GIOVANNI KREGLIANOVICH'S *ORAZIO*: AN EXEMPLUM OF THE PROCESS OF REWRITING

JOANNE GRANATA

Abstract: Rewriting and reinvention of previously told stories and recognizable themes build upon an established literary canon, creating new connections amongst texts, while creating increasingly hypertextual works. This article explores the nature of rewriting, the reinvention of previously existing themes within literature, and the dialectic between past, present, and future embodied within this process. The specific focus of this study is the Dalmatian author Giovanni Kreglianovich, who, with his tragedy *Orazio* (1797) rewrites and adapts the ancient Roman legend of the battle between the Curiatii and the Horatii to reflect the political, social, and literary changes of the late 1800s in Europe. Primary sources such as Livy's *Ab urbe condita*, Aretino's *Orazia* (1546), and Pierre Corneille's *Horace* (1640) are compared to and contrasted with Kreglianovich's *Orazio* in order to highlight the differences between these works and to bring to the fore how and why the source material was rewritten. Utilized as a vehicle to espouse contemporary concerns, Kreglianovich employed aspects of antiquity and transformed them into a means through which social and political issues pertinent to the time could be revealed. In reusing one of the most famous identity myths of ancient Rome, Kreglianovich was able to create a unique tragedy that partakes in the literary phenomenon of rewriting, while promoting patriotism, as well as a sense of identity and belonging in his fellow Dalmatian compatriots.

Rewriting and reinvention of a previously existing theme embodies a dialectic between the past, the present, and the future. This is true of Giovanni Kreglianovich, who, with his tragedy *Orazio*, places himself in the tradition of rewriting alongside literary greats such as Pietro Aretino and Pierre Corneille. Based on the ancient Roman legend of the battle between the Curiatii and the Horatii, and adapted to fit its contemporary environment, Kreglianovich's *Orazio*

proves to be an exceptional demonstration of the power of the process of rewriting and the hypertextual nature of literary texts.

In “Dal racconto liviano al genere tragico: l’*Orazio* di Giovanni Kreglianovich,” Michael Lettieri highlights the fact that Aretino “fu il primo a derivare l’argomento e le figure della sua unica tragedia, l’*Orazia* (1546), dal racconto degli Orazi e Curiazi di Tito Livio. Dopo di lui altre tragedie europee — anche se, come nell’Aretino, con alcuni ampliamenti e modifiche richiesti dalla trasposizione drammatica — riprodussero la stessa trama del racconto liviano” (38). Born in Zara in 1777, Giovanni Kreglianovich, or Count Ivan Kreljanović-Albinoni, was of noble Dalmatian origins, writing and working in both Venice and Dalmatia. He emerged as a dramatist at 20 years of age in 1797 with his tragedy *Orazio*, written while he studied law and philosophy in Padua (Lettieri xxxi). His activity as a dramatist continued with his writing and completion of other tragedies: *Aristodemo* (1798) and *Manlio Capitolino* (1807). He is also the attributed author of two lost comedies entitled *Il Morlacco* and *Il Mendico*.

During his years in Venice, Kreglianovich expanded his repertoire to include musical dramas such as *Costantino* (1820), *Il sacrificio d’Epito* (1820), *Arminio, ossia l’eroe germano* (1821), and *Andronico* (1822; Iovinelli 214), which, according to Francesca Mecatti, were also nurtured by “sentimenti giacobini, antitirannici e rivoluzionari: l’attenzione prestata alla messinscena e alla scenografia conferma in questo ambito un’incontrovertibile vocazione teatrale, sulla scorta delle riflessioni stilate da Pier Jacopo Martello, Metastasio e Alfieri” (189). Additionally, Kreglianovich wrote a historical-linguistic treatment of Dalmatia entitled *Memorie per la storia della Dalmazia* (1809), which, along with Giovanni Cattalinich’s *Storia della Dalmazia* (1834), is considered one of the most important and detailed summaries of the history of the Dalmatian peoples (Ivetic 2). Egidio Ivetic argues that both Kreglianovich and Cattalinich, and all others who have interpreted the story of Dalmatia, have underlined the classical roots, Roman ties, and the ethnic and linguistic complexities of the people of Dalmatia (3). It is important to recall the words of Ivetic, who stated, “Il littorale orientale dell’Adriatico, unificato sotto il dominio asburgico dal 1797 e in definitiva dal 1813-15 (la costa albanese faceva parte dell’impero ottomano), continua a possedere durante tutto l’Ottocento le connotazioni tipiche di un’area di confine in quanto zona di confronto tra le nascenti identità nazionali” (1). From this statement, one can venture to imagine the great variety and complexity of this particular region. Kreglianovich’s passion for and commitment to his native homeland is evidenced both by his literary

