Events of international importance which brought to a close the eighteenth century brought about quite a number of publications having an intimate connection with the Maltese islands.

On May 19, 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte set sail from Toulon with a fleet of 400 transports bearing an army of 38,000 men. After having speedily conquered the strategic island of Malta, he disembarked in Egypt at the end of June. He fought and won the Battle of the Pyramids against the Mamelukes, but on August 1 Nelson surprised the French fleet at anchor in the Bay of Abukir (or Abu Qir), east of Alexandria, and captured or destroyed it. This is remembered as the Battle of the Nile.

He tried to invade Syria without success in 1799, and, although he won a notable victory against the Turkish army at Abukir, he decided to return to France. He set sail stealthily on the night of 21 August 1799, leaving General Kléber in command of the depleted French forces.

Between May and December 1800 he won two decisive battles against the Austrians at Marengo and Hohenlinden, which left England single-handed. The English Ministers were anxious to terminate hostilities, as much as Napoleon wanted peace. But when the French agent in London was sounded he made it an essential condition that France should be allowed to send arms, military stores and reinforcements to Egypt. This was unacceptable to the British government as it seriously endangered the route to India, and an expedition to Egypt was decided upon to drive out the French invaders. This plan could be carried out immediately as a strong British force had been despatched so the Mediterranean many months before.

Anderson
At Margate on 28 March 1800 two battalions of the 40th regiment, having been ordered on a secret expedition, embarked on board four troopships. They sailed for the Downs where they were joined by four other battalions from the 17th and 35th regiments. Escorted by a battle squadron they proceeded to Minorca.

Aeneas Anderson had become a Lieutenant in the 40th (or the 2nd Somersetshire) Regiment of Foot on 23 September 1799. This was a propitious appointment as he left a highly detailed account of the expedition, with a special emphasis on Malta.

His book (26.5 cm) was entitled: A Journal of the Forces which sailed from
the Downs, in April 1800, on a secret expedition under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Pigot, till their arrival in Minorca; and continued through all the subsequent transactions of the Army under the command of the Right Hon. General Sir Ralph Abercromby, K.B., in the Mediterranean and Egypt; and the latter operations under the command of Lieutenant-General Lord Hutchinson, K.B., to the surrender of Alexandria, with a particular account of Malta, during the time it was subject to the British Government. It was printed at the Oriental Press by Wilson & Co., in Wild Court, Lincoln's Inn Fields London, and published in 1802 by J. Debrett, opposite Burlington-House, Piccadilly. It consisted of 532 pages.

Anderson dedicated the book to The Right Hon. Earl Craven who commanded one of the battalions of the 40th Regiment. A large plan of Valletta and its harbour (44 x 55 cm) faces the title page. It is entitled AN ACCURATE PLAN / of the / HARBOUR OF MALTA / with its Towns and Fortifications; / Comprehending the Cities of / VALENTIA, VITTORIOSA, BORMULA / with the / COTTONERA & SENGLEA & c. It is signed by the engraver: Warner sculp., and dated by the publisher: Published by J. Debrett Piccadilly Sep. 30. 1802. After the introduction and the table of contents, there are five pages (xxiii – xxvii) with place names, being a key to the plan.

On Saturday, 15 November 1800, in the evening, the Romulus entered the Grand Harbour. It was only on the 20th December that the Army left Malta for Egypt. During the passage of the fleet to Marmorice Bay, on the coast of Caramania in Turkey, Anderson availed himself of his spare time to write a lengthy account of Malta, which was published on pages 100 to 184 and 461 to 523 of the book. His account was accompanied with illustrations which Anderson had drawn during his Maltese sojourn. These are the views which illustrate the text:

1. A View of the City of Valette with part of the Great Harbour. (between pages 114-115);
2. A View of Fort Ricasoli the City of Valette and part of Gregale. (between pages 116-117);
3. A View of Ricasoli, the Castle of S. Angelo, Bur Mola and the Point of Isola. (between pages 118-119);
4. A View of Fort Manuel and the Port of Marsamxett with Fort Tigne. (between pages 120-121);
5. A View of the fortifications and the entrance to Valette from the Floriana side. (between pages 126-127);
6. A View of Valletta and the fortifications on the Marsamxett side of the City from the Point of S. Elmo. (between pages 148-149);

Apart from the map and views of Malta, there is also a view of Cadiz and a plan of Marmorice Bay.

