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THE "REPORTORIO DE CAMINOS" OF ALONSO DE  
MENESES IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT: NEW DATING AND  
ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER EUROPEAN ITINERARIES

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## 1.- Introduction

Wolfgang Behringer defined the concept of the Communications Revolution in 2006, placing it in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, around the year 1500, and linking it to the extension of the postal service, the result of the increase in travel speed and the improvement, or creation, of infrastructures that allowed it (Behringer, 2006). Although land travel in the Middle Ages was more frequent than is commonly believed, it experienced a major boom in the sixteenth century. As a result, planning aids became necessary. Such aids could be graphics, route maps, or written itineraries.

This increase in travel led to the publication of a series of route maps intended to guide travelers. In 1500 Erhard Etzlaub published the *Rom Weg* (Etzlaub, 1500); in 1511 appeared the *Carta Itineraria Evropae*, by Martin Waldseemüller (Waldseemüller, 1511) and in 1524 the *Lage der deutschen und aller angrenzenden Lander*, by Erlinger (Lang, 1950, p. 86). However, these publications did not prosper and we must wait until 1570 for the appearance of what is known as the first European road map: the *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani*, by Hogenberg (Pablo-Martí y López, 2022). At the same time, while this apparent cartographic vacuum was taking place, the first printed itineraries were published, which were to meet with significant publishing success. Are these publications better for travel planning than maps? Dr. Catherine Delano-Smith has no doubt: "Are maps really the best form of travel aid? The answer (...) is no" (Delano-Smith, 2006, p. 16) and further emphasizes: "The normal guide to wayfinding, then, has always been the itinerary" (Delano-Smith, 2006, p. 34). The fact that a British merchant, Thomas Buttler, from Harlow, Essex, copied, between 1547 and 1554, Gough's map in a reference book related to his commercial occupations, but without outlining the routes of the well-known medieval manuscript and adding, however, nine routes in the form of an itinerary on the page immediately before the map (Birkholz, 2006), ratifies Dr. Delano-Smith's thesis.

It is not surprising, then, that the printing press quickly provided written itineraries for the use of travelers. The first to appear was included in a historical chronicle by the printer John Judson, in 1542 (Hodson, 2000, p. 73). In Spain the first book was published that was exclusively an itinerary, a succession of routes with the distances between different localities: the *Reportorio de todos los caminos de España* by Pedro Juan Villuga, 1546, in

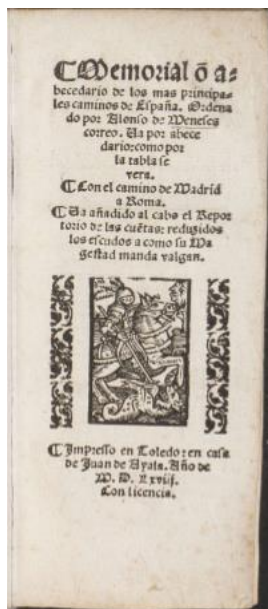
Medina del Campo (Villuga, 1546). It would not take long for the following to appear: in 1552, the *Guide des chemins de France*, by Charles Estienne (Estienne, 1552a), extended, given the success of sales, that same year to the international field (Estienne, 1552b); *Le poste necessarie ai Corrieri per l'Italia, Francia, Spagna e Alemagna*, an anonymous work, was published in Venice in 1560, with reeditions in 1562 and 1563 (Sempere, 2005, p. 143; Serra, 2003, pp. 24, 68); Jörg Gail's *Ein neuwes nueczliches Raissbuechlin* was printed in Augsburg in 1563 (Lang, 1950, pp. 86-87); the same year, but in Rome, saw the light the *Itinerario delle Poste per diverse Parti del Mondo*, written by Cherubino de Stella and Giovanni de l'Herba (Stella and L'Herba, 1563), with four reprints in the sixteenth century (Serra, 2003, pp. 26-30, 68-70). Finally, in 1568 the *Memorial o abecedario de los más principales caminos de España* was published, better known as the "Reportorio" de Meneses (after the title of its second edition), written by the courier Alonso de Meneses and printed in Toledo (Figure 1). It was reprinted several times in a century and a half. The continuous reprints and reissues of these works attest to its effectiveness as a road guide and its suitability as a tool for travel planning.