and historical work and by his occupation with opening schools that taught and spread the Serbo-Croatian language throughout the period of French domination in Dalmatia (Lettieri xxxiii). As Iovinelli writes, “La sua biografia è simile a quella di tanti altri intellettuali della sua generazione, che attraversarono gli anni della rivoluzione francese, dell’impero napoleonico e della restaurazione asburgica” (213–14).

Given Kreglianovich’s origins in Dalmatia, a very complex and unstable geo-historical and socio-political region¹, it can be safely assumed that Kreglianovich’s political leanings would influence his work, as would the political and military events occurring at the time *Orazio* was written (1797). The French Revolution was nearing its end (c. 1789–1799)², and Napoleon’s Italian campaigns of 1796 and 1797 were victorious³. As Anthony Verna writes, “The political situation in 1797 was hardly promising for Italians: Campoformio⁴ loomed large in

¹ Ivetic, of the University of Padua, provides a brief overview of the complexities of Dalmatia, briefly outlining the historiographical developments of the area and the struggles to construct a national identity and subsequently a nation (1–6). Please see Ivetic’s “Archivi e ricerca storica nell’Adriatico orientale e nel contesto nazionale croato (1815–1914),” a copy of which can be found online at <http://www.archiviodistato.firenze.it/atti/aes/ivetic.pdf>.

² “The French Revolution was not a single event, but a complicated series of happenings spread over the ten years from 1789 to 1799” (Tames 3). The French Revolution was a period of political and social upheaval in the history of France, during which the French governmental structure, previously an absolute monarchy with feudal privileges for the aristocracy and Catholic clergy, underwent radical change to forms based on Enlightenment principles of nationalism, citizenship, and inalienable rights (Tames 2–3).

³ Both Napoleon’s 1796 and 1797 Italian campaigns were successful. During his 1796 invasion of Italy, Napoleon defeated the Austrians at the Battle of Lodi and succeeded in subsequently driving the Austrians out of Lombardy (Breunig 63). In March of 1797, Napoleon led his army into Austria and forced Austria to sue for peace (Schama 738).

⁴ Anthony Verna is referring to the Treaty of Campoformio, also referred to as the Peace of Campoformio, which was signed on October 17, 1797, by Napoleon Bonaparte and Count Ludwig von Coblenz as representatives of France and Austria respectively. The treaty marked the collapse of the First Coalition, the victorious conclusion to Napoleon’s campaigns in Italy, and the end of the first phase of the Napoleonic Wars. The most important terms of the treaty included the cession to France of Austria’s Belgian provinces; as compensation, France gave control of Venice and the surrounding territory (Istria and Dalmatia inclusively) to Austria; Austria was forced to recognize a new Cisalpine Republic, established by the French, which included all of Napoleon’s conquests in northern and central Italy. Secret clauses were also included in the treaty (Breunig 53). The Treaty of Campoformio reshaped the map of Europe

the imagination of the people, and the spectre of Metternich's Holy Alliance⁵ was not far off" (273). As a result of the upheaval felt in Italy, as well as in Dalmatia, Jacobin⁶ ideals spread throughout Europe. Consequently, Kreglianovich, "in perfetta sintonia con quanto da mesi andava scrivendo Ugo Foscolo — conosciuto da studente a Venezia —, [...] esortava i veneziani ad aiutare Napoleone insorgendo contro gli ultimi rappresentanti della vecchia oligarchia [...]" (Lettieri xxxi). These political changes were reflected in literature throughout Europe.

