

RIVISTA INTERDISCIPLINARE DELLA SOCIETÀ ITALIANA DI STORIA MILITARE

N. 6 2025

Fascicolo 23. Luglio 2025 Storia Militare Moderna (6)



Società Italiana di Storia Militare

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Nuova Antologia Militare

Rivista interdisciplinare della Società Italiana di Storia Militare

Periodico telematico open-access annuale (www.nam-sism.org)

Registrazione del Tribunale Ordinario di Roma n. 06 del 30 Gennaio 2020

Scopus List of Accepted Titles October 2022 (No. 597)

Rivista scientifica ANVUR (5/9/2023) Area 11, Area 10 (21/12/2024)

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Stendardo di Lepanto (1570), Lati A e B, Museo Diocesano di Gaeta. Wikimedia Commons. Lo stendardi fu dipinto a tempera su seta da Girolamo Siciolante da Sermoneta (1521-1575), su incarico del Cardinale Onorato Caetani. L'11 giugno 1570 fu benedetto da Papa Pio V nella Basilica di San Pietro e consegnato a Marcantonio II Colonna ponendolo al comando della flotta pontificia. Partito da Civitavecchia e giunto a Gaeta il 22 giugno 1571, Marcantonio Colonna, fece voto di consegnare lo stendardo al patrono della città qualora fosse tornato vincitore. Il 13 agosto Pio V fece consegnare un secondo stendardo della Lega a Don Giovanni d'Austria, comandante generale della flotta cristiana che, riunitasi a Messina, salpò il 24 agosto verso Lepanto. Durante la battaglia del 7 ottobre i due vessilli sventolarono rispettivamente sull'Ammiraglia e sulla Capitana pontificia e non furono mai centrati dal tiro nemico. Nelle stesse ore il papa ebbe la visione della vittoria e in ricordo rifinì l'Ave Maria nella forma attuale, aggiunse le Litanie lauretane alla recita del Rosario e l'appellativo mariano di Auxilium Christianorum e consacrò il 7 ottobre a Santa Maria delle Vittorie sull'Islam, celebrato con lo scampanio al mattino, a mezzogiorno e alla sera in ricordo della vittoria. Papa Gregorio XIII trasferì poi la festa alla prima domenica del mese di ottobre intitolandola alla Madonna del Rosario. Al ritorno da Lepanto, Marcantonio Colonna sciolse il voto consegnando lo stendardo al vescovo Pietro Lunello. Il vessillo fu poi conservato presso la cattedrale dei Santi Erasmo e Marciano.

Il Gazzettiere Americano (1763) and *Atlante dell'America* (1777)

Italian textual and visual imagery of the American Revolution

by Mirela Altić¹

ABSTRACT. This paper compares two Italian editions on the Americas published in Livorno, Il Gazzettiere Americano (1763) and Atlante dell'America (1777). Created as adapted translations of the English edition of The American Gazetteer (London, 1762), Italian editions supplemented with numerous illustrations and new maps show a very different discourse than their English counterpart. The maps and text in the first Italian edition, Il Gazzettiere Americano prepared by Marco Coltellini, was launched when the French and Indian War (1754–1763) as a North American theatre of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was just concluded by the Treaty of Paris (1763). The second edition, prepared by Giovanni Tomasso Masi in 1777 indicatively retitled Atlante dell'America was published amid the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) and just after the establishment of the sovereign United States of America, founded with the Declaration of Independence in 1776. Based on a comparative analysis, we examine how the editions were modified and adapted in response to changing geopolitical contexts, both global and local, and how they influenced the Italian textual and visual imagery of the Americas and its European colonies in the New World.

Key Words: French and Indian War (1754–1763), American Revolution (1765–1783), American Revolutionary War (1775–1783), Livorno, mapping the war theatre

Introduction



Ithough overshadowed by cartographically more powerful neighbours such as the Republic of Venice and the Kingdom of Naples, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany left a significant mark on the Europe-

NAM, Anno 6 – n. 23 DOI: 10.36158/979125669174612 Luglio 2025

¹ Mirela Altić, Institute of Social Sciences, Marulićev trg 19, 10 000 Zagreb Croatia (mirela. altic@gmail.com).

an cartographic tradition, including the military one. Tuscan cartography, closely linked to its ruling Medici family, began to take its prominent course in the early fifteenth century, when the rediscovery and translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* from Greek to Latin (1406) radically transformed how geographical space was depicted (*Dalché, 2007: 290–292*). Tuscan cartography soon saw further advances with the production of the manuscript and printed maps of the Duchy. By focusing on territorialization, sovereignty and defense, they were clearly intended for military purposes, making a basis of Tuscan state-sponsored military cartography (*Rombai, 1993: 82–159; Rombai, 2007: 912–913*).

Considering the defense of its territorial integrity as well as its growing political and economic interests, the Duchy of Tuscany looked not only to the land but also to the sea. As the principal seaport of the Duchy of Tuscany, with intense overseas trade, Livorno (Leghorn) developed into an important center of geographical knowledge and cartographic production. At first, the major role in that regard was played by the Military Order of San Stefano (*Order Il Sacro Militare Ordine di Santo Stefano Papa e Martire*), founded in 1561 whose pilots were educated in a three-year training that involved lessons in geography and cartography (*Davies, 2009: 33–35*). The strengthening of naval power and the general militarization of the Great Duchy emphasized the need for more reliable navigational charts for defense purposes. Consequently, the School of Nautical Cartography (*Scuola livornese di cartografia nautica*) was established in 1592, becoming the primary producer of charts that defended the Duchy at sea. That institution would hold the primacy in the chart production of the Duchy until 1688 (*Guarnieri, 1965: 7–8; Astengo, 2019: 25–36*).

Following the end of the Medici dynasty (1737), Tuscany lost its primacy in nautical and military cartography but remained highly interested in geopolitical changes, both global and local. With the rise to power of Francis Stephen (1737–1765), and his son Leopold (1765–1790), both from the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, the Great Duchy of Tuscany had economically and militarily declined. However, the demilitarization of the Great Duchy led to a proliferation of the arts in general and of publishing in particular, which included a growing interest in geography, not only in Florence but also in Livorno (*Valerio, 1997: 274*). Between the mid-1740s and the rise of Napoleon, a period roughly corresponding to the phase of state reforms initiated by the House of Lorraine in Tuscany, Livorno regained its status as the centre of production and distribution of enlightened

ideas in Italy and beyond. Under the protection and constant support of Grand Duke Leopold, new rules were introduced in 1769, abolishing the old regime that had limited the opening of new printing workshops and encouraged the liberalization of the art of printing (*Bregoli, 2011: 171*).

With the general liberalization of trade, Livorno was dominated by the English, Spanish, and Dutch, forming a vibrant corporation in the city that was highly receptive to global knowledge exchange (*Valerio, 1997: 277*). The multiculturalism of the city was strongly reflected in the character of the publishing industry. Denis Diderot's famous *Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1751–1772) was prepared in Livorno by Giuseppe Aubert in 1770-1779 as the second Italian edition in the French language (*Iermano, 1983*). The democratization of knowledge during the Enlightenment, particularly encouraged the development of political theories, opening the public's interests to global geopolitical events. This interest particularly came to life in two exceptional editions: *Il Gazzettiere Americano* prepared by Marco Coltellini in 1763, and *Atlante dell'America* compiled by Giovanni Tomasso Masi in 1777, both published in Livorno. The purpose of this article is to analyse the sources, context and connotations of these editions.

Gazetteers as a Geographical Genre in the Era of Enlightenment

Gazetteers, as geographical dictionaries or directories used in conjunction with a map, have served cartographers and the general public as a primary source of information on the names and locations of places and their geographical features for centuries. Although in use since the Hellenistic era, gazetteers acquired their full significance during the Enlightenment era, when, within the scope of the encyclopedic approach to knowledge that relies on the classification and systematization of information, they became a widely popular geographical genre. Though generally considered an example of the democratization of knowledge and ongoing secularization, in the Age of Imperialism, gazetteers were also an important tool of territorial and cultural appropriation that tended to influence the opinions and beliefs of the general audience by promoting spatiality in the context of imperial or national narratives.

In the mid-18th century, the leaders in the production of gazetteers were the British. After Thomas Salmon's *The Modern Gazetteer* first published in 1746, Stephen Whatley published his three-volume *England's Gazetteer* in 1751. What

connects them is an exclusively textual description of geographical locations, without the use of maps. The textual representation of space, without a strong dependence on maps, is what distinguishes gazetteers from the related geographical genre, the atlas. As the popularity of gazetteers was immense, gazetteers focused on other parts of the world also appeared, especially those of European overseas dominions. New World gazetteers, which described European overseas possessions, became particularly important during periods of geopolitical changes, when they adopted a distinctly imperial discourse. The War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1748) and, notably, the French and Indian War (1754–1763) led to the emergence of more gazetteers and maps, reflecting the significant public interest in these affairs in Europe (*Black, 2016: 74*).

