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The French Hannibal
Antiquity, Intertextuality and Evaluation of Napoleon Bonaparte in the Italian Campaign in the British and Polish Press (1796-99)

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Abstract

This case study pursues connections between editorial stance and allusions to antiquity, focusing on the use of the "French Hannibal" designation, used to characterise Bonaparte in the early stage of the French Revolutionary Wars. The paper addresses the so far poorly explored interfaces of evaluation and intertextuality in historical news discourse. In terms of a diachronic and comparative perspective, the analysis shows that whereas editorial stance was easy to discern in the British news of the time, Polish news sources had not yet developed a series of shared conventions to express editorial opinion.

Keywords: British Press, 18th Century, Evaluation, Hannibal Napoleonic Wars, Polish Press

Introduction

When the tremendous success of General Napoleon Bonaparte Italian campaign[1] became clear in July 1796, the following piece was published by the *Telegraph* in response to fake news printed the previous evening:

> (1) WONDERS! WONDERS! WONDERS!
> An evening Paper of yesterday killed twenty-eight thousand French in Italy, took Salicetti prisoner and wounded Buonaparte. A more gallant exertion we have seldom witnessed. […]. Though the intelligence was contradicted by accounts […] from Vienna and Paris, yet the prior news was given without any comment, for the gratification of true believers.
>
> More great than Alexander, greater far
> Than Caesar, Hannibal,[2] or Sweden's Charles;
> Your loyal Editor can massacre,
> With a mere dash of his destructive pen,
> Full Eight and Twenty Thousand fighting Men. (*Telegraph*, 1796-07-01)

[1] Gueniffey indicates April 9th 1796 as the beginning of the campaign (2017, 280).
[2] Hannibal (247-183 and 181 BC) commanded the forces of Carthage against the Roman Republic during the Second Punic War. For a brief account of Hannibal's actions and consequences for the Roman Republic, see Erskine 1993. For a full biography, see Lancel 1999.

The quotation above (example 1) offers a convenient opening to this paper as it includes an evaluative metacommentary on news production and dissemination practices and alludes to the Roman and Greek antiquity by comparing "your loyal Editor" to prominent conquerors, Julius Caesar (100-44 BC), Scipio Africanus known as Hannibal (see footnote 14 below) and Charles XII of Sweden known as Carolus Rex (1682-1718; see footnote 15 below). The sarcasm of the lines may be extended to the figure of Bonaparte himself, juxtaposing the newsmaker's weapon, his pen, with the fighting men, i.e., human resources of real war under a cruelly efficient military leader. The tongue-in-cheek remarks acknowledge misinformation spread by an unreliable editor and may be seen not only as scepticism, but also as seriously minded critique of their lack of professional ethics. Clearly, the "gallant exertion" poses some danger because, as trivial as "a mere dash can be", it comes with consequences to "true believers", who are most likely to fall for it. The specific fault of the "Editor" is not that the paper "killed twenty-eight thousand French". It is rather leaving the message from a private source "without any comment", such that should have naturally followed from newspaper accounts. Such accounts, as is implied, were based on a regular and reliable source of French news and gave intelligence to the contrary.

Thus, the quote epitomises the significance and the role of editorial comments in late eighteenth century news discourse. At the same time, it clearly displays evaluative features whose general tone has been briefly characterised above. As far as some detailed language and discourse devices of the quote are concerned, evaluation is expressed through metaphors (an evening paper as a killer, mere dash as weapon of destruction), a parallel and a comparison using comparative adjectives ("a more gallant exertion", "more great", "greater"), evidentiality ("we have seldom witnessed"), marked person reference ("your loyal Editor"), group reference ("true believers", note also an allusion to the Bible), contradiction ("Though", "yet"), modification with evaluative adjectives ("loyal", "destructive"), adjectives ("mere", "full") and an adverb of degree ("seldom"), marked word order in the numeral phrase ("Full Eight and Twenty Thousand").

The allusions to antiquity, as made evident in the quote mentioned above, are the specific focus of interest that this paper intends to combine with evaluation in the news (see Section 1 below). The following research questions are asked: what forms and degrees of evaluation are embedded in parallels with antique figures and allusions to antiquity? Here the focus is on three issues: 1. Specific language and rhetorical devices used; 2. the marking of editorial commentary as opposed to the direct presentation of excerpts from foreign press; 3. connections between evaluation and intertextuality. More generally, the paper addresses the extent to which the historical context, political agendas and editorial stance influence evaluation and it aims to connect the expression of evaluation to editorial practices. In order to pursue connections between evaluation and allusions to antiquity, I have conducted a case study into the use of one group of antique parallels employed to characterise Bonaparte in the Italian campaign (1796-97), namely the "French Hannibal" designation. In the network of European news in the period, some particularly successful comparisons like this one transcended boundaries of cultures and languages. For this reason, I have decided to retrace and analyse the designation in British and Polish news publications that covered the Italian campaign. The paper is structured as follows. In Section 1, I present aspects of evaluation in media discourse and its interfaces with intertextuality. In Section 2 more background on the political dimension of Bonaparte's campaign in Britain and in partitioned Poland is offered. Section 3 contextualises antiquity references in the coverage of Bonaparte in British and Polish news sources. The following Section, 4, presents the data and method. This is followed by a discussion and analysis in Section 5. The concluding section closes the paper and offers some conclusions.

1. Evaluation and Intertextuality

Over the years, evaluation has been studied extensively in discourse and media studies (e.g., Hyland 2005, Martin and White 2005; Bednarek 2006; Biber 2006; Hyland and Jiang 2016; Biber and Zhang 2018). Terminologically speaking, a distinction between evaluation and stance has been drawn. Hyland and Jiang (2016) follow Hyland (2005) and Biber (2006) and describe "stance as the writer's expression of personal attitudes and assessments of the status of knowledge in a text" (254). Biber and Zhang use the term "grammatical stance", i.e. a "finite set of lexico-grammatical devices that explicitly express attitudes and epistemic assessments, while 'evaluation' refers to any stretch of discourse that can be interpreted as conveying an (implicit) attitude or epistemic assessment" (2018, 99). Explicit expressions of stance thus cover grammatical features (modal auxiliaries: may, might, can), adverbials (reportedly, actually, in fact), verbs (appear, prove, claim) and other indicators of certainty or veracity (evidentials, e.g. I have seen him play football). Hunston, who uses the term *evaluation* to cover the expression of personal attitude and assessment, claims that "[e]valuation may not be immediately identifiable as it is largely implied by

the context of use and reader's assumptions" (2004, 157). In the distinction between stance and evaluation, it is thus important to notice the opposition between explicitness and implicitness. Whereas lexico-grammatical features enable corpus-based quantitative investigations and complex methodologies, such as Biber's multidimensional analysis, implicit expression of personal opinion requires a close contextualisation and qualitative analyses. For instance, a study by Biber and Zhang, based on two types of texts online, marked by the readers as Opinion (OP) and the other as Informational Persuasion (IP), has shown that "only the OP documents were marked for the use of grammatical stance features, while the IP documents were marked for the absence of those features" (2018, 97). This suggests that although both text samples were perceived as expressing assessment, the former used more explicit lexico-grammatical features (seen by the audience as overtly opinionated), while the latter employed different devices for persuasion of informational nature and that such devices cannot have been predicted or identified by means of a corpus-based approach. Thus, in the latter text samples evaluation was to some extent implicit.