## 2.- First editions of Meneses' "Reportorio".

Until now, the date of 1576 was commonly accepted for this work. In fact, only one copy was known, printed in Alcalá de Henares by Sebastián Martínez, which bore this date on its title page (Meneses, 1576). This *unicum* is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional de España under the call number R/4614. However, in a previous article (López, 2018), we already exposed a contradiction that made this date impossible for the first edition of the work. Ortelius, in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, of 1570, mentions among his sources "*Extat & libellus Viatorius Alonsi de Meneses Hispanice Scriptus, continens totius fere Hispaniae itineraria, in quibus etiam distantias locorum annotavit*" (Ortelius, 1570, f. 7). Therefore, it was obvious that if the Antuerpuense used Meneses' work as a source, it must have been before his *Theatrum*. As we explained in our aforementioned work, thanks to an article by Dr. Thebussem (Thebussem, 1895), we know that the first edition of Meneses' *Reportorio* dates from 1568. The eminent postal historian handled a copy, coming from the library of D. Manuel Rico Sinobas, printed in Medina del Campo on that date. This would be the authentic dating of Meneses' itinerary (López, 2018, pp. 26-33). Still, in 1920 the correct date for this itinerary is applied (Galvarriato, 1920), but the copy must already be lost and, from then on, this chronological precision is also forgotten, only the date of 1576 being given as certain. Subsequently, we have

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only found the correct date, 1568, in two works: the *Atlas Histórico de las comunicaciones en España* (Bahamonde, Martínez and Otero, 2002, p.17), where the work is mentioned with the correct date, without further precision, and the article by Sempere (2005, p. 143), where he also transcribes its title. Undoubtedly, these authors were also aware of Dr. Thebussem's article.



Cover of the *Memorial o abecedario de los más principales caminos de España*, by Meneses (1568). Herzog August Bibliothek, sign. Gi 247, Wolfenbüttel.

The existence of any copy of this work remained in the limbo of legend. Wilkinson (2010, p. 505) aseptically collects it with the reference IB 12895. In the current repository of the Iberian Books project, it is noted "The work may be genuine, but there is a heightened possibility that this work could be a bibliographical ghost" (Iberian Books, 2023). In addition to this indirect news about the existence of a first edition of the *Reportorio* de Meneses in 1568, we can now certify that there is a copy, the only one we know of, in the Herzog August Bibliothek, in Wolfenbüttel (Germany), with the call number Gi 247 (Meneses, 1568). However, this is not the copy that Dr. Thebussem handled: it was printed in Medina del Campo by Alonso Calleja (Thebussem, 1895, p. 315) and the volume preserved in Germany came from the press of Juan de Ayala, in Toledo. Thus, there were two printings of this work in the same year of 1568. It seems that Dr. Thebussem was right when he pointed out the possibility that the book he handled was a second printing (Thebussem, 1895, p. 315). The

differences between the existing copy in the German library and the one described by Dr. Thebussem are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Differences between the two editions of Meneses' "Memorial" of 1568.

	Copy from the Herzog August Bibliothek, Gi 247 (Meneses, 1568).	Specimen described by Dr. Thebussem (Thebussem, 1895, p. 315).
Title	<i>Memorial or alphabet of the most important roads in Spain. Ordered by Alonso de Meneses mail. It goes by alphabet: as by the table will be seen. With the road from Madrid to Rome. The Reportorio de las cuentas is added at the end: the escudos are reduced to what His Majesty orders them to be worth.</i>	<i>Memorial or Itinerary of the main and best roads in Spain. With the road from Madrid to Rome. Composed by Alonso de Meneses, Correo.</i>
Place of issue	Toledo	Medina del Campo
Printer	Juan de Ayala	Alonso Calleja
Size	14'4 × 6 cm	14 × 16 cm
Extension	60 sheets	58 sheets
Typography	Gothic Rotunda (De Tortis)	De Tortis (Gothic Rotunda)
Index	"Tabla de el memorial de caminos", ff. 53v-56v, before the Reportorio de cuentas.	"Table of the number of Caminos", at the end of the book.
Number of roads (in the index)	156	156

