THE SPANISH BALLAD IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: A RECONSIDERATION*

ACCORDING to the foremost authority on Spanish balladry, Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the romance in the eighteenth century is all but dead.¹ The traditional poems that had been transmitted orally since the Middle Ages survive only in a latent state, having been replaced in popularity by songs about rogues and criminals.² Intoned in the ballad meter, these "vulgar" poems

* A preliminary version of this study was delivered at the 1978 meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Chicago.

¹ Romancero hispánico (hispano-portugués, americano y sefardí) (Madrid, 1953), II, 246–51, 271, and 273. Menéndez Pidal's opinion has often been echoed. See, for example, N. D. Shergold, ed., Studies of the Spanish and Portuguese Ballad (London, 1972), p. 2, who speaks of the decline of the romance in the eighteenth century. R. G. Havard's contribution to this volume (pp. 111–26), "The romances of Meléndez Valdés," refers to the "Doña Elvira" cycle as an "unexpected return to the traditional type of the fronterizo" (p. 124).

² Serious critical attention is finally being accorded to this neglected body of popular literature. See, especially, Francisco Aguilar Piñal, Romancero popular del siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1972), who declares that the overwhelming quantity of popular ballads printed in the eighteenth century "permite confirmar la enorme aceptación del romance en el siglo xviii como forma poética por excelencia" (p. xii). As Aguilar Piñal points out, the pioneer in this field of inquiry was Julio Caro Baroja; see his anthology, Romances de ciego (Madrid, 1966) and his study Ensayo sobre la literatura de cordel (Madrid, 1969). Of particular relevance to the subject of this article are his observations on "el prestigio y seducción que ejercen las costumbres populares de Andalucía, desde el xviii" (Ensayo, p. 28); see especially Capítulo viii, "Acerca del 'andalucismo,'" (Ensayo, pp. 195–207).

Of related interest are Manuel Alvar, Romances en pliegos de cordel: Siglo XVIII (Málaga, 1974) and El Romancero: Tradición y pervivencia (Barcelona, 1970), where romances de cautivos are described as "la faz negativa de los romances moriscos" (p. 131). The fundamental study by María Cruz García de En-
earned the repeated condemnation of officialdom from mid-century on, until, in 1826, Hermosilla, as the voice of the Establishment, extended the criticism to include all types of ballads.\(^3\)

In such an atmosphere, one might reasonably expect the *romance* as a literary form to have fallen into disuse after its glorious flowering in the Golden Age. Indeed, if one believes, as Menéndez Pidal professes, that the advent of neoclassicism in Spain had the effect of temporarily banishing all nationalistic products, one might reduce the history of the literary ballad in the eighteenth century to a scheme much like this: a scheme that admits only three cultivators of the genre, all of whom, as it happens, deal on occasion with medieval Spanish history. Menéndez Pidal handily accounts for two of these exceptions-to-his-rule, branding García de la Huerta as a “nationalistic” spirit and Meléndez Valdés as an ennobler of the Spanish genre par excellence who foreshadows the nineteenth-century rebirth of native


A lesser known contribution to the study of eighteenth-century popular ballads was kindly called to my attention by John Dowling. It is a lecture by Edward M. Wilson, “Some Spanish Dick Turpins or Bad Men in Bad Ballads” (available on tape from Indiana University’s Media Center). The text has not been edited, and the original has been lost.


\(^3\) See Menéndez Pidal, II, 249–51. Meléndez Valdés, in his capacity as *fiscal*, saw fit to recommend the prohibition of “vulgar” ballads in 1798. It should be noted that at the same time he praised the ancient variety of historical ballads and sought to have the government promote the composition of new *romances* on patriotic themes as a means of instructing while entertaining. See Ángel González Palencia, “Meléndez Valdés y la literatura de cordel,” *RBAM*, 8 (1931), 117–36.
history and legend. The remaining member of the trio, however, causes him some discomfiture. That Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, a writer with unmistakable neoclassical leanings, should have composed several Moorish ballads and even one on a medieval epic theme, leaves the great critic of the Romancero baffled. María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti explains away the mystery by stating that Moratín composed these poems in leisure moments stolen from his primary activity as a literary reformer. Juan Luis Alborg stresses Moratín’s rôle as a pioneer of historicolegndary verse, more than half a century before the Romantics and earlier, too, than Meléndez, while Nigel Glendinning finds evidence in Moratín’s ballads of the author’s support of traditional values.

