

**THE HEREDIA-ZABALBURU COPY OF THE  
TRAGICOMEDIA DE CALISTO Y MELIBEA  
"SEVILLA, 1502" [I.E., ROME: MARCELLUS SILBER,  
CA. 1516]**

**Charles B. Faulhaber  
University of California, Berkeley**

With the reopening of the Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu y Basabe,<sup>1</sup> *Celestina* scholarship once again has access to one of the three (known) extant copies of this edition of the *Celestina*.<sup>2</sup> Last mentioned

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<sup>1</sup> Inaugurated by H.M. Doña Sofía on Friday, October 25th, 1991 (see Isabel Martos, "Caro Baroja: 'La Biblioteca Francisco Zabálburu es de un valor incalculable'" (ABC [1991-10-26]: 58), the library, owned by the Martos Zabálburu family (President of the Consejo Rector Doña María Trinidad Martos y Zabálburu, marquesa de Mondéjar), was opened to the scholarly public the following Monday, October 28th. It is located at Marqués del Duero, 7, 28001-Madrid (one block north of the Plaza de Cibeles on the east side of the Paseo de Recoletos). There is no external sign; to gain entrance one rings the bell at the westernmost of the three doors protected by a fin-de-siècle glass canopy. The library (tel.: 576 90 66) is open Monday-Friday 10-1; the librarian is Mercedes Noviembre.

<sup>2</sup> The only complete and currently located copy is that of Vincencio Zolla-J.P.R. Lyell-Philip Hofer-H.P. Kraus, now Boston Public Library \*XD.170B.9 (Penney 98, Berndt-Kelley 10). The incomplete Seillière-Porquet-Quaritch copy is now in the British Library (C.20.b.15; cf. *Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain*. 168, Penney 98, Quaritch, n. 317). It is wanting the last leaf, which has been supplied in facsimile on the basis of the Seville: Estanislao Polono, 1501 ed. of the *Comedia*, thereby causing much confusion among early bibliographers (Foulché-Delbosc 71-73, 569n-570n).

The Biblioteca Zabálburu also possesses copies of the Venice: Estephano da Sabio, 1534 (shelfmark 37-49), and Antwerp: Plantin, 1599 (shelfmark 37-50)

in the sale catalog of the Heredia collection,<sup>3</sup> its location has been unknown since 1892.

After F.J. Norton's fundamental work on printing in Spain during the early years of the sixteenth century, there can be no doubt that this is a copy of the Rome, ca. 1516 edition attributed in the verse colophon to "Sevilla, 1502."<sup>4</sup> Marciales gives this edition the siglum K (1:7), which corresponds to Foulché-Delbosc's N (569) and to Herriott's J (4); a sampling of K's errata and unique variants with respect to this copy confirms this identification.<sup>5</sup> While Norton identified the printer in his

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editions of the *Tragicomedia*.

<sup>3</sup> "S.l.n.d. (Seville, 1502), in-4, goth. à 37 lignes par page vign. sur bois, cart. perc. r. genre Bradel ... La présente édition est de la plus grande rareté, et quoique la souscription finale manque à notre exemplaire, il est probable que c'est celle de 1502, décrite par Brunet (I, col. 1716 et 1717), à moins que ce ne soit celle de 1501, qui, d'après le catalogue Seillière (vente de Londres, 1887), correspond exactement à celle de 1502. Nous n'avons ici que 74 ff. sur 82, sign. A à S par 4 ff. et 2 ff. du cahier T; il nous manque les ff. T i et T iv et le cahier U en entier (6 ff.) ... L'exemplaire est grand de marges. (H.: 209 mill. - L.: 146 mill.)" (249-50).

Penney (98) apparently knew this copy only through the citation in the Heredia catalogue. The copy was catalogued in 1988 in machine-readable form by the Centro del Patrimonio Bibliográfico (ref. 416-01-00030368-00000) for inclusion in the *Catálogo colectivo de obras impresas en el siglo XVI existentes en bibliotecas españolas*, now in progress.

