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Darse al diablo: Spanish Literature, Music, and Society in *El Diablo Cojuelo* (1878) by Composer Francisco Asenjo Barbieri, and Librettists Mariano Pina Domínguez and Miguel Ramos Carrión

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The events of the Glorious Revolution in Spain (1868), the establishment of the First Spanish Republic (1873–1874), and the Restoration of the monarchy (1875) inspired composers and librettists of Spanish musical theater to reflect on the expression of national culture through the unification of music, literature, and performance. Drawing from the well-established practice of *refundiciones*, or the rewriting of Spanish Golden-Age plays, many composers and librettists were intrigued by the potential for literary works from the national past to serve as foundations for relevant, yet entertaining, musico-dramatic works of the present. One such project was *El Diablo Cojuelo: revista europea, cómico-fantástica en tres actos* (1878), with music by nineteenth-century Spain's most influential composer, musician, and early musicologist, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823–1894), and text by Mariano Pina Domínguez (1840–1895) and Miguel Ramos Carrión (1851–1915).

El Diablo Cojuelo: revista europea is part of a long line of re-adaptations of *El Diablo Cojuelo: novela de la otra vida traducida a esta*, first published in Madrid in 1641 by Spanish baroque writer Luis Vélez de Guevara (1579–1644). The original text is a work of prose organized into ten *trancos* or "strides," leaps," or "bounds," and opens as the character don Cleofás, caught in an illicit love affair with doña Tomasa, flees across the rooftops of Madrid, enters an open window, and hides in a mysterious attic space. Upon hearing whispers, don Cleofás calls out "¿Quién diablos suspira aquí?" and a devil, held prisoner in a vial replies "Yo [. . .] el espíritu más travieso del infierno [. . .] me llamo el Diablo Cojuelo" (73-75). The devil promises don Cleofás great rewards in exchange for his freedom, and the two fugitives literally fly off together.

Adopting the role of teacher to his student, the devil guides don Cleofás through a series of locales and social situations framed and mediated by the pair's witty observations and commentary. From the perspective of the tower of San Salvador, the devil magically raises the roofs of Madrid's skyline to reveal what takes place in interior spaces at night.

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The following day, the devil ushers don Cleofás through the streets of Madrid to witness the intricacies of the Royal Court. Finally, they leave Madrid for Toledo, Córdoba, Écija, and Sevilla, all the while pursued by doña Tomasa and the authorities, as well as other demons sent to recapture and return the devil to Hell. Since the work shares characteristics with the picaresque novel, comedic works of Golden-Age Theater, and satire, while also unifying folkloric, philosophical, and literary references, critics agree that Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* both portrays and critiques seventeenth-century Spanish society.

The extensive project to bring Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* to nineteenth-century Spanish audiences through text and music 237 years later raises the question: What does this musico-dramatic adaptation and the symbolic act of surrendering to the devil mean in the context of Spain in 1878, the world of Spanish musical theater, and the artistic endeavors of Barbieri and his collaborators?

In the analysis that follows, I approach these questions through the theoretical perspectives offered by sociology of music and performance studies. Sociology of music views musical works as social creations that artistically reflect problems or issues central to the society in question, a phenomenon which is especially intensified in musical works connected to text and expressing words (Supičić 60). Furthermore, sociology of music investigates the social status of the professional composer. Of central concern are the possibilities and limitations placed on this individual by society, interactions with other social groups, such as writers and librettists, and a consideration of his or her own intentions and beliefs about cultural products. Finally, the idea that musical art is the result of collaborative social and artistic interactions must also take into consideration the public or the audience to which the musical expression is directed. The study of the "behavior," the interactions, and intercultural connections of artistic (musical) works and their creators is one way in which sociology of music intersects with performance studies.