Should we view this excursion by a champion of neoclassicism into the heart of Spanish national heritage as a fluke, as a link in the chain of that heritage, as a disguise for conveying reactionary ideas, or as something else? Before attempting to answer this question, it will be necessary to take a new look at the body of eighteenth-century cultured poetry in romance meter, particularly the strain with Moorish affiliations.

The first order of business is to dispel the notion that the romance was only rarely cultivated during the Enlightenment. Actually, the form is quite popular. Dorothy Clotelle Clarke, in her assessment of versification in the neoclassic period affirms that “the romance and romancillo forms are abundant and show wide variety. The romance heroico . . . was a favorite meter.” In the three-volume Biblioteca de Autores Españoles anthology of eighteenth-century verse, romances of either the eight- or ele-

4 El moro de Granada en la literatura (del siglo xv al xx) (Madrid, 1956), p. 195. Other eighteenth-century cultivators of romances moriscos are also discussed in this important book.
ven-syllable variety are absent from only seven of the fifty-four authors represented. For its sheer bulk, then, the corpus of literary ballads in the eighteenth century is a force to be reckoned with. To refer to its "extinction," as Menéndez Pidal does, is simply not accurate.

The ballads in the BAE anthology, supplemented by the volume devoted to the Moratín duo, offer a broad thematic spectrum. Most of the topics are so characteristic of the Enlightenment as to be predictable. The pastoral, the anacreontic, the mythological—all are prominent themes played with infinite variations. The utile dulci symphony is another favorite, with such movements as Fable, Epigram, Satire, and Hallelujah Chorus. Popular song appears typically as occasional verse, including the lines penned in the autograph books of certain prominent ladies. Musical theater, too, benefited from the literary ballad, which on occasion supplied the libretto for that curious eighteenth-century creation, the melologue.

The grace notes in this panorama are provided by the ballads on Moorish themes. In them, music as prime mover gives way to narration, often vigorous in character. Dialogue frequently enlivens the scene, which is sometimes painted with rich picturesque detail. In addition to these attractive features, most of the twenty poems, by a total of twelve authors, are free from stylistic excesses, so that their overall effect is one of freshness.

As a group, the eighteenth-century romances moriscos exhibit considerable diversity. Two of them are miniature epics on the fall of Granada. Composed by Vaca de Guzmán and Leandro Fernández de Moratín for a contest sponsored by the Real Academia in 1779, they employ romance heroico and introduce allegori-

9 I have chosen to exclude the multitude of eighteenth-century romancillos in order not to make this study impossibly unwieldy.

10 The popularity of the romance genre is reconfirmed by Cueto's introductory essay on the poetry of the period in the BAE anthology cited above, 1, v-ccxxxvii, where some twenty additional ballad writers are mentioned. At least twelve others appear in the Catalogue that opens Vol. III of the same anthology.


12 In order to avoid an excess of footnotes, all of the romances moriscos under consideration are listed, with their locations in the above-mentioned BAE volumes, in the Appendix to this study, which is organized alphabetically by author. Specific references in the body of the text will be limited to authors and/or titles.
cal figures. Some ballads tell of Moorish military successes; others, of the generosity of Christian victors. There are instances of battles involving only Moors, too—whether as military opponents or as tournament rivals. Plentiful also are the cases of conflicts arising from love, both erotic and familial.

Despite the wide variety that marks these romances moriscos, certain constants are identifiable. Historical accuracy, for example, seems not to have been a concern of their authors. Secondly, the Christians are generally shown in a favorable light, and, even when a ballad’s point of view may be termed pro-Moorish, it never conveys the poignancy of those late medieval romances that are so convincingly pathetic that generations of readers thought they had been composed in the Moorish camp. Finally, the ballads in question share an important leitmotiv, deception.

Deception, under numerous guises and to varying degrees, underlies all twenty of the Moorish ballads, surfacing in one of three ways. Two of these, military strategy and betrayal, are other-directed. The third, self-deception, features characters who are perpetrators and victims at one and the same time.