The comparison, in the absence of one of the books, is obviously incomplete; but it can be seen that there are differences that show that both copies are not simply copies of the same manuscript. These differences are already evident in the title, which Thebussem transcribes verbatim. His copy was shorter, no doubt because of the lack of the Reportorio de cuentas, which in the one we preserve today closes the work. The prologue must have been very similar, with slight variations, but we can draw few conclusions since Thebussem cut out large fragments in his transcription. The size of the book described by this scholar is a printing error since we know with certainty that the book was published in octavo minor format- in the bibliographic record it is defined as a twelfold (Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 2023) - for practical reasons of portability. The rest of the characteristics are practically identical, including one essential aspect: the number of paths treated.

The differences between the 1568 and 1576 editions are shown in Table 2.

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Table 2. Differences between editions of Meneses' "Reportorio".

	Copy of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Gi 247 (Meneses, 1568)	Copy from the National Library of Spain, R/4614 (Meneses, 1576).
Title and cover	<i>Memorial or alphabet of the most important roads in Spain. Ordered by Alonso de Meneses mail. It goes by alphabet: as by the table will be seen. With the road from Madrid to Rome. The Reportorio de las cuentas is added at the end: the escudos are reduced to what His Majesty orders them to be worth.</i> Illustration with a scene of St. George spearing the dragon between two square vegetal borders.	<i>Reportorio de caminos. Ordered by Alonso de Meneses, Correo. Added the road from Madrid to Rome. With a memorial of many things that happened in Spain. Y con el reportorio de cuentas, conforme a la nueva premática.</i> No figures.
Edition	Toledo, 1568	Alcalá de Henares, 1576
Printer	Juan de Ayala	Sebastian Martinez
Size	Minor eighth- twelfth	Sixteenth
Extension	60 sheets	83 sheets
No. of roads (index)	156	135
No. of roads (actual)	135	135
Printing license	Does not appear	F. 2r: signed by Alonso de Vallejo.
Corrections in the routes and their distances	Barcelona to Lisbon: CLXXIX leagues. Barcelona to Monzón: XXIX leagues and a half. Guadalupe to Segovia: LI leagues. Monzón to Daroca: XXXVI leagues. Valladolid to Madrid: Manjavacas appears as the last stage. Úbeda to Toledo: XXXIII leagues.	Barcelona to Lisbon: CLXXXIX leagues. Barcelona for Monzón: XXII and a half. Guadalupe to Segovia: LII leagues. Monzón to Daroca: XXXV leagues. Valladolid to Madrid: corrected with Aravaca as the last stage. Úbeda to Toledo: XXXVIII leagues.
Account report	Ff. LVIIr-LXr: reference is made to reales, escudos de oro and ducados "conforme a la pragmática de MDLXVI" (f. LVIIr). Includes a note on the value of the gold ducats of the Catholic Monarchs.	Ff. LXXIVr-LXXVIIr: mentions the coins of reales, crowns and ducats, without naming any legal provision. There is no note on the value of the gold ducats of the Catholic Monarchs.
Relation of events in the History of Spain	Does not appear	Ff. LXVIIv-LXXXIIIv: Memoria Hispanea, compiled by Juan Timoneda, in which you will find memorable and worthy things to know. And likewise in what year they happened.

The change in size will increase the number of pages in 1576 if readability is to be maintained. The new title, since the previous edition was unknown until now, and is maintained in all subsequent editions, is the name of the work that has remained canonical. The prologue is almost identical in both cases, with very slight variations in punctuation (brackets are not used, for example, in 1568) and very few word changes. The routes are the same, although with some differences in the printing: in 1568, on some occasions two localities are arranged on the same line, which occurs less frequently in 1576. Some distances and errors are corrected in the second edition. Also, the index, since 1568 was not adjusted to reality, introducing roads that do not appear or are repeated. Both then and in 1576 135 roads are detailed, but in reality, there are 134: in both editions, the road from Valencia to Tarragona is repeated.