Italian interest in America was always considerable, but in the second half of the 18th century, it started to grow and show a different discourse. While before the mid-18th century, the numerous volumes published in Italy concerning the New World primarily focused on pre-Columbian America, the early European voyages, and Spanish America, in the second half of the 18th century, Italian focus began to shift to the British colonies (Miller, 1930: 103). It was a clear reflection of the aforementioned wars in North America and the subsequent rise of British imperial power. The first sign of these changes was the appearance of the Italian edition of Edmund Burke's An Account of the European Establishments in America (London, 1757), which was published in Venice as the two-volume edition Storia degli stablimenti europei in America (Venice, 1758). The Italian translator explained the purpose of the publication, "to make America known to the Italians, the only people without a colony in the New World discovered by Italians" (Burke, 1758: III). As this was the publication without maps, the need for a geographical imagination of America arose. In 1758, Pietro Bassaglia issued an At*lante geografico composto* of only seven plates engraved by Francesco Griselini, but entirely dedicated to the Seven Years' War. The atlas was probably meant to accompany Bassaglia's Storia delle operazioni militari, 6 vols, 1758–1763 (Valerio, 2020: 830). Nonetheless, that edition marked the beginning of a new trend focused on British possessions, which would reach its full potential in Livorno, the city with the strongest ties to Britain.

Appearance of The American Gazetteer (1762)

The French and Indian War (1754–1763) broke out as a North American conflict within a larger imperial war between Great Britain and France known as the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Each side was supported by various Native American Nations, the British by Nations gathered in the Iroquois Confederacy, and the French by the Wabanaki Confederacy. Before the outbreak of hostilities, Great Britain and its Anglo-American colonists controlled the Thirteen Colonies that stretched along the Atlantic coast up to the Appalachian Mountains, while France controlled vast territory from Louisiana through the Mississippi and Great Lakes to Canada. In 1762, Spain joined the conflict on the French side, extending the war theatre to Spain's possessions, most notably Florida, Cuba, the Philippines, and several French islands in the Caribbean.

Despite initial losses, Great Britain had conquered the French colonies of Canada, Guadeloupe, Saint Lucia, Martinique, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, as well as Spanish Havana (in Cuba), and Manila (in the Philippines). The war, concluded by the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1763, restored most of the territories to their original owners. However, Britain was allowed to retain Canada, Florida, Dominica, Grenada, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, and Tobago. Additionally, Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain in exchange for control of Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippines (*Anderson, 2000: 505*) (Fig. 1).

As soon as most of the fighting ended in 1762, *The American Gazetteer*, published in London appeared as a statement of the British military success.² Its introduction, which describes the history of the European conquest of the New World, makes direct reference to the French and Indian War, highlighting the brilliant victory of the British over the French and the subsequent territorial expansion (*The American Gazetteer, 1762: xxiv*). The rest of the entries followed the same discourse. In general, Americas are depicted as European properties, with Europeans as the masters of the space, among whom the British stand out as the

² American Gazetteer: Containing a distinct Account of all the parts of the New World; their Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, Former and present Condition; Commodities, Manufactures, and Commerce; together with an accurate Account of the Cities, Towns, Ports, Bays Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Passes, and Fortifications. The whole intended to exhibit the Present State of Things on that Part of the Globe, and the Views and Interests of the several Powers who have possessions in America. London: Printed for A. Millar and J. and R. Tonson.

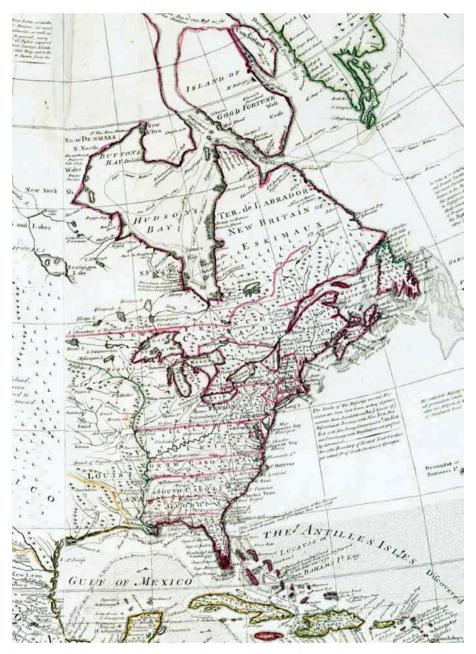


Fig. 1 North America with the British, French, Spanish, Dutch & Danish Dominions... according to the Definitive Treaty concluded at Paris 10 February 1763 by Jean Baptiste D'Anville and Robert de Vaugondy (London, 1763). This section shows British territory based on the treaty (see red color). Boston Public Library.

most prominent rulers in North America.³ An emphasis on territorial ownership presents Americas as an extension of European interests and activities (*Stock, 2016: 14*). Although the purpose of the publication was to draw attention to British military successes, the haste with which the text and maps were prepared resulted in very little being done to update the information regarding the war. The editor's apology for the "slightly outdated" information concerning the newly acquired British possessions is an understatement. The textual imagery of the British Empire in North America is not well represented; almost all British territorial gains remain undesignated as British possessions.

The lack of updates also applies to the attached maps; the territorial divisions they represent refer to a situation predating the war, reflecting the context of the 1740s or early 1750s. These maps primarily rely on Emanuel Bowen's and John Gibson's maps published in the 1750s, which were just slightly modified for this occasion, with text inserts or erasures of some of the borders.⁴ Nevertheless, the careful selection of the maps included in the volumes is suggestive and highly indicative, revealing a clear focus on British territorial expansion. Although the gazetteer also covers South America, none of the maps, except the overview map of both Americas, refer to areas outside of North America. At the same time, no fewer than five maps included in the three extensive volumes suggestively depict a theatre of the French and Indian War and subsequently, the areas of British territorial expansion, thus revealing its military purpose.

A new and correct map of the Provinces of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida is inserted in volume 1 (Fig. 2).⁵ It shows British colonies with

³ Today, it is conventional to refer to North and South America as separate continents. Thus, when referring to both of them, we use the plural (Americas). In the geography works of earlier periods, that was not uniformly the case. *The American Gazetteer*, although focusing on the British possessions in North America, covers both continents, thus actually referring to Americas.

⁴ Emanuel Bowen (1693–1767) was a Welsh map engraver who achieved the unique distinction of becoming Royal Mapmaker to both to King George II of Great Britain and Louis XV of France. His contemporaries highly regarded Bowen for producing some of the largest, most detailed, and most accurate maps of his era. He is known to have worked with most British cartographic figures of the period, including John Owen and Herman Moll. John Gibson (fl. 1750–1792) was an English cartographer, geographer, draughtsman, and engraver. He produced thousands of maps and was noted as a skilled engraver and sculptor. Gibson's most important work is the pocket-sized 1758 *Atlas Minimus*.

⁵ A New and Correct Map of the Provinces of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Flor-

their territory already extended westward to the Mississippi River, referring to agreements with Native American Nations.⁶ Florida is suggestively included in the same map with the British territories, yet explicitly stated as the Spanish possession, but with a note that its only fort, St. Augustine, is unable to resist a stronger siege (see textual insert west of Florida).⁷ Moreover, two boundaries of the British Carolina are marked: one stipulated in 1736, which contrasts with one chartered in 1665 that extends much further south, encompassing the fort of St. Augustine as well. No doubt, the map celebrates British power even without presenting the full consequences of the French and Indian War, by which Florida was ceded to Britain in 1763.

A new and correct map of the West Indies drawn from the best authorities attached to volume 3, repeats the same pattern.⁸ Focusing on the Caribbean, with Jamaica at its centre, the map highlights another theatre of the French and Indian War, in which the British managed to extend their territory at the expense of the Spanish. The British occupation of Havana in the summer of 1762, although short-lived, was certainly a sensation, but it is not mentioned in the text nor on the map. However, carefully plotted routes of galleons reveal British interest in intercepting the Spanish goods and military supplies. The islands of Dominica, Grenada, Saint Vincent, the Grenadines, and Tobago, which were conquered by the British in 1761 are still not marked as their possessions, but the choice of a map focusing on this area is certainly a strong statement about the growing British presence in the West Indies. Moreover, the map has three text inserts, all three refer to British successes saying: Jamaica is the largest British island in the West Indies, which was taken from the Spanish in 1655; Island of Guadalupe, part of the French Caribbean that is taken by British in 1759 and being hold ever since; Bay of Campeche abundant with logwood that Spaniards managed to kept for

ida/ John Gibson. In *The American Gazetteer*. London: Printed for A. Millar and J. & R. Tonson, 1762. University of South Florida, *Florida Maps Collection*, Image 65.

⁶ A Treaty of Westminster from 1729 that is mentioned in a textual insert in the North Caroline territory is probably a reference to the Treaty of Nikwasi from 1730, a trade agreement signed with the newly formed royal colony of North Carolina through Alexander Cuming.

⁷ That is a clear reference to the British siege of St. Augustine from 1740 that was part of the Spanish-British conflict known as the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1748).

