

SALVADORIANAE, VI. SICILIAN CONNECTIONS OF THE CATALAN APOTHECARY AND NATURALIST JAUME SALVADOR I PEDROL (BARCELONA, 1649-1740)

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Abstract

Jaume Salvador i Pedrol was an apothecary from Barcelona and one of the foremost naturalists of his time in the Spanish Crown territories, who was even referred to by Tournefort as “gens suae Phoenix” (the “phoenix of his people”). Few records remain of his epistolary relationship with other contemporary naturalists, but some of the most interesting and best documented ones, consisting of the correspondence he maintained either directly or indirectly with various Sicilian naturalists, in particular Silvio Boccone and Francesco Cupani, are discussed in this article. A transcription and analysis is also made of the original writings by Giuseppe Auria, chief surgeon with the Sicilian galley squadron, who acted as intermediary for the exchange of most of these written communications, Silvio Boccone, Carlo Ventimiglia e Filangeri, Count of Prades, and Jaume Salvador himself, sent between 1693 and 1700.

Resum

Jaume Salvador i Pedrol va ser un apotecari de Barcelona i un dels naturalistes més destacats del seu temps als territoris de la corona hispànica, fins al punt d'haver estat qualificat per Tournefort de “gens suae Phoenix” (“fènix del seu poble”). Pocs testimonis s'han conservat de les relacions epistolars amb altres naturalistes contemporanis seus però en aquest article se'n comenta un conjunt dels més interessants i ben documentats: la correspondència mantinguda directa o indirectament amb alguns naturalistes sicilians, en particular Silvio Boccone and Francesco Cupani. Es transcriuen i analitzen les cartes intercanviades entre 1693 i 1700 per Jaume Salvador amb Silvio Boccone, Carlo Ventimiglia e Filangeri, Count of Prades, i Giuseppe Auria, cirurgià major de l'esquadra de galeres de Sicília, que sovint actuà de correu entre Barcelona i Palerm.

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Paraules clau: Silvio Boccone; Botany; Cupani; Correspondence; Giuseppe Auria; Jaume Salvador; Sicily.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is well known that the Salvador, a lineage of apothecaries and naturalists from Barcelona, were some very noteworthy figures for the history of science [POURRET, 1796; POURRET & COLMEIRO, 1844; BOLÒS, 1959; CABALLER MARTÍN, 1986; CAMARASA, 1989, 2011, 2016; PARDO TOMAS, 2014]. Over more than two centuries (from the beginning of the 17th century to the mid-nineteenth century) the Salvador gathered and preserved a library and some collections of noteworthy interest now preserved at the Institut Botànic de Barcelona (IBB)¹ [CAMARASA, 1994, 2004; PARDO-TOMÁS, 2010, 2014].

Earlier publications [CAMARASA & AMIGO, 1993; CAMARASA, 1995; CAMARASA & IBÀÑEZ, 2007, 2012; CAMARASA, 2016] have focused on meaningful excerpts from the correspondence preserved in the Salvador collections at the IBB, in particular Joan (John) Salvador i Riera (1683-1726) and Josep Salvador i Riera (1690-1761), the sons of Jaume Salvador i Pedrol (1649-1740, whose correspondence (excerpts) with Pierre Magnol [CAMARASA, 2000] has also been dealt with. This article looks at the correspondence of Jaume Salvador i Pedrol with the core group of Sicilian botanists and naturalists active in and around Palermo led by Silvio Boccone (1633-1704) and Francesco Cupani (1657-1710). They maintained a steady stream of correspondence during the last ten years of the 17th century, as discussed below, although in the case of several of these Sicilian correspondents, who were closely inter-connected, no letters have unfortunately been found although it is well-documented that they did exchange correspondence, as well as sheets of dried plant specimens and publications, with Jaume Salvador i Pedrol.

2. JAUME SALVADOR AND THE WORLD THAT HE LIVED IN

The long life of Jaume Salvador i Pedrol spanned almost a century during one of the most dramatic and agitated periods in the history of both Catalonia and Europe [ANONIMOUS, 1741; SANVISENS HERRERO, 2015]. Born during the “*Guerra dels Segadors*” (the Reapers’ War, or Catalan Revolt), he lived through four wars with France (1675-78; 1684; 1688-97; 1719-20), the War of the Spanish Succession (1705-14), a bombardment of Barcelona by the

1. The Salvador collections are composed of a magnificent library, a herbarium (currently the oldest preserved in Spain), manuscript documents (most pending of cataloging), collections of molluscs, fossils, drugs and various pieces of vegetables and animals stuffed. Acquired at different stages (1938, 1945, 2013) by the Barcelona City Council, they are currently preserved at the IBB [IBÀÑEZ *et al.*, 2019].

French fleet (1691) and three sieges, with the ensuing bombardments and occupation by the enemy (1697, 1705 and 1714).



Figure 1. Portrait of Jaume Salvador preserved at the Instituto Botánico de Barcelona
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Aside from his training as an apothecary and naturalist under the auspices of his father Joan Salvador i Boscà, Jaume Salvador i Pedrol studied grammar, philosophy and mathematics, at the *Estudi General* (University) in Barcelona [ANONIMOUS, 1741, p. 2r^o].

On 28 September 1669, aged just twenty, Jaume Salvador was admitted to the College of Apothecaries in Barcelona [POURRET, 1796, p. 4; BOLÒS, 1959, p. 22]. With no particular role in the family apothecary, his father then sent him to Montpellier to develop his skills in

botany with Pierre Magnol (1638-1715), who at that time was privately teaching botanical science.²

The quality of Magnol's extraacademic teaching of botany was very better from that being taught at the same time at the *Estudi General* in Barcelona and also probably than Michel Chicoyneau's (1626?-1710), who was professor of anatomy and botany at the University of Montpellier. As it was, in spite of his age he was soon taking part in regular groups and collecting plants in Languedoc and Provence with his teachers and other like-minded people interested in botany and he began to acquire a reputation as an expert naturalist.

On his return from Montpellier he would have more or less helped out in his father's apothecary where it is unlikely his duties were not very onerous while his father was still alive. This enabled him to continue his travels and dedicate his free time to increasing his family's collections and library and, above all, to broadening his knowledge and increasing the circle of people with whom he would share correspondence, which would have further enhanced the reputation he had already gained during his stay in Montpellier. At the same time, and in terms of his professional recognition, he was appointed consul to the College of Apothecaries in Barcelona [JORDI I GONZÁLEZ, 2003] in 1678.³

Nothing has been preserved of Jaume Salvador's correspondence from these years although it is certain that he corresponded at least with Magnol. It was Magnol who in 1681 referred Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656-1708), a young, twenty-five year old doctor who would become his foremost disciple, to the Salvador family for lodgings at their apothecary and companionship for the journey he was about to undertake in Catalonia and Valencia. According to the most likely version [DUPRAT, 1957], Tournefort left Montpellier for Barcelona with recommendations addressed to Jaume Salvador; on crossing the border by the Albera Mountains, however, he had an unfortunate encounter with a gang of brigants, who left him half naked and badly wounded in the middle of nowhere until he was found by some monks from the monastery of Vallbona.⁴ Resuming his journey after having recovered from his bad experience, the young Tournefort collected plants on his way to Barcelona that would have been of use for him as a form of recommendation with the Salvador family. Jaume Salvador and his father warmly welcomed the young botanist from Provence and, learning of his intention to retrace several of the routes covered by Clusius through the Iberian Peninsula,

2. As Pierre Magnol was a Protestant, he only started teaching at university in 1694, nine years after he forswore Protestantism and converted to Catholicism following Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes [DULIEU, 1959; CAMARASA, 2000].
3. Consuls were the highest-level authority in the professional associations and unions. They represented the corporation before the city's authorities and had the authority to resolve conflicts either between apothecaries or between apothecaries and other individuals provided they related to the art of apothecary.
4. The Albera Massif, especially the section nearest to Coll de Banyuls, one of the passes used traditionally to smuggle salt, was one of the most important centres of brigants activity near the border between the principality of Catalonia and the earldom of Roussillon. The Vallbona valley, where there was a monastery of the same name, was one of the routes used to travel from Argelers and Collioure to Coll de Banyuls.

Jaume accompanied and helped him on his journey to Valencia. This marked the beginning of a long-lasting relationship between Tournefort and the Salvadors.

That same year, on 12 April 1681, Joan Salvador i Boscà passed away and Jaume Salvador i Pedrol came into possession of his father's apothecary. The following year he married Eulàlia Riera, the daughter of Gabriel Riera i Martí, an honourable citizen of the city of Barcelona. The couple had six sons and one daughter, two of which, Joan Salvador i Riera, born in 1683, and Josep Salvador i Riera, in 1690, carry on the family tradition in natural history.

In 1684 Jaume Salvador i Pedrol embarked on a political career after his name was chosen from selection by insaculation for municipal trade officials at Barcelona's *Consell de Cent* (Council of One Hundred). Two years later his name was put forward for fifth Councillor⁵ and by 1688 he sat for the first time (1688-1670) on the *Consell de Cent* as a juror. He was again appointed from 1693-1695, 1698-1700 and 1701-1703. In between, from 1697-1698 he held the position of fifth Councillor and in 1699 his name was again put forward for the same position [JORDI I GONZÁLEZ, 2003]. Several months prior to this, following the fall of Barcelona to French forces led by the Duke of Vendôme, he took part in the negotiations between the city authorities and the French commanders due to his good knowledge of French.

A few years later in Barcelona, where the Habsburg Charles III established his court between 1705 and 1711, the backroom of Jaume Salvador's apothecary hosted regular salons where scientific discussions took place between gatherings of apothecaries, doctors, surgeons and others interested in scientific matters who were either Catalan or from the allied armies and the monarch's retinue, including two physicians to the royal chamber of Charles III, Nicola Pio Garelli (1675-1739) and Felix Gabriele Longobardo (1660-1747), as well as the Lieutenant (Viceroy) of Catalonia, Leo Corfitz, Count of Ulfeldt (1651-1716) [CAMARASA, 2016, p. 149].

During the siege of Barcelona in 1713-14, Jaume Salvador retreated to his estate in Sant Joan Despí with his wife, his youngest sons and daughter while his oldest sons remained behind in the city and took part in its defence, at the same time making every effort to safely protect the family's collections from the bombardments. Being far away from the hostilities enabled him to subsequently maintain smooth relations with the new Bourbon authorities, who in 1720 commissioned him, together with two other apothecaries to undertake the identification and recognition of medicines being sold by convent apothecaries to the public in Barcelona. His relations with all official bodies at the time (1721) were even good enough

5. According to the organisation of Barcelona's municipal government, the *Consell de Cent* assembly of jurors chose six councillors who represented the city's different social estates (one noble; two honourable citizens, one of whom was the first Councillor; one merchant; one artist; and one artisan) and which constituted the executive level of the municipal government. The position of fifth Councillor corresponded to a *jurat artista* who, in other words, was a representative of one of the city's professional bodies, which included the apothecaries association.

for him to apply for and obtain, for himself and his sons, a license to carry a sword on the grounds that he had always been loyal to Philip V.