### 3.- The influences of Meneses

*The Repertorio* of Meneses has always been treated as a modified copy of that of Villuga. Also now we can disprove this because Meneses did indeed copy, but another itinerary, the *Itinerario delle Poste per diverse Parti del Mondo*, published in Rome in 1563 and written by Cherubino della Stella and Giovanni de l'Herba (Stella and L'Herba, 1563). The authors divide their work into two parts, among other information. In the first they describe the main European posts while in the second they reproduce the "Nota de piu e diversi viaggi a giornate per la Spagna in varii luochi, con il nome delle Terre, Castelli & Ville, con la distantia de leghe da un luoco a l'altro" (Stella and L'Herba, 1563, p. 114). Well, this is the part directly copied by Alonso de Meneses. Stella and L'Herba were based on another previous itinerary, anonymous, published in 1562 (Serra, 2003, p. 28), but its relationship with the one that appeared in Spain seventeen years earlier, that of Villuga, is undeniable: the sixty journeys described also appear in Villuga, except for the one from Zaragoza to Segovia. Naturally, these sixty trips correspond, almost verbatim, with as many of the itinerary of Meneses, but, in addition, the Valencian author arranged them in identical order! He only included some of his own routes among those copied from the Italian copy. Although Meneses boasted of introducing a novel alphabetical order in his work, this innovation was already done by the Italians. The formal relationship between the itineraries of Villuga, Stella and L'Herba, and Meneses can be perfectly appreciated in Annex 1.

What is shown in this table certifies that Meneses copied his itinerary, yes, but not from Villuga, but from Stella and L'Herba, with minimal alterations in the routes, which are identical in stops and extension, and introducing some roads

that did not appear in the Italian edition, but respecting the order and the general scheme of his work. Most of the added roads are taken from Villuga, but adapting them to the alphabetical scheme of his work. When he had already completed a good part of his list of routes, he began to introduce some, 11 to be precise, that did not even appear in Villuga. These novelties are concentrated at the end of the writing, as if Meneses was dissatisfied with his catalog of routes and expanded it at the end of his work, not obeying a plan foreseen from the beginning. At the same time, he disdains 20 of Villuga's itineraries, which he does not reproduce in his work.

#### **4.- The road network of Meneses and its relation with the cartography.**

The unit of measurement used is identical in the three itineraries, since the distances hardly vary and, when they do, it is only slightly. According to Uriol (1976, p. 179) this unit is around 6.5 km, and would be a league of 24000 feet. Indeed, the average distance for all the routes in the *Meneses Reportorio* is 6.598 km/league. However, based on the units of measurement listed by Martín López (2002, pp. 141-142), we consider that the unit of measurement mostly used is the *legua castellana de camino*, equivalent to 6.662 km/league. For this calculation, we have plotted the routes of Meneses on the Google Maps application, in its walking mode, and we have divided them by the number of leagues that the author gives for each one in his 1576 edition, considering the few corrections he made at that date. The result can be seen in Figure 2.



