

Botanical Catalogue of the Mendoza Herbarium in the Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial

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Abstract. The Renaissance herbarium kept in the Royal Library of the Monastery of El Escorial, which came from the legacy of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, is here studied for the first time from a botanical point of view. This herbarium is made up of four bound volumes containing a total of 988 plants, for which the scientific name is provided. It has not been possible to establish with certainty the origin, the date of its creation or the botanist or botanists who contributed to its preparation. It was likely acquired from an intermediary or unknown botanist during the period when its owner was imperial ambassador in Venice and Rome, between 1539 and 1554, and that the plants it contains are of Italian origin.

Keywords. History of Botany, Renaissance herbaria, Mendoza, El Escorial.

Resumen. El herbario renacentista conservado en la Real Biblioteca del Monasterio del Escorial procedente del legado de Diego Hurtado de Mendoza es estudiado aquí por primera vez desde el punto de vista botánico. Este herbario está formado por cuatro volúmenes encuadrados que contienen un total de 988 plantas, para las que se indica su nombre científico. No se ha podido establecer con certeza el origen, la fecha de creación ni el botánico o botánicos que contribuyeron a su preparación, pero se considera como verosímil que fuera adquirido a un intermediario o botánico desconocido en el periodo en el que su propietario fue embajador imperial en Venecia y Roma, entre 1539 y 1554 y que las plantas que contiene sean de procedencia italiana.

Palabras clave. Historia de la botánica, herbarios del Renacimiento, Mendoza, El Escorial.

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INTRODUCTION

Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (c. 1503–1575) was born in Granada, where he received his first humanistic education from a preceptor. He later continued his studies at the Universities of Granada and Salamanca, and in Italy. He was ambassador of Spanish King Charles I (Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor) in Venice from 1539 to 1546 and later the imperial ambassador to Rome from 1547 to 1554. Thanks to his considerable wealth and his interest in knowledge, he built up an important library with hundreds of unique books and manuscripts, for which he had hired Arnaout van Eynthouts in 1542, first as a bookseller's agent and later as the head of his library (Andretta & Pardo-Tomás 2020: 3, 9).

During his stay in Italy, he took advantage of his presence in one of the most important centres for the printing and sale of books and manuscripts to enlarge his library (Andrés 1964: 238). In this context, and considering that he was also at the epicentre of the genesis of the herbaria as a new tool for botanical work (Cristofolini 2024), it is plausible to think that the four volumes of the Mendoza herbarium were acquired in Venice or Rome during the aforementioned period.

Hurtado de Mendoza returned to Spain in 1554, dividing his time between Granada and the court. After his death in 1575, his library was acquired by King Philip II and incorporated, in June 1576, into the library that the monarch was establishing in the Monastery of San Lorenzo

de El Escorial. Andrés (1964: 239) found and published a copy of the inventory of the Mendoza library, made around 1577, based on the one started by Lucas Gracián when the library was moved to El Escorial.

This inventory mentions the four volumes that are the subject of this article, which are noted as “Herbarium cum herbis ipsis adfixis quatuor tomis” within the group of Latin medical manuscripts (Andrés 1964: 249). In the Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial (also known as the *Escurialense* or the *Laurentina* Library) there are ten other ancient herbaria, nine of them bound, which, on preliminary examination, appear to have been compiled in the 18th century.

In the botanical literature examined, the first mention of the presence of herbaria in the library of El Escorial is by J.P. de Tournefort, who visited the Monastery in the autumn of 1688, following the Mexican plants of Francisco Hernández de Toledo (Tournefort 1700: 44). This author confirmed in the *Isagoge*, or introduction to his book, that he found only European plants, without specifying which herbaria he was shown. Quer (1762: 178), in his translation of Tournefort’s text in the first volume of the *Flora Española*, recalls this fact without adding further details.

M. Colmeiro again gives news of the herbarium at the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial when he refers to Tournefort: “[...] habiendo visitado el Escorial, donde le mostraron un herbario de plantas indígenas en lugar del mejicano de Hernández. Pudo haber sido el de don Diego de Mendoza, acaso formado en Italia, que había adquirido Felipe II en 1576, con los libros de que se hizo dueño, y que todavía existe en la Biblioteca alta del Escorial [...]” (Colmeiro 1858: 68), and further on when referring to F. Hernández: “Es indudable que fué presentado á Tournefort, cuando atravesó la Península en 1688, un herbario en varios tomos, tenido por el de Hernández; pero aquel experimentado botánico lo declaró europeo, y pudo ser el mismo que hoy se conserva en la Biblioteca alta del Escorial, procedente de la librería de D. Diego de Mendoza, adquirida por Felipe II en 1576, según lo acredita una firma” (Colmeiro 1858: 154).

The main goal of this work is to identify the plants that make up the Mendoza Herbarium. We hope that this contribution will be useful in answering the questions that still remain about it, in conjunction with recent studies that have provided important results from other approaches (e.g., Carrión 2017; Andretta & Pardo-Tomás 2020, 2023).

MATERIAL AND METHODS

Volumes of the Mendoza Herbarium

The herbarium is composed of four volumes: Volume I ('Mesa 25-I-11'), Volume II ('Mesa 25-I-12'), Volume III ('Mesa 25-I-13') and Volume IV ('Mesa 25-I-14') (Fig. 1). Their physical characteristics and general contents as well as the types of indexes have been described by Carrión (2017: 56-60).



Fig. 1. The four volumes of the Mendoza Herbarium, in the summer room of the Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial.

Catalogue order and samples

The plants are listed in the order in which they appear in each volume. The *folia* without plants are omitted. In cases where there was more than one fragment of the same species on each side of the folio, it was considered as a single sample.

Numbering of samples

Each sheet of paper (*folium*, hereafter abbreviated as 'f') has been numbered consecutively, beginning with the first one with text and ending with the last one with text or plant. Consequently, the interleaved blank folios are also numbered, but not the blank folios at the beginning and end of each book. In the final part of Volume II there are 16 smaller folios, turned 180° (probably due to a binding error), which have been numbered in the same way as the rest of the book (Fig. 2). Some minor differences have been noted with the numbering proposed by Carrión (2017) and Andretta & Pardo-Tomás (2020, 2023), probably due to the fact that neither the initial folios with text nor the intercalated white folios were included among the numbered folios.



Fig. 2. Smaller *folia* turned 180° at the end of Volume II of the Mendoza Herbarium (f. 130v and f. 131r).

The right-side of each *folium* is the *recto* (*recto folio*, hereafter abbreviated as ‘r’), and the back side the *verso* (*verso folio*, hereafter abbreviated as ‘v’). Most *folia* contain a single plant. Where there are several plants on each side, they are identified by a letter (a, b, etc.), arranged from left to right and from top to bottom. In the simplest case, the name of the plant is preceded by its location, as follows: f. 32v: *Cordia myxa* L. For more than one species on each side of the sheet, f. 92r, c: *Trigonella caerulea* (L.) Ser.; f. 92r, d: *Peganum harmala* L., etc.

Identification of samples

The identification of the samples was a complex process due to the sensitivity of the material and the impossibility of removing it from the library. The process was divided into two phases. In the first phase, a preliminary identification was carried out using images kindly provided by the director of the library, the results of which were recorded in a database. Unfortunately, these images did not have sufficient resolution to observe some of the diagnostic features. Therefore, in a second phase, a binocular microscope was brought to the library and all the identifications were checked again. For some complex groups we had the help of several colleagues with expertise in these groups, whose

names are given after each specimen, who advised us on the identity of the plants in their speciality.

The identifications were made under the hypothesis that the plants were of Italian origin. *Flora d’Italia* (Pignatti, 1982, 2017–2019) and, secondarily, *Flora iberica* (Castrviejo, 1986–2021), as well as the revision of the Italian flora (Conti & al., 2005) and other Mediterranean or European floras (e.g., Tutin & al., 1964–1980), were used to name the represented taxa.

The results are not entirely satisfactory for a number of reasons. Firstly, some of the plants did not have sufficient characters for accurate identification or were simply fragments of leaves or stems. In some cases, the material had deteriorated considerably, although no active pests were detected at all. On the other hand, it seemed prudent to avoid dissection, which could damage such a delicate and valuable legacy. Consequently, the specimens were identified as far as reasonably possible, with varying degrees of precision depending on the case, in the following categories: dicot/monocot, family, genus, or species. Where the identification is indicative or approximate, it is indicated with by ‘cf.’ before the corresponding family, genus or specific epithet.

RESULTS

Synopsis of herbarium contents

The Mendoza Herbarium consists of 988 samples, of which 981 are vascular plants. Among the vascular plants there are 20 pteridophytes, 9 gymnosperms and 952 angiosperms. The herbarium also contains two bryophytes, two lichens, one fungus and two corals. For operational reasons, we will refer to all specimens as plants. Although the four volumes are of similar size, Volume IV contains 47% of the plants because many of its *folia* are occupied by more than one plant, sometimes as many as seven (Table 1).

As already mentioned, the identifications have a variable degree of accuracy, some of them being only illustrative. A

Table 1. Number of folios and plants and dimensions of each volume of the Mendoza herbarium.

Volume	Number of folios	Number of plants	Volume size (mm)
Volume I	164	166	450 x 315 x 150
Volume II	140	218	450 x 315 x 135
Volume III	190	135	450 x 320 x 100
Volume IV	190	469	450 x 320 x 180

Table 2. Number of plants identified to species and number of distinct species in the Mendoza herbarium.

Volume	Number of plants identified to species	Number of distinct species	% of non-repeated species
Volume I	148	137	92.5
Volume II	147	135	91.8
Volume III	102	98	96.0
Volume IV	352	318	90.3

total of 749 plants have been identified to species level, of which 515 are distinct. The remainder were identified to genus (140), family (59) or main group (dicot/monocot) (40). The repetition of species within each volume is less than 10% (Table 2), while for the herbarium as a whole it is 31.2%.

The plants identified belong to 110 different families, most of which are very poorly represented. Table 3 shows the ten families with the most specimens, which are generally the richest in Mediterranean floras. The underrepresentation in the Mendoza herbarium of Caryophyllaceae, Gramineae, Orchidaceae and Plumbaginaceae, which are generally among the families richest in species of the Mediterranean floras, is noteworthy. On the contrary, plants belonging to the Labiateae, Solanaceae and Umbelliferae seem to be somewhat overrepresented. There are no significant appreciable differences between the different volumes. About 40% of the plants are collected with underground organs, either roots, bulbs or rhizomes, which gives an idea of the exceptional importance given to these parts.

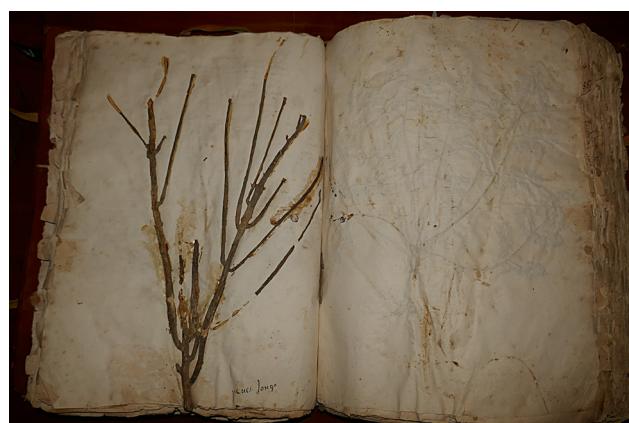
Table 3. Best represented families of the Mendoza herbarium.