The Malta views are all signed Lieut. AE Anderson del. (which stands for delineavit). Of the Malta views, those numbered above 1 and 5 give the engraver's name respectively J. Greg, sculp. and J. Greg sculp., while the other views give Warner's name, again without any initial: Warner sculp. All the Malta views carry Debrett's imprint and the date: Publish'd by J. Debrett, Piccadilly, Sep't 30

1. The abbreviation sculp. stands for sculpit, meaning 'engraved'. The engraver of the map could be Henry or John Warner. Both published at the time Anderson's book was published.
2. One cannot decide with certainty which of the two spellings is the correct one. However, John Greg is known to have been a landscape painter, engraver and lithographer of the 19th century. He published in London both engravings and lithographs.
3. Apart from sculpit, the words incud, cedavit, exulcerbat, fecit were also used to indicate the engraver.
1802.4 They measure approximately 175 x 310 mm. On four of the views there
is a key to place names.

The National Library of Malta has four complete copies of Anderson's
book.

Walsh
Another book on the Egyptian expedition was published in London in 1803, written
by Thomas Walsh, a Captain in the 93rd Regiment of Foot since 24 June 18022 and
Aide-de-Camp to Major-General Sir Eyre Coote. It is entitled: Journal of the late
campaign in Egypt: including descriptions of that country, and of Gibraltar, Mi-
norca, Malta, Marmorne, and Macri; with an appendix; containing official papers
and documents. It was printed by Luke Hansard, of Great Turnstile, Lincoln's-Inn
Fields, and published by T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, in the Strand. Printed in
quarto (27.5 cm), it is illustrated with 41 plates, a few of which represent Malta.
The main text is spread over 261 pages, with an appendix of 145 pages.

Walsh arrived in Malta on December 1, 1800, where he stayed for twenty
days. During his sojourn he made some drawings which were then engraved to
illustrate the book. Plate 8, inserted between pages 18-19, is a MAP of the
ISLANDS OF MALTA and GOZA measuring 15 x 23 cm. It was drawn
by the author himself: T. Walsh delin., engraved by Neele: S. Neele sculp 352 Strand,
and Published Jan. 1. 1803 by Cadell & Davies' Strand. It was followed by Plate
9, between pages 20-21, a Plan of the Fortifications of LA VALETTE, and its
DEPENDENCIES. Although unsigned, it was almost certainly drawn by Walsh;
the engraver's name, the date and the imprint are like those of the map of Malta.
It measures 19.5 x 26 cm.

Between pages 24-25 plates 10 and 11 were published on one sheet, one plate
showing the façade of the Palace of the Grand Masters, the other a view of Floriana
Gate or Porte des Bombes, Porte being in the singular as at the time there was only
one gate. Plate 12, placed between pages 32-33, portrays a calesse4 numbered 18,
with an officer, his wife and child, a lady and a hawker, coloured by hand, entitled
A Maltese carriage & Maltese costumes. The text concerning Malta is on pages
18-42. These engravings were engraved by Neele, after drawings almost certainly
done by Walsh, published and dated like the map and plan.

Walsh's first edition had about 370 subscribers. "Highly flattered by the
reception given to the former edition of his work", he published a second edition
in the same year, 1803. Although it was an expanded version of the first edition,
consisting of 275 + 163 pages, what concerned Malta remained the same.

In Paris in 1823 an illustrated French edition of Walsh's Journal was published
with the title: Journal de l'expedition anglaise en Egypte dans l'annee 1800 tra-
duit de l'anglais du capitaine Th. Walsh par M.A.T., avec des notes furnies par
l'ancienne officiers de notre armée d'Egypte, un appendice contenant des pieces

Fig. 2. The Maltese calesse, published in Walsh's Journal; 150 by 168mm. © Albert Ganado collection.

4. John Debrett retired in 1814 and died in 1822. In 1801 he published John Thomas Serres' Little Sea
Torch, which contained on plate no. 2 a view of Malta: The Harbour of Malta, with the New City
of La Valetta. It was engraved by J. Stadler. Stadler engraved after Rev. C. Willams a view of the
Capuchin Monastery, Curious Cemetery (sic), ostensibly in Sicily, but in reality it shows the dried
monks at the Capuchin Convent, Floriana, Malta. This aquatint was published in 1822.

