

Leandro Fernández de Moratín's *La Mogigata*: The Significance of the Holland Manuscript in the Light of Comments from Elizabeth, Lady Holland's *Spanish Journal* (BL, Add. MS. 51931)

Sally-Ann Kitts

Leandro Fernández de Moratín's play of 1804, *La mogigata*, is a neoclassical tale of hypocrisy and false devotion, praised by Mariano José de Larra as an example of 'comedias que respiran la más pura moral' and as 'la fiel representación de los extravíos humanos'.¹ First performed on 19 May 1804, with an initial run of eleven days, followed by a further performance on 16 August of the same year, it attracted much comment, both positive and negative.² However the play that was performed and published in May was a very different work from the text preserved in any of its extant manuscripts. As José Caso González has shown, there are significant differences between the printed versions and the manuscripts, and some notable differences within the manuscripts themselves.³ The purchase by Professor David Hook in 2002 of a previously unnoticed manuscript version of the play (it is not listed by Aguilar in his *Bibliografía*) makes a further consideration of the early history of the texts of this play both timely and apposite.⁴

In this article a detailed comparison is made between the newly discovered manuscript and the most easily accessible manuscript version, MS. 15.999 of the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, also digitally reproduced at the Cervantesvirtual website.⁵ The differences noted are then compared with a selection of other manuscript sources as well as the 1804 princeps with a view to providing some preliminary clarification of the relationship between the different witnesses. A full comparison of the manuscripts and the first edition is beyond the scope of this paper and is being carried out in the preparation of an edition of the full version of the play, based on the most definitive manuscript. However, there are some striking features to this new manuscript, both in terms of its provenance and when compared textually with other manuscript examples and with the 1804 princeps, that merit separate discussion and offer a new and interesting perspective on the mindset, motivations and actions of Leandro Moratín in 1804.

¹ Mariano José de Larra, 'Representación de *La mogigata*, comedia de don Leandro Fernández de Moratín', *La Revista Española, Periódico Dedicado a la Reina Ntra. Sra.*, no. clii (2 de febrero de 1834). Digitally reproduced at Cervantes Virtual, <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=7805>

² John A. Cook, *Neo-Classic Drama in Spain. Theory and Practice* (Dallas, 1959), p. 352. The exact date of 16 August 1804 comes from the manuscript journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland, British Library Add. MS. 51931, f. 112v.

³ José Miguel Caso González, 'Las dos versiones de *La Mogigata*', in *Coloquio Internacional sobre Leandro Fernández de Moratín* (Abano Terme, 1980), pp. 37-60.

⁴ Cf. Francisco Aguilar Piñal, *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII* (Madrid, 1981-2001), vol. iii, p. 344.

⁵ <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/FichaObra.html?Ref=7470>

The discovery of the new manuscript is of particular interest and significance since it was originally presented by Moratín himself to Elizabeth, Lady Holland, in the summer of 1804, as recorded in a note in English in a nineteenth-century hand on the unnumbered first flyleaf, verso, which reads:

This copy of the Mogigata in Manuscript was given to Lady Holland by the author in the summer of 1804 at Madrid – many passages were suppressed in the representation for fear of giving offence to the devotees –

Moratín is author of several comedies & other works. He was secretary to Cabarrus & is patronized by the Prince of Peace – Vid. Biblioteca Española v: 4 p. 130.⁶

NB Moratín affixes to his printed works his Arcadian name viz. Inarco Celenio (figs 1, 2).

⁶ Juan Sempere y Guarinos, *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III* (Madrid, 1785-89), vol. iv, pp. 130-4; digitized at <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/12707293125699384432435/p0000001.htm#3>

