

MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTSGESCHICHTE

Max Planck Institute for the History of Science

2008

PREPRINT 348

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The ‘Accademia dei Lincei’ and the New World.

1. Setting the Scene

The 1570s represent a significant period in which the Europeans acquired knowledge of the territories and natural resources of the New World. In 1570, the *Hispaniae Novae sive magnae recens et vera descriptio* (the great map of Mexico) by Abraham Ortelius was published for the first time in Anversa, and Francisco Hernández, the physician of King Phillip II of Spain, forwarded his rich naturalistic documentation to Madrid in 1576, which he had gathered during his seven years in the western part of the Native American territory. Both these documents contributed significantly to widening western knowledge of the New World and to making the American continent part of the then known and civilized world. For the first time, Ortelius presented the territory once called Mexico in a global and universal context, which included all countries then known (*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*), while Hernández had systematically classified the plants and animals of the New World, comparing them with those of the Old World.¹

King Philip II of Spain had invested a great sum of money in the expedition of Hernández, whose aim was to obtain complete knowledge of the colonies' natural riches. Hernández had collected a large amount of material and had also sent several dried specimens of American plants to Spain. The drawings of the Mexican plants and animals that he brought to Europe had been made by local artists and bought with the monies of Philip II. These images immediately gained fame owing to their vivid colours.²

Naturalists from all over Europe (Germany, Holland, France, Italy, etc.) began to ask for information and reproductions. However, the King was not satisfied with the work done by Hernández, due to the lack of structure in the content of the books he had compiled, and because the more important plants did not seem to grow in Europe. In 1580, Philip II entrusted Nardo Antonio Recchi, a Neapolitan physician, with the organization of Hernández's documents, in order to obtain a manuscript full of illustrations and texts to be printed. In 1582, Recchi's work was completed, but a published work as the King had desired was not undertaken at that time. The original manuscripts by Hernández were housed in the Escorial before being destroyed during the fire in 1671. Beside the manuscripts was a copy of Recchi's selection of the Hernández work, consisting of a real text and a number of independent pictures. A second copy was transferred from Madrid to Naples in 1589, together with its author.

¹ Ortelius 1570; Hernández-Recchi 1651.

² See Chabrán-Chamberlin-Varey 2000 and Varey-Chabrán-Weiner 2000.

In 1611, after long negotiations the Italian prince, Federico Cesi, founder of the Italian *Accademia dei Lincei*, bought the text of the compendium in Rome from Marco Antonio Petilio, Recchi's heir, and received authorization to copy the pictures. He immediately set about creating a publishable work. In 1612, the pilot edition of the *Rerum Medicarum Novae Hispaniae Thesaurus* (the *Mexican Treasure*) was almost completed. Johannes Schreck (Terrentius) was entrusted by Cesi to prepare and comment on Recchi's material. The first part of the *Mexican Treasure* reproduced the selection made by the Neapolitan physician, which was integrated by Schreck himself. Unfortunately, the printing was abruptly interrupted: Schreck left the Accademia dei Lincei and after joining the Jesuit order, went to China as a missionary. Moreover, Cesi decided to enrich Recchi's work with new comments and therefore, entrusted the task to two other members of the Accademia, Johannes Faber and Fabio Colonna. The former had to comment on thirty-five images of Mexican animals and worked on it until 1625, leaving a contribution of about 400 pages. The latter had to integrate Schreck's comments, and his *Annotationes et Additiones* was completed by 1628.

In the same year, the *Mexican Treasure* was printed in separate issues and Matthias Greuter, the engraver who was then active in Rome, prepared a sumptuous frontispiece. However, the *Mexican Treasure* still remained unpublished. One of the greatest obstacles to its publication was the fact that the back insert was still not ready. It was to be Cesi's *Tabulae Phytosophicae*, a work using tables and diagrams which was to sum up in twenty different sections, the then known botanical principles. Cesi, however, completed his work only in part, due to his sudden death in August 1630. After Cesi's death, it was Francesco Stelluti who attended to the printing of the *Mexican Treasure*. With the aid of Fabio Colonna, he ordered the different parts of the book, prepared the indices, and completed the *Tabulae* edition using the unpublished material left by Cesi. A fifth part, the so-called *Liber Unicus*, was then added to the original four parts. It was a short compendium on Mexican animals copied for Cassiano dal Pozzo by Andr s de Los Reyes, the librarian of the Escorial, and brought to Rome in 1626.³ After having acquired the library and the museum of the Prince from Cesi's widow, Cassiano himself constantly followed Stelluti's work, and finally succeeded in finding a sponsor to print the work (Alfonso de Las Torres, a Spanish nobleman living in Italy). Between 1648 and 1649, he entrusted Johann Friedrich Greuter the task of preparing two new frontispieces. The *Tesoro Messicano* was finally published in 1651.⁴

³ See Alessandrini 1978, pp. 168 e ss. and L pez Pi ero-Pardo Tom s 1994.

⁴ On the Lincean *Mexican Treasure*, see Marini Bett lo 1990; Marini Bett lo 1992; Olmi 1992; Marini Bett lo 1993; De Renzi 1994; Olmi 1998; Petrucci Nardelli 1998; De Renzi 2000; Freedberg 2002; Weiner 2006; Brevaglieri 2007; Guerrini 2007.

2. Botany and distillation in the '*Accademia dei Lincei*'

The birth of the *Accademia dei Lincei* originated from the meeting between the Roman Prince, Federico Cesi, and the Dutch naturalist and astrologer Johannes Eck. Eck had had a very broad education, ranging from astronomy and medicine to philology and theology (Eck was Catholic and deeply hated Lutheranism and Calvinism). He was constantly restless and always in search of a kind of religiousness suitable to his intense spiritual needs, so he went to Italy in 1593 and lived for a while in Spoleto and Perugia, reading medicine at university, where he drafted many works dealing with astronomical, astrological and medical topics.⁵

In Umbria Eck met Cesi, whose family owned many territories in the south of the region and around the city of Acquasparta. On 17 August 1603, the two talented young naturalists (Cesi was eighteen years old and Eck twenty-four years old), together with two other learned Italians, Francesco Stelluti and Anastasio De Filiis, founded the first modern scientific academy in Cesi's impressive residence in via della Maschera d'Oro in Rome. Thanks to the minutes of the meetings, we know that Cesi and his peers talked and shared ideas on a large range of subjects. They discussed the contents of Plato's works, the constitution of the universe and the structure of matter. One of the most important topics they broached was the origin of vegetal life (the reproduction, generation and classification of plants). Both in Rome and in Acquasparta, Cesi had organized a chemical laboratory, in which the Linceans could repeatedly perform experiments using distillation in their search for the hidden nature of vegetables.⁶ Cesi carried out numerous experiments of this kind by liquefying the solid part of the plants. His purpose was to discover the corpuscular components that made up plants and all types of vegetables.⁷

However, Cesi's naturalistic method differed from those used by herbalists and alchemists of the time as it was both practical and theoretical. In Cesi's view the research had to be supported by philosophical ideas and connected to a wide concept of nature, wherein all beings were closely bound and joined together in a continuous chain. The Roman prince had a lavish imagination and was able to use many techniques belonging to the art of memory. These techniques enabled him to conceive a kind of naturalism hostile to Aristotelian and Scholastic beliefs. He considered nature a great living being and had a propensity to conciliate all its quantitative and qualitative substances.⁸

The Linceans immediately attempted to get in touch with the most valuable naturalists in Europe. They wrote to Jean Robin in Paris,⁹ Johannes Kepler in Prague,¹⁰ Charles l'Écluse in Leiden,¹¹

⁵ See Rienstra 1968; Alessandrini 1976; Van Kessel 1976; Muccillo 1993; Ricci 2005.

⁶ See Clericuzio-De Renzi 1995.

⁷ Gabrieli 1989, I, p. 510.

⁸ On Cesi's naturalism, Guerrini 2006; Graniti 2006; Battistini-De Angelis-Olmi 2007.

⁹ See Gabrieli 1996, p. 100.

¹⁰ Gabrieli 1996, p. 99.

¹¹ Gabrieli 1996, pp. 29, 32, 97 and 101.

Kaspar Bahuin in Basel,¹² Matthias de l'Obel in London,¹³ and Thomas Mermann in Cologne.¹⁴ Despite this activism, the early months of academic life were difficult. The ties which linked the four young members of the Accademia were regarded with mistrust by Cesi's father and his little court. When the clash between young Cesi and his father became serious, the Accademia dei Lincei was compelled to close. Eck left Italy, reaching northern Europe, and Cesi, after a short stay in Acquasparta, set off for southern Italy and spent some months in Naples. There he struck up a friendship with the renowned magician and naturalist Giovanni Battista Della Porta, and this new bond made the rebirth of his academy possible.

Cesi was impressed by Della Porta's writings on distillation and atmospheric phenomena and decided to publish them in Rome under the patronage of his academy. The *De distillatione* and the *De aëris transmutationibus* respectively came to light in 1608¹⁵ and 1610.¹⁶ For Cesi and his friends, distillation had become the main method of investigating natural phenomena. In the *Lynceographum*, (the work containing the official rules of academic life, already sketched in 1604), Cesi speaks about distillation meaning the act of extracting volatile substances as an allowed practice, useful to natural investigations but unconnected to the alchemical transmutation of minerals into gold.¹⁷

In the spring of 1611, Galileo Galilei joined the Academy. A short time before his *Sidereus Nuncius* had been printed and he had become very well known. In 1611, Galileo was in Rome to spread his astronomical discoveries and very quickly became known by more and more people. Cesi made his acquaintance during this period. They spoke together about the academy and its scientific programme and from that day on, printing Galileo's astronomical books became Cesi's main concern. The Roman Prince and his peers edited the *Istoria e dimostrazioni intorno alle macchie solari* (1613)¹⁸ and the masterpiece *Il Saggiatore* (1623)¹⁹ in Rome, which was dedicated to the newly elected pope, Urbano VIII (Maffeo Barberini), Galileo's friend who was also very fond of Cesi. The Linceans openly supported Galileo in his struggle for the acceptance of Copernican cosmology and cooperated with him in facing the strong Aristotelian party, lead by the Jesuits of the Collegio Romano. Galileo's arrival marked a watershed in academic life, not only because he changed its scientific programme (as has often been wrongly believed), but rather because most of

¹² Gabrieli 1996, pp. 27-28.