5. A list of all the Officers of the Army and Royal Marines on full and half-pay... [London 1803],
c222.

was the first of the Neele family of engravers and publishers working at least until 1837. (Tooley's

7. Delin stands for delineavit, meaning drawn. Thomas Cadell Junior and William Davies were in
partnership as engravers and publishers of the Strand, London. Thomas Cadell II, son of Thomas
I, took over the business on the retirement of his father in 1793, working under the guidance of
William Davies until the date of the latter in 1819. Thomas then traded under his own name until

8. The calesse was a popular means of transport in the nineteenth century. It could accommodate two
or four persons. Whoever guided the horse used to run alongside all the way.
A bando issued on September 23, 1800, ordered as follows: si ordinato al proprietarij di... calesse
pubblici di esibirli alla Castellania e far sene segnare con un numero di colore bianco in fondo nero
nelle due porticelle esteriormente. Detailed regulations were issued on 30 February 1808; they
included the tariff for hire.
officielles; un introduction par M. Agoub. 9

The National Library of Malta has three copies of the Journal. A copy of the first edition is complete with the maps and prints of Malta, and all the other engravings. One copy of the second edition is defective: not only have the Malta plates disappeared, but even the coloured plates of other subjects have been cut out. Another copy of the second edition has all the coloured plates missing, including that of Malta.

Boisgelin

The first edition of Boisgelin’s history was published in London in 1804, printed for ‘G. & J. Robinson, Paternoster-Row’. It had the following long title: Ancient and modern Malta: containing a description of the ports and cities of the islands of Malta and Goza, together with the monuments of antiquity still remaining, the different Governments to which they have been subjected, their trade and finances: as also, the history of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, from their first establishment in Malta till the beginning of the 19th century; with a particular account of the events which preceded and attended its capture by the French and conquest by the English. The book was written by “Louis de Boisgelin, Knight of Malta”. Chevalier Pierre-Marie-Louis de Boisgelin de Kerdu, brother to Cardinal and Count Louis-Bruno, was born in 1758 at Pléno, in the diocese of Saint-Brieuc. Destined for the priesthood, he entered the seminary at Saint-Sulpice, but he then embraced a military career. He was received in the Order of St John and was in Malta in 1793. In 1814 he left England for France, where he died on 10 September 1816 at Plébihan (Côtes-du-Nord). Volumes I and III were printed by T. Davison of White-friars, while the printer of the second volume was S. Hamilton, of Shoe Lane, Fleet Street.

In his preface Boisgelin stated that he had written this book at a time when Malta was making so conspicuous a figure on the political scene of Europe, and he was induced to believe that it would be both useful and entertaining to comprise in one single work everything that most deserved notice relative to the celebrated island of Malta, which had become an object of universal attention. 10

The book was completed before the signing of the definitive treaty of peace with France which took place at Amiens on March 25, 1802. It was dedicated to the British Navy which, the author stated, had produced so many celebrated heroes. The first part of the book included a general description of the Maltese islands, while the second part dealt with the history of the Order of St John from the time of its departure from Rhodes after the siege of 1522 to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The work was published in three volumes.

The first volume starts with a description of Malta in antiquity, based on the writings of Homer and those that followed. However, it is interesting to note that Chapter I of this description is preceded by some useful information. A glossary of terms peculiar to the Order of Malta explains words as commanderies, bailiffs, piliers, fiernauds, solde and mortuary. Next comes the value of the money, and weights and measures, in Malta compared with those of England. Lastly, a lengthy bibliography of the principal works written on Malta and the Knights of St John, which consists of twenty-three different headings, and a supplement, in 34 pages. 11

The height of the book is 27 cm.

All three volumes, but mostly the first volume, are illustrated. Facing the title page in volume I, a large map of the Maltese islands (55 x 132 cm) is placed, entitled: A New Sea & Land Chart / of the / Sovereign Principality / of / MALTA / laid

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10. When peace negotiations started in 1801, Malta proved a difficulty. In July Napoleon Bonaparte proposed that Malta should be restored to the Order. Britain had the intention of retaining Malta, but eventually an agreement was reached in the Preliminaries of Peace signed on October 1, 1801. Malta was to be evacuated by the British troops and restored to the Order, under the protection, however, of a third power to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty.