When it comes to historical news discourse, whose communicative functions cannot be verified against user responses, researchers have pursued a broad range of phenomena that fall under both evaluation and stance. For example, comparison as an evaluative device has been analysed by Claridge (2009), with particular reference to the informational, persuasive and entertainment functions of early news discourse. Stance as personal attitude encoded among others in the use of pronouns (I, we vs. they), speech acts and modality has also been investigated.[3] In addition, Bös analysed framing devices in relation to the process of acquiring intelligence and indicating epistemic stance in prefaces to London newspapers in the late 17th- and early 18th-century (2012, 135-36). This approach has uncovered some journalistic ideals and publication strategies. Metatextual evaluation has also been studied by Brownlees (2015) in the earliest periodical news, while Cecconi (2020) investigated evaluation and comments in paratexts from 17th-century broadside ballads and news pamphlets.

Most recently, the potential of translation and intertextuality as sources of both explicit and implicit evaluation in news transfer has been suggested. Thus, McLaughlin and Brownlees (2023) have pointed out that evaluation is closely linked to emotivity, evidentiality and reliability of journalistic genres. These issues may be studied through the analysis of framing and naming (person reference), of active vs. passive verbs, speech acts and modal verbs. Next to lexico-grammatical devices, however, it has been emphasised that implicit attitudes and evaluation have to be given considerable space (Brownlees forthcoming).

In response to this line of research, I would like to study evaluation understood as both an explicit and an implicit expression of attitude and assessment in connection to overt references to prominent ancient figures in news on Bonaparte and his Italian campaign. As numerous studies indicate, the cultural heritage of antiquity was universally shared, contested and re-appropriated in the Enlightenment. Thus, allusions to antiquity selected for this study may be seen a form of intertextual exchange throughout contemporary European news networks and beyond. The method of analysis is qualitative and follows the studies referred to above (Bös 2012; Brownlees 2015; Cecconi 2020 and forthcoming), while retrieval of examples is mostly automatic through key-word searches in electronic resources.

The nature of evaluation invariably results from a viewpoint on a specific person or issue. Hence, I have decided to juxtapose news drawn from political milieus that had different agendas in the French Revolutionary Wars, and more specifically, in the Italian campaign. As is briefly explained below (Section 2), the British political stakes were in opposition to the Polish interests. Thus, the two contexts could be broadly characterised as providing a negative (anti-Bonaparte), positive (pro-Bonaparte) setting for the presentation of the General and his French army.

2. Bonaparte in Britain and in Partitioned Poland[4]

The First Coalition War against the expansion of revolutionary France started in 1792 when Britain, in alliance with Austria, Prussia and Russia, among others, invaded the enemy (Grab 2003, 1). However, tensions between Britain and France had been growing much earlier following Britain's political response to the French Revolution as well as conflicts of interest in trade.[5] Thus, being at war with France provided a very clear frame to the attitudes expressed by contemporary news publications within a broader picture of the long-standing Anglo-French rivalry.[6] It comes as no surprise that Bonaparte had become the preeminent hate figure for Britons.

[3] See Bös 2012, 129 for more references.

[4] The terms "Poland" (and "Polish") may be taken to designate the language as well as political entities, i.e. the Kingdom of Poland which was part of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth between 1569 and 1795.

[5] See Blanning 1986 Chapter 1 for a detailed background.

[6] See Semmel 2004 for a monograph on this issue.

Moving on to the "The Polish question",[7] it is important to bear in mind that Poland lost its political sovereignty in 1795. This was brought about by military conflicts, as well as by lack of internal stability of the state, culminating in the first partition in 1772, followed by the second in 1793 and the third one in 1795. The Kingdom of Poland disappeared from the maps of Europe into Russia, Prussia and Austro-Hungary, though some territories came to enjoy relative autonomy temporarily (The Dutchy of Warsaw 1807-15; the Free City of Cracow and the Grand Duchy of Posen after 1815 following the Congress of Vienna). Thus, understandably, there was resistance to Russia, Prussia and the Austro-Hungarian empire on the side of the "imagined nation" of Poles.[8] This meant that enemies of the partitioners were friends and potential allies of Poles, with France fighting its revolutionary wars in Europe being the most important one in the period immediately following the third partition (Sautin 2011, 27). Political ambitions of Polish nobility from different areas of the former kingdom of Poland had been closely connected to the French revolutionary campaign since 1795.[9] These ambitions materialised in the creation of Polish legions under general Henryk Dąbrowski (1755-1818), which, attained with help from France, started fighting for Bonaparte in 1797 in his Italian campaign (Sautin 2011, 28-29).

Although the Napoleonic influence in Poland did not formally start until his victory over Prussia in 1806-07, when the Duchy of Warsaw was founded, the press publications in Polish followed very closely the French advances in Italy made a decade earlier. The overall attitude would have been that of sympathy and support, if not enthusiasm. It is important to underline that news publication in partitioned Poland was regulated by different systems of control and censorship under the governance of Russia, Prussia and Austro-Hungary. At the same time, the creation of the Napoleonic Duchy of Warsaw in 1807 changed the legal constraints on the freedom of the press and shifted the bias to the propagandistic publicity exercised in all the territories under the French rule (Łepkowski 1962). From this point on, news publications across the Duchy simply reflected the Napoleonic cult. For this reason, the earlier times of the Italian campaign are likely to provide more interesting material in terms of the evaluation of Bonaparte and his army.

