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The Copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* (Rome, 1478) owned by the Vespuccis

The 1478 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography* and the Vespucci copy

On October 10, 1478, Arnoldus Buckinck printed in Rome a new edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, the second to include maps (preceded by that of Bologna, Domenico de' Lapi, 1477) and the third in absolute terms (*editio princeps* of Vincenza, Hermann Liechtenstein, 1475).¹ The 1478 edition, portraying Jacopo Angel's Latin translation of the original Greek, and preceded by an anonymous dedication to Pope Sixtus IV, was curated by the Veronese humanist Domizio Calderini, who collated the text with a Greek manuscript owned by Giorgio Gemisto Pletone, and introduced corrections both to the text and to the maps. The 27 copper-engraved maps, of fine execution, were projected by Conrad Sweynheym, who worked on them from 1474 until his death in 1477. The preparation of the maps (following Donnus Nicolaus's trapezoid projection for the 26 regional maps) may in fact predate those of the Bolognese edition of 1477, which is commonly regarded as of far inferior quality, and contains numerous mistakes as a result of a hurried publication.² In sharp contrast, the Roman edition of 1478 has been considered by many "to be the finest Ptolemaic plates produced until Gerard Mercator",³ and to "rank as one of the most remarkable achievements in map printing".⁴

The rarity of the work and the quality of its engravings made the 1478 edition a coveted object for wealthy book collectors. Although there is no study of the forty surviving copies of the edition, the number of copies with miniatures and/or coats of arms appears to be quite high. The arms of Cardinal Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini (Pope Pius III in 1503) appear in a copy believed to have

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1 Claudio Ptolemaeus, *Cosmographia*, Roma, Arnoldus Buckinck, 1478; ISTC ip01083000. On the 1478 Ptolemy edition, see Skelton 1966; Shirley 1984, 3–4 no. 4; Campbell 1987, 122–133; Gentile 1992, 219–221; Azzini 2012; Van Duzer 2015.

2 Campbell 1987, 123; Gentile 1992, 217–219.

3 Shirley 1984, 3.

4 Woodward 1987, 195.

successively belonged to Christopher Columbus.⁵ The arms of the Della Rovere family are found in one of the two copies held at the British Library.⁶ The National Libraries of France and Austria each hold a copy with an (unidentified) Italian coat of arms,⁷ while still others contain illuminated initials.⁸ At least three of the surviving copies were printed on vellum.⁹

The single copy preserved today in a Florentine library represents one of such precious specimens.¹⁰ Illuminations are found on f. 2r (Fig. 1), and they comprise the initial C of *Cosmographia*, the intercolumnar space, and the top and bottom margins. In the middle of the bottom margin, a wreath surrounds the coat of arms of the owner's family. The golden wasps on a blue bend that crosses the red background are the hallmark of the Vespucci coat of arms.

In addition to the intrinsic interest of an early printed copy of Ptolemy's *Geography* in the possession of the Vespucci family, the book contains manuscript annotations on the text as well as on some of the maps. Despite these elements, the volume itself has received very little attention, both as regards the Vespucci owner(s) of the book and the content and nature of its marginalia.¹¹ The aim of this note is to shed light on both these aspects.

5 Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Inc. San Román 2; see Manso Porto 2006.

6 London, The British Library, C. 3. d. 6. See *BMC*, IV, 78 no. 18252.

7 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cartes et Plans, GE DD-1002 (RES) [available online: ark:/12148/btv1b550059571]; Wien, Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Ink. 5. B. 18 (see Hermann 1932, 168–169).

8 E. g., Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 2º Auct. Gr. V, 4142 (see Kind 1995, 97 no. 200).

9 Siena, Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati, O II 034; London, National Maritime Museum, sign. 9660–3001; Milwaukee (WI), University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, American Geographical Society Library, sign. At.050 A-1478. The information derives from online catalogues; I have not seen these volumes.

10 Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (hereafter BNCF), Magl. A.-.14 (formerly Gaddi 383).