11. The first bibliography on the Order of St John was compiled by Fra Francesco Paolo de Smittet published in 1881 with this title: Catalogo della Biblioteca del Sacro Militare Ordine di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano oggi detto di Malta, 263 pp. It included the works in Smittet’s personal library, which were marked by an asterisk, and those which had come to his knowledge. Smittet’s book is extremely rare.
down from the best Authorities and the different Manuscript / Maps communicated to the / CHEV. LOUIS de BOISGELIN / under whose particular inspection this Chart has been planned. The title is at the top left corner in a decorative cartouche, beneath which is the engraver’s name: Engraved by S. J. Neele 352 Strand. The publisher’s imprint and date are inscribed at the bottom centre, outside the image area: Published as the Act directs. June 4th 1804, by G. & J. Robinson, Paternoster Row. Of all the printed maps of Malta, Boisgelin’s map is the second largest, coming only after the Carte générale de la Principauté Souveraine des Îles de Malte et du Gozo (58 x 135 cm), made by Gervais De Palmeus and published in Paris in 1752.

Like De Palmeus, Boisgelin described Malta as a Sovereign Principality, although the Knights of St John had been thrown out of the island by Napoleon in 1798. At first sight, this sounds to be anachronistic. One must however keep in mind that according to Article X of the Treaty of Amiens “The Islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino shall be restored to the Order of St. John of Jerusalem”. Indeed, Sir Alexander Ball was sent to Malta by the British government on the 5th June 1802 as His Majesty’s Plenipotentiary to the Order.

The first illustration in Boisgelin’s first volume is a Birds-eye View of the City and Port of Malta, engraved by ‘Merigot’, published by Robinson, dated May 1, 1804; it is accompanied with a key to 31 place names on a separate sheet. From then on some plates are numbered. The first four plates contain about 28 items of antiquity found in Malta and Gozo. Two full-page engravings both numbered Pl. V, show the interior of tombs in the ‘Bengemma Mountains’ and a plan thereof. Plate VI, Fig. 1, depicts the remains of a house in the Grecian style of architecture at Zurrieq, while Fig. 2, also on a full page, gives a bird’s-eye view of the rock in which is the Grotto of Calypso. There are two full plates marked number seven. Plate VII, Fig. 1, represents a view of the extraordinary fountain occasioned by ‘the Clock-maker’s Salt-works’; on the other Plate VII two plans are drawn of a circular building called ‘Tadarnadur Iszira’, which shows Hagar Qim.

These are followed by the remains of the Giants Tower, and a view of the Mushroom Rock, both in Gozo (Pl. VIII and IX). In a composite picture, marked Pl. X, these are depicted: Ancient Tomb. Bichon or Maltese Dog. Dress of the

Fig. 5. The Mushroom Rock in Gozo, engraved by Merigot, marked Pl. IX and dated May 1, 1804. From Boisgelin’s first edition; 135 by 225mm.

Fig. 6. The Mushroom Rock in Gozo, from a re-worked plate, published in Boisgelin’s third edition; 135 by 225mm.

12. For Samuel John Neele see fn. 6 above.
13. G. and J. Robinson flourished between 1802 and 1806. They were the last in line of the Robinson family of publishers and booksellers founded by George Robinson (1719-1801) at 25 Paternoster Row, London. Several members of the family were named George; others were John, Richard and James. (Tooley’s Dictionary of Map-makers, revised edn., Q.Z. Bath 2004, 55-56).
14. The three maps by De Palmeus, representing Malta, Valletta and its harbours, and Fort Chambray in Gozo, are highly accurate. There were several reissues. The Malta map was re-engraved by [Ebenzer] Bourne (fl. 1797-1823) and published by William Faden (1749-1836), Geographer to His Majesty and to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales’ on June 4, 1799. It was entitled: A topographical map describing the Sovereign Principality, of the Islands of Malta and Gozo (56 x 113 cm). It also served as a model for several other maps.
15. It was only when Britain had second thoughts about implementing the Tenth Article of the Treaty of Amiens that Ball was appointed ‘His Majesty’s Civil Commissioner for the Affairs of Malta and its Dependencies’. The appointment was made on 15 May 1803 on the renewal of hostilities.
16. The engraver was probably J. Merigot, active at the beginning of the 19th century, il a gravé d’après Chatelet et Belanger (E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres... Paris 1976, VII, 344).
17. The place names Tadarnadur Iszira mentioned by Boisgelin even in the text of the book is of unknown origin. It might be a corrupt transcription of nadur gossir, a district at Tal-Gharghar near Zurrieq (see for the latter Godfrey Wettinger, Place-names of the Maltese Islands ca. 1300-1800. Malta 2000, 410).
Maltese Women. Remains of the Cotoner. Pl. XI, on the other hand, gives various pictures of the Fungus Melitensis. At this stage, portraits of members of the Order are illustrated: Raymond du Puis and a professed Knight in the habit worn at his reception into the Order, (Plates XII and XIII), and Prince Ferdinand of Prussia Badal of Brandenburg (no plate number). The volume ends with a view of the city and port of Messina.