¹³ Gabrieli 1996, pp. 29-30.

¹⁴ Gabrieli 1996, pp. 30-31.

¹⁵ Della Porta 1608.

¹⁶ Della Porta 1610.

¹⁷ Cesi 2001, p. 69.

¹⁸ Galilei 1613.

¹⁹ Galilei 1623.

his energies and resources were employed to get his astronomical and Copernican writings into print.²⁰

3. The 'Accademia dei Lincei' and the 'Mexican Treasure'

Around the middle of the Sixteenth Century, the European naturalists already had a vast knowledge of American plants and animals. Medicinal herbs and spices had been traded for a long time, and this had yielded the need for more and more well-documented catalogues and lists of American natural resources.²¹ In 1526, Gonzales Fernández de Oviedo's well-known *Sumario de la natural y general historia de las Indias*²² was printed and a short time before that, the *Libellus de medicinalibus Indorum herbis* (better known today as *Codex Badianus*), had been compiled. This work was accomplished by two native Americans who had converted to Christianity, on request of the Vice-Roy Francisco De Mendoza, in order to get permission for trading various medicinal herbs.²³

In the second half of the century, the works of Francisco López de Gómara,²⁴ Nicolás Monardes,²⁵ and José de Acosta came to light.²⁶ In 1585, Castor Durante's gorgeous illuminated herbarium, with a variety of pictures of American plants, was printed in Rome.²⁷ At the end of the century, Bernardino de Sahagún completed his monumental *Historia General de Nueva España*, which contained two large books devoted to the New World's natural resources.²⁸ The American medicinal plants were the main interest of European naturalists. This interest greatly increased when Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo published his *Historia general y natural de las Indias occidentales*, consisting of a documentary catalogue of Central American medicinal plants.²⁹ Many details on the use and efficacy of these herbs were also gathered and supplied by the already mentioned Nicolás Monardes.³⁰

In 1570, at the moment of Francisco Hernández's departure from Spain, the naturalistic richness of the overseas colonies was well-known in Europe, and Philip II's main wish was to possess a full and systematic catalogue of the resources that could be exploited and marketed. During his stay in Mexico, Hernández made use of numerous Native American physicians and painters, whom he

²⁰ See Guerrini 2004 and Guerrini 2008.

²¹ Prosperi-Reinhard 1992; Marini Bettòlo 1993; Dickenson 1998; Arca 1999; MacLeod 2000; Chaplin 2001; Donattini 2004; Asúa-French 2005; Schiebinger-Swan 2005; Saldaña 2006; Barrera-Orsorio 2006.

²² Fernández de Oviedo 1526.

²³ De La Cruz 1964. See Somolinos d'Ardois 1964; Kumate 1992; Comas 1995; Fresquet Freber-López Piñero 1995; Aranda *et al.* 2003.

²⁴ López de Gómara 1556.

²⁵ Monardes 1565.

²⁶ Acosta 1590.

²⁷ Durante 1585.

²⁸ De Sahagún 1950-1982. See also López Piñero-López Terrada 1997.

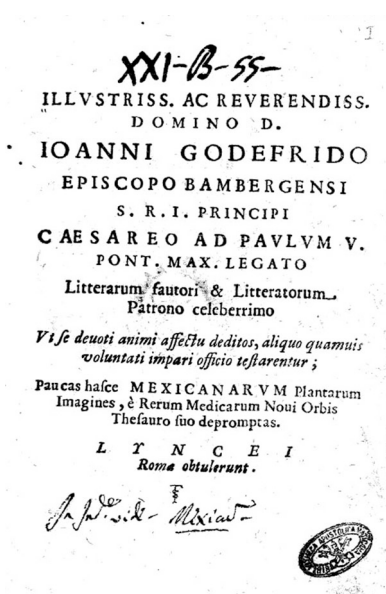
²⁹ See the great edition by the 'Real Academia de la Historia': Fernández de Oviedo 1851-1855.

³⁰ See above n. 23.

ordered to gather as many natural specimens as possible and reproduce exact images. Worried about finding a valuable system of arrangement, he asked for particular care in reproducing the colours of plants and animals. To denote the specimens he maintained the original Náhuatl names.

In 1576, Hernández forwarded sixteen manuscripts to Madrid which contained texts and pictures, and Philip II gave an order to preserve them in the Royal Library at the Escorial, awaiting to be put in order and printed. Two years later, the King decided to assign this task to his new personal physician, the Neapolitan Leonardo Antonio Recchi, who was ordered to prepare a selection of the Hernández work to be printed. Recchi, who finished his work in 1582, draughted a naturalist treatise which focused on the most important medicinal plants gathered by his predecessor in Mexico, and made exact copies of their images.³¹

Recchi's selection was printed for the first time without pictures (except the case of the partial *Index medicamentorum* which had appeared in Juan Barrios' *Verdadera medicina* in 1607)³² in Mexico and edited by Francisco Ximénez in 1615. This Dominican translated the text into Spanish and called it *Quatro libros de la naturaleza y virtudes de las plantas y animales que estan recevidos en el uso de Medicina en la Nueva España*.³³ Ximénez used the manuscript copy of Recchi's selection which belonged to Juan Barrios and Francisco Valles. This copy can be equated with the manuscript held today in the John Carter Brown Library in Providence (Rhode Island) which will be mentioned later.



Mexicanarum Plantarum Imagines (1693). Frontispiece with dedication to the cardinal Johannes Gottfried Ashhausen (Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. N.VI.175)

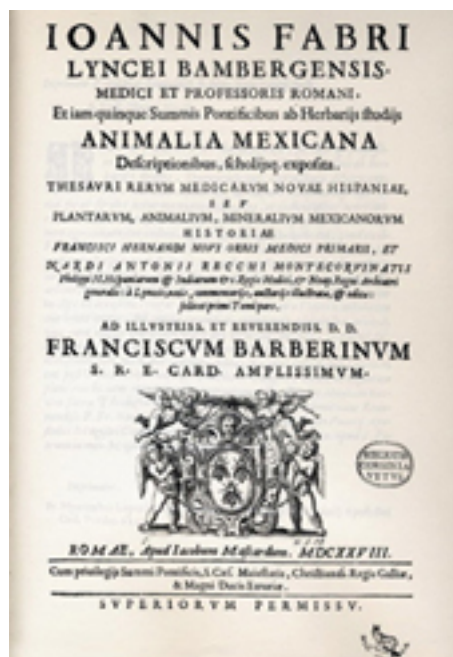
³¹ A general sketch in Gómez López 2005.

³² Barrios 1607.

³³ Hernández 1615.

At least four manuscript copies of Recchi's selection were drawn up, but the only one we actually know of is the one in Providence. As we will see later, the copy Cesi definitely bought was Recchi's personal manuscript. Indeed, Recchi took his copy from Madrid to Naples, and when he passed away the property of it was transferred to his nephew, Marco Antonio Petilio, who lived the greater part of his life in Rome (and not in Naples, as is usually believed). Cesi bought Petilio Recchi's text in Rome and also made a copy of all the annexed pictures.

After coming into possession of these papers, Cesi scheduled their publication. At the beginning, he deemed it useful to print only Recchi's text with pictures and a short commentary, but later he decided to add two large commentaries. He entrusted the task of the edition of the first part to Johannes Schreck, an interesting Lincean figure of German origin. Schreck became a member of the Accademia but soon left when he decided to become a Jesuit. He lived many years in China, where he acquired knowledge of the local language and culture, becoming also a fine expert in Chinese astronomy and natural history. Cesi copied and printed all the pictures of the American plants edited by Schreck and in 1613, a great assortment of the engravings were bound in a book to be presented to the bishop of Bamberg, Johannes Gottfried Ashhausen, the extraordinary imperial ambassador to Pope Paul V.³⁴ When Cesi started printing the Recchi manuscript, he decided to change its original arrangement, and divided its four books into ten, the first one concerning the methodology of natural history, the following seven devoted to Mexican plants, and the last two respectively dedicated to the animals and minerals of the New World.³⁵



Johannes Faber, *Animalia mexicana* (1628)

³⁴ Linceans 1613.

³⁵ See Álvarez Peláez-Fernández González 1998, I, pp. 70-103.

Cesi added a wide commentary on Mexican animals arranged by Johannes Faber, whose title was *Aliorum Novae Hispaniae Animalium [...] imagines et nomina* to the first section of his *Mexican Treasury*. This commentary was printed separately and with its own title page in 1628. Cesi also added the *Annotationes et Additiones* of the Neapolitan Fabio Colonna, which provided a considerable amount of information lacking in Schreck's notes. All these sections were bound together with extensive onomastical and analytical indexes, arranged by Francesco Stelluti. Cesi enlisted the talents of the German artist, Matthias Greuter who was then active in Rome, to design an imposing and allegorical title page, including a map of the Mexican territories and cities. Shortly before publication, Cesi resolved to add his *Tabulae phytosophicae* to the book. It was a laborious writing, arranged in tabular form and intended as a large botanical encyclopedia. However, in 1628 only thirteen *Tabulae* out of twenty were finished. Meanwhile, two years before, Cassiano dal Pozzo and Cardinal Francesco Barberini had found the original manuscripts of Hernández, and they asked the librarian of the Escorial, Andrés de los Reyes, to compile a large summary of what was contained in the zoological and mineralogical books, as well as an index of their botanical elements. Cassiano and Barberini took these documents to Rome and Cesi planned to publish the summary in the *Mexican Treasury* as the second book of the whole work. He entitled it *Historiae animalium et mineralium Novae Hispaniae Liber unicus*.³⁶ The index by los Reyes remained unpublished and only appeared in print in 1994.³⁷

The first attempt to publish the *Mexican Treasury* dates back to the spring and summer of 1612, but the actual print of some sections was only achieved in 1628. Cesi ordered more and more title pages and we are acquainted with the title pages dated 1628, 1630, 1648, 1649, and 1651.³⁸ Cesi died in August 1630 (aged just 45), when the work was still unprinted. After his death, Cassiano dal Pozzo bought its proofs and printing sections, undertaking the print in 1651 with the aid of Francesco Stelluti and the employment of a large amount of money coming from Spain. The book was finally printed exactly a century after Hernández's departure from Europe. The Roman edition had been anticipated for a long time and news about it circulated throughout the correspondence of a number of Seventeenth Century naturalists. During that time, it was considered the largest compendium of naturalistic knowledge on the New World ever arranged.