Family	Number of plants
Compositae	109
Labiatae	73
Umbelliferae	71
Leguminosae	57
Ranunculaceae	42
Cruciferae	38
Rosaceae	32
Solanaceae	29
Boraginaceae	28
Scrophulariaceae	23

The plants in the Mendoza herbarium seem to be arranged randomly, perhaps included as they were col-

lected and dried. No organisation by morphological affinities or by use or any other conceivable means is apparent, either in the herbarium as a whole or in the volumes considered separately.

It is obvious that some of the plants in this herbarium were cultivated. This is the case of species of Asian origin that have been cultivated for food such as *Colocasia esculenta*, *Cordia myxa*, *Cydonia oblonga* or *Solanum melongena*. The same applies to species of Asian or African origin with a medicinal reputation, such as *Aloe vera*, *Euphorbia tirucalli* (Fig. 3), *Melia azedarach* or *Momordica balsamina*. Of course, American plants such as *Datura stramonium*, *Lycopersicon esculentum*, *Phaseolus vulgaris* or *Tagetes erecta* are also cultivated.

**Fig. 3.** *Euphorbia tirucalli* L. (Volume I, f. 34v), a cultivated species native to semi-arid areas of Africa, preserved in the Mendoza Herbarium.

However, the vast majority of the species identified are native to temperate zones with a wide distribution, generally in the Mediterranean countries, but also European, circumboreal or cosmopolitan and they do not provide much information to clarify the origin of the herbarium. With regard to these species, it should be taken into account that although they may be native or even of restricted area, they may come from cultivated specimens in a garden and therefore do not provide much information on the precise origin of the herbarium.

*Catalogue of the Mendoza Herbarium***Volume I**

- f. 6v Rosaceae, *Crataegus* cf. *azarolus* L.
- f. 7v Rubiaceae, *Asperula laevigata* L.
- f. 8v Rosaceae, *Rosa* cf. *canina* L.
- f. 9v Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia lathyris* L.
- f. 10r Orchidaceae
- f. 10v Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus bullatus* L.
- f. 11v Solanaceae, *Mandragora autumnalis* Bertol.
- f. 12v Labiate, *Marrubium vulgare* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 13v Labiate, *Stachys germanica* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 14v Solanaceae, *Solanum melongena* L.
- f. 15v Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* cf. *peplis* L.
- f. 16v Polypodiaceae, *Polypodium* L.
- f. 17v Leguminosae, *Astragalus boeticus* L.
- f. 18v Palmae, *Chamaerops humilis* L.
- f. 19v Colchicaceae, *Colchicum* cf. *autumnale* L.
- f. 20v Papaveraceae, *Papaver somniferum* L.
- f. 21v Labiate, *Calamintha nepeta* (L.) Savi [fide R. Morales].
- f. 22v Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* L.
- f. 23v Polygonaceae, *Polygonum* cf. *hydropiper* L.
- f. 24v Compositae, *Tussilago farfara* L.
- f. 25v Cruciferae, *Lobularia* cf. *maritima* (L.) Desv.
- f. 26v Boraginaceae, *Heliotropium* cf. *europaeum* L.
- f. 27v Umbelliferae, *Scandix* cf. *pecten-veneris* L.
- f. 28v, a Orchidaceae, *Anacamptis pyramidalis* (L.) Rich.
- f. 28v, b Orchidaceae, *Orchis* cf. *papilionacea* L.
- f. 29v Orchidaceae, *Serapias* L.
- f. 30v Ranunculaceae, *Adonis* cf. *annua* L.
- f. 31v Umbelliferae, *Pastinaca sativa* L.
- f. 32v Boraginaceae, *Cordia myxa* L.
- f. 33v Compositae, *Phagnalon saxatile* (L.) Cass.
- f. 34v Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia tirucalli* L.
- f. 35v Umbelliferae, *Pimpinella* cf. *saxifraga* L.
- f. 36v Caryophyllaceae, *Silene latifolia* Poir.
- f. 37v Iridaceae, *Gladiolus italicus* Mill.
- f. 38v Plantaginaceae, *Plantago serraria* L.
- f. 39v Aspleniaceae, *Phyllitis scolopendrium* (L.) Newman
- f. 40v, a Umbelliferae
- f. 40v, b Anacardiaceae, *Pistacia lentiscus* L.
- f. 41v Paeoniaceae, *Paeonia mascula* (L.) Mill.
- f. 42v Iridaceae, *Iris planifolia* (Mill.) T.Durand & Schinz [fide M.B. Crespo].
- f. 43v Solanaceae, *Datura stramonium* L.
- f. 44v Aristolochiaceae, *Aristolochia* cf. *longa* L.
- f. 45v Umbelliferae, *Sanicula europaea* L.
- f. 46v Labiate, *Mentha aquatica* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 47v Umbelliferae, *Ammoides pusilla* (Brot.) Breistr.
- f. 48v Solanaceae, *Atropa belladonna* L.
- f. 49v Malvaceae, *Lavatera olbia* L.
- f. 50v Caprifoliaceae, *Sambucus nigra* L.
- f. 51v Labiate, *Mentha suaveoleens* Ehrh. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 52v Meliaceae, *Melia azedarach* L.
- f. 53v Cruciferae, *Nasturtium officinale* R.Br.
- f. 54v Umbelliferae, *Bupleurum rotundifolium* L.
- f. 55v Boraginaceae, *Cynoglossum cheirifolium* L.
- f. 56v Liliaceae, *Lilium bulbiferum* L.
- f. 57v Compositae, *Artemisia vulgaris* L.
- f. 58r Rubiaceae, cf. *Galium* L.
- f. 59r Ranunculaceae, *Delphinium* cf. *staphysagria* L.
- f. 59v Paeoniaceae, *Paeonia mascula* (L.) Mill.
- f. 60v Boraginaceae, *Heliotropium* cf. *europaeum* L.
- f. 62r Solanaceae, *Solanum* cf. *melongena* L.
- f. 62v Compositae, *Tanacetum vulgare* L.
- f. 63v Labiate, *Stachys germanica* L.
- f. 64v Tamaricaceae, *Tamarix* cf. *gallica* L.
- f. 65v Plantaginaceae, *Plantago* cf. *coronopus* L.
- f. 66v Araceae, *Colocasia* cf. *esculenta* (L.) Schott
- f. 67v Papaveraceae, *Papaver dubium* L.
- f. 68v Caryophyllaceae, *Stellaria media* (L.) Vill.
- f. 69v Umbelliferae, *Daucus* L.
- f. 70v Compositae, *Centaurea calcitrapa* L.
- f. 71v Geraniaceae, *Erodium moschatum* (L.) L'Hér.
- f. 72v Chenopodiaceae, *Atriplex halimus* L.
- f. 73v, a Convolvulaceae, *Cuscuta* cf. *epilinum* Boenn. [fide M.Á. García].
- f. 73v, b Linaceae, *Linum* L.
- f. 74v Compositae, cf. *Anthemis* L.
- f. 75v Compositae, *Galactites tomentosa* Moench
- f. 76v Compositae, *Bellis sylvestris* Cyr.
- f. 77v Orchidaceae, *Dactylorhiza* cf. *sambucina* (L.) Soó
- f. 78v Pinaceae, *Pinus* cf. *halepensis* Mill.
- f. 79v Rosaceae, *Potentilla reptans* L.
- f. 80v Plantaginaceae, *Plantago major* L.
- f. 81v Apocynaceae, *Vinca major* L.
- f. 82v Primulaceae, *Cyclamen* cf. *hederifolium* Aiton
- f. 83v Rosaceae, *Sanguisorba* cf. *minor* Scop.
- f. 84v Palmae, *Chamaerops humilis* L.
- f. 85v, a Convolvulaceae, *Cuscuta* cf. *epithymum* (L.) L. [fide M.Á. García].
- f. 85v, b Labiate, *Thymbra* cf. *capitata* (L.) Cav.
- f. 86v Plantaginaceae, *Plantago lanceolata* L.
- f. 87v Compositae, *Dittrichia viscosa* (L.) Greuter
- f. 88v Papaveraceae, *Glaucium corniculatum* (L.) Rudolph
- f. 89v Geraniaceae, *Geranium rotundifolium* L.
- f. 90v Cruciferae, *Cheiranthus cheiri* L.
- f. 91v Rutaceae, *Ruta chalepensis* L.
- f. 92v Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* cf. *lathyris* L.
- f. 93v Compositae, *Urospermum picroides* (L.) F.W.Schmidt
- f. 94v Leguminosae, *Medicago* L.
- f. 95v Juncaceae, *Juncus acutus* L.
- f. 96v Ranunculaceae, *Nigella damascena* L.
- f. 97v Dipsacaceae, *Dipsacus fullonum* L.
- f. 98v Valerianaceae, *Valeriana officinalis* L.
- f. 99v Leguminosae, *Coronilla* cf. *valentina* L.
- f. 100v Labiate, *Origanum vulgare* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 101v Compositae, *Pallenis spinosa* (L.) Cass.
- f. 102v Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus ficaria* L.