3. Contextualising Antiquity References in the News on the Italian Campaign

The profoundly neoclassical eighteenth century was full of both reverence and rifts in its inspirations and revisions of antiquity. Contemporary archaeological excavations and discoveries generated the "social energy" that led to the commercialisation of ancient artifacts and to a variety of disciplinary developments in the realm of science, such as the rise of antiquarianism (Heringman 2013, 21). In addition, as Heringman continues, the period was marked by a proliferation of antiquities in the sense of a ubiquitous presence of ancient artifacts (real and fake) in the lives of contemporaries. Not only did the antiquarian virus infect collectors, but it also affected the mindsets of many from different walks of life and social strata. One medium that was involved in this proliferation was undoubtedly the growing and consolidating periodical press. Towards the end of the century, news on the monuments, marbles, inscriptions and antique art spotted by travellers in Italy, discovered and analysed by connoisseurs (e.g. Johann Joachim Winckelmann 1717-68), or accidently revealed by ordinary workers in obscure places in England, established its presence in the political and military domains of contemporary press (e.g. *London Journal* (1720) (1723-06-22) wrote about a "wondrous and curious stone" containing inscriptions in Latin found by workmen digging the foundations for a house in Chichester).

General Bonaparte's Italian campaign (1796-97) was equally about conquest of land as it was about its ancient cultural heritage:[10] wars may be about political power, but they begin with plunder. If "[t]he Romans

[7] The term is used frequently by historians (e.g. the title of Sautin's paper).

[8] Some researchers use the term "nation without a state" and assume the existence of a (imagined) community unified by language, especially in the later nineteenth century (Stegmann 2000).

[9] See Grab 2003, 177-79 for more details.

[10] As early as a couple of months into the Italian campaign, *Telegraph* (1796-07-01) reported "The *French Gallery* at the *Louvre*! With … the Correggio from Parma, the Italian Crown of Thorns from Milan, […] the Apollo, and the Laocoon. &c. still want some *heads* to be complete […]". Works by Correggio's, Michelangelo's and Raphael (60 in quantity) are mentioned in Polish papers even sooner (*Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny*, 31.05.1796, no. 46 + dod [Warsaw and Foreign Correspondent]; see also *Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny,* 1796 no. 47 and 1797 no. 53, 60 and 68). Moreover, *Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny* no. 70 from 1.09.1797 lists c. 17 paintings, sacked and brought to Paris, by author and titles appended with short, but enthusiastic descriptions. British papers, understandably, expressed criticism and sarcasm: "General Buonaparte wishing to ornament Paris with such pictures as will do it honour, desires a proper artist may be sent to select the best: this is acting upon a very different system to that Roman General, who, when he despoiled Greece of many of her finest statues, and sent them onboard different vessels to be conveyed to Rome, assured the captains, that, 'if any of

managed the most efficient city-smashing, land-grabbing, slave catching machine of antiquity" (Wiener 1973, 501), then the young General's army most likely surpassed them. Not only British, but also Polish periodical news publications reported keenly on the military advances and on the scope, details and transports of the art-sacking machine. Bonaparte's political programme involved building an empire not only politically inspired by the ideal of the Roman republic (initially, at least), but also recognising the power of ancient thought, classical education and the value of cultural and artistic heritage of antiquity.[11] Education in wisdom and beauty[12] and the appreciation of the works of art were to lay foundations to the new state.

Through the press and other forms of communication from the battlefields, Napoleon Bonaparte consciously generated an image of himself as an unstoppable warrior and military genius. In order to achieve this, he employed a rhetoric with abundant references to antiquity in his proclamations, speeches to his generals, his correspondence with the Executive Directory and bulletins. These materials, in samples or in full, occupied a profound place in contemporary press in Britain, as well as in other European news publications. It is thus only understandable that these topics are well known (e.g. Billy 2000, Hanley 2005, Fulińska 2013, Santangelo 2022 on Roman references in Napoleon's private and public life; see also Santangelo's bibliography references for more relevant works).

It is noteworthy that the studies referenced above mostly deal with the texts and references coming from Napoleon himself, even though references to antiquity in laudatory designations from the French public are also abundant in the press and in news commentary. For example, Hanley lists 89 given names and war pseudonyms of ancient figures used to refer to Napoleon (2005, 1.40). In this work, which is based on secondary sources of the contemporary French press and some data drawn directly from contemporary newspapers, Hanley has analysed Napoleon's policy of image-building through dispatches. The paper corroborates the view of Napoleon as master of propaganda whose strong presence in the press was reinforced by the boldness of his writing style. However, Hanley's claims, based on official forms naming Bonaparte, that both the antiquity character and the enthusiasm underlying these designations are to a large extent a consequence of Napoleon's own propaganda activity.[13] In any case, among victorious names we can find the "French Hannibal" (Hanley 2005, 1.40 and footnote 46 for the sources).

Fulińska (2013, 37-41) pursues the analogy with Hannibal further. She emphasises that Republican heroes, Brutus and Scipio,[14] were of great importance for revolutionary France. Moreover, the Punic Wars were a common source of analogy. That Napoleon saw himself as an emulator of Hannibal is also supported with anecdotal evidence,[15] such as a prominent position of the busts of both Scipio and Hannibal in the Palace of Sant-Cloud where he resided as first consul (Fulińska 2013, 39). Moser (2021, 102) quotes Bonaparte placing himself alongside the great rulers and military leaders such as Alexander, Caesar, Hannibal and Gustavus the Great in a talk with his biographer Emanuel de las Cases (1766-1842) during his exile to St. Helena. Finally, a position taken by Fulińska is that "at the end of Napoleon's life, though, Hannibal, the greatest of the conquered heroes, was a suitable model to evoke" (2013, 41).

That Hannibal was a crucial point of reference for the contemporary press relating to Bonaparte's not only in these final years, but also in early conquests is corroborated by the material drawn from *Burney Newspaper Collections* (covering the 17th and 18th centuries)[16] from 1796-999 analysed here (Section 4 below). Similarly,

them were damaged in the voyage, they should pay for making new ones in their place!'. To delineate his victories, Lewis the XIV. carried a painter in his train; to display their conquests the French Generals of the present day, take the pictures already painted, as their trophies" (*Morning Chronicle*, 1796-05-31). However, British papers also reported in detail on the progress of the French Commission of Arts and Sciences that operated in Italy (*Courier*, 1796-11-10).

[11] Open competitions for dissertations on topics related to antiquity were reported in Polish papers. One was a contest on connections of the French national spirit to antique heritage where one of the questions to be resolved was how the teaching of ancient Greek and Latin could be brought back into the curriculum (*Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny*, 20.07.1797, no. 60 + dod.). Winners were to be awarded golden hectograms.