The last ten years of the 17th century, which is when the exchange of correspondence, books and plant specimens took place between Jaume Salvador and his correspondents in Sicily, fall squarely within the period in the Spanish Crown territories in the Iberian Peninsula that LÓPEZ PIÑERO [1969, p. 34] characterised as being one in which certain scientists (most of them outside of academic circles), disparagingly referred to at the time as *novatores*, had become aware of the general scientific backwardness of society (and in particular the academic institutions). With no steady academic position and faced with an unstable economic situation and/or social status, most of these *novatores* had to depend on protectors and patrons more or less powerful.

The situation in Catalonia, and in particular Barcelona, was quite unique. On the one hand, the main official science-related positions (university chairs, the *Protomedicato*⁶) were filled by people who, while not being strictly speaking *novatores*, held eclectic opinions that sought to reconcile the contributions of modern science with a moderate defence of traditional doctrine. Examples include Joan d'Alós (1617-1695), professor of anatomy at the *Estudi General* in Barcelona from 1659 onwards and First Physician to the Principality of Catalonia and the Earldoms of Rossellon and Cerdanya from 1674 onwards, and Jaume Solà (1634-1714), also professor at the *Estudi General* in Barcelona and first physician at the *Hospital de la Santa Creu* from 1671 onwards, both of whom were proponents of Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood. On the other hand, various apothecaries, including Salvador and others, who occupied a relatively privileged economic and social position, devoted their time and resources to developing scientific inquiry more in line with their professions, as in botany and chemistry.

The situation was different in the Italian dominions of the Spanish Crown as Sicily, where contacts with new emerging science were closer than in the Iberian Peninsula. In Sicily in particular, in the mid 17th century, unlike Spain where the introduction of certain aspects of contemporary European science were rejected or, at the very least, accepted as a mere rectification of details of traditional doctrine [LÓPEZ PIÑERO, 1969, p. 25], the University of Messina had sought to attract renowned professors, including Pietro Castelli (1574-1662), Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608-1679) and Marcello Malpighi (1628-1694) among others, to its faculty of medicine.

In this same period, the apothecary Niccolò Gervasi (1632-1681) practiced botany and chemistry in Palermo and had established a botanical garden. He was the teacher of Francesco Cupani and also possibly the first to encourage Paolo Boccone to become interested in natural history and more particularly botany, although Boccone soon left Sicily to travel first throughout Italy and later on Europe and would only return definitively to the island just before the turn of the century.

6. Board of Royal Physicians

The correspondence documented here is from the final years of the 17th century, a time that was particularly vibrant in the fields of botany and natural history in Sicily, especially in Palermo. Several years prior to this the University of Messina, together with its botanical garden, had suffered the effects of the Messina revolt against the Spanish Crown and the viceroyalty authorities (1674-1678),⁷ whereas Palermo had consolidated and reinforced its role as capital city of the island during the last quarter of the century. The fact that naturalists with high standards like Boccone and Cupani coincided at the same time in Palermo with generous patrons like Giuseppe del Bosco, Prince of La Cattolica (c. 1660-1721), and Giuseppe Alliata, Prince of Villafranca (1684-1727), along with other less important persons who were nevertheless equally as interesting for the natural sciences, led to the city playing an important role in contemporary botany and natural history around 1700, which is clear from the correspondence between several of these individuals and Jaume Salvador.

3. SICILIAN CORRESPONDENTS OF JAUME SALVADOR

We know (either directly or indirectly) of six of these Sicilian correspondents of Jaume Salvador. They were Silvio Boccone (né Paolo Boccone, until he became a Cistercian monk, when he changed his first name to Silvio); Giuseppe Auria (*fl.* 1673-1700); Carlo Ventimiglia, Count of Prades (?-1705); Giuseppe Longo (?-?); Francesco Cupani; and Giuseppe del Bosco, Prince of La Cattolica. Only correspondence from the first three is conserved in the Salvador collections at the Barcelona Botanical Institute although we know from indirect sources that the other three also maintained correspondence with Jaume Salvador. Be that as it may, several of these correspondents are of significant interest in terms of the history of botany (and some in terms of general history) and worthy of attention as regards the information that is apparent from the letters they exchanged with Jaume Salvador between 1693 and 1700.

Paolo Silvio Boccone is the most well known of them all. In his youth he travelled around Europe and interacted with the most renowned naturalists of his time, and he himself applied for a position in Paris as a private tutor of natural history. Later on he was professor at the University of Padua and was employed as court botanist to the Grand Dukes of Tuscany. In 1682 he returned to Sicily, where he became a Cistercian monk at the monastery at Parco, near Palermo, where he died.

7. The so-called Messina War was a revolt in the city of Messina against the Spanish authorities in what was an attempt to turn the city and its surrounding territory (all of the north-eastern part of the island of Sicily) into a kind of maritime republic similar to Genoa and Venice. Aware of its military inferiority on both land and sea, the city of Messina asked for protection from the French king, Louis XIV. At war with the Spanish Crown because of its pretensions in the Spanish Flanders, Louis sent a fleet that succeeded in defeating the Spanish fleet and gained several strongholds on land, including Taormina, which was commanded by the Count of Prades. Following the Peace of Nijmegen between Spain and France, the French withdrew from Sicily in 1678 and Messina was occupied by the Spanish viceroyalty forces, resulting in the city losing all of its privileges. Various noblemen suspected of collusion with the French were imprisoned, but finally absolved, including the Count of Prades, one of the correspondents of Jaume Salvador.

Little is known about Giuseppe Auria aside from what is revealed in the letters he exchanged with Jaume Salvador. We know he was a surgeon and that, at least between 1693 and 1700, he was chief surgeon with the Sicilian galley squadron, as a result of which he became familiar with most of the coastline and islands of the western Mediterranean. We know that he was interested in the natural sciences, in particular botany, and that he liaised with the circle of naturalists actively involved in and around Palermo from approximately 1680 until 1710, the most important being Silvio Boccone and Francesco Cupani. Several of the letters place him as having been in Barcelona itself when the Sicilian galleys called in to port there. Francesco Cupani describes him as an “extraordinary doctor who, because of his merits, is now chief physician of the Sicilian galleys”.⁸

Carlo Ventimiglia e Filangeri, the second Count of Prades,⁹ was the epitome of the Sicilian nobility of Catalan origin. He was a military man and, as was often the case with a person of his rank, was also interested in science and was a good mathematician. He was a student in Messina of Giovanni Alfonso Borelli, who in 1670 dedicated his *Historia, et Meteorologia incendii Aetnaei anni 1669* to him. During the Messina War (1674-1678) he was governor of the fortified town of Taormina and negotiated the occupation by the French forces in October 1676, for which he was imprisoned due to well-founded suspicion that he was involved together with other family members in a conspiracy to place the Kingdom of Sicily under either the sovereignty or protection of Louis XIV. In 1677, he proclaimed his innocence in an open letter sent to all of the royal courts in Europe. He was then transferred to Madrid where he was exonerated of any suspicion of disloyalty. He was even appointed colonel of a regiment in Flanders (meaning that for some time he was far removed from Sicily) and years later was appointed Knight of the Order of Saint James (*San Giacomo della Spada* in Sicily) and head of the order's *Commenda di San Calogero* in Augusta. Around the same time as his relationship with Jaume Salvador (1697), Boccone dedicated one of his observations to him in his book, *Museo di Fisica e di esperienze variato, e decorato di osservazioni naturali, note medicinali, e ragionamenti secondo i principij de' moderni*, which was printed in Venice in the same year by Giovanni Battista Zuccato.¹⁰

The only thing that is known about Giuseppe Longo is what can be deduced from some of the letters published here. As with Giuseppe Auria, he was a surgeon with the Sicilian galley squadron and, like Auria, he sailed on these ships all over the western Mediterranean.

Francesco Cupani first studied medicine, but in 1681 entered the Franciscan order. A student under both Gervasi and Boccone, with whom he initiated epistolary contact when he

8. “[...] *inter iatrophysicos non ordinarius, nunc temporis meritissimè Siciliae Trirremines Archiater*” [CUPANI, 1697, p. 56].

9. He should not be confused with his relative with almost the same name, Carlo Maria Ventimiglia e Grifeo (1576-1662), another Sicilian aristocrat who had literary, philosophical and scientific interests.

10. The fifteenth in order of sequence: *Intorno le proprietà e l'uso medicinale della manna di Calabria*. He also dedicated one (the sixth): *In torno alcune terre alchaliche, e medicinali d'Italia* to the Prince of La Cattolica [BOCCONE, 1697a, p. 86-91 and 39-50].

was still in Florence, he also maintained contact and frequent exchanges with naturalists around Europe. With the support of Giuseppe del Bosco, Prince of La Cattolica, in 1692 he established a botanical garden in Misilmeri where he cultivated both spontaneous plants from Sicily and exotic species. His works include *Hortus Catholicus* [CUPANI, 1696], in which he describes and illustrates the plants in the Misilmeri gardens,¹¹ and the *Panphyton siculum* [CUPANI, 1713]. Of this last work only three galley proofs and several incomplete copies published posthumously have been preserved, but it is one of the first intentionally comprehensive iconographic of the flora of a region and subsequently served as a model for many naturalist works.

Lastly, Giuseppe del Bosco, Prince of La Cattolica, was one of the highest-ranking Sicilian noblemen of his time. Like the Count of Prades, he was from a long lineage of Catalan nobles who had settled in Sicily around the time of Peter III of Aragon. In addition to attending to the administration of his numerous fiefdoms, he contributed to the patronage of the arts and sciences, especially botany, and encouraged and supported the activities of an active group of botanists, including Boccone and Cupani. In cooperation with Cupani, he established the abovementioned botanical garden in his fiefdom of Misilmeri and covered the cost of Cupani's publications.

4. THE INITIAL CONTACTS

Certain facts are missing as far as the beginning of the relationship between Jaume Salvador and this group of Sicilian naturalists is concerned. The oldest document uncovered, which is transcribed below, is a copy of the first letter from Jaume Salvador addressed to Silvio Boccone dated October 20th 1693, although the letter already refers to a previous connection between Jaume Salvador and Giuseppe Auria, who was responsible for delivering the letter to Boccone, together with a few sheets of dried plant specimens from Jaume Salvador.