- f. 103v** Umbelliferae, cf. *Smyrnium olusatrum* L.
- f. 104v** Polygonaceae, *Rumex acetosa* L.
- f. 105v** Rhamnaceae, *Rhamnus alaternus* L.
- f. 106v** Cruciferae, *Raphanus sativus* L.
- f. 107v** Geraniaceae, *Erodium moschatum* (L.) L'Hér.
- f. 108v** Thymelaeaceae, *Daphne gnidium* L.
- f. 109v** Compositae, *Artemisia* cf. *abrotanum* L.
- f. 110v** Umbelliferae, *Thapsia garganica* L.
- f. 111r** Solanaceae, *Physalis alkekengi* L.
- f. 111v** Umbelliferae, *Apium nodiflorum* (L.) Lag.
- f. 112v** Solanaceae, *Withania somnifera* (L.) Dunal
- f. 113v** Myrtaceae, *Myrtus communis* L.
- f. 114v** Compositae, *Scolymus grandiflorus* Desf.
- f. 115v** Verbenaceae, *Vitex agnus-castus* L.
- f. 116v** Umbelliferae, cf. *Coriandrum sativum* L.
- f. 117v** Rubiaceae, *Rubia tinctorum* L.
- f. 118v** Cruciferae, *Lepidium latifolium* L.
- f. 119v** Ranunculaceae, cf. *Thalictrum* L.
- f. 120v** Cruciferae, *Alliaria petiolata* (M.Bieb.) Cavara & Grande
- f. 121v** Leguminosae, *Ceratonia siliqua* L.
- f. 122v** Asparagaceae, *Ruscus aculeatus* L.
- f. 123v** Chenopodiaceae, *Atriplex hortensis* L.
- f. 124v** Campanulaceae, *Trachelium coeruleum* L.
- f. 125v** Compositae, *Helichrysum italicum* (Roth) G.Don
- f. 126v** Compositae, cf. *Crepis* L.
- f. 127v** Leguminosae, *Dorycnium rectum* (L.) Ser.
- f. 128v** Umbelliferae
- f. 129v** Asparagaceae, *Polygonatum odoratum* (Mill.) Druce
- f. 130v** Asphodelaceae, *Aloe vera* (L.) Burm. fil. [fide U. Eggli & I. Ahl].
- f. 131v** Compositae, *Cichorium* cf. *intybus* L.
- f. 132v** Compositae, *Calendula officinalis* L.
- f. 133v** Rosaceae, *Rosa pimpinellifolia* L.
- f. 134v** Cucurbitaceae, *Bryonia dioica* Jacq.
- f. 135v** Plantaginaceae, *Plantago afra* L.
- f. 136v** Urticaceae, *Parietaria judaica* L.
- f. 137v** Amaryllidaceae, *Narcissus* cf. *tazetta* L.
- f. 138v** Cruciferae, *Lepidium sativum* L.
- f. 139v** Umbelliferae
- f. 140v** Polypodiaceae, *Polypodium* cf. *vulgare* L.
- f. 141v** Labiate, *Salvia verbenaca* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 142v** Rosaceae, *Sorbus aucuparia* L.
- f. 143r, a** Caryophyllaceae, *Herniaria* cf. *glabra* L.
- f. 143r, b** Caryophyllaceae, *Herniaria* cf. *hirsuta* L.
- f. 145r** Polygonaceae, *Rumex* cf. *aquaticus* L.
- f. 146r** Boraginaceae, *Pulmonaria* L.
- f. 147r** Labiate, *Ajuga reptans* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 148r** Compositae, *Filago* cf. *pyramidalis* L. [fide S. Andrés].
- f. 149r** Aristolochiaceae, *Aristolochia* cf. *longa* L.
- f. 150r** Compositae, *Xanthium strumarium* L.
- f. 151r** Umbelliferae, *Heracleum* L.
- f. 152r** Equisetaceae, *Equisetum arvense* L.
- f. 153r** Compositae, *Achillea* cf. *ageratum* L.
- f. 154r** Boraginaceae, *Heliotropium europaeum* L.
- f. 155r** Labiate, *Glechoma hederacea* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 156r** Solanaceae, *Hyoscyamus albus* L.
- f. 157r** Leguminosae, *Galega officinalis* L.
- f. 158r** Scrophulariaceae, *Verbascum* cf. *thapsus* L.
- f. 159r** Compositae
- f. 160r** Thymelaeaceae, *Daphne mezereum* L.
- f. 161r** Polygonaceae, *Rumex* cf. *aquaticus* L.
- f. 162r** Compositae, *Tanacetum vulgare* L.
- f. 163r** Compositae, *Arctium* L.
- f. 164r** Malvaceae, *Althaea officinalis* L.

Volume II

- f. 7v** Scrophulariaceae, *Linaria reflexa* (L.) Desf.
- f. 8v** Compositae, *Chrysanthemum coronarium* L.
- f. 9r** Compositae
- f. 10v** Leguminosae, *Anagyris foetida* L.
- f. 11v** Compositae, *Matricaria chamomilla* L.
- f. 12v** Scrophulariaceae, *Scrophularia peregrina* L.
- f. 13v** Compositae, *Tanacetum balsamita* L.
- f. 14v** Labiate, *Nepeta tuberosa* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 15v** Leguminosae, *Lupinus albus* L.
- f. 16r** Compositae, *Bellis sylvestris* Cyr.
- f. 17v** Gentianaceae, *Centaurea* cf. *erythraea* Rafn
- f. 18v** Orchidaceae, *Orchis* cf. *morio* L.
- f. 19r** Scrophulariaceae, cf. *Parentucellia latifolia* (L.) Caurel
- f. 20v** Labiate, cf. *Teucrium* L.
- f. 21v** Thymelaeaceae, cf. *Daphne* L.
- f. 22r** Ranunculaceae, *Helleborus viridis* L.
- f. 23r** Cruciferae, *Arabis collina* Ten.
- f. 24r** Cruciferae, *Lunaria rediviva* L.
- f. 25r** Compositae
- f. 26r** Cruciferae
- f. 27r** Iridaceae, *Iris lutescens* Lam. [fide M.B. Crespo].
- f. 28v** Compositae, *Arctium minus* (Hill) Bernh.
- f. 29v** Umbelliferae, *Ammoides pusilla* (Brot.) Breistr.
- f. 31v** Caryophyllaceae, *Paronychia argentea* Lam.
- f. 32v** Asphodelaceae, *Asphodelus fistulosus* L.
- f. 33v** Cruciferae, *Cakile maritima* Scop.
- f. 34v** Iridaceae, *Iris* cf. *germanica* L. [fide M.B. Crespo].
- f. 35v** Solanaceae, *Solanum dulcamara* L.
- f. 36r** Solanaceae, *Solanum nigrum* L.
- f. 36v** Geraniaceae, *Erodium moschatum* (L.) L'Hér.
- f. 37v** Labiate, *Salvia sclarea* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 38v** Dipsacaceae, *Scabiosa* cf. *columbaria* L.
- f. 39v** Labiate, *Hyssopus officinalis* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 40v** Cruciferae
- f. 42r** Compositae, *Artemisia* cf. *abrotanum* L.
- f. 42v** Guttiferae, *Hypericum* L.
- f. 43v** Crassulaceae, *Sedum* cf. *telephium* L.
- f. 44v** Umbelliferae, *Coriandrum sativum* L.
- f. 45v** Umbelliferae, *Kundmannia sicula* (L.) DC.
- f. 46v, a** Orobanchaceae, *Orobanche* L.
- f. 46v, b** Orobanchaceae, *Orobanche* L.
- f. 47v** Compositae, cf. *Pulicaria dysenterica* (L.) Bernh.
- f. 48v** Labiate, *Origanum majorana* L. [fide R. Morales].

- f. 49v** Dicotyledon
f. 50v Umbelliferae, *Anethum graveolens* L.
f. 51v Labiateae, *Lavandula stoechas* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 52v Umbelliferae
f. 54v Solanaceae, *Solanum nigrum* L.
f. 55v Alismataceae, *Alisma plantago-aquatica* L.
f. 56v Araliaceae, *Hedera helix* L.
f. 57v Anacardiaceae, *Pistacia vera* L.
f. 58v Labiateae, *Phlomis fruticosa* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 59v Tamaricaceae, *Tamarix* L.
f. 60v Rosaceae, *Filipendula vulgaris* Moench
f. 61v Araceae, *Dracunculus vulgaris* Schott
f. 62v Leguminosae, *Trigonella foenum-graecum* L.
f. 63v Leguminosae, *Tetragonolobus* cf. *purpureus* Moench
f. 64v Cucurbitaceae, *Bryonia dioica* Jacq.
f. 65v Asclepiadaceae, *Cynanchum acutum* L.
f. 66v Cupressaceae, *Cupressus* L.
f. 67v Santalaceae, *Osyris alba* L.
f. 68v Anacardiaceae, *Pistacia terebinthus* L.
f. 69v Urticaceae, *Urtica membranacea* Poir.
f. 70v Umbelliferae, *Echinophora spinosa* L.
f. 71v Iridaceae, *Iris* cf. *germanica* L. [fide M.B. Crespo].
f. 72v Ranunculaceae, *Anemone hortensis* L.
f. 73v Amaryllidaceae, *Allium triquetrum* L.
f. 74v Umbelliferae
f. 75v Umbelliferae, cf. *Cachrys sicula* L.
f. 76v Euphorbiaceae, *Mercurialis annua* L.
f. 77v Capparidaceae, *Capparis spinosa* L.
f. 78v Polygonaceae, *Polygonum* cf. *aviculare* L.
f. 79v Aspleniaceae, *Ceterach officinarum* Willd.
f. 80v Umbelliferae, *Tordylium apulum* L.
f. 81v Umbelliferae
f. 82v Umbelliferae
f. 83v Umbelliferae
f. 84v Euphorbiaceae, cf. *Euphorbia cyparissias* L.
f. 85r Crassulaceae, cf. *Sedum telephium* L.
f. 85v Boraginaceae, *Buglossoides purpurocaerulea* (L.) I.M.Johnst.
f. 86v Colchicaceae, *Colchicum* L.
f. 87v Solanaceae, *Hyoscyamus albus* L.
f. 88v Solanaceae, *Mandragora autumnalis* Bertol.
f. 89v Cruciferae
f. 90v Chenopodiaceae
f. 91v Primulaceae, *Anagallis* cf. *arvensis* L.
f. 92r, a Labiateae, cf. *Lycopus* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 92r, b Leguminosae
f. 92r, c Leguminosae, *Trigonella caerulea* (L.) Ser.
f. 92r, d Zygophyllaceae, *Peganum harmala* L.
f. 92r, e Resedaceae, *Reseda lutea* L.
f. 92r, f Malvaceae, *Althaea cannabina* L.
f. 93r, a Polygonaceae, *Polygonum* L.
f. 93r, b Liliaceae, *Lilium* cf. *bulbiferum* L.
f. 93r, c Orchidaceae, *Listera ovata* (L.) R.Br.
f. 93r, d Cruciferae, *Cardamine pentaphyllos* (L.) Crantz
f. 93r, e Solanaceae
f. 93r, f Scrophulariaceae, *Melampyrum cristatum* L.
f. 94r, a cf. Ranunculaceae
f. 94r, b Dicotyledon
f. 95r, a Aceraceae, *Acer campestre* L.
f. 95r, b Leguminosae, *Lathyrus* L.
f. 95r, c Caprifoliaceae, *Viburnum lantana* L.
f. 95r, d Cyperaceae, *Eriophorum latifolium* Hoppe
f. 95r, e Dicotyledon
f. 95r, f Rutaceae, *Dictamnus albus* L.
f. 95r, g Dicotyledon
f. 96r, a Compositae, *Arnica montana* L.
f. 96r, b Liliaceae, *Streptopus amplexifolius* (L.) Mill.
f. 96r, c Cruciferae, *Biscutella* cf. *laevigata* L.
f. 96r, d Ranunculaceae, *Anemone* cf. *coronaria* L.
f. 96r, e Asparagaceae, *Polygonatum verticillatum* (L.) All.
f. 96r, f Pinaceae, *Larix decidua* Mill.
f. 97r, a Asparagaceae, *Anthericum liliago* L.
f. 97r, b Rosaceae, *Geum montanum* L.
f. 97r, c Primulaceae, *Primula* cf. *veris* L.
f. 97r, d Asparagaceae, *Convallaria majalis* L.
f. 97r, e Guttiferae, *Hypericum* L.
f. 98r, a Compositae, *Senecio* cf. *doria* L.
f. 98r, b Campanulaceae, *Campanula trachelium* L.
f. 98r, c Compositae
f. 98r, d Papaveraceae, cf. *Papaver* L.
f. 98r, e Ranunculaceae, *Nigella damascena* L.
f. 99r, a Melanthiaceae, *Veratrum* cf. *album* L.
f. 99r, b Ophioglossaceae, *Botrychium lunaria* (L.) Sw.
f. 101r Compositae, *Achillea* cf. *millefolium* L.
f. 101v Dicotyledon
f. 102r Ranunculaceae, *Helleborus* L.
f. 102v Compositae, *Sonchus tenerimus* L.
f. 103r Compositae
f. 103v Dicotyledon
f. 104r Rutaceae, *Ruta chalepensis* L.
f. 105r, a Labiateae, cf. *Hyssopus* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 105r, b Dicotyledon
f. 106r Compositae
f. 107r Rosaceae, *Filipendula vulgaris* Moench
f. 108r Leguminosae, *Bituminaria bituminosa* (L.) C.H.Stirt.
f. 109r Leguminosae, *Vicia* cf. *cracca* L.
f. 110r Labiateae, *Lavandula angustifolia* Mill. [fide R. Morales].
f. 110v Compositae, *Arctium minus* (Hill) Bernh.
f. 111r Caryophyllaceae, *Paronychia* Mill.
f. 112r Caryophyllaceae, *Saponaria officinalis* L.
f. 113r Cruciferae, *Sisymbrium officinale* (L.) Scop.
f. 114r Anacardiaceae, *Pistacia terebinthus* L.
f. 125v, a Dipsacaceae
f. 125v, b Dicotyledon
f. 125v, c Rosaceae, *Potentilla* L.
f. 125v, d Papaveraceae, *Fumaria* L.
f. 126v Ranunculaceae, *Clematis flammula* L.
f. 127r, a Rosaceae, *Potentilla erecta* L.
f. 127r, b Labiateae, *Teucrium chamaedrys* L. [fide R. Morales].