In performance studies, there is a continual tension between the archive and the repertoire (Taylor 19). Even though the musico-dramatic version of *El Diablo Cojuelo* is not part of any current performance repertory and, in fact, did not persist beyond the summer of its premiere, a study of the textual archive allows us to see that this was wholly intentional on the part of its creators. *El Diablo Cojuelo* was specifically created as a timely commentary on the people, places, and events of 1878, meant to pop up and disappear just as quickly as the devil himself. An examination of the archive through the lens of performance studies further reveals that the performance text, in this case the libretto, is linked to a whole series of other texts, such as published correspondence by the composer Barbieri, and periodicals from 1878 housed at the *Biblioteca Nacional de España* (*BNE*) in Madrid.[1]

The application of these theoretical perspectives to the musico-dramatic version of *El Diablo Cojuelo* will show that, following the model of its original literary predecessor, this *revista europea* provides important information on life and current happenings in Madrid of the early Restoration period. However, at the same time, I argue that its genesis is also directly related to events taking place outside of Spain, specifically the Paris World Fair (*Exposition Universelle*) of 1878 and the ensuing reflections on the interconnections of

Spanish and French literature and culture. Furthermore, for Barbieri and his collaborators, the story of *El Diablo Cojuelo,* rewritten for musical theater, represented a unique opportunity to create a work anchored in the history, traditions, and literature of Spain, while also incorporating popular influences geared towards new audiences. Ultimately, we shall see that the act of surrendering to the devil allows the main characters of the musico-dramatic work, and by extension readers and theatergoers of the time, to adopt a plurality of perspectives to view and comment on problems and issues central to modern Spanish society.

Barbieri and the Story of *El Diablo Cojuelo*: From Spain to France and Back Again

Barbieri was a leading cultural figure of nineteenth-century Spain, who systematically studied, wrote, and published on the nation's musical legacy, created an extensive corpus of his own musical creations, worked tirelessly to promote musical performance on all levels, especially in the area of lyric theater, and greatly contributed to the idea of musical nationalism. Although from the very beginnings of his formation Barbieri witnessed, and later participated in, the push to liberate Spanish musical theater from foreign influences, I argue that his decision to re-approach and re-adapt Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* was directly inspired by the Spanish composer's history with and connections to France, as well as events related to the Paris World Fair taking place from May to November in 1878.[2]

According to Emilio Casares Rodicio, Barbieri first visited Paris in 1853, a few years after his revolutionary successes in the world of Spanish musical theater. Now a man of certain fame and resources, and taking advantage of new advances in communication and travel, Barbieri, like other Spanish cultural figures of his time, felt compelled to experience first-hand life outside Spain. This first trip abroad was significant, as it served to further solidify the composer's views on the importance of creating and promoting a uniquely Spanish musical theater (Casares Rodicio, *Francisco* 144). Throughout the rest of his career, Barbieri would undertake numerous other visits of varying length to the French capital, as well as other European countries such as Belgium, Germany, and England (Casares Rodicio, "Asenjo Barbieri" 202-04).

With longstanding connections to the Parisian and wider European music scene, Barbieri was named to the *Societé des Compositeurs de Musique de París* on April 30, 1878, the eve of the Paris World Fair (Casares Rodicio, *Francisco* 362). Not to be outdone by France in honoring one of its most important cultural figures, shortly after, on May 17, 1878, Spain appointed Barbieri representative to the Spanish commission for the *Exposition Universelle* (Casares Rodicio, *Francisco* 360). It was during this time of reflection on Spanish culture, its connections to France, and its presentation on the world stage that Barbieri would have been immersed in work on his version of *El Diablo Cojuelo,* which premiered at the *Teatro del Príncipe Alfonso* in Madrid on June 18, 1878, while the Paris World Fair was in full swing. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the *Exposition Universelle* plays a prominent role in Barbieri's *El Diablo Cojuelo* as the backdrop for Act Three, when, as we shall see later, the main characters decide to leave Madrid and travel to Paris to join the fair's festivities. Since it is clear that the creation and conceptualization of Barbieri's *El Diablo*

Cojuelo was directly inspired by events taking place outside of Spain, in France, I will now make the case that the musico-dramatic work also represents an important recovery of the story of *El Diablo Cojuelo* for Spanish audiences at that particular historical moment.

Through Barbieri's own writings and correspondence, we know that he firmly believed that the libretto for a musico-dramatic work should be based on the history, traditions, and literature of Spain, and he felt that this, in turn, would provide composers with opportunities to showcase Spanish music and dance. In correspondence with Felipe Pedrell (1841–1922), Barbieri explains:

> [S]e ha de basar en el estudio histórico y filosófico de nuestro carácter nacional, hecho en los grandes modelos que nos han dejado los literatos y los artistas de todas las regiones o provincias que hoy constituyen nuestra nacionalidad española. [. . .] Sobre libretos de esta índole tendrá el compositor más ancho campo para lucir su inspiración y su talento artístico: y si además estos libretos están fundados en hechos de nuestra historia o de nuestras tradiciones, cuentos o novelas populares, entonces serán miel sobre hojuelas para el compositor español, que podrá hacer más lógicamente buen uso artístico de las melodías populares propias de las localidades en que se finja la acción. (qtd. in Bonastre 151-52)

While Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* was a widely recognized literary work of Spain's Golden Age and fit nicely into Barbieri's vision of the appropriate textual foundations for Spanish musical theater, it is also important to note that it was eventually overshadowed by the eighteenth-century French adaptation by Alain René Lesage (1668–1747), the novel he titled *Le Diable boiteux* (1707), which inspired numerous other versions and translations in French, English, and even Spanish.[3] By 1878, when France was center-stage, showcasing the best in art, industry, and science, Spanish intellectuals sought to reclaim the story of *El Diablo Cojuelo* and use Vélez de Guevara's original version as a prime example of Spain's positive, but often overlooked, influence and contributions to French literature and culture. I refer to an article entitled "Influencia de España en la literatura francesa" (November 22, 1878) by Manuel Llopis y Bofill (1849–1928), published around the conclusion of the World Fair:

> La literatura española fué poco á poco sirviendo de tipo, de norma y de modelo á las demas literaturas [. . .] donde esta influencia se hizo más notable y profunda fué indudablemente en Francia [. . .] publicó Lesage su *Diablo Cojuelo*, sus *Aventuras de Guzman de Alfarache* y su *Gil Blas*, que no son otra cosa que traducciones ó extractos de obras españolas. (302)[4]

Following this line of thought, Barbieri's *Revista europea* seeks to re-affirm and re-appropriate Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* as the perfect Spanish model to observe, present, and comment on Spanish society of the time.

From Text to Performance Text

Casares Rodicio divides Barbieri's creations for musical theater into three basic

categories: extensive works of two or three acts in the tradition of *zarzuela grande*; shorter works of only one act in the manner of *género chico*; and, finally, a small corpus of hybrid works created for performance by *Los bufos madrileños*, a company first established in 1866 by Francisco Arderius (1835?–1886) to showcase satirical operettas in the style of *Les Bouffes-Parisiens* ("Asenjo Barbieri" 205-06). Barbieri's re-adaptation of Vélez de Guevara's *El Diablo Cojuelo* fits into this final category.[5]

As indicated by its full title, *El Diablo Cojuelo: revista europea, cómico-fantástica en tres actos* is three acts long, following the practice of *zarzuela grande*. Furthermore, as a *revista*, it also acknowledges and incorporates the growing tendency towards shorter, theatrical music and dance sketches with wide public appeal. The specific use of the *revista* style for this particular work directly engages and plays with the cultural discussions of the time regarding the communications, borrowings, and exchanges between Spain and France. In "Primera representación de El Diablo Cojuelo" published in *La Época* (June 19, 1878), an anonymous columnist addresses this issue and comments negatively on the French *revue* adopted by Barbieri for this particular work:

> Pero dado el género por Francia y admitido por España, que nunca debió aceptarlo, ¿qué es *El diablo Cojuelo*? *El diablo Cojuelo* es una exposicion sinóptica, un resumen de todos los sucesos mas culminantes que han tenido lugar en España durante un período de tiempo mas ó menos largo; es lo que se ha dado llamar una *Revista* y nosotros llamaríamos *Un bromazo* en tres partes, ó *Una pócima* de mil hierbas en tres dosis recetada por los Sres. Pina y Dominguez y Ramos Carrion y Barbieri y admistrada por Arderius en el hospital del buen gusto llamado teatro de los Bufos al público enfermo. (n. pag.)

Working relationships between writers, librettists, and composers varied greatly. One common strategy of collaborating librettists was to have one (re)write the overarching storyline, while the other worked on the details of the words, whether in verse or in prose, for each scene or musical number (Casares Rodicio and González Peña 513). In terms of the interactions of text, performance text, and music, Barbieri's correspondence with composer Rafael Hernando (1822–1888) on zarzuela clearly indicates the importance he placed on the performance text as inspiration to the composer: "[L]a zarzuela es un espectáculo de muy difícil composición, no sólo por el género mixto a que pertenece, sino también porque es necesario que el músico y el poeta identifiquen sus ideas" (qtd. in Casares Rodicio, *Francisco* 443). Furthermore, in correspondence with composer Ruperto Chapí (1851–1909) about opera libretti, Barbieri writes,