<sup>4</sup> Since the three Spanish editions of "Seville, 1502," assigned by Norton (*A Descriptive Catalogue*) to Seville: Jacobo Cromberger, ca. 1511 (n. 810), ca. 1513-15 (n. 878), and ca. 1518-20 (n. 942) are signed a-h<sup>8</sup>, by definition this copy cannot belong to any of those editions.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., unique variants through the end of Act I (I follow Marciales's sigla for the various parts of the work as well as his reading of the critical text): AG a la presencia K a la presentia; AI Argumento del primer auto K Argumento del primer auctor; I.26 mata una anima K mata *vn* anima; I.33 todos passan K todos pansan I.90 confradias K *cu~*fradias; I.96 se encubrian K se encobria ; I.99 menjuy K meniuy; I.101 marrubios K marrumios; I.107 guija marina K *aguaja* marina; I.150 mas aina cae K mas ayna cay; I.170 se umilla K se humilia. The selected errata listed by Foulché-Delbosc (573) for the first six leaves also check exactly, although the following, listed by Foulché as on f. 6r (f. B2r), are in fact found on f. 6v (f.

*Printing in Spain 1501-1529* (153), neither there nor--obviously--in *A Descriptive Catalogue* does he provide a detailed bibliographical description of the edition. That which follows is based on the Zabálburu copy, although completed with Foulché-Delbosc's description (569-83) of his own copy. The latter is invaluable because it is accompanied by numerous facsimiles, but it is not a complete bibliographical description. Lyell (158) describes his copy (now Boston Public Library) briefly, attributing it to the Roman printers Jacobo de Junta and Antonio de Salamanca, ca. 1515-1520.

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**Location:** Biblioteca Francisco de Zabálburu y Basabe, Marqués del Duero, 7, 28001-Madrid.

**Shelfmark:** Vitrina.

**Provenience:** Ricardo Heredia, comte de Benahavis (his bookplate); *Catalogue*, 2:249-50, n. 2277. Prior owners unknown, since this copy cannot be identified with any of those listed by earlier bibliographers. Salvá gives an accurate description, but does not indicate the copy he saw, which was apparently complete.<sup>6</sup> Palau describes it twice, and gets it wrong both times through confusion with other editions.<sup>7</sup> Penney (98) lists the six copies known to her; however, one of

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B2v): matere (for matare), guarcer (for guarecer), luad (for laud), volu-dad (for voluntad).

<sup>6</sup> "... 4.º let. gót. sin fol. signs. A-U, de 4 hojas todas, menos la U que es de 6. Viñetas de madera. Brunet la menciona; pero la descripción la he tomado original del libro" (1:386a, n. 1157).

<sup>7</sup> Under n. 51128 (3:364a) he describes the British Library copy (C.20.b.15), but ascribes it to the year 1501, deceived by the false final page, and gives it only 22 illustrations instead of 24. Under n. 51129 (ibid.) he confuses it with the Seville: Cromberger, ca. 1518-20 edition (*Libro de Calixto y Melibea y de la puta vieja Celestina* (BNM R 26.575; Marciales L), which, however, is signed a-h<sup>8</sup>, not A-T<sup>4</sup>V<sup>6</sup>. The latter description (n. 51129) is rectified in n. 275782 (17:344b), except that Palau now has the edition (Marciales L) signed "a<sup>8</sup>-4<sup>8</sup>" instead of a-h<sup>8</sup>. The former (n. 51128), however, is confused further in n. 275783 (17:344a-b), where our edition is now conflated with that of Seville: Cromberger, ca. 1511 (British Library C.20.c.17; Marciales H), apparently on the basis of the description given by Fernando Colón in the *Regestrum A*, n. 2417 (I cite the latter from Foulché-Delbosc, p. 584). Palau had previously described Marciales H under n. 51131

these corresponds to the edition of Seville: Cromberger, ca. 1511 (British Library C.20.c.17 = *Catalogue of Books Printed in Spain* 168, Marciales H).<sup>8</sup> The location of three of the remaining five is known (see n. 2 above). Foulché-Delbosc owned a complete copy in 1936, different from the Boston Public Library copy, which J.P.R. Lyell had in his possession by 1926 at the latest. In the French scholar's description of his copy (569-81), he distinguishes it (570n) from the Heber-Soleinne-Techener copy seen by Brunet (1:1716-1717): "in-4, goth. ff. non chiff. sign. a-u par 4, excepté u qui est par 6, avec fig. en bois. Vend. rel. en mar. v. par Lewis, 3 liv. 3 sh. Heber, et porté à 400 fr. dans un catal. de M. Techener. Le titre de cette édition de 1502 est imprimé en 9 lignes, au-dessous d'une vignette en bois...." The Heredia-Zabálburu copy cannot be the Heber-Soleinne-Techener copy precisely because the latter was complete. Thus there would seem to be at least two more complete copies of this edition (Heber-Soleinne-Techener, Foulché-Delbosc) which remain unaccounted for.