- f. 127v** Boraginaceae, *Sympyton* cf. *officinale* L.
- f. 128r, a** Orchidaceae, *Dactylorhiza* Nevski
- f. 128r, b** Aristolochiaceae, *Asarum europaeum* L.
- f. 128v, a** Polygonaceae, *Rumex acetosa* L.
- f. 128v, b** Leguminosae, *Spartium junceum* L.
- f. 129r, a** Primulaceae, *Anagallis* cf. *arvensis* L.
- f. 129r, b** Aspleniaceae, *Asplenium trichomanes* L.
- f. 129r, c** Ranunculaceae, *Helleborus* L.
- f. 129r, d** Dicotyledon
- f. 129r, e** Nymphaeaceae, *Nuphar luteum* (L.) Sm.
- f. 129v, a** Malvaceae, cf. *Althaea cannabina* L.
- f. 129v, b** Umbelliferae, *Echinophora* cf. *spinosa* L.
- f. 129v, c** Dicotyledon
- f. 130r, a** Cruciferae, *Lepidium sativum* L.
- f. 130r, b** Geraniaceae, *Geranium molle* L.
- f. 130r, c** Scrophulariaceae, *Scrophularia* L.
- f. 130v, a** Cucurbitaceae
- f. 130v, b** Polygonaceae, *Polygonum aviculare* L.
- f. 131r, a** Valerianaceae, *Valeriana* cf. *officinalis* L.
- f. 131r, b** Rosaceae, *Agrimonia eupatoria* L.
- f. 131r, c** Labiate, cf. *Melissa officinalis* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 131v, a** Leguminosae, *Trifolium* L.
- f. 131v, b** Verbenaceae, *Verbena officinalis* L.
- f. 131v, c** Plantaginaceae, *Plantago* cf. *media* L.
- f. 131v, d** Papaveraceae, *Chelidonium majus* L.
- f. 132r, a** Papaveraceae, *Papaver* cf. *somniferum* L.
- f. 132r, b** Dicotyledon
- f. 132r, c** Violaceae, *Viola* L.
- f. 132v, a** cf. Labiate, [fide R. Morales].
- f. 132v, b** Labiate, *Stachys officinalis* (L.) Trevis. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 132v, c** Orchidaceae, *Orchis morio* L.
- f. 132v, d** Caprifoliaceae, *Lonicera* cf. *implexa* Aiton
- f. 133r, a** Boraginaceae, *Echium* L.
- f. 133r, b** Orchidaceae
- f. 133v, a** Cruciferae, *Cheiranthus cheiri* L.
- f. 133v, b** cf. Umbelliferae
- f. 134r, a** Solanaceae
- f. 134r, b** Aspleniaceae, *Phyllitis scolopendrium* (L.) Newman
- f. 134r, c** Labiate, *Lamium bifidum* Cirillo [fide R. Morales].
- f. 134v, a** Compositae
- f. 134v, b** Compositae, *Achillea* L.
- f. 134v, c** Boraginaceae
- f. 134v, d** Ranunculaceae, cf. *Ranunculus flammula* L.
- f. 135r** Iridaceae, *Iris* L.
- f. 135v, a** Dicotyledon
- f. 135v, b** Dicotyledon
- f. 135v, c** Solanaceae, *Hyoscyamus niger* L.
- f. 136r, a** Labiate, *Marrubium vulgare* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 136r, b** Labiate, *Teucrium polium* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 136r, c** Boraginaceae, *Echium* cf. *italicum* L.
- f. 136v, a** Labiate, *Stachys annua* (L.) L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 136v, b** Dicotyledon
- f. 137r** Acanthaceae, *Acanthus mollis* L.
- f. 137v, a** Dicotyledon
- f. 137v, b** Labiate, [fide R. Morales].
- f. 137v, c** Guttiferae, *Hypericum* cf. *perforatum* L.
- f. 138r, a** Scrophulariaceae, *Verbascum* L.
- f. 138r, b** Rosaceae, *Fragaria vesca* L.
- f. 138v, a** Compositae, *Eupatorium cannabinum* L.
- f. 138v, b** Labiate, *Thymus pulegioides* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 138v, c** Equisetaceae, *Equisetum* cf. *arvense* L.
- f. 139v** Solanaceae, *Physalis alkekengi* L.
- f. 140r, a** Paeoniaceae, *Paeonia* L.
- f. 140r, b** Compositae, cf. *Artemisia* L.
- f. 140r, c** Compositae, cf. *Tanacetum* L.
- f. 140v, a** Labiate, *Ajuga chamaepitys* (L.) Schreb. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 140v, b** Leguminosae, *Vicia* cf. *cracca* L.

Volume III

- f. 6v** Araliaceae, *Hedera helix* L.
- f. 7r** Cyperaceae, *Cyperus* L.
- f. 7v** Asparagaceae, *Scilla hyacinthoides* L.
- f. 8r** Melanthiaceae, *Veratrum* L.
- f. 8v** Dicotyledon
- f. 9v** Papaveraceae, *Chelidonium majus* L.
- f. 10v** Leguminosae, *Anthyllis tetraphylla* L.
- f. 11v** Posidoniaceae, *Posidonia oceanica* (L.) Delile
- f. 12v** Compositae, *Inula helenium* L.
- f. 13v** Araceae, *Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott
- f. 14v** Scrophulariaceae, *Digitalis* L.
- f. 15v** Colchicaceae, cf. *Colchicum* L.
- f. 16v** Plumbaginaceae, *Limonium* cf. *narbonense* Mill.
- f. 17v** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* L.
- f. 18v** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* cf. *pinea* L.
- f. 19v** Umbelliferae
- f. 20v** Ranunculaceae, *Anemone coronaria* L.
- f. 21v** Cucurbitaceae, *Ecballium elaterium* (L.) A. Rich.
- f. 22v** Compositae, *Achillea* cf. *millefolium* L.
- f. 23r** Compositae, cf. *Anthemis* L.
- f. 23v** Umbelliferae, *Foeniculum vulgare* Mill.
- f. 24v** Leguminosae, *Melilotus* Mill.
- f. 25v** Leguminosae, *Bituminaria bituminosa* (L.) C.H. Stirt.
- f. 26v** Scrophulariaceae, *Verbascum* L.
- f. 27v** Labiate, *Teucrium flavum* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 28v** Labiate, *Stachys officinalis* (L.) Trevis. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 29v** Scrophulariaceae, *Verbascum* cf. *sinuatum* L.
- f. 30v** Acanthaceae, *Acanthus mollis* L.
- f. 31v** Ranunculaceae, *Helleborus foetidus* L.
- f. 32v** Crassulaceae, *Sedum* cf. *sediforme* (Jacq.) Pau
- f. 33v** Crassulaceae, cf. *Aeonium* Webb & Berthel.
- f. 34v, a** Boraginaceae, *Anchusa* cf. *azurea* Mill.
- f. 34v, b** Boraginaceae, *Echium plantagineum* L.
- f. 35v** Punicaceae, *Punica granatum*
- f. 36v** Labiate, *Prasium majus* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 37v** Adiantaceae, *Adiantum capillus-veneris* L.
- f. 38v** Geraniaceae, *Geranium* cf. *robertianum* L.
- f. 39v** Labiate, *Melissa officinalis* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 40v** Apocynaceae, *Nerium oleander* L.