[12] Bonaparte is described in Polish press as "przyjaciel sztuk pięknych i nauk" (a friend of fine arts and sciences). This is a comment on his attempt to recruit Italian scientists and artists to move to France (*Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny*, 30.07.1796, no. 61).

[13] See Gueniffey 2017, 365 who expresses a similar opinion.

[14] Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, 236/235-183 BC c.), a Roman general and statesman, played a crucial role in Rome's victory against Carthage in the Second Punic War. His greatest military achievement was the defeat of Hannibal at the Battle of Zama in 202 BC. The honorific epithet Africanus is understood as a conqueror of Africa.

[15] Matteson's analysis (1980) of William Turner's contemporary painting *Snowstorm. Hannibal and his army crossing the Alps* (1812) inspired by Jacques-Louis David's *Napoleon Crossing the Alps, 20 May* (1803) presenting three stones in the Alpine Passage inscribed with HANNIBAL, KAROLUS MAGNUS and NAPOLEON is only one example of the profound resonance of the parallel between Napoleon and Hannibal and other charismatic leaders in art and popular culture which continues till today (see e.g. Allan and High 2021).

[16] *17th and 18th Century Burney Newspapers Collection* is hosted by a variety of platforms, e.g. *Gale Cengage*.

a quantitative study based on a broader corpus, i.e. the *British Newspaper Archive*, over the entire period of the Napoleonic Wars (1796-1815) by Ruiz-Tapiador confirms this observation. In this time span, Ruiz-Tapiador found 171, 688 mentions of Napoleon Bonaparte in the British press (2022, 21). 103 relevant terms that were most popular in contemporary press were listed and their frequencies presented on a time axis. Among them are: "modern Alexander", "modern Hannibal", Appolyon and Proteus (80-81).

The analysis below builds upon this research, but it takes a news commentary perspective and a comparative angle. It is designed as an addition to the works summarised above in terms of focusing on involvement of the contemporary news discourse with the figure of Hannibal and some further ancient tropes in presenting the activity of Bonaparte in the Italian campaign.

4. Data Sources, Selection and Presentation

Due to space constraints, it is not possible to provide an overview of the contexts of news discourse analysed in this paper. What needs to be emphasised strongly, though, is that in terms of news publication markets, the late eighteenth century partitioned Poland can by no means be compared to Britain. The coverage of the *Burney Collections* is ca. 1,000 individual publications (not all were periodical), which, vast as it is, does not reflect the totality of the publications and shows that the market has been expanding in many dimensions in the period (Brownlees and Finkelstein 2023, 34-39). As far as the Polish news market is concerned, an estimate for 1792 mentions six different periodicals published in Warsaw including three titles in Polish, two in French and one in German (e.g. *Gazeta Rządowa* [Government Gazette], *Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny* [Warsaw Correspondent], *Gazette de Varsovie* [Gazette of Warsaw]) (Łojek 1980, 10).[17] None of these papers was a daily in the literal understanding; they all appeared two to three times a week. A further issue which is problematic for the study of the Polish as opposed to the British press is the relatively less consistent representativeness of the available electronic resources. Among the most important ones, are *CRISPA* and *Jagiellonian Library* platforms,[18] both undeniably invaluable archival resources. However, in both cases, it is not always clear what rationale underlies the selection of the sources or the gaps in coverage. For the purpose of this study, mostly *CRISPA* was used as it offers pdf files with extended search options, although these are not free from limitations.[19]

Antiquity references in connection to Napoleon were the first pursued course of automatic searches. In the *Burney Collections* for 1796-99, the items *Bounaparte* (the conventional spelling in English in the period) and *Hannibal* yielded 91 hits. Many search results referred to a ship named Hannibal and were hence disregarded. Overall, 32 items were relevant, 9 of which were selected for detailed presentation below. In the Polish database, *CRISPA*, there is considerable spelling variation. First of all, the contemporary form <Bonaparte> does not occur in the time span of the Italian campaign with <Buonaparte> being the most frequent variant. In addition, searches were conducted also for the variants *Buonaporte* and *Buonoparte* in connection to the variants *Hannibal*, *Annibal, Hanibal* and *Anibal*. The number of relevant hits was very low (three relevant ones), thus further searches were conducted manually and were limited to the time span of 1796-99, yielding the following mentions: *Buonaparte* – 93, *Buonaporte* – 9, *Buonoparte* – 1. The newspaper samples that included these were read carefully. Contrary to expectations, manual searches did not add to the automatised ones.[20] However, even this low number of items provides some ground for comparison and insights into the intertextual dimension. The data is presented in two sections below (4.1 and 4.2).

[17] See Dziki 1961, 143-44 on the press landscape in the 18th century, and Łojek 1965 on a more general overview.

[18] *Jagiellońska Biblioteka Cyfrowa* (Jagiellonian Digital Library) (<https://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/>, 11/2024) and *CRISPA* (<https://crispa.uw.edu.pl/>, 11/2024) are managed by the Jagiellonian University Library in Kraków and Warsaw University Library respectively. The sources are repositories of facsimiles in different formats (jpg, djvu, pdf) rather than linguistic corpora, thus their range cannot be established in terms of word counts.

[19] See Włodarczyk (forthcoming) for details.

[20] One possible explanation here may be the fact that the most important periodical publication, *Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny* was discontinued at the end of July 1797 to return in January 1796 with its subscribers transferred to *Gazeta Warszawska* (Ziółek 1989, 153). It is difficult to explain though why other periodical publications (including *Gazeta Warszawska*) do not feature further references to Hannibal either for the years covered here, especially since extracts from the French press had such an important position. For the time span under study, the *Jagiellonian Digital Library* offers *Gazeta Krakowska* which was also automatically checked for the reference, with no success. However, over 200 copies of the newspaper published between 1796-99 include references to Bonaparte, which is extant and promising material for further qualitative studies.

4.1 Hannibal in the British Sources

In the British sources, references to Hannibal occur in foreign intelligence (mostly from French papers, but also from other European news sources) and in editorial commentary. In the former case, the sources closely related to Bonaparte are usually quoted (excerpts from proclamations, letters, dispatches, speeches, etc.). Because such sources may include third-party material (such as e.g. the responses of Italian states to Bonaparte's occupation or the letter from the Pope), two categories of references may be distinguished. Namely, these represent, respectively, the internal French perspective and an external perspective. Table 1 below presents the categories of sources.