**Binding:** late 19th-c. cloth, faded rose-brown (originally red? cf. the Heredia catalog description cited above n.3). Spine title: CALISTO | Y | MELIBEA (216 x 156 mm).

**MS notes:** There are four separate notes inside the front cover, the first two in pencil in a late 19th-c. hand, each one inscribed in a rectangle, the third in ink in an earlier 19th-c. hand (badly faded), and the fourth (partially covered by the Heredia bookplate) in pencil in a 19th-c. hand (a single [?] indicates that the reading of the previous word is questionable; a double [??] indicates an illegible word):

[1] "Paris Bibl: Nat: Reserve. | y + 6310.-Edition de 1501." A reference to the *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea* (Sevilla: Estanislao Polono, 1501), *nunc* Paris Bibl. Nationale Rés. Yg.63 (Marciales D).

[2] "[Lexemplaire de Solar, de l'édition de Seville, 1502 a ete acheté | par la Bibl: Nationale. selon M<sup>r</sup> Deschamps (Supplément au Manuel)]." The "Manuel" refers to Brunet. To the right of the note, the annotation "4<sup>o</sup>." It is not clear which copy this note refers to. The Bibl. Nationale currently owns no copy of "Seville, 1502" according to Norton. Miss Penney (40) cites a Solar copy of "Salamanca, 1502" [i.e., Rome:

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(3:364a-b).

<sup>8</sup> The error is all the more striking in that Miss Penney lists the same copy separately as a different edition, with a facsimile of the title page (96).

Antonio de Blado for Antonio de Salamanca, ca. 1520; Marciales N].

[3] "Coll. [?] avec [?] l'Expl. [?] de Salamanca acheté par le | Baron [?] Allier [?]. L'Édition est de Sevilla 1502 y le | faltan al final 9. ff. [in pencil] V[ente]. Gancia 136 fr." The last note refers to the Gancia sale.

[4] "Seville 1502 | Brunet [...] [??] 1062 [?] | vol. 1. [...] et 1718 | [...] | 400 [??]."

On the verso of the front flyleaf there is another MS note in pencil: "1157 | N.º du | C<sup>t</sup> Salvá | 6271."

Inside the rear cover there are two notes in pencil, the first in a fairly recent hand, the second in a late 19th- or early 20th-c. hand:

[1] "d/n [?] Ap. 50."

[2] "He visto el ejempl. del British | Museum N.º 10244 de la Lib. Grenvillana | ò sea "Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea" | [crossed out: y] 4.<sup>to</sup> got. y cuya ult.<sup>a</sup> pag. esta copiada | a la izd.<sup>a</sup> [referring to the MS facsimile on the verso of the 2d of the 2 final flyleaves] siendo de Salamanca 1502 - | [crossed out: Este eje] Consta de cuadno. A-J (de 8 hoj.) | (9 x 8) = 76. El mio sienta [?] hasta el T pero | son de 4 hojas. los cuad - Segun el ejem | del B.M. me faltarian 6 hojas -."

**Dimensions:** lf. A2: 211 x 150 mm; text page f. B2r: 154 x 96 mm.

**Number of ll. per p.:** 37 (f. B2r)

**Format:** 4º

**Foliation:** [1] + [74] + [2]

**Collation:** A-X<sup>4</sup>V<sup>6</sup>. This copy is imperfect, wanting bifolium T1.4 and gathering V. On the verso of the 2d of the two end flyleaves a MS facsimile of the last page of British Library G.10244 (Rome: Antonio de Blado for Antonio de Salamanca, ca. 1520) has been added in ink, in 2 cols. Beneath the last line ("fue de Salamanca imp~sso acabado") the same hand has written "Sevilla"; below that a ¿different hand? has written in ink: "Manque 9 ff." Above and to the right of the latter note an attempt has been made to calculate the number of leaves (in very faint pencil): "18 | 4 | 76" [i.e., 18 x 4 = 76].

**Watermarks:** (1) gloved hand, fingers spread, surmounted by five-petaled flower, on bifolia A2.3, C2.3, D2.3, H1.4, T2.3 (resembles Briquet 10715 (1495-99)); (2) gloved hand with some sort of symbol (a circle?) in palm, fingers together, surmounted by star composed of 2 lines crossing diagonally at the chain line, on bifolia B2.3, E2.3, F2.3, G1.4, J2.3, M1.4, N2.3, O2.3, P2.3, Q1.4, R1.4, S2.3; (3) crown or fleur-de-lys inscribed in circle, on bifolia K2.3, L1.4.