The *Mexican Treasury* is important historically for at least two general reasons. The Linceans were the first in Europe to conceive an encyclopedic group project, joining texts and pictures systematically. Until that time, nobody had scheduled such a large and annotated naturalistic encyclopedia concerning the New World, carefully cross-referencing pictures of plants, animals,

³⁶ For the history of Los Reyes' summary, Alessandrini 1978, pp. 168 e ss.

³⁷ López Piñero-Pardo Tomás 1994.

³⁸ Guerra 1986, and Freedberg 2002, pp. 266-267.

and minerals with morphological, classificatory, and medical information, as well as suggesting parallels between European and American specimens. The work carried out by the Linceans on the pictures of plants and animals is probably even more important than their comments in Hernández-Recchi's texts. Cesi worked laboriously on the drawings, proofs and engravings, trying to improve details considered useful to a systematic classification of the specimens represented (leaves, roots, buds, stems, and flowers).

The second general reason lies in its large use of original materials, made up in Central America by skillful Native Americans, with special knowledge in botany and medicine. David Freedberg notes, the Linceans did not lack respect for the Náhuatl language nor for the medical and naturalistic customs of the Native Americans.³⁹ The *Mexican Treasury* is also endowed with a sort of botanical and medical glossary Náhuatl-Latin, called *Vocum quarundam Americanarum explicatio*, which may be considered a very meaningful stage towards the European knowledge of American culture. Moreover, the Linceans cooperated with Catholic missionaries, who had arrived in Rome to take part in the 1625 Jubilee. Cesi and Faber made use of their knowledge to verify the exactness of the names of the plants and examine uncertain information reported by Recchi. Among the missionaries, the chief assistant was the Franciscan Gregorio de Bolivar, who had lived at least twenty years in Central America. He went back to Rome, where he lived as a guest of Faber and escorted him to Petilio's house at the Pantheon, reviewing Recchi's original pictures.⁴⁰

De Bolivar also intended to get permission to print his detailed map of the Mexican territories and his broad treatise on the New World's naturalistic wealth, written during his stay in Mexico and Perú. Unfortunately, he failed in the task because his Order and the major Vatican prelates were upset with him for the charges he had made against the American church, of ill-treatment towards the Native Americans. In a letter dated October 1625, Faber related to Cesi that Bolivar burnt both the map and the treatise in a fit of rage,⁴¹ but one year later a source announced the presence of the friar in Madrid with both of the documents.⁴² We do not know if they are still in existence somewhere. From an historical point of view, the nature and quality of the missionaries' contributions towards the improvement of the *Mexican Treasury* is an unresolved question that would be important to establish. The debate should be clarified by examining the whole vast network of relationships established by the Linceans in the early Seventeenth Century.

The Linceans also owned other naturalistic materials coming from Central America. Cardinal Francesco Barberini let them copy the first Aztec herbal text ever known, the now so-called *Codex Badianus*. It is an illuminated manuscript made up in 1552 in the city of Tlatelolco by two Native

³⁹ Freedberg 2002, pp. 254-255 and 263-264.

⁴⁰ Gabrieli 1996, p. 1050.

⁴¹ Gabrieli 1996, pp. 1068-1069.

⁴² Anselmi 2004, pp. 167-168.

Americans converted to Christianity, Martin de la Cruz and Juan Badianus. This valuable work (which Pope John Paul II presented to the Mexican State in 1990) had been offered to the Cardinal Nephew in Madrid, during his legation in 1626. Cesi entrusted the copy to Francesco Stelluti, considering the text and its pictures as valuable complements to the *Mexican Treasury*. The Lincean copy is held today in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle.⁴³ As previously mentioned, Cassiano dal Pozzo and Francesco Barberini also obtained the syntheses and the index of Hernández's manuscripts created by Andrés de los Reyes, the librarian of the Escorial, and used both (in different ways) in the edition of their main work.

We also have to remember that Cesi was constantly looking for new specimens of American plants. He grew some of them in his gardens in Rome and Acquasparta, studying and painting their characteristics from life, and directly verifying the botanical information contained in the *Mexican Treasury*. There is some evidence of this behaviour in a letter sent by the Prince to Cardinal Francesco Barberini on 25 November 1623. Attached to it, he sent a list of plants from Central America selected from the pages of the *Mexican Treasury* to the Cardinal. This list, unfortunately lost today, contained the names of the plants, their regions of origin and some information about their medicinal properties. In the letter, Cesi asked Barberini whether he could use his influence and his acquaintances to find specimens of American plants and bring them to Rome. Cesi urged Barberini to contact not only the Jesuit and Dominican missionaries in Mexico, but also the Spanish government officials who supervised the maritime trade with the West Indies in Seville. Although it is little known and less cited by scholars, this letter is of considerable importance and deserves a long quote:

*After having shortly arrived in this lonely place, I picked up and studied the Mexican book, which is now being printed. When I saw its beautiful pictures, I made a selection of those which seemed more worthy to be sought and brought here by V.S. Ill.ma. I prepared the attached notes: one including the names and the countries that will serve for the forwarding of the plants, and another which explains the reasons that made me choose these plants. The shipment should be made not only by means of the Jesuits and Dominicans who live in Mexico, and in nearby countries, but also from Seville, where the unloading and sale of plants take place, and by means of the ministers of Spain, who easily may satisfy your demand with a simple nod from V.S.Ill.ma. Thus, we shall not only have floral beauties, which, as is used today, are gathered for the simple pleasure of the eyes, but besides their incredible handsomeness, we shall also have plants of extraordinary medical usefulness, and the opportunity to study rare species, very different from those that are now in books and in gardens.*⁴⁴

⁴³ Guerrini forthcoming.

⁴⁴ «Subito giunto in questa solitudine, mi posi a veder il libro Mexicano, che si stampa; e scorrendo le delitie di quella Plantal Natura, feci scelta di quelle, che mi parvero più degne d'essere dal autorità di V.S. Ill.ma fatte venire,

Francesco Barberini was very interested in studying plants from America and grew some of them in the garden of his family palace in Rome. In a manuscript held in the library of the École de Médecine in Montpellier there is a list of plants cultivated by him, among which there are some specimens from the New World.⁴⁵ The exchange of specimens and seeds between him and Cesi was particularly recurrent in the years 1624-1628, during the most complex stage of the *Mexican Treasury's* printing process.

4. Federico Cesi and Marco Antonio Petilio

Looking at the relationship between Cesi and Petilio means to broach the issue of the first steps taken by the Roman Prince in order to buy Recchi's manuscripts. From the Lincean correspondence, Petilio appears to be a man socially separated from other people and a dark and enraged character, but in his lifetime he was quite famous and left a number of works unpublished. He was also known as a bibliophile and possessed a rich library. Cesi, Faber, and Colonna often went to his Roman house with the aim of studying the pictures of American plants and animals he possessed.⁴⁶ Giuseppe Gabrieli spoke about Petilio as «a passionate jurist and bibliophile, who owned the Recchi plates and either sold or allowed Federico Cesi to copy the text».⁴⁷ Even today we do not know with certainty whether the Linceans, in the twenty years of activity compiling the edition of their *Mexican Treasure*, worked on Recchi's original manuscripts or on a copy of them. We do not even know exactly when the first meeting between Petilio and Cesi took place, or the kind of agreement they stipulated.

We have some information on Petilio's culinary and hygienic habits, on his extravagant ways of dressing, and on the very unpleasant poverty in which he constantly lived. However, we know very little about his relationship with Cesi and the other Linceans. The source of these reports is once again the Linceans' correspondence and in particular, the letters addressed to Cesi by Johannes

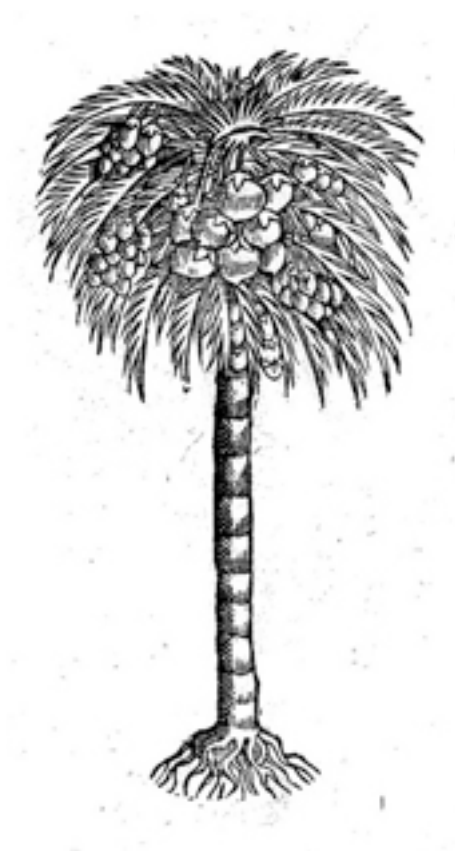
distendendole le accluse note. Una de' nomi e paesi per potersi inviare: l'altra in significatione delle cause, che m'hanno mosso in caparle. E credo che non solo col mezzo de' Padri Gesuiti o Domenicani del Mexico, e paesi proprj, ma anco da Siviglia stessa, ove è lo sbarco e commercio, per diligenza de' ministri di Spagna, potranno ad un semplice cenno di V.S. Ill.ma facilissimamente condursi. Né come hoggi si suole, per semplice diletto del occhio, vi saranno solamente bellezze di fiori; ma oltre di queste, che supereranno molte delle nostrali, s'haverà l'utilità medicinale mirabile, e la curiosità di specie rare, e molto differenti da quelle che o ne' libri o nelli horti si veggono al presente.», Gabrieli 1996, pp. 826-827.

