarro Opera*” [“*Navarrus' Opera*”] in 1649.³⁶

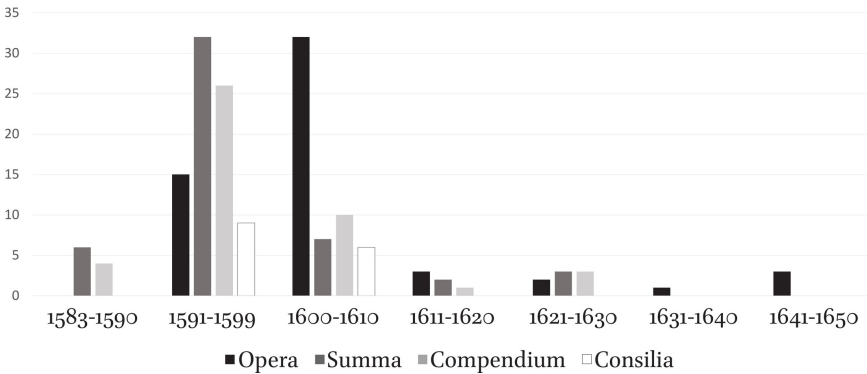
Other works by Azpilcueta, such as his *Apologia libri de redivibus ecclesiasticis*, the *Commentarius de Iobeleo et indulgentiis* and the *Relectiones in capit. si quando*, appear more sporadically. After his death, the *Opera* had a notable

35 AGI, Contratación, 1141, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, fol. 76.

36 AGI, Contratación, 1195, *Nuestra Señora del Rosario y la Antigua*, fol. 28.

TABLE 8.8 Titles of works by Azpilcueta shipped, by decade from 1583 to 1650

Decades	<i>Opera</i>	<i>Summa</i>	<i>Compendium</i>	<i>Consilia</i>
1583–1590	0	6	4	0
1591–1599	15	32	26	9
1600–1610	32	7	10	6
1611–1620	3	2	1	0
1621–1630	2	3	3	0
1631–1640	1	0	0	0
1641–1650	3	0	0	0
Total	56	50	44	15



GRAPH 8.3 Shipped titles of works by Azpilcueta, by decade from 1583 to 1650

presence in the traffic of books to Latin America, at least in shipments from 1592 to 1650.

3 Networks of Distribution and Intermediation

The merchants who acted as intermediaries on the West Indies Run played a key role in the movement of Azpilcueta's books, dispatching the *Summa* on 18 occasions and the *Compendium* on 22. Their role was especially important in the shipments that sailed on the Tierra Firme fleet. The merchant Andrés Sánchez sent a number of important shipments bound for Lima.³⁷ In 1592,

37 García Fuentes, *Los peruleros y el comercio de Sevilla con las Indias, 1580–1630*, 101. Álvarez-Nogal, "Mercados o redes de mercaderes: el funcionamiento de la feria de Portobelo"

he declared texts by Azpilcueta in a handful of cases: one lot included two works “*Commentarius de voto paupertatis*” and “*Commentarius de Iobeleo et indulgentiis*”, a second lot contained “un *Manual* de Navarro”, “tres Navarros de *murmuración*”, “cinco *compendios* de Navarro”, and “dos Navarros de *Jubileo*” [“a *Manual* of Navarrus”, “three Navarrus of the *Murmuración*”, “five *Compendia* of Navarrus”, and “two Navarrus of the *Iobeleo*”], and a third lot included several books but without much detailed information (“un Navarro de la *murmuración*”, “un *compendio* de Navarro”, “tres capítulos de Navarro”, and “un Navarro”) ³⁸ [“a Navarrus of the *Murmuración*”, “a *Compendium* of Navarrus”, “three chapters of Navarrus”, and “a Navarrus”]. The merchants typically divided their cargo among several vessels in order to ensure that only a portion of their goods would be lost in the case of a shipwreck. In many of these instances, the merchants were intermediaries who received money in Lima, carried it back to Spain, and returned with the goods. In 1598, the Peruvian Juan González de Moya recorded “las cajas de libros de abajo consignadas a mí el dicho Joan González de Moya mercader que voy en la dicha flota” [“crates of books below consigned to me Joan González de Moya, merchant, who is sailing on said fleet”]. The books were intended for delivery in Peru to “Alonso Reluz mercader de la villa de Potosí” ³⁹ [“Alonso Reluz, merchant of the city of Potosí”]. The shipment in question provides a perfect summary of the offering of texts by Azpilcueta on the market, since it includes the following three titles:

Dos *obras* de Navarro f^o pergamino León a çiento y diez reales. 7440
[maravedís]

Unos Consejos [i.e., *Consilia*] de Navarro en dos cuerpos 4^o pergamino
grande a doce reales. 816 [maravedís]

Dos *compendios* de Navarro a seis reales. 408 [maravedís]

[Two *Opera* of Navarrus f. parchment Lyon at 110 reals. 7440 (*maravedís*)

Some Counsels [i.e., *Consilia*] of Navarrus in two volumes 4to large
parchment at 12 reals. 816 (*maravedís*)

Two *Compendia* of Navarrus at 6 reals. 408 (*maravedís*)]

Booksellers also played a key role, typically shipping both titles, in some cases through intermediaries and in other cases directly. The latter was the case for the bookseller Benito Boyer, a resident of Medina del Campo, who sent an

38 AGI, Contratación, 1094, *N.S. de la Concepción*, fol. 12^v. 1095, n. 3, *San Gabriel*, fols. 32^r–50^r. 1098, 1–5, *San Francisco*, fols. 183^r–190^v.

39 AGI, Contratación, 1128, n. 2, *Jesús, María, José*, fol. 16.

TABLE 8.9 Typology of shippers of the *Summa* and *Compendium* by Azpilcueta

Type of shipper	Number of shipments	
	<i>Summa</i>	<i>Compendium</i>
Merchant	18	22
Bookseller	23	17
Private individual	9	3
Religious order	0	2
Total	50	44

important lot in 1586 that included “*Dos Manuales de Navarro*” [“*Two Manuals of Navarrus*”] bound for Lima.⁴⁰ Boyer, who was a prominent bookseller with one of the finest bookshops in all of Castile and León, maintained close ties with the book market in Peru and shipped a number of lots there.⁴¹ In one of his business dealings, Boyer negotiated the above-mentioned shipment of 40 crates of books to Mexico City in 1585, including 200 “*Biblias de Vatablo*” [“*Vatablo Bibles*”], which were sold to the bookseller Juan Treviño “a cuarenta por ciento bruto, pagado en tres flotas”⁴² [“at 40 per cent gross, paid in three instalments”].

Spanish booksellers not only distributed books by Azpilcueta, but also financed some of the editions, as in the case of the *Commentarii et tractatus ad sacras confessiones* (Venice, 1601) that was published “expensis Domini Simonis Vassallini” [“at the expense of Simone Vassalini”].⁴³ Simone Vassalini was a bookseller of Venetian origin who opened a bookshop in Madrid and published the first sales catalogue for books to appear in Spain under the title *Index librorum* (Madrid, 1597). Items for sale in the catalogue included *Commentaria Martini ab Azpilcueta Navarro, numquam impres. 4. Venet.* and *Compendium Manualis Navarri, in 32. Rom.*⁴⁴ A few years later, Vassalini set sail for New Spain

40 AGI, Contratación, 1086, n. 1, *N.S. de la Peña de Francia*, fols. 171^r–172^v.

41 Rojo Vega, “El negocio del libro en Medina del Campo. Siglos XVI y XVII”. Jiménez, “Medina del Campo y la intermediación sevillana: Aspectos del comercio de libros con las Indias en el último cuarto del siglo XVI”.

42 Fernández del Castillo, *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI*, 428–430.

43 Bognolo, “El libro español en Venecia en el siglo XVI”.

44 Cagliari, University library, ROSS.D.115.

and carried on selling books in Mexico City, Manila, and Lima. In our analysed sample, we find him shipping an important lot to Mexico City in 1608 that included “1 Navarri *opera* in 4^o”⁴⁵ [“1 Navarrus *Opera* in 4to”].

One bookselling network that played a prominent role in the trade of Azpilcueta’s works revolved around the Mexía family. The bookseller Diego Mexía and his son Fernando shipped texts by Doctor Navarrus over the period of 1593–1608. The Mexías, who had relatives in Peru, also drew on the assistance of Mexican booksellers, who regularly collaborated by receiving batches of books and selling them in the viceroyalty of New Spain.⁴⁶ In their cargo declarations or authorised lists of goods, the Mexías noted the recipients. In addition, they often indicated the number of copies pertaining to each title and, in some cases, the value of the books. Of the 51 texts by Azpilcueta that we can find in their shipments, 48 went to New Spain and only 3 went to Tierra Firme.