Almost all the plates carry the imprint: Published by G & I. Robinson London May 1, 1804. The bird’s-eye view of the city and port of Malta and three other plates are signed Merigot fecit, meaning they were engraved by Merigot, but it is reasonable to assume that he was the engraver of all the plates, even those unsigned.

In the second volume there are only two illustrations. One is an oval portrait of ‘La Valette’, facing the title page, the other a portrait of ‘Alof de Vignacourt’, after Caravagio’s painting ‘now in the National Museum at Paris’. Both plates are unnumbered, bearing the same imprint and date as the illustrations in the first volume.

There are two other illustrations in the third volume, once more with the same imprint and date. The first is a miniature oval portrait of ‘Emanuel de Rohan’, facing page 1, the other represents ‘A Nun of the Order of S. John of Jerusalem’.

The first volume has a DEDICATION, followed by an ADVERTISEMENT, both unnumbered, then pages totalling xviii, a page with a list of plates in all three volumes, and 326 pages with two tables at the end, in addition to three other tables in the text of the last chapter, numbered TAB. IV and TAB. V.

The second volume starts with a table of contents in eight unnumbered pages, then an ‘Introduction’ (pages i-xi) and ‘A Chronological Historical Table (With Observations)’ of the Grand Masters, from ‘Peter Gerard’ to Philippe Villiers de L’Isle Adam (1521-1534) (pages xiii-xxxii). The main text deals with the history of the Order in Malta from L’Isle Adam to Francisco Ximenes de Texada (1773-1775), (pages 1-258).

The table of contents in the third volume (pages v to x) is followed by one page of ERRATA of words in all three volumes. Then follows the history of the Order from Emanuel de Rohan (1775-1797) to 1800 (pages 1-171), and 24 very useful appendices (pages 173-315). For instance, one of the appendices (no. XXII) gives a list of the commanderies dependent on the Langues of Provence, Auvergne and France, while the next appendix lists all the Knights of those Langues living in 1788. The volume ends with a name and subject index in eight unnumbered pages.

Unlike many modern writers, Boisgelin was straightforward enough to list in one of his appendices the source of the illustrations he published in his volumes.18

The second edition of Boisgelin’s opus was published in 1805 with a different title page and imprint. This is the new title: Ancient and modern Malta: containing a full and accurate account of the present state of the Islands of Malta and Goza, the history of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, also a narrative of the events which attended the capture of these Islands by the French, and their conquest by the English.

The imprint at the bottom of the title page is not the same at that in the first edition. It reads: ‘Printed for Richard Phillips, No. 6, Bridge-Street, Black-Friars’. While in the first edition the printer’s name, T. Davison, is given as a colophon in Volume I, no printer’s name is mentioned in this edition.

The contents and pagination of the first volume of this second edition are exactly the same as those in the first edition. They are a mere reprint to the extent that the occasional spelling mistake is not corrected, and the list of plates still refers to three volumes instead of two.

The second volume has the new title page, and the setting and pagination are now different from those in the first edition as volumes II and III have been grouped together in a single volume. The contents of Volume III have now become Part II of the second volume. The sequence of the contents is the following: table of contents in eight unnumbered pages (which now refer to the first part of this volume); table of contents of Part II of the volume in four pages, with the third and fourth page wrongly numbered v and vi; the introduction and chronological table of the first edition, with the same numbered pages. The history of the Order from L’Isle Adam to Texada is the same as that in Volume II of the first edition, with the same number of pages from 1 to 258. After this reprint, there is an unnumbered page to introduce VOLUME II – PART II. This Part is a reprint of Volume III of the first edition with the same pages (1-315), but page 1 is headed HISTORY OF THE KNIGHTS OF MALTA instead of HISTORY OF MALTA, which is actually more precise. The index at the end, in eight unnumbered pages, has the necessary adjustments, in that the references to volume III in the first edition have now been changed to Volume II, Part II. On the last page of the index, there is the ERRATA feature, which was on a separate page in the third volume of the first edition.