⁴⁵ Montpellier, Bibliothèque École de Médecine, Ms. H. 170, f. 107r: *Nota di diversi semplici che sono nel Giardino dell'Em.mo Card. Francesco Barberino*. See also Tongiorgi Tomasi 1986.

⁴⁶ Allacci 1988, pp. 186-188; Rossi 1645, pp. 44-49; Toppi 1971, p. 204; Minieri Riccio 1967, II, p. 275. Petilio published at least two works: Petilio 1606 e Petilio 1620. Casanatense Library in Rome held one of his manuscripts, called *Lauretta celebrata. Dialogo diviso in sei ragionamenti*.

⁴⁷ Gabrieli 1989, I, pp. 377-378.

Faber in the years 1623-1626.⁴⁸ But there is another relevant source pertaining to Petilio: his biography contained in Giovanni Vittorio Rossi's *Pinacotheca altera* (1645).



Palm tree, from *Mexicanarum Plantarum Imagines* (1613) Vatican Library, Barb. Lat. N.VI.175, F.43

Rossi states that Petilio lived in Rome in a house (now destroyed) which leant against the Pantheon. His apartment is described as being composed of dark and narrow lofts, stuck like nests to the bell tower of the Christian church, built over the ancient temple of Agrippa. To reach these rooms, one had to climb some steep wooden stairs without railings; a very difficult path for those suffering from vertigo. Petilio's house was torn down in 1626 by Urban VIII and he moved to a street near 'San Carlo ai Catinari'.⁴⁹ At that time, the Christian church which had been built into the Pantheon, called 'Santa Maria ad Martyres' or 'Chiesa della Rotonda', still maintained the structure with the single bell tower, and it was only in 1634 that two bell towers were built above the porch (they too are now demolished).⁵⁰ It was in this narrow dwelling that Faber visited Petilio from December 1623 to February 1626,⁵¹ and where Fabio Colonna studied the original pictures of Mexican plants during his Roman sojourns.

⁴⁸ Gabrieli 1996, pp. 831, 941, 1004, 1023-1026, 1050, 1090, 1098, 1143, 1157. A brief eulogy written by Faber is in Faber 1992, pp. 788-789.

⁴⁹ Rossi 1645, p. 46.

⁵⁰ Rossi 1645, pp. 44-49.

⁵¹ Gabrieli 1996, p. 831 and p. 1098.

By 1611, Petilio sold his estate in the little hometown of Montecorvino to move to Rome and became a consultant to the Congregation of the Index. His name appears in the archives of the same Congregation after that time.⁵² He was a ward of the Cardinal (and then Pope) Maffeo Barberini, who called him to Rome before his departure to Bologna in 1611.⁵³ The Vatican Library still held a manuscript with some of his *censurae*.⁵⁴ The new data allows us to connect Petilio to Federico Cesi through the mediation of the Barberini family. It cannot be excluded that Cesi had met Petilio in Naples in 1604, during his first trip to the city. It is also possible that his earliest knowledge of Recchi's manuscripts went back to this period, but their purchase occurred undoubtedly in Rome where Petilio had lived and worked since 1611. Let us not forget that all the pictures belonging to him had already been copied by Cesi in May 1611, as proven by a letter sent by Galileo Galilei from Rome to Piero Dini in Florence during the same month.⁵⁵

5. *A manuscript copy of Recchi's selection*

At first Giuseppe Gabrieli had no doubts about the authenticity of the original manuscript (autograph), or at least of the copy (apograph) of Recchi's manuscript which belonged to Cesi. He claimed that it was the Recchi manuscript which had passed into Cesi's possession.⁵⁶ Later he reconsidered the matter and became much more cautious about the original or apocryphal nature of the manuscript.⁵⁷ His final scepticism has not affected scholars interested in the history of the *Mexican Treasury*. In some recent contributions it is stated without uncertainty that Recchi's manuscript (the original one and not a copy) was sold to Cesi by Petilio.⁵⁸ Not long ago, but with more prudence, David Freedberg supported a dual possibility: Petilio may have sold some original pages to the Prince (illustrations not included) or allowed him to make some copies of them.⁵⁹ Among the Spanish scholars, José María López Piñero and José Tomás Pardo formally wrote about an act of buying on the part of Cesi, without providing any additional documentary evidence besides that (not conclusive) already gathered and used by Gabrieli.⁶⁰

Any recent contributions have made no reference to the edition of the Recchi manuscript held at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, which was published in 1988 by Raquel Álvarez Peláez and Florentino Fernandez Gonzalez.⁶¹ In the introduction to the book (and to the

⁵² I wish to thank Sabina Brevaglieri for providing me with this valuable information.

⁵³ Rossi 1645, p. 47. See also Lutz 2000 and Mochi Onori-Schütze-Solinas 2007.

⁵⁴ Ms. Vat. Lat. 3151, pp. 3r-12v.

⁵⁵ Galilei 1890-1909, XI, pp. 107-108. See also Gabrieli 1989, II, pp. 1433-1436.

⁵⁶ Gabrieli 1989, II, p. 1434.

⁵⁷ Gabrieli 1989, II, p. 1539.

⁵⁸ López Piñero-Pardo Tomás 2000, pp. 129 e 173.

⁵⁹ Freedberg 2002, p. 255.

⁶⁰ López Piñero-Pardo Tomás 1994, pp. 133-136. See also López Piñero-Pardo Tomás 2001.

⁶¹ Álvarez Peláez-Fernández González 1998, p. 103.

Spanish translation of the Latin manuscript), Alvarez Peláez talks about the existence of «como mínimo» two copies of Recchi's selection (to which some drawings may have been united). After the departure of Recchi from Spain, one of these remained in Madrid and was transferred to Mexico, where it passed «sin que se sepa cómo» into the hands of Francisco Ximénez.⁶² The second copy might be the same brought by Recchi to Naples and then bought by Cesi. Gérman Somolinos of Ardois also refers to a third copy, already mentioned by Anastasio Chinchilla during the middle of the Nineteenth century.⁶³

After having described the history of the Providence manuscript, Álvarez Peláez and Fernandez Gonzalez stated that this very manuscript, (devoid of any annexed collection of pictures), had been bought by Cesi. But on what historical and documentary basis do they make their claim? The only evidence in their possession is the quotation from the manuscript itself in a note drawn up around 1665 by the German polygraph Martin Fogel during his trip to Italy. In this note some of the manuscripts and books owned by Cesi are listed. This fact is not new at all and was already known by Gabrieli, who published the precious notes of the learned German in 1939.⁶⁴ However, Fogel's note appears somewhat ambiguous. It reads: «Paper printed with the Mexican Note of Terrentio in margin. Origin.»⁶⁵ Literally, it seems to refer to a printed copy of the Recchi selection with only the comments of Terrenzio, but it is difficult to say what the word «origin.», which closes the note, might mean. Neither Gabrieli nor the two editors of the manuscript say anything more. However, these editors did not always express themselves with the same certainty about the existence of the sale. In a previous section of their book, called *Historia del Manuscrito*, they speak about the early steps taken by the Linceans to print the *Mexican Treasury*, and noted that Cesi, Faber, Colonna, and Stelluti began to prepare «the edition of Recchi's manuscript which possibly, Marco Antonio Petilio sold to Cesi. If this happened in this way, the same did not occur with the plates».⁶⁶ Therefore, they too remain doubtful about the nature of the manuscript source used by the Linceans for their *Mexican Treasure*.

⁶² Ivi, I, p. 103. See also Gándara 1921.

⁶³ Somolinos D'Ardois 1960, p. 282. See also Figueroa-Saavedra 2000 e Figueroa-Saavedra 2003.

⁶⁴ Gabrieli 1989, I, pp. 273-296.

⁶⁵ Gabrieli 1989, I, p. 285.

⁶⁶ «La edición del manuscrito de Recchi que, quizás, Marco Antonio Petilio vendió a Cesi. Si esto fué así, no sucedió lo mismo con las láminas.», Álvarez Peláez-Fernández González 1998, p. 74.



The Mexican Treasure (1651)

The Providence manuscript is recorded by Seymour De Ricci in the *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*. In this catalogue nothing is said about its Lincean heritage.⁶⁷ De Ricci says that it was part of the wonderful library of Cardinal Francis Xavier De Zelada, the Secretary of State to Pius VI between 1779 and 1792, and was sold in London on 1 August 1859 by Guglielmo Libri to Henry Stevens.⁶⁸ Francisco Guerra stated in 1986 that the link between the code and the Linceans is established in Henry Stevens' *Bibliotheca Historica*. The latter is the catalogue of the five thousand volumes which belonged to the American antiquarian Henry Stevens and sold in Boston in 1870. Guerra writes: «Recchi's manuscript was bought by an elitist American antiquarian, Henry Stevens, (1819-1886) who included it in a catalogue announced in Boston in 1870 in order to sell it. In that catalogue the manuscript had the number 891 and the editor of the catalogue gave some details about its connection to Lincean history.»⁶⁹ There is some doubt whether Guerra really read the Stevens' catalogue, because even if the number 891 actually makes a reference to the code held today in the library of Providence, the

⁶⁷ Ricci 1961, II, p. 2148, n. 18.