**Illustrations:** There are 24, one on the title page and one at the beginning or in the middle of each act. Act XII carries an additional illustration (f. P4v), depicting the murder of Celestina by Pármeno and Sempronio and the latter's attempts to flee by jumping from Celestina's window. Of these illustrations only seven (or eight) are page-wide woodcuts, while the other 16 or 17<sup>9</sup> are composed of individual cuts (factotum figures, buildings, or trees) arranged together in page-wide groups of five to represent the speakers and setting of a given act:

1. A1r = f. 1r (title page). The initial encounter of Calisto and Melibea (76 x 110). Facsm.: Heredia catalog (249) [Heredia-Zabálburu copy]; Lyell (156) [Boston Public Library copy]; Vindel, 2: n. 529; Foulché-Delbosc (568) [his copy]; *Theatre Arts Monthly* 19.9 (September 1935):723 [Boston Public Library copy; cited from Penney (98)]; Kraus (15) [Boston Public Library copy]; Penney (98).
2. B1v = f. 5v (beg. I, after arg.). 5 figures (but 7 names in the caption): Pármeno. Calisto. Melibea. Sempronio. Celestina. elicia. crito. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (571).
3. D4v = f. 16v (beg. II). Tree + 3 figures (Calisto. Parmeno. Sempronio) + building.
4. E2v = f. 18v (beg. III). Building + 3 figures (Celestina. Sempronio. Elicia) + tree.
5. F1v = f. 21v (beg. IV). Building + 4 figures: Calisto. Celestina. Parmeno. Sempronio.
6. G4r = f. 28r (beg. V). Building + 4 figures: Calisto. Parmeno. Sempronio. Celestina.
7. H2r = f. 30r (beg. VI). Building + 4 figures: Calisto. Celestina. Parmeno. Sempronio.
8. J3r = f. 35r (beg. VII). 4 figures (Celestina. Parmeno. Areusa. Elicia) + building.
9. K4v = f. 40v (beg. VIII). 4 figures (Sempronio. Parmeno. Calisto. Areusa) + building.
10. L3v = f. 43v (beg. IX). 5 figures (but 6 names): Sempronio. Parmeno. Celestina. Lucrecia. Elicia. Areusa.

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<sup>9</sup> Foulché (569) states that the edition carries 24 illustrations; 21 are conserved in the Heredia-Zabálburu copy, while Foulché provides facsimiles of 2 more. The missing illustration probably corresponds to Act XX.

11. M4v = f. 48v (beg. X). 4 figures (Melibea. Celestina. Lucrecia. Alisa) + building.
12. N4r = f. 52r (beg. XI). 5 figures: Calisto. Celestina. Parmeno. Sempronio. Elicia.
13. O2v = f. 54v (beg. XII). 5 figures (but 9 names, in 2 ll.): Calisto. Lucrecia. Melibea. Parmeno. Sempronio. | Pleberio. Alisia. [!] Celestina. Elicia.
14. P4v = f. 60v (end XII). The murder of Celestina (41 x 97 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (574).
15. Q1r = f. 61r (middle XIII). The execution of Pármeno and Sempronio (42 x 94 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (575).
16. Q3r = f. 63r (middle XIV). Calisto climbing a ladder to gain access to the garden, with Sosia and Tristan to his left, outside the wall, and the heads of Melibea and Lucrecia to his right, inside the wall (47 x 93 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (576).
17. R2r = f. 66r (beg. XV). Building + 3 figures (Elicia. Lucrecia. Areusa) + tree.
18. R4v = f. 68v (beg. XVI). 4 figures (Melibea. Lucrecia. Alisa. Pleberio) + tree.
19. S2v = f. 70v (beg. XVII, after arg.). Building + 3 figures (Elicia, Sosia [!], Areusa) + tree. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (572). Sosia is represented by a female figure.
20. S4v = f. 72v (beg. XVIII). Tree + 3 figures (Areusa. Centurio. Elicia) + building.
21. T3r = f. 75r (middle XIX). Calisto climbing a ladder to gain access to the garden, with Sosia and Tristan to his left, outside the wall, and the heads of Melibea and Lucrecia to his right, inside the wall (repeated from f. Q3r; 47 x 93 mm.). Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (577).
- [22. T4v = f. 76v (middle XX).<sup>10</sup> Sosia and Tristán carry 'away Calisto's body. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (578).
23. V? = f.? (middle XX?).
24. V2v = f. 79v (end XX). Melibea falls from tower, flanked at left by Pleberio and at right by Lucrecia. Facsm.: Foulché-Delbosc (579).]