This was made possible because of the Mexías’ established ties in Mexico City. For example, Diego Mexía recorded 14 shipments between 1594 and 1600, with a total of 4,605 copies of various titles valued at 39,286 reals. The pairs’ activity carried on into the early years of the 17th century, at least until the death of Diego Mexía in 1605. In their bookshop, they also sold many lots of books that were sent to the Americas. For example, Fernando Mexía declared that he was paid 756 reals for 30 copies of the *Summa* by Manuel Rodríguez and 6 *Explicaciones de la bula* by the same author.⁴⁷ That is, it was common for him to sell not only Azpilcueta’s works but also other titles in the same vein—texts that were market competitors of Azpilcueta’s *Manual* and *Compendium*.

The text that was dispatched in the highest number of shipments was the *Opera* (17). Interestingly, however, the text dispatched in the greatest number of copies was the *Compendium* (71 copies in 14 shipments). The latter figure is telling because it indicates that the *Compendium* was in relatively wide circulation, likely because of its lower price. In 1600, for example, a shipment contained “un compendio Navarro 3 reales”⁴⁸ [“a *Compendium* of Navarrus at 3 reals”], which is a lower price in comparison with the same title in shipments sent by other shippers or with the price of the *Consilia* (from 30 to 55 reals) or the *Opera* (132 reals). In this case, it also proves notable that for each *Manual* that they shipped they sent three copies of the *Compendium*, which gives a good approximation of the relationship between the two works when they appeared in the New Spain market. The bookselling Mexías typically diver-

45 AGI, Contratación, 1150, *Nuestra Señora del Junca*, fol. 65.

46 Gil, “Diego Mexía Fernangil, un perulero humanista en los confines del mundo”.

47 AGI, Contratación, 1082, *Santa María de la Rosa*, fol. 95.

48 AGI, Contratación, 1135, *La Trinidad*, fols. 151^r–152^v.

TABLE 8.10 Titles of works by Azpilcueta shipped by Diego and Fernando Mexía

Author	Title	Years	Shipments	Copies
Martín de Azpilcueta	<i>Opera</i>	1593–1608	17	25
Martín de Azpilcueta	<i>Compendium of the Manual of Confessors</i>	1593–1606	14	71
Martín de Azpilcueta	<i>Manual of Confessors and Penitents</i>	1593–1597	11	22
Martín de Azpilcueta	<i>Consilia</i>	1594–1602	8	35
Martín de Azpilcueta	<i>Relectiones in capit. si quando. et in cap. cum contingat. de rescriptis</i>	1594	1	2

sified the titles sent and the prices of the works so as to offset the shipments of a few copies of very costly titles aimed at institutional libraries and the libraries of professionals (theologians, jurists, physicians, etc.) with shipments of more economical texts aimed at a more diverse public, which were shipped in much greater numbers.

Merchants and booksellers were the professional groups that bore the most responsibility for the circulation of Azpilcueta's books, whereas private individuals and religious orders had a smaller impact on their circulation through the networks of the Atlantic trade. The Dominican Domingo de Rosales shipped the *Compendium* to Guatemala City in 1593, together with the *Opera*.⁴⁹ The Jesuit Alonso de Escobar, who shipped some “*compendios de la suma de Navarro*” [“*Compendia of the Summa of Navarrus*”] to New Spain in 1606,⁵⁰ was in charge of the Office of the Procurator for the Indies in Seville for over two decades from 1599 to 1622, attending to several provinces in the Americas at a time of strong consolidation in the viceroalties based in Lima and Mexico City.⁵¹

49 AGI, Contratación, 1099, *El Espíritu Santo*, fol. 67.

50 AGI, Contratación, 1148, *Nuestra Señora de Loreto*, s.f.

51 Galán García, *El “Oficio de Indias” de Sevilla y la organización económica y misional de la Compañía de Jesús (1566–1767)*.