Source of references	
Foreign intelligence	Editorial commentary
Internal (French)	+
External (third party)	-

Tab. 1 – Sources of references to Hannibal in the British data

The presentation of data is chronological in order not to obscure potential intertextuality and interconnectedness among the references. The first illustration in example (2) offers a comment on Bonaparte proclamation from May 20th 1796 that followed the battle of Lodi and opened the way to Pavia and Milan (Gueniffey 2017, 290). Although the evidential value of the news from Frankfurt is undermined in the first sentence, the impact of Bonaparte's army is acknowledged as the source compares the rhetoric of his proclamation to "the style of Hannibal" and indicates the similarity of circumstances of the two military operations. Evidential status of the final sentence is that of an editorial perspective expressing a resigned acceptance of the fact that the march cannot be stopped. The "style of Hannibal" involves a derogatory tone and is likely to extend from the person of Bonaparte to his actions. One negative connotation with the figure of the ancient Carthaginian commander might be the revanchist motivations of his state regarding the Roman Republic which had won the First Punic War, as well as the cult of militarism.

(2) Editorial commentary
If we may believe the letters from Frankfort, the Army of Conde has received orders to march for Italy, to cover the Imperial dominions in that quarter. The Proclamation of Buonaparte, written in the style of Hannibal, and in similar circumstances, announces to his soldiers his march to Rome; and we do not see at present any circumstances than can prevent his triumphant march. (*Lloyd's Evening Post*, 1796-06-06)

The following illustration in example (3) below is also an editorial commentary which expresses great faith in the resistance of Italy against the French. Fabius Maximus, who stopped Hannibal's march, is the central figure here. He is seen as a model for General Johann Peter de Beaulieu (1725-1819; since April 1796 field marshal of the Habsburg army in northern Italy) who still stands a chance against Bonaparte, as long as he follows the actions of Fabius against Hannibal, although the latter may seem to be at the very top of his military power and glory.

(3) Editorial commentary
There is no country in Europe where a greater resistance can be made against an invading enemy... than Italy […] or Rome had been often saved, when vast armies of what were then called Barbarians had entered Italy, whu [sic!] were either obliged in a short time to retreat, or otherwise cut to pieces; and thus by the prudence of Fabius, who gained thereby the title of Maximus, Rome was saved at the time Hannibal had beaten every Roman General that dared to attack him, for Fabius declined every context, hovered on him in the mountainous parts, cut off his supplies, and obliged him to desist at last from his enterprises. Thus Beaulieu can only act. (*Evening Mail*, 1796-06-08)

The example below, (4), represents a piece of foreign news which circulated in a relatively unchanged form between August 20-23rd 1796 in different British periodicals.[21] The piece covers quotes from a speech by a deputy to the National Convention, Pierre-Anselme Garrau (1762-1829), who negotiated the Armistice of Bologna with the Papal States:

[21] "Battles of Hannibal" were mentioned by *Telegraph* (1796-08-23), *Daily Advertiser* (1796-08-23), *Morning Chronicle* (1796-08-23),

(4) Foreign intelligence

Paris, Aug 15. The particulars of the rapid victories of our army in Italy would be too long to give at full length; […] 'To find any comparison in History', adds Gereau, 'we must look back to the times of the battles of Hannibal'. (*Whitehall Evening Post* [1770] [1796-08-20])[22]

This and similar news pieces underlined that "the battles of Hannibal" are the only relevant event in history to which the French can relate their "rapid victories" in Italy.

The two examples above, i.e., (3) and (4), show a clear contradiction in the perception of Hannibal between the editorial commentary and the materials drawn directly from French newspapers. Understandably, to the British, the ancient warrior, as well as his contemporary embodiment, the French Hannibal, are enemies. Hence, in the commentary, it is not the perspective of a victorious campaign, but that of an ultimately failed one and the heroisation of Fabius, Hannibal's opponent, that is adopted by the British. To the French, it is Hannibal's successful march through the Alpine Passage that is central to the narrative of the success of their armies in Italy. For this reason, Hannibal is frequently decontextualised in French accounts, which remain silent when it comes to Fabius and the ultimate misfortune of Hannibal's conquest.

An editorial explicitly entitled "Remarks on the present state of politics", dating back to the days when "Hannibal battles" were all over the British dailies, provides a similar illustration in example (5). The comment closely contextualises the setback to the "hardy Africans" prepared by the Roman army of Fabius, a defeat metaphorically presented as a gathering storm, i.e., a metaphor for slow attrition war tactics. A parallel is drawn between a similar storm in Tyrol by the forces of General Wurmser "over the army of the French Hannibal". Despite the heroic efforts and the well-deserved praise addressed to Fabius-Wurmser,[23] the storm "has burst like a bubble", while its outcome is Bonaparte triumphant. In a new paragraph, the piece continues with the desperate: "This army was the last hope of Austria".

(5) Editorial commentary

When HANNIBAL was overrunning the campaign country of Italy, he said he dreaded the storm that was gathering upon the mountains. That storm was the Roman army under the temporising FABIUS, which attended him on his march, and at last broke with effect upon the heads of the hardy Africans, who hoped to carry to Carthage the spoils of the capitol. In like manner a storm has been gathering in the mountains of the Tyrol, over the army of the French Hannibal; but it has burst like a bubble, and the elements of which it was composed melted into the air. Though WURMSER, like FABIUS, may by many of his military operations have deserved the surname of CUNCTATOR, he has not, like him, restored the fortunes of the country … the triumphant BUONAPARTE […]. (*Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 1796-08-21)

Another hopeful British commentary appears in connection to the negotiations between the French and the Papal states and is quote below in example (6). Despite the strong anti-Catholic sentiment, the piece expresses a silent hope for salvation from "Scipio to repulse the French Hannibal". It is the Pope and his allies, apparently, who are supposed to produce such a figure. Once more, the point of the historical reference is not so much to Hannibal, as to his opponent, Scipio, a parallel appropriate to the British viewpoint. As mentioned above (Introduction), the figure of Scipio was among the most important ancient referents to the French Republic.

(6) Editorial commentary

It appears that the Pope has renounced all ideas of Negociation with the French Republic. He transmitted a manifesto to all the Catholic Courts, in which he invited them to unite forces in defence of Religion. […] It remains to be seen whether Catholic Rome can find a Scipio to repulse the French Hannibal. (*Whitehall Evening Post* [1770] [1796-10-29])

The next illustration in example (7) has been drawn from French papers (*Postillion des Armees*) and published in the *Star and Evening Advertiser*, thus presenting a French voice. Even though it does not involve a parallel to Bonaparte, it is considered relevant as it describes one of the military campaigns he conceived of, namely an invasion of England. The parallel with the Punic Wars is drawn, while the ancient leaders and an eighteenth-century military commander, Saxe,[24] are referred to as voices of authority on the prospective conquest of England.