11 Gentile 1992, 219–222; Cattaneo in Curto, Cattaneo, Almeida 2003, 343–345 no. I.4 and Fig. 5 (reproduction of the first map, ff. 71v–72r). It has most recently been described in the typescript catalogue in the Sala de' Manoscritti of BNCF: P. Scapecchi (cur.), *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. Catalogo Incunaboli* (aggiornamento novembre 2011), p. 375 no. 2344. The BNCF copy has been reproduced, without further discussion, in Cardini, Montesano 2011, 151 (f. 2r of the edition), and in Cattaneo 2011, 74–75 (detail of Ptolemy's first and second projections, ff. 23r and 25r).

Fig. 1. Claudi Ptolemei *Cosmographia*, BNCF, Magl. A.-.14, f. 2r Courtesy of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali



The Vespucci owners of the BNCF Ptolemy

The two main elements that allow us to reconstruct the early history of the book within the Vespucci family are the coat of arms itself, and an owner's annotation found in f. 1r. The Vespucci coat of arms includes, on the upper part, a white vase with three flowers. The addition of this badge to the family arms was a distinction granted by Alfonso V of Aragon to Giovanni di Simone Vespucci, upon his nomination as counselor in 1428,¹² and which only his direct descendants inherited. By 1478, two of Giovanni's three male sons had reached their forties and were socially and economically well settled: the doctor in law and diplomat Guidantonio (1436–1501), and the cloth merchant Simone (1437–1509).¹³

This branch of the Vespucci family was only distantly related to that of Amerigo the Elder: Giorgio Antonio and Amerigo the Younger's father Nastagio were third cousins of Guidantonio and Simone, their closest common ancestor being their great-great-grandfather Bartolo Vespucci. However, throughout the fifteenth century the two branches maintained a close relationship: they were both settled in the Gonfalone Unicorno, kept two family chapels in the church of Ognissanti, and similarly used artistic patronage to establish the family's social and economic status, with Botticelli as a common painter. In the Catasto of 1480, Nastagio declared he was living in a house rented by Guidantonio and Simone, while Guidantonio was in a diplomatic mission at the French court, where he took 29-year-old Amerigo Vespucci with him. Bartolomeo di ser Antonio Vespucci, nephew of the navigator, almost certainly shared the same private preceptor as Guidantonio's son Giovanni, and years later the latter wrote to Lorenzo de' Medici the Younger asking for Bartolomeo to be hired as a doctor at the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova¹⁴.

The reading and interpretation of the owner's annotation in f. 1r (Fig. 2) raise notable difficulties, since the text was partially erased and scribbled over. To the naked eye, the note reads as follows:

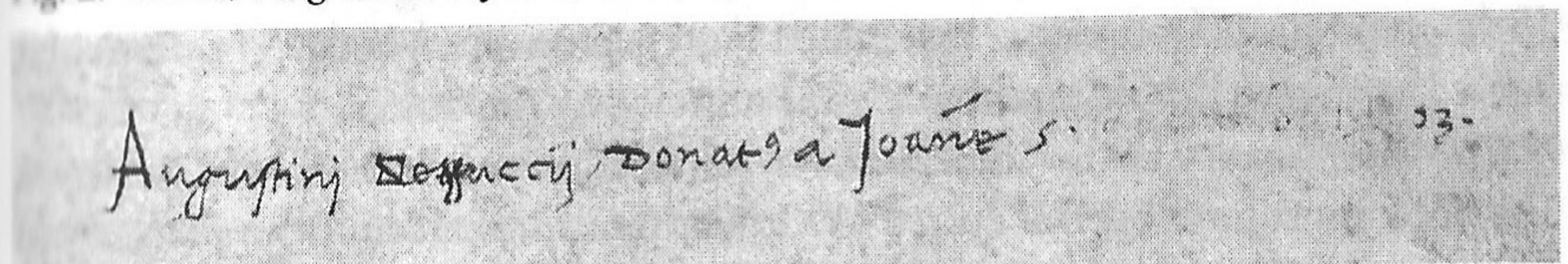
Augustini +e++uccii, donatus a Ioan(n)e s. [erased]3

12 See Bandini 1898, 5 and Uzielli's note in 73.

13 *Ibid.*, 7 and 75–76. Giovanni's third male son Piero died in 1474.