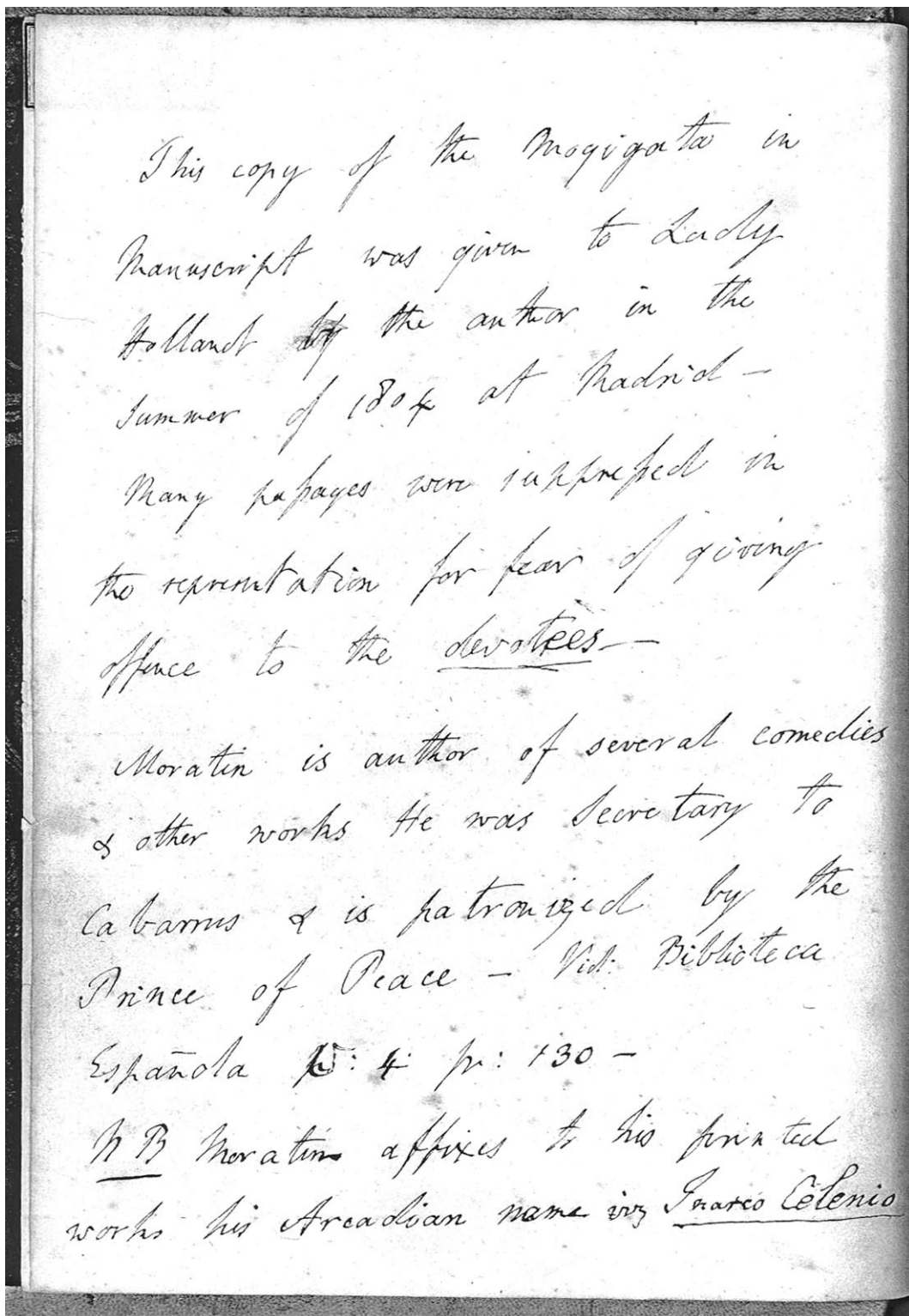


Fig. 1. Hook MS. M-1, first flyleaf verso.

intention to suppress them; for after their debauches he had in
contemplation to put an end to the Saint office, but imprudently
confided his intention to Voltaire, who as might be expected
boasted of his knowledge of the secret, which excited such a
sensation in Spain that he was compelled to drop his
project - 4th September Madrid dined to Mrs. Anne Lambert
Lustovic - news confirmed of Lusnes triumph at Lisbon
Pombal dismissed from Ministry, Pinto appointed in his
place, the changes not to stop there - the French troops
are augmenting on the frontier, & when it was reported
that General M^r was to command the army, Beaumois
was extremely irritated & betrayed evident symptoms
of his disappointment of not being named himself to the
command - 5th September - I dined for the first time
at Table since my illness, only Mrs. Anne - great
failures throughout the Peninsula in Corn, especially
about Seville & in Portugal - Yesterday there were
only 5000 fanegas of wheat in Madrid, & but for a
fortunate supply this morning a famine would have
taken place in the town - bread is consistently dear, many
bakers shops have been appointed - within three 16 days
the streets are infested by robbers, who rob the
even ships that they fall upon, the consequence of this
numerous parties on horseback go about the streets soon after

Fig. 2. Sample of Lady Holland's handwriting. BL, Add. MS. 51931, f. 50r.

The handwriting of this note has been compared with the hands of Henry Richard, Lord Holland, Elizabeth Lady Holland and Dr John Allen, the Hollands' friend, physician and Holland House librarian from 1802 to 1843, numerous examples of which can be found amongst the Holland House papers held at the British Library.⁷ A comparison with pages from Lady Holland's journal from August 1804 reveals that key formation features betray tendencies that can also be seen in the *Mogigata* manuscript note, that the repertoire of variant forms is identical and that the details of letter-group formation are consistent, establishing that the 'presentation note' is in the hand of Lady Holland herself.⁸ The use of the present tense and the reference to the patronage of the Prince of Peace suggest that it may well have been written shortly after it was presented to her, or at the very least before Manuel Godoy fell from favour in 1808.

The manuscript is in excellent condition. It is bound in contemporary white pigskin over boards. The endpapers are marbled and there are two unnumbered flyleaves at front and rear. The Holland House bookplate is on the front pastedown and the rectangular printed binder's label is affixed to the front free endpaper, verso. It reads: 'Bound by / C. MEYER / Bookseller & Binder / to the Queen & Princesses / 2, Hemmings Row / St Martins Lane'. The spine labels are set in to three compartments: 'MORATIN / MOGIGATA / MSS'. There is a blue silk marker ribbon.

The text consists of eighty-six folios, unpaginated and unfoliated. The quires are numbered in ink at the top left hand corner of the first leaf, except for the first, [1]⁷, 2-8¹⁰, 9⁹. The tightness of the binding prevents a structural description of quires [1] and 9, however the text is continuous. The final leaf is blank. There are horizontal chainmarks and the watermark throughout is a motif of a horse, with the legend 'ANT^o BARBAROSA'.

There are considerable differences of execution in the writing of the manuscript, but no significant differences of letter forms, suggesting a single hand beginning with more care and more generous spacing than is later employed.

Its provenance is as follows:

1. Presented by the author to Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland, in Madrid in 1804;
2. Sir Thomas Phillipps, Baronet. Although no evidence of Phillipps MS. numbers is visible in the manuscript, and the work does not appear in Phillipps's printed catalogues, it is stated by H. P. Kraus to have formed part of the Bibliotheca Phillippica residue that he purchased from Robinson in 1978;⁹
3. W. H. Robinson, booksellers, London;
4. H. P. Kraus, Inc., bookseller, New York, by purchase of the Bibliotheca Phillippica residue from the Robinson Trust, 1978;
5. Professor David Hook, June 2002; now MS. M-1 (fig. 3).