⁶⁸ On the library of Francesco Saverio De Zelada, see Micheli 2003.

⁶⁹ ««El manuscrito de Recchi fue adquirido entonces por un anticuario americano extravagante, Henry Stevens (1819-1886) quien lo incluyó para su venta en un catálogo anunciado en Boston, USA, en 1870, en que lleva el número 891 y da detalles de su interés linceo.», Guerra 1986, p. 210.

brief description that is given inside the book does not provide any reference to the Linceans. The card catalogue of *Bibliotheca Historica* contains a long list of mistakes. In it is the claim that Hernández was sent to Mexico in 1595, that is, almost twenty years after his death; that the printing of Ximénez's *Quatro libros* happened in 1604, rather than 1615, and last but not least, the Hernández manuscripts which had passed into the hands of Recchi had been ordered and published by Recchi, together with many of his friends in Rome in 1628 and in 1651.⁷⁰ The Stevens' catalogue is actually a sale catalogue and in it there is no reference to Cesi's or Cassiano dal Pozzo's possession of the Recchi manuscript now in Providence.

This point is not even mentioned in the catalogue prepared for the sale of the manuscripts which belonged to Guglielmo Libri and printed in London in 1859.⁷¹ Gabrieli, Guerra, and Alvarez Peláez regard this latter catalogue as decisive. In their opinion, the presence of the Recchi codex in it represents a sign of the definitive unearthing of this manuscript, which until then (1859), had had a fairly obscure history. According to them, from the London sale onwards, its history can be easily followed. It passed from Libri to Stevens (i.e. from Europe to the United States) and from the latter to the magnate of Providence, John Carter Brown, who finally allotted it to the university library that bears his name. Despite this, however, no one can say except in conjecture, that this manuscript is the one used by Cesi and the Linceans for their edition of the *Mexican Treasury*. In it there are no vestiges of Lincean hands, and none of the modern catalogues that quoted it can prove the connection in a categorical way.

This chain of events has its origin in the catalogue of the sale of the books and manuscripts which belonged to Guglielmo Libri. However, even in its description in Libri's catalogue, there is no mention of the Linceans; there is no reference that can link the code of Providence to the *Mexican Treasury*. The Libri catalogue states the code might be authentic (autograph), but his modern editors have now shown this is not the case. In it the manuscript is dated back to the Seventeenth Century and not to the Sixteenth, as attested by all subsequent catalogues and censuses. Throughout Libri's

⁷⁰ «HERNANDEZ (FRANCISCO) DE MATERIA MEDICA NOVAE HISPANIAE Philippi Secundi Hispanearum ac Indiarum Regio invictissimi iussu collecta a Doctore Francisco Hernando noui Orbis primario, ac in ordinem digesta a Doctore NARDO ANTONIO RECIO eiusdem Maiestatis medico, libris quatuor. 4°. The original autograph manuscript of Dr. Nardo Antonio Recchio, comprising of about 450 closely written quarto pages, bound in old red morocco, with the Arms of Cardinal Zelanda, from whose library the volume came. Hernandes the celebrated Naturalist was sent to New Spain by Philip the Second in about 1595, where he remained exploring for several years, and returned to Europe with an herbarium, the very richness and magnitude of which overwhelmed the men of science. A small 4° volume, containing a synopsis of the work, was printed in Mexico in 1604. After the death of Hernandes the collections were placed in the hands of Dr. Nardo Antonio Recchio, who with many collaborators completed, edited, and printed the great work in Rome, in folio, in 1628, but for some reason, which has not yet been fully explained, was not published till 1651. The above ms. is of the highest historical and scientific importance. It is not the work as finally printed.», Stevens 1870, num. 891, p. 76.

⁷¹ See Libri 1859, p. 161, n. 1229.

catalogue it is impossible to find any reference to the Linceans and to their *Mexican Treasury*.⁷² The connection between this manuscript, containing the selection of Recchi (the current *Codex Latinus 5* of the John Carter Brown Library in Providence), and the same Linceans is therefore the product of a deduction made by Guerra, after reading Henri Stevens' *Bibliotheca Historica*.⁷³ However, this is not demonstrated at all. Gabrieli never saw the Providence manuscript and wrongly claimed that Guglielmo Libri purchased it directly from the Albani library.⁷⁴ De Ricci, Guerra, and its editors say it was picked up (bought or stolen?) by Libri from Francis Xavier De Zelada's library, to whom it certainly belonged because of the impression of the arms of this Italian-Spanish cardinal.

In light of all this contradictory information, it is also important to recall the judgement of Gérman Somolinos. In his impressive biography of Francisco Hernández, published in 1960 by the Universidad Nacional de México as the first volume of his *Obras completas*, Somolinos first reports what Salvatore Proja had written in 1860,⁷⁵ and then states that the «cesión del manuscrito» cost Cesi a high figure.⁷⁶ He does not provide any reference to the documents that could corroborate his assertion. In 1954, Somolinos tried to prove that pictures included in the *Mexican Treasury* were of European making and had no relationship to those included in Hernández's original manuscripts.⁷⁷ Generally, he felt that Recchi (judged ill-equipped for the task assigned to him by the King of Spain), had distorted and weakened the spirit and the content of the Hernández work (including its iconography). Therefore, the *Mexican Treasury* has simply a commemorative worth, as there is nothing in it «that is either vivid or original which gives us knowledge of the real personality of Hernandez».⁷⁸

⁷² «HERNANDEZ (Doctoris Francisci, *Novi Orbis Primarii*) DE MATERIA MEDICA NOVAE HISPANIAE Philippi II jussu collecta ac in ordinem digesta a D. nardo Antonio Recco Libri IV. MANUSCRIPT IN THE AUTOGRAPH OF DR. RECCHI, dedicated to Philip II. 4.to, SAEC. XVII. This valuable manuscript was formerly in the library of CARDINAL FRANC. XAV. DE ZELADA, and is bound in red morocco, with his arms stamped in gold on the back. M. Du Petit-Thouars, in his life of Recchi, in the *Biographie Universelle* (XXXVII, p. 209), has given some very curious details in regard to this work, showing that a Spanish version of it was printed in Mexico as early as 1615. This is probably the identical manuscript from which F. Ximenez made his version, as the Mexican names are appended to each article», Libri 1859, p. 161, n. 1229.

⁷³ Kristeller joined the following statement: «Formerly owned by Federico Cesi, Cassiano Dal Pozzo and Cardinal Zelada», without any reference to his source. See Kristeller 1990, p. 384a.

⁷⁴ Gabrieli 1989, II, p. 1436 and Cermenati 1906.

⁷⁵ Proja 1860, p. 126.

⁷⁶ Somolinos D'Ardois 1960, p. 298.

⁷⁷ Somolinos D'Ardois 1954.

⁷⁸ «ni vivo ni original que nos documente sobre la verdadera figura de Hernández.», Somolinos D'Ardois 1960, p. 416.



Indian corn (maize), from *Mexican Treasure*

Somolinos also refers to the testimony of two American scholars, Lawrence C. Wroth and Nettie Lee Benson, who had analyzed the code of Providence before him. The first had spoken about it in a special supplement of the *Herald Tribune*, published in New York in 1940,⁷⁹ and the second (the founder of the Benson Latin American Collection of the University of Texas at Austin), had given news of it in an article which had appeared in the chronicles of the University Library of Texas in 1953.⁸⁰ Both these scholars believed that the Providence manuscript was the one used by Cesi and other Linceans for their *Mexican Treasury*. However, their conclusions are not based on a careful comparison of the manuscript with the printed book. The fact is that the Providence manuscript was never known or used by the Linceans. A simple comparison of its pictures with the ones inserted by Cesi in the *Mexican Treasury* can prove this statement beyond any doubt. The total number of

⁷⁹ Wroth 1940.

⁸⁰ Lee Benson 1953.

pictures in the manuscript is 333, whereas, the Recchian side of the *Mexican Treasury* has 385 pictures, to which the 332 plant pictures included in the section called *Aliarum Novae Hispaniae plantarum Nardi Antonii Recchi imagines et nomina, Ioannis Terrentii Lyncaei Notatione* must be added which does not exist at all in the manuscript at the John Carter Brown Library. The Providence manuscript is most likely the one (or a copy) employed and translated by Francisco Ximénez in 1615 for his edition of Recchi's selection (*Quatro libros*), and which had previously belonged to Juan Barrios and Francisco Valles.⁸¹

⁸¹ López Piñero-PardoTomas 2000, p. 128 and Chabrán-Chamberlin-Varey 2000, p. 25, where the manuscript is considered a «workink copy» made by Recchi and separate from both Recchi's personal copy and the original selection remained in the Escorial and destroyed by the fire in 1671, along with Hernández's texts and pictures. See also p. 195.

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Appendix

Comparison between the pictures in Recchi's manuscript (The John Carter Brown Library) and *Mexican Treasury* (ed. 1651)

Legend:

* = description and picture;

^ = description without picture;

§ = picture without description;

% = picture with the only comment by Terrentius.