The tactical use of deception usually occurs as a secondary narrative element. In Villanueva’s “Amete,” a solitary Moor wearing hidden armor sets out to reconnoiter a castle, but is cut down in a surprise attack by its two hundred defenders, thus setting the stage for the ensuing show of grief by the dead hero’s followers. In the “Romance morisco” by Solís, a Moorish warrior, renowned for his valor, surprises his Christian opponent by employing tears rather than arms to secure the release of his beloved. Here the spotlight is on the Castilian leader, who is so moved that he frees his captive, refusing the ransom he is offered. In one segment of the younger Moratín’s Granada epic, military strategy plays a central rôle. Despairing of victory in conventional battle, the Moors resort to arson and back up this ploy with an ambush. The final ballad in this group, Villanueva’s “El robo,” makes deception the mainspring for both its episodes: a surprise attack in the snow on one Christian settlement and the raiding of the grain stores in another, which succeeds thanks to a ruse orchestrated by a Moorish captain. While his retinue carries out the robbery, this clever individual, disguised as a pauper, distracts the Christian guard.

The second category of deception, betrayal, involves the larg-
est number of permutations. Most often it takes the form of broken promises or of failure to fulfill rôle expectations. In only one case, Huerta's "Romance II," does betrayal occur on the battlefield, when Moorish soldiers retreat, leaving their commander alone to face certain death. Two other poems also present the Moors as double-dealing opponents. In Leandro de Moratín's *romance heroico* they are charged with breaking pacts, and in Meléndez' "Doña Elvira" the heroine imagines their taking unfair advantage of her young son. Once, in the elder Moratín's "Amor y honor," a Moorish king is accused of withholding from one of his vassals his just reward. Two fathers, both Moors, betray their daughters' trust. One, in Rodríguez de Arellano's "Abenzulema," plots to "sell" his offspring to a rich but ill-born suitor, despite her love for another man. The other, in Cienfuegos' "Fernando y Elcira," cruelly pursues his daughter and her partner, causing their double suicide from the "peña de los enamorados."  

Doña Elvira's father, on the other hand, chides her for her lack of constancy, religion, and mesura when she gives vent to her sorrow over her son's death in battle. This Castilian nobleman reminds Elvira that her selfish display of sentiment is out of keeping with her rôle as daughter, gentlewoman, and patriot. Lovers are also subject to faithlessness. In the elder Moratín's "Consuelo de una ausencia" constancy in love is threatened by separation, while his "Abdelcadir y Galiana" demonstrates the potentially damaging effect of amorous jealousy. Lobo's "Historia de Medoro y Zelima" portrays a cowardly Moor whose abandonment of his beloved has resulted in her temporary captivity.

In the next group of ballads involving betrayal, Moorish protagonists are exclusively featured. The common element here is the use of lies and of appearances contrary-to-fact. Mohammed, who materializes as a talking statue in Leandro de Moratín's "La toma de Granada," is called a liar by Boabdil after the Prophet's promise of triumph turns out to be an empty one. In Vaca de Guzmán's epic on the same theme, the allegorical figure Furor, in his attempt to prevent a Moorish surrender, impugns the Chris-

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13 For antecedents of this legend, see Carrasco Urgoiti, pp. 76–77, 83, and 97. The author deals with Cienfuegos' version on p. 202. Subsequent references in her book are listed in her index (p. 488) under "Peña de los Enamorados, Leyenda de la."
tians' honesty and claims that, as conquerors, they would rob, kill, rape, and enslave their unfortunate victims. The falsity of this charge is manifest, however, since it comes on the heels of Furor's boasting about past behavior of the Moors in strikingly similar terms, and since Vaca de Guzmán paints the Christians as most generous victors. Another deceitful character is Quintana's enchanted Moressa, whose lying eyes and false promises of celestial delights lure an unsuspecting shepherd into the watery depths that she inhabits—a scenario highly reminiscent of the one used later by Bécquer in his "Los ojos verdes." Much lighter in tone is Villanueva's "Zayde," which portrays a mock battle between rival Moorish bands. Disguise is the key to Lista's "Celima." Here the lady who is the object of the poet's adulation is given Moorish traits, while the narrator identifies himself as "el desterrado del Guadalquivir"—an epithet applicable to Lista himself at one point in his life. The motif of deceptive appearances is found also within the description of Celima, whose lovely eyes are hidden by her veil, whose black tresses snare unsuspecting admirers, and whose cheerful exterior conceals her secret sorrow for someone imprisoned in Baeza "con justicia o sin ella."