All the illustrations, including the map, have remained the same, but, of course, the plates are weaker as usually happens when the copperplate is used for a second or later impression.

In the third edition of Boisgelin’s history, published in two volumes dated 1805, several important differences are to be noted. In the copy examined, the first page in VOL. I gives the half-title of the work, namely, ANCIENT AND MODERN MALTA, and the imprint Printed by T. DAVIDSON, White-friars. This page is new to this edition, but the full-title page is the same as that in the second edition, including the name of the publisher Richard Phillips and the year 1805. Davison’s name as printer is given once more on the verso of a blank page at the end of the second volume between page 326 and the tables which close the book.

The preliminary matter in the volume and the main text that follows are the
same as those in the first and second editions, the only difference being that the page with the list of tables is wanting. This is probably due to the fact that, unlike the other two editions, the plates are not interspersed between various pages as listed, but they are grouped together with the map before the preface, except for the bird’s-eye view of the city and port of Malta which faces the full-title page of the first volume, while its key, the only plate in volume II, faces the full-title page in that volume.

The substantial changes in this third edition revolve around the illustrations. The copperplates of the views were reworked, mostly in the sky background, and they were printed in dark sepia instead of black and white. In all eleven plates, including the plan of Hagar Qim, were treated in this way. Besides, the date ‘May 1’ on the view of the harbour was erased.

In this edition, the map of the Maltese islands is bound facing the preface, instead of facing the title page at the beginning of the volume. However, the map is not incomplete: only the left part of the map is present which shows the title cartouche, Gozo and Comino, with the whole island of Malta missing. The size is therefore 55 x 49 instead of 55 x 132 cm. It is quite likely that the copperplate suffered serious damage on the right side and as a result the Malta map could not be printed. What remained of the copperplate was reworked and refreshed rendering this impression darker and sharper. The map has no colouring; the maps appearing in the first two editions all had a red colour heightening the buildings and fortifications.

A detailed study and description of these three editions was opportune because no bibliography has ever mentioned more than one English edition of Boisgelin’s opus, and the details given were invariably misleading. The title given by Hellwald\(^{19}\) is that of the first edition. Indeed, he wrote that it was printed in three volumes by T. Davison, dated 1804-1805. This is incorrect as all three volumes are dated 1804.

Rossi\(^{20}\) made no mention of the book. Mizzi\(^{21}\) listed the three-volume first edition, giving the pages of each volume, dating them, like Hellwald, 1804-1805.

The National Library of Malta has four copies of Boisgelin’s history, two of which form part of the Galea bequest, but not a single copy is complete. The two copies bequeathed by Dr Louis Galea are of the second edition.\(^{22}\) In one copy the map of the Maltese islands is present, with the usual colouring, but the first engraving of the view of Valletta harbour is missing, with the plate of its key left in place; two other engravings – Gqantija and Fungus Rock in Gozo – have also been cut out. The other copy, with the ex-libris of the Bibliotheca Lindesiana, lacks not only the map, but also all the views and the portraits of Valette and Wignacourt. Whoever cut them out, removed the list of plates as well!

The other two copies of the Library are in a pitiable state.\(^{22}\) The map, the harbour view, and several plates are wanting, some of which were replaced by photocopies in 1986. Both copies are being attacked by bookworm as no cleaning ever takes place at the National Library.

The mutilation of book plates at the National Library has been going on for decades but no record has ever been kept of what was happening. Even the books of the Galea bequest, which is relatively recent, have suffered the same fate.

Soon after the publication of the English edition of Boisgelin, the first two volumes of a French edition appeared on the market, published by M. de Fortia de Pilles.\(^{24}\) While the English edition was printed in quarto, the French edition was in octavo (20 cm). The half-title on the first page reads: Malte Ancienne et Moderne, with Tome Premier and Tome Deuxième respectively on the first page of each volume. The full title on page 3 is a long one: Malte Ancienne et Moderne, contenant la Description de cette île, son Histoire naturelle... et sa conquête par les Anglais. Par Louis de Boisgelin, Chevalier de Malte. Édition française, publiée par A. Fortia (de Pilles), auteur du voyage des deux Français au Nord de l’Europe et autres ouvrages.\(^{25}\) Both volumes were printed in Marseilles.