4 Azpilcueta in Private Libraries Shipped on the West Indies Run

In terms of shipments involving private individuals, the underlying causes for these shipments varied. Works by Azpilcueta appear in 26 shipping manifests of books connected to private individuals.⁵² In some cases, individuals sailing across the Atlantic took their libraries abroad because they were either going to the Americas to take up a post or returning after a stay in Europe. In other cases, batches of books were requested through various intermediaries by individuals living in the Americas, indicating some of the reading preferences in the colonies. In the Tierra Firme fleet, we find 12 titles of works by Azpilcueta bound for private individuals, such as professionals of the courts (prosecutors, lawyers) and church officials (canons, bishops). It is a small sample, which is marked by a shift from the late 16th century, when the *Manual* is primarily cited, to the 17th century, when the preference turns to the *Opera*, highlighting Azpilcueta's notable prestige among professionals in civil and canon law. In the viceroyalty of Peru, such readers found three spaces for intellectual activity, which Pedro Guibovich Pérez identifies as the viceregal court and Crown bureaucracy; the churches, convents, and religious schools; and the university.⁵³ In 1592, the cleric Domingo de Almeyda sailed to the viceroyalty of Peru "con dos caxas de libros de su estudio" ["with two crates of books from his study"] that contained a careful selection of books on canon law and on religion, including the *Summa* and *Compendium* of Navarrus, together with the *Summa* of Bartolomé de Medina, in addition to the "catálogo de los libros vedados" ["catalogue of banned books"], probably the *Index librorum prohibitorum* (1584), and various books of rhetoric.

The shipments dispatched with the New Spain fleet offer a similar sample that includes clerics (Augustinians, Dominicans, canons) and legal professionals (lawyers) who had preferences for the *Opera*. Lucas Hurtado de Mendoza took receipt of the *Opera* (154 reals) and four copies of the *Compendium* (4 reals), which indicates that, in his case, he surely acquired copies to share among colleagues (revealing the interest aroused by the text). This was fairly common among jurists, who sometimes pooled various requests in order to

52 Maillard Álvarez, Fernández Chaves (eds.), *Bibliotecas de la Monarquía Hispánica en la primera globalización (siglos XVI–XVIII)*. García, *La vida privada de las bibliotecas: rastros de colecciones novohispanas, 1700–1800*.

53 Guibovich Pérez, "La ciudad letrada en el virreinato peruano (1680–1750): balance historiográfico".

TABLE 8.11 Titles of works by Azpilcueta bound for private libraries in Tierra Firme

Title shipped	Year	Destination city	Shipper or owner	Profession
<i>Nauarro en latín</i> [<i>Navarrus in Latin</i>]	1583	Nombre de Dios	Villanueva Zapata, Diego de	Prosecutor
<i>Manual de Nauarro</i> [<i>Manual of Navarrus</i>]	1584		Pérez, Francisco	
Dos <i>sumas</i> de Nabarro en romance con el capitulo veyntiocho en veinte y ocho reales [Two <i>Summae</i> of Navarrus in Spanish with chapter 28 at 28 reals]	1586	Lima	Tristán, Francisco	Augustinian
<i>Nauarro el manual en latín</i> [<i>Navarrus Manual in Latin</i>]	1592	Charcas	Saez Escribano, Juan	Canon
Una <i>suma</i> de Nauarro de las nuevas 4 ^o [A <i>Summa</i> of Navarrus with addenda 4to]	1592		Almeyda, Domingo de	Teacher
Un <i>compendio</i> de Nabarro [A <i>Compendium</i> of Navarro]	1592		Almeyda, Domingo de	Teacher
Las <i>obras</i> de Nabarro [The <i>Opera</i> of Navarrus]	1594		Díaz de Abrego, Andrés	
<i>Obras</i> de Nauarro [<i>Opera</i> of Navarrus]	1605	Lima	Pardo del Castillo, Lorenzo	Lawyer
Nauari <i>opera</i> 3 tomos [Navarrus <i>Opera</i> 3 volumes]	1608		Cruz, Blas	
<i>Manual</i> de Nabarro [<i>Manual</i> of Navarrus]	1612	Cuzco	Núñez de Illescas Zambrano, Juan	Presbyter
Navarro <i>Opera</i> [Navarrus <i>Opera</i>]	1649		Marín de Nava, Juan	<i>Oidor</i>
<i>Obras</i> de Nabarro [<i>Opera</i> of Navarrus]	1650		Rodríguez de Valcárcel, Francisco	Bishop

commission the purchase of batches of books in Europe, especially for areas that were less well-supplied, as in the case of the Central American territories. The 1604 shipment addressed to “Lucas Hurtado canónigo de la Santa Iglesia de Guatemala” [“Lucas Hurtado, canon of the holy church in Guatemala City”] points to an interest in forming a private library as befit his status, since he had

been seeking a post for many years and finally secured a place in Santiago de Guatemala in 1602.⁵⁴