Star and Evening Advertiser (1788) (1796-08-23).

[22] For the sake of more convenient retrieval of examples, the dating schemes applied here follow the electronic repositories: the British collection uses (year-month-day), while the Polish ones (day.month.year) followed by issue number. Some British titles (as in examples 4, 6, 7) provide two different years. This serves the purpose of distinguishing publications with identical titles by different editors or from different periods.

[23] Dagobert Sigmund von Wurmser (1724-97) was an Austrian field marshall who capitulated to Bonaparte in Mantua.

[24] Maurice de Saxe, Count of Saxony (1696-1750) was Marshal General of France.

(7) Foreign intelligence
Much is said of the immense preparations making for an invasion of England; we must, said CATO, destroy Carthage; we shall never conquer the Romans but in Rome, said HANNIBAL and MIRTHRIDATES.[25] Marshal SAXE often repeated the English would never be conquered but in London […]. (*Star and Evening Advertiser* [1788] [1796-11-08])

Similarly, to the above, the quotation below (example 8) under the title "Message from the Directory to the council of five hundred" represents a laudation to the heroism of Napoleon's soldiers in Italy and is drawn from a longer excerpt of a speech of the President of the French Directory. The veneration of Hannibal is an important aspect of the reference; however, the comparison actually indicates that his seemingly unparalleled march has been surpassed, not so much by Bonaparte himself, but by his soldiers.

(8) Foreign intelligence
[…] The President replied to Citizen LEMAROIS – Young and valiant Warrior, the Executive Directory receives with satisfaction those glorious trophies you present, in the name of the brave army of Italy. Your generous companions, your valourous brethren in arms, conquerors of four armies, have done more than triumph over Austria; they have exceeded the renown of HANNIBAL. […]. (*Star and Evening Advertiser* [1788] [1797-01-06])

In mid-January 1797, at least four papers published comments opening with "BOUNAPARTE has been compared to HANNIBAL" (*Oracle*, 1797-01-14, and *Morning Chronicle*, 1797-01-14); "It is not without reason that Buonaparte has been compared to HANNIBAL" and "Buonaparte has with reason been compared to Hannibal" (*Bell's Weekly Messenger*, 1797-01-15), example (9a). The explanation follows the critical British standpoint: Bonaparte is like Hannibal in that he exploits the territories he conquers for necessities and soldier wages, while the supplies he receives from France are feeble. This once more builds on the negative potential of Hannibal reference. *Oracle* continues in its commentary (example 9b below) by reading a royal allusion in a sarcastic way: "a way, which the friends of the Republic scarcely could expect". The paucity of resources, being the basis for the comparison to Hannibal, may be detrimental to Napoleon's army if the occupied areas refuse to pay what is demanded of them. The refusals enumerated by the comment clearly express that the British rejoice in this predicament of the French army in Italy and enable it to present Bonaparte in the eyes of the conquered to whom he remains a usurper.

(9a) Editorial commentary
BOUNAPARTE has been compared to HANNIBAL. For some time he has received but very feeble succours from France; and, like the Carthaginian General has been obliged to recruit, cloath and pay his army at the expence of the territories he occupies. (*Oracle*, 1797-01-14)

(9b) BOUNAPARTE has realised the allusion of the Monarch BARRAS,[26] in a way, which the friends of the Republic scarcely could expect - He is like HANNIBAL in the *paucity of reinforcement only*, which he receives. The people of *Milan* refuse the contribution he demands – and indeed its burthen is not easy to sustain, being five millions of livres, and 25,000 recruits for his army. He has made similar demands from Ferrara and Bologna – From the former he has received no answer; and from the latter a refusal. (*Oracle*, 1797-01-14)

The following examples (10a and b) are drawn from a speech of a deputy of the General in Chief of the Army of Italy addressed to the two captains-regent of the republic of St. Marino.[27] Although the piece is a long quote from French newspapers, it also represents a voice external to the French Republican voice, because it covers a response of the representatives of the republic to the conditions of capitulation. Still, like the French, the St. Marinians were also of the opinion that the French army achieved success that parallels that of Hannibal and went even further by stating that this outdid "every thing marvellous in antiquity".

[25] Mithradates VI Eupator (died 63 BC), was the king of Pontus in northern Anatolia. He contested Rome's hegemony in Asia Minor.
[26] Most likely Paul de Barras (1755-1829), fought for the French army in Sardinia and was member of the National Convention. The designation Monarch might be related to his noble family origins.
[27] The Republic of San Marino was granted independence by Napoleon despite its long alliance with the Papal States because it was viewed as a model republic, an ideal of the French Revolutionary wars.

(10a) Foreign Intelligence
CITIZEN REGENTS,
Liberty, which, when Athens and Thebes were in their glory, transformed the Greeks into a nation of heroes; which, while Rome was a Republic made the Romans perform prodigies; which, during the short interval when it shone on some towns of Italy, revived the arts and sciences, and rendered Florence illustrious - Liberty was almost banished from Europe. It existed only in St. Marino […]. (*Star and Evening Advertiser* [1788] [1797-03-16])

(10b) Answer of the Republic of St. Marino to the address
We have not been able to see without the strongest exultation, the arms of the French nation recalling in Italy the glorious days of the Grecian and Roman Republics. Our love of Liberty made us feel the value of the mighty efforts of a great people resolved to be free. […] Your soldiers following the tract of HANNIBAL, out-doing every thing marvellous in antiquity, and being conducted by a General, who to a combination of admirable qualities adds the talents that are the concomitants only of genius, have found their way to a corner of the globe, where a remnant of ancient liberty took shelter, but where the simplicity of Spartan manners prevails rather than the polish and elegance of Athens […]. (*Star and Evening Advertiser* [1788] [1797-03-16], underline mine)

4.2 Hannibal in the Polish Sources

Sources of excerpts published in Polish press may also be divided into foreign intelligence and editorial commentary. However, editorial commentary coming directly from the Polish papers is in fact not present. Instead, there is a tendency to present editorial comments drawn from foreign intelligence as table 2 shows.