Eighteenth-century European literature explored themes of social and political upheaval and was, on the whole, inspired by the critical thinking brought about by an increased interest in science and the scientific study of all things, which was characteristic of the Enlightenment. However, the end of the eighteenth century was also marked by a transition in art, philosophy, music, and literature towards Romanticism, which emphasized emotion and individualism over rationality and collectivity. It was a movement that yearned to appreciate nature and the past without over-rationalizing or over-analyzing. It includes English poets William Wordsworth, John Keats, and Lord Byron; French writers Alexandre Dumas and Victor Hugo; Polish authors Adam Mickiewicz and Zygmunt Krasiński; and the Spanish dramatist José Zorrilla. In Italy, political events, such as the French Revolution, greatly influenced the development of literature; literary works with strong patriotic and nationalist qualities that called for freedom from political and religious control were published. Authors took their cue from Vittorio Alfieri,

both geographically and politically, affecting all the peoples of these nations culturally and ideologically.

⁵ Metternich's Holy Alliance, also referred to simply as The Holy Alliance, was a coalition of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, created in 1815 at the behest of Tsar Alexander I of Russia. The coalition was signed in September of 1815. Ideally, the Alliance was to instill Christian values of charity and peace throughout Europe and European political life, however, in practice, the Alliance was a coalition that Klemens Wenzel von Metternich, for whom the Alliance is named, and the other monarchs made in order to prevent revolutionary influence from entering their respective countries. The Alliance was very influential; with the exception of Great Britain, the Vatican, and the Ottoman Empire, all other European nations joined this coalition, which was against democracy, revolution, and secularism (Breunig 125–127).

⁶ Although the term *Jacobin* originally was applied to those who were members of the *Jacobin Club* (1789–94), the meaning was enlarged and popularly applied to all promulgators of revolutionary opinions. More specifically, the term referred to the concept of a centralized republic (Hux and Jarman 50–53).

Vincenzo Monti, and Ugo Foscolo. Giovanni Kreglianovich's *Orazio* was written and performed in the midst of these great political, social, and literary changes.

Written in 1797 and performed the same year in the San Giovanni Grisostomo theatre of Venice⁷ for eight consecutive evenings, and subsequently in Ferrara and shortly thereafter in Bologna,⁸ *Orazio* was received with great acclaim (Mecatti 188). Published in 1800 in the fifty-first volume of the *Teatro moderno applaudito*⁹, *Orazio* is a relatively short tragedy in four acts, written in blank verse and composed of 1,075 verses. Furthermore, a letter written by Kreglianovich to the *Teatro moderno applaudito* affirms that *Orazio* was written over a span of but a few days: "è composizione di pochi giorni" (42). This letter also illustrates Kreglianovich's surprise at having his work published in the *Teatro moderno applaudito* and the changes he would have made to the tragedy: "Io non mi attendeva mai di veder pubblicato il mio *Orazio* nel Teatro Moderno Applaudito [...]. [S]e dovessi ora scrivere l'*Orazio*, so che vorrei il piano più variato, e più semplice lo stile" (43–44).

Kreglianovich's *Orazio* is part of a long literary history of works dedicated to the legendary Roman story of the battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii (Iovinelli 214) by authors such as Livy, Pierre Corneille, and Antonio Simeone Sografi. Livy's *Ab urbe condita* is the original fount of the Roman legend that describes the foundations of Rome. The legend holds that two sets of triplet cousins (the Oratii and the Curiatii, or Orazi and Curiazi in Italian) from Rome and Alba (the most ancient city of the Lazio region), respectively, had to duel to the death; the victors would gain political and military control over Rome and

⁷ The theatre was "inaugurated during Carnival of 1678" (Bianconi and Pestelli 59) and was the site of "a regular series of important *opere serie* — with librettos by such well-known reformers as Zeno, Domenico David, Girolamo Frigimelica Roberti, and Francesco Silvani — from the end of the seventeenth century until 1747" (Rosand 398). The theatre maintained a reputation for housing works of great distinction: "The exalted image of the Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo persisted well into the eighteenth century. It was apparently the only opera house in Venice to resist the general invasion of comic intermezzi that began early in the century, a resistance that inspired the second historian of opera, Carlo Bonlini, to praise its uncompromisingly high standards" (Rosand 398).