The Sicilian galley squadron, which at the end of the 16th century had a fleet of around twenty ships, had less than half a dozen at the time of this correspondence [RIBOT GARCIA, 1995]. These ships sailed, whenever possible, all over the western Mediterranean and at least one of them, with Giuseppe Auria the squadron's chief surgeon on board, called at the port of Barcelona in October 1693. The galleys did not usually sail so late into the autumn, but this was a crucial time in the Nine Years War.¹² In June of that year the armies of Louis XIV

11. There is one copy of the *Hortus Catholicus* in the Salvador library at the IBB that was sent by Francesco Cupani to Jaume Salvador in 1699, according to the bookplate (ex-libris manuscript) on the front endpaper, which is rebound together with the *Supplementum alterum ad Hortum Catholicum* (Palermo 1697) [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 516-518 and 536-537].

12. The so-called Nine Years War (1688-1697), was a conflict initially between France and the Holy Roman Empire, which was joined from 1689 onwards by Spain, England, the Dutch Republic, Sweden, Savoy, Brandenburg and several small German and Italian states. Catalonia was one of the main theatres of operations of the war from 1689 to 1697, with campaigns both on land and at sea, including the naval bombardment of Barcelona in 1692 and the siege, bombardment and occupation of the city in 1697.

had occupied Roses and the French fleet, having threatened Barcelona in August, had proven its outright superiority in the western Mediterranean, which it had already demonstrated two years earlier with the bombardments of Barcelona, Vinaròs, Peníscola and Alicante. At all events, according to the *Dieteris de la Generalitat de Catalunya* (official annals of the Government of Catalonia) [GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA, 2005], the galleys from Sicily were in Barcelona as late into autumn as Wednesday, November 17th 1693.¹³

By this time Jaume Salvador had become a prominent individual in Barcelona society. He was also highly respected in local academic circles for his knowledge and he was acquainted with some of the most outstanding botanists of his time. He informed Silvio Boccone of this in his first letter, which was delivered by Giuseppe Auria:

Al Paulo Boccone de Palermo.

Muy S^r Mio – Aunque es verdad que no tengo conocimiento con V^e si solo por su libro,¹⁴ y aora à las noticias que me ha dado el S^r Dⁿ Joseph chirujano major de la escuadra de las galeras de esse Reyno no sabia que V^e viviesse en essa Ciudad, y tambien al tiempo que me hallava en la Universidad de Montpellier con el Canciller de la Universidad el d^r Miguel Chicoyneau, d^r Magnol y otros aficionados a la Botánica hablavamos a menudo de V^e majormente hallando alguna de sus plantas, de las cuales la major parte tenemos observadas ja en los encontornos de Montpellier, Provença y otras partes que he corrido como, en esta Provincia de Ctt^a y cerca esta ciudad de Bar^a, y es cierto que su gran dotrina, cuydado, y trabajo en la observación de las Plantas le huviera augmentado su obra si huviesse examinado este pays, es a saber por las marinas y partes calientes, pero en los montes frios aunque grandes en esta tierra como son los Pyrreos, Monseny &c^a no hallamos cosa que por los Autores modernos no sean halladas, y majormente quien tiene los mas que an escrito de Plantas como jo los tengo casi por el pais frio no halla novedad, pero como dixen en las marinas, *in tesqui et locis maxime a sole exertis*, se hallan algunas que aun no estan descritas, pero en fin es bueno el participarlas a los estrangeros para que satisfagan su curiosidad, lo que alabo mucho, que assi en Espanya creo que soy solo en essa afficion de conocer los simples; algunas tengo comunicadas a mi grande amigo el d^r Joseph Tournefort que los dos somos condiscípulos de los sobredichos Magnol y Chicoyneau, y el dicho Tournefort oy hace las demostraciones publicas de las plantas en el Jardin Real de Paris, y algunas que hallara que son plantas de Espanya en el libro intitulado *Horti Academici Lugdo-Batavi d. Pauli Hermanni Catalogus* y majormente *Astragalus hispa. siliqua epiglotydi simili flore purpureo Tourneforti*¹⁵ essas y otras son vezinas a esta Ciudad y no tenemos noticia que se hallen en otra parte en el Appendice al libro de Magnol hallara tambien algunas mias a dicho Magnol comunicadas,¹⁶ y me dixo tambien el dicho dⁿ Joseph se alegrara V^e saber los libros que tenemos mas modernos de Plantas, le dire sobre esse punto que desde que ay guerra no nos atrevemos recibir ni enviar letras a Francia, y assi por essa parte no puedo saber los que ay nuevos; de Olanda es el sobredicho Catalogo

13. There is an annotation according to which, on this date, “at the behest of the syndic of the General, was cleared and released Joan Ribes, a native of the locality of Villalonga, in the bishopric of Girona, of around thirteen years of age, more or less, who was forcibly held on the galley Patrona of the Sicilian galley squadron, on to which he had been deceitfully taken aboard”. [GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA, 2005, p. 380].

14. From the date and subject matter of the letter, he must have been referring to *Icones et descriptiones rariorum plantarum Siciliae, Melitae, Galliae et Italiae*, published in Oxford in 1674. The book is not currently in the Salvador library, but it was undoubtedly in Jaume Salvador’s possession in 1693.

15. See HERMANN [1687, p. 77-78 (p. 78 with an illustration of the plant)]. DESFONTAINES [1798-99, 2, p. 184] identifies the species described by Boerhaave as *Astragalus pentaglottis* L. (1771) and TIETZ & ZARRE [1994], monographists of the genus, with *A. echinatus* Murray (1770), which is the valid name today.

16. See CAMARASA [2000].

al Paulo Boccone de Calorm.

Muy Sr. mio - Aunque y verdad que no tengo conocimiento con V.
 si se le ha escrito, y ahora a las noticias me a dado V. Sr. Joseph Chis
 niero mejor de la especie de Calorm. Salvo de este Rey no se sabia
 que V. viviese en esta Ciudad, y tambien el tiempo que ahora me halla
 na en la Universidad de Montpellier con el Comiller de la Universidad de
 Maguel Chirignac de Maguel, y como aficionados a la Botanica
 hablanamos a menudo de V. - mejormente hallando alguna de sus plan-
 tas, de las quales la mejor parte tenemos observadas ya en los cuecos
 de Montpellier, de Provensa y otras partes que he corrido como en esta Uni-
 versidad de Calorm. y una de la Ciudad de Bar. a. y otros que se estan dete-
 nido y trabajo en la observacion de las plantas de la misma argen-
 tado su obra si he visto examinado este pays, y a saber por las man-
 ras y partes Calorm, pero en los montes frios aunque grandes en esta
 tierra como son los Bynnes, Montany de - no hallamos los a que por
 los Archivos modernos no sean hallados, y mejormente quien tiene lo me-
 que un escrito de Blancas como yo lo tengo con por el pais fero no halla
 riedad, pero como dice en las manras, in requir, et loy maxime a
 ille scribit, se hallan algunos que aun no estan descritos, pero en fin q
 buenos de algunas partes de los extranjeros para que satisfagan en curiosidad
 lo que alabo mucho, que aqui en Espanya con quales libro en una officina
 de Conser los simples, algunos tengo comunicados a mi grande amigo el Sr.
 Joseph Tournefort que los dos son Comisarios de la Academia de las Artes y
 de las Ciencias de Francia, y del dicho Tournefort y he de la demonstracion pub-
 lica de las plantas con el Jardin Real de Paris, y algunas que halla en que
 son plantas de Espanya en el libro intitulado Hortus Academicus Lugduno-Batavis
 de Paulo Hermann Catalogo, y mejormente de las plantas de esta Ciudad
 de Calorm. y el libro de Tournefort. con quales son algunas de esta Ciudad
 que se ven en noticia se hallan en ninguna parte - en el Topografo del libro de
 Maguel hallan tambien algunos muy a dicho Maguel comunicados y me
 dio tambien el dicho Sr. Joseph de algarava V. - saber los libros que con-
 tien mas modernos de Blancas, a este se dice sobre un punto que desde
 que ay guerra no nos atrevemos recibir ni enviar libros a Francia y
 asi por esta parte no puedo saber lo que ay nuevos, de la parte de
 de Holanda y el sabido Catalogo del Jardin de Lugduno-Batavis.
 con muchos descripciones de plantas muy - la Historia de Blancas de
 Juan Rayney Ingles. con el Catalogo de las de Inglaterra - Maguel
 Catalogo y plantas. una de Mompel. y otro que creo que V. como con la
 noo no lo pueda - Quisiera saber como V. esta uel en de Bar.
 na a si sabe de tratados de las plantas de Vlynes y de la Academia de Calorm.

Figure 2. First page of the copy of the first letter addressed by Jaume Salvador to Silvio Boccone
 (© Institut Botànic de Barcelona CSIC-Ajuntament de Barcelona)

del Jardin de Lugduno-Batavor. con muchas descripciones de plantas nuevas – La Historia de Plantas de Juan Rayus Ingles,¹⁷ con el Catalogo de las de Inglaterra¹⁸ – Magnol *Catalogus plantar. circa Monspel.*¹⁹ y otros que creo que V^e como curioso los tendra. – Quisiera saber, como V^e esta vezino de Bononia si a salido tratado de plantas de Ulysses Aldrovandij mas de la *Dendrologia* que se imprimio el año de 1668.²⁰ El dicho dⁿ Joseph me pidio algunas plantas secas y siento el no poderme hallar con muchas y exquisitas; pero todavia le hara ver algunas que se lleva, y majormente el *Gramen bicorne*²¹ descrito de V^e si es el que va aqui que me hace dificultad, y si la *Conyza Globosa*²² es tambien la que va aqui como tambien las demas, que a todo me remito a su buen parecer; y estimarele no me tenga en olvido si se le ofrece algo en esta tierra que lo hare con gusto, y si quisiera escribir no repare en escribir en Latin, Italiano, o, cualquier otra lengua Europea, que a mi todas por la gracia de Dios entiendo y hablo. Dios le g^{de} – desta su Casa Bar^a y 8^{bnc} a los 20 dias 93 –I R^{do} Boccone

Jaume Salvador wrote this first letter in Spanish, as would be expected because Sicily at that time was a Spanish Crown territory. At the end of his letter, he continues to go on about his knowledge of other languages in a somewhat conceited way, as he does in other letters of the correspondence published here. As one would expect in a letter of presentation, he begins by giving certain details of his biography that would place him on a par, in terms of knowledge and interests, with the person he was addressing. In other sections, the letter adds new information to what was previously known about Jaume Salvador's biography. For example, his knowledge prior to sending this letter of Boccone's work²³ and, following on from this, his questions about certain crucial plants, specimens of which he had enclosed in sheets and sent to the Sicilian naturalist. Above all, Jaume Salvador's precocious intuition regarding the uniqueness of Mediterranean flora conveyed in his careful observations in the letter, which deal above all with the lowlands and more arid areas ("*in tesqui et locis maxime a sole exertis*")