Source of references	
Foreign intelligence	Editorial commentary
Internal (French)	?
External (third party)	Foreign intelligence; external (third party)

Tab. 2 – Sources of references to Hannibal in the Polish data

The presentation of the data from Polish papers does not follow chronological order but it is constructed following the order the English examples were presented above. Thus, example 11 below is a Polish version of example (10b) – more specifically of the part underlined above.

(11) Foreign intelligence
Odpowiedź Rzpltey *Święto Maryńskiej* pełna jest szlachetności i prostoty, i ma w sobie prawdziwą starożytności cechę.
Wasza armia (odpowiedziała ta Rzplta Deputowanemu) postępując śladem *Annibala*, i przewyższając swoiemi dziełami to wszystko co tylko najdziwnieyszego dawne wsławiło wieki, którey przewodniczy Rycerz Łączący ze wszystkiemi cnotami talenta wielkiego geniuszu, obrociła wzrok swoy na ten kącik globu, gdzie szczątek dawney schronił się wolności, gdzie bardziej panuje prostota obyczaiów *Sparty* niż przyjemność *Ateńska*. (*Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny*, 24.03.1797, no. 24)

Overall, the Polish version is quite close to the English one, in particular in the reference to Hannibal where "follow the tract of" is rendered literally as "postępując śladem" whereby the nobilitation involved in this historical reference and its positive connotations are expressed. However, the subject of the first sentence "Wasza armia" (Eng. your army) is different from the English version, which has "Your soldiers". Moreover, the counterpart of the English term "marvellous" is "najdziwniejszy" (Eng. the strangest, the oddest) and does not reflect the strongly positive tenor of this evaluative adjective. The reference to the "General" is not present in the Polish example, instead the word "Rycerz" (Eng. knight) occurs. Finally, the Polish version uses a metaphor that involves a personification of the subject, the army: "obrociła wzrok swoy na ten kącik globu" (Eng. turned their sight to this corner of the globe) as a counterpart of "have found their way to a corner of the globe". The Polish version emphasises the agency of the army in that it personifies and individualises the subject of the clause, as the action of turning one's eyes to something suggests a conscious choice. It needs to be added that the parenthetical clause in the first line of example 11 may be translated as "this Republic answered the Deputy thus". It is a metatextual insertion absent from the English version which functions as a framing device that facilitates the parsing of a long relation drawn from foreign papers. The voice external to the speech of the French Deputy is thus clearly marked as such.

The following examples (12a and b) take us back in time to the proclamation that Bonaparte gave to his soldiers following the entrance to Milan in May 1796, and it is the only instance analysed in this paper that comes from him directly. A Polish version is given in (12a) and an English one in (12b). Although the pieces do not mention Hannibal directly, they evoke Scipio and Brutus – Polish in the plural, English in the singular – as well as other "great men we have taken for models". As Bonaparte is preparing and motivating his army for the further march, he does not simply indicate Rome, but also the Capitol with its statutes, and his ambition to restore its glory and resurrect the lethargic Romans. Whether or not the Commander acknowledges the role of Scipio in the demise of the ancient Hannibal is probably irrelevant here. An interesting language point is the difference in deixis in the final clause between the Polish and English versions. The speech takes the first-person plural perspective in this sample, which is consistently followed in the Polish version: "Naszych zwycieztw" (Eng. our victories), but not in the English one which has "your victories". Two further Polish versions (see examples 12a and 12b below) use the second person plural, like the English one. This choice may underline some distance that Bonaparte assumes to the victories, while at the same time giving more acknowledgement to his soldiers.

(12a) Foreign intelligence

Już wybiła godzina do zemsty. Wszakże lud nie ma się czego trwożyć. Jesteśmy przyiaciele wszystkich, a osobliwie potomków owych to Brutusow, Scipionow i wielkich innych Bohaterow, którycheśmy za wzór obrali. Przywrocenie Kapitolium, chwalebne pięknych statui wydobycie z gruzow, a to na wskrzeszenie Rzymskiey od wieków […] być musi owocem naszych zwycieztw. (*Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny*, 21.06.1796, no. 50)[28]

(12b)

the hour of vengeance and retribution is near at hand. But let the people remain tranquil; we are friends to all people, and more particularly the descendants of Brutus and Scipio, and the great men we have taken for models. Re-establish the Capitol, and place there with honour the statues of the heroes that rendered it celebrated; awaken the Roman people, debased by many centuries of slavery; such will be the fruit of your victories. (*Lloyd's Evening Post*, 1796-06-06, also in *General Evening Post*, 1796-06-04)

Example (13) below dates back to March 1797, a bit later than (12a) and (12b), but it also utilises antiquity references in connection to the invasion of Rome, which at this point was brought to a halt. The excerpt lists historical military failures in the Alpine Passage that, as it claims in the final sentence, might account for the lack of progress of Napoleon's army. On the one hand, the piece is marked as foreign intelligence (spod granic szwajcarskich; Eng. from the Swiss boundaries) and there is a clear metatextual and evidential frame: "jak niektóre pisma publiczne uważają" (Eng. as some public papers reason). On the other hand, the external point of view is not maintained throughout, thus it is not easy to determine to what extent the piece is an editorial commentary and to what extent it follows the original news sources. The way the antiquity reference is exploited here is a contextualisation of Hannibal's triumphs by his ultimate loss, thus rendering a mildly negative tenor. However, Bonaparte or his individual image is not a direct referent here, instead it is a historical framing of a stall that his army faces.

(13) *Od granic szwajcarskich dnia 23 Lutego* (foreign intelligence)

Wniyście także do *Rzymu*, jak niektóre pisma publiczne uważają wiele trudności przynosi. … *Annibal* odniósłszy sławne zwycięstwa nad rzeką *Po*, *Trebio* i *Trazymenem* został pod *Spoletem* zupełnie porażonym, i dotąd ieszcze pokazują bardzo dawną bramę *la Fuga* zwaną. (*Korrespondent Warszawski y Zagraniczny*, 17.03.1797, no. 22 + dod)[29]

Example (13) appears to follow the political scepticism on the Italian campaign expressed in the sources from the Swiss borders. This position of mild criticism is hardly ever found in the Polish news of the period. At the same time, the intricacies of framing obscure the sources of the sentiments conveyed through the ancient reference thus blurring the negative stance of Bonaparte's opponents.