⁸ In the historical-critical notes of the *Teatro moderno applaudito*, it is also noted that *Orazio* "fu assai bene accolta anche nella dotta Bologna alla primavera del 1797 espostavi dalla compagnia Battaglia" (44).

⁹ *Teatro moderno applaudito ossia raccolta di tragedie, commedie, drammi e farse che godono presentemente del più alto favore sui pubblici teatri, così italiani come stranieri.*

the populations of both cities, which would amalgamate. The story is one that emphasizes victory, strength, heroism, and sacrifice for one's *patria*¹⁰ and parallels what Kreglianovich and his contemporaries saw as the necessary call to the same values in their time. Similarly, *Orazio*

draws on other sources both ancient and more recent, including the original Livian account of the duel [...] found in the *Ab urbe condita*. Dionigi d'Alicarnasso's treatment of the legend, which accentuated the theatrical and picturesque elements, was also particularly influential. The writings of St. Augustine, Dante, Petrarch, Machiavelli, and Vico provided Kreglianovich with further models. (Lettieri i)

Utilized as a vehicle to espouse contemporary concerns, aspects of antiquity were transformed into a means through which issues pertinent to the time could be revealed: "The rewriting process initiated by Kreglianovich [...] in the spirit of the antiquarian revival and the revolutionary enthusiasm sweeping Europe following Napoleon's victory over the Austro-Piemontese in 1796 and 1797 promotes patriotic and civil themes" (Lettieri i). The use of an ancient legend as a foundation for Kreglianovich's *Orazio* provides a serious and scholarly background, which imbues the play with literary status and grandeur and recalls the classical roots and Roman ties of the Dalmatian peoples: "In adherence to the aesthetic ideology of Jacobin or patriotic theatre, Kreglianovich's tragedy is modeled after Corneille's *Horace*, using the 1793 Italian verse translation by the abbot Placido Bordonì" (Lettieri i). Much like French artist Jacques-Louis David's *Le Serment des Horaces* (1784), Kreglianovich's *Orazio* is a call to patriotism, loyalty, solidarity, and valour in the face of tyranny.

Essentially, the significance of Kreglianovich's *Orazio* lies directly in his participation in this literary phenomenon of rewriting, this reuse of an archetype, frequent in the tragic genre since the Cinquecento. In this case, Kreglianovich places himself amongst those who aim to reinvent one of the most famous identity myths of ancient Rome. The many works that treat the ancient Roman theme shows the variety of interpretation of this singular event of Roman history. Verna maintains that Livy was "the first to write about this myth in his monumental *Ab urbe condita*, where the heroic tale of ancient Rome has always been associated,

¹⁰ Lettieri and Morano cite Francesca Menacacci's essay "Orazi e Curiazi: uno scontro fra trigemini 'gemelli'" as a good source for further inquiry on the subject.

among other things, with the exaltation of valor and a sense of identity or belonging" (272), which in fact has "become an important topos in the culture of the Western world" (272).

The importance of this piece of literature is made evident by the long theatrical history of the myth, which transcends centuries, countries, and traditions. This tradition includes Aretino's *Orazia* (1546), Laudun d'Aigaliers's *Horace trigémine* (1596), Lope de Vega's *El honrado hermano* (1598), Pierre Corneille's *Horace* (1640), Saverio Pansuti's *L'Orazia* (1719), Antonio Liruti da Udine's *Camilla* (1799), and Bertolt Brecht's *Die Horatier und die Kuriatier* (1934), to provide but a few examples (Iovinelli 214–15). The legend of the battle between the Horatii and the Curiatii "influenced first the work of tragedy writers, and then librettists, musicians, and painters, who invigorated the tale" (Lettieri i). Works of genres belonging to this tradition include Arthur Honegger's symphonic poem *Horace victorieux* (1920) and Jacques-Louis David's painting *Serment des Horaces* (1784; Iovinelli 214).