MANUSCRIPT (ED. ALVAREZ PELÁEZ - LERNÁNDEZ GONZÁLES)	MEXICAN TREASURY (ED. 1651)
<i>LIBER PRIMUS. SECTIO PRIMA. DE AROMATIBUS</i>	<i>LIBER SECUNDUS. AROMATA PROMIT</i>
De Coapatli *	De Coapatli *
De Coapatli teoitztlae *	De Coapatli teoitztlae *
De Coapatli §	De Coapatli %
De Texaxapotla ^	De Texaxapotla ^
De Xochinacatzli ^	De Xochinacatzli *
De Xocoxochitl ^	De Xocoxochitl ^
De Acocotli * [3 pictures]	De Acocotli * [3 pictures]
De Acueyo ^	De Acueyo ^
De Apoyomatli *	De Apoyomatli *
De Atepocapatli ^	De Atepocapatli *
De Caryophillo *	De Caryophillo *
De Cassia Lignea *	De Cassia Lignea *
De Coapatli Quauhnacensi *	De Coapatli Quauhnacensi *
De Curutzeti *	De Curutzeti *
De Hoitziloxitl Anethina *	De Hoitziloxitl Anethina *
De Tlilxochitl *	De Tlilxochitl *
De Axixtlacotl ^	De Axixtlacotl ^
De Hoitzxochitl *	De Hoitzxochitl *
De Chichicpatli *	De Chichicpatli *
De Hucicuro *	De Hucicuro *
De Yoloxochitl *	De Yoloxochitl *
De Yztaclacocotic *	De Yztaclacocotic *
De Çaçalictlacopatli *	De Çaçalictlacopatli *
De Tozontolli ^	De Tozontolli ^
De Tomahuactlacopatli *	De Tomahuactlacopatli *
De Caninga arbore ^	De Caninga arbore ^
De Yztlehuayopatlis ^	De Yztlehuayopatlis ^
<i>SECTIO SECUNDA. DE ARBORIBUS</i>	<i>LIBER TERTIUS. ARBORES DESCRIBIT</i>

De Copalljquahuitl *	De Copalljquahuitl *
De Copalljquahuitl patlahoac *	De Copalljquahuitl patlahoac *
De Copalliquauhxiotl *	De Copalliquauhxiotl *
De Copalli Totopocensi ^	De Copalli Totopocensi ^
De Copalli montana *	De Copalli montana *
De Cuitlacopalli *	De Cuitlacopalli *
De Tecopalquahuitl [2 pictures] *	De Tecopalquahuitl [2 pictures] *
De Xochicopalli *	De Xochicopalli *
De Mizquioxochicopalli ^	De Mizquioxochicopalli ^
De Holquahuitl *	De Holquahuitl *
De Hoitziloxitl *	De Hoitziloxitl *
De arbore Huaconex ^	De arbore Huaconex ^
De Balsami frutice quem indigenae Hyspani <i>maripendam</i> vocant ^	De Balsami frutice quem indigenae Hyspani <i>maripendam</i> vocant ^
De Balsamo provinciae Tolu ^	De Balsamo provinciae Tolu ^
De Molle *	De Molle *
De Tecomahaca *	De Tecomahaca *
De Tlahuelilocaquahuitl ^	De Tlahuelilocaquahuitl ^
De Xochiocotzoquahuitl *	De Xochiocotzoquahuitl *
De Yztacquauhxiotl [2 pictures] *	De Yztacquauhxiotl [2 pictures] *
De Copaltic ^	De Copaltic ^
De Tzinacancuitlaquahitl *	De Tzinacancuitlaquahitl *
De Ezquahuitl ^	De Ezquahuitl ^
De Ezquahuitl secunda ^	De Ezquahuitl secunda ^
De Mizquitl ^	De Mizquitl ^
De Mizquitl Michuacanensi ^	De Mizquitl Michuacanensi ^
De Hucipochotl ^	De Hucipochotl *
De arbore a quibusdam Sasafras vocata *	De arbore a quibusdam Sasafras vocata *
De Tocapatli *	De Tocapatli *
De Hoaxacan *	De Hoaxacan * [here is inserted the long Terrentian comments on <i>Guayacan</i> and <i>Lignum sanctum</i> , with a picture of the seed of <i>Guayacan</i>]
De Yohualxochitl ^	De Yohualxochitl ^
De Catyolizan *	De Catyolizan *
De Nanahuaquahuitl *	De Nanahuaquahuitl *
De Quauhtlepatli *	De Quauhtlepatli *
De Quauhyyac ^	De Quauhyyac ^
De Xiloxochitl *	De Xiloxochitl *
De Cacapolton ^	De Cacapolton ^
De Yzquioxochitl *	De Yzquioxochitl *
De Tlalamatl *	De Tlalamatl *
De Chatalhuic *	De Chatalhuic *
De Nucis Indicae Coccique *	De Nucis Indicae Coccique *
De Achiotl *	De Achiotl *
De Palma Bahei *	De Palma Bahei *
De Ycçotl ^	De Ycçotl ^
De Noctli ^	De Noctli ^
De Nocheznopalli *	De Nocheznopalli *
De Cacavaquahuitl *	De Cacavaquahuitl * [there is a picture representing the plant called Quauhpatlathli]
De Amacoztic ^	De Amacoztic *
De Copalxochotl *	De Copalxochotl *
De Copalxochotl altera ^	De Copalxochotl altera ^
De Tamarindo *	De Tamarindo *
De Xalxocotl *	De Xalxocotl *
De planta Cachos vocata ^	De planta Cachos vocata ^
De Hoitzmamaxalli * [2 pictures]	De Hoitzmamaxalli * [2 pictures]
De Quauhayohuatli *	De Quauhayohuatli *
De Quauhayohuatli seu cassia fistula ^	De Quauhayohuatli seu cassia fistula ^

De Quauhayohuatli seu semine arboris cucurbitine ^	De Quauhayohuatli seu semine arboris cucurbitine *
De Quauhtlatlatzin *	De Quauhtlatlatzin *
De Ahuacaquahuatl ^	De Ahuacaquahuatl ^
De Cochitzapotl ^	De Cochitzapotl ^
De Quautzapotl ^	De Quautzapotl ^
De Quauhxiolotl ^	De Quauhxiolotl ^
De Coacamachalli ^	De Coacamachalli ^
De Tlapalezpatli *	De Tlapalezpatli *
De Chichictlapalezquahuatl ^	De Chichictlapalezquahuatl ^
De Ahuapatli ^	De Ahuapatli ^
De Avevetel *	De Avevetel *
De Bitonco ^	De Bitonco ^
De Tzopilotlzoncomatl ^	De Tzopilotlzoncomatl ^
De Quamochitl ^	De Quamochitl ^
De Cacaloxochitl ^	De Cacaloxochitl ^
De Capolin *	De Capolin *
De Calamaio ^	De Calamaio ^
De Cocoquahuatl ^	De Cocoquahuatl ^
De Çoconam ^	De Çoconam ^
De Enguamba *	De Enguamba *
De Tepeyzquixochitl ^	De Tepeyzquixochitl ^
De Yhuixochitl ^	De Yhuixochitl ^
De Ytziperequa ^	De Ytziperequa ^
De Tetlatia ^	De Tetlatia ^
De Tlatzcan ^	De Tlatzcan ^
De Xumetl ^	De Xumetl ^
De Papaya ^	De Papaya ^
De Acapatli *	De Acapatli *
<i>SECTIO TERTIA. DE FRUCTIBUS ET SUFFRUCTIBUS</i>	<i>LIBER QUARTUS. FRUTICES ATQUE SUFFRUTICES EXPONIT</i>
De Tlepatli *	De Tlepatli *
De Chillapatli *	De Chillapatli *
De Copalxihuitl *	De Copalxihuitl *
De Hoitzitxilxochitl *	De Hoitzitxilxochitl *
De Tlacoxiloxochitl * [2 pictures]	De Tlacoxiloxochitl * [3 pictures]
De Tlacoxochitl *	De Tlacoxochitl *
De Xonequilpatli ^	De Xonequilpatli ^
De Tlatlacotic *	De Tlatlacotic *
De Yztacpatli *	De Yztacpatli *
De Acuilotl *	De Acuilotl *
De Huitztomatzin *	De Huitztomatzin *
De Xiuhquilitlitzahac *	De Xiuhquilitlitzahac *
De Xiuhquilitlitzahac altera ^	De Xiuhquilitlitzahac altera ^
De Sachari Arundinibus ^	De Sachari Arundinibus ^
De Axixpatli *	De Axixpatli *
De Ecapatli * [pictures is not equivalent]	De Ecapatli * [pictures is not equivalent]
De Huitxiqua * [pictures is not equivalent]	De Huitxiqua * [pictures is not equivalent]
De Nacazcul ^	De Nacazcul ^
De Totoncapatli * [pictures is not equivalent]	De Totoncapatli * [pictures is not equivalent]
De Tocizquihu * [pictures is not equivalent]	De Tocizquihu * [pictures is not equivalent]
De Yzticpatli *	De Yzticpatli * [2 pictures]
De Atlatzopillin *	De Atlatzopillin *
De Cocoztamatl *	De Cocoztamatl *
De Yztaccoanepilli ^	De Yztaccoanepilli ^
De Coatli ^	De Coatli ^
De Çaçapipilolxochitl *	De Çaçapipilolxochitl *
De Chupiri ^	De Chupiri ^
De Curaqua *	De Curaqua *
De Quauhtlepatli *	De Quauhtlepatli *
De Quauhtlepatli altera *	De Quauhtlepatli altera *