14 Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Mediceo Avanti il Principato, filza 123, doc. 377 (September 17, 1515). On the relationship between these branches of the Vespucci family, see most recently Mariani 2015; on Giovanni Vespucci and his tutor Agostino, see below.

Fig. 2. BNCF, Magl. A.-.14, f. 1r (detail)



The three crosses stand for the first, third and fourth letters of the surname, which were clearly written over—possibly by the same hand, since both the strokes and the ink are almost identical. Under close inspection, the original word "Nettuccii" is still fairly recognizable. The manipulated text does not appear to offer a different, coherent name (it certainly does not read "Vespucii", as has been previously stated),¹⁵ but just seems to 'conceal' the original form. The use of ultraviolet light revealed traces of a superscript 'o' after the 's', and of the following letters in the erased section: "d[-]s[-] p[-]lo 15(?) [blank space]0." The last characters seem to correspond to a year, although the number '5' is in fact much larger than the rest of the letters, and is followed by a small gap before the last two ciphers. With these considerations in mind, I would tentatively propose the following restitution and interpretation of the original note:

Augustini Nettuccii, donatus a Ioan(n)e s(u)o [d<i>s<ci>p<u>lo (?) 150]3

[Property] of Agostino Nettucci, given by his pupil Giovanni in 1503.

As has emerged in recent years, Agostino Nettucci da Terricciola was the true name of the humanist Agostino Vespucci, as he was known in Florence.¹⁶ After obtaining a notary diploma in Pisa around 1485, he entered the service of Guidantonio Vespucci as the private preceptor of his son Giovanni (b. 1478)¹⁷, and around 1493 he was allowed to start using the Vespucci surname as his own. In the same years, he attended the Florentine *Studio* and became a proud pupil of Angelo Poliziano. Between 1494 and 1517, Agostino worked at the Florentine chancery as a coadjutor and a secretary to the ambassadors. His only literary work extant today is a geographical and antiquarian treatise on Spain (*De situ totius Hispaniae*, dated 1520), which was the result of his own investigations during a diplomatic mission as secretary to the Florentine ambassador Giovanni Corsi, at the Spanish

15 Gentile 1992, 219; Scapecchi's typescript catalogue (see above, n. 11).

16 Since the identification of Vespucci and Nettucci as the same humanist made by Schlechter 2010, literature on this figure has quickly increased: see Klein 2013, 271–276; ead. 2015; González Germain 2015a; id. 2015b. The following lines are derived from my previous articles.

17 On Giovanni Vespucci, see Bandini 1898, 7–8 and Uzielli's note in 76; González Germain 2015a, 90.

court from late 1513 until the death of Ferdinand II of Aragon (January 1516).¹⁸ Throughout his life, Agostino assembled quite a prominent library, of particular interest owing to his habit of thoroughly annotating the books.

The early history of the volume can be inferred from what we have gathered. The book must have been acquired by Guidantonio Vespucci,¹⁹ who precisely in 1478 started a long and brilliant ambassadorial career under Lorenzo de' Medici (later continued under the popular government). In the first half of 1478, he was sent to Rome to treat with Sixtus IV, and later that same year he was destined to the French court, where he was accompanied by Amerigo Vespucci.²⁰ They left Florence in early September,²¹ so Guidantonio (and Amerigo) could not yet have Ptolemy's copy with them. Guidantonio probably purchased the book (and had it illuminated) in the years following his return from France, during which he was repeatedly sent to Rome, namely from November 1480 to June 1481, between February and May 1482, and as a permanent ambassador from May 1483.

The book remained in Guidantonio's possession until his death, on December 4, 1501. Two years later, his son and heir Giovanni Vespucci gave the book to his former preceptor, Agostino Vespucci/Nettucci, who shared with Guidantonio his passion for the humanist studies—probably more than Giovanni—, as well as a public activity that also made him travel often. In conclusion, over the span of a few decades three Vespuccis consecutively owned the 1478 copy of Ptolemy's *Geography*—but only one of them left traces of his having read it in the form of marginalia.