- f. 41v, a** Compositae, *Senecio* L.
f. 41v, b cf. Cruciferae
f. 42v Cruciferae, *Cheiranthus cheiri* L.
f. 43v Resedaceae, *Reseda alba* L.
f. 44v Ranunculaceae, *Consolida ajacis* (L.) Schur
f. 45v Labiate, *Teucrium chamaedrys* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 46v Labiate, *Calamintha nepeta* (L.) Savi [fide R. Morales].
f. 47v Compositae, *Senecio vulgaris* L.
f. 48v Cruciferae, *Brassica napus* L.
f. 49v Cyperaceae, *Cyperus longus* L.
f. 50v Cruciferae, *Sisymbrium irio* L.
f. 51v Compositae, *Carduus* cf. *pycnocephalus* L.
f. 52v Compositae
f. 53v Compositae, *Taraxacum* F.H.Wigg.
f. 54v Verbenaceae, *Verbena officinalis* L.
f. 55v Labiate, *Teucrium* cf. *polium* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 56v Caryophyllaceae, *Silene vulgaris* (Moench) Garcke
f. 57v Umbelliferae, *Opopanax chironium* (L.) W.D.J.Koch
f. 58v Umbelliferae, *Ammi visnaga* (L.) Lam.
f. 59v Ranunculaceae, *Delphinium staphysagria* L.
f. 60v Compositae, *Tanacetum parthenium* (L.) Sch.-Bip.
f. 61v Valerianaceae, *Fedia cornucopiae* (L.) Gaertner
f. 62v Compositae, *Senecio* L.
f. 63v Platanaceae, *Platanus orientalis* L.
f. 64v Convolvulaceae, *Calystegia soldanella* (L.) R.Br.
f. 65v Cruciferae, *Biscutella* L.
f. 66v Compositae, *Coleostephus myconis* (L.) Cass.
f. 67v Boraginaceae, *Echium* L.
f. 68v Valerianaceae, *Centranthus ruber*
f. 69v Compositae, *Aetheorhiza bulbosa* (L.) Cass.
f. 70v Compositae, *Sonchus tenerrimus* L.
f. 71v Labiate, *Prunella vulgaris* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 72v Boraginaceae, *Sympyton bulbosum* K.F.Schimp.
f. 73v Araceae, cf. *Biarum tenuifolium* (L.) Schott
f. 74v Dicotyledon
f. 75v Umbelliferae, *Ammi majus* L.
f. 76v Labiate, *Mentha pulegium* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 77v Chenopodiaceae, *Chenopodium* cf. *album* L.
f. 78v Compositae, *Carthamus pinnatus* Desf.
f. 79v Umbelliferae, *Apium graveolens* L.
f. 80v Labiate, *Ajuga iva* (L.) Schreb. [fide R. Morales].
f. 81v Labiate, *Nepeta tuberosa* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 82v Iridaceae, *Iris pseudacorus* L. [fide M.B. Crespo].
f. 83v Iridaceae, *Iris pseudacorus* L. [fide M.B. Crespo].
f. 84v Papaveraceae, *Fumaria* L.
f. 85v Papaveraceae, *Fumaria* L.
f. 86v Umbelliferae
f. 88v Labiate, *Mentha spicata* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 89v Rubiaceae, *Cruciata laevipes* Opiz
f. 90v Orchidaceae, *Ophrys* L.
f. 91v Rosaceae, *Fragaria vesca* L.
f. 92v Rosaceae, *Geum urbanum* L.
f. 93v Compositae, *Sonchus* cf. *asper* (L.) Hill
f. 94v Dicotyledon
- f. 95v** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* L.
f. 96v Chenopodiaceae, *Salsola kali* L.
f. 97v Zygophyllaceae, *Tribulus terrestris* L.
f. 98v Compositae, *Helichrysum italicum* (Roth) G.Don
f. 99v Aquifoliaceae, *Ilex aquifolium* L.
f. 100v Umbelliferae, *Bupleurum lancifolium* Hornem.
f. 101v Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia paralias* L.
f. 102v Orchidaceae, cf. *Epipactis* Zinn
f. 103v Ranunculaceae, *Helleborus* L.
f. 104v Coral, Cnidaria
f. 105v Boraginaceae, *Heliotropium europaeum* L.
f. 106v Cruciferae, *Lepidium latifolium* L.
f. 107v Hepaticophyta, Conocephalaceae, *Conocephalum* cf. *conicum* (L.) Dumort. [fide P. Heras, M. Infante & M.J. Cano].
f. 108v Chenopodiaceae, cf. *Suaeda* J.F.Gmel.
f. 109v Araceae, *Biarum tenuifolium* (L.) Schott
f. 110v Cruciferae, *Capsella bursa-pastoris* (L.) Medik.
f. 111v Plantaginaceae, *Plantago serraria* L.
f. 113v Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus* L.
f. 114v Thymelaeaceae, *Thymelaea hirsuta* (L.) Endl.
f. 115v Crassulaceae, *Umbilicus horizontalis* (Guss.) DC.
f. 116v Asparagaceae, *Asparagus albus* L.
f. 117v Asparagaceae, *Asparagus acutifolius* L.
f. 118v Compositae, *Achillea nobilis* L.
f. 119r Araceae, *Arum* L.
f. 119v Compositae, *Artemisia* cf. *arborescens* L.
f. 120v Rosaceae, *Agrimonia eupatoria* L.
f. 121v Aristolochiaceae, *Asarum europaeum* L.
f. 122v Campanulaceae, *Campanula trachelium* L.
f. 123v Umbelliferae, *Eryngium* cf. *triquetrum* Vahl
f. 124v Compositae, *Cirsium acaule* (L.) Scop.
f. 125v Umbelliferae, *Smyrnium rotundifolium* Mill.
f. 126v Cistaceae, *Cistus incanus* L.
f. 127v Anacardiaceae, *Rhus coriaria* L.
f. 128v Compositae
f. 129v Cyperaceae, *Cyperus esculentus* L.
f. 130v Umbelliferae
f. 131v Boraginaceae, *Echium plantagineum* L.
f. 132r Moraceae, *Ficus carica* L.
f. 132v Caprifoliaceae, *Sambucus nigra* L.
f. 133v Urticaceae, *Urtica pilulifera* L.
f. 134r Moraceae, *Ficus carica* L.
f. 134v Aspleniaceae, *Phyllitis scolopendrium* (L.) Newman
- Volume IV**
- f. 7r** Leguminosae, *Glycyrrhiza echinata* L.
f. 8r, a Anacardiaceae, *Pistacia terebinthus* L.
f. 8r, b Leguminosae, *Cercis siliquastrum* L.
f. 9r Plumbaginaceae, *Limonium* cf. *narbonense* Mill.
f. 10r, a cf. Euphorbiaceae
f. 10r, b Papaveraceae, *Chelidonium majus* L.
f. 10r, c Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* cf. *paralias* L.
f. 10r, d Asphodelaceae, *Aloe* L.
f. 11r, a Thymelaeaceae, *Daphne* L.

- f. 11r, b** Umbelliferae
f. 11r, c Ascomycota-Lecanorales, Parmeliaceae, *Ramalina* cf. *farinacea* (L.) Ach. [fide V. Jiménez Rico].
f. 11r, d Ascomycota-Lecanorales, Parmeliaceae, *Usnea* cf. *rubicunda* Stirz. [fide V. Jiménez Rico].
f. 12r, a Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus ficaria* L.
f. 12r, b Basidiomycota-Auriculariales, Auriculariaceae, *Auricularia* cf. *auricula-judae* (Bull.) Quél. [fide M. Dueñas].
f. 12r, c Amaryllidaceae, *Narcissus* cf. *tazetta* L.
f. 13r, a Ericaceae, *Erica* cf. *arborea* L.
f. 13r, b Tamaricaceae, *Myricaria germanica* (L.) Desv.
f. 13r, c Gentianaceae, *Centaurium erythraea* Rafn
f. 13r, d Labiate, *Hyssopus officinalis* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 14r, a Dipsacaceae, *Scabiosa* L.
f. 14r, b Orobanchaceae, *Orobanche* L.
f. 14r, c Anacardiaceae, *Pistacia lentiscus* L.
f. 15r, a Gramineae, *Setaria viridis* (L.) P.Beauv.
f. 15r, b Compositae, *Calendula officinalis* L.
f. 15r, c Amaryllidaceae, *Allium* L.
f. 15r, d Rosaceae, *Alchemilla* L.
f. 16r, a Compositae, *Aster linosyris* (L.) Bernh.
f. 16r, b Crassulaceae, *Umbilicus rupestris* (Salisb.) Dandy
f. 16r, c Umbelliferae, cf. *Meum athamanticum* Jacq.
f. 17r, a Rubiaceae, *Crucianella maritima* L.
f. 17r, b Umbelliferae, *Eryngium* cf. *maritimum* L.
f. 18r Umbelliferae, cf. *Pimpinella* L.
f. 19r, a Primulaceae, *Cyclamen* L.
f. 19r, b Labiate, *Ajuga reptans* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 19r, c Rosaceae, *Sorbus torminalis* (L.) Crantz
f. 20r, a Selaginellaceae, *Selaginella* cf. *denticulata* (L.) Link
f. 20r, b Compositae, *Otanthus maritimus* (L.) Hoffmanns. & Link
f. 21r Fagaceae, *Quercus* cf. *petraea* (Matt.) Liebl.
f. 22r Zygophyllaceae, *Tribulus terrestris* L.
f. 23r, a Pinaceae, *Abies* Mill.
f. 23r, b Liliaceae, *Lilium* cf. *pomponium* L.
f. 23r, c Ranunculaceae, *Helleborus* cf. *boccone* Ten.
f. 24r, a Aristolochiaceae, *Aristolochia rotunda* L.
f. 24r, b Compositae, *Tussilago farfara* L.
f. 24r, c Rosaceae, *Rosa* L.
f. 24r, d Cruciferae, cf. *Diplotaxis erucoides* (L.) DC.
f. 25r, a Dicotyledon
f. 25r, b Umbelliferae, *Laserpitium siler* L. [fide J.P. Reduron].
f. 25r, c Ranunculaceae, *Thalictrum* L.
f. 25r, d Leguminosae, *Lupinus angustifolius* L.
f. 25r, e Leguminosae, *Lupinus albus* L.
f. 26r, a Asparagaceae, *Ruscus aculeatus* L.
f. 26r, b Boraginaceae, *Symphytum* L.
f. 26r, c Araceae, *Arum italicum* Mill.
f. 27r, a Cornaceae, *Cornus sanguinea* L.
f. 27r, b Betulaceae, *Ostrya carpinifolia* Scop.
f. 28r Fagaceae, *Quercus suber* L.
f. 29r, a Resedaceae, *Reseda phyteuma* L.
f. 29r, b Caryophyllaceae, *Silene* cf. *latifolia* Poir.
f. 29r, c Betulaceae, *Corylus avellana* L.
- f. 29r, d** Rhamnaceae, *Ziziphus jujuba* Mill.
f. 29r, e Leguminosae, *Colutea arborescens* L.
f. 30r, a Polygonaceae, *Polygonum lapathifolium* L.
f. 30r, b Cruciferae, *Lobularia maritima* (L.) Desv.
f. 31r, a Labiate, *Thymus pulegioides* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 31r, b cf. Solanaceae
f. 31r, c Labiate, *Micromeria graeca* (L.) Rchb. [fide R. Morales].
f. 31r, d Ranunculaceae, *Clematis flammula* L.
f. 32r, a Iridaceae, *Crocus* L.
f. 32r, b Asparagaceae, *Asparagus officinalis* L.
f. 32r, c Cupressaceae, *Juniperus communis* L.
f. 32r, d Cupressaceae, *Juniperus communis* L.
f. 33r, a Malvaceae, *Alcea rosea* L.
f. 33r, b Myrtaceae, *Myrtus communis* L.
f. 33r, c Myrtaceae, *Myrtus communis* L.
f. 34r, a Caprifoliaceae, *Lonicera* cf. *implexa* Aiton
f. 34r, b Leguminosae, *Lathyrus palustris* L.
f. 34r, c Rosaceae, *Rosa* L.
f. 35r, a Dicotyledon
f. 35r, b Ranunculaceae, *Aquilegia* cf. *vulgaris* L.
f. 35r, c Apocynaceae, *Vinca difformis* Pourr.
f. 36r, a Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus* L.
f. 36r, b Rosaceae, *Agrimonia eupatoria* L.
f. 37r, a Posidoniaceae, *Posidonia oceanica* (L.) Delile
f. 37r, b Rosaceae, *Crataegus* L.
f. 37r, c Oleaceae, *Phillyrea angustifolia* L.
f. 37r, d Labiate, *Teucrium flavum* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 38r, a Rhamnaceae, *Rhamnus oleoides* L.
f. 38r, b Compositae, *Sonchus tenerrimus* L.
f. 38r, c Ericaceae, *Arbutus unedo* L.
f. 39r, a Valerianaceae, *Valeriana officinalis* L.
f. 39r, b Ranunculaceae, *Consolida regalis* Gray
f. 39r, c Asparagaceae, *Ruscus hypoglossum* L.
f. 40r Solanaceae, *Datura stramonium* L.
f. 41r, a Compositae, *Pallenis spinosa* (L.) Cass.
f. 41r, b Scrophulariaceae, *Misopates* Raf.
f. 42r, a Labiate, *Ballota pseudodictamnus* Benth. [fide R. Morales].
f. 42r, b Papaveraceae, *Glaucium flavum* Crantz
f. 42r, c Dicotyledon
f. 43r, a Leguminosae, *Pisum sativum* L.
f. 43r, b Leguminosae, *Securigera securidaca* (L.) Degen & Dörfel.
f. 44r, a Umbelliferae
f. 44r, b cf. Umbelliferae
f. 44r, c Leguminosae, *Galega officinalis* L.
f. 45r, a Rosaceae, *Sorbus domestica* L.
f. 45r, b Scrophulariaceae, *Odontites* Ludw.
f. 45r, c Grossulariaceae, *Ribes* L.
f. 46r, a Cistaceae, *Cistus monspeliensis* L.
f. 46r, b Compositae, *Senecio vulgaris* L.
f. 47r Caryophyllaceae, *Silene* L.
f. 48r, a Labiate, *Clinopodium vulgare* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 48r, b Chenopodiaceae, *Atriplex prostrata* DC.
f. 48r, c Onagraceae, *Epilobium* L.
f. 49r, a Scrophulariaceae, *Linaria vulgaris* Mill.