⁷ The sample of John Allen's hand used is from Add. MS. 52204A and for Lord Holland is from Add. MS. 52172, both of which form part of the extensive Holland House papers, Add. MSS. 51318-52254.

⁸ I am indebted to the expertise of Professor David Hook in establishing the authorship of this important note.

⁹ H. P. Kraus, *Spain, Portugal, and their Overseas Empires*, Catalogue 196 (New York, n.d.), p. 57. Kraus describes it as 'the author's presentation manuscript of his own play, *La Mogigata*', dating it as c. 1800-1804, and claiming it antedates the first printing of *La mogigata* in Madrid in 1804. Caso tells us that the first edition appeared in the same year as the first performance (19 May 1804), some three months earlier than the likely date of presentation to Lady Holland (p. 38). Kraus notes that it contains some 500-600 more lines of text than any printed version consulted.



Fig. 3. Hook MS. M-1, cover.

In considering the significance of this newly-recovered manuscript and its place in the textual history of the play, this article will focus on two areas, beginning with textual comparison of several of the different extant manuscript versions and then looking at the significance of the Holland manuscript in casting new light on the play's early history and on the author's intentions.

José Caso González's article of 1978 compared the 1806 edition¹⁰ and five manuscripts which he designates *A-E*, as follows:

- A* = MS. 14.869, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- B* = MS. 15.999, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- C* = MS. 9-4.733, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
- D* = MS. 9-7.033, Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid.
- E* = MS. R.83, Centro de Estudios del Siglo XVIII, Oviedo.

In comparing the Holland manuscript, I have continued Caso's alphabetical sequence and added the following:

- F* = MS. Esp. 558, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
- G* = Edition Madrid: Villalpando, 1804; T/9698, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.
- H* = Holland House MS., now MS. M-1, Professor David Hook, Bristol.

Caso finds that *A-D* are largely similar, except that *C* and *D* have several sections crossed out and more stage directions suggesting, in his view, that they are related theatre copies. However he finds that *E* has noticeable differences from the other four. From the limited examples given by Caso, it appears that *H* is mostly like *A-D* except for a couple of occasions when it is like *E*. It is also nearer to *D* in its ending, all the rest (including *E*) being the same. The present paper is based on a full comparison of *H* with *B*, noting all differences between the texts. This text has been chosen given its accessibility on the Cervantesvirtual website. Thereafter the specific areas of difference between *H* and *B* are then compared with three further manuscripts and the first edition of 1804, that is to say to *D*, *E*, *F* and *G*, with the aim of eliciting a sense of the relationships between these various texts and *H* so as to offer an account of the place of *H* within the manuscript tradition and in the construction of *G*, the first printed edition.

There are numerous minor orthographic variants between manuscripts (for example, the use of 'b' or 'v') with no real consistency. *H* has some eighteen stage directions that are either not present in *B*, or perhaps not visible in the digital reproduction, and nine with different word-order. Eighty-one differences have been noted between *B* and *H* in terms of such aspects as word substitutions, different tenses or persons of verbs and additional or missing words. In addition to these single instances, there is a significant difference in the ending. Comparison of the eighty-one differences with the first printed edition *G* is only possible in thirty-five instances since so much of the printed text has been cut or significantly altered. It reveals that *G* accords with *B* in twenty-six instances (seventy-four percent of the time) and with *H* in nine instances (twenty-six percent of the time). Of these nine, however, it is interesting to note that there are six occasions when *H* and the 1804 edition *G* are identical whereas all other manuscripts are different, and the reverse (*B* identical with *G* while all other manuscripts are identical with *H*) only happens once. There are three occasions when *H* agrees with the 1804 edition and all other manuscripts except *B*, the most notable being the use in act II, scene xiv of 'hallarle' when *B* has 'llevarle' (the context indicates 'hallarle' is correct: 'Don Claudio: ¿Y dónde he de hallarle? / Don Luis: Sigue el camino derecho / y al cabo darás con él.'). However scribal error could easily have led to this error in *B*, and, indeed, all eighty-one differences could be explained by such features as scribal error and eye-skip.¹¹ In fact, what really stands out from this comparison

¹⁰ The first printed edition appeared in 1804; however, Caso says that the 1806 edition is identical to it (p. 40).

¹¹ On the issues of copying and scribal error in analysing the relationships between manuscript texts, see Harold Love, 'The Ranking of Variants in the Analysis of Moderately Contaminated Manuscript Traditions', *Studies in Bibliography*, xxxvii (1984), pp. 39-57, and Michael T. Motley, 'Slips of the Tongue', *Scientific American*, ccxxxv:3 (Sept. 1985), pp. 114-19.

of manuscripts is the lack of differences between them: they are all remarkably similar, a characteristic the significance of which will become apparent shortly when we explore the play's early history.

There is, however, one significant area of change and that is the ending, as the following table reveals:

5 MSS: <i>A, B, C, E, F</i>	RAH MS. 9-7.033 <i>D</i>	Holland <i>H</i>	1804 edition <i>G</i>
Lo espero así. Tu hija mia no sabes, no, qual se halla mi corazon al placer que siento por ti, no igualan todas las felicidades de la tierra, ni trocara por las mayores fortunas tu virtud solida, y rara.	Lo espero así. Tú, hija mía no sabes, no, cuál se halla mi corazón: al placer que siento por ti no igualan todas las felicidades de la tierra, ni trocara por las mayores fortunas la virtud sólida y rara. Ojalá fuera el ejemplo público, pues él mostrara cuánto suelen engañarse los hombres, en lo que llaman santidad y devoción: y viendo lo que aquí pasa, distinguieran la virtud verdadera de la falsa.	Lo espero así; tu hija mia no sabes no, qual se halla mi corazon, al placer que siento por ti no igualan todas las felicidades de la tierra; ni trocàra la dicha de ser tu Padre por el trono de un monarca. ¡Ojala, fuere el exemplo publico! pues el probaria quantas veces se equivocan los hombres en lo que llaman Santidad, y Religion. Si esto vieren, despreciaran los profanos simulacros que el mundo ciego idolatra; distinguiràn la virtud verdadera de la falsa.	Lo espero así ... (2) Pero tú no sabes como se halla mi corazon. Al placer que siento por tí, no igualan todas las felicidades de la tierra ... Ni trocára la dicha de ser tu padre, por el trono de un Monarca. Oxalá fuese el exemplo público! ... Si esto miráran aquellos, á quienes tanto las apariencias arrastran, distinguieran la virtud verdadera, de la falsa.
Example taken from <i>B</i> . ¹² MSS. <i>C, E, and F</i> are identical apart from some changes in punctuation. We can also include Caso's other Madrid MS. <i>A</i> here since he only mentions <i>D</i> as being a variant from the five he considers.	Taken from Caso's article in which spelling and accenting had been modernized.		(2) refers the reader to the stage directions given in each version but here placed in a footnote.

¹² The last two lines of the Madrid MS. are in a different hand from that of the rest of the text. The text ends one third down the page so it would seem unlikely that there is a missing page which would contain a more complete ending.

It is immediately apparent that *H* not only has the fullest version of the ending with the unique lines: 'los profanos simulacros / que el mundo ciego idolatra' but also, very significantly, only *H* and *G* include the lines: 'la dicha de ser tu Padre / por el trono de un monarca'. There also appears to be a particular connection between *D* and *H* since both contain lines referring to the frequency with which people are deceived in what they think to be 'santidad y devoción' (*D*), 'Santidad, y Religión' (*H*), lines which are not reproduced in *G* but rather replaced by a reference 'a quienes tanto / las apariencias arrastran'. The fuller and more overtly religious ending in *H* reinforces and emphasizes the central message of the play, which Moratín was to describe to George Ticknor in 1818 as: 'Dar a conocer que la verdadera virtud consiste en acciones y no en palabras; puesto que baxo la apariencia de piedad y devoción, se disimulan frecuentemente los mayores vicios.'¹³

The greater similarity of the ending between *H* and *G* (with the added support of the six occasions when *H* and the 1804 edition *G* are identical whereas all other manuscripts are different) suggests that *H* is a later manuscript version than all the others, with the possible exception of *C* and *D*. The increased number of stage directions when compared with *B* also makes it more similar to *C* and *D*, the manuscripts that Caso thought might have been theatre copies, although in *H* there are none of the suppressions found in these two texts.¹⁴ However none of these manuscripts is the same text as the printed first edition, a much altered and reduced text (more than 550 lines shorter, representing almost sixteen percent cut) which was the version of the play actually performed in 1804.

The idea that *H* is a later version, as suggested by the small but significant similarities with *G* that are not found in any other manuscript and the increased number of stage directions, brings into question the relationship with *E*. *E* is the only manuscript that is actually dated (1798) and Caso believes *E* to be earlier than *A-D* because where there are small differences between the texts, he notes that *A-D* accord with the 1806 edition against *E*. There are ten similarities between *H* and *E* not found in the other manuscripts but of the ten, only three can be compared with the 1804 edition and in all cases the printed text follows *B* (and there are indeed fifty-eight occasions in total when *E* is like *B* rather than like *H*). Only one of the ten is possibly significant: in act II, scene viii, *B*, *C*, *F*, *G* all have 'diversos' whereas *H* and *E* have 'opuestos' (here either word would fit, with 'opuestos' indicating an even greater difference between Claudio's character and that of Inés, than 'diversos': 'Don Luis: El carácter de uno y otro / son de tal modo diversos'). In act III, scene viii, *H* and *G* (the printed version) have an additional line '¿Lo sabe ...?' which is not found in *B*, *C*, *E* or *F* (in terms of meaning, the text would possibly be better without the extra 'lo sabe').

Returning to the ending of the plays, the fact that the ending of the published version omits the religious references found in *H* and *D* is very suggestive of the author's exercising self-censorship, as Lady Holland records in the presentation note, 'for fear of giving offence to the devotees'. Does it suggest that *H* is a late working of the full play undertaken by Moratín at the same time as he was preparing the shortened version for publication? It certainly shows a connection to exist between *G* and *H* that is not found with any other manuscripts, and a connection also with *D*. As has been noted, Caso suggested that both *C* and *D* may have been theatre copies given the number of amendments found in them and additional stage directions. Since the first performance of the play was May 1804 and *H* also has some eighteen additional stage directions compared with *B*, could it be that all three manuscripts were in use at this time? What is clearly missing from all this is the manuscript that was to serve as the copy-text for the published first edition, since none of the seven

¹³ John C. Dowling, 'Leandro de Moratín's Answers to Ticknor's Questionnaire on *La Mogigata*', in *Homage to Charles Blaise Qualia* (Lubbock, 1962), pp. 113-19 (p. 117).

¹⁴ Caso, pp. 39-40, writes that *C* has a total of 145 suppressed verses and *D*, 165. The length of *E* is given as 3550 verses and of the 1806 ed., 2994 verses, suppressing 16% of the MS version.

manuscripts mentioned here fits the bill. There are four others listed in Aguilar's *Bibliografía*, some of which are copies of only part of the work, but none is noted as being the manuscript of the first edition or indeed any as being different from the other six he lists (here labelled A-F). While we can wonder if such a manuscript ever existed, the extensive nature of the changes surely suggests that it must have done, that it would have been impossible for the printer to produce the first edition without one. However as Dowling tells us, 'Moratín systematically destroyed the manuscripts of his plays after they were printed', which could be why this vital document has not yet been found.¹⁵

Let us now turn our attention to the significance of the provenance of the Holland MS., presented to Lady Holland in the summer of 1804 (fig. 4). Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland, was the wife of Henry Richard Vassall Fox, third Baron Holland, a noted iberophile and Whig politician.¹⁶ Having already visited Spain in 1793, Lord Holland was to take his wife and young family for an extended stay from November 1802 to March 1805, a visit in part brought about through concerns for the health of their eldest son Charles. During her time in Spain, Lady Holland kept a journal in which she recounts the details of her itinerary, gives her impressions of the places she saw, provides a fascinating account of the many different people she met, and discusses the many cultural encounters that she had in this period.¹⁷ This journal, together with that covering a subsequent visit from November 1808 to July 1809, was edited in 1910 by her descendant, the Earl of Ilchester, and published as *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth, Lady Holland*.¹⁸ In this edition, there is no mention of Lady Holland ever meeting Moratín, an omission, as we shall see, of the utmost importance. The original manuscript of this journal is, however, happily still in existence and preserved in the British Library collection of Holland House papers. It is, I have discovered, much fuller than Ilchester's edition and mentions Moratín on three additional occasions, establishing clearly and beyond doubt that Leandro and Elizabeth met during the summer of 1804.¹⁹

¹⁵ John Dowling, *Leandro Fernández de Moratín* (New York, 1971), p. 83.

¹⁶ On Henry Vassall Fox, third Lord Holland and his wife, Elizabeth, see: José Alberich Sotomayor, 'Un hispanista temprano: Lord Holland', *Revista de Literatura*, xvi (1955), pp. 295-308; Juan Antonio Calvo Maturana, 'Elisabeth Holland: portavoz de los silenciados y cómplice de un tópico', *Cuadernos de Historia Moderna*, xxix (2004), pp. 65-90; The Earl of Ilchester, *The Home of the Hollands, 1605-1820* (London, 1937); Sonia Keppel, *The Sovereign Lady* (London, 1974); Leslie Mitchell, *Holland House* (London, 1980); Manuel Moreno Alonso, *La forja del liberalismo en España. Los amigos españoles de Lord Holland 1793-1840* (Madrid, 1997); John Clarke and José Baptista de Sousa, 'Critics to Enthusiasts: The Hollands Discover Portugal', *Portuguese Studies*, xxi (2005), pp. 70-89.

¹⁷ On this first visit to Spain and Portugal, see Sally-Ann Kitts, 'El Diario español de Lady Elizabeth Holland: observaciones y experiencias de la cultura española de la primera década del siglo diecinueve', in María del Val González de la Peña (ed.), *Mujer y cultura escrita: del mito al siglo XXI* (Gijón, 2005), pp. 239-50.

¹⁸ Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland, *The Spanish Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland*, ed. The Earl of Ilchester (London, 1910). On this second visit, see Sally-Ann Kitts, 'Perceptions of the Peninsular War: Lady Holland's Second Visit to Spain and Portugal, 1808-9', in Robert Archer et al. (eds.), *Antes y después del Quijote: en el cincuentenario de la Asociación de Hispanista de Gran Bretaña e Irlanda* (Valencia, 2005), pp. 727-36.

¹⁹ Add. MS. 51931, ff. 109v-110r.



Fig. 4. Portrait of Lady Holland, painted in Florence in 1793 by L. Gauffier.

The manuscript of the journal covering her sojourns in Spain, Add. MSS. 51930-51937, forms part of the full manuscripts of her journal, which she wrote from 1791 to 1814.²⁰ These journals offer us a fascinating and extremely valuable account of her life and times. Given her prominent position as the wife of Henry Vassall Fox, nephew of the great Charles James Fox, her detailed records of conversations, events, dinner guests, gossip and the many other experiences that formed part of her daily life reveal much of the intimate workings of the party and of the lives of many other key figures from this time, as well as offering insights into the everyday concerns and interests of an intelligent and educated woman who was also a wife and mother. The journal containing the references to Moratín is Add. MS. 51931, a book of 115 folios measuring 258 mm by 200 mm, bound in marbled boards. The outside front cover has a handwritten label as follows: 'No. 5, from May 1803 to August 1804'.

According to Ilchester's edition, the only reference Elizabeth makes to Moratín is that of 18 August when she recounts a walk in the Retiro with the politician and man of letters Manuel Quintana and notes, 'Moratín is at present the best and most distinguished poet and man-of-letters in Spain', and goes on to give a brief account of his life.²¹ However, as the British Library manuscript indicates clearly, on 3 August Elizabeth records that her dinner

²⁰ Also edited by Ilchester, these journals are similarly abridged and altered, as the editor tells us himself (pp. xxi-xxii): Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland, *The Journal of Lady Elizabeth Holland (1791-1811)*, ed. The Earl of Ilchester (London, 1908).

²¹ Add. MS. 51931, f. 110v.

guests at the house the Hollands rented from the Marqués de Aguilar on the Plazuela de Santa Bárbara in Madrid included the Frere brothers, Bartholomew and John Hookham, and that 'Abbé Melon and Moratín called in'.²² Furthermore, on 6 August, her list of visitors that evening includes 'Moratín [and] Melon apres diner'. On 16 August, she records going 'with the Freres to the Opening of the Cruz to see the *Mogigata* a new play of Moratín's'. We know from Moratín's diary that he was also present at this single performance of *La mogigata* at the Coliseo de la Cruz in Madrid in the summer of 1804.²³

While Moratín makes no mention of their meeting on 3 August, his diary entry confirms that on that day, he was indeed with Melón, who was a regular visitor to the Hollands in Madrid and a close friend of Moratín.²⁴ He does record his meeting with Lord Holland on 6 August, again with the Abbé Melón, in his *Diario* under *Agosto de 804*, in his usual cryptic fashion: '6 Calles; baño. / ici Melón; cum il chez Milord Holland; Calles; chez Conde.'²⁵ It seems very likely that either this or the earlier meeting three days previously was the occasion on which the manuscript of the *Mogigata* was presented to Lady Holland, although neither she nor Moratín makes specific reference to the event.

Moratín and the Hollands had a number of acquaintances in common and were circulating in some of the same social groups in Madrid in the spring and summer of 1804. Juan Antonio Melón, for example, was a fellow guest with Elizabeth at the Duchess of Infantado's Saint's Day celebration on 26 July and met with Moratín the next day.²⁶ Similarly on 31 July, Moratín was again with Melón who then, according to Elizabeth's journal, dined once more with the Hollands at the Duke of Infantado's on 1 August.²⁷ Might some arrangement to introduce the Hollands to Moratín have been made on one of these occasions? The British Ambassador Sir John Hookham Frere, frequently mentioned in Elizabeth's journal, was also an acquaintance in common: Moratín meets with him earlier in the year, on 15 March, 15 April and again three days later on 18 April.²⁸ The timing of Lady Holland's visit to the Royal Library on 12 August may also be significant in terms of her meeting with Moratín in early August. Elizabeth tells us that 'One of the librarians, M. Conde who is an oriental linguist & has the charge of the manuscripts; very civilly arranged my admittance, it not being the custom to admit ladies, & without his intervention & the day being a festival I could not have seen it at all.'²⁹ It is interesting to note that, immediately following his call on Lord Holland on 6 August, Moratín writes that he went on to meet with José Antonio Conde, Arabist, Historian, Royal Librarian, and another very good friend of his and one to whom, like Melón, he makes frequent reference in his *Diario*. Perhaps the visit to the Royal Library was the result of his offering the connection with Conde to Lady Holland?

This newly-discovered evidence from the British Library manuscript of her journal confirming that Elizabeth and Moratín did indeed meet in the summer of 1804 is of particular significance in terms of interpreting the textual history of *La mogigata*, supporting as it does the flyleaf note indicating that Moratín presented this manuscript personally to Elizabeth Holland. This same year was to see the first official performance from 19–29 May of the much-shortened published version of *La mogigata*, and a second performance, attended by both the Hollands and Moratín himself, on 16 August. The first edition also

²² Add. MS. 51931, f. 100v.

²³ Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Diario (Mayo 1780 – Marzo 1808)*, ed. René and Mireille Andioc (Madrid, 1968), p. 311: '16 essay of Mogigata in +; baño./ cum Pacita and Mother, palco +, Mogigata.'

²⁴ *Diario*, p. 311: '3 Calles; chez Melón. / Calles; promenade; chez Conde.'

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Diario*, p. 310; Add. MS. 51931, f. 107v.

²⁷ *Diario*, p. 310; Add. MS. 51931, f. 109v.

²⁸ *Diario*, pp. 304, 306.

²⁹ *The Spanish Journal*, p. 162.

came out in May 1804.³⁰ The play had been in existence for more than fifteen years prior to its first performance in the Coliseo de la Cruz: Moratín mentions working on it in a letter to Jovellanos of 9 April 1787 and many years later in 1818 tells Ticknor that he wrote it after *El viejo y la niña*, first performed in 1790 but in existence from at least 1786.³¹ It is known to have circulated in manuscript form as early as 1791 and there had been a number of private and provincial performances of it during this period.³² Moratín himself thought it unlikely it would ever be published or performed: in another letter to Jovellanos of 18 June 1787, he wrote that, 'Ahora voi a dar tras de *La Mogigata*, en la firme inteligencia de que no ha de representarse ni imprimirse.'³³ He distanced himself from these early private and provincial performances, claiming in the 'Advertencia' to the 1825 Paris edition of his complete works that these performances were from 'manuscritos tan viciados, y tan llenos de errores suyos y ajenos' and stating in a letter to Melón on 3 March 1795, that:

mucho me disgusta que ande *La mogigata* por ahí; no pierdas ocasión de decir que la desconoces en las copias, y que tanto por la alteración considerable que ha padecido en ellas, quanto porque yo mismo no he limado el original, jamás consentiré que se represente ni se imprima.³⁴

We can only wonder to which manuscript copies Moratín was referring as having suffered such severe alteration as to be full of errors when, as we have seen, there is such remarkable consistency in the seven manuscripts compared here. In fact, the high degree of similarity between the manuscripts, together with the personal connection between the author and the Holland manuscript, lend considerable additional weight to Caso's interpretation of Moratín's attempts to distance himself from these apparently unauthorized manuscript versions of the text. In Caso's view, Moratín was playing 'un juego bien meditado' that enabled him to have the work circulating and becoming known in cultural circles throughout Spain while still allowing him to disclaim it.³⁵

The fact that it was Moratín himself who gave this complete manuscript version of his play to Lady Holland some three months after the first performance of the expurgated printed first edition and less than two weeks before its August performance suggests that the shorter version, rather than presenting, as some critics would have it, a better final version of the play, was not in fact to the author's satisfaction.³⁶ It supports the view that the published text was in fact a self-censored work, a more suggestive and less explicit version of a play on which Moratín had been working for at least sixteen years and which he wished to see performed on the Madrid stage, even if this meant compromising on its creative integrity.

³⁰ Caso, p. 38. See also Cook, p. 352, who notes that it was 'repeated in August of the same year', a fact supported by Moratín's *Diario* which notes that it was performed on 16 August. Philip Deacon, '“Efectos de la crianza”: *La Mojigata* de Leandro Fernández de Moratín', *Dieciocho*, xxvii (2004), pp. 89-102 (p. 89), tells us that the editor, Villalpando, received the permission to print in February 1804 and that the printed text was published to coincide with its first performance.

³¹ Caso, p. 37; Dowling, p. 117; Cook, p. 337, notes 'In 1786 he read this play to the company of Manuel Martínez [...]'.
³² The 'Advertencia' to Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Obras dramáticas y líricas* (Paris, 1826) notes: 'La representaron en muchas casas particulares de la capital, y se celebró el acierto con que la desempeñaron varios aficionados en casa del abogado Perez de Castro, y en la de la marquesa de Santiago. Los cómicos de las provincias la incluyeron en su caudal, y la representaban frecuentemente' (p. 3).

³³ Caso, p. 37.
³⁴ Ibid.
³⁵ Ibid., p. 38.
³⁶ This is the view taken for example by Deacon.

As we have noted, the published version is over 550 lines shorter than the extant manuscripts and, while a number of the changes involve simple concision of expression, leaving the basic message the same, some of them involve an explicit toning down of the religious message. This was noted by Aribau in his edition of 1848, and highlighted by Caso as the reason behind the changes in three of the eleven examples that he cites.³⁷ One of those examples is this passage from act I, scene viii, where Clara, trying to ascertain whether or not Inés likes Don Claudio with the ulterior motive of seeing if the coast is clear for her, ends up in an exchange with Inés on the meaning of true virtue:

MSS.		1804 edition	
Clara:	Practicando la virtud ...	Clara:	Practicando la virtud ...
Inés:	Sí, la virtud; pero esa virtud en todas las clases la hallarás, lo cual es prueba de que el hombre santifica el estado, no que sea el estado quien le dé las perfecciones que tenga.	Inés:	Practicándola, en cualquiera estado serás feliz.
Clara:	¿Dudas que en las religiones ...	Clara:	Pero no dudes que aquella vida, penitente, humilde, es más pura y más perfecta.
Inés:	¿Cómo es fácil que pudiera dudar eso? Yo conozco religiosas muy perfectas, muchas, no todas, que tienen una virtud verdadera, que son, digámoslo así, ángeles acá en la tierra. Sí; pero también he visto en casadas y doncellas mucha religión, honor, recogimiento, prudencia, resignación y alegría en los males que nos cercan; en una palabra, he visto, para más confusión nuestra que todos sirven a Dios, cuando servirle desean.	Inés:	Sí, pero lleva consigo obligaciones tan serias, que el empeño de cumplirlas hará temblar a cualquiera. Mucho de Dios necesita la que a tanto se resuelva, porque, si la cumple bien, prodigioso esfuerzo cuesta, y si no, después de amarga vida, ¡qué suerte la espera!

The reduction of Inés's first speech removes her statement that virtue can be found in all walks of life. The alteration of her second speech removes the opinion that some nuns are not truly virtuous and the idea that all social statuses are equal when it comes to serving God.

³⁷ *Obras de D. Nicolás y D. Leandro Fernández Moratín*, [Bonaventura Carles Aribau, ed.], Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, ii (Madrid, 1848), p. 392 n., and Caso, pp. 44-60.

As Caso says of this extract:

Moratín sostenía la tesis de que en todos los estados se puede servir igualmente a Dios y practicar la virtud. Era una idea peligrosa, ya que ponía en entredicho la vieja teoría de la mayor perfección del estado religioso. Probablemente por esto lo modificó don Leandro [...]³⁸

Caso saw similar self-censorship in the changes to act III, scene xi, in which a satire on pious books is suppressed and in act III, scene iv, which contains ‘un duro ataque a la idea de la perfección del estado religioso y una defensa de la prioridad de las virtudes que inspiró la naturaleza.’³⁹

In a recent article, Deacon takes the view that the changes to the play were undertaken by Moratín for the literary purpose of creating ‘un mayor impacto en el espectador o lector’, and that he was ‘confiando en la capacidad de un texto más conciso para sugerir cosas que antes estaban explícitas’.⁴⁰ However the timing and circumstances of the presentation to Lady Holland of a much fuller manuscript, to all intents and purposes almost identical to six others, instead lend considerable weight to Caso and Aribau’s view that ‘no todas las correcciones fueron hechas con el objeto de mejorar el lenguaje, sino con el de evitar en lo posible escrúpulos y susceptibilidades, que ya no deben existir’.⁴¹ In other words, that it is a response to the pressures of the ‘devotees’ mentioned in Lady Holland’s flyleaf note and to the threat of the Inquisition, in a number of ways still a force to be reckoned with in 1804.

That the Inquisition was present in Moratín’s mind is indicated in his response to Ticknor’s second set of questions, posed to the author in 1818:

La Inquisición le hubiera perseguido, si el favor con que el Príncipe de la Paz le distinguía entre todos los literatos de aquella época no hubiese hecho creer a aquel tribunal que qualquiera persecución suscitada contra Moratín podría acarrearle el resentimiento de un valido tan poderoso.⁴²

Even in this much altered and reduced published form, and with the protection of a dedication in the first edition to Godoy, Prince of Peace, it nevertheless elicited a number of criticisms, as Dowling, Cook and the author himself all tell us. Dowling observes that ‘While the prime minister’s influence prevented an overt manifestation at the premiere, it did not stay the hand of the scribblers. They attacked with gusto’.⁴³ The ‘overt manifestation’ of which Dowling speaks was the ‘scandalous uproar that took place at the premiere of *El barón* in 1803’.⁴⁴ This must surely have put Moratín on his guard the following year. Cook similarly notes that ‘The *Female Hypocrite* aroused a storm of protest from those who believed they saw in it an attack against true piety’.⁴⁵ Moratín himself wrote that:

³⁸ Caso, p. 45.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 46.

⁴⁰ Deacon, p. 89.

⁴¹ [Aribau], p. 392 n.

⁴² Ticknor, cited by Dowling, p. 117.

⁴³ Dowling, p. 85.

⁴⁴ Ibid. See also pp. 72–5 for a full account of the events surrounding the premiere of *El barón*.

⁴⁵ Cook, p. 352.

El público la recibió con aprecio particular; no así los falsos devotos, ni los críticos. Los primeros abominaron de ella, y no les faltaba razón; los segundos publicaron delicadas observaciones, en que manifestaron por una parte su laudable anhelo de ver el arte en toda su perfección, y por otra su corta inteligencia para indicar á los que le practican los medios de lograrlo.⁴⁶

There was also a prolonged exchange of opinions in Manuel Quintana's *Variedades de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes*,⁴⁷ and while the association with Godoy may have protected the play from Inquisitorial persecution in 1804, it was to be denounced in 1815 and subsequently banned in May 1818, not returning to the Madrid stage until 1834.⁴⁸ As Deacon says of the Quintana exchange: 'La polémica así levantada demostró bien a las claras el carácter controvertido de la obra, y especialmente su capacidad para provocar lecturas diferentes' (figs 5, 6).⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Moratín, 'Advertencia', pp. 3-4.

⁴⁷ See Deacon, p. 90, and [Aribau], p. 392 n.

⁴⁸ Dowling, p. 91.

⁴⁹ Deacon, p. 90.



Fig. 5. Scene from *La mogigata*, act II, scene ii. Don Claudio trips over a chair during a secret assignation with Doña Clara and the lovers are discovered by Doña Inés and Doña Clara's father, D. Martín. *Obras dramáticas y líricas de D. Leandro Fernández Moratín, entre los Arcades Inarco Celenio* (Madrid, 1840), vol. ii, facing p. 5. BL, 1509/4495.



Fig. 6. Scene from *La mogigata*. In the final scene of the play, Doña Inés forgives the deceitful behaviour of her cousin, Doña Clara, witnessed by the latter's father, Don Martín. In an act of virtue and compassion that serves as an example to her cousin, she asks her father Don Luis for his permission to share half her fortune with Doña Clara and her future husband Don Claudio, both of whom kneel before her. *Obras dramáticas y líricas de D. Leandro Fernández de Moratín, entre los Arcades de Roma Inarco Celenio* (Paris, 1825), vol. ii, facing p. 7. BL, 640.f.23.

Given the timing of his meeting with the Hollands, established through his own and Lady Holland's journals, when a copy of the newly-printed first edition would have been easily available for him to offer as a gift, it seems reasonable to argue that the text given to Lady Holland in fact represents the version which Moratín really wanted to appear, a supposition supported by the comments made in the presentation note about the suppression of 'many pages [...] in the representation for fear of giving offence to the devotees'. Could these words have been recorded by Elizabeth following the meeting between Moratín and the Hollands precisely because Moratín had brought this fact to their attention? Both their liberal politics and their interest in the Spanish theatre would be well known to him. Lady Holland records in her journal numerous outings to the theatre during her time in Spain, including, incidentally, attending the Coliseo de la Cruz on the same evening as Moratín back in 1803 (4 December) and of course, as already mentioned, for the single performance of *La mogigata* on 16 August. She also makes several observations on Spanish theatre, both on the quality of the plays and the actors, and in 1806, Lord Holland was to publish his work on Lope de Vega.⁵⁰ It seems more than likely, then, that the issues surrounding its first performance and publication, and its forthcoming performance only a couple of weeks away, would have been topics of conversation between Moratín and the Hollands in their meetings in the evenings of 3 and 6 August 1804.

While the details of their conversations can, of course, be no more than speculation, the fact of their meeting is beyond doubt, thanks to the manuscript of Elizabeth's journal.⁵¹ This has enabled us to draw a new picture of the complex early history of this play, one that is very much a reflection of the many tensions of this turbulent period of Spanish history. The new light cast on Moratín's motivations and actions in 1804 by the provenance of the Holland manuscript indicates that a detailed comparison of the several manuscript sources and the printed version, two very different versions of the same play, is urgently needed. As Caso said back in 1978, 'no parece que quepa la menor duda sobre la existencia de dos versiones de *La mojigata*, ambos de Moratín'.⁵² His call for a critical edition of the first version is now more apposite than ever and the basis for that full scholarly version should be what is arguably the definitive manuscript, presented by the author himself, to Elizabeth, Lady Holland, just prior to its performance in August 1804 (fig. 7).

⁵⁰ Henry Richard Vassall Fox, Baron Holland, *Some Account of the Life and Writings of L. F. de Vega Carpio* (London, 1806).

⁵¹ The omission from Ilchester's edition of *The Spanish Journal* of such an important record as Lady Holland's acquaintance with the foremost Enlightenment playwright in Spain indicates the importance and value of this British Library manuscript and the need for it to be re-edited by someone with a sound knowledge of the history and literature of Spain at this time.

⁵² Caso, art. cit., p. 47.



Fig. 7. Portrait of Moratín. *Obras dramáticas y líricas de D. Leandro Fernández Moratín, entre los Arcades Inarco Celenio* (Madrid, 1840), vol. iv, frontispiece. BL, 1509/4495.