Religious infidelity is the third variety of deception-as-betrayal. It occurs, not surprisingly, in the two Granada epics, where the Moors are characterized as infidels-by-definition. In other poems, it appears as a lack of faithfulness to one's religious creed, but the seriousness of the offense is always tempered by its cause: love. Cienfuegos' Fernando and Elcira are guilty of having succumbed to the charms of a partner of the opposite faith. In two of his romances moriscos, Nicolás de Moratín flirts with a similar sort of religious treachery. The hero of "Abdelca-dir y Galiana" harbors the groundless suspicion that his beloved might have accepted a Christian suitor, while the heroine of "Amor y honor" despairingly suggests to her lover that they defect to the Christian camp so that he might avoid the call of

14 Quintana's poem may not have been composed until the period between 1826 and 1829. See Albert Dérozier's edition of Manuel José Quintana, Poéticas completas (Madrid, 1969), pp. 351–54.

duty. Troubled maternal love is the source of the momentary lapse of faith attributed to another heroine, doña Elvira.

The last major category of eighteenth-century Moorish ballads exemplifies self-deception. Most frequently this appears as imprudence. In her reverie doña Elvira imagines her son rushing impetuously into the fray and bemoans her own lack of foresight in having allowed him to embark on a military career at such a tender age. In the event, her fears prove to be well-founded, since the youth, like his father before him, meets with death on the battlefield. Another rash soldier is Huerta’s “presuroso” Hizán, who departs his lady’s bedchamber to join his regiment and is mortally wounded. The heroine, who has been watching from a tower, collapses in sorrow and dies. A second pair of lovers who fall victim to imprudence are Fernando and Elcira. When “amor falso” lulls them into a sense of security, they throw caution to the winds, and, after their affair is discovered by her father, they must resort to suicide in order to remain together. Similarly, Quintana’s shepherd, by ignoring the taboo attached to a particular fountain, becomes the prey of the enchanted Mooress who dwells there. The refrain that punctuates Cienfuegos’ “Canción” could serve as a résumé of the error of all these characters, which he calls carelessness in the case of warriors and imprudence when lovers are involved. This ballad\(^\text{16}\) counsels soldiers and lovers to avoid the dangers of treason, surprise attacks, and hidden traps, citing such examples as the nightingale caught off guard by the cunning sparrow hawk and the king of beasts, snared while in pursuit of his hunter.

The final two ballads involving self-deception portray cases of arrogance. In Vaca de Guzmán’s “Granada rendida” the downfall of the Moors is seen as divine retribution for their abuse of power, which has been the cause of both regal fratricide and usurpation of the throne. Abenhamet, the hero of Cienfuegos’ “Canción guerrera,” delivers a harangue to his troops predicting certain victory. After boasting about past Moorish achievements, he attempts to rally his outnumbered men by spelling out

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the rewards they will receive for bravery (fame and garlands woven by Granada’s beauties) as well as the punishments in store for cowards (love will be their enemy; the fatherland, their executioner). This somewhat conventional monologue gains greatly in poetic effect through the periodic repetition of the song which serves as its introduction. In praise of Abenhamet, this song, whose final lines are a lament by the distant city of Jaén prophesying the fall of her mighty towers, imbues the entire ballad with pathetic irony.