- f. 49r, b** Cruciferae, *Cardaria draba* (L.) Desv.
- f. 49r, c** Dioscoreaceae, cf. *Tamus communis* L.
- f. 50r** Aspleniaceae, *Phyllitis scolopendrium* (L.) Newman
- f. 51r, a** Rhamnaceae, *Rhamnus alaternus* L.
- f. 51r, b** Rhamnaceae, *Rhamnus alaternus* L.
- f. 51r, c** Geraniaceae, *Geranium molle* L.
- f. 51r, d** Geraniaceae, *Geranium dissectum* L.
- f. 51r, e** Leguminosae, *Trifolium pratense* L.
- f. 51r, f** Geraniaceae, *Erodium moschatum* (L.) L'Hér.
- f. 52r, a** Ranunculaceae, *Delphinium* cf. *staphysagria* L.
- f. 52r, b** Umbelliferae
- f. 53r, a** Caprifoliaceae, *Viburnum tinus* L.
- f. 53r, b** Rosaceae, *Sorbus torminalis* (L.) Crantz
- f. 53r, c** Araliaceae, *Hedera helix* L.
- f. 54r** Solanaceae, *Physalis alkekengi* L.
- f. 55r, a** Dicotyledon
- f. 55r, b** Umbelliferae
- f. 56r, a** Boraginaceae, *Heliotropium europaeum* L.
- f. 56r, b** Compositae, *Doronium* cf. *columnae* Ten.
- f. 56r, c** Crassulaceae, *Sedum* cf. *maximum* L.
- f. 56r, d** Compositae, *Helichrysum* Mill.
- f. 57r, a** Labiate, *Prunella vulgaris* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 57r, b** Gramineae, *Lagurus ovatus* L.
- f. 57r, c** Leguminosae, *Trifolium angustifolium* L.
- f. 58r, a** Solanaceae, *Withania somnifera* (L.) Dunal
- f. 58r, b** Labiate, *Origanum* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 58r, c** Malvaceae, *Gossypium herbaceum* L.
- f. 59r** Cucurbitaceae, *Ecballium elaterium* (L.) A. Rich.
- f. 60r, a** Thymelaeaceae, *Daphne gnidium* L.
- f. 60r, b** Aspleniaceae, *Asplenium trichomanes* L.
- f. 60r, c** Ranunculaceae, *Nigella damascena* L.
- f. 61r, a** Labiate, *Salvia* cf. *verbenaca* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 61r, b** Amaryllidaceae, *Sternbergia lutea* (L.) Spreng.
- f. 62r, a** Rosaceae, *Rosa* L.
- f. 62r, b** Colchicaceae, *Colchicum* L.
- f. 62r, c** Compositae, *Dittrichia viscosa* (L.) Greuter
- f. 63r, a** Umbelliferae, *Daucus* L.
- f. 63r, b** Umbelliferae, *Tordylium apulum* L.
- f. 63r, c** Labiate, *Ajuga chamaepitys* (L.) Schreb. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 63r, d** Umbelliferae, *Daucus* L.
- f. 64r** Polygonaceae, *Rumex* L.
- f. 65r, a** Compositae, *Calendula* cf. *officinalis* L.
- f. 65r, b** Verbenaceae, cf. *Verbena officinalis* L.
- f. 65r, c** Ulmaceae, *Celtis australis* L.
- f. 66r, a** Rosaceae, *Sanguisorba minor* Scop.
- f. 66r, b** Amaryllidaceae, *Sternbergia lutea* (L.) Spreng.
- f. 66r, c** Papaveraceae, *Papaver somniferum* L.
- f. 67r, a** Solanaceae, *Withania somnifera* (L.) Dunal
- f. 67r, b** Boraginaceae, *Pulmonaria* L.
- f. 68r, a** Convolvulaceae, *Calystegia soldanella* (L.) R. Br.
- f. 68r, b** Aristolochiaceae, *Asarum europaeum* L.
- f. 69r** Staphyleaceae, *Staphylea pinnata* L.
- f. 70r** Compositae, *Inula helenium* L.
- f. 71r** Scrophulariaceae, *Scrophularia* cf. *canina* L.
- f. 72r** Compositae, *Tanacetum vulgare* L.
- f. 73r** Melanthiaceae, *Veratrum* L.
- f. 74r, a** Solanaceae, *Solanum dulcamara* L.
- f. 74r, b** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* L.
- f. 75r** Leguminosae, *Anagyris foetida* L.
- f. 76r** Leguminosae, *Phaseolus vulgaris* L.
- f. 77r** Alismataceae, *Alisma plantago-aquatica* L.
- f. 78r** Oleaceae, *Fraxinus ornus* L.
- f. 79r** Umbelliferae, *Opopanax chironium* (L.) W.D.J.Koch
- f. 80r, a** Cruciferae, *Lunaria annua* L.
- f. 80r, b** Cruciferae, *Lunaria annua* L.
- f. 80r, c** Saxifragaceae, *Saxifraga* cf. *rotundifolia* L.
- f. 80r, d** Leguminosae, *Medicago orbicularis* (L.) Bartal.
- f. 81r, a** Geraniaceae, *Geranium sanguineum* L.
- f. 81r, b** Compositae, *Artemisia* L.
- f. 81r, c** Leguminosae, *Bituminaria bituminosa* (L.) C.H. Stirz.
- f. 82r** Umbelliferae, *Ammi majus* L.
- f. 83r, a** Salicaceae, *Populus alba* L.
- f. 83r, b** Santalaceae, *Thesium linophyllum* L.
- f. 83r, c** Labiate, *Teucrium chamaedrys* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 84r, a** Typhaceae, *Typha latifolia* L.
- f. 84r, b** Papaveraceae, *Papaver* L.
- f. 84r, c** Asparagaceae, *Asparagus acutifolius* L.
- f. 84r, d** Rosaceae, *Mespilus germanica* L.
- f. 85r** Cruciferae, *Isatis tinctoria* L.
- f. 86r, a** Iridaceae, *Iris* cf. *germanica* L. [fide M.B. Crespo].
- f. 86r, b** Iridaceae, *Iris* cf. *florentina* L. [fide M.B. Crespo].
- f. 87r, a** Umbelliferae
- f. 87r, b** Paeoniaceae, *Paeonia officinalis* L.
- f. 88r, a** Compositae, *Tagetes erecta* L.
- f. 88r, b** Leguminosae, *Phaseolus vulgaris* L.
- f. 89r, a** Solanaceae, *Mandragora autumnalis* Bertol.
- f. 89r, b** Polygonaceae, *Polygonum* L.
- f. 89r, c** Ranunculaceae, *Anemone hortensis* L.
- f. 89r, d** Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus* L.
- f. 89r, e** Compositae, *Centaurea* cf. *centaurium* L.
- f. 90r** Acanthaceae, *Acanthus mollis* L.
- f. 91r, a** Solanaceae, *Atropa belladonna* L.
- f. 91r, b** Polygonaceae, *Polygonum* L.
- f. 92r, a** Scrophulariaceae, *Cymbalaria* Hill
- f. 92r, b** Rhamnaceae, *Rhamnus cathartica* L.
- f. 93r, a** Euphorbiaceae, *Ricinus communis* L.
- f. 93r, b** Labiate, *Salvia* cf. *officinalis* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 94r** Ranunculaceae, *Clematis vitalba* L.
- f. 95r** Platanaceae, *Platanus orientalis* L.
- f. 96r, a** Cucurbitaceae, *Citrullus colocynthis* (L.) Schrad.
- f. 96r, b** Cucurbitaceae, *Momordica balsamina* L.
- f. 97r, a** Labiate, *Glechoma hederacea* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 97r, b** Iridaceae, *Iris* L.
- f. 98r, a** Convolvulaceae, *Convolvulus arvensis* L.
- f. 98r, b** Rhamnaceae, *Paliurus spina-christi* Mill.
- f. 98r, c** Solanaceae, *Capsicum annuum* L.
- f. 99r, a** Scrophulariaceae, *Bartsia trixago* L.