> En mi opinión, lo primero y principal [. . .] es la poesía, y a ésta debe subordinarse todo. El mérito del compositor consiste en traducir y colocar en música, no sólo el pensamiento del poeta sino también en hallar el mejor ritmo musical que corresponda al ritmo poético de cada estrofa, de cada verso y hasta de cada palabra." (444)

While it may seem that Barbieri is suggesting in this last quote that the musical composition process comes after the written process, he was known to be extremely

discerning, frequently rejecting libretti that did not fit with his creative vision, and even re-writing sections of text himself (443). It is essential, therefore, to keep in mind Barbieri's earlier statement that highlights the complexity inherent to the process of creating musico-dramatic works. Without a doubt, there was much back and forth dialogue, discussion, and revision between the experienced composer and this new generation of librettists.

Pina Domínguez mostly likely met Barbieri through his father, the playwright Mariano Pina Bohigas (1820–1883), who was the composer's frequent collaborator. From his father, Pina Domínguez learned the art of translating and adapting French literature, theater, and operetta into Spanish. He became a popular librettist with audiences, quickly establishing his own reputation through his prolific output. *El Diablo Cojuelo* appears to be Pina Domínguez's second collaboration with Barbieri, as they had previously worked together in 1871 at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela* on *El hombre es débil* (González Peña 528).

Ramos Carrión, on the other hand, established his reputation early by working with a variety of well-known and admired composers, such as Emilio Arrieta (1821–1894), Manuel Fernández Caballero (1836–1906), and Miguel Marqués (1843–1918). *El Diablo Cojuelo* also seems to be Ramos Carrión's second collaboration with Barbieri, as they had worked earlier on *El domador de fieras* in 1874, also at the *Teatro de la Zarzuela*. Ramos Carrión was best known for his abilities to produce collaboratively text for theater and musical theater (Iglesias de Souza 36-37).

The collaboration between Barbieri, Pina Domínguez, and Ramos Carrión was documented in the press of the time. News of the musico-dramatic version of *El Diablo Cojuelo* was reported alongside updates from the Paris World Fair.

Interplay of Periodicals and Performance Texts

A review of periodicals from 1878 housed at the *BNE* indicates that mention of the musico-dramatic work commences in April, approximately two months before the premiere, and comes to an end in August, approximately two months later. Of significance is the fact that the first printed reference to the project can be found in the section "Libros en prensa" from *La Iberia* on April 14, 1878, in which there is no note of the performance of the work, but rather the publication of the libretto (n. pag.). However, by the next day, on April 15, 1878, there is an announcement in "Teatros" from *Boletín de Loterías y de Toros* that Arderius' company has future plans to premiere the work at the *Teatro del Príncipe Alfonso* (n. pag.). By May 5, 1878, "Noticias de espectáculos" from *La Iberia* details both the rehearsals for the project and the inauguration of the Paris World Fair (n. pag.). From that point forward, the rehearsals and future premiere are noted in five different periodicals with increasing frequency up to the night of the opening on June 18, 1878. On July 9, 1878, "Noticias generales" from *El Globo* notes the publication of some of the music from the musico-dramatic work (n. pag.). This review of periodicals from the time clearly demonstrates two key points: first, composers and librettists were important contributors to the print market through the publication and dissemination of text and music; and second, prior to the performance of the musico-dramatic work, the Madrid public already had access to a variety of texts and commentaries related to the

story of *El Diablo Cojuelo*.

In the musico-dramatic transformation of *El Diablo Cojuelo*, Pina Domínguez and Ramos Carrión closely follow the narrative framework established by Vélez de Guevara, in which two main characters come together through unusual circumstances, team up to escape their current predicaments, and experience a series of largely humorous encounters with a variety of people in diverse places. The content, however, has been completely overhauled to reference the Spain of the Early Restoration Period, and more specifically the year 1878 in which the musico-dramatic work was both written and performed. The anonymous columnist of "Primera representación de El diablo Cojuelo" from *La Época* (June 19, 1878) explains, "El diablo Cojuelo es una revista en que pasan por delante del espectador todos los hombres y los hechos que han impresionado mas la imaginacion pública en España, dentro y fuera de España, desde principios del presente año" (n. pag.).