20. E. Rossi, Aggiunta alla Bibliographie... di... Hellwald, Rome 1924.


22. Gb Be II and Gb Be 2961-62.

23. Bg 4.26 – 1st edn; Bl 5.13 – 2nd edn. The copy Bc 3.7, which is in two volumes according to the catalogue, could not be traced.

24. The Fortia family, an ancient French family, originated from the Kingdom of Aragon. There were four branches of this family: de Fortia-Chaillot, d’Urban, de Montréal and de Piles. Agnolose-Joseph, marquis de Fortia d’Urban (1756-1843), left a complete record (consisting of documents, printed and manuscript, and lithographs) of the story behind the alleged discovery in Malta of a stone with the Atlanteo-Phoenician alphabet, actually fabricated by Giorgio Grognon (see A. Ganado, Discovering Atlantis: the personal adventure of Georges Grognon. Talk delivered 7 October 2005 at the Conference held in Valletta on ‘The Founding Myths of Architecture’).
Chez Jh. Achard Fils et C. Imprimeurs de l'Académie, M.DCCC.V.

Apart from Marseilles, the book was being sold also at Lyon, Avignon, Montpellier, Aix, Dresden, and at four Paris addresses, including Hocquart's, rue de l'éperon, no. 1. The price of each volume was five francs for those who had not subscribed. As in the English edition, the main text was preceded by an advertisement, a preface, a glossary of terms, the value of money, weights and measures in Malta, and the catalogue. The first volume consisted of 352 pages, and the second one had exactly the same number of pages. The reader was advised that while in the English edition the second volume ended with the reign of de Rohan in 1775, in the French edition the volume went up only to Cotoner's time in 1680.

Apparently, in 1805 only two volumes were published. The third volume appeared in 1809, published by the same M. de Fortia, but now introduced to the reader as Membre de l'Académie de Marseilles, etc. It was published in Paris, available Chez Madame Hocquart, rue de l'Eperon, no. 6 and Chez Petit, au palais du Tribunat, galeries de bois. It consisted of 438 pages.

Like the other two volumes, it had no illustrations. However, as advertised in the full-title page, this volume was Ornée d'une Carte nouvelle des îles de Malte et du Goze. Although it was based on the large map in the English edition, the new map was much smaller, only 31 x 69.5 cm. This was the map's title: CARTE NOUVELLE / des îles de / MALTE ET DU GOZE / D'après la grande Carte de l'édition Anglaise / de / Malte ancienne et moderne. / 1809 (in oval at the top left corner). The engraver's name is given at the bottom left corner outside the neat line: Gravé par E. Collin, rue S. Thomas du Louvre N°. 22.

When this third volume was ready, the other two volumes published in 1805 were reprinted and reissued with the date changed to 1809. The three volumes could thus be sold as a complete set: Prix des trois volumes brochés, 15 francs. Apart from Paris, it could be obtained at bookshops in Lyon, Avignon, Marseille and Dresden. Although the map was advertised in volume III, it is bound in the first volume of the set in accordance with instructions given to the bookbinder: Avis au relieur - La Carte doit être placée en regard de la page 1 du tome premier. This note is printed facing the full-title page of volume I.

25. Alphonse-Toussaint-Joseph-André-Marseille, comte de Fortia de Piles, was born in Marseille on 18 August 1758 and he died at Sisteron on 18 February 1826. He was received into the Order of St John in the Venerable Langue of Provence, but he married M. de Cabre in 1786. He left France and spent his voluntary exile travelling across Europe in the company of Chev. Boisgelin. Among other works, he published in Paris in 1796 Voyage de deux Français en Allemagne, Danemark, Suède, Russie et Pologne, fait en 1790, 1791 et 1792 (5 vols.). Among Boisgelin's papers at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Mejanes, at Aix-en-Provence, there is a diary in twelve volumes of his voyage to the north of Europe, England, Scotland and the French Indies (ms. 1318-1329).


27. Etienn Collin (fl. 1798-1829) was an engraver for Dépôt de la Marine. Maps engraved by him between 1798 and 1807 are listed by Tooley, but the Malta map is not mentioned (Tooley's Dictionary, revised edn., A-D, Tring 1999, 285).