- f. 99r, b** Hepaticophyta, Conocephalaceae, *Conocephalum cf. conicum* (L.) Dumort. [fide P. Heras, M. Infante & M.J. Cano].
- f. 100r, a** Cyperaceae, *Cyperus* L.
- f. 100r, b** Leguminosae, *Melilotus* Mill.
- f. 100r, c** Cyperaceae, *Cyperus* L.
- f. 101r** Umbelliferae, *Heracleum sphondylium* L.
- f. 102r, a** Labiate, *Mentha longifolia* (L.) Huds. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 102r, b** Labiate, *Teucrium cf. polium* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 103r, a** Cruciferae, *Cheiranthus cheiri* L.
- f. 103r, b** Compositae, *Tanacetum parthenium* (L.) Sch.-Bip.
- f. 103r, c** Compositae, *Centaurea cf. cyanus* L.
- f. 104r** Umbelliferae, cf. *Anethum graveolens* L.
- f. 105r, a** Crassulaceae, *Sedum* L.
- f. 105r, b** Valerianaceae, *Valerianella* Mill.
- f. 105r, c** Boraginaceae, *Cerinthe* L.
- f. 105r, d** Compositae, *Pulicaria odora* (L.) Rchb.
- f. 106r, a** Compositae, *Cnicus benedictus* L.
- f. 106r, b** Labiate, *Salvia sclarea* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 107r, a** Iridaceae, *Iris foetidissima* L. [fide M.B. Crespo].
- f. 107r, b** Compositae, *Achillea cf. millefolium* L.
- f. 107r, c** Aristolochiaceae, *Aristolochia cf. longa* L.
- f. 107r, d** Labiate, *Satureja hortensis* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 108r, a** Paeoniaceae, *Paeonia cf. mascula* (L.) Mill.
- f. 108r, b** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* L.
- f. 108r, c** Papaveraceae, *Glaucium flavum* Crantz
- f. 109r** Thymelaeaceae, *Daphne laureola* L.
- f. 110r, a** Cupressaceae, *Juniperus cf. sabina* L.
- f. 110r, b** Styracaceae, *Styrax officinalis* L.
- f. 110r, c** Dicotyledon
- f. 110r, d** Rafflesiaceae, *Cytinus* L.
- f. 110r, e** Aspleniaceae, *Ceterach officinarum* Willd.
- f. 111r, a** Salicaceae, *Salix* L.
- f. 111r, b** Compositae, *Artemisia* L.
- f. 111r, c** Compositae, *Artemisia* L.
- f. 112r, a** Compositae, *Anthemis arvensis* L.
- f. 112r, b** Compositae, *Dittrichia graveolens* (L.) Greuter
- f. 113r, a** Amaranthaceae, *Celosia argentea* L.
- f. 113r, b** Rosaceae, *Crataegus azarolus* L.
- f. 113r, c** Umbelliferae, cf. *Myrrhis odorata* (L.) Scop.
- f. 114r** Convolvulaceae, *Ipomoea nil* (L.) Roth
- f. 115r** Verbenaceae, *Vitex agnus-castus* L.
- f. 116r** Meliaceae, *Melia azedarach* L.
- f. 117r, a** Asparagaceae, *Polygonatum odoratum* (Mill.) Druce
- f. 117r, b** Araceae, cf. *Biarum tenuifolium* (L.) Schott
- f. 118r** Aceraceae, *Acer campestre* L.
- f. 119r, a** Umbelliferae, *Smyrnium olusatrum* L.
- f. 119r, b** Labiate, *Stachys officinalis* (L.) Trevis. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 120r, a** Monocotyledon
- f. 120r, b** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* L.
- f. 120r, c** Dicotyledon
- f. 120r, d** Valerianaceae, *Valeriana cf. officinalis* L.
- f. 121r** Araceae, *Dracunculus vulgaris* Schott
- f. 122r, a** Orchidaceae, *Orchis cf. papilionacea* L.
- f. 122r, b** Asparagaceae, *Muscari comosum* (L.) Mill.
- f. 122r, c** Orchidaceae
- f. 122r, d** Papaveraceae, *Papaver somniferum* L.
- f. 123r** Coral, Cnidaria
- f. 124r** Leguminosae, cf. *Ceratonia siliqua* L.
- f. 125r** Primulaceae, *Primula* L.
- f. 126r, a** Gentianaceae, *Blackstonia perfoliata* (L.) Huds.
- f. 126r, b** Compositae, *Carthamus tinctorius* L.
- f. 127r, a** Ranunculaceae, *Thalictrum* L.
- f. 127r, b** Geraniaceae, *Geranium phaeum* L.
- f. 128r** Compositae
- f. 129r, a** Labiate, *Lamium maculatum* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 129r, b** Caryophyllaceae, *Saponaria officinalis* L.
- f. 130r, a** Labiate, *Nepeta cataria* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 130r, b** Monocotyledon
- f. 130r, c** Compositae, *Santolina* L.
- f. 130r, d** Dicotyledon
- f. 130r, e** Umbelliferae, cf. *Crithmum maritimum* L.
- f. 130r, f** Dicotyledon
- f. 131r, a** Rubiaceae, *Rubia peregrina* L.
- f. 131r, b** Labiate, *Teucrium scordium* L. [fide R. Morales].
- f. 131r, c** Rosaceae, *Potentilla cf. reptans* L.
- f. 132r, a** Boraginaceae, *Lithospermum officinale* L.
- f. 132r, b** Umbelliferae, cf. *Peucedanum ostruthium* (L.) W.D.J.Koch
- f. 133r** Umbelliferae, *Oenanthe* L.
- f. 134r, a** Guttiferae, *Hypericum perforatum* L.
- f. 134r, b** Smilacaceae, *Smilax aspera* L.
- f. 135r, a** Solanaceae, *Lycopersicon esculentum* Mill.
- f. 135r, b** Scrophulariaceae, *Antirrhinum cf. tortuosum* Vent. [fide J. Güemes].
- f. 135r, c** Chenopodiaceae, *Salsola soda* L.
- f. 136r, a** Rosaceae, *Geum* L.
- f. 136r, b** Plumbaginaceae, *Plumbago europaea* L.
- f. 136r, b** Compositae, *Scolymus hispanicus* L.
- f. 137r, a** Rutaceae, *Dictamnus albus* L.
- f. 137r, b** Solanaceae, *Hyoscyamus albus* L.
- f. 137r, c** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* L.
- f. 138r** Umbelliferae
- f. 139r** Cupressaceae, *Cupressus cf. sempervirens* L.
- f. 140r, a** Compositae, *Inula conyzoides* DC.
- f. 140r, b** Leguminosae, *Dorycnium hirsutum* (L.) Ser.
- f. 141r, a** Compositae, *Tagetes erecta* L.
- f. 141r, b** Equisetaceae, *Equisetum telmateia* Ehrh.
- f. 141r, c** Celastraceae, cf. *Euonymus europaeus* L.
- f. 142r, a** Orchidaceae, *Dactylorhiza* Nevski
- f. 142r, b** Asphodelaceae, *Aloe* L.
- f. 143r, a** Plumbaginaceae, *Plumbago europaea* L.
- f. 143r, b** Scrophulariaceae, *Veronica anagallis-aquatica* L.
- f. 143r, c** Compositae
- f. 143r, d** Oleaceae, *Ligustrum vulgare* L.
- f. 144r, a** cf. Boraginaceae
- f. 144r, b** Umbelliferae, cf. *Ferula* L.
- f. 144r, c** Umbelliferae, cf. *Ferula* L.
- f. 144r, d** Monocotyledon
- f. 145r, a** Dicotyledon

- f. 145r, b** Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* cf. *cyparissias* L.
f. 145r, c Chenopodiaceae, *Chenopodium botrys* L.
f. 145v Araceae, *Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott
f. 146r, a Araceae, *Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott
f. 146r, b Sapindaceae, *Cardiospermum halicacabum* L.
f. 147r Malvaceae, *Althaea officinalis* L.
f. 148r Ranunculaceae, *Aconitum* L.
f. 149r, a Aspleniaceae, *Asplenium onopteris* L.
f. 149r, b Dryopteridaceae, *Polystichum setiferum* (Forssk.) Woynar
f. 150r, a Cistaceae, *Cistus incanus* L.
f. 150r, b Rafflesiaceae, *Cytinus* L.
f. 150r, c Asphodelaceae, *Asphodelus* cf. *ramosus* L.
f. 151r, a Apocynaceae, *Nerium oleander* L.
f. 151r, b Cruciferae, cf. *Sisymbrium* L.
f. 151r, c Adiantaceae, *Adiantum capillus-veneris* L.
f. 152r, a Boraginaceae, *Lithospermum officinale* L.
f. 152r, b Compositae, *Leontodon tuberosus* L.
f. 152r, c Leguminosae, *Lathyrus* cf. *sylvestris* L.
f. 153r, a Dicotyledon
f. 153r, b Rosaceae, *Fragaria vesca* L.
f. 154r, a Capparidaceae, *Capparis spinosa* L.
f. 154r, b Leguminosae, *Spartium junceum* L.
f. 155r, a Compositae, *Artemisia vulgaris* L.
f. 155r, b Labiate, *Origanum vulgare* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 156r Cyperaceae, *Cyperus* cf. *longus* L.
f. 157r, a cf. Leguminosae
f. 157r, b Leguminosae, *Medicago* cf. *arabica* (L.) Huds.
f. 157r, c Primulaceae, *Anagallis arvensis* L.
f. 157r, d Primulaceae, *Anagallis arvensis* L.
f. 158r Asparagaceae, *Muscari comosum* (L.) Mill.
f. 159r, a Leguminosae, *Trigonella* L.
f. 159r, b Leguminosae, *Melilotus* cf. *italicus* (L.) Lam.
f. 159r, c Plantaginaceae, *Plantago afra* L.
f. 159r, d Rosaceae, *Cydonia oblonga* Mill.
f. 159r, e Umbelliferae, cf. *Coriandrum sativum* L.
f. 160r Aspleniaceae, *Phyllitis sagittata* (DC.) Guinea & Heywood
f. 161r, a Dicotyledon
f. 161r, b Asparagaceae, *Bellevalia* cf. *romana* (L.) Sweet
f. 161r, c Amaryllidaceae, *Narcissus pseudonarcissus* L.
f. 161r, d Amaryllidaceae, *Narcissus tazetta* L.
f. 162r, a Asparagaceae, *Muscari* cf. *atlanticum* Boiss. & Reut.
f. 162r, b Boraginaceae
f. 162r, c Cruciferae, *Thlaspi perfoliatum* L.
f. 162r, d Rubiaceae, *Rubia peregrina* L.
f. 163r, a Euphorbiaceae, *Euphorbia* cf. *amygdaloidea* L.
f. 163r, b Labiate, *Ajuga reptans* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 163r, c Ranunculaceae, *Adonis* L.
f. 164r, a Ranunculaceae, *Anemone nemorosa* L.
f. 164r, b cf. Boraginaceae
f. 164r, c Leguminosae, *Coronilla scorpioides* (L.) W.D.J.Koch
f. 164r, d Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus* cf. *peltatus* Schrank
f. 164r, e Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus* L.
f. 164r, f Scrophulariaceae, *Veronica cymbalaria* Bodard
f. 165r, a Cruciferae, *Alliaria petiolata* (M.Bieb.) Cavara & Grande
f. 165r, b Umbelliferae
f. 165r, c Compositae, *Centaurea* cf. *centaurium* L.
f. 165r, d Compositae, *Achillea* cf. *millefolium* L.
f. 166r, a Leguminosae, *Vicia faba* L.
f. 166r, b Leguminosae, *Medicago* L.
f. 166r, c Compositae
f. 166r, d Labiate, *Stachys annua* (L.) L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 166r, e Ranunculaceae, *Ranunculus arvensis* L.
f. 167r, a Rubiaceae, *Cruciata laevipes* Opiz
f. 167r, b Resedaceae, *Reseda alba* L.
f. 167r, c Buxaceae, *Buxus sempervirens* L.
f. 167r, d Caryophyllaceae, *Stellaria* cf. *media* (L.) Vill.
f. 167r, e Boraginaceae, cf. *Anchusa* L.
f. 168r, a Gramineae, *Avena* cf. *sterilis* L. [fide A. Quintanar].
f. 168r, b Gramineae, *Bromus* cf. *sterilis* L. [fide A. Quintanar].
f. 168r, c Gramineae, *Hordeum murinum* L. [fide A. Quintanar].
f. 168r, d Compositae, *Rhagadiolus edulis* Gaertn.
f. 168r, e Linaceae, *Linum* L.
f. 169r, a Urticaceae, *Urtica pilulifera* L.
f. 169r, b Leguminosae, *Trifolium* L.
f. 169r, c Boraginaceae, *Myosotis* cf. *stricta* Link
f. 170r, a Berberidaceae, *Berberis vulgaris* L.
f. 170r, b Scrophulariaceae, *Veronica beccabunga* L.
f. 170r, c Dicotyledon
f. 170r, d Iridaceae, *Gladiolus communis* L.
f. 171r, a Leguminosae, *Cytisus villosus* Pourr.
f. 171r, b Compositae, *Chrysanthemum coronarium* L.
f. 171r, c Leguminosae, *Pisum sativum* L.
f. 172r, a Compositae, *Tragopogon* L.
f. 172r, b Labiate, *Acinos alpinus* (L.) Moench [fide R. Morales].
f. 172r, c Cistaceae, *Cistus* cf. *incanus* L.
f. 173r, a Scrophulariaceae, *Cymbalaria* cf. *muralis* G.Gaertn. & al.
f. 173r, b Caryophyllaceae, *Cerastium* L.
f. 173r, c Ranunculaceae, *Anemone apennina* L.
f. 173r, d Asparagaceae, *Ornithogalum* cf. *narbonense* L.
f. 174r, a Geraniaceae, *Erodium cicutarium* (L.) L'Hér.
f. 174r, b Amaryllidaceae, *Allium triquetrum* L.
f. 174r, c Compositae, *Senecio cineraria* DC.
f. 174r, d Labiate, *Lamium maculatum* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 175r, a Compositae, *Galactites tomentosa* Moench
f. 175r, b Violaceae, *Viola* cf. *riviniana* Rchb.
f. 175r, c Dicotyledon
f. 176r, a Plantaginaceae, *Plantago coronopus* L.
f. 176r, b Liliaceae
f. 177r, a Umbelliferae, cf. *Echinophora spinosa* L.
f. 177r, b Leguminosae, *Medicago* cf. *marina* L.
f. 177r, c Cruciferae, *Lepidium latifolium* L.
f. 177r, d Leguminosae, *Laburnum anagyroides* Medik.
f. 178r, a Monocotyledon
f. 178r, b Aristolochiaceae, *Aristolochia clematitis* L.
f. 178r, c Compositae, cf. *Chrysanthemum coronarium* L.
f. 178r, d Monocotyledon
f. 178r, e Monocotyledon
f. 179r, a Betulaceae, *Alnus glutinosa* (L.) Gaertn.