⁸ An Accurate Map of the West Indies. Drawn from the Best Authorities/ John Gibson. In The American Gazetteer. London: Printed for A. Millar and J. & R. Tonson, 1762. 1 map; 31,1 x 34,9 cm. MacLean Collection Map Library.

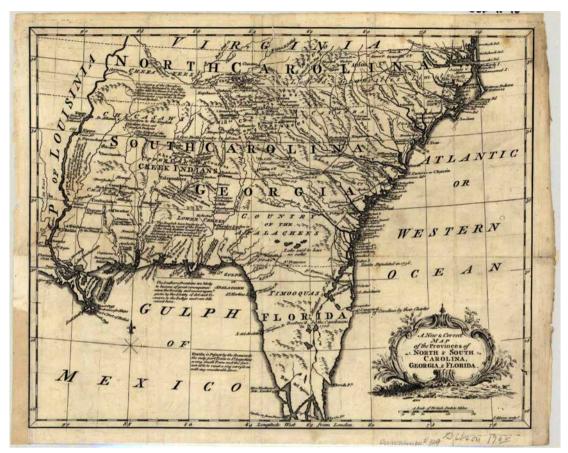


Fig. 2 British America as seen by its authorities, stretches westward to the Mississippi. University of South Florida.

themselves, causing much bloodshed between the Spanish and the English.

The greatest attention is, of course, paid to the British possessions and the territory they conquered in the New France. This vast, contested territory, stretching from Virginia in the south to Newfoundland in the north, which will become a theatre of the French and Indian War, is covered by three maps. *A new and correct map of the Provinces of New England, New York and Canada or New France* is attached to volume 2 (Fig. 3)⁹. It shows the situation on the eve of the French and

⁹ A new and correct map of the provinces of New England, New York, Canada or New France/ John Gibson. In *The American Gazetteer*: London: Printed for A. Millar and J. & R. Tonson, 1762. 1 map; 31,1 x 34,9 cm. MacLean Collection Map Library.

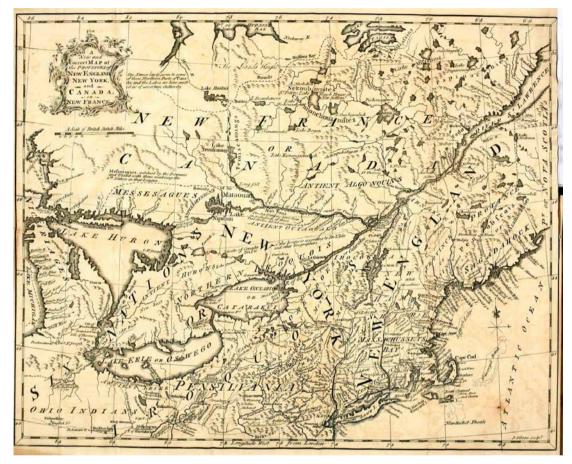


Fig. 3 British vision of Canada from pre-war times. It is presented as part of the Iroquois Confederation, allied with Great Britain, thus foreshadowing British Canada, which came into existence in 1759. MacLean Collection Map Library

Indian War when New France still existed but with British territorial assertations significantly expanded: the New England is depicted as bordering the St. Lawrence River, the Province of New York extent to the region of the Upper Canada or Ontario while Pennsylvania occupied much of the region south of Lake Erie. Given that the alliance with Indigenous communities played a key role in the war, the names and geographical positions of Indigenous Nations are marked with great care. Accordingly, the northern reaches of the British possession are defined by the territory controlled by the Iroquois Confederation (Haudenosaunee), their allies in the war (the boundary line marked on the map is labelled "Bounds of the Six Nations"). Although Canada was already conquered by the British in 1759, the map remained silent on this change.

Attached to volume 3, A new and accurate map of the Provinces of Pensilvania, Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey, follows the same discourse (Fig. 4).¹⁰ It shows another theatre of the French and Indian War, highlighting the British territorial assertion. Again, reference is made to the Six Nations, i.e., the Iroquois Confederation, whose territory stretches along Virginia and Pennsylvania, and they are here to advocate British aspirations that will come true during the war. Interestingly enough, names of the Nations that allied with the French, like those east of the Alleghenies, are not shown on the map.¹¹ In support of the British extensions, the map is filled with numerous textual insets about treaties signed with Indigenous Nations and British settlements established there accordingly. Its western territorial reach along the Mississippi and Illinois Rivers is labelled as the Western Boundary of the Six Nations - Sold and Surrendered to Great Britain, making a prefiguration of the borders established by the Peace Treaty of Paris.¹² Along with the suggested territorialization of the British possession, one additional aspect appears: some textual notes about abundant natural resources reflect increasing British commercial interests in the continent.

Another map of the British possession in the volume 3 *A new and correct map of the Isles of New Found Land, Cape Breton with the Province of Nova Scotia* shows the British possessions mostly referring to the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), when Britain extended their rule to Nova Scotia and Labrador (designated as the New Britain) (Fig. 5).¹³ In contrast to previous maps, this region is depicted as a well-established British possession with no threat from Native Nations, whose

New and accurate map of the provinces of Pensilvania, Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey/ John Gibson sculp. In *The American Gazetteer*. London: Printed for A. Millar and J. & R. Tonson, 1762. Map 28 x 35 cm. Library of Congress.

¹¹ The border between French and British possessions was not well defined even before the war. One of the particularly disputed territories was the upper Ohio River valley.

^{12 &}quot;Virginia extends ... but to the westward it has no bounds which by our late conquest of Canada are pretty secure now from the invasion of the French, and their Indian allies" (The American Gazetteer, 1762: 3: 289).

¹³ A new & correct map of the Isles of New Found Land, Cape Breton &c. with the Provinces of Nova Scotia / John Gibson sculp. In *The American Gazetteer*: London: Printed for A. Millar. and J. & R. Tonson, 1762. Map 28 x 34 cm. MacLean Foundation Map Collection.

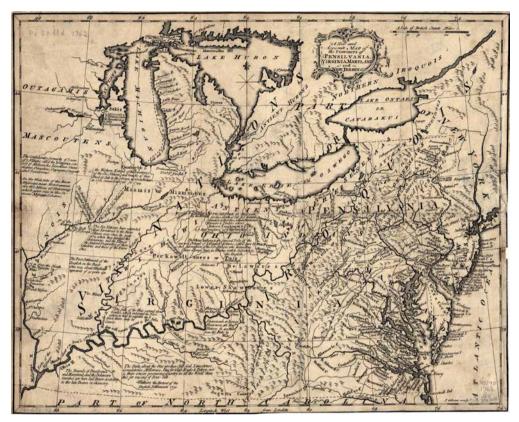


Fig. 4 Another theatre of the French and Indian War with British interpretation of their territorial rights in Virginia and Pennsylvania referring to the Iroquois Confederation and their treaties with Native Nations that legitimize British claim. Library of Congress.

names are thus largely excluded from the map.¹⁴ The most interesting reference is given in regard of the Newfoundland and the French rights on fishery in its coastal waters. Namely, the provision of the Treaty of Utrecht allowed the French to fish along the north coast of the island, between Point Riche and Cape Bonavista. That is why these capes are prominently marked on the map with the explicit note that "Point Riche is regularly omitted from the French maps as this is the actual bound of their privilege in these waters". This note is another reference to a colony as an imperial commercial resource.

^{14 &}quot;Nova Scotia, ...the French being now driven out of Canada, and the Indians having submitted to the English government, that distressing difficulty is removed" (The American Gazetteer, 1762: 3: 28).

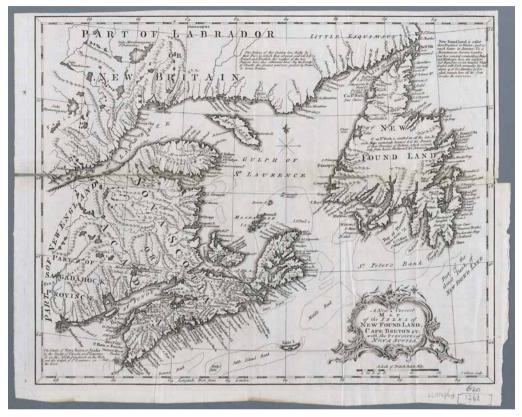


Fig. 5 British possessions in the NW that highlight their acquisitions by the Treaty of Utrecht (1713): Nova Scotia and Labrador (New Britain). MacLean Collection Map Library.

Il Gazzettiere Americano by Marco Coltellini (Livorno, 1763) as a textual and visual imagery of the French and Indian War

The Italian three-volume *Il Gazzettiere Americano* appeared in Livorno in 1763, thus just one year after its British counterpart, when the Peace Treaty of Paris had already been signed.¹⁵ Slightly but indicatively revised subtitle of the

¹⁵ Il Gazzettiere Americano, contenente un distinto ragguaglio di tutte le parti del Nuovo Mondo, della loro situazione, clima, terreno, prodotti, stato antico e moderno, merci, manifatture, e commercio. Con una esatta descrizione delle Città, Piazze, Porti, Baje, Fiumi, Laghi, Montagne, Passi, e Fortificazioni. Il tutto destinato ad esporre lo stato presente delle cose in quella parte di Globo, e le mire, e interessi delle diverse Potenze, che hanno degli stabilimenti in America. Livorno: Marco Coltellini, 1763.