Kreglianovich, on the other hand, revived the myth during a time of revival of the classics,¹¹ and he reshaped it to fit the stage in the form of a tragedy, with a political and didactic aim (Lettieri xii). The tragic genre is fundamentally aimed at exemplification and teaching (Lettieri vi), thus, the choice by Kreglianovich to dress the plot in the robes of a tragedy was extremely pertinent, especially in the historical and socio-political environment of sweeping change that characterized Europe between the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries: "L'*Orazio* è una tragedia politica, legata al periodo della rivoluzione francese e della diffusione, in Europa, delle idee e delle posizioni giacobine [...]" (Bárberi Squarotti v). According to Giorgio Bárberi Squarotti, Kreglianovich's *Orazio*

vuole essere, allora, una dimostrazione di ammirevole virtù del nuovo uomo rivoluzionario [contrapposizionato] all'uomo del mondo antico di nobili e re [...] [ed] è un modello volutamente esasperato ed eccessivo, in un tempo tanto difficile per la storia, non diversamente da quello che è accaduto a Roma nel periodo delle origini. (vi)

¹¹ The year 1797 falls in the middle of Neoclassicism (c. 1750–1815), which was a movement concerned with the rediscovery of all that was ancient Roman and Greek. It is tied to the Enlightenment, which strived to free man from the ignorance of the Baroque, which was characterized by excess and fantasy. Leading figures of Neoclassicism include Robert Adam, Antonio Canova, Anton Raphael Mengs, and Giovanni Battista Piranesi, amongst others.

In order to present a work with which his audience would relate, Kreglianovich chose subject matter that was relevant to the time and reshaped this subject matter in order to present a message specific to his audience. In doing so, Kreglianovich was able to present a story that was “capace di parlare al cuore dei popoli delle antiche grandezze e di mostrare i nuovi gloriosi cammini” (Spedicato 242). Paolo Spedicato argues that theatre, during the temporal space of transition between the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries was “[un] mezzo artistico cui si affida una nuova missione didattico-espressiva in mezzo alle nuove nazioni post-*ancien régime*, la trattazione sulla natura del potere politico alla confluenza di libertà dei popoli e patriottismo [...]” (242). Unfortunately, there are those, such as Niccolò Tommaseo, a fellow Dalmatian, who did not view Kreglianovich, or his *Orazio*, in such a positive light. About Kreglianovich, Tommaseo wrote, “[...] vide sulla fine del secolo il subito rivolgere delle cose, e si scaldò a quella vampa: scrisse l’*Orazio*, ch’è qua e là traduzione più che imitazione della nota tragedia francese, con giunta di spettacolo per servire alla smania del tempo” (qtd. in Iovinelli 214).¹² A brief comparison between the two texts decisively refutes Tommaseo’s statement. Spedicato, for example, expresses an opposing view to that of Tommaseo, maintaining that

l’adattamento-riscrittura non potrebbe essere più distanziato dall’originale francese. Sotto il segno dell’*auctoritas* Alfieri, l’autore dimezza la quantità di testo, elimina personaggi e il quinto Atto “ritenuto canonico ancora dall’Alfieri” [...], riduce drasticamente il ricorso al monologo, dà al popolo presenza scenica e in genere spazio alle scene di massa, accentuando la violazione delle regole delle tre unità canoniche con l’ampliamento degli spazi scenici, [...] dove l’azione, l’efficacia rappresentativa sulla scena e la verosimiglianza, rafforzate dalle minuziose didascalie, sono privilegiate a scapito della cifra retorico-letteraria del testo poetico. (243–44)

Tommaseo’s quick dismissal of *Orazio* does not have a strong foundational basis and completely disregards Kreglianovich’s inventive writing. Tommaseo’s

¹² As Rinaldo Rinaldi notes, aside from this brief and malicious review of Kreglianovich, the author was otherwise unknown in the literary history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (401–2).