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17. The first of the two volumes of this work [RAY, 1693] is preserved in the Salvador library, with hand-written annotations by Jaume Salvador [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 493-494].
 18. The book [RAY, 1670] is preserved in the Salvador library, with hand-written annotations by Jaume Salvador [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 363].
 19. A copy of this edition [MAGNOL, 1686], which indicates that the book was given by the author, is preserved in the Salvador library, together with two copies, also indicating that they were given by the author, of the 1697 edition [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 536].
 20. The book [ALDROVANDI, 1668] is preserved in the Salvador library [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 356].
 21. *Andropogon distachyos* L., bluestem grass, in Catalan *albellatge distaquí*. There is an illustration by Boccone [1674b, p. 20] with the name *Gramen bicorne, seu Distachyophorum*, with the description on pp. 20 and 21. A sheet of dried plant specimens [Salv-3251] is preserved in the Salvador herbarium, with specimens from the area surrounding Montpellier [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 234].
 22. *Dittrichia viscosa* (L.) Greuter, false yellowhead, in Catalan *olivarda*. There is an illustration by Boccone [1674b, p. 13] with the name *Conyza capitata, seu globosa* and the description on the following page. It is noteworthy that a species which is very common today in abandoned fields and hedgerows is not accounted for in the Salvador herbarium.
 23. A copy of the book [BOCCONE, 1674a], is in the Salvador library at the IBB [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 374]. The date of publication is after the time of Jaume Salvador's stay in Montpellier (1670-71), although he does state in the letter that he had already heard about Boccone's wisdom during his stay in Montpellier. This may well be true given that, at the time of Salvador's stay in Montpellier, Boccone had already made a name for himself as a naturalist and was living in Paris. It would therefore not be surprising for his name to have come up in conversation between the naturalists from Montpellier.

where new species could be found, unlike the mountainous areas where the flora more closely resembled that of the rest of Europe.

The Sicilian galley squadron must have put to sea shortly after the incident recorded in the *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya* [GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA, 2005] because Boccone's reply bears the date of December 3th 1693, just sixteen days after the recorded incident. Although his reply was brief, it must have fulfilled most of Jaume Salvador's expectations as he promises to carefully study the plant specimens that he had received and give his opinion. Moreover, he offers to give him a copy of the work that he was about to publish in Venice on new specimens of Sicilian flora that Boccone had discovered in recent years:

Molto [Ill^{re}] S^c mio [P...]imo.

V.S. m'ha fatto un honore grande a scrivermi per mezzo del S^c Chirurgo della Squadra di Sicilia, e la ringrazio infinitamente: Ho havuto gran piacere di conoscere V.S. per via di lettere e veggo che V.S. ha havuto una buona scuola principalmente per havere praticato col Sig. Tournefort, che é un Letterato e un Botanico di gran sapere; e se egli fatta la Pace venisse a cercare la Sicilia troverebbe cose molto belle. Io anderò a vedere le piante secche che V.S. ha mandato e dirò il mio parere: faccio sentire a V.S. come dimani parto da Palermo per andare a Venetia per stampare un Libro delle Pianta nove trovate in Sicilia oltre a quelle già stampate:²⁴ vi sono 120. figure, e molte osservazioni Naturali: se V.S. desidera havere uno esemplare mi scriva a Venetia a chi ho da consignare il mio libro che la servirò in segno di stima, e scriverò che poi lo mandino a V.S. per via sicura perche io non ho modo de farlo capitare: le lettere de V.S. devono havere questo adrese. Al P. D. Silvio Boccone Monaco Cisterciense per ricapito in Frezzeria all'Adamo ed Eva. Venezia. che l'haverò subito, e di cuore la vinedisco et bacio aff^{te} le mani. Pal. 3 dic^c 1693.

D. V.S. M^{to} [...]

Att^{mo} et Oblig^{mo} serv^{te} nel [...].

Silvio Boccone

Jaume Salvador did eventually receive the book proffered by Boccone and it is preserved in the Salvador library at the IBB (MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 536). Nevertheless, in the three years between the time when the letter was sent and the publication of the book, Boccone was able to add several more descriptions of plants to the one hundred and twenty that he mentions, including one sent by Jaume Salvador (*Convolvulus rectus, villosus, argenteus, angustissimo folio*).²⁵

24. This probably refers to *Museo di piante rare della Sicilia, Malta Corsica, Italia, Piemonte e Germania; con l'appendice ad libros de plantis Andreae Cesalpini e varie osservazione curiose con sue figure in rame*. A copy of the book [BOCCONE, 1697b] is in the Salvador library at the IBB [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 536]. The reference to plants already described and in print undoubtedly refers to BOCCONE [1674b].

25. Boccone's description literally says, "*Questa pianta [...] me fù comunicata dal Sig. Iayme Salvador Apotecario virtuoso della Città di Barcellona con altre Pianta secche*" [BOCCONE, 1697b, p. 138]. This is *Convolvulus lanuginosus* Desr. in *Lam. Encycl* with one of the type specimen sheets [Salv-0055], gathered in Montserrat, is preserved in the Salvador herbarium [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 77]. All of the other type specimen sheets of that species also came from the plant collections of the Salvador family [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 81-83].



Figure 3. Sheet of the Salvador Herbarium with an specimen of *Convolvulus lanuginosus* Desr. from Montserrat (© Institut Botànic de Barcelona CSIC-Ajuntament de Barcelona).

5. CONSOLIDATION OF THE NETWORK IN SICILY

Six months later, a letter from Giuseppe Auria would seem to indicate the consolidation of Jaume Salvador's relationship with the core group of naturalists in Palermo:

r^o Mi. Domine,

Donum botanicum a te missum accepi a Domino Josepho Longo triremium Chirurgo mihi familiarissimo: admirati sunt quam plures exercitatissimi Botanici virum te curiosum et expertum, cum autem herbas mihi tradidisset De de Longo et illis [fruesere] postea Bocconio nunciavi, qui domi meae cum herbas rem examinasset et illas auctorum mentibus consonas adnotaverit furatus est eas et abijt ac me tanto dono orbavit: Ipse vero in dictis herbis notavit quod | Scabiosa ovilla dicta

J.B.²⁶ | ad sit talis, promisit vero mihi illam aliquando ad te missum et laudavit te botanicum in orbe nulli secundum et postquam examinasset supradictas herbas discessit cachinans animo hilari ambibus manibus tenebris illas in pectore dixit, se nunquam gavissimum fuisse quantum illa die per tuarum herbarium furtum, nec permisit me illis frui, solummodo reliquit aliquas quae hic habemus in multa copia uti est | Solanum scand. seu dulcamara, | Antirrhinum pratensis serratis fol. J. B. et aliquo postredie discessit ab urbe Venetiis ut alterum librum botanicum typis mandaret.

Interim monitus te volo A.R.P.M. Franciscus Cupani i ordinis S. Francisci indefesso labore disponere novus opus typis mandandum plantarum Siciliae ubi ad mille icones circiter summa diligentia solum faciet brevi temporis spatio, advenit nonnullae noviter ab ipso observatae. Interim tibi viro exercitatiso mittit presentem ca[...] [part of the text here is almost completely erased due to humidity] suum opus botanicum

vº hic existimat gramen aureus Dalechamp. Hist. Lugd. a te dictum earum gramen panicula virescente glumis denticulatis²⁷ in impressi catalogo etc Planta aster cervinus a te dicta videtur in centuria Cesalpini. Ceteris admiratus sumus multa in suo libro perdiscimus et de eo gratias agens summpere. Deprecor ut D. Josephus Longo [plenis latam] eo quo me ipse diligit amore, tu ipsum amas. Vale. Panormi 12 die Maij 1694.

servus additiss^s

A. et M. Dr. Joseph Auria

The letter introduces two new individuals, Giuseppe Longo (or de Longo), another surgeon on the Sicilian galleys who was interested in botany, and Francesco Cupani. Little is known about Giuseppe Longo, merely what is referred to in this letter and a later one from Auria sent from Cartagena in the summer of 1697, which is referred to below. Francesco Cupani, together with Boccone, has been the most important figure in Sicilian botany in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.

The next document, in chronological terms, is a copy of a letter sent by Jaume Salvador to Silvio Boccone from Barcelona dated December 20th 1695. The period of two years between this letter and the previous one from Boccone either suggests that other letters, which are now lost, were sent in the meantime or that communications between Barcelona and Palermo were precarious because of the war. The fact is that we know for certain that galleys of the Sicilian squadron were in Barcelona at the end of September 1695 from one incident recorded in the *Dietaris de la Generalitat de Catalunya*.²⁸ The Sicilian galleys had taken part in the siege of Palamós (a coastal village at that time occupied by the French) in the previous August, but had withdrawn due to adverse meteorological conditions. It is possible that this was when Auria delivered Boccone's letter to Jaume Salvador, which he refers to in his reply.

26. Alphonse de Candolle [1830, p. 101], monographist of the *Campanulaceae* family, identified the *Scabiosa ovilla* of Dodonaeus, Camerarius and Bauhin as being *Jasione montana* L. A sheet [Salv-213] is preserved in the Salvador herbarium with specimens from the Ripollès area [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 18].

27. This would have been *Lamarckia aurea* (L.) Moench. (or *Cynosurus aureus* L.), a specimen of which [Salv-3275] is in the Salvador herbarium with the name *Gramen barcinonense*, a name that Tournefort gave to this species, instead of the name used by Dalechamp [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 236]. All subsequent authors have accepted the identicalness of Dalechamp's *Gramen aureus* and Tournefort's *Gramen barcinonense*.

28. GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA [2005, p. 558-563].

Molto Ill^e & R^{do} P^{re} Sig. Mio [Pr...]