Another interesting case, which is likewise on the periphery, pertains to the notable private library of Juan de Vargas, governor of Yucatán. On the list of passengers who set sail in 1628, Vargas is identified as “governador y capitán general de la provincia”⁵⁵ [“governor and captain general of the province”]. In addition, he sailed in the company of various servants and carried abroad numerous works of civil law and a “*compendio de Navarro*”⁵⁶ [“*Compendium of Navarrus*”]. The interest of the jurist in works of *ius commune* and legal texts can be seen in a library that included “*ordenanzas de las Indias*” [“*ordinances of the Indies*”], “*premiáticas del reyno*” [“*laws of the kingdom*”], and a “*suma artis notariatum*” [“*Summa artis notariae*”], together with legal works in Latin that covered civil law (with a special interest in legal procedures) and canon law, including works akin to those by Azpilcueta, such as “*Medin. de poenit. f.º Salamanca 1550*”. This text, which was entitled *In titulum de poenitentia eiusque partibus commentarii*, was a work by Juan de Medina, theologian and professor at the University of Alcalá de Henares, and it marked a major milestone in normative texts.

In some cases, the documents indicate that the books belonged to private libraries, such as those taken to New Spain by the physician Juan Godínez Maldonado “para sus estudios”⁵⁷ [“for his studies”]. In his case, a large share of the books were professional works, including Ambrogio Calepino’s *Dictionarium*, the *Summae* by Manuel Rodríguez and Azpilcueta, and texts from the Council of Trent. His selection of a legal *Vocabularium* and the *Expositio titulorum iuris canonici* appears to reflect titles that befit the man’s role as canon in the Cathedral of New Galicia. On some occasions, the books were acquired by residents of New Spain who had conducted their entire careers in Mexico and commissioned agents working on the West Indies Run to obtain supplies of books. The lawyer Bartolomé de la Canal de la Madrid is a good example of a graduate of canon law from the University of Mexico who served as a lawyer in the *Real Audiencia*, went on to become a prosecutor in Guatemala City in 1600, and ultimately rose in 1609 to become an *oidor*, or judge, in Guadalajara, where he remained in office until his death in 1627.⁵⁸ While serving as a prosecutor in 1606, he took receipt of a batch of books that included the “*Obras de Navarro*”

54 AGI, Contratación, 1144C, n. 1, r. 16, fol. 93.

55 AGI, Contratación, 5403, n. 34.

56 AGI, Contratación, 1176, n. 9, fol. 30^v.

57 AGI, Contratación, 1149, *Santa María de la Rosa*, fol. 39. The folder of a 1606 passenger with the most information on this canon is found in AGI, Contratación, 5295, n. 9.

58 Barrientos Grandón, *Guía prosopográfica de la judicatura letrada indiana (1503–1898)*, 311.

TABLE 8.12 Titles of works by Azpilcueta bound for private libraries in New Spain

Title shipped	Year	Destination city	Shipper or owner	Profession
Unas <i>obras</i> de Nabarro 3 tomos pag ^o [Some <i>Opera</i> of Navarrus, 3 volumes]	1593	Mexico City	Bustinza, Pedro de	Augustinian
<i>Obras</i> del m ^o Nabarro [Opera of Navarrus]	1595		Rosales, Domingo de	Dominican
<i>Suma</i> de Nabarro [Summa of Navarrus]	1595		Rosales, Domingo de	Dominican
Unas <i>obras</i> de Nauarro en tres tomos de las nuevas leon 200 reales [Some <i>Opera</i> of Navarrus in three volumes with addenda, Lyon, 200 reals]	1600	Puebla de los Ángeles	Vega Sarmiento, Pedro de	Schoolteacher
1 <i>Obras</i> de Nauarro con los <i>consejos</i> f ^o tres tomos 132 reales [1 <i>Opera</i> of Navarrus with <i>Consilia</i> , f. 3 vols., 132 reals]	1603		Meneses, Mariana de (widow of Juan del Castillo)	
1 <i>Obras</i> de Nabarro con sus <i>consejos</i> f ^o en 3 tomos 154 reales [1 <i>Opera</i> of Navarrus with <i>Consilia</i> , f. in 3 vols., 154 reals]	1604	Guatemala City	Hurtado de Mendoza, Lucas	Canon
4 <i>Conpedios</i> de Nabarro a 4 rs 16 reales [4 <i>Compendia</i> of Navarrus at 4 reals, 16 reals]	1604	Guatemala City	Hurtado de Mendoza, Lucas	Canon
1 <i>Obras</i> nabarro con <i>consejos</i> f ^o 14 ducados 154 reales [1 <i>Opera</i> Navarrus with <i>Consilia</i> f. 14 ducats, 154 reals]	1604		González, Francisco	Schoolteacher
<i>Obras</i> de Navarro [Opera of Navarrus]	1606	Guatemala City	Canal de la Madrid, Bartolomé	Lawyer
Otra <i>Suma</i> de Nabarro [Another <i>Summa</i> of Navarrus]	1606		Godínez Maldonado, Juan	Canon
<i>Summa</i> de Nauarro en romance libro viejo [Summa of Navarrus in Spanish, used book]	1621	Puebla de los Ángeles	Río, Francisco del	Physician