[28] *Gazeta Warszawska* (21.06.1796, no. 50, p. 2) and *Gazeta Krakowska* (22.06.1796, no. 49, p. 2) provide two further slightly different versions of this proclamation originally dated to 20.05.1796. The source may have been the same for *Korrespondent* and *Gazeta Warszawska*, as both indicate a gap in the text… in the same place, though the former skips more text than the latter. The gap covers "awaken the Roman people, debased by many centuries of slavery" in the English version (example 10b). *Gazeta Krakowska* does not have the omission. The Polish versions appear to be translations done independently of one another.

[29] Trans.: *From the Swiss borders on February 23*. Entering Rome, as some public writings consider, brings many difficulties. […] *Hannibal*, having won famous victories on the river *Po*, *Trebio* and *Thrasimene*, was completely defeated at *Spoleta*, and the very ancient gate called *la Fuga* is still shown.

5. Discussion

Regarding the expression of evaluation, the following discussion focuses on three aspects: 1. Specific language and rhetorical devices used; 2. the marking of editorial commentary as opposed to the direct presentation of excerpts from foreign press; 3. connections between evaluation and intertextuality.

As has been suggested in the introduction and in line with secondary literature (Section 1), evaluation is expressed by a broad array of means, such as:

- metaphors, e.g. armies cut to pieces; storm gathering upon the mountains;
- parallels and comparisons with comparative adjectives, e.g. "there is no country in Europe", "greater resistance", "burst like a bubble"; "have done more than triumph";
- evidentiality, e.g. "If we may believe", "We do not see";
- marked person reference and group reference, e.g. "the title of Maximus", "friends of the Republic";
- contradiction, e.g. either … or;
- modification with evaluative adjectives, e.g. triumphant, glorious, brave, feeble, temporising, valourous, mighty, great, marvellous; other adjectives, e.g. vast, immense; adverbials, e.g. with satisfaction; and adverbs of degree, e.g. often, every, at last, only, all, any, never;
- metacomments, e.g. "what were then called", "have deserved the surname of";
- binomial and trinomial phrases, e.g. "young and valliant", "recruit, cloth and pay".

The linguistic expression of evaluation is thus both explicitly lexical (e.g. evaluative adjectives) and grammatical (e.g. modal verb may, used to express doubt), and implicit (e.g. metaphors, marked reference, contradiction, metacomments). The evaluative value of individual samples may only be understood as a whole comprising the overt and less obvious not easily quantifiable linguistic means. This underlines the importance of close contextualised qualitative readings in detecting evaluation and stance. In terms of methodological grounding, elaborate models of evaluation (e.g. Bendarek's parameters 2006; 42; Martin and White's 2005 appraisal theory) provide relevant points of reference for the list above. However, as the data sample analysed here was limited to a case-study, categorisations and analyses within these frameworks may be pursued in future studies based on a bigger and more diverse dataset.

The second issue raised above connects evaluation to evidentiality, as it focuses on the ways excerpts from external sources are marked in the press. Typically, beyond different types of framing, historical news producers used spacing, new paragraphs, typography, i.e., proto-headlines for marking foreign sources, punctuation (quotation marks for direct excerpts or speeches) and graphic marking such as capitalisation, italics to underline boundaries between different pieces of news and to emphasise some elements such as proper names and place names. Although a closer analysis of this dimension is out of the scope of this paper, an impressionistic generalisation may be made that there are considerable differences between the British and Polish sources. Overall, editorial commentary does not occur in the Polish press in the coverage of Napoleon's Italian campaign outside of foreign intelligence. On the contrary, editorial commentary is common in British papers, hence clearly marked by headlines, spacing and typography. Evidential framing that is limited to the textual evidence exclusively poses some problems in recognising and distinguishing different voices in the Polish data.

As to the third dimension, i.e., intertextuality, a comparison of Polish and English versions of some references to antiquity drawn from French papers has shown that evaluative elements, such as the ones listed above, frequently differ according to the language in which they are expressed. Deixis reflected by personal pronouns, the use of adjectives and adjective gradation, metaphors, etc. were indicated as points of subtle, but not inconsequential alternations which affect the overall tenor and expression of attitudes (examples 11, 12 and 13).

Summary and Conclusions

Section 5 above has shown that the references to the story of Hannibal in connection to Bonaparte's Italian campaign as presented on the pages of British periodicals in 1796-99 were interpreted in different ways by the British and by the French. The attitudes of the latter were mostly mirrored in the Polish sources. In so much as texts scooped from the French intelligence focused on the individual story of the ancient commander as a sole engineer of successful conquests and an ultimate hero, in the British accounts the reference was viewed in a broader context of his opponents who brought about his demise. Thus, the French propaganda sources relied on a very selective insight into the Hannibal story. At the same time, the British editorial commentary went beyond this. Not only did it add

complexity to the one-dimensional view promoted in revolutionary France, but it also achieved a degree of rhetorical suppression of the French Hannibal. As far as Polish sources are concerned, they did not exploit the figure of ancient Hannibal as an individual decontextualised reference to the same extent. In terms of the background of references to antiquity revealed in the Polish sources, it was not dissimilar with the British strategy, where the story of Hannibal, rather than Hannibal alone was utilised, yet it yielded a completely different evaluative outcome to the British one.

The analysis has shown that connecting evaluation, evidentiality and intertextuality in historical newspapers may reveal important aspects of the organisation of voices represented on the pages of contemporary news periodicals. Whereas in the Polish sources editorial remarks are still scarce towards the end of the eighteenth century, as the news excerpts on Napoleon suggest, the British periodical press uses them regularly. Hence, the paper has noted the presence of a range of devices that facilitate the parsing of news items and distinguishing between editorial commentary and excerpts from foreign sources. In the Polish sources, although such devices are not completely absent, their use has not been conventionalised. Hence, as was shown in example (13) above, a reader may be presented with an editorial comment from foreign papers (here: voices close to the Italian states), but because the deixis remains unchanged following the insertion of the evidential frame "jak niektóre pisma publiczne uważają" (Eng. as some public papers reason), the source of the critical commentary is difficult to identify beyond a shadow of doubt.

This case study pursued some keywords selected based on qualitative readings and existing research on the perceptions of Napoleon Bonaparte. Indeed, the figure of Hannibal occupies a profound place in the rhetoric of the General himself as well as his contemporaries, due to the geographic parallels and similarities of political ambitions. As the searches in the Polish sources did not produce as many hits as in the British ones, it is impossible to draw any general conclusions as to the scope of the references to this figure of antiquity. However, even a limited comparison of English and Polish versions of the same original sources drawn from French papers has revealed a number of issues that are interesting for the study of evaluation in historical news discourse in connection to intertextuality.

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