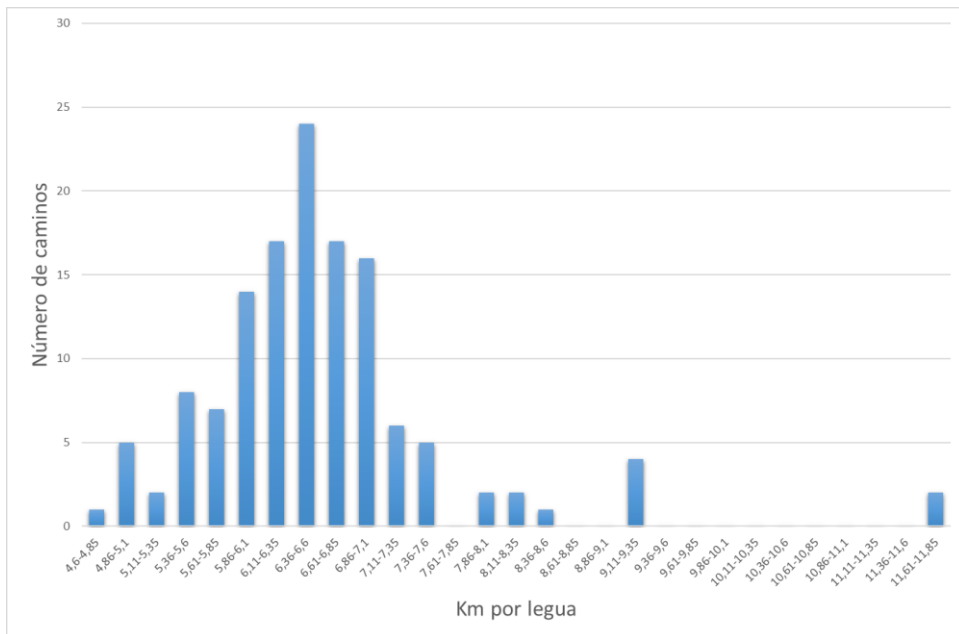
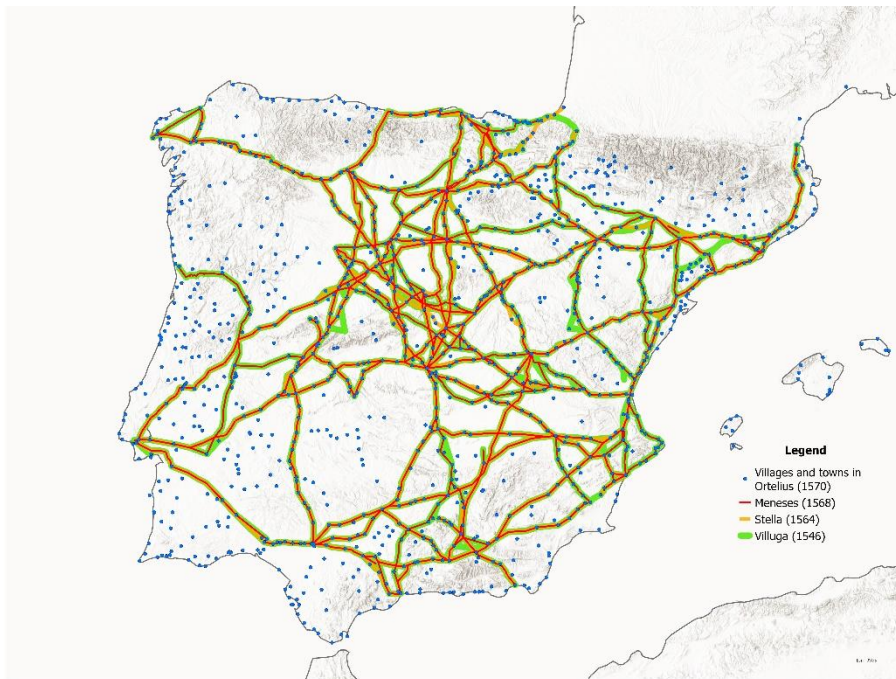


Figure 2. Length of the leagues used in the 1576 edition of the *Reportorio* de Meneses.  
Source: own elaboration.

We have found that there is no divergence between the units of measurement according to the territories, which would indicate the use of local leagues, since all measurements, shorter or longer, are similarly distributed throughout the peninsula. Undoubtedly, the distances are often calculated, which can lead to errors, such as the absurdity of the Laredo-León route. Only on the busiest routes would these distances be measured. Nor is there a differential pattern in the unit of measurement between more difficult, mountainous routes and others that are flat and straight.