TABLE 8.12 Titles of works by Azpilcueta bound for private libraries in New Spain (*cont.*)

Title shipped	Year	Destination city	Shipper or owner	Profession
<i>Manual</i> de Nabarro [<i>Manual</i> of Navarrus]	1621	Puebla de los Ángeles	Río, Francisco del	Physician
<i>Obras</i> de Nauarro con <i>consejo</i> [<i>Opera</i> of Navarrus with <i>Consilia</i>]	1621	Puebla de los Ángeles	Gómez Briceño, Felipe	
<i>Compendio</i> de Nauarro [<i>Compendium</i> of Navarrus]	1628	Campeche	Vargas, Juan de	Governor

[“*Opera* of Navarrus”].⁵⁹ His rise up the *cursus honorum* occurred in parallel with the consolidation of his private library, which was a fairly common occurrence among legal professionals.

5 Normative Books in the Atlantic Book Market

A letter sent by the Jesuit Tomás Vallejo from the “ysla de San Juan y del pueblo de San Ignacio de Agaña” [“island of San Juan and the village of San Ignacio de Agaña”] in Guam (Marianas) offers intriguing clues into the books that interested him. Vallejo’s missive, which was penned on 14 June 1680, was addressed to Tirso González, a prominent Jesuit who would rise to senior positions within the order. After addressing a number of other matters, Vallejo writes the following:

*Tenemos mucha falta de libros Morales y espirituales en esta misión. Suplico a Vuestra Reverencia, si es posible, remita Vuestra Reverencia dos autores legistas, porque se ofrecen aquí muchas causas de muertes de soldados e indios o, por lo menos envíeme Vuestra Reverencia dos libros morales escogidos y algunas obras del venerable Padre Luis de la Puente.*⁶⁰

[We have great need of Moral and spiritual books on this mission. I beseech Your Reverence, if it is possible, to send two legal authors, be-

59 AGI, Contratación, 1149, *San Eugenio*, fol. 26.

60 Burrus, *Kino escribe a la duquesa: correspondencia del P. Eusebio Francisco Kino con la duquesa de Aveiro y otros documentos*, 358–359.

cause there are many cases of deaths among the soldiers and indigenous people, or at least send me two selected moral books and some works of the venerable father Luis de la Puente.]

The request for law books, specifically “legal authors”, reveals the correspondent’s interest in practical books that could help to answer the questions of clergy involved in the mission. The books included many *Summae morales* containing cases of conscience, which enjoyed notable publishing success and often appeared in shipments of books.

In a batch of books dispatched for Cartagena de Indias in 1622 by the shipper Carlos de Covarrubias, we find a crate with a selection of the most common titles from the first half of the 17th century. The shipping manifest includes:

Obras de frai Manuel Rodríguez
Suma de [Francisco de] Toledo
Compendio del dicho [Francisco de Toledo]
Suma de Navarro
Suma de [Bartolomé de] Medina
Suma de Sumas de [Francisco Ortiz] Lucio
 [Pedro Mártir Coma] *Directorum curatorum* [o *instrucción de curas*]
Doctrina de [Roberto] Belarmino
Dos diurnos pequenitos
Comptentus mundy
 Frai Pedro de Alcántara
Instrucción de sacerdotes
Suma de [Pedro de] Ledesma
 [Lucas] Pinelo [*Tratado*] de *perfección [religiosa]*⁶¹

Obras morales of Fray Manuel Rodríguez
Summa of [Francisco de] Toledo
Compendium of said [Francisco de Toledo]
Summa of Navarrus
Summa of [Bartolomé de] Medina
Summa de Summas of [Francisco Ortiz] Lucio
 [Pedro Mártir Coma] *Directorum curatorum* [or *Instruction of Priests*]
Doctrine of [Robert] Bellarmine
 Two small *Diurnum*