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<sup>10</sup> The descriptions of the illustrations for Act XX are taken from Foulché-Delbosc.

**Fonts:** Three type sizes are used, a large display type for the title (f. A1r) and the first line of the Incipit (f. B1r<sup>17</sup>), a small one for the Carta. El auctor a un su amigo (f. A1v), and an intermediate size for the rest of the text.

**Text:** [f. A1r] [Woodcut] [Title] Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea : [Subtitle] en la qual se contiene de mas | de su agradable & dulce estilo muchas sentencias filosofales : & aui- | sos muy necesarios para mance- | bos: mostrandoles los engaños q~ | estan encerrados en seruietes & alcahuetas : & nueuamente añadi- | do el tractado de Centurio.

[f. A1v] ¶El Auctor a vn suo amigo | S<sup>[2]</sup>Uelen [!] los que de sus tierras ausentes se halla~ considerar:de que | cosa a quel lugar do~de parte~ mayor inopia:o falta padezca: para ... [l. 42] sin diuision en vn acto:o cena incluso hasta el segundo acto donde di | ze: Hermanos mios &c~. Uale.

[f. A2r] [Acrostic octaves] ¶El auctor escusando se de su yerro en esta | obra q~ escriuio co~tra si arguye & compara. | ¶El silencio escusa & suele encobrir ... [l. 37] amantes que os muestra salir de catiuo. [f. A2v] Comparacion. | Como el Doliente que pildora amarga | o la recela : o no puede tragar ... [f. A3r<sup>26</sup>] a todo correr deueys de huyr | no os lance cupido sus tiros dorados.

[f. A3v] [Prologue] T<sup>[2]</sup>Odas las cosas ser criadas a manera de co~tine~da [!] o ba- | talla ... [B1r<sup>15</sup>] principal estudio con otras horas destinadas para recreacion: | puesto q~ no ha~ de faltar nuevos detractores ala nueua adicio~.

[f. B1r<sup>17</sup>] [Incipit] Sigue se la Comedia o Tragicome | dia de Calisto & Melibea:co~puesta en reprehension delos lo- | cos enamorados: q~ vencidos en su desordenado apetito a sus | amigas llaman & dizen ser su dios. Assi mismo fecho en auiso d'los engaños d'las alcahuetas & malos & lisonjeros siruie~tes. | [Argumento general] ¶Argumento. | C<sup>[2]</sup>Alisto fue de noble linaje:de claro ingenio: de gentil dispo | sicion ... [l. 34] lugar oportuno donde ala presentia [!] de Calisto se presento la | desseada Melibea.

[f. B1v] [Argumento del acto I] ¶Argumento del primer auctor [!] desta comedia. | ¶Entrando Calisto en vna huerta e~pos de vn falco~suyo : hal | lo ay a Melibea ... [l. 13] la qual mucho le dize delos fechos & conocimiento de su me- | dre [!]:induziendo le amor & concordia de Sempronio. [Caption above factotum figures] Parmeno.Calisto.Melibea.Se~pronio. Celestina.elicia.crito [set of 5



woodcut factotum figures]

[f. B1v<sup>16</sup>] [Text] ¶Enesto veo Melibea la grandeza de dios.( Me.) en q~ cali-| sto; ( Ca.)en dar poder a natura que de tan perfecta fermosura te dotasse ... [Expl. incompl. f. T3v<sup>36</sup>] ... le despedaces:no le trabajes sus mie~bros con tus pesados bra-| ços:dexa me gozar lo q~ es mio:no me ocupes mi plazer. ( Ca.) [...]

[f. V6ra]<sup>11</sup> [Final octaves] Co~cluye el auctor aplica~do la | obra al proposito porq~ la acabo. | ¶Pues aqui vemos qua~ mal feneciero~ | a q~stos ama~tes:huygamos su dança: | ... [f. V6rb<sup>25</sup>] llorando & riendo en tie~po & sazón | Descriue el tiempo en que | la obra se imprimio. | El carro de febo despues d' auer dado | mill & quinie~tas dos bueltas e~rueda | ambos ento~ces los hijos de leda | a phebo en su casa tiene~posentado | qua~do este muy dulce y breue tratado | despues de reuisto y bie~ corregido | co~ gra~ vigila~cia puntado y leydo | fue en Seuilla impresso acabado | ¶Finis.

Lenturio. Elicia. Breula.



VALENCIA 1514 Aucto 18

<sup>11</sup> Transcribed from facsm. in Foulché-Delbosc (589). Emphasis indicates resolved abbreviations that cannot be represented by standard type fonts.

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