criticism does not involve textual analysis of Kreglianovich's work, and it seems to be based solely upon an opposition of political ideologies between the two Dalmatians: it has been noted that Tommaseo was an advocate of the Austrian monarchy in Dalmatia, whereas Kreglianovich was not. Through the slight alteration of the classic form of the tragedy, Kreglianovich reinvents the tale and its presentation, and he breaks with two of the three Aristotelian unities.¹³ Aristotle considered tragedy — along with epic poetry, comedy, dithyrambic poetry, and music — to be imitative and thus these forms would present to an audience either that which had already occurred or that which was occurring around them at the moment. Aristotle taught that tragedy is the imitation of action arousing pity and fear, and it is meant to effect the catharsis of those same emotions (Gilbert 470–75). Keeping Aristotle's teachings on tragedy in mind, it becomes evident that Kreglianovich's choice of the tragic genre was ideal to present the socio-political and historical events of the time, through the guise of the Roman tale.

The notion that tragedy had the power to arouse such intense emotion is an interesting one. If the events occurring during the writing and performance of the tragedy are kept present (the political upheaval, the threat of foreign domination), then one can venture to posit that perhaps Kreglianovich's *Orazio*, and subsequently Kreglianovich's writing in general, became a very commanding problem for those in power. This would only be exacerbated by the fact that Kreglianovich's works were very popular. Alfredo Sgroi describes Kreglianovich as a “scrittore fecondo e inquieto, capace di orecchiare le mode del suo tempo con sensibilità nervosa ma acuta[;] ottenne un notevole successo sia grazie ai fortunati melodrammi, composti per lo più nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento, sia proprio con l'*Orazio* nel 1797” (222). Perhaps this is one of the reasons why Kreglianovich's work disappeared and remained unknown for almost two complete centuries shortly after its initial success. This hypothesis is further substantiated by the fact that Kreglianovich achieved success writing four musical dramas between the years

¹³ “The theory of the three unities stated that an acceptable tragedy must conform to the unities of time, place, and action. Unity of time meant that the dramatic time of the action could not exceed one day, though a day was variously understood to mean anything between twelve and twenty-four hours. Unity of place confined the dramatic action to one locale, although there were variable allowances here, too. [...] Unity of action decreed that the use of subplots or of double action was not allowed, and that a tragic action should concern only one central hero.” (McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Drama 261).

of 1820 and 1822, which would be represented during Carnival at La Fenice.¹⁴ Similar to *Orazio*, these works were historical in nature and presented themes of heroism and valour. The musical dramas were *Costantino* (1820), *Il sacrificio d'Epito* (1820), *Arminio, ossia l'eroe germano* (1821), and *Andronico* (1822). All, however, were written under the pseudonym Dalmiro Tindario Pastor Arcade (Lettieri xxxvi).

Kreglianovich's rewriting of the story of the Oratii and the Curiatii is clear in the alteration of the Aristotelian unities; Kreglianovich includes various settings in the play, as opposed to one consistent and unchanging background. For example, Act One is set in a vast countryside: "Vasta campagna. Tende militari da una parte. Veduta di Roma dall'altra," whereas Act Two is set within the Oratii household: "Appartamento nella casa degli Orati." Similarly, Kreglianovich's version of the legend surpasses the traditional 24-hour timeframe. Additionally, Kreglianovich omits the last act and the character of Sabina, who is merely mentioned. The character of Sabina was the sister of the Curiatii triplets and the promised wife of Orazio. Interestingly, Camilla, a sister of the Oratii triplets and the promised wife of Curiazio, is a protagonist in Kreglianovich's *Orazio*. Herein lies a key distinction between Corneille's *Horace* and Kreglianovich's *Orazio*, which ultimately changes the meaning of the play, further emphasizing the error of Tommaseo's remarks. Based on these innovations alone, which follow the suggestions espoused in Voltaire's *Remarques sur les Horaces*, in his *Commentaires sur Corneille*, it is incorrect to state that Kreglianovich simply translated Corneille's *Horace*.