Italian edition that reformulated the last sentence of the British edition from "intended to exhibit the present state of things" into "intended to *expose* the present state of affairs", thus distancing from imperial assertions, speaks volume about the different audience to which this edition is intended. Moreover, it was designated as a translation of the English edition but with a note that the Italian edition is enriched by additional notes, maps, vedutas, and illustrations. Thus, compared to the six maps included in the English edition, the Italian edition features an extended text accompanied by 78 engraved plates of maps, town views, people, industries, and fauna of the New World.

The fact that the Italian edition was published in Livorno is no coincidence, but rather the result of Livorno's economic importance as an international hub of trade and commerce, which maintained its strong ties with Great Britain throughout the 18th century. Its port was a successful example of mercantilist policy, with British trading companies accounting for a significant share of its trade. Due to Livorno's brisk overseas trade, changes in the political landscape of North America certainly raised the local interest in that part of the world. However, besides the global events, more local ones kept Livorno interested. Although they found themselves on opposite sides during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Great Britain and Tuscany in the Reign of Italy under the Habsburgs, maintained close diplomatic and commercial relations; ships of the British Royal Navy were maintained, armed, and provisioned in Livorno. Moreover, food for the British garrisons at Gibraltar and Menorca was acquired in the Tuscan port, so the ties with Britain remained tight (*Blake, 2015: 20; D'Angelo, 2009: 355*).

Il Gazzettiere Americano was prepared by Marco Coltellini (1724–1777), a renowned Italian opera tenor, librettist, and prominent publisher. By purchasing the pre-existing printing house at Insegna della Verità, in Via Grande, in 1762, he established his own printing shop which published the works of Enlightenment figures such as Francesco Algarotti and Cesare Beccaria. One of the first editions published, if not the first, was *Il Gazzettiere Americano* which achieved excellent sales success (*Tozzi, 1982*). To make a strong statement on the significance of the edition, Coltellini opens the volume with a specially designed cover. Lavishly engraved allegorical frontispiece by C. Coltellini and F. Gregossi, thematizes the encounter of Indigenous Nations with European conquerors that is here presented as an enlightening event. A quote from Seneca's Medea below the illustration highlights the wisdom of ancient Europe, which allegedly presupposed the



Figs. 6-7 A frontispiece (left) and the title page (right) of the *Il Gazzettiere Americano*, richly illustrated by strong iconographic images (Livorno, 1763). Wellcome Collection, London.

existence of a New World, serving as a statement of the superiority of the Old World over the New (Fig. 6).¹⁶ An additional smaller illustration on the titlepage shows two figures studying a map, also addressing geographic knowledge and New World exploration (Fig. 7).

Expectedly, the text of the Italian edition heavily relies on *The American Gazetteer*. As for the amendments, Coltellini's introduction refers to Emanuel

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¹⁶ The scene includes nude figures kneeling, having dropped a bow and quiver of arrows, with an offering to armoured men who carry a flag, gun, and sword. A ship appears in the background and a cross-bearing angel and cherub in the sky above, illuminating the entire scene, thus giving the impression of God's presence. Latin verse by Seneca translates (loosely) as: Coming years in succession, wherein the Oceans, loose and broad earth, Tethys shall disclose new worlds. According to *Smith (1854)*, the anticipation of the discovery of America is found in a well-known passage of Seneca's Medea, which is said to have made a deep impression on the mind of Columbus.

Bowen's Complete System of Geography (London, 1747) as the major source of information he followed (Il Gazzettiere Americano, 1763: I: VI). To distinguish his amendments from the English template, he always inserts his text in parentheses and marks it with an asterisk. Strange enough, amendments referring to the changes of the imperial borders in 1763 are not as numerous as we would expect. For example, a more extensive addition is inserted in the entry on Canada (Il Gazzettiere Americano, 1763: I: 75-76), but not on Florida (Il Gazzettiere Americano, 1763: I: 191-295), which appears as a verbatim translation taken from The American Gazetteer. While the English edition focused on the British colonies, Coltellini attempted to balance the narrative by giving equal attention to all parts of the Americas. Unencumbered by British imperial interests, Coltellini thus paid more attention to supplementing the Latin American entries for which he often added information about cities, the state of ports, fortifications, and their trade exchange. He moves away from The American Gazetteer's narrative about British imperial supremacy in America, thus revealing a very different discourse towards the imperial interests of the European powers. Furthermore, he speaks more on trade and commerce than about the outcome of the French and Indian War, which dramatically changed imperial spheres of interest in North America.

The discursive shift of the Italian edition is even more noticeable in the selection and content of the maps (for the complete list of maps, see Appendix). Compared to the six maps included in the English edition, the Italian edition is accompanied by not fewer than 40 maps and plans, whose coverage is not limited to the British possessions; more than half of the maps refer to Spanish territory, and only one each to French and Portuguese possessions. These maps were not produced specifically for this edition: they are all taken from existing gazetteers, atlases and travel narratives, which were published before the outcome of the French and Indian War was known. Consequently, most of the maps included in *Il Gazzettiere Americano* focus on the areas where the war is taking place, rather than on the actual war operations. In this sense, although the publication has military connotations, these maps are not typical military maps that show military movement, but maps that serve to stimulate the reader's imagination of the war theatre.

To equip the Italian edition with adequate maps, Coltellini's collaborators utilized multiple sources, primarily French, British, and occasionally Spanish. The different provenance of the source maps is also confirmed by the different prime meridians to which the maps in the Italian edition refer. Those that refer to the Paris meridian are derived from French templates, those based on Spanish templates refer to Ferro, while those based on British maps refer to the London prime meridian. For the British possessions, Italians often relied on maps from the English edition of the gazetteer. Since the Italian geographers wanted to include maps on a larger scale, they would derive two or three maps for the Italian edition from one English template by enlarging it. E.g., deriving from ...*Map of the Isles of New Foundland, Cape Breton with the Province of Nova Scotia*, Italian editors produced two maps in enlarged scale: *Nuova, e correta carta dell'Isola di Terra Nuova* and *Carta rappresentante il Golfo del Fiume S. Lorenzo* (Figs. 8-9).

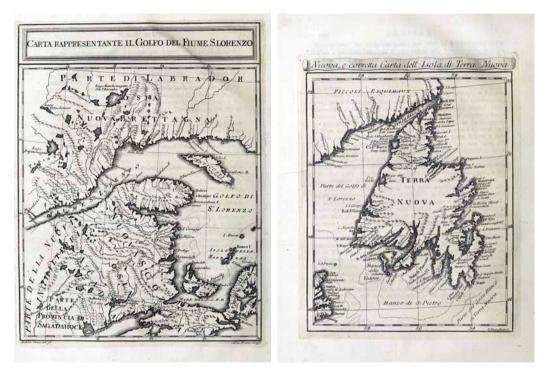
In more cases, Italian editors opt for French templates as they were already drawn in the appropriate scale and contained fewer imperial designations. This was especially true for the maps of the renowned French cartographer Jacques-Nicolas Bellin.¹⁷ Thus, a significant number of the maps and plans in *Il Gazzettiere Americano* were taken from *L'Histoire générale des voyages*, which was accompanied by numerous maps prepared by Bellin.¹⁸ For example, *Carta della Nuova Inghilterra Nuova Iorke e Pensilvania* (Fig. 10) is the Italian translation of Bellin's map *Carte de la Nouvelle Angleterre, Nouvelle Yorck, et Pensilvanie;* while *Carta rappresentante I cinque Laghi del Canada* is derived from Bellin's *Carte des Cinq Grande Lacs du Canada*. On the other hand, for the presentation of the Spanish possessions, many maps are taken from Thomas Jefferys' *A description of the Spanish islands* (London, 1762), whose maps are based on drawings taken from the Spaniards in the last war.¹⁹ Plans of Cartagena, Portobelo, Charge,

¹⁷ Jacques Nicolas Bellin (1703 – 1772), a French hydrographer and geographer. He was the hydrographer of France's hydrographic office, a member of the Académie de Marine, and the Royal Society of London. In August 1741, he became the first *Ingénieur de la Marine of the Dépot des cartes et plans de la Marine* (the French Hydrographical Office) and was named Official Hydrographer of the French King. Over a 50-year career, he produced many maps of particular interest to the Ministère de la Marine (*Chapuis, 1999: 160–161*).

¹⁸ A.F. Prévost, L'Histoire générale des voyages ou Nouvelle collection de toutes les relations de voyages par mer et par terre, qui ont été publiées jusqu'à présent dans les différentes langues de toutes les nations connues est un ouvrage, 15 vols. Paris: Didot, 1746– 1759.

¹⁹ Thomas Jeffery, A description of the Spanish islands and settlements on the coast of the West Indies: compiled from authentic memoirs, revised by gentlemen who have resided many years in the Spanish settlements: and illustrated with thirty-two maps and plans, chiefly from original drawings taken from the Spaniards in the last war. London: Printed for T. Jefferys, 1762.