Granted that deception is a constant feature of eighteenth-century romances moriscos, can its ubiquity shed any light on the very occurrence of the genre during the Enlightenment? In my opinion, it can. The inclusion of this important leitmotiv allowed poets to indulge in flights of fancy (the special brand of Oriental exoticism generated by evoking Granada) while still keeping both feet firmly planted on the ground (the problematic reality of eighteenth-century Spain). This blend of levity and gravity apparently held an irresistible appeal for writers of the period.17

The function of the most readily discernible characteristic of the Moorish ballad, its setting, is to add a decorative touch to the narrative essence of the poem. This particular source of esthetic delight (the second element of Horace’s “utile dulci”) can be seen, furthermore, as a manifestation of a general European fascination with things “Eastern,”18 the fruit of glowing reports from missionaries to the Orient. Chinese export porcelain was in demand, and the pseudo-Oriental epistolary genre, at the hands of

17 Cf. Michel Dubuis, “La ‘gravité espagnole’ et le ‘sérieux’; Recherches sur le vocabulaire de Cadalso et de ses contemporains,” BH, 76 (1974), 5–91. In this penetrating study, “l’union du sérieux et de la grace” is proposed as “une image idéalement représentative du Siècle des Lumières” (p. 85). My use of the word “gravity,” incidentally, is not meant to carry any of the satirical overtones that Dubuis finds attached to “grave/gravedad” in eighteenth-century texts.

See also Frank Pierce, “The Canto Épico of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” HR, 15 (1947), 1–48. According to this critic, who points out that “the hardy romance lived through all the storms of the time” (p. 14), Luáñ’s Juicio de París renovado “constitutes a nice combination of reason and fancy” (p. 24, italics mine).

such cultivators as Goldsmith, Montesquieu, and Cadalso, became fashionable.\textsuperscript{19}

In Spain the literary response to the appetite for Oriental exoticism was both anomalous and typical. It was unusual in its preference for a native locale—the area identifiable as Moslem Spain—over a more geographically remote East.\textsuperscript{20} This change of scene, however, did not alter the basic effect of the Oriental motif. Moors, as well as Chinese, Turks, or Persians, could be colorful, dramatic, even spectacular. As elements of bizarre adornment, all were equally attractive. In addition, any of them could be construed as the literary embodiment of a real-life figure: the reveler at a popular eighteenth-century diversion, the masquerade.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, the Moorish setting in a ballad, like its Oriental equivalent in other genres, and like the ball-goer’s disguise, can be viewed as an instance of escapism.

The dominant theme of the \textit{romances moriscos}, deception, is

\textsuperscript{19} See Russell P. Sebold, \textit{Cadalso: El primer romántico "europeo" de España} (Madrid, 1974), especially pp. 198–203. In his outline of the epistolary genre in the eighteenth century in Europe (p. 36) Sebold concludes with a reference to the many letters contained in the journal \textit{El Pensador matritense}. As Glendinning points out, the editor of this periodical, José Clavijo y Fajardo, “adopts Addison’s technique of incorporating fictional letters from imaginary people (sometimes of exotic Oriental origin) into his weekly articles” (p. 44). It is interesting to note that one of the lost works by eighteenth-century Spain’s most gifted poet was entitled \textit{Cartas de Ibrahim}; see Meléndez Valdés, \textit{Poesías}, ed. Pedro Salinas (Madrid, 1925; rpt. 1965); p. xxxii, and Russell P. Sebold, “El texto de una de las perdidas \textit{Cartas de Ibrahim} de Meléndez Valdés,” in \textit{El rapto de la mente. Poética y poesía dieciochesca} (Madrid, 1970), pp. 257–64.

\textsuperscript{20} In his discussion of the dramatic treatment of the Covadonga legend in the eighteenth century, José Caso González draws attention to the epoch’s “morofilia.” See his “El comienzo de la reconquista en tres obras dramáticas,” in \textit{El P. Feijoo y su siglo}, CCF 3, No. 18 (1966), 499–509, especially p. 505, n. 4. There are, however, notable exceptions to the use of native exoticism. The Conde de Noroña, for example, translated some \textit{Poesías asiáticas}; see J. Fitzmaurice Kelly, “Noroña’s \textit{Poesías asiáticas},” \textit{Revue Hispanique}, 18 (1908), 439–67. Popular drama also exemplified an interest in the non-Spanish Oriental figure. Some idea of this vogue can be gained from the discussions of the Soliman play cycles by René Andioc, \textit{Teatro y sociedad en el Madrid del siglo XVIII} (Madrid, 1976), and by I. L. McClelland, \textit{Spanish Drama of Pathos 1750–1808}, 2 vols. (Liverpool, 1970); see the “Soliman” entries in the index of both works.