Prof. Chirurgo maggiore delle Gallee di Sicilia
 Io ricevo carta de V. P. con la quale ho in-
 to grandissimo gusto en sentir noticia de la Sua
 salute, io la ho bonissima et tutti di mia famiglia a
 la disposizione de Suoi comandi. Moltissimo estimo
 la mercede espero de V. P. con mandar me il suo
 libro quando [...] estara scritto sia stampato, que
 non lassero de sentirne grande allegrezza essendo
 cosa de Pianta, se sirva V. P. intregarlo e mandar-
 lo al s^o Mattheo Boson Catalano per remettere a
 Bag^{no} - Bagnolo, que chi qui chi dara la
 parte Letta dara la soddisfazione come se ha
 a dato l'ordine. Et mai^{or} encara far me avio
 si sono altri authori moderni bresavici, et si
 se bonarano in Venetia dove sono della Herbo-
 ria naturale de V. P. Aldrovandi, siguali
 sono il suo de quadrupedi de digitari sui pa-
 ris, et in paris lib. duo. impreso in Bononia
 1637 in folio et l'altro de Serpenteum cordaco-
 num historie lib. duo Bononi^{ensis} 1630 in rom. et
 il prezzo in quanto se vendono, perche de il va-
 lo della sua opera meno gli libri lib. et loro non
 to, per largo parsona Concilio, perche che ha bona

orazione e il tempo face per inviar e rimandar
 a mi p^{re} con sigillo de la occasione a favor de V. P.
 grande de quita con Barcelona et de donde si co de
 p^{re} V. P. de voler servir et sigillo de la
 Jaume Salvador special de Bag^{no}

Figure 4. Letter addressed by Jaume Salvador to Silvio Boccone by December 20th 1695.
 (© Institut Botànic de Barcelona CSIC-Ajuntament de Barcelona)

Molto Ill^e & R^{do} P^{re} Sig. Mio [Pr...].

Per il Sr Chirurgo maggiore delle Gallee di Sicilia Io ricevo carta de V.P. Con la quale ho inteso grandissimo gusto en sentir noticia de la Sua salute, io la ho bonissima et tutti di mia famiglia a la disposizione de Suoi comandi. Moltissimo estimo la mercede espero de V. P. con mandar me il suo libro quando [...] estara scritto sia stampato, que non lassero de sentirne grande allegrezza essendo cosa de Pianta, se sirva V. P. intregarlo e mandar- lo al s^o Mattheo Boson Catalano per remettere a

Genova al s^e Giovanni Bap^{ta} Batiforo, que colui chi dara la p^{n^{te}} Lettere dara la sodisfazione come se li a datto l'ordine. Estimaro ancora darne aviso si sono altri authori moderni botanici, et si se trovaranno in Venezia [dati] tomi della Historia naturale de Ulisse Aldrovandi, li quali sono il tomo de quadrupedibus digitatis oviparis et viviparis lib. duo – impresso in Bononia 1639 in folio; et l'altro de Serpantum et draconum historia lib. duo Bononia 1640 1. tom. et il prezzo in quanto se vendono, perche ho il resto de la sua opera manco gli sudetti libri; et [cosi] non so piu largo pour non cansarlo, parcio che ho bona occasione, e il tempo breve per scrivere, rimagnendo humilmente a suoi piedi con desiderio grande de occasione a servirlo. Dio a V.P. guardi. di questa sua casa.

Barcelona et desembre di. 20 de 1695

De V.P. molto Hum^e et ogliga^{simo} Ser^e

Giacomo Salvador [...] di Bar.

In this letter, Jaume Salvador writes unceremoniously to ask Boccone for what he was interested in: the book by Boccone itself, the two volumes by Aldrovandi that he still did not have and any recent books on botany that had been printed in Venice. He also mentions the best way for them to be sent: by way of the Catalan and Genoese merchants he was having dealings with.

The next letter, sent by Giuseppe Auria to Jaume Salvador (and the draft or copy of the reply he addressed to the Sicilian surgeon), needs to be contextualised in order to understand the contents. After nine years of hostilities, the War of the League of Augsburg was coming to its conclusion. Following a victorious campaign in northern Catalonia and along the entire coastline of Catalonia and Valencia, on June 5th 1697 the city of Barcelona was besieged from both land and sea by French forces commanded by the Duke of Vendôme²⁹ (land forces) and the Count of Coevres³⁰ (naval forces). The siege lasted two months until August 20th. In view of the inability of the Viceroy, Francisco Fernández de Velasco (1646-1716), and the repeated requests of the Catalan institutions, in May King Charles II had finally authorised the city of Barcelona to organise and arm (as well as pay for) a citizens' militia according to the tradition in Barcelona. It was this militia that mainly defended the city from assaults by the French forces while the Viceroy and the forces he commanded were ingloriously on the move around Catalonia. Hence Auria's allusions to the courage of the Catalans who defended Barcelona in the face of a situation that was widely considered to be desperate.

The final allusions to the galleys which arrived from Sicily with reinforcements that were meant to join galleys of other Spanish squadrons, but which had remained in Cartagena while the siege of Barcelona was going on merely reflect the impotence of the Spanish forces to face an army and a navy that were much superior in both strength and efficacy. The supremacy of the French navy in the Western Mediterranean was indisputable and the Spanish fleet could do little more than avoid direct confrontation and provide troops and supplies wherever they were needed with no risk of conflict.

Giuseppe Auria's letter reads as follows:

29. Louis Joseph de Bourbon, Duke of Vendôme (1654-1712).

30. Victor-Marie d'Estrées, Count of Coevres and later Duke of Estrées (1660-1737).

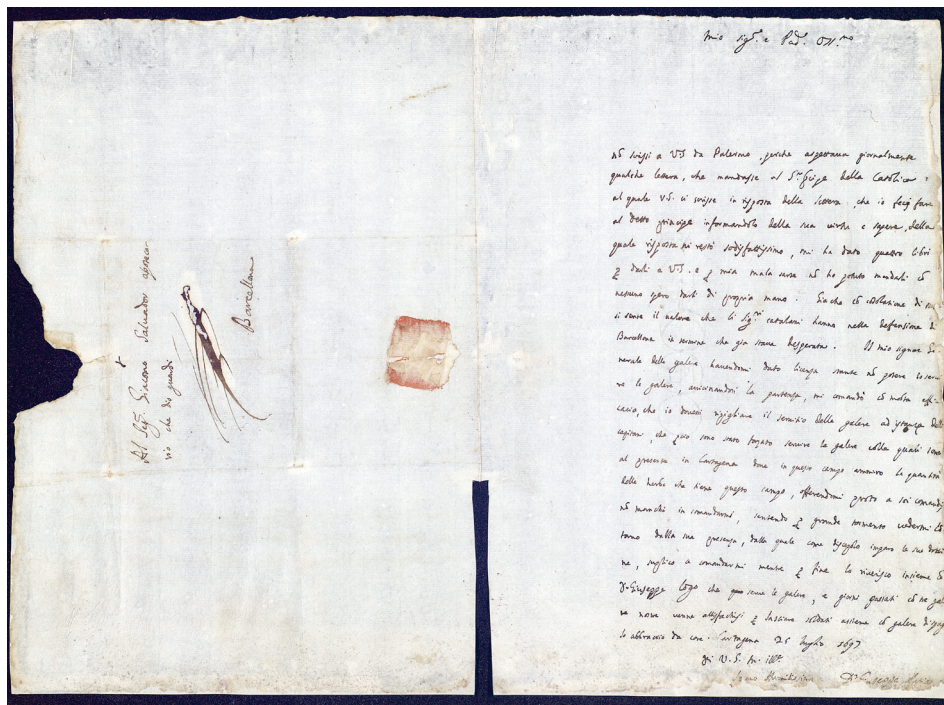


Figure 5. Letter addressed by Giuseppe Auria to Jaume Salvador from Cartagena by July 25th 1697.
(© Institut Botànic de Barcelona CSIC-Ajuntament de Barcelona)

Mio Sig^{re} e Pad^e Ill^{mo},

Non scrissi a V. S. da Palermo, perche aspettava giornalmente qualche lettera, que mandasse il Sig. Pri^{re} della Catolica al quale V. S. vi scrisse in risposta della lettera che io feci fare al detto principe informandolo della sua virtu et sapere, della quale risposta vi resto soddisfattissimo, mi ha dato quattro libri per darli a V. S. e per mia mala sorte non ho potuto mandarli con nessuno spero darli di propria mano. Gia che con [condolatione] di [cuor] si sente il valore que li Sig.ri catalani hanno nella difensione di Barcellona in termine gia stava desperata. Il mio signor Generale delle galere havendomi dato licenza stante non potere io servire le galere, avvicinandosi la partenza, mi comando con molta efficacia, che io dovessi vigilare il servizio delle galere ad istanza delli capitani, que per cio sono stato forzato servire le galere colle quali io resso al presente in Cartagena dove in questo campo ammiro la quantita delle herbe que tiene questo campo, offerendomi pronto a soi comandi non manchi in comandarmi, sentendo per grande tormento vedermi lontano della sua presenza, dalla quale come discepolo imparo le sue lezione, suplico a comandarmi mentre per fine io rieisco insieme con D. Giuseppe Longo, che serve le galere, e giorni passati con tre galere nostre venne allestachid per lasciare soldati assieme con galere di spagna.

Lo abbraccio da core.

Cartagena 25 Luglio 1697.

[...] V. S. M. Ill^e,

Suo humilissimo,

Dr. Giuseppe Auria

This letter from Auria confirms that there had been a direct epistolary exchange between Jaume Salvador and the Prince de La Cattolica, and in addition he also adds the information that the prince had sent him four books. Two of the books could very well be *Hortus Catholicus* and *Supplementum alterum ad Hortum Catholicum*, both by Francesco Cupani, published respectively in 1696 and 1697 and today preserved in the Salvador library bound together with a bookplate (*exlibris*) by Jaume Salvador on the cover of the first one where it says that he received it from the author. Also worthy of note is Auria's recognition of Jaume Salvador as an authority (*come discepolo imparo le sue lezioni*), although the degree to which this was a form of politeness or actually true is unknown.

Jaume Salvador replied to Giuseppe Auria just when the siege came to an end with a letter, a draft or copy of which is preserved among the documents in the Salvador collections.³¹

Amigo y muy Señor mio: Grande contento he tenido de recibir carta de V^d notificandome en ella de su buena salud; en esse tiempo estava jo algo indispueto, pero aora (a Dios gracias) estoy muy reparado, y casi del todo bueno, y siempre de qualquier manera estoy a su serbicio. Veo tambien las noticias me da del S^r Principe de la Catolica mi S^r; y quando le escrivi ja previne que a no ser el frances baxasse a hazer la campanya en esta Ciudad recogeria las semillas de la hyervas que su E^a me mandava; pero como haja sucedido del modo lo pronosticavamos no a sido possible, por estar en esse tiempo en los conflictos del sitio tan horrendo y tan largo que dizen los soldados de uno y otro exercito no averse visto igual i tantos ingenios de fuego, assi de la plaza, como de los asitiadores, y averse disparado contra la plaza más de veynte y seis mil bombas y granadas reales, y más de noventa mil balas, y la plaza a disparado tanto que el frances a quedado aturrido del valor tan grande de los soldados y moradores, y por ultimo no à sido rendimiento sino entrega; como lo vera en las Capitulaciones que van junto con esta, y por essa Causa a quedada la campanya del todo destruhida y talada, y aora actualmente se mantienen los dos exercitos en el llano [della]; el año que viene creo Dios nos dara quietud para poder satisfacer a la voluntad de dicho s^r, pues se habla mucho de ajustarse la paz.