Vera Cruz, St. Augustine, Havana, Pensacola, Guantanamo, and San Domingo included in *Il Gazzettiere Americano* are all taken from Jeffrey and translated into Italian (Figs. 11-12).



Figs. 8-9 Map of St. Lawrence River (left) and map of Newfoundland derived from British templates. *Il Gazzettiere Americano (1763)*. Wellcome Collection, London.

Once the maps to be included in the volume were selected, they needed to be translated into the Italian language. For such a considerable cartographic endeavour, Coltellini hired a team of engravers and geographers who prepared the copper plates and designed maps, vedutas, and various illustrations that enriched the text. Plates with maps and plans were engraved by Andrea Scacciati and D. Veremondo Rossi, Violante Vanni²⁰ and Giuseppe Maria

²⁰ Violante Vanni (1732–c. 1776), an Italian artist and engraver, credited with being one of three people who wrote and illustrated *Storia naturale degli uccelli trattata con metodo e adornata di figure intagliate in rame e miniate al naturale.*

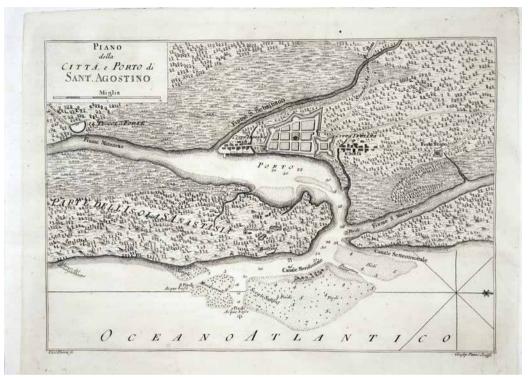


Fig. 10 Map of New England prepared for *Il Gazzettiere Americano* (1763) as translation of the *Carte de la Nouvelle Angleterre, Nouvelle Yorck, et Pensilvanie by Nicolas Bellin* (Paris, 1757). Wellcome Collection, London.

Terreni²¹ were in charge of drafting the city views and landscapes, while Giuseppe Pazzi usually incised the geographical nomenclature.

Since the maps included in the *Il Gazzettiere Americano* were not updated with current geographical and political reality, the new territorialisation of the empires resulting from the war is not shown here by drawing of the new boundaries, but by the carefully selected coverage of the maps that is focused precisely on the areas in which the changes are occurring. The choice of regions to be presented by

²¹ Giuseppe Maria Terreni (1739 –1811), Livornian painter known for his frescos of the Chapel of the Sacrament in the Livorno Cathedral and the Hall of *Buon Umore* in the Florentine Academy of the Fine Arts. He also produced famous vedute of the city of Livorno.

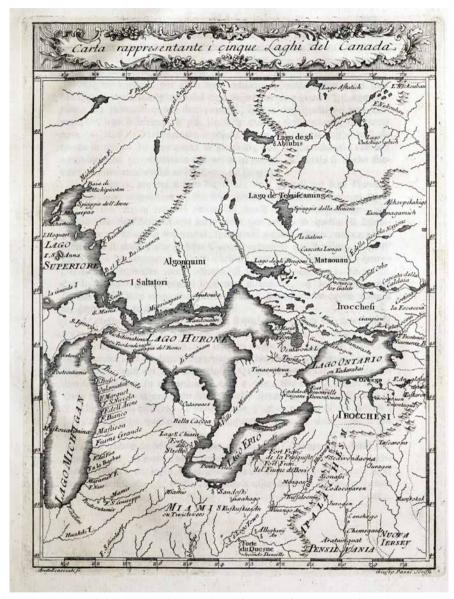


Figs. 11-12 Maps of St. Augustine (above) and Pensacola (below), former Spanish strongholds, since 1763 in British possession. St. Augustine is well fortified by two Spanish forts, Castillo de San Marco and Fort Mose. Pensacola is presented with its two forts (presidios), Santa María de Galve and Santa Rosa, both abandoned before being taken by the British. Maps are created by Thomas Jefferys based on the Spanish sources. *Il Gazzettiere Americano (1763)*. Wellcome Collection, London.

maps is wisely made, reflecting both the geopolitical discourse and the interests of global trade. The emphasis on the depiction of British and Spanish possessions in the Americas speaks volumes about the major players in the New World, and also coincides with Italian overseas trade interests. The choice of locations presented by the large-scale maps is particularly indicative, as it stems from their strategic importance. The presence of military elements on the large-scale maps, such as terrain topography, soundings, and military installations, serves as a reminder that this is, indeed, a military publication. Some choices of the maps reflect the theatre of War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1748) fought between Great Britain and Spain: Guantanamo Bay, Havana, Cartagena and Portobelo as well as St. Augus-



tine presented by large-scale maps were all subjects of the British siege during the War of Jenkins' Ear. Theatre of the French and Indian War (1754–1763) is mainly represented by the depiction of the whole territories taken by the British: separate maps of the Great Lakes, Florida, West Florida with Pensacola, St. Lawrence River and Quebec City captured by British in 1759, highlight some of the territorial acquisitions of the British dominion (Figs. 13-14). Strange enough, there is no map that would represent a large tract of land stretching between Mississippi and the British Thirteen Colonies. In The American Gazetteer, that part was well covered by two maps that are excluded here (A new map of the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New Jersey, and A New and Correct Map of the Provinces of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida). The silence about these areas can be understood as another statement: these regions were already under British control even before the war, as confirmed by the treaties with Native Nations, and the Peace Treaty of Paris just confirmed the existing situation. However, the Royal Proclamation of 1763 issued by British King George III forbade any new settlements west of a line drawn along the Appalachian Mountains,



Figs. 13-14 Map of the Great Lakes Region (above), a former French territory, as a new British territorial acquisition. Mind the numerous forts on the map of the Great Lakes Region, including Duquesne (in present-day Pittsburgh), Frontenac and Niagara, taken by the British. British Florida (below), with its eastern (*Florida*) and western parts (*Penisola della Florida*), shows its division created during Spanish rule which was maintained even after the establishment of British rule. *Il Gazzettiere Americano (1763*). Wellcome Collection, London.



designating all the territory between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi as an Indian Reserve. Exclusion from the vast region of Trans-Appalachia created discontent among British colonists, thus making this part of the British territory contested and vaguely demarcated.²²

²² According to the Royal Proclamation, British settlement was tightly restricted beyond the 1763 Proclamation Line, including those by Virginia and Massachusetts, were rescinded. With the exception of Virginia and others deprived of rights to western lands, the colonial

Not all maps focus exclusively on military issues. Maps of certain cities and their surroundings, such as those of Boston or New York, tend to show more commercial than military discourse. The same can be said about numerous plans of Latin American cities that were important in global trade. City plans of S. Salvatore, Quito, Vera Cruz, Lima, Acapulco, Santiago, San Domingo, and Potosi, although they include the presentation of their fortifications, show in detail institutions like governor's houses, customs, lazarettos, and markets, thus focusing more on trade and commerce. The choice of island maps to be included follows the same pattern, inclusion of maps of Barbados, Jamaica, Granada, Guadalupe (British), but also Hispaniola and Cuba (Spanish), and Martinique (French) speaks in favour of presenting those of the greatest merchant importance, regardless of their imperial affiliation. The mercantilist discourse is clearly confirmed in the textual descriptions of the islands, which focus on their production and natural resources.

Atlante dell'America by Giovanni Tomasso Masi (Livorno, 1777) as textual and visual imagery of the American Revolution

The French and Indian War which ended with the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1763, provided Great Britain with enormous territorial gains in North America. The new border extended the British Empire westward to the Mississippi, absorbing most of the former New France and the Spanish Florida. However, unsolved disputes over subsequent frontier policy and paying the war's expenses led to the colonial discontent, and ultimately to the American Revolution (1765–1783) that culminated in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) during which sovereignty of the United States of America was proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The French and Indian War was enormously expensive, and the British government's attempts to impose taxes on colonists to help cover these expenses resulted in increasing colonial resentment of British attempts to expand imperial authority in the colonies. The British attempt to limit western expansion by colonists according to the Proclamation Line, and the inadvertent provocation of a major Indian war further angered British subjects living in the American colo-

legislatures agreed on the boundaries but disagreed on where to set them. Many settlers resented the restrictions entirely, and enforcement required permanent garrisons along the frontier, which led to increasingly bitter disputes over who should pay for them (*Caloway*, 2007: 12).

nies. These disputes spurred colonial rebellion, which eventually developed into a full-scale war for independence. This time, the Thirteen Colonies that broke away from the British Crown were allied with France, Spain, and the Dutch Republic, which together fought against Great Britain and the Loyalists.