\textsuperscript{21} Andioc mentions the custom of masquerade balls (p. 72) and treats the decorative and escapist functions of exotic disguises in drama (pp. 52, 72–73, and 96).
particularly suited to a poetic world whose scenic component depends on disguise or on a "let's-pretend" attitude in author and reader/listener. The sources and functions of the theme, however, are quite different from those of the setting. They are serious and realistic rather than light-hearted and escapist. They, along with the timeless appeal of the exotic, are what will explain the sprouting of the Moorish ballad in what might be (and has been) considered the inhospitable soil of eighteenth-century Spain.

Poets of the period, by prominently featuring deception in this genre, were, consciously or unconsciously, following in the footsteps of their medieval predecessors. Many of the early frontier ballads appear to have been designed, at least in part, to illustrate the art of survival in time of war. This built-in didactic feature of the romance morisco must have seemed "made to order" to writers of the Age of Reason, fulfilling as it did the primary member of the Horatian motto "utile dulci." Of course eighteenth-century authors modified the nature of the genre's lesson, in accordance with the new set of vital circumstances that marked their own historical age. Their concern was not, like that of a number of their forerunners, to instruct the citizenry on military strategy, but rather to alert the populace to the need for analytical thinking and critical reasoning in an atmosphere of deceptive appearances.

If the fifteenth-century romance fronterizo can be dubbed "true to life," its eighteenth-century counterpart is no less so. There is, however, one important difference between the two. The term is

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23 See Birutė Cipliauskaite, "Lo nacional en el siglo XVIII español," Archivum, 22 (1972), 99–121. As part of her (convincing) argument that the eighteenth century forms part of a historical continuum rather than representing a rebellion against tradition, this critic points out that both the writers of the Enlightenment and the members of the Generation of 1898 "ponen mucho énfasis en el 'examen': de hechos, de causas, de la historia nacional" (p. 120).
literally accurate for the former, while figuratively so for the latter. The medieval variety depicts events contemporaneous with it: war, the demise of an empire, the behavior of figures of authority and of their followers. Its successor deals with the same scenario, but from a vantage several centuries distant. The degree of historical veracity in this eighteenth-century re-creation of the Reconquest is immaterial for present purposes. What is significant is the authenticity of this poetic universe as a symbolic equivalent of the *Siglo de las Luces*.

Eighteenth-century Spaniards, like their fifteenth-century compatriots, were troubled with wars, political upheavals, and questions about the proper uses of authority. Onto this complex stage, enter the Author, eager to fuse instruction and esthetic enjoyment and to serve the noble cause of truth. It seems only natural that he would select as a favorite didactic tool that ingredient of his country’s heritage that would allow him to reflect his environment by creating an attractive metaphorical reality. Thus he composed the Moorish ballad, a poetic *tour de force* employing an exotic world of *engaño* to camouflage the serious message of *desengaño*.

On a more intimate level, the little scenes of deception that fill the *romances moriscos* seem a perfect echo of the real-life dramas of some of the eighteenth century’s most illustrious inhabitants. It is with a wry smile that we realize the ultimate irony of the Moorish ballad’s popularity in the Age of Reason. How exquisitely appropriate that a genre that demonstrates the ravages of deception and appears designed to foment its eradication, should itself be the work of individuals who were themselves at times—

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24 C. Colin Smith accepts the historicity of the *fronterizo* ballads, with some qualifications. In his edition of *Spanish Ballads* (Oxford, 1964), he points out (p. 114): “Although literary historians have doubted whether these ballads can be fully contemporary with the events they describe, we may accept Menéndez Pidal’s view that they are ‘expresión espontánea del sentimiento público, nacidos al calor de los acontecimientos que cantan’ if we add that many have suffered later accretions and reworking.”

25 It is instructive to compare here Pierce’s explanation of the popularity of the *canto épico* in the eighteenth century. He believes that it “was peculiarly fitted to express the rather less ambitious and more tempered heroic inspiration of an age that had long since outlived the compelling influence of Lepanto and the wars of religion” (p. 4).
some as polemists, others as political pawns—the victims and/or