Contrary to in Corneille's *Horace*, Camilla is given the most space in the economy of the *Orazio*, embodying revolutionary and, arguably, contemporary ideologies: "If Roman deeds of valor are literally reevoked in *Horace*, in *Orazio* these identical acts are seriously challenged by Camilla" (Verna 273). In Act 4, Scene 2, after learning of Curiazio's death at the hand of her brother, and suffering the cruelty of both her brother and her father, Camilla laments: "Chi mai da mille / Colpi trafitto, chi ondeggiar si vide / In un sol dì fra mille affetti avversi? / E per volermi grande alma romana, / Mi vorresti una barbara?" (978–982). With

¹⁴ "In 1792 a society of Venetian nobles founded a new theater devoted to the (by then) old institution of opera seria, the nobilissimo Teatro La Fenice. At a time when both opera seria and the Venetian oligarchy that called upon it were fast fading, La Fenice conjured up a lavish emblem of old aristocratic pride, [...] and was intended as a shrine to the elite classes, the most deluxe of Venice's theaters and the only one exclusively given over to opera seria" (Feldman 218; 220).

Camilla as his agent of *avant-gardism*, Kreglianovich completely separates himself and his work not only from Corneille, but also from the other authors and other works rendering an account of the same legend.

As argued by Verna, "in Corneille's *Horace*, the theme of the Horatii and the Curatii follows to the letter the Livian account of the mythical battle. Kreglianovich's *Orazio*, on the other hand, treats the theme very differently" (273): it is dynamic and full of movement, reducing narration, dialogue, and monologues to a bare minimum and showcasing the action almost in its entirety on the stage. For example, Act 3 is entirely dedicated to the duel between the Oratii and the Curatii, which is represented on stage, whereas Aretino and Corneille both narrate the duel through the characters of Tito Tazio (Act 2) and Valère (Act 4, Scene 2) respectively. In this manner Kreglianovich does not follow the example of Sophocles or Seneca, who wrote tragedies for the stage replete with long narrations and monologues. In his transformation of the Roman legend, Kreglianovich, as stated by Lettieri and Morano, "si trattava di intervenire sulla struttura profonda dell'*Horace* per eliminarne i 'difetti' alla luce del presente, senza pregiudicarne però la componente tragica essenziale, anzi mirando a rafforzarla" (Lettieri lxxviii). Resultant from this rewriting process is a work that evokes human emotion and pathos, allowing the reader (or the spectator) to identify with the individual characters and thereby equate him- or herself with the philosophies expounded throughout the play, essentially by Camilla, as in, for example, "the primacy of life over duty, the rejection of force and necessity in favour of peace and tolerance, the call for freedom against tyranny" (Verna 273).

The first scene of the tragedy immediately sets the tone for the remainder of the play. Tullo, king of Rome, and Mezio, chosen leader of the Albans, discuss the issue of battle and the idea to have chosen representatives fight on behalf of Rome and Alba: "TULLO: Perché squilla la tromba? e perché in alto / Il pacifero ulivo alzan gli Araldi? / MEZIO: L'ordine è mio. / TULLO: Mezio, ti scorre forse / Gelida tema per le vene a vista / De' prodi miei, cui Marte istesso accampa?" (I.1, 1–5). The discussion continues in this manner until an agreement is reached. Furthermore, the conversation occurs instantly and is in perfect correspondence with the Livian text, removing the need for a prologue or for other characters to narrate the antefacts of the tragedy, as in fact occurs in Aretino's *Orazia*, where Spurio and Marco Valerio act as intermediaries of the action in Act 1, and in Corneille's *Horace*, where the pact between Tullo and Mezio is described by Curiace in Act 1, scene 3.