Compiled amid the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783) and just one year after the Declaration of Independence was proclaimed, Atlante dell'America reflected the growing interests of the general audience in another change that fundamentally shook North America and British interests therein. The creation of the United States of America, which redrew both the political map of the British Empire and global trade and commerce, naturally attracted great attention outside of British circles. Editor of the new edition was Giovanni Tommaso Masi (1743–1821), a Livornian publisher who bought Coltellini's publishing house in 1770.²³ As a Coltellini's nephew, Masi took over all the copper plates of previous editions, including the one of *Il Gazzettiere Americano*, which greatly facilitated his work on Atlante dell'America. However, this edition, although derived from Il Gazzettiere Americano, was published with significant changes. Extensive textual description is completely omitted in this edition. The geographical imagination of space relies exclusively on maps, so the editor justifiably renamed his edition to Atlante dell'America.²⁴ The volume comprises 44 leaves of plates, which include 39 maps and five views, accompanied by a brief introduction and very modest textual comments on each map (see Appendix for the complete list of maps).

The title of the publication defines the focus of the publication as showing "*theatres for the present War between the English Colonists and the Motherland*". The war, now explicitly mentioned in the title of the publication, marks a new discourse that highlights the irreversibility of changes with unpredictable

²³ Giovanni Tommaso Masi comes from a family of printers and publishers. Tommaso (b. 1740), nephew of Marco Coltellini, worked in Livorno with his sons Glauco (1775–1860) and Riccardo (1780–1839), creating, among other things, the famous collection of Italian classics directed by G. Poggiali. After he took part in the riots of 1799 he was imprisoned and exiled. Printing house was continued by his soon Glauco who kept the business live in Naples and Livorno until 1835 (*Storti, 2008*).

²⁴ Atlante dell'America contenente le migliori carte geografiche, e topografiche delle principali città, laghi, fiumi, e fortezze del nuovo mondo con una succinta Relazione dei diversi Stabilimenti Europèi in quella parte di Globo, e principalmente dei Luoghi, che servono adesso di Teatro alla presente Guerra fra i Coloni Inglesi, e la Madre Patria. Livorno: Gio. Tommaso Masi, 1777.

global consequences. The exclusion of text and focusing the reader's attention only on the visual imagination of geographical space also represents a discursive shift. Although the maps are identical to those in *Il Gazzettiere Americano*, there is now no text suggesting Eurocentric imperial reality, so the reader concludes for himself about the implications of the still ongoing American Revolution. A very interesting statement is made by the new vignette inserted on the title page. While he kept the frontispiece from *Il Gazzettiere Americano*, the old image from the title page that thematised European explorations has now been replaced with an engraved view of a reclining nude woman in the pastoral settings, admiring herself in a handheld mirror, attended by two cherubs and with the motto *Chi mi vela è in periglio e chi mi svela* (Who veils me and puts me in danger and who hides me) (Fig. 15). Does this vain woman represent a personification of Great Britain? Or is she meant to symbolize Europe? Some answers can be found in the brief introduction to this volume.

The preface to the edition titled Editor to the Reader (*L'editore a chi legge*) opens with a sentence about the American Revolution as the most significant event since the discovery of America in 1492, which will have immense consequences for all of Europe.²⁵ When explaining the ongoing changes of a new American spatiality, the editor openly distances himself from British colonial policy, condemning the outbreak of war with some understanding of the position of the British colonists. Praising the courage of the colonists to unite in their desire for independence, the editor openly shows his pro-revolutionary sentiments.²⁶ By contrast,

^{25 &}quot;L'America, avendo prodotto nell'Europa la più singolare rivoluzione quando nel 1492, su discoperta, seguita ancòra doppo due Secoli ad influire sulla medesima in proporzione de' rapporti di ciascuna Nazione Europèa con quelle sue immense, e feconde contrade" [America, having produced the most singular revolution in Europe in 1492, upon discovery, it continued after two centuries to influence it in proportion of the relations of each European nation with its immense and fertile districts] (Atlante dell'America, 1777: 3)

^{26 &}quot;La Gran Brettagna di Dominio gelosa, quanto avida di Commercio versa i pubblici ci tesori per sostenere coll'armi una tassa, cui ricusan di sottomettersi trè milioni di Sudditi posti di là dall'Atlantico. La forza, e la gloria di sì potente Nazione non è ancor giunta a domare con le sue Flotte numerosissime quella porzione di Popolo Inglese trapiantato in America. Le stesse Colonie, che nella Guerra contro le due Potenze unite di Francia, e Spagna sì bravamente difesero la Madre-Patria,... si ostinano adesso a sparger il sangue contro la stessa Metropoli; e doppo aver rigettato orgogliose gli Editti del Parlamento Britannico, cospirano arditamente a respinger le Armate della Corona. La Guerra, in vece di scoraggirle, le sa sempre più collegate, ed unite insieme: ne ha stabilita la Concordia, e quasi assodata l'Indipendenza" [Great

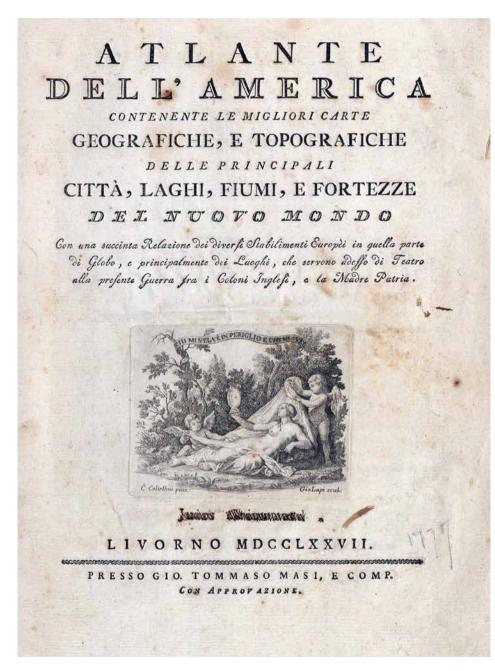


Fig. 15 Title page of the *Atlante dell'America (1777)* accompanied by a new vignette. A nude vain woman admiring herself in a handheld mirror is possibly a personification of Great Britain. David Rumsey Map Centre.

his focus on the commercial repercussions of the American Revolution and, particularly, North America's share in global commerce is presented with much more concern. This particularly refers to American ore production, which accounts for an increasingly significant share of global trade, and is presented here as a potential threat to the European economy and the value of the Italian lira.²⁷

Short comments for each map provide additional insight into the discourse of this edition. The only extensive commentary is given for the map of New England, New York and Pennsylvania (*Carta della Nuova Inghilterra, Nuova Jork, e Pensilvania*). Yet, even here, the text is highly descriptive and limited to the administrative organisation of the colony and statistical data on the population. More significant interest was expressed only in manufacturing production, shipbuilding, and port capacities.²⁸ A somewhat more recent review was given only for

Britain, jealous of her dominion and avid for commerce, pours out the public treasury to soften by arms a tax to which three million of its subjects on the other side of the Atlantic refuse to submit. The strength and glory of so powerful a nation have not yet succeeded in subduing, with its numerous fleets, that portion of the English people transplanted to America. The same colonies, which in the war against the two united powers of France and Spain so bravely defended the mother country, ... are now ready to shed their blood against the same Metropolis; and after having proudly rejected the edicts of the British parliament, they boldly conspire to repel the armies of the Crown. War, instead of discouraging them, makes them more and more connected and united together: it has weakened their Concord, and almost consolidated their Independence] (*Atlante dell'America*, 1777: 4)

^{27 &}quot;Le molte Miniere aperte nel di lei seno abbassarono si tosto il pregio dell'Oro, e dell'Argento, che, se nel tratto avvenire crescesse fra Noi la quantità de' medesimi, come ne' due passati Secoli, si vedrebbe alla fine la nostra Lira ridotta al solo valore di un semplice Denaro." [The many mines opened in its bosom so quickly lowered the value of gold and silver that, if in the future the quantity of the same were to increase among us, as in the past two centuries, we would see our lira reduced to the value of a simple denarius] (Atlante dell'America, 1777: 3).

^{28 &}quot;Carta della Nuova Inghilterra, Nuova Iork, e Pensilvania: La Nuova Inghilterra scoperta sul principio del passato Secolo fu detta dagl'Inglesi Virginia Settentrionale. Deve in gran parte la sua popolazione di 400,000. Abitanti agli inquieti Presbiteriani, che dopo esser passati in Olanda colà si rifugiarono. E' divisa in quattro Provincie, che sono Connecticut, Massacuset, Nuova Hampsire, e Rode Island. Vi allignano i Frutti Europei quasi tutti; Numerosi Bestiami pascolano in vastissimi prati: non mancano manifatture di Pani, Cappelli, Tele di Lino, e di Canapa, Acquavite, e Rum, e soprattutto grandi costruzioni di Navi. La Gran Bretagna si è trovata ad avere 500, e più Navi fabbricate in questa Colonia, nelle quali venivano impiegati 600 Marinari ... " [Map of New England, New York and Pennsylvania: New England was discovered at the beginning of the last century under the name of the English Northern Vir-

Philadelphia, which, according to Franklin's estimate from 1766, is stated to have 1,500,000 white and 30,000 colored inhabitants (*Atlante dell'America, 1777: 6*).