Agostino Vespucci's annotations and his *De situ totius Hispaniae*

Indeed, if we exclude the handwritten captions in Ptolemy's two projections—which were certainly carried out at the printing house²²—, the rest of the marginalia should be attributed, in my opinion, to the hand of Agostino Vespucci. The

18 Vespucci's work has been recently edited in Vespucci 2017. Its original manuscript is preserved at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter BAV], ms. Ott. lat. 2104. On this work, see Almagià 1950; González Germain 2015a, 101–117; id., in press.

19 See Martines 1968, *ad indicem*; De Angelis 2004, 167–170; Mariani 2015, 205–206, 208, 210–211.

20 As appears in the 1480 *Catasto*; see Bandini 1898, 71.

21 The most detailed source of information for Guidantonio's diplomatic activity from 1478 onwards are the notes to the letters of Lorenzo de' Medici (1977–2011). Vespucci left Florence for Milan on September 3: see *ibid.*, III, 198.

22 BNCF, Magl. A.-.14, ff. 23v and 25r (reproduced in Cattaneo 2011, 74–75). The handwriting and the text disposition is exactly the same of the copies in Paris and Madrid (as in nt. 5 and 7).

bulk of annotations present an homogenous stroke and a similar dark brown ink, which suggests that they were carried out approximately in the same period. To this group belongs the only dated annotation, next to the entry *Badacum* (Ptol. *geog.* 2, 13, 3: Βέδακον), which Vespucci corrected as 'Budacum' and related to the capital of Hungary: "Buda, ubi nunc Turchus. 1529."²³

There are however a number of marginalia which seem to be much earlier—possibly even predating the year in which he would have become the owner of the book (1503).²⁴ In particular, this is the case of the red-ink gloss over the initial word *cosmographia*, which reads "mundi d(e)scriptio." Contemporary with this gloss is an interesting sketch of a giraffe with the caption "camelopa(r)dal(is)", located in *Aethiopia* (Fig. 3).²⁵

Fig. 3. BNCF, Magl. A.-.14, f. 100r (detail)



23 *Ibid.*, f. 20v. The Ottomans captured Buda in September 1529 from Ferdinand I, who had taken the city only two years before.

24 These marginalia most closely resemble other notes that can be dated in the first half of the 1490s. This conclusion is derived from a paleographical study of the extant books of Agostino Vespucci's library, which was carried out during a research fellowship at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute for Neo-Latin Studies (Innsbruck, Austria) in the winter of 2014–2015. I intend to publish the results in the future, as part of a larger study on Agostino Vespucci.

25 BNCF, Magl. A.-.14, f. 100r (fourth map of Africa); the figure may directly derive from the giraffe given to Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1487, or from one of the numerous drawings that were made of it; see Montemagno Ciseri 2012–13. In the same map, a number of names have been underlined with a similar red ink (*Aethiopium*, [Africernes] *magna gens*, *Nilus fluvius*, *Azania*), although there is no certainty as regards the authorship of these marks.

Another layer of annotations, which possibly dates from the first decade of the sixteenth century (again on paleographical grounds), reveals Agostino's interest in the geography of Greece. He explained the meaning of the names of the *Strophades* islands ("conversio") and the *Insul(a)e Ciclades* ("q(uod) quasi circulum faciant"), and gave the Italian equivalent of *Heracium* ("vulgo Candia"), *Euboea* ("Negroponte") and the *Peloponnesus* ("vel Morea").²⁶

The rest of marginalia appear to have been written after his dismissal from the chancery in 1517. And, with the exception of a few *notabilia*²⁷ and a modern equivalent,²⁸ they focus exclusively on one subject: the geography of Iberia. As mentioned above, Agostino Vespucci was in Spain from late 1513 to the beginning of 1516, and afterwards wrote a description of it (finished in 1520). While at least one allusion in Giovanni Corsi's correspondence proves that they were consulting Ptolemy's *Geography* while in Spain, the annotations were certainly carried out after Vespucci's return to Florence.²⁹