Similarly, in Act 1, Scene 2, of Kreglianovich's *Orazio*, Orazio and Curiazio are introduced, and the reader is informed that Orazio is the husband of Sabina, Curiazio's sister, and that Camilla, the sister of Orazio, is the promised wife of Curiazio. Kreglianovich's additional familial tie corresponds to Corneille's *Horace*, wherein Sabine is the wife of Horace and Camille is promised to Curiace. In Aretino's *Orazia*, however, it is simply Celia, Orazio's sister, who is engaged to one of the Curiazi. Concerning this difference between Aretino and Corneille, Emilio Diletti wrote,

Corneille, grazie alla sua sensibilità di poeta moderno, ha arricchito la materia di più sottili avventure psicologiche. Ha complicato la vicenda inventando una Sabina di Alba innamorata di Orazio in corrispondenza di Camilla di Roma innamorata di Curiazio. Per questa invenzione ci perde la linearità dell'episodio ma ci guadagna la casistica psicologica che si fa più varia. (49–50)

The same remains true of Kreglianovich.

Perhaps the most powerful scene and the scene in which many of Kreglianovich's innovations are presented is Act 4, Scene 3. In this last scene of the tragedy, Orazio kills his sister Camilla for having lamented the loss of Curiazio instead of rejoicing for the victory her brother Orazio won for Rome; for valuing personal bonds, individualism, and security over collectivity and the stability and progress of one's homeland. Interestingly, Livy also has Orazio kill his sister in front of everyone, whereas in Aretino's *Orazia*, the maidservant describes Celia's murder, which, like in Corneille's *Horace*, is not represented on stage. The tragedy ends with Tullo who insists on punishing Orazio, but who is opposed by the character of *il popolo*, which now transforms from a spectator into a protagonist and inspired protector of Rome. The people will not accept Tullo's suggested justice and defend Orazio and admire him for his valorous deed and his loyalty to their *patria*. They shout, "Orazio è prode" (1071); "Orazio / Viva" (1074); "Nostro è l'eroe di Roma" (1080).

This evocative and powerful note ends Giovanni Kreglianovich's *Orazio*, a work of literature that warrants further investigation. Not only would analysis of this work shed light on the historical and cultural occurrences of Kreglianovich's time, but it would also shed light on Italy's literary culture. As Paul Colilli states, "because [Kreglianovich] lived between two literary eras, the dying embers

of Italy's Arcadian Age and the Romantic Period, he constitutes an informative example of what it means to inhabit the historical and cultural space of transition" (Colilli). By studying Kreglianovich's *Orazio*, one can not only come to better understand Kreglianovich and his works, but can also attain a deeper understanding of the tradition of the Settecento tragedy and how it was evolving as the Ottocento approached. This in turn would provide a more acute knowledge of the evolution of the Roman legend of the Horatii and Curatii, leading to a more profound understanding of other works that partake in this tradition, with which academia is already familiar. Similarly, it may also provide insight into lesser-known works of this tradition such as Antonio Liruti da Udine's *Camilla* (1799).

Philologically speaking, Kreglianovich's *Orazio* proves to be a supreme example of the complex intricacies interwoven within an individual text. This work speaks directly to the need for critical analysis of each and every text that is read. It appears to be, as Rinaldi argues, "un fedele riflesso di una legge che governa tutta la letteratura: ogni 'invenzione' si riferisce sempre ad un 'modello', scrivere significa ogni volta riscrivere, smontare e rimontare le tessere preesistenti di un mosaico infinito e infinitamente ricombinabile" (402). As Iovinelli states, Kreglianovich's *Orazio* is a formidable example of the hypertextuality of every literary work, because it is the result of a reworking and reinvention of a pre-existent theme (215).¹⁵ Rewriting has and will always exist in different ways, shapes, and forms. It should not be viewed as a pejorative characteristic, but as a mark of creativity and quality. Giovanni Kreglianovich's 1797 tragedy *Orazio* provides verification.

Brock University

¹⁵ Kreglianovich's personal literary production provides more than one example of the rewriting process. For example, Lettieri and Morano demonstrate that Kreglianovich's 1798 tragedy *Aristodemo* was also the result of the rewriting process; the theme of the work was originally found in a work by Pausania Περίηγησις της 'Ελλάδος (*Viaggio per la Grecia*), used first by Carlo de' Dottori in his tragedy *Aristodemo* (1675) and later by Vincenzo Monti in his tragedy *Aristodemo* (1786) (Lettieri xxxii).

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