On the French edition of Boisgelin, Hellwald wrote that the translation from the English edition was made by 'Fortia de Piles' (sic) and that it was published in three volumes in Paris in 1805-1809 by Hocquart. Here again Hellwald groups the two French editions into one, without making any distinction between them. It is possible that there were two complete sets of the French edition, namely, that volume III was first issued on its own in 1809 to complete the two volumes in 1805, and later the three volumes were reissued with the date of the first two volumes changed to 1809.

The Collin map of 1809 reappeared shortly after in an enlarged French edi-
tion of the Memorias Historico-Politico-Militares de Malta of 1803 by Dr. D. Felis Antonio de Christoforo de Alos. This French edition, published in London in 1816, had a different title: Tableau Historique et Politique de Malte et des ses habitans, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la réunion de cette ile à la Grande-Bretagne. The author signed himself this time as F. A. de Christophoro Davalos. A second revised and enlarged French edition was published in Paris in 1820, with a slightly different title, signed F. A. De Christophoro D'Avalos. However, there was no map in this edition.

Finally, in regard to Boisgelin, one may point out that an extract on Valletta

29. This is the full title of the book: Memorias historico-politico-militares de Malta, e da Soberana Ordem de S. João de Jerusalém desde a sua primeira instituição até o anno de 1803. Lisbon 1803. De Alos (or D'Avalos) was described in the title page as Membro do Número da Arcadia de Roma, e Socio Correpsondente do Societate Literaria Tribucciana de Portugal. De Avalos was born in Valletta on 26 November 1776 to Giovanni Carlo and Rosa Dimit Bonici. He died in Paris around 1818.

30. In this edition Davalos (or D'Avalos) described himself as Auteur des Considerations Analytiques sur le Commerce de l'Espagne. He wrote on page 231, fn. 2, that the King of the Two Sicilies, Ferdinand IV, by a decree dated 20 July 1799, had sent him from Palermo to Malta as his commissi- sioner to examine the state of things on the island. He had conferred with Sir Alexander Ball, the English captian who commanded the island in the name of His Sicilian Majesty and who presided the National Council, on the common action to be taken which would be the most suitable for the welfare of the inhabitants and the speedy surrender of Valletta to the allied troops (Maltese, English and Neapolitan).

In 1816 D'Avalos resided at 17 Charles Street, Fitzroy Square, London. In May of that year he sent a petition to the Colonial Office claiming compensation for damages he suffered in Malta during the French invasion and the subsequent blockade, including damage to his house at 124 Strada Forma, Valletta (Carmel Testa, The French in Malta 1794-1800, Malta 1997, 552, 568 fn. 44).

31. This is the full title: Tableau Historique, Politique, Physique et Moral de Malte et des ses habitans, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la Paix Générale de Paris de 1814; avec des notes critiques et littéraires. 2 vols. His name on the title page was followed by Auteur de l'Essai sur le commerce et les intérêts de l'Espagne et de ses colonies.

Hellwald (op. cit., 288) records another publication by D'Avalos: Discours sur la situation définitive de Malte après l'armistice de 1814, published in Paris in 1818.

In 1825 D'Avalos circulated a Prospectus of a new history of Malta in two volumes, embellished with plans and engravings, to be published in Paris with the title: Historie Physique, Civile et Morale de Malte, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, avec des notes critiques et littéraires. (Malta Government Gazette, no. 726, 16 February, 1825, 51-52). Was it ever published?


Rouargue engraved five of the Malta views published in Audot's L'Italie, La Sicile, Les Iles Eoliennes, L'Ile d'Elbe, La Sardaigne, Malte, L'Ile de Calypso, etc. The volume Sicile et Malte in this series was published in Paris in 1835. The Italian edition was published in Turin in the same year. The view of Malta in L. Énault, La Méditerranée ses isles et ses bords (Paris 1862) was signed Rouargue frères del. et sc. The two Rouargue brothers were Emile (c.1795-1865) and Adolphe (1810-1870). One of them published also a view of the Malta harbour after J.M.W. Turner. On this view see P. Farrugia Randon, Turner's Malta watercolour. Malta 2000.
Fig. 9. Bird's-eye view of the City and Port of Malacca, engraved by Merigot, dated May 1, 1834 and published in Bleguin's first edition, facing page 120 by 342 mm.