Tengo vivo sentimiento de no podernos [confluir] para recibir un abrazo de V^e y tratar algo de nuestra curiosidad botánica, que no es posible [menos], V^e la abra extendida mucho con su vigilancia y trabajo. En lo que V^e dize que su E^a le entrego quatro libros para que los hiziese allegar a mis manos, siendo cosa de libros y de manos de su E^a me a quedado el desconsuelo grande de no verlos, pero si a V^e le parece bien entregarlos al sr. Dn. Pedro Bager –de essa Ciudad de Cartagena, o, a Alicante al sr. dⁿ Thomas Rogerio – que los dos son correspondientes del sr. Joseph Ramoneda de esta ciudad de Bar^a – mi cunyado, qualquier de dichos señores tendra cuydado en que vengan a manos de dicho Ramoneda mi cunyado y en esto sera tenerlos jo recibidos y darme esse gusto en satisfacer la afficion, y buena merced que V^e me haze quedando siempre suplicando al cielo a V^e G^{de} - desta su casa Barcelona y Agosto a los 20 de 1697. De V^e q.s.m.b. [Jaime Salvador].

Sr. Dn. Joseph Auria

This would mean that, once the hostilities came to an end and an honourable surrender had been signed, communications would have been more or less restored. One thing that had not been restored, as he succinctly explains in the letter, was the devastated state of the city and lowland plain adjacent to Barcelona as a result of the long hostilities and exchanges of fire

31. It is more than likely a draft because on the same sheet where it is written there is a shorter version that has been struck through. As the information in this shorter version is no different to that given in the longer version and is very similar, even in formal terms, we just transcribe the longer version.

between the besiegers and the besieged. As far as the books were concerned, Salvador gives the names of two traders, Pere Baguer and Tomás Rogerio, correspondents in Cartagena and Alicante respectively of Josep Ramoneda, a grocer in Barcelona and a brother-in-law of Jaume Salvador, who could deliver the letter.

No information has been found on Pere Baguer (most likely a Catalan trader living in Cartagena), but according to various papers by the historian Vicente Montojo Montojo we know that Tomás Rogerio (who was probably of Genoese origin) was one of the most prominent traders in Alicante and that during the last years of the reign of Charles II and the first years of Philip V's reign, he was consul to Denmark, Sweden and the Hanseatic cities and an appraiser of smuggled goods. Later on, during the time in which Alicante was occupied by the Allied forces that supported Charles III Habsburg (1706-1709), it appears he suffered severe losses for his loyalty to Philip V, although he quickly recuperated them [MONTOJO MONTOJO, 2009, p. 105].

Little information was uncovered on Josep Ramoneda aside from the relationship by marriage mentioned by Jaume Salvador in his letter. A grocer with the name Josep Ramoneda twice held the post of fifth councillor in the *Consell de Cent*, once in 1683 and again in 1691.

Almost simultaneously with this epistolary exchange between Giuseppe Auria and Jaume Salvador was the addition of a third commentator, Silvio Boccone, in Venice, who took advantage of the fact that the envoy sent by the emperor of Austria to the court in Madrid had to pass through Barcelona and he could give a letter for Jaume Salvador to a friend who formed part of the envoy's entourage.

De Venize ce 4^{me} Aust 1697

Monsieur

Je vous envoie Monsieur cette lettre par un Mr Mauran Dalteville, domestique de Monseigneur le compte d'Harach,³² il est de mes amis je vous prie le luy faire honneur, il a du merite. Il est trois ans qu'on m'a rendu a Palerme une lettre et un paquet avec des herbes curieuses qui vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'envoyer avec les Galeres de Sicile. Je vous suis fort obligé a votre bonté pour les marques d'estime que vous m'avez donné dans la mesme lettre, et pour le present des herbes de votre province. J'ay trouvé assez belle la Thymelea, la Jacea, l'espece de Dorycnium argenteum et quelques autres; je prens la liberté de vous envoyer quelque chose de ce pais icy come un temoignage de vostre vertu, et de ma reconnaissance. Je desire l'honneur de vostre connoissance et de votre amitié, et lors que ie me renderay a Palerme ie vous ecriray dabord, et ie vous feray part des plantes de la Sicile: Dans la Ville de Venize quelques Gentilhommes qui sont intelligens de la Botanique et qui sont de mes amis m'ont prié de vous demander quelques semences qui croissent chez vous, si vous avez la bonté de me les envoyer aussitost par la voye de Gennes, ou de Milan vous m'obligerez infiniment; mon adresse a Mr Boccone Religieux de Sant Bernard chez Mr le Baron de Tassis General des postes de Flandres a Venize.

et ie suis avec respect.

Votre tres humble Ser^e,

Monsieur.

Don Silvio Boccone

32. Aloys Thomas Raimund von Harrach (Vienna, 1669-1742). He must have been in Venice en route to Spain, where he was going as an envoy of the Austrian emperor to the court in Madrid (1697-1700), via Genoa and Barcelona. For Boccone, it was the perfect opportunity to send a consignment to Jaume Salvador through one of his attendants.

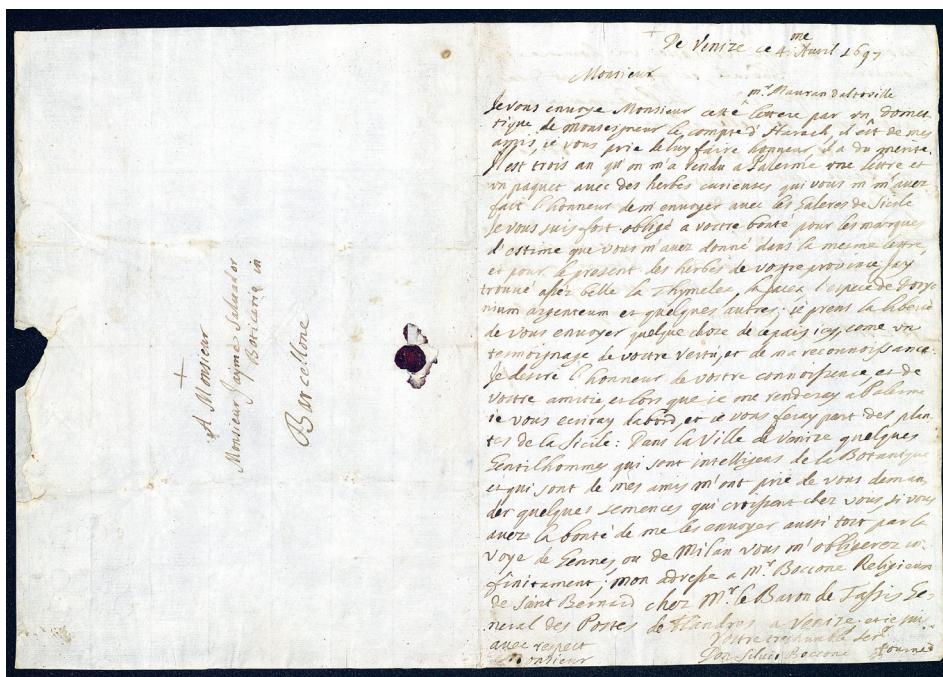


Figure 6. Letter addressed by Silvio Boccone to Jaume Salvador from Venice by August 4th 1697.

(© Institut Botànic de Barcelona CSIC-Ajuntament de Barcelona)

Boccone had actually made good use of some of the plants sent by Jaume Salvador, such as the *Dorycnium argenteum* that he mentions in his letter. Boccone had described it in his book as *Convolvulus rectus, villosus, argenteus, angustissimo folio*, pointing out that the plant had been sent by Jaume Salvador. Identification of the *Thymaelea* and *Jacea* that he refers to is more problematic. There is no mention of *Thymaelea* in Boccone's book and the only plant in the Salvador herbarium with this generic name is a sheet of *Globularia alypum* L. identified with the name *Thymaelea foliis acutis capitulo succisae, sive Alypum* from the *Pinax* by Caspar Bauhin. On the other hand, there are seven species of *Jacea* (written *Iacea*), none of which appear to coincide with those with the same generic name in the Salvador herbarium.

Around this date, Boccone was no longer living at the Adam and Eve hostel on La Frezzaria during his time in Venice, but at the much more comfortable residence of the Baron von Taxis,³³ the Palazzo Morosini.

33. At the time the letter was written, this title was held by Ferdinando della Torre Tassis (c. 1655-1721). The different branches of the Taxis family controlled numerous postal services between the main cities in Europe. More particularly, the heirs to the Venetian branch were hereditary generals of the Imperial post in Venice.

Boccone ends his letter with a brief “*tournez*” (PTO), on the back of which is a curious appendix written in French not by him, but by Carlo Ventimiglia e Filangeri, Count of Prades.

Monsieur, Puisque vous estes un homme genereux et liberale, et fort savant dans la Botanique et dans la Pharmacie et avez donné des belles plantes a Mr de Tournefort je vous prie d’avoir la bonté de me faire part de vos semences, et de vostres Plantes seiches; et de plus si vous pouvez me faire une collection de plantes de 250 plantes de vostre Province et je vous promet de vous recompenser en quelque choses rare, je vous donne le temps a me rendre ce service iuisque au mois de Septembre, et vous pouvez dans l’automne les envoyer a Palerme pour Mr le Comte de Prades.

It is clear from the tone of his letter that the Count de Prades was used to giving orders and being promptly and unquestioningly obeyed. He does introduce his request with a form of courtesy (“*je vous prie d’avoir la bonté*”), but then straight away peremptorily sets the number of sheets of dried plants he wants to receive and when. It is unknown if Jaume Salvador dispatched the order or not.