Vespucci's numerous annotations on Ptolemy's Iberian section and map (edited in the Appendix) concerned mainly the identification of the ancient place names with its modern equivalents—a most common antiquarian practice.³⁰ But he did not stop at that: he also included cities that he thought were missing, both ancient ("Clunium," i.e. La Coruña; "Portus Hannibalis," i.e. Porto; "Dertosa") and modern ("Palamos"); he moved the location of *Emerita Augusta* and *Toletum*, which had been placed far from the rivers by which they stood; he corrected a few Latin names ("Laletanorum" instead of *Leitanorum*), and, lastly, he adorned the raw geographical description with miscellaneous information: the fact that Hannibal's wife was from *Castulo*, Hadrian's provenance from *Italica*, Antonio de Nebrija's origin from *Nabrija*, Salamanca's famous university, and Ibiza's important export trade in salt.

The annotations bear little resemblance to Vespucci's journey through Spain in 1513–1516, but they find a very precise correlation with his *De situ totius Hispaniae*

26 BNCF, Magl. A.-14, ff. 91v-92r (tenth map of Europe). A marginal note cross-referencing *Euboea-Negroponte* can be found in f. 101v (first map of Asia): "Neg(r)oponte. Etiam in Xa Europ(a)e."

27 *Ibid.*, ff. 2v, 32v, 33r, 63r.

28 *Ibid.*, f. 20r (next to *Viana*, [Ptol. *geog.* 2, 2, 3: Οὐιάβα]): "Vianna: Vienna."

29 See González Germain, in press. In a letter to Niccolò Michelozzi (dated 10 June, 1514), Corsi mentioned *Mons Iubeda* (Ptol. *geog.* 2, 6, 20: Ἰδούβέδα) in connection to Segovia, based on the traditional association between this town and ancient *Segobrica*, located in Ptolemaic maps at the feet of Mount *Iubeda*.

30 See Tolias 2011.

ae. Only four places marked in the map do not appear in the treatise.³¹ Predictably, the correspondences between ancient and modern names are the same, including mistakes such as the identification of *Portus Hannibalis* with Porto.³² More importantly, the information added to Ptolemy's map and description recurs in the book with very similar phrasings, namely Salamanca's "gymnasium antiquissimum",³³ and the allusions to Nebrija ("vir quadruplici lingua doctissimus")³⁴ and *Castulo* ("adeo coniuncta Poenis societate, ut uxor inde Hannibali esset").³⁵ In Vespucci's treatise we also learn that he referred to Mérida as 'the big one' ("la grande", as he added in the Ptolemaic text) to distinguish it from Mértola.³⁶

The most unexpected and revealing analogy between Vespucci's treatise and his copy of Ptolemy, however, comes not from the Iberian map, but from the second map of Africa, which portrays the Numidian coast.³⁷ Among the Galite islands (Tunisia), Vespucci copied a verse from the *Aeneid* referred to them, from the passage in which Aeneas is shipwrecked by a storm near the coast of Carthago: "saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras" (Verg. *Aen.* 1, 109). The island of Djerba (*Syrtis parva*, the dwelling-place of the *Lotofagites*, or lotus-eaters, according to the map) was repeatedly the focus of attention, as attested by the use of two distinct inks. Three annotations appear in the standard dark-brown ink: the modern correspondence "Gerbe", an alternative name for the city Girapolis ("vel Gerra"), and a note in the margin identifying the lotus as carobs ("lotos, vulgo carobbia"). At a later moment, he corrected his own annotation "Gerbe" as "Isola di Gerbes", using a bright orange-brown ink.