This unit of measurement coincides with the one mostly used in the only maps with routes and distances before the printed itineraries in the Iberian Peninsula: the *Modern Map of Spain* from codex 2586 of the General Library of the University of Salamanca, and the *Spagna con le distantie de li loci*, from the Correr Museum (Pablo-Martí and López, 2003, p. 5). This denotes a quite remarkable and persistent unity in measurements through time and seems to indicate that the Castilian legua de camino was probably the most widely used. The communications network of the three routes treated can be seen in Figure 3.

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The road network of the Villuga, Stella & L'Herba, and Meneses itineraries and population centers of the map *Regni Hispaniae...*, by Ortelius, on a current projection of the Iberian Peninsula. Source: own elaboration using ArcGIS software.

The use that Abraham Ortelius made of the "Viatorio" (according to his own words) can be perfectly appreciated and we see how he arranges many of his locations in routes traced by this one. We already calculated this incidence concerning the province of Cuenca: 54'28% of the populations of the current province of Cuenca that appear in Meneses also appear in Ortelius (López, 2018, pp. 26-30). At the peninsular level (since the islands do not appear in Meneses) Ortelius points out in his map 1156 localities, of which 558 appear in Meneses, that is, 48'27%. Moreover, it is observed that the density of localities in the map is lower in those areas where Meneses reflected fewer itineraries, for example, in the west of the South Subplateau and Extremadura, west, and north of the North Subplateau, Galicia, and Asturias.

In the same way, Figure 3 shows that Ortelius did not explicitly draw roads on his map, but he did reflect them implicitly, employing the more or less artificial alignment of the localities. This is also the result of the use of the *Reportorio* as a basic source for the map, although some roads do not appear in Meneses, and that Ortelius must have known from other sources. This contrived alignment is especially evident in Figure 4, which shows the results of the application of a proximity algorithm that links each settlement with its two nearest neighbors. This algorithm attempts to capture the information that a

16th-century reader could obtain from the map (this result, but on the original Ortelius map, can be seen in Appendix 2). Finally, the influence of Meneses would reach the *Hispania* map of the *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani*, by Hogenberg, which appeared between 1579 and 1580, as we explained above (Pablo-Martí and López, 2022, p. 5).

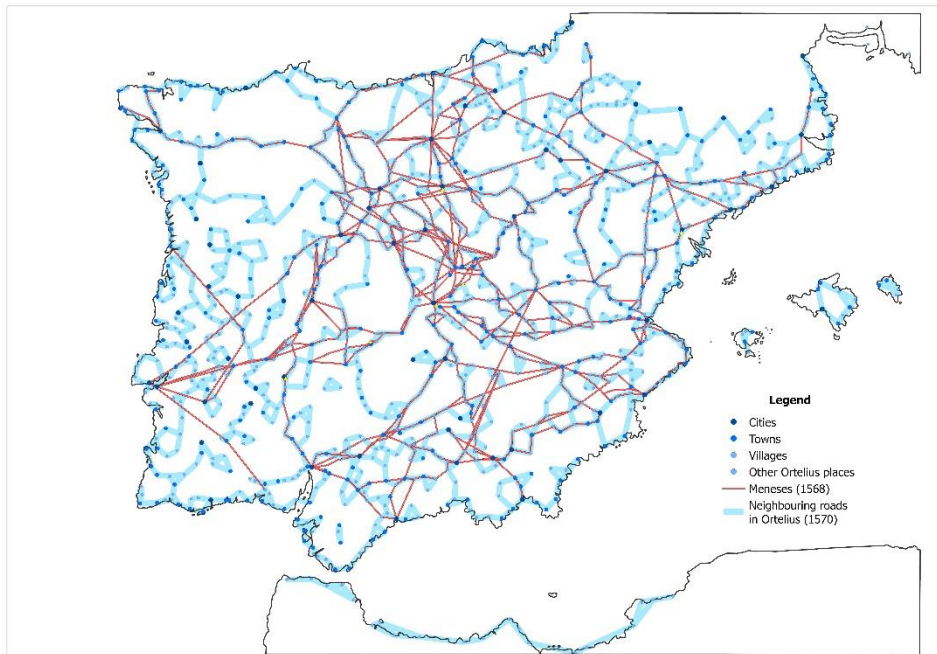


Figure 4. Road network of Meneses superimposed on the network of neighboring roads in the map *Regni Hispaniae...*, by Ortelius, after the application of a proximity algorithm. Source: own elaboration using ArcGIS software.