- f. 179r, b** Cupressaceae, *Juniperus phoenicea* L.
f. 179r, c Orchidaceae, cf. *Cephalanthera damasonium* (Mill.) Druce
f. 180r, a Umbelliferae, *Eryngium* cf. *maritimum* L.
f. 180r, b Leguminosae, *Hymenocarpos circinnatus* (L.) Savi
f. 180r, c Scrophulariaceae, *Bartsia trixago* L.
f. 181r Papaveraceae, *Glaucium flavum* Crantz
f. 182r, a Dioscoreaceae, *Tamus communis* L.
f. 182r, b Gramineae, *Lolium* cf. *perenne* L.
f. 182r, c Gramineae, *Lolium* cf. *rigidum* Gaudin [fide A. Quintanar].
f. 182r, d Gramineae, *Aegylops* cf. *geniculata* Roth [fide A. Quintanar].
f. 182r, e Resedaceae, *Reseda luteola* L.
f. 183r, a Umbelliferae, *Sanicula europaea* L.
f. 183r, b Saxifragaceae, *Saxifraga* cf. *granulata* L.
f. 184r, a Cyperaceae, *Carex* cf. *pendula* Huds.
f. 184r, b Aquifoliaceae, *Ilex aquifolium* L.
f. 185r Umbelliferae, *Bupleurum lancifolium* Hornem.
f. 186r, a Leguminosae, *Ononis spinosa* L.
f. 186r, b Cruciferae, *Myagrum perfoliatum* L.
f. 186r, c Primulaceae, *Lysimachia nummularia* L.
f. 187r, a Dicotyledon
f. 187r, b Scrophulariaceae, *Veronica* L.
f. 187r, c Labiate, *Acinos arvensis* (Lam.) Dandy [fide R. Morales].
f. 187r, d Labiate, *Prunella vulgaris* L. [fide R. Morales].
f. 187r, e Cruciferae
f. 188r, a Chenopodiaceae, *Chenopodium botrys* L.
f. 188r, b Solanaceae, *Hyoscyamus albus* L.
f. 188r, c Leguminosae, *Genista* cf. *anglica* L.
f. 188r, d Compositae, cf. *Artemisia* L.
f. 188r, e Parnassiaceae, *Parnassia palustris* L.
f. 189r, a Gramineae, *Phalaris* cf. *canariensis* L.
f. 189r, b Dicotyledon
f. 189r, c Loranthaceae, *Viscum album* L.
f. 190r, a Ranunculaceae, *Aconitum* cf. *napellus* L.
f. 190r, b Dicotyledon

DISCUSSION

In the Mendoza Herbarium, as in most early herbaria, there is no systematic structure in the arrangement of the taxa, nor in their uses, nor in any other conceivable organisation. Among the Renaissance herbaria, one has to wait for Cesalpino's herbarium, compiled in 1563, to find a herbarium with an arrangement based on a protosystematics (Cesalpino 1583; Baldini & al. 2022). This could suggest that the Mendoza Herbarium was mainly used to associate the names of the plants with specimens (Cristofolini 2024: 8).

Carrión (2017: 56) highlights Mendoza's interest in the then emerging sciences of the time, but points out that it is unlikely that Mendoza himself was the collector of the plants in this herbarium. The text and the literature surrounding the herbarium provide no evidence of previous

owners of the books or intermediaries who might have acquired these volumes from a botanist. The heterogeneity of the volumes in several aspects such as the arrangement of the plants or the size of the folios and their watermarks, as well as the repetition of some species, could suggest that they are the product of the hand of several authors, finally compiled and bound homogeneously. It is interesting to note that at least twelve different watermarks have been identified in a preliminary examination. However, these are indications that cannot be considered conclusive. In any case, the botanist or botanists who compiled the collection remain unknown.

According to Cristofolini (2024: 6) the Mendoza Herbarium incorporated plants from several Spanish botanists, including A. Laguna, taking up a presumed information of Andretta & Pardo-Tomás (2020). In fact, Andretta & Pardo-Tomás (2020: 14–17) only study the relationship between A. Laguna and D. Hurtado de Mendoza, who happened to be living in Rome at the time when Mendoza was ambassador to the Holy See. These authors point out that A. Laguna had access to a copy of the Greek codex of Dioscorides on which he based his annotated Dioscorides (Laguna 1555), which came from Mendoza's library through his collaborator J. Páez de Castro. Andretta & Pardo-Tomás (2020: 14–17), in their analysis of A. Laguna's activity, show that he collected several plants in the surroundings of Rome, as he himself indicates (Laguna 1555), and that some of them bear the same name as some of the plants preserved in the Mendoza herbarium, but they do not affirm that A. Laguna was the collector of them. In all the cases cited by Andretta & Pardo-Tomás (2020: 14–17), we have been able to verify that there is no annotation in the Mendoza Herbarium that these plants were collected by A. Laguna. Therefore, unless there is evidence to the contrary, their authorship can be excluded. Thijssse (2022: 18) also suggests that Laguna was involved in the acquisition or production of the Mendoza Herbarium but without providing additional direct evidence.

The spectrum of the best represented families is compatible with an Italian origin of the plants (Peruzzi 2014, Stefanaki & al. 2018). There is an overrepresentation bias of Labiate, Umbelliferae and Solanaceae, probably due to the medicinal interest of these groups. The current distribution of the identified species also supports a presumed Italian origin of the herbarium, but is not conclusive, as they are mostly species with a wide Mediterranean distribution that could have been collected in the wild or in a garden.

With regard to the origin of the herbarium, we should take into account the important contribution of Andretta & Pardo-Tomás (2020: 17–20), who have identified four annotations in Volume I with a geographical indication

that deserve further discussion. One of the most interesting cases is that of the annotation accompanying *Rumex cf. aquaticus* (f. 161r): “Reubarbarum quod / fuit portatum de iudea / semem. plantatum romae / anno 1538 in domo./ Cardinalis Cesarinjs.” (Rhubarb whose seed was brought from Judea. Planted in Rome in the year 1538 in the house of Cardinal Cesarini) (Fig. 4). In this case, Andretta & Pardo-Tomás (2020: 19) suggest that the plant in the Mendoza herbarium was collected in Rome on the basis of this reference, which only indicates where the species was planted. The same authors also mention similar cases of *Crataegus cf. azarolus* (f. 6v, f. 7r), *Sambucus nigra* (f. 50v) and *Melia azedarach* (f. 52v). In the case of these three plants, the accompanying notes mention localities near Rome where these plants grew, but it is by no means certain that the specimens in the Mendoza herbarium were collected in these localities near Rome. It is therefore interesting to note that the annotations accompanying the plants are not herbarium labels in the current sense, where the data corresponding to each collection are recorded, but simple notes or comments by the users (or perhaps the author) of the herbarium, not necessarily contemporaneous with the formation of the herbarium.

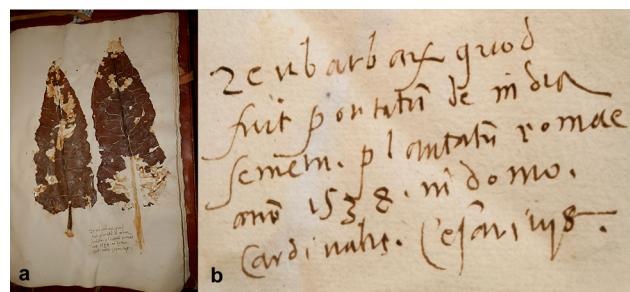


Fig. 4. Images of a specimen of *Rumex* from the Mendoza Herbarium: a, *Rumex cf. aquaticus* L. (Volume I, f. 161r); b, close-up on the annotation with relevant information: “Reubarbarum quod / fuit portatum de iudea / semem. plantatum romae / anno 1538 in domo./ Cardinalis Cesarinjs.” (Rhubarb whose seed was brought from Judea. Planted in Rome in the year 1538 in the house of Cardinal Cesarini).

Similarly, the only date mentioned in the herbarium is that given in the aforementioned case of *Rumex cf. aquaticus* (vol. I, f. 161r): “1538”. This date only supports the hypothesis that the herbarium is later than that year and is therefore compatible with the idea that it was acquired by Mendoza during his stay in Italy (1539–1554). It remains to be checked whether the notes referring to Dioscorides or other texts allow us to deduce more precise dates for the formation of the Mendoza herbarium, as has been done for other herbaria of the period (Stefanaki & al., 2019; Cristofolini & Nepi 2021). Thijssse (2022: 18) provides a detailed analysis of the lost and surviving 16th-century herbaria, completing the information overlooked by Baldini & al. (2022). This author chronologically orders the 36 herbaria

that survive from this period and suggests that the Mendoza herbarium is the second oldest, probably established between 1545 and 1554.

In conclusion, the three main questions about the Mendoza Herbarium are: Who is the author? Where did the plants come from? And when were they collected? These three questions remain to be answered on the basis of conclusive evidence. With the available information (Carrión 2017; Andretta & Pardo-Tomás 2020), it is plausible that the herbarium was acquired by Mendoza during his stay in Italy (1539–1554) from one or more intermediaries or botanists, who obtained the plants from an Italian garden, and perhaps collected some in their natural habitat.

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AUTHORSHIP CONTRIBUTION STATEMENT

Carlos AEDO: Conceptualization, Data curation, Investigation, Writing—original draft, Writing—review & editing. Mauricio VELAYOS: Conceptualization, Data curation, Investigation, Writing—review & editing.

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