Describing other regions, including those of Britain, the data primarily refer to the European explorations of these areas, listing the population, which is sometimes supplemented with information on production and trade. Thus, for example, the description of the largest British territorial acquisition, the Great Lakes Region, is reduced to a lamentation about the discovery of New France by Jacques Cartier (albeit with the help of the Florentine, Giovanni Verrazzano). Nothing in the text suggests that the area is now under British rule.²⁹ Of all the possessions that Britain took over after the French and Indian War, only comments for the maps of Florida and of Quebec include notes on their belonging to the British Dominion.³⁰ In general, the textual imagery of the volume contains no

ginia. It owes in great part its population of 400,000 inhabitants to the restless Presbyterians, who, after having passed to Holland, took refuge there. It is divided into four provinces, which are Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Almost all European fruits thrive there; numerous cattle graze on very vast natural pastures: there is no lack of manufactures of bread, hats, linen and hemp cloth, brandy, and rum, and above all, large shipbuilding yards. Great Britain has found itself with 500, and more ships built in this colony, in which 600 sailors were employed...] (*Atlante dell'America, 1777: 5*).

²⁹ Tutto questo tratto fu ceduto nel 1763 dalla Francia all'Inghilterra con quella parte di Luisiana, che si estende sino al Mississippi. "Carta rappresentante i Cinque Laghi dell'Canada: Giacomo Carter spedito da Francesco Primo Re di Francia, profittando de' lumi di Giovanni Verrazzano, Fiorentino, divenne lo scopritore della Nuova Francia, che ora dicesi Canada. Tutta questa Provincia è interrotta da spessi Fiumi, e profondi, i quali comunicano con vastissimi Laghi, e tutte insieme quiete acque formano il Fiume S. Lorenzo, che va a terminare nel Golfo di questo nome" [Map representing Six Great Lakes of Canada: Jacques Carter, sent by Francis I, King of France, profiting by the enlightenment of Giovanni Verrazzano, Florentine, became the discoverer of New France, which is now called Canada. This whole province is interrupted by thick and deep rivers, which communicate with vast lakes, and all these quiet waters together form the River St. Lawrence, which ends in the Gulf of that name] (*Atlante dell'America, 1777: 6*).

^{30 &}quot;Carta Rappresentante la Penisola della Florida: Tutto questo tratto fu ceduto nel 1763 dalla Francia all'Inghilterra con quella parte di Luisiana, che si estende sino al Mississipi.." [Map representing the Florida Peninsula: All this tract ceded in 1763 by France to England with that part of Louisiana which extends to the Mississippi.."] (Atlante dell'America, 1777: 8). See also, "Piano e veduta della Citta' di Quebeck: Siede Quebeck sulla sponda sinistra del Fiume S. Lorenzo in una Penisola bagnata in parte ancora dal Fiume S. Carlo. La sua Rada è buona per più di 200 Navi. Nel 1608 Samuelo Champlain getto i fondamenti di questa Capitale della Nuova Francia. Quando gl' Inglesi la presero nel

comments on current military events of the American Revolutionary War.

All the maps for *Atlante dell'America* were printed from the copper plates used for *Il Gazzettiere Americano*, thus excluding the possibility of any changes or updates. However, the editor attempted to update his visualization of the American space by rearranging the order of the maps. Namely, since the maps were no longer tied to the alphabetical order of the text entries, the editor arranged the maps mostly by geographical order: the atlas begins with maps of North America, continues with Central America, and concludes the representation of America with South America. By doing that, he put the maps of the theatre of the American Revolutionary War at the beginning of the atlas. In this way, at least indirectly, he highlighted the significance of the changes that resulted from the American Revolution.

Map of New England, New York and Pennsylvania (Carta della Nuova Inghilterra, Nuova Iorke, e Pensilvania) covered most of the northern theatre of the war and the battles that took place in 1776 and 1777. Even more useful proved to be a large-scale map of Quebec City, as well as those of Boston and New York harbours, which illustrate the early military engagements of the war. Initially included in Il Gazzettiere Americano for their commercial importance, their presence now has a different connotation. Presentation of the city of Quebec (Plano della Citta di Quebec) with its advanced military installations and fortifications enabled the reader to follow the movement of the Battle of the Quebec which took place in December 1775 (Fig. 16). Detailed map Carta Rappresentante il Porto di Boston shows well the theatre of the Battle of Bunker Hill of 1775 (Fig. 17). The same refers to Porti della Nuova York e Perthamboy which enable us to follow the military movements that led to the Battle of Fort Washington and Battle of Long Island, both in 1776 (Fig. 18). In this sense, the atlas illustrated the areas of the war fairly well up until 1777, when the atlas was published. What is missing is a depiction of the western and southern theatres of war, which would come into focus in 1778, thus after the atlas was published. At the same

¹⁷⁵⁹ divenuti padroni di quella Provincia aveva 10,000 Abitanti" [Plan and view of City of Quebec: Quebec sits on the left bank of the St. Lawrence River on a peninsula still partly bathed by the St. Charles River. Its harbour is good for more than 200 ships. In 1608 Samuel Champlain laid the foundations of this capital of New France. When the English took it in 1759, having become masters of that province, it had 10,000 inhabitants] (*Atlante dell'America*, 1777: 7).

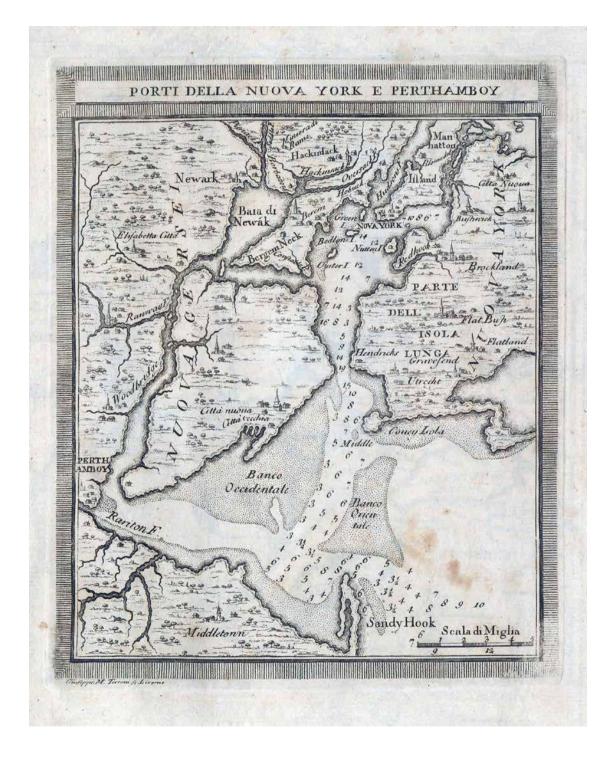


Fig. 16 Plan of Quebec City with its many military installations and one of the major British strongholds in December of 1775, became the theatre of the Battle of Quebec. *Atlante dell'America (1777)*. David Rumsey Map Centre.

time, the presence of other maps in the atlas, most notably those of the Spanish possessions and their principal harbours, put things in the balance. Going beyond simply illustrating the military operations of the American Revolutionary War, the editor not only maintained a more neutral position but also demonstrated that the interests of global trade and commerce still matter, even when the political landscape is reconfiguring.



Figs. 17-18 Detailed plans of the Boston (above) and New York (below) harbours, major British trade ports that became battlefields in the early years of the American Revolutionary War. *Atlante dell'America (1777)*. David Rumsey Map Centre.



Concluding Remarks

This paper aimed to analyse how the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the American Revolution (1775–1783), which resulted in the establishment of a new independent United States of America, influenced the textual and visual imaginary of the American space. Building on a comparative analysis of three editions, we tried to answer how the European concept of colonies, based on the principle of territorial sovereignty, justified imperialism and expansive commerce, was reflected on the map, and how these images were absorbed and revised in other European countries, particularly in those without overseas empires, such as the Italian States. The emergence of all three editions analysed here was undoubtedly initiated by war events and the geopolitical changes that resulted from them. In this context, the editions presented here, although part of popular culture, incorporate elements of military publications intended for a general audience, aiming to raise awareness of political and military changes in the imperial policies of European empires.

Comparing the two Italian editions, there is clear evidence of the shifts in the discourse. *Il Gazzettiere Americano* (1763) is still very cautious in presenting geopolitical changes that are mostly omitted not only in the maps but even in the text. Changes are only hinted at through the choice of maps, but without showing any real connotations: no conquests or military actions are directly shown. Moreover, the Italian editors tried to move away from the British imperial narrative. Unlike *The American Gazetteer*, which is quite openly in favour of British interests, the Italian edition of the gazetteer seeks to create a balance, expanding the edition with additional data on Spanish possessions and a multitude of maps that refer to the interests of global (and Italian) trade.