De Xiuhcocolin *	De Xiuhcocolin *
De Pinahuihuiztli ^	De Pinahuihuiztli ^
De Mexochitl ^	De Mexochitl ^
De Atlinam ^	De Atlinam ^
De Tzontecpatli ^	De Tzontecpatli ^
De Buyo Buyo ^	De Buyo Buyo ^
De Tlatlancuayae * [2 pictures]	De Tlatlancuayae * [2 pictures]
De Ezpatli ^	De Ezpatli ^
De Cevalchichiltic ^	De Cevalchichiltic ^
De Huapahualizpatli ^	De Huapahualizpatli ^
De Yllamatlantli ^	De Yllamatlantli ^
De Yamancapatli ^	De Yamancapatli ^
De Xiopatli ^	De Xiopatli ^
De Tenamaznanapoloa ^	De Tenamaznanapoloa ^
De Tlacotequilizpatli *	De Tlacotequilizpatli *
De Xalquahuil ^	De Xalquahuil ^
De Mintzintzin ^	De Mintzintzin ^
<i>LIBER SECUNDUS. SECTIO PRIMA. DE HERBIS ACRI Sapore PREDITIS</i>	<i>LIBER QUINTUS. ACRES HERBAS HABET</i>
De Ahuapatli *	De Ahuapatli *
De Acxoiatric *	De Acxoiatric *
De Chilli * [2 pictures]	De Chilli * [7 pictures]
De Chichimecapatli *	De Chichimecapatli *
De Chilpatli *	De Chilpatli *
De Chilpantlaçolli *	De Chilpantlaçolli *
De Chilmecatli *	De Chilmecatli *
De Cococtemecatli *	De Cococtemecatli *
De Cococxihuil *	De Cococxihuil *
De Cococxihuil Teuhcaltzincensis *	De Cococxihuil Teuhcaltzincensis *
De Cohayelli *	De Cohayelli *
De Çoçoyatic *	De Çoçoyatic *
De Mecaxochitl *	De Mecaxochitl *
De Oliuhqui *	De Oliuhqui *
De Poztecpatli *	De Poztecpatli *
De Tlalatochietl *	De Tlalatochietl *
De Tepecuitlaçotl *	De Tepecuitlaçotl *
De Tuzpatli *	De Tuzpatli *
De Tzahuengueni Tzatscuaue ^	De Tzahuengueni Tzatscuaue ^
De Tzahuengueni *	De Tzahuengueni *
De Tzocuilpatli * [2 pictures]	De Tzocuilpatli * [2 pictures]
De Ychatlepatli * [2 pictures]	De Ychatlepatli * [3 pictures]
De Yzcuicuil *	De Yzcuicuil *
De Yztacpatli Yanguitlanensi *	De Yztacpatli Yanguitlanensi *
De Yztacpatli Ygualapensi *	De Yztacpatli Ygualapensi *
De Yztacpatli Atotonilci *	De Yztacpatli Atotonilci *
De Çacatlepatli *	De Çacatlepatli *
De Axixcoçahuizpatli *	De Axixcoçahuizpatli *
De Cempoalxochitl * [2 pictures]	De Cempoalxochitl * [8 pictures]
De Civapatli *	De Civapatli *
De Cococxihuil * [pictures is not equivalent]	De Cococxihuil * [pictures is not equivalent]
De Epazotl *	De Epazotl *
De Erahueni *	De Erahueni *
De Yauhtli *	De Yauhtli *
De Pelonmexixquilitl * [2 pictures]	De Pelonmexixquilitl * [2 pictures]
De Phehuame *	De Phehuame *
De Pipere rotundo *	De Pipere rotundo *
De Tacuache * [2 pictures]	De Tacuache * [3 pictures]
De Teoquilin *	De Teoquilin *
De Tlatlauhcapatli * [2 pictures]	De Tlatlauhcapatli * [2 pictures]

De Yautli montana ^	De Tepeyautli, seu Yautli montana *
De Yztactexcaltlacotl *	De Yztactexcaltlacotl *
De Cayopatli ^	De Cayopatli ^
De Xoxonacatic *	De Xoxonacatic *
De Anchoa ^	De Anchoa ^
De Chilli *	De Chilli *
De Atzoyatl *	De Atzoyatl * [2 pictures]
De Cococaquiltil *	De Cococaquiltil *
De Tetzmitl ^	De Tetzmitl ^
De Chichivalmemeya *	De Chichivalmemeya *
De Pycielt *	De Pycielt *
De Tlalcocoltzin ^	De Tlalcocoltzin ^
De Tlanoquiloni *	De Tlanoquiloni *
De Nextalpa *	De Nextalpa *
De Cempoalxochitic *	De Cempoalxochitic ^ [the picture is inserted into the previous Cempoalxochitl]
De Macatozquitl ^	De Macatozquitl ^
De Miahopatli ^	De Miahopatli ^
De Turbith ^	De Turbith ^
De Yxtenextic ^	De Yxtenextic ^
SECTIO SECUNDA. DE HERBIS AMARUM SAPOREM REFERENTIBUS	LIBER SEXTUS. AMARAS HERBAS CONTINET
De Ayotectli ^	De Ayotectli ^
De Tzocuilpatli altera *	De Tzocuilpatli altera *
De Acocotli ^	-----
De Axixcoçahuilizpatli *	De Axixcoçahuilizpatli *
De Ayotic ^	De Ayotic ^
De Çaçanaca *	De Çaçanaca *
De Çenanam *	De Çenanam *
De Ciuiopatli hemionitica *	De Ciuiopatli hemionitica * [2 pictures]
De Ciuiopatli maiori *	De Ciuiopatli maiori *
De Coalquiltic ^	De Coalquiltic ^
De Coaçihuizpatli *	De Coaçihuizpatli *
De Cocozxochipatli *	De Cocozxochipatli *
De Naviyteputz *	De Naviyteputz *
De Ocopipin ^	De Ocopipin ^
De Peço *	De Peço *
De Tecpatli *	De Tecpatli *
De Tezonpotonic *	De Tezonpotonic *
De Tepetlaxihuitl *	De Tepetlaxihuitl *
De Tepetlachichixihuitl *	De Tepetlachichixihuitl *
De Teçonpatli ^	De Teçonpatli ^
De Tlacopatli ^	De Tlacopatli ^
De Tlalquequetzatl *	De Tlalquequetzatl *
De Totoncaxoxocoyollin *	De Totoncaxoxocoyollin *
De Tragorigano *	De Tragorigano *
De Xararo *	De Xararo *
De Yolmimiquilizpatli ^	De Yolmimiquilizpatli ^
De Yzpatli ^	De Yzpatli ^
De Yztacpatli *	De Yztacpatli *
De Çacachichit *	De Çacachichit *
De Çacauitzpatli *	De Çacauitzpatli *
De Çayolpatli ^	De Çayolpatli ^
De Apitzalpatli *	De Apitzalpatli *
De Nanahuapatli ^	De Nanahuapatli ^
De Temecatli *	De Temecatli *
De Xiuhtotonqui *	De Xiuhtotonqui *
De Tlallayotli *	De Tlallayotli *
De Çayolpatli ^	De Çayolpatli ^

De Chilpan *	De Chilpan *
De Chipequa *	De Chipequa *
De Coztomatl *	De Coztomatl *
De Çoyotomatl *	De Çoyotomatl *
De Currungarigua *	De Currungarigua *
De Nanacace *	De Nanacace *
De Teixmincapatli *	De Teixmincapatli *
De Tlaltzilocayotli *	De Tlaltzilocayotli *
De Tlatlacizpatli * [2 pictures]	De Tlatlacizpatli * [2 pictures]
De Toma *	De Toma *
De Yztaccihuatl *	De Yztaccihuatl *
De Yztauhyatl ^	De Yztauhyatl ^
De Tlaelpatli *	De Tlaelpatli *
De Tlanoquilonipatli *	De Tlanoquilonipatli *
De Chilpanxochitl *	De Chilpanxochitl *
De Eloquiltic *	De Eloquiltic *
De Tepehoilacapitzxochitl *	De Tepehoilacapitzxochitl *
De Ahoaton *	De Ahoaton *
De Olcacatzan *	De Olcacatzan *
De China *	De China *
De Cozolmecatl *	De Cozolmecatl *
De Tlatlayotic *	De Tlatlayotic *
De Toçancuitlaxcolli *	De Toçancuitlaxcolli *
De Chicallotl *	De Chicallotl *
De Quauhxocotl *	De Quauhxocotl *
De Caquiztli ^	De Caquiztli ^
De Amamaxtla ^	De Amamaxtla ^
De Yxtomio ^	De Yxtomio *
De Tlalyxtomio *	De Tlalyxtomio *
De Paradisea herba *	De Paradisea herba *
<i>LIBER TERTIUS. SECTIO PRIMA. DE HERBIS SALSUM DULCEMQUE SAPOREM HABENTIBUS</i>	<i>LIBER SEPTIMUS. SALSAS ET DULCES PROFERT</i>
De Neicotlalpatli *	De Neicotlalpatli *
De Ocopiaztli *	De Ocopiaztli *
De Pacxantzin ^	De Pacxantzin ^
De Tepeçentli *	De Tepeçentli *
De Tlacolcoatli *	De Tlacolcoatli *
De Tlalçacamecaxochitl *	De Tlalçacamecaxochitl *
De Yxiayahoal *	De Yxiayahoal *
De Tlaelpatli *	De Tlaelpatli *
De Tlaquauhtilizpatli *	De Tlaquauhtilizpatli *
De Apatzipuntzumeti ^	De Apatzipuntzumeti ^
De Apatzipuntzumeti ^	De Apatzipuntzumeti ^
De Cacavaxochitl *	De Cacavaxochitl *
De Charapeti *	De Charapeti *
De Chichiantic *	De Chichiantic *
De Chimalatl * [2 pictures]	De Chimalatl * [2 pictures]
De Cuitlaçotl ^	De Cuitlaçotl *
De Micuitlaxcolli *	De Micuitlaxcolli *
De Nextlacotly *	De Nextlacotly *
De Tlalcapolin *	De Tlalcapolin *
De Tlacochochitl *	De Tlacochochitl *
De Theuhcopalli ^	De Theuhcopalli ^
De Tzonpotonic *	De Tzonpotonic *
De Ycelacocotli *	De Ycelacocotli *
De Yztacxihuitl *	De Yztacxihuitl *
De Axixpatli ^	De Axixpatli ^
De Chiantzolli * [2 pictures]	De Chiantzolli * [2 pictures]
De Coltotl ^	De Coltotl ^