## Conclusions

As Villuga is the first to print an itinerary in Europe, all the others will have it as a reference, but it is not the direct source of Meneses. Stella and L'Herba do know it, and take it as a source, but they are the first to put an alphabetical order in the routes of Spain and Meneses copies them directly, which is seen in the general scheme of his work (Annex 1). The other main source for Meneses is, of course, Villuga himself, but it is by no means the only one, nor the most important. Meneses assumes in its entirety the 60 routes of the Italians, but disregards 20 of Villuga's routes and, at the end of his work, adds 11 more totally new ones.

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It is also evident that Meneses took care to improve his work in his second edition, that of 1576: he amended the name of some stages, changed some distances (sometimes erroneously), revised the *Reportorio de cuentas*, and added the historical review at the end (Table 2). This, and the fact that two printings were made in the same year of its appearance, proves that public acceptance was immediate and that Meneses was serious about improving it. While Villuga's *Reportorio* had, at least as far as we know, a short publishing life, with only one edition, Meneses' had many more: four in the 16th century, in 1568 (with two different printings), 1576, 1585 (unpublished until now) and 1586; and another nine! in the 17th century, in 1605, 1620, 1622, 1628, 1636 (also unpublished until now), 1650, 1671, 1677 and 1679. It was, therefore, a true publishing success. The survival of Meneses' work overtime also proves that the changes in the Spanish land communications network throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were very limited. That is to say, the network reflected by Meneses was still valid, so his book was still useful.

Likewise, this survival, together with the use of a similar unit of measurement in maps with earlier routes and distances, the Spanish *legua de camino* (6.662 km/league), points to a certain standardization of this unit of measurement among the main users of the roads.

Meneses does not reflect the totality of a much more complex network, only the most traveled roads of which he received news. The reasons for this choice are undoubtedly due to the selective nature of his sources. He was a courier, so he would know quite a few routes well, but not all of them. The rest he would know indirectly through the testimonies of his companions, muleteers, or carters. This is the method that, much later, Escribano explains to us in his *Itinerario español* (1775, f. 4 r and v).

The relationship between the localities indicated on the map and those appearing in the *Reportorio* de Meneses (Figure 3), indicate that the *Itinerario* was not a minor source for Ortelius, but one of the main ones. And this is ratified by the graphic arrangement of many locations on the map, aligning them artificially. For this reason, not only the printed itineraries but also the maps of the time provide us with data on the Spanish communications network in the 16th century. In it we can appreciate, among the high density of the same in the central zone of the Peninsula, the basic radial scheme of the current network, which will appear in the *Hispania* map of the *Itinerarium Orbis Christiani*, by Hogenberg and that, surely, was similar to the one that would be perceived at the time (Pablo-Martí and Romanillos, 2023).

Finally, it is clear that the *Reportorio* de Meneses is one more link in an international chain of fruitful exchange of knowledge in Renaissance Europe: it

is elaborated in Spain, receives influences from Italy and influences, in turn, maps elaborated in the Netherlands. The analysis of these documents cannot be approached solely from a national perspective.

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**Annex 1.** Comparison of the routes in Spain included in the Stella-L'Herba itinerary with the Spanish itineraries of the 16th century (the numbering of the routes refers to their order in each publication).