On the other hand, *Atlante dell'America* (1777) adopts a firmer stance towards changes in the imperial landscape of America. Although the maps in this edition remain unchanged from the 1763 edition and the text is reduced to rudimentary map descriptions, the introduction to the 1777 edition clearly emphasizes the difference in approach. Designating the American Revolution as the most significant event since 1492, it revises conceptions of America to accommodate novel developments and highlights its consequences for European nations and their economies. This point of view was in contrast to British popular editions of the era, which did not necessarily overturn British attitudes towards America as a part of the transatlantic British nation (*Stock, 2016: 28*). In that sense, Italian textuality shows signs of altering the concept of America's spatiality, even adopting some pro-Revolution sentiments. However, a certain dichotomy is clearly visible in the Italian understanding of the American Revolution: when it comes to commerce, the Italian editor shows deep concern, presenting the Revolution as potentially profoundly disruptive for European economies.

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APPENDIX

Plates in The American Gazetteer (London, 1762)

Vol 1.

A New and accurate map of the America drawn from the most approved maps & charts/ John Gibson, sculp.

A New and Correct Map of the Provinces of North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida/ John Gibson, sculp.

Vol. 2

A new and correct map of the Provinces of New England, New York, Canada or New France/ John Gibson, sculp.

Vol. 3

An Accurate Map of the West Indies. Drawn from the Best Authorities John Gibson.

A new & correct map of the Isles of New Found Land, Cape Breton &c. with the Provinces of Nova Scotia / John Gibson sculp.

New and accurate map of the provinces of Pensilvania, Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey/ John Gibson sculp.

Plates in Il Gazzettiere Americano (1763)

Vol.1

Nuova ed esatta Carta Della America Ricavata dalle Mappe, e Carte piu approvate / Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Pianta del Porto d'Acapulco sopra la Costa de Messico nel Mar del Sud/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Il re degli zopiloti o' sia degli Avoltoi, D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Piano della Città, e Porto di Sant. Agostino/ Violante Vanni, sculp, Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carte del corso del Maragnone o sia del gran fiume dell'Amazzoni. Ricavata dalla carta che fù fatta nel 1743 e 1744 e sottoposta all'osservazioni astronomiche dal Sig. De la Condamine della Accademia Reale delle Scienze accresciuta col corso del Fiume Nero, e altre notizie cavate dalle memorie dei più moderni viaggiatori/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Opossum/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

1 Fregata 2 Paillencul, 3 Grandgosier, 4 Fiammingo spiccola Isola d'Aves

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di Barbados/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Carta Rappresentante il Porto di Boston/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Gallinella colli sproni alle ale/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Tucano o' sia Pica del Brasile/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

La Scimia Leone, o sia Sagoino del Brasile/ Ant. Gregorij, sculp.

Carta rappresentante la Baia di Campeggio e l'Jucatan

Tatou o Armadillo, Castoro/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

1 Specie di Lupo detto quick Hatch, o Wolverene, 2 Porco Spino/ Ant. Gregorij, sculp.

Bove della Nuova Francia/ Violante Vanni, sculp

La Caccia dei castori/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Colibri col petto rosso maschio, e femmina/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Piano della Città, e Sobborghi di Cartagena/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Piano della Città, Rada, e Porto di Chagre/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Fabbrica d'Indaco/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Balza in tutte le sue proporzioni/ Violante Vanni, fec.

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di Cuba estratta dalle Carte dal Sig. Poppler/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Piano di Guantanimo chiamato dagl' Inglesi Porto di Cumberland/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Pianta di Cusco nel tempo della conquista che ne secero gli Spagnoli/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Carta rappresentante l'Istmodi Darien o siadi Panama/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Piano della Città di S. Domingo/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Veduta di S. Eustachio/ M. Natraini, del., I. Ottaviani, inc.

Carta rappresenante la Peninsola della Florida/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Vestitura, e Villaggio dei Floridiani/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Vol.2

Nuova e corretta Carta dell'Indie Occidentale cavata dalle migliori autorità/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di Granata

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola della Guadalupa/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Aspeto della Montagna dello Solsso e Ucello Diavolo/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Piano della Città e Porto dell' Havana/ Violante Vanni, Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di S. Domingo o sia Hispaniola/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Carta rappresentante una parte della Baja d'Hudson, e la Regioni a Maestro dell'America Settentrionale/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Airone cenerino dell'America Settentrionale

Gran Ggue della Baia d' Hudson/ Andrea Scacciati, inc.

Pianta della citta di Sant'Iago capitale del Regno del Chili/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Carta rappresentate l'Isola della Giammaica/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Plantazione di Zucchero/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Molino da Zucchero/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Il pellicano d'America/ Violante Vanni fec.

Colibri verde colla coda lunga, colibri minimo della sua grandezza naturale/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Figura d' un Forte Indiano/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Carta della Nuova Inghiltherra Nuova Iork e Pensilvania

Piano Scenografico della Citta dei Re, o sia di Lima capitale del Regno del Peru/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

A dona di Lima in abito da Città B In abito Domenico C Vestiture degli Spagnioli nel Peru D Mulatta e Moro si Servizio/ C. Fancy, sculp.

Carta rappresentante l'Isola della Martinicca/ D. Veremondo Rossi, scrisse; Andrea Scacciati, sculp.

Raccolta del Cotone/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Nuovo Messico/ Violante Vanni, sculp.

Carta rappresentante i cinque Laghi del Canada/Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Vol. 3

Carta rappresentante l'America Meridionale/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Caduta di Niagara/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Carta rappresentante il Golfo del Fiume S. Lorenzo/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carta esatta rappresentante il Corso del Fiume Paraguay ed paesi ad esso vicini/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Piano del Porto, e degli Stabilimenti di Pensacola/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Piano di Porto Bello/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Veduta della Città, e della Montagna del Potosi/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Piano della Citta del Quebec/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

[Veduta della Citta del] Quebec

Piano dela Città e Contorni di S. Francesco di Quito/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Uccello Artico detto Nave da Guerra, che credesi il Maschio/ Antonio Gregory, sculp.

1 Uccello Artico che credesi la femmina, 2 Ucciello chiamato volgarmente il Tropico/ F. Gregory, sculp.

Pianta della Citta di S. Salvadore, Capitale del Bresile; Veduta della Citta di S. Salvadore dalla parte della Baia/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

1 Ponte di Liana, o Bejuco, 2 Tarabita per gli Animali, 3 Tarabita per gli Uomini/ C. Faucci, sculp.

Zak-Rot, o sia Topo di Suurinam; Rospo con I piedi d'Anatra/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Nuova, e corretta Carta dell' Isola di Terra Nuova/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Veduta d' un palco, e della maniera colla quale si pesca acconcia e secca il Baccalà in Terra Nuova

Penguino dell'America Settentrionale/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Carta rappresentante le Provincie di Cartagena S. Marta e Venezuela/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Piano della Rada, e della Città della Vera Cruz/ Violante Vanni, sculp.

Fabrica dell Tabacco/ Antonio Gregori, sculp.

L' Scojattolo Volante dell'America Settentrionale a Colibri Ciuffetto/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Tavola rappresentante la maniera di fare il Cassavi

Porti della Nuova York e Perthamboy/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Plates in the Atlante dell' dell'America (1777)

Nuova ed esatta Carta Della America Ricavata dalle Mappe, e Carte piu approvate/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carta della Nuova Inghiltherra Nuova Iork e Pensilvania

Carta Rappresentante il Porto di Boston/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Porti della Nuova York e Perthamboy/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Carta rappresentante i cinque Laghi del Canada/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Caduta di Niagara/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Piano della Città del Québec / D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

[Veduta della Citta del] Quebec

Carta rappresentante il Golfo del Fiume S. Lorenzo/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Nuova, e corretta Carta dell' Isola di Terra Nuova/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Carta rappresentante una parte della Baja d'Hudson, e la Regioni a Maestro dell'America Settentrionale/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Piano di Guantanimo chiamato dagl' Inglesi Porto di Cumberland/ Violante Vanni,

sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carta rappresenante la Peninsola della Florida/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Piano del Porto, e degli Stabilimenti di Pensacola/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Piano della Città, e Porto di Sant. Agostino/ Violante Vanni, sculp, Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Nuovo Messico/ Violante Vanni, sculp.

Nuova e corretta Carta dell' Indie Occidentale cavata dalle migliori autorità/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di Cuba estratta dalle Carte dal Sig. Poppler/Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

Piano della Città e Porto dell'Havana/ Violante Vanni, Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di S. Domingo o sia Hispaniola/ Giuseppe Maria Terreni, sculp.

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Veduta di S. Eustachio/ M. Natraini, del., I. Ottaviani, inc.

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola della Guadalupa/ Andrea Scacciati, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carta rappresentante l'Isola della Martinicca/ D. Veremondo Rossi, scrisse; Andrea Scacciati, sculp.

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di Barbados/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Carta esatta rappresentante l'Isola di Granata

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Piano di Porto Bello/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Piano della Città, Rada, e Porto di Chagre/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Carta rappresentante l'America Meridionale/ D. Veremondo Rossi, fec.

Carta rappresentante le Provincie di Cartagena S. Marta e Venezuela/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.

Piano della Città, e Sobborghi di Cartagena/ Violante Vanni, sculp., Giuseppe Pazzi, scrisse

Piano dela Città e Contorni di S. Francesco di Quito/ D. Veremondo Rossi, sculp.



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Prigionieri in fuga nel Mediterraneo

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