De Cozticpatli * [2 pictures]	De Cozticpatli * [2 pictures]
De Cuiztapaçollin *	De Cuiztapaçollin *
De Oçeloxochitl ^	De Oçeloxochitl ^
De Tatacanaltic *	De Tatacanaltic *
De Tlalapaltic ^	De Tlalapaltic ^
De Tlalchinolxochitl *	De Tlalchinolxochitl *
De Tlallantlacuacuitlapilli * [4 pictures]	De Tlallantlacuacuitlapilli * [4 pictures]
De Tzonpelicxihuitl *	De Tzonpelicxihuitl *
De Xochipalli *	De Xochipalli *
De Çacanelhaotl *	De Çacanelhaotl *
De Çecepatli *	De Çecepatli *
De Cozticmecapatli *	De Cozticmecapatli *
De Tlaolli * [2 pictures]	De Tlaolli * [2 pictures]
De Xocoatl ^	De Xocoatl ^
De Tritico ^	De Tritico ^
De Cuicuitlapilli *	De Cuicuitlapilli *
De Cungariqua * [2 pictures]	De Cungariqua * [2 pictures]
De Quaquahutzontic * [2 pictures]	De Quaquahutzontic * [2 pictures]
De Tonalxochitl *	De Tonalxochitl *
De Axochiatl * [2 pictures]	De Axochiatl * [2 pictures]
De Coen *	De Coen *
De Matlalyztic *	De Matlalyztic *
De Tlalcacavatli *	De Tlalcacavatli *
De Tzicatzontecomatl *	De Tzicatzontecomatl *
De Acuitzehiriracua *	De Acuitzehiriracua *
De Tlalchipillin *	De Tlalchipillin * [2 pictures]
De Totoyxcitl *	De Totoyxcitl *
De Yztacololtzin *	De Yztacololtzin *
De Çocobut *	De Çocobut *
De Axochiatl ^	De Axochiatl ^
De Yhcacalotic ^	De Yhcacalotic ^
De Yexochitl ^	De Yexochitl ^
De Quamiauatl *	De Quamiauatl *
SECTIO SECUNDA. HERBAS ACERBUM, AUSTERUM ACIDUMQUE PREBENTES SAPORES INSIPIDASQUE CONTINENS	LIBER OCTAVUS. ACERBAS ET ACIDAS HERBAS PRODIT
De Teuxochitl * [2 pictures]	De Teuxochitl * [2 pictures]
De Acacoyotl ^	De Acacoyotl * [2 pictures]
De Acaxaxan * [2 pictures]	De Acaxaxan * [2 pictures]
De Atehuapatli *	De Atehuapatli *
De Atlancane *	De Atlancane *
De Cicimatic * [2 pictures]	De Cicimatic * [3 pictures]
De Coatzontecoxochitl *	De Coatzontecoxochitl *
De Coaxihuitl *	De Coaxihuitl *
De Coyolxochitl * [2 pictures]	De Coyolxochitl * [2 pictures]
De Cutiriqui *	De Cutiriqui *
De Hoauhquilitl *	De Hoauhquilitl *
De Metl *	De Metl *
De Metl Coztli *	De Metl Coztli *
De Mexcalmetl *	De Mexcalmetl *
De Mexocotl *	De Mexocotl *
De Nequametl *	De Nequametl * [3 pictures]
De Tepemexcalli ^	De Tepemexcalli ^
De Tlacametl *	De Tlacametl *
DeTheometl *	DeTheometl *
De Pati *	De Pati *
De Quetzalychitli *	De Quetzalychitli *
De Xolometl ^	De Xolometl ^
De Ocoloxochitl *	De Ocoloxochitl *
De Omimeztli * [2 pictures]	De Omimeztli * [2 pictures]

De Omizochitl *	De Omizochitl *
De Quilamolli ^	De Quilamolli ^
De Tepitzicxihiutl *	De Tepitzicxihiutl *
De Tlapatl *	De Tlapatl *
De Tlaquilin *	De Tlaquilin *
De Tlalcacahuatl *	De Tlalcacahuatl *
De Tlallantlacacuitlapilli *	De Tlallantlacacuitlapilli *
De Tozcutlapilxochitl * [2 pictures]	De Tozcutlapilxochitl * [2 pictures]
De Tzautli *	De Tzautli *
De Yztacçalic ^	De Yztacçalic * [2 pictures]
De Çalic coapitlanensi ^	De Çalic coapitlanensi * [2 pictures]
De Apitzalpatli * [2 pictures]	De Apitzalpatli * [2 pictures]
De Atlinam *	De Atlinam *
De Hoclicpatli *	De Hoclicpatli *
De Hochoetzontecomatl *	De Hochoetzontecomatl *
De Huemberequa ^	De Huemberequa ^
De Mecapatli *	De Mecapatli *
De Quauhmecatl ^	De Quauhmecatl *
De Quauhmecapatli altera *	De Quauhmecapatli altera *
De Poztecpatli * [2 pictures]	De Poztecpatli * [2 pictures]
De Teuhquilitlic ^	De Teuhquilitlic ^
De Tlachichinoa patlahoac * [3 pictures]	De Tlachichinoa patlahoac * [3 pictures]
De Tlaelpatli *	De Tlaelpatli *
De Tlatlauhcapatli * [2 pictures]	De Tlatlauhcapatli * [2 pictures]
De Tlalmatzalin *	De Tlalmatzalin *
De Tomatl *	De Tomatl * [2 pictures]
De Xaltomatl ^	De Xaltomatl ^
De Alahuacapatli *	De Alahuacapatli *
De Apraqua ^	De Apraqua ^
De Cacamotic *	De Cacamotic *
De Coapatli *	De Coapatli *
De Coapatli Yancuitlanensi ^	De Coapatli Yancuitlanensi ^
De Coaciuizpatli *	De Coaciuizpatli *
De Coanenepilli *	De Coanenepilli *
De Planta quam Cocam Peruinam vocant ^	De Planta quam Cocam Peruinam vocant ^
De Cozticxihiutl *	De Cozticxihiutl *
De Mecapatli *	De Mecapatli *
De Motinensi ^	De Motinensi ^
De Qualancapatli *	De Qualancapatli *
De Temecatl *	De Temecatl *
De Tlacoichichic ^	De Tlacoichichic ^
De Tlalcuitlaxcolli *	De Tlalcuitlaxcolli *
De Tlalamatl *	De Tlalamatl *
De Tzaguangueni ^	De Tzaguangueni ^
De Ytzcuinpatli *	De Ytzcuinpatli *
De Çatzin *	De Çatzin *
De Yhcaxihiutl *	De Yhcaxihiutl *
De Atlychipinca ^	De Atlychipinca ^
De Xicama *	De Xicama *
De Cozamaloxihiutl ^	De Cozamaloxihiutl ^
De Teyzquixochitl ^	De Teyzquixochitl ^
De Yolopatli ^	De Yolopatli ^
De Matzatli *	De Matzatli *
De Tepari ^	De Tepari ^
De Tabacis ^	De Tabacis ^
<i>LIBER QUARTUS. SECTIO PRIMA. IN QUA DE ANIMALIUM PARTBUS USUI MEDICO OPORTUNIS DISSEITUR</i>	<i>LIBER NONUS. ANIMALIA EXHIBET</i>
De Ayotochtli *	De Ayotochtli *
De Acaltetepon ^	De Acaltetepon ^

De Aquetzpalin *	De Aquetzpalin *
De Axolotl *	De Axolotl *
De Axin ^	De Axin ^
De Ave Paradisea *	De Ave Paradisea *
De Cercopitcis ^	De Cercopitcis ^
De Cozcaquauhtli ^	De Cozcaquauhtli ^
De Cozcaquauhtli ^	De Cozcaquauhtli ^
De Coyayahoal ^	De Coyayahoal ^
De Hoatzin ^	De Hoatzin ^
De Hoitzitzil * [7 pictures]	De Hoitzitzil * [7 pictures]
De Hoitztlacuatzin *	De Hoitztlacuatzin *
De Manati * [2 pictures]	De Manati * [2 pictures]
De Maçame * [2 pictures]	De Maçame * [3 pictures]
De Pollin ^	De Pollin ^
De Tapayaxin *	De Tapayaxin * [2 pictures]
De Teuhtlacotzauhqui *	De Teuhtlacotzauhqui *
De Tlaquatzin ^	De Tlaquatzin ^
De Tzopilotl *	De Tzopilotl *
De Yzquiepat *	De Yzquiepat *
De Apum mellisque indici generibus ^	De Apum mellisque indici generibus * [2 pictures]

The book on minerals does not contain pictures:

<i>SECTIO SECUNDA. MATERIAE MEDICAE NOVAE HISPANIAE, MINERALIA USUI MEDICO OPORTUNA CONTINENS</i>	<i>LIBER DECIMUS. MINERALIA EXPLANAT</i>
De Apozonalli ^	De Apozonalli ^
De Chapopotli ^	De Chapopotli ^
De Chimaltozatl ^	De Chimaltozatl ^
De Coztictepatl ^	De Coztictepatl ^
De Eztecatli ^	De Eztecatli ^
De Eztetl ^	De Eztetl ^
De Ytlibayotea quetzaliztli ^	De Ytlibayotea quetzaliztli ^
De Tlylayotic ^	De Tlylayotic ^
De Lapide Philippicarum ^	De Lapide Philippicarum ^
De Quetzalxoqutac ^	De Quetzalxoquyac ^
De Tlacuyloltecatl ^	De Tlacuyloltecatl ^
De Tlapaltehuilatl ^	De Tlapaltehuilatl ^
De Toltecayztli ^	De Toltecayzyli ^
De Yztli ^	De Yztli ^
De Ychcatetl ^	De Ychcatetl ^
De Yztacxalli ^	De Yztacxalli ^
De Yztehuilotl ^	De Yztehuilotl ^
De Hoitzitziltetl ^	De Hoitzitziltetl ^
De Tapacpatli ^	De Yapacpatli ^
De Tecoçahuitl ^	De Tecoçahuitl ^
De Thicatlalli ^	De Thicatlalli ^
De Tlanexillo ^	De Tlanexillo ^
De Tlalyac ^	De Tlalyac ^
De Tlaxocotl ^	De Tlaxocotl ^
De Yztatl ^	De Yztatl ^
De Tequixquilitl ^	De Tequixquilitl ^

Number of pictures in each book:

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