61 AGI, Contratación, 1172, n. 2, r. 7, fols. 126^{r-v}.

Comptentus mundi

Fray Pedro de Alcántara

Instruction of Priests

Summa of [Pedro de] Ledesma

[Lucas] Pinelo [*Treatise*] on [*Religious*] *Perfection*

Here, it is particularly interesting that we can find only religious works, reflecting a clear preference for normative works in Spanish. As the list indicates, the shipment contained not only the “*suma* de Navarro” [“*Summa* of Navarrus”] but also other authors who were publishing competitors of Azpilcueta in the book market. Throughout the century, new titles took the place of older ones, so that the segment of *Summae morales* remained one of the most active in the publishing sector, marked by the constant renewal of the available supply. In the second half of the 17th century, however, significant changes occurred. The following entries appear in a shipment sent by the Seville bookseller Pedro de Santiago in 1675:

Suma de [Benito] Remijio [Noydens]

Suma de [Enrique de] Villalobos

Compendio de [Enrique de] Villalobos

Suma de [Gaspar de la] Figuera

Prontuario de [Benito] Remijio [Noydens]⁶²

Summa of [Benito] Remijio [Noydens]

Summa of [Enrique de] Villalobos

Compendium of [Enrique de] Villalobos

Summa of [Gaspar de la] Figuera

Prontuarium of [Benito] Remijio [Noydens]

Drawing on another study that focuses on the first half of the 17th century, we can answer the question about what other books similar to Azpilcueta's works succeeded in finding readers on the Atlantic distribution circuit.⁶³ Table 13, which sets out titles selected from a sample of 701 shipments from the period of 1601–1649, clearly shows that the book market had many titles that not only competed with Azpilcueta but actually outdid him in number of shipments and copies in circulation. Notably, the shipments that contained the *Manual* or

62 AGI, Contratación, 1225, n. 2, *Santo Cristo de San Agustín de Sevilla*, fol. 63^r.

63 Rueda Ramírez, *Negocio e intercambio cultural: El comercio de libros con América en la Carrera de Indias (siglo XVII)*.

TABLE 8.13 *Summae morales* and treatises on moral theology in shipments bound for the Americas

	Appearing in the lists for the following period	Number of lists with titles	Number of copies
Manuel Rodríguez: <i>Summa</i>	1601–1649	110	508
Pedro de Ledesma: <i>Summa</i>	1602–1625	96	438
Francisco de Toledo: <i>Summa</i>	1603–1645	63	254
Alonso de la Vega: <i>Summa</i>	1601–1649	50	94
Enrique de Villalobos: <i>Summa</i>	1621–1649	44	504
Martín Bonacina: <i>Operum omnium</i>	1625–1649	40	99
Antonio Diana: <i>Summa</i>	1633–1649	36	236
Manuel Rodríguez: <i>Obras morales</i>	1602–1643	35	103
Juan Azor: <i>Institutiones morales</i>	1601–1643	33	74
Alonso de la Vega: <i>Espejo de curas</i>	1603–1612	26	76
Emmanuel de Saa: <i>Aforismi confessoriorum</i>	1602–1640	22	105
Enrico Enríquez: <i>Theologiae moralis summa</i>	1602–1621	22	39
Francisco Ortiz Lucio: <i>Summa de summas</i>	1602–1625	21	126
Pedro Mártir Coma: <i>Instrucción de curas</i>	1601–1625	21	101
Bartolomé de Medina: <i>Summa</i>	1604–1634	19	79
Antonio Diana: <i>Resolutionum moralium</i>	1640–1649	17	62
Martín de Azpilcueta: <i>Summa</i>	1600–1622	12	10
Martín de Azpilcueta: <i>Compendium</i>	1600–1628	14	28
Jerónimo Llamas: <i>Methodus curationum</i>	1601–1606	10	19
Juan Machado: <i>Perfecto confesor</i>	1643–1649	10	44

Compendium by Azpilcueta accounted for a small volume in comparison with similar books. Azpilcueta's texts made up only a small share of the total offering of available normative books. Indeed, treatises of this sort proliferated: at least 1,600 Catholic authors wrote texts on morals from 1564 to 1663,⁶⁴ but the most widespread circulation was achieved by the titles that appear below.

The authors who achieved the greatest success in the Atlantic book market were Manuel Rodríguez, Pedro de Ledesma, Francisco de Toledo, Alonso de la Vega, and Enrique de Villalobos. The *Summa* of the Portuguese Manuel

64 Delumeau, *La confesión y el perdón: Las dificultades de la confesión, siglos XIII al XVIII*, 117; Proserpi, "La confessione e il foro della coscienza".