VILLUGA (1546)	STELLA-L'HERBA (1563)	MENESES (1568)
	<b>TRAVEL</b>	
	WAY OF SANTIAGO (Starts at Nra. Sra. De Loreto, Ancona)	
V116	SV1 AVILA- ZAMORA	M1
V115	SV2 AVILA- TORRIJOS	M2
V110	SV3 AVILA- SEGOVIA	M3
V51	SV4 ALICANTE- ORIHUELA	M4
V52	SV5 ALICANTE- CIUDAD REAL	M5
V33	SV6 BURGOS- BILBAO	M6
V11	SV7 BURGOS- BARCELONA	M7
V32	SV8 BURGOS- VITORIA	M8
V105	SV9 BURGOS- ZARAGOZA	M9
V123	SV10 BURGOS- CUENCA	M10
V103	SV11 BURGOS- TOLEDO	M11
V78	SV12 BURGOS- LISBON	M12
V139	SV13 BURGOS- ARANDA	M13
V3	SV14 BARCELONA- MONTSERRAT	M14
V7	SV15 BARCELONA- ZARAGOZA	M15
Included in V12	SV16 ZARAGOZA- SEGOVIA	M16 is Barcelona- Segovia
V13	SV17 BARCELONA- GRANADA	M17
V57	SV18 VALENCIA- SEVILLA	M18 is Barcelona- Sevilla
Included in V15	SV19 ZARAGOZA- LISBON	M19 is Barcelona- Lisbon
V106	SV20 ZARAGOZA- SALAMANCA	M23
V133	SV21 ZARAGOZA- TARRAGONA	M25
V35	SV22 ZARAGOZA- BILBAO	M26
V45	SV23 ZARAGOZA- DAROCA	M27
V118	SV24 ZAMORA- SIGÜENZA	M30

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V124	SV25 CUENCA- TORTOSA	M31
V120	SV26 CUENCA- ALCÁZAR DE SAN JUAN	M32
V62	SV27 ÉVORA- OPORTO	M33
V86	SV28 GUADALUPE- SEGOVIA	M35
V17	SV29 GUADALUPE- PEÑA DE FRANCIA	M36
Included in V16	SV30 GUADALUPE- TOLEDO	M37
V90	SV31 GRENADA- CÓRDOBA	M39
V95	SV32 GRANADA- MALAGA	M40
V93	SV33 GRANADA- VILLANUEVA DE LOS INFANTES	M41
V97	SV34 MURCIA- GRANADA	M42
V100	SV35 CUENCA- GRANADA	M43
V101	SV36 JAÉN-ALMERÍA	M44
V71	SV37 LAREDO- SANTA MARÍA DEL PAULAR	M45
V31	SV38 LAREDO- VITORIA	M46
V72	SV39 LAREDO- LEÓN	M47
V74	SV 40 LEÓN- TORO	M48
Included in V11	SV41 LOGROÑO- TUDELA	M49
V21	SV42 MEDINA DEL CAMPO- TOLEDO	M50
V22	SV43 MEDINA DEL CAMPO- ASTORGA	M51
V37	SV44 MEDINA DEL CAMPO- SALAMANCA	M52
V38	SV45 MEDINA DEL CAMPO- RIOSECO	M53
Included in V12	SV46 MADRID- GUADALAJARA	M54
V114	SV47 MADRID- TORRIJOS	M55
V75	SV 48 PALENCIA- TORO (It is a printing error: it is not Palencia, but Plasencia)	M63
V76	SV49 PALENCIA- ALBURQUERQUE (Id.)	M64
Included in V75	SV50 PLASENCIA- SALAMANCA	M65
V59	SV51 SEVILLA- LISBON	M67
V73	SV52 SEVILLA- LEÓN	M68
V73	SV53 SEVILLA- CÓRDOBA (included)	M69
V96	SV54 SEVILLA- MALAGA	M70
V94	SV55 SEVILLA- GRANADA	M71
V23	SV56 SANTIAGO- LA CORUÑA	M72



SCCS-UAH

V25	SV57 SANTIAGO- FINISTERRE	M73
V26	SV58 SANTIAGO- SAN JUAN PIE DE PUERTO	M74
V50	SV59 SANTIAGO- ALICANTE	M75
V64	SV60 SALAMANCA- LISBON	M78

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Annex 2. Road network of Meneses superimposed on the network of neighboring roads on the original map *Regni Hispaniae Post Omnium Editiones Locuple[t]issima Descriptio*, by Ortelius, after the application of a proximity algorithm. Source: own elaboration using ArcGIS software.