While these annotations have no connection with Spain, they are undoubtedly explained by a particular passage of the *De situ totius Hispaniae*, in which Vespucci refers to an—obviously spurious—episode which occurred on his way home, when his ship was supposedly caught in a storm and ended up in Djerba:

Cum autem ex portu solveremus non multo post, procella navem nostram onerariam in brevia Syrtium illidit, loca (ut nautae norunt) periculosa. Domino tamen concedente una cum deipara Virgine, felicius quam olim ibidem iactatus Aeneas evasimus. Tandem ubi turgidum Pelagus residet, data illic in vico quodam acceptaque a Mauris fide, (...) ipse

31 Namely Santarém, Palamós, Alicante, and Ibiza.

32 BAV, ms. Ott. lat. 2104, f. 40v. *Portus Hannibalis* is mentioned only by Pomponius Mela (3, 7), and is located near Portimão, in southern Portugal.

33 *Ibid.*, f. 42v.

34 *Ibid.*, f. 33v.

35 *Ibid.*, f. 17v. The sentence reproduces Liv. 24, 41, 7.

36 *Ibid.*, f. 41v.

37 BNCF, Magl. A.-14, ff. 95v-96r.

Syrtitem gemmam (...) in litore illo repertam nummo aureo emi a Lotophagite Mauro ex Gerra urbe (vel Geropoli, ut ipse dicebat) oriundo.³⁸

The symmetry between this passage and the annotations on the map is absolute, comprising also the allusion to Aeneas and the double name for *Gerra-Girapolis*. The only element that is absent from it is the identification of the lotus, which in fact Vespucci had included in describing a carob that he had seen in Cádiz, and which immediately precedes this episode.³⁹ It is plausible that his own allusion to the 'lotus flower' induced him to introduce, right after it, a small chapter on the island of the lotus-eaters, constructed on the basis of Ptolemy's *Geography*.

Conclusion

The BNCF copy of the Roman Ptolemy of 1478 was purchased by and illuminated for Guidantonio Vespucci, presumably in the early 1480s, at the beginning of his diplomatic career, and after a two-year stay in France as the Florentine ambassador—with Amerigo Vespucci by his side. A fully-trained humanist as Guidantonio would have quickly realized the importance of this edition, which for the first time offered a high-quality printed version of all 27 Ptolemaic maps. More limited may have been his son Giovanni's interest in Ptolemy, since he gave it to his former preceptor shortly after his father's death.

Agostino was the only one of the three Vespuccis to annotate the volume. His marginalia were probably carried out during several decades, but they mostly reflect his interest in the geography of Iberia, a direct consequence of his writing *De situ totius Hispaniae*. To establish the precise relationship between this treatise and Ptolemy's marginalia, we would need to know the dating of the latter. It is conceivable that they were written during the preparation of the literary work (i.e. 1518–1520), but Vespucci's continued consultation of Ptolemy until at least 1529 cannot preclude a later dating of the annotations, during the 1520s.

The few emendations found among his annotations to Ptolemy may provide some evidence for this matter. In these occasions, the treatise always agrees with

38 BAV, ms. Ott. lat. 2104, ff. 31v-32r: 'When we sailed off from the [Cádiz] harbour not much later, a storm drove our merchant vessel into the sandy gulfs of Djerba, which (as sailors know) are dangerous places. However, by the grace of the Lord and of the Virgin, Mother of God, we escaped more luckily than Aeneas, who long before was hurled about in this very spot. At last, after the swollen sea had calmed down, and we had exchanged words of trust with the local Moors in a village, (...) a Moorish lotus-eater, a native of Gerra (or Girapolis, as he called it), sold me a Syrtian gem for a florin'.

39 *Ibid.*, f. 31r-v.

the corrected version,⁴⁰ a fact that suggests that the marginalia antedate the final version of the *De situ totius Hispaniae*. If this was indeed the case, Vespucci's notes would directly attest his close study of Ptolemy's *Geography*—and the use of its maps as cartographic aid—for the actual preparation and composition of his own geographical description of Spain.

Appendix

Agostino Vespucci's annotations regarding Iberia

The following appendix includes an edition of Agostino Vespucci's annotations concerning Iberia, which form the largest group of marginalia in the book, and are directly connected to his literary work. The annotations are correlated with the original text of the 1478 edition; in the case of names added to the map with no correspondence, its location has been indicated between square brackets. Names on the map are listed from north to south, and from west to east.