The final letter preserved from Jaume Salvador’s correspondents in Sicily was written by Giuseppe Auria and sent from Palermo. It provides a wide range of information, in particular with regard to the relations of Jaume Salvador i Pedrol with this circle of Sicilian naturalists. It reads as follows:

Sig^r mio e Pad^e Cariss^{mo},

La carta di V. S. mi capito nel Santo Natale passato fatta di pochi giorni; della quale ho ricevuto consolatione indicibile [per] sentire distintamente che ha ricevuto solamente due libri hortus catholicus, e se la passi con bona salute; mi dispiace che non si capitò [per] via di Menorca opera di Adriano aminsicht³⁴ stampato in Napoli con nova aggiunta che io consignai al S^{re} Giuseppe [Portella] per inviarlo a V. S. Circa quello che mi scrive che mi mandara meza dozana di libri de lo passato en el sitio de Barcellona, non ho ricevuto niente. Circa la pianta colta nel porto di Mahon adiantum folio vario Tourneforti, il P. Cupani, nel supplementum ad hortus catholicus la chiama Lonchitis Balearica minima laevis pulchro folio. Si sta stampando la opera farmaceutica de Gervasi³⁵ ed aggiunta con la prima occasione ce la inviero colla opera del P. D. Silvio Boccone, il d^o Padre Boccone e fora Palermo e no me lasciò la opera. Il S^{re} Principe della Catolica e ito a Roma colla occasione del anno santo e ci ha portato vasi con fiori in quantita secondo il desiderio del Sr Trionfetti. Feci capitare la lettera del Sr Geronimo Gomes a suo fratello che si ritrovava a Trajna e ú mese che e tornato non mi ha dato risposta nessuna et a stato causa di tardare a rispondere a V. S. La lettera de V. S. la ho letto tanto al Ie Sr Principe come anche al P. Boccone e P. Cupani, si rendono obligati assai al afetto di V. S. io ne resto piu di ogni altro obligato nel ricevere li honore della carta che mi invia pregando a seguitare ad honorarmi in occasione.

34. He was more than likely referring to Adrian von Mynsicht (1588-1638), a German doctor, alchemist and follower of Paracelsus, who is attributed with the discovery of tartar emetic (potassium antimony tartrate). There are two editions of this book in the Salvador library, the first from 1644, printed in Lyon [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 337-338], and the second from 1726, printed in Geneva [MONTERRAT & PARDO, 2008, p. 783], but not the copy that Auria had sent, which was printed in Naples in 1697.

35. This undoubtedly refers to the second edition of the book by Niccolò Gervasi (1632-1681), *Andidotarium Panormitanum galeno-chirurgico*, edited postumously in Palermo in 1700 [GERVASI, 1700]. Auria must have ultimately found a way to send the book to Jaume Salvador as there is a copy in the Salvador library

Tra le cose curiose da me osservate sono alcune piante que il patre Cupani ha intagliate pigliate da me in Sardegna ed in Maiorca. Osservai in Sardegna due miglia lontano da Callari un bosco pieno di Alissum Galeni la quale pianta da V. S. viddi la prima volta.³⁶

Vicino Mahone alla via di N. S. del Toro osservai il Panax herculeum del quale qui ne havemo gran quantita.³⁷ Oggi e stato in mia casa alcune hore il P. Cupani ed ha esaminato le piante che V. S. mi diede e quelle que havea mandato molti anni sono con quelle che io havea colto con meterci il nome da V. S. significatomi, ed ha stato con grandissima consolatione, dicendomi di volere tornare a mia casa [per] tornare a vedere il restante e conferisca meglio. Me riferisca al Sr. Geronimo Gomez ed a questi Sr. Dr. Pogiada Fornés Sola faccio riverenza da Palermo 1 giugno 1700.

SS Sr. [Colli], e il Sr. Longo riveriseno assai V. S. e si rallegrano sentendo que si passa bene.

Suo Servo Hum^{mo},

Dr. Giuseppe Auria

He at once says in the first paragraph of the letter, for example, that Jaume Salvador had received the two books by Cupani, *Hortus catholicus sive catalogus Plantarum quae in Horto Botanico Misilmeri D. Josephi Principis Catholicae reperiuntur* and *Supplementum alterum ad Hortum Catholicum* in 1699, although another book, more than likely the 1697 Naples edition of *Thesaurus* by Adrian von Mynsicht [MYNSICHT, 1697], was lost along the way. Also lost in transit, in the opposite direction, were six short works on the siege of Barcelona in 1697 that Jaume Salvador enclosed in the consignment he sent on 20 August that same year.³⁸ On the other hand, the second edition of the pharmaceutical work of Niccoló Gervasi [GERVASI, 1700] by Agostino Gervasi, the son of Niccoló, which was being printed in Palermo, did arrive, but obviously at a date later than that of the letter, as it is in the Salvador library.

We have not been able to find out anything about Giuseppe Portella who should have delivered the book by Adrian von Minsicht to Jaume Salvador. Neither have we been able to identify Jeronimo Gómez who Auria refers to as having written a letter to its brother who lived in Troina, which Auria should have delivered to.

36. This was undoubtedly *Marrubium alysson* L. A sheet in the Salvador herbarium [Salv-786] contains a *Marrubium*, collected in a place that today lies within the city centre of Barcelona (near the present *plaça d'Espanya*), which Pourret chose not to attribute to any specific species, but which Joan Salvador had identified as Clusius' *Alysson Galeni* and Tournefort's *Marrubium hispanicum supinum, calice stellato et aculeato*, which Linnaeus and later authors both identified as *Marrubium alysson* L. [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 62].

37. It is impossible to know which species Auria was referring to here. Linnaeus named the *Panax heracleum* of Jean Bauhin and other preceding authors as *Heracleum spondylium* L., but it was a highland and subalpine plant that did not grow in either Minorca or Sicily. There is a sheet of this species from the Ripollès area in the Salvador herbarium. Nevertheless, Linnaeus himself named *Pastinaca opopanax* (today *Opopanax chironium*, after W. D. J. Koch) as Morison's *Panax heracleum*, which does grow in Sicily, whereas it is rare in the Balearic Islands. Auria may have applied the name *Panax heracleum* to a specimen of *Pastinaca lucida* L., a species that is endemic in Majorca and Minorca, a sheet of which [Salv-1846] is in the Salvador herbarium, with specimens from those places that he himself mentions (Alaor and Monte Toro) [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 136], having mistaken it for *Opopanax chironium*, which is common in Sicily.

38. This would have been the opuscle, *Manifestaciones en que se publican muchos y relevantes servicios... con que ha servido a sus señores reyes la Excelentísima ciudad de Barcelona, singularmente en el sitio horroroso que acaba de padecer*, attributed to Serapi Berard, Canon of Girona cathedral, a copy of which is in the Salvador library.

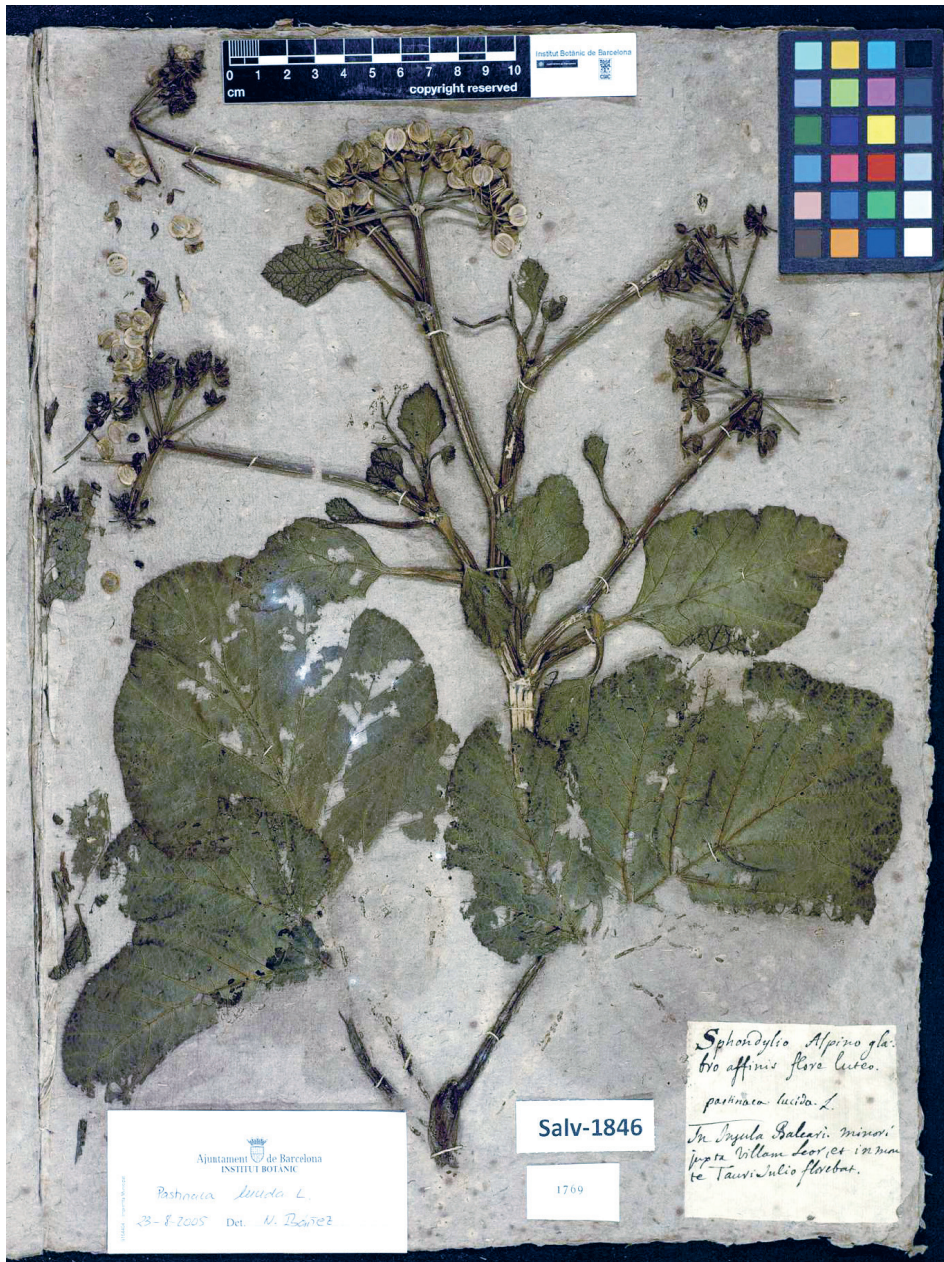


Figure 7. Sheet of the Salvador Herbarium with an specimen of *Pastinaca lucida* L. from Minorca.
(© Institut Botànic de Barcelona CSIC-Ajuntament de Barcelona)

The year 1700, like every year that ends a century, was a Holy Year and a pretext, for many of those who could afford to do so, to go on a pilgrimage to Rome. It seems that the Prince of La Cattolica took the opportunity to visit the La Sapienza botanical garden and, encouraged by Giovanni Battista Trionfetti (1658-1706), acquired a considerable batch of live pot plants for his Misilmeri gardens.