Rodríguez (1545–1613) appears on 110 lists, making Rodríguez one of the most circulated authors in the Atlantic trade. Other shipped items by Manuel Rodríguez were his *Obras morales*, which includes his *Summa de casos de conciencia* and his *Explicación de la Bula de la Cruzada*. They appear on 31 lists that feature a total of 94 copies of his works.

In some shipments, a number of the above-mentioned books appear together. This is the case for Felipe Gómez Briceño, resident of the city of Puebla de los Ángeles, who was the recipient in 1621 of a batch of books that included the “*obras de Navarro con consejo*” [“*Opera* of Navarrus with *Consilia*”], together with the *Summae* of Toledo, Emmanuel de Saa, Manuel Rodríguez, Bartolomé de Medina, and Vega. That is, a single owner could receive several similar normative texts, pointing to an accumulation of the pertinent authorities within a number of legal collections. In this case, Gómez Briceño rounded out his library with Greco-Roman classics and the “*obras de Lipsio en 9 tomos de a 4^o Plantino*”⁶⁵ [“works of Justus Lipsius in 9 volumes and a 4to Plantin”].

6 Conclusions

The *Summa* and *Compendium* by Azpilcueta were books that enjoyed notable circulation on the Atlantic circuit in the period of 1583–1610, but their presence quickly dwindled at the start of the 17th century, and they were replaced in the publishing market by other normative titles. The varied publishing offering of new works produced many alternatives to Azpilcueta’s works. The publishing life of the *Summa* was intense, a great number of editions came out in Latin and in Spanish, and the book succeeded relatively easily in securing a strong position in the closing years of the reign of Philip II. At the beginning of the 17th century, however, it faded away almost completely from commercial book networks and, from 1611 onwards, practically disappeared from the book market altogether. In this sense, the Atlantic supply was reduced but, without a doubt, Azpilcueta’s texts that arrived in America continued in use and were distributed in the territory, being sold in book stores or at library auctions, expanding their influence throughout the 17th century. That said, the *Opera* by Azpilcueta appears to have achieved notable success, even though its price exceeded 100 reals, as it was shipped alike by booksellers, merchants, and private individuals.

65 AGI, Contratación, 1170B, n. 14, *San Ignacio*, fols. 140^r–141^r.

The publisher's summarisation of the *Summa* in the form of the *Compendium* was essential, because it hugely facilitated the distribution of the book. Booksellers sent both titles in several shipments, giving us some insight into the dissemination of the book via the same networks. The phenomenon of abridging works that had achieved commercial success was common in the early modern period, and it was applicable in the case of other normative books that had their own equivalent compendia. The differences concerned not only the text itself, but also the prices and formats. For example, the *Summa* by Azpilcueta appears to have been priced at 6 to 28 reals, while the *Compendium* was priced at 2 to 10 reals. This model would be repeated in the case of other normative titles, which constituted a publishing genre with a notable tradition in the Spanish publishing world in the early modern period.

The private libraries and other lots of books for private individuals that have been located in the shipments dispatched to the viceroalties of Peru and New Spain provide us with a picture of the level of interest that the titles in question aroused among American readers. In many cases, such as the books of the physician Francisco del Río in 1621, we can also find various *Summae* alongside one another in the same library. More specifically, we find the *Summa* of Ledesma “en dos cuerpos pequeños” [“in two small volumes”], the *Summa* of Navarrus “en romance libro viejo” [“in Spanish, used book”], the *Summa* of Alcocer, another “*Manual de Navarro*” [“*Manual of Navarrus*”], the “*Summa de Toledo en romance que es un compendio pequeño*” [“the *Summa* of Toledo in Spanish that is a small compendium”], the *Summa* of Enriquez, and many books of canon law and works of literature of which the reader was an enthusiast.⁶⁶ Civil and ecclesiastical professionals who conducted a career in the administration of the Crown or Church had an interest in the works of Azpilcueta, pointing to the considerable importance of normative knowledge. The circulation of “Doctor Navarro’s” texts reflects the continuity of a textual model that had numerous imitators and that facilitated in America the writing of a new normativity adapted to the American world. The repeated shipment of his books to the Americas clearly shows the interest aroused by his texts and the prestige of his *Opera*, which turned up in quite a number of law collections.

66 AGI, Contratación, 1170A, n. 10, fols. 139^r–140^r.

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