In the opening moments of Act One, the character Pedro Saltillo directly addresses the audience and makes it clear that he is willing to do anything, even surrender to the devil, in order to escape his difficult circumstances: "¿Y qué hago yo ahora? [. . .] ¡Desgraciado de mí! ¡Fortuna ingrata, yo te maldigo! ¡Esto es cosa de darse al diablo!" (8-9). Saltillo explains that he is an unemployed government worker, five months behind in his rent payments. Because of his debt, his landlady, doña Tomasa, imprisoned and locked Saltillo in his rented room. Saltillo, however, was able to escape out the window, flee by way of the rooftop, and ultimately hide in the attic space of an adjoining building. It is here in the attic that Saltillo laments his fortune and names the devil out loud.

To Saltillo's astonishment, the devil answers, "Aquí estoy" (9). The devil speaks to Saltillo from inside a large container housed in the attic, and the audience learns that the devil was imprisoned there for being a liberal some forty years earlier by Spanish statesman and historical figure Francisco Tadeo Calomarde y Arría (1773–1842), marking the first moment in the musico-dramatic work where fiction and the historical realities of nineteenth-century Spain intersect. The devil asks Saltillo to free him. In effect, the pact between Saltillo and the devil is sealed when the devil assures Saltillo that he will make him his fortune, and Saltillo agrees to show the devil modern Spain.

During his confinement, the devil was only able to hear certain things, which gave him an indication of what may have continued to transpire in Spain after his imprisonment:

Por rumores llegados
hasta mi oido,
comprender ciertas cosas
me ha parecido;
pero he dudado,
ó son cosas muy raras
las que han pasado.

Con músicas un dia
me despertaban,
y otro con cañonazos
que horrorizaban;
y ¡*muera*! Y ¡*viva*!
y unas veces ¡*abajo*!
y otras ¡*arriba*! (11)

Therefore, in contrast to Vélez de Guevara's original, the roles are now reversed as Saltillo becomes the guide who will now show the devil what has become of Spain. I

argue that the emphasis placed on showing and witnessing, established early in this musico-dramatic work, is directly reflective of two phenomena related to the social and cultural moment of its creation: first, the acts of displaying and viewing central to the premise of the Paris Exhibition of 1878; and second, the layered acts of reporting and recreating in newspapers these events central to both Spain and to France.

The musico-dramatic work is specifically structured around showing and viewing three different points of encounter: an illegal gambling establishment (Act One), a hippodrome or horseracing arena (Act Two), both in Madrid, and, finally, the Paris World Fair outside Spain (Act Three). These three settings were selected and highlighted to offer multiple perspectives that reveal what is common but clandestine, what is public and political, and finally, how Spain might view the world beyond its borders, and how Spain might, in turn, be perceived from the outside.

The devil is an essential mediator and performative figure in these cultural encounters, embodying in a variety of ways the liminoid phenomena of "neither here nor there [. . .] betwixt and between," described by anthropologist and performance studies collaborator Victor Turner (79). Following traditional representations of *El Diablo Cojuelo*, the devil is depicted in the musico-dramatic work as physically disabled, hobbling around on crutches, but also capable of extraordinary feats through his supernatural powers. The librettists further emphasize the devil's liminality by depicting him as a character that "strides," "leaps," or "bounds," through Spain's history, linking a past marked by civil wars during which he was imprisoned by Calomarde, to the supposed relative stability of the Restoration period, when he is freed by Saltillo. Finally, although the devil is traditionally depicted as male, this musico-dramatic work transforms the character into a transvestite figure, embodying both male and female, as the libretto indicates that the role of the devil is played by the actress "Señorita Gómez" (4). As Marjorie Garber has shown in her book *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety*, the transvestite depiction of a character in a text is significant, as it indicates a place of "category crisis," and functions by "calling attention to cultural, social, and aesthetic dissonances" (16). A summary of the libretto shows that the dissonances highlighted by the devil in the performance text are related to economic and creative tensions between art and entertainment in the public sphere, portrayed through a playful review of some of the most salient issues affecting modern Spain.