Ptolemy's description of Iberia (BNCF, Magl. A.-14, ff. 13r-15r)

Ptol. Geog.	Rome 1478	Agostino Vespucci
2, 4, 1	Ispanie Spania	H[ispanie] Hi[spania]
2, 4, 7	Malaca	Malegha
2, 4, 9	Detunda	vel Munda [text deleted]
2, 4, 9	Illiberis	hodie d(icitu)r Granata
2, 4, 10	Nabriſſa	Ant(oni)us ille t(r)iplici lingua doctus etc.
2, 4, 10	Italica	unde Traianus [corr. s.l.: Hadrianus] fuit
2, 4, 10	Saguntia	Seguenza
2, 4, 10	Ipalis	Sibilia
2, 4, 13	Civitas Gadira vel Gades	Gades
2, 5, 2	Sacrum Promont.	Cavo San Vincenti

40 See Appendix. Detunda is first equated with Munda, and then deleted; this connection is not found in the treatise. The emperor who was a native of Italica is first said to be Trajan, and then Hadrian, as appears in the *De situ totius Hispaniae* (BAV, ms. Ott. lat. 2104, ff. 32v and 88r). Finally, Nebrija is defined in Ptolemy's marginalia as "triplici lingua doctus", and in the treatise as "quadruplici lingua doctissimus" (*ibid.*, f. 33v), which would seem a successive expansion of the former expression.

Ptol. Geog.	Rome 1478	Agostino Vespucci
2, 5, 3	Oliosipo	i(dest) Lysbona
2, 5, 6	Augusta Emerita	Emerida la grande
2, 5, 7	Salmatica	gymnasium florens
2, 6, 2	Nerium promontorium	Finis Terrae
2, 6, 16	Iberi flu(vii) ostia	u(b)i Derthosa etc.
2, 6, 18	Leitanorum	Lale[tanorum]
2, 6, 28	Germanica Legio Septima	Lion di Sp(agn)a

Map of the Iberian Peninsula (BNCF, Magl. A.-14, ff. 75v-76r: second map of Europe)

ed. Rome 1478	Agostino Vespucci
[La Coruña]	Clunium
Nerium promont.	Fi(nis) terrae
Brecara Augusta	Santiren [= Santarém]
[Porto]	Portus Hannibalis
Oliosipo	Lysboa
Sacrum promontorium	Cavo di San Vincenti
Legio Germanica	L[i]on di S(pagn)a
[Tormes river]	Tormes
Pintia	Valdolid [sic]
Complutum	Madrid
Augusta Emerita	Emerita Aug(us)ta [deleted and moved south to the banks of the Ana river]
Castulon	hinc uxor Han(niba)li
Malaca	Malegha
Salduba	Tariffa
Carteia	Gibleterra [= Gibraltar]
Toletum	Toledo [added more to the south, to the banks of the Tajo]
Musburgi	Burgos
Numantia	Soria
Segobriga	Segovia
Valeria	Conq(ue)s [= Cuenca]

ed. Rome 1478	Agostino Vespucci
Alone	Aureola hodie [= Orihuela]
Carthago Nova	Carthagena
Lucentum	Cavo Lucente
Portus Magnus	Almeria
Pompelon	Pampalona
Bilbis [sc. Bilbilis]	Calataiut
Cesarea Augusta	Siragoza
Ilerda	Lerida
Lunarium promont.	Cavo di Luni
[Palamós]	Palamos
Barcinon	Barzalona
[Tortosa]	Dertosa
Tenebrium promontorium	Cavo Scuro
Saguntum	Morvedre
Illicitatus Portus	Alicante. Ilicen Pom(ponius) Mela ³⁹
Ophiusa	Hieviza [= Ibiza], unde salis multum capitur
[Iberian Sea]	Ibericum
[Balearic Sea]	Balearicum
[right-hand margin of the map]	Mare Tyrrhenum vel Etruscum Ma(re) Ligusticum Mar(e) Sardon(icum), Golpho di Lione Ma(re) Gallicum, ubi Massilia, Nerbona, etc.

41 Mela 2, 93: "Ilicem."