Of particular interest are the two paragraphs on Auria's observations in Majorca, Minorca and Sardinia, which show him to be an attentive observer of nature in the habitats where the incidents of the seafaring Sicilian galleys took him. They also helped us realise that in the supplement to Francesco Cupani's *Hortus catholicus* there are various descriptions of plants sent by Jaume Salvador i Pedrol to the Sicilian botanist. At the beginning of the letter, Auria refers to a plant that he had collected in the port of Mahon and identified as Tournefort's *Adiantum [minimum] folio vario*, but which Cupani had described as a new species with the name *Lonchitis balearica minima laevis pulchro folio subtèr punctatus* [CUPANI 1697, p. 56]; this was very possibly *Asplenium marinum* L., a species preserved in a sheet [Salv-3392] in the Salvador herbarium that came from Cala Pedrera in the port of Mahon, Minorca [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 244]; it could also be *A. balearicum* Shivas, although Cupani's description of it is based on specimens collected by Auria in Majorca, and this latter species is only found in Minorca.

More interesting, however, are the references to plants sent by Jaume Salvador that appear in Cupani's book. There are five of these and, as they all appear in the *Supplementum* but not the initial *Hortus Catholicus*, they probably correspond to one of Salvador's consignments sent between 1696 and 1697. The first of these references includes an eulogy to Jaume Salvador, who he describes as a "*Barcinonense Pharmacario, viro in omnes sibi adventantes gracioso, ac in Herbaria benemerentissimo*", from whom he had received the plant that he called *Cracca angustifolia, Galegae floribus purpurocaeruleis* [CUPANI 1697, p. 23], which was conceivably *Vicia cracca* L. ssp. *tenuifolia* (Roth) Gaud. Giovanni Gussone [GUSSONE, 1844, 2(2), p. 855] identified Cupani's specimen as *V. elegans* that he himself had described (GUSSONE, 1828, 2, p. 438), but this name is now a mere synonym because Albrecht Wilhelm Roth [ROTH, 1788, 1, p. 309] had already published the description of the same taxon with the specific name of *V. tenuifolia*, which, according to *Flora dels Països Catalans* [BOLÒS & VIGO, 1984-2001, 1, p. 509-510], would be a sub-species of *V. cracca* L.. Carlos Romero Zarco, monographist of the *Vicia* genus in *Flora Iberica* [TALAVERA *et al.*, 1999, p. 396-398], gave *V. tenuifolia* Roth the status of species, although in some final observations he commented:

Because of their narrow leaflets, certain plants in eastern Spain are similar to *V. tenuifolia* subsp. *elegans* (Guss.) Nyman, *Consp. Fl. Eur.*: 206 (1878) [*V. elegans* Guss. *Fl. Sicul. Prodr.*, 2: 438 (1832), *basiòn.*] from Sicily and southern Italy.

This is not at all surprising as Cupani's initial description did not refer to a Sicilian specimen, but to ones sent from Barcelona by Jaume Salvador.

The second of the plants published by Cupani from specimens sent by Jaume Salvador is the one described by him as *Festuca capitulis duris longa spica, seu duplò longiore* [CUPANI

1697, p. 29], but which should be identified as *Aegilops triuncialis* L., which is in the Salvador herbarium in a sheet [Salv-3316] collected from the lower slopes of Montserrat [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 238].

Cupani named the third as *Limonium minus Barcelonense purpurea cristata panicula, floribus luteis* [CUPANI 1697, p. 54] though we have not been able to identify it precisely; the only specimens of *Limonium minus* in the Salvador herbarium belong to *Limonium virgatum* (Willd.) Fourr. [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 147], with violet-coloured flowers, not yellow.

It is also difficult to establish the particular identity of the fourth plant that Jaume Salvador sent to Cupani. Salvador had called it *Linum parvum* whereas Cupani described it with the name *Linum minus spisso Myrthi foliolo parvo, flosculis pallidulis* [CUPANI 1697, p. 56]; Giovanni Gussone [GUSSONE, 1844, 2(2), p. 622] identified Cupani's description as being *Andrachne telephioides* L., a species that is not represented in the Salvador herbarium although, with its various features, in particular the shape of its leaves, it would fit the descriptions of both Cupani and Salvador.

As for the fifth plant Jaume Salvador sent to Cupani, while he described it as *Potamogeton tenuissimo gramineo folio ad alas utriculato, spicatum*, he was actually referring to *Potamogeton minimum, capillaceo folio* from Caspar Bauhin's *Pinax*, although it appears it should be identified with *Potamogetum pusillum* L. Linnaeus, from his *Species Plantarum* which gives as synonyms for this species both Caspar Bauhin's name and the descriptions of Ray, Vaillant and Boerhaave in terms of *Potamogeton pusillum, gramineo folio*, etc. A sheet of this species [Salv-3316] is conserved in the Salvador herbarium with a label that gives Ray's description from his *Historia plantarum generalis* [RAY, 1693], the only one published prior to 1696 and therefore the only one that Jaume Salvador could have known of [IBÁÑEZ, 2006, p. 89].

6. FAREWELL SICILY

These are all of the letters sent by Jaume Salvador and his Sicilian correspondents that are preserved in the cabinet of curiosities of the Salvador family. The death of king Charles II of Spain without a successor and the resulting conflict between the Archduke Charles of Austria and the grandson of Louis XIV of France, Philip of Bourbon, who was proclaimed king by the Courts of Castile (but not by the territories of the Crown of Aragón, including Catalonia) on 8 April 1701, saw the start of a period of conflicts across Europe that would also negatively affect the networks of the Republic of Letters.

The fact that, at the start of the conflict, Catalonia and Sicily were on opposite sides could explain the absence of communication even though important individuals, for example, the Prince of La Cattolica, had remained loyal to the cause of the Austrian pretender (crowned in Catalonia as Charles III of Spain) while the Viceroy to Sicily swore allegiance to Philip of Bourbon. We also know that the galley squadron of Sicily was in Naples in September 1701 and that it took part in quelling the rebellion of a section of the garrison in Naples in support of Charles III Habsburg. In the following years, the squadron's theatre of operations appears

to have been limited to the Italian coastline until 1714 when it participated in the sea blockade of Barcelona during the final siege of the city.

On the other hand, the death during the war of Boccone (1704), the Count of Prades (1705), Cupani (1710) and possibly Auria, whose date of death is unknown, would more than adequately account for the fact that the epistolary relationship was not resumed; only the Prince of La Cattolica survived until 1721 although, after fourteen years of war and in the absence of his botanist mentors, it is understandable that he did not try to re-establish communications that had been interrupted for so long.

Jaume Salvador was active until well after the end of the War of the Spanish Succession. It was in the early years of the 18th century that the back room of his apothecary became a privileged scientific meeting place for the personal physicians to Charles III Habsburg; Nicola Pio Garelli³⁹ and Felix Gabriele Longobardo;⁴⁰ the Lieutenant (Viceroy) of Catalonia, Leo Corfitz, Count of Ulfeldt;⁴¹ together with a significant number of the medical staff of the English forces allied with Charles III Habsburg. Locals also took part in these gatherings, including apothecary, physician and surgeon friends and the elder sons of Jaume Salvador [CAMARASA, 2011, 2016].

From 1706 onwards, with the return of Jaume Salvador's eldest son, Joan Salvador i Riera, from his travels in France and Italy all of the Salvadors' scientific correspondence was handled by him while Jaume Salvador himself, aside from his essential professional activities and business dealings with suppliers and clients, focused more on maintaining personal and courteous relationships with both the Court and city authorities as well as with the other guests to the gatherings in the back room of his apothecary, until 1712 or 1713 when, in view of the development of events he moved with his wife and youngest children to a property he had in Sant Joan Despí, while his elder sons remained behind and took part in the defence of the city until 11 September, 1714. Boerhaave gives a startling account of the situation in Barcelona and of the Salvadors in the summer of 1714 in a letter sent from

39. Nicola Pio (or Pius Nikolaus) Garelli (Bologna, 1675-Vienna, 1739), Personal physician to Charles III Habsburg from 1696 onwards. He accompanied him on all his itineraries throughout the Iberian Peninsula in defence of his right to the crown. Later on, in Vienna, with Charles who had become emperor Charles VI, he established and was the first prefect of the library of the Imperial Court.

40. Felix Gabriele Longobardo (Castellammare di Stabia, 1660-Vienna, 1747). First physician of the Kingdom of Naples and personal physician to Charles III Habsburg during his stay in Barcelona and in whose service he would remain as personal physician after he had been crowned emperor Charles VI.

41. Leo Corfitz, Count of Ulfeldt (Copenhagen 1651-Vienna 1716). He formed part of Charles III's military entourage in Barcelona as Field Marshal in the Imperial Guard. Appointed Lieutenant (Viceroy) of Catalonia (1706-1710), he was responsible for the defence of Barcelona during the siege of 1706 and he led the defence of Empordà and La Cerdanya against the French forces in 1709. Plants from his garden are conserved in the Salvador herbarium.

Leyden (Holland) to William Sherard, dated 30 August 1714, transcribed by G. A. Lindeboom [LINDEBOOM, 1962].⁴²

7. BY WAY OF CONCLUSIONS

Jaume Salvador's correspondence with his Palermitan counterparts shows him as a genuine "citizen" of the "Republic of Letters", in active participation in the exchanges of correspondence, books, plant samples and other objects of the participants in the communication networks between scholars of his time. He acts as an attentive disciple, albeit aware of the subject, in his relations with Silvio Boccone, while being recognized as a teacher by Giuseppe Auria. We see, through this correspondence, how the specificity and uniqueness of Mediterranean flora begins to be recognized and how folds of critical species circulate among incipient specialists, in the middle of which Jaume Salvador does nothing wrong. Some moments and, above all, the sudden end of this correspondence shows how the political circumstances of each moment and the positions (voluntary or forced by the social situation of each one) interfered with the orientation of the epistolary exchanges within the framework of the "Republic of Letters".

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42. *Multum doleo infelix Barcinonis fatum, ejus enim ornamentum Salvatore fido comercio haud parum splendoris horto adferebat missis assidue rarissimis ex Catalonia, Majorca, & Menorca, seminibus. Sed delirant ut olim reges, Achivi plectuntur*. [The miserable fate of Barcelona grieves me deeply; it is to Salvador's credit that, through his loyal correspondence, he has greatly contributed to the splendour of our garden by assiduously sending the seeds of plants that are extremely rare from Catalonia, Majorca and Minorca. But, as in ancient times, the kings have gone mad and the Achaeans are the ones who must pay the price.] Lindeboom's transcription does not intentionally link Boerhaave's words to Barcelona, although for anyone familiar with the situation in the city during the summer of 1714 our interpretation is unquestionable.

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