The Performance and Experience of Madrid and Paris

Act One opens as the devil proposes that he and his new companion visit a gambling house to secure money for their adventures. Saltillo is initially skeptical of the devil's suggestion, as all such establishments in Madrid are supposedly closed and closely monitored by the police. True to his/her nature, the devil reveals what is hidden from view, but a pervasive undercurrent in the city of Madrid: a small casino in full operation. As they play roulette, a game first developed in eighteenth-century France, the theme of the wheel of fortune emerges, as the wheel turns, "making and breaking" a whole series of characters representative of different socio-economic types found in Madrid (*Banquero*, *Desesperado*, *Caballero*, *Gancho*, *Paleto*, *don Pedro*, *Estudiante*, etc.). Throughout this act, the police continually try to intercept the illegal activities. However, the gamblers hide their

gaming behind the façade of musical art. Specifically, the casino can be transformed into an Academy of Music:

> TODOS. ¡La policía!
> BANQUERO. Orden, órden y tranquilidad. (Gran agitacion. La ruleta se convierte en un piano de cola. Los puntos sacan del bolsillo papeles de música. El banquero toca el piano.)
> [. . .]
> JUGADORES. Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la,
> sol, fa, mi, re, do. [. . .]
> INSPECTOR. Busco afanoso
> por todo el barrio
> sin descansar;
> busco á quien juega,
> y ni uno solo
> consigo hallar.
> Unos jugadores
> encontrarme creo,
> subo y hallo una
> clase de solfeo. (13-14)

By the conclusion of Act Two, the underground activities are finally uncovered and ended by the police. However, the experience is revealing for both Saltillo and the devil, as Saltillo is now convinced of the existence of these underground gambling houses in Madrid and the devil experiences firsthand the new undercurrents of the city after decades of imprisonment. Comparing the Spain of his past to the present, the devil concludes: "En punto á moralidad, veo que estais como / cuando me metieron en la tinaja. [. . .] Veo que la policía de estos tiempos está tan / bien montada como la de los mios" (24-25). The word "montada" serves as a verbal bridge between the first and the second acts, as horseracing at Madrid's newly inaugurated hippodrome (1878–1933) becomes the focus of Saltillo and the devil's next adventure.[6]

The hippodrome is depicted from the beginning of Act Two as a comically disastrous project. Opening in the middle of winter, with temperatures well below freezing, the spectacle has attracted a large teeth-chattering audience, who seem not to notice the cold. Even though a fortune in public funds has been spent on its construction, the terrain of the hippodrome is uneven and the racehorses under par. To illustrate this point, let us note a dialogue between a Member of Parliament attending the opening-day race, and Saltillo, who here plays the role of "devil's advocate." This conversation is also important in that it reveals an acute anxiety of comparison between Madrid and other European capitals of the time:

> DIPUTADO. Trabajaron de noche y de dia
> con hachas de viento,
> y se salen despues de tres meses
> con este experpento!
> [. . .]

¿Qué dirán en París?
¡Qué pais! ¡Qué pais!
[. . .]
SALTILLO. Caballero, extraño mucho que censure usted tan duramente una obra de interés general.
DIPUTADO. ¿De manera que usted cree conveniente que se hayan gastado en esto noventa millones? [. . .] ¿Y todo para qué? Para dejar el terreno lleno de zanjas y precipicios.
SALTILLO. [. . .] ¿Qué llanura es bella? Ninguna. El terreno accidentado fué siempre el mas hermoso. Si quiere usted gozar, véngase en un dia de lluvia: por alli un arrollo, por allá un salto de agua, una cascada natural mas lejos. Esta es una obra de doble aplicación; puede server de hipódromo, para la cria caballar; como estaque, para la cria de ranas.
DIPUTADO. Se conoce que no ha visto usted ningun hipódromo.
SALTILLO. Siempre las comparaciones. ¿Porque en Inglaterra los hipódromos son llanos, aquí han de serlo tambien? Pues, no señor, aquí no queremos nada que sea llano. (33-35)

Throughout this central section of Act Two, the absurd features of the hippodrome, alongside the acute sense of public denial about the entire project, are laid out and layered upon each other, played with and depicted on stage, poked at and chided by the devil and Saltillo. In the next scene, however, in stark contrast to galloping horses and gallivanting jockeys, a lone poet enters the stage with the following lament:

UN POETA. Yo soy un poeta,
[. . .] que escribe elegías
y escribe epitafios,
y odas, y poemas,
y silvas, y cantos;
y escribe, y escribe,
y no gana un cuarto.
Aquel es un potro
[. . .] está muy querido
y está muy mimado,
[. . .] le dan ¡tres mil duros
de premio ordinario!
Y á los escritores.
que nos descrismamos
padeciendo siempre,
siempre trabajando,
el Ayuntamiento,
¡qué inhumanitario!
da liras y flores,
¡pero no da un cuarto!
[. . .]
¿Por qué no hay carreras
de desventurados,
y opto al primer premio
y de fijo gano?
Tú, potro dichoso.
serás millonario.
¿Por qué soy poeta?
¡Quién fuera caballo!
(Váse). (31-32)

The farcical contrast between the fortunes of the racehorse and the poet clearly reveals to the audience a misaligned aesthetic supported by misguided funds that greatly affects both entertainment and the arts. The devil, in conversation with Saltillo, concludes that the socio-political and cultural situation of Spain has shown little change over the last forty years:

SALTILLO. Vamos á ver, con franqueza:
¿Qué te ha parecido esto?
¿Cómo has encontrado á España?
COJUELO. Lo mismo que en otros tiempos;
que aunque valeis mucho mas,
lo aprovechais mucho menos. (47)

In the scenes that follow, there is shift in focus from the social drama of the hippodrome to the aesthetic drama of the theater.

Redoubling the emphasis on the importance of theater and performance as both a physical and metaphorical space to observe and experience Spain and Spanish culture, the devil now asks Saltillo in the beginning of Act Three to view a selection of the most successful theatrical works from the previous year. Together they consider scenes and interact with characters from *La rosa amarilla* by Eusebio Blasco (1844–1903), *El salto del pasiego* by Manuel Fernández Caballero (1835–1906) and Luis de Eguílaz (1830–1874), *Consuelo* by Adelardo López de Ayala (1828–1879) and Aurelio Macedonio Espinosa (1880–1958), *La criolla* by Salvador María Granés (1840–1911), *El esclavo de su culpa* by Juan Antonio Cavestany (1861–1924), and, lastly, one of the many dramatic versions of the legend of *Guillermo Tell*. After this meta-theatrical review within a review, the pair finally travels from the local to global sphere to consider an enterprise of major scale seeking to encompass art, spectacle, science, industry, and entertainment to the highest degree: the Paris World Fair of 1878.

Upon arrival in Paris, the devil and Saltillo encounter different languages and cultures in the hotel. Whereas it should be a place of rest and relaxation before attending the World Fair, Saltillo and the devil witness and participate in a series of cultural and linguistic miscommunications with a series of characters such as the French proprietor of the hotel, and the English, Portuguese, Turkish, and Russian guests. These miscommunications eventually bring the international visitors to blows, with Saltillo intervening, "Yo, como español, estoy autorizado para meterme en todo lo que no me importa" (61). These cultural interactions, always comedic, and sometimes violent, bring forth perceptions and misconceptions in relation to Spain and France.

To some of the French characters, Spain is the stereotypical land of gypsies, bullfighters, jealously, and deception frequently reproduced in French literary and cultural works of the time: "Oh España! ¡España! El pais de los manolós, y de los torerós, y de los perrós falsós" (58). However, when this image of Spain is held up to the mirror of performance for Spanish audiences, it becomes just as ridiculous and distorted as the caricatures of the French proprietor of the hotel and his international guests. As the stereotypes of Spain, France, and other nations are presented and performed side-by-side, they, in a sense, cancel each other out and begin to lose validity. The libretto and, by extension, the audience, then shifts focus to the idea of experience, whether performative or real, of both Madrid and Paris. Saltillo, once anxious about the myriad of cultural and linguistic miscommunications he experiences in Paris, and almost ready to abandon the city to return to Madrid before even attending the fair, now celebrates, alongside his new French acquaintances, both the Spanish and French capitals.

The liminal experience of the journey approaches its conclusion. The devil decides to return to Madrid, while Saltillo stays in Paris. The extensive, three-act work concludes with a visual panorama of the Paris World Fair: "Con este panorama / se acaba la funcion: / volved, señores todos, / á ver la Exposicion" (68).

Conclusions, Contribution, and Relevance

After the performance, Spanish audience members would have continued to view and experience the Paris World Fair through the ongoing reporting of the event in newspapers, journals, and other periodicals. The *Ilustración Española y Americana* (August 15, 1878) is a particularly rich document, full of engravings and accounts related to the *Exposition Universelle*. In this issue, Ángel Fernández de los Ríos (1821–1880) reports from Paris,

> [C]ontinúa la abundancia de espectáculos y diversiones de todo género [. . .] son las aceras un hormiguero constante; son los establecimientos públicos un jubileo á todas horas; se ven trajes y se oyen idiomas de todos los países [. . .] Si el Diablo Cojuelo, tan curioso por saber lo que pasaba en el interior de las casas de Paris, hubiera vivido en estos tiempos, no habria tenido necesidad de andar por los tejados, ni de levantar los techos: con introducirse de incógnito en los nichos de los porteros hubiera sabido al pormenor cuanto se hace y cuanto se dice de bajo ó alto en estas colmenas humanas [. . .]. (94-95)

What becomes clear from the study of the conception, creation, performance, and reception of musico-dramatic works such as *El Diablo Cojuelo* (1878), is that various "texts" intersect and interplay, from popular culture references, to original literary works and their adaptations in other cultural contexts and languages, to newspaper images, articles, announcements, and commentaries, and finally, to published libretti and musical scores. These texts directly engage a variety of "readers" and contribute to a more active understanding in spectators during the moment of performance (and beyond). The performative possibilities of the story of *El Diablo Cojuelo* were adopted by Barbieri, Pina Domínguez, and Ramos Carrión to comment on the relationships between literature, music, and society, the associations between Spanish and French literature and culture, and the events of 1878 in both Madrid and Paris.

The study of the textual and performative histories of *El Diablo Cojuelo* shows us that the story of the devil and the perspectives that s/he is able to offer are a specific and unique cultural lens frequently employed in the Hispanic world with which to view, understand, and critique society. More importantly, I believe that, through the conceptualization, depiction, and performance of issues central to Spanish society in the musico-dramatic work in particular, a burgeoning farcical aesthetic unique to Spanish culture is emphasized and even embraced. This aesthetic harkens back to the origins of Spanish literature and theater, while also indicating a new direction for literary, dramatic, and musico-dramatic works to come, a central concern for writers, librettists, and composers like Barbieri. While this farcical performative presentation does not extend into the grotesque or the tragic, as will be clearly seen later on in Spanish literature through the

works of Ramón María del Valle-Inclán (1866–1936) and beyond, the intersection of the "real" and the supernatural, the unabashed use of colloquial language and caricature, and the practice of presenting social and cultural issues through the use of high contrast, criticism, irony, and satire in this work is significant. It is an important indication that we must look not to just theater, but also to the unique role and position of musical theater as a crucial juncture between literature, music, society, and other arts in creating and contributing to defining aesthetic tendencies and movements for Spanish culture.

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Notes

[1] In line with perspectives offered by Ulrich Weisstein, I approach the libretto as literature and aim to discuss it in relation to other arts and their socio-political and cultural contexts. Traditionally, musico-dramatic works such as *zarzuela* have been perceived as the specialty of musicologists and the study of text has been overshadowed by the study of music (16). I position myself as a literary critic with an interest in broadening perspectives on the nonmusical aspects of these works.

[2] In *Francisco Asenjo Barbieri*, Emilio Casares Rodicio notes that the archive of the *Sociedad General de Autores de España* houses part of the original music of *El Diablo Cojuelo: revista europea* with notes. The music was copied and printed until June 3, 1878, with the Barbieri family still in possession of a copy. The piano and vocal score was also edited in the nineteenth century (474). Casares Rodicio lists the different musical numbers of *El Diablo Cojuelo* on pages 362-63 of his study.

[3] Edwin B. Place notes that there were twenty-one editions of Lesage's *Le Diable boiteux* between 1707 and 1830. Even nineteenth-century Spanish writers imitated Lesage's "French Sketch of Manners and Types" (235-36, 240).

[4] I have left all citations from nineteenth-century texts in the original Spanish of that time. The original texts have both accentual and punctuation anomalies.

[5] The libretto confirms that this work was created and performed by *Los bufos madrileños*, as "Sres. Arderius" are listed as the actors for the main character of Don Pedro Saltillo (replacing Vélez de Guevara's don Cleofás). "Sres. Arderius," refers to Francisco Arderius and his brother and fellow-actor Federico.

[6] Madrid's hippodrome was built in 1877 by Francisco Boguerín (1824–1886) and was unveiled officially on January 31, 1878. Like the bullfighting ring and the festivities of the Royal Court, also depicted later on in Act Two, the hippodrome is the (new) place to be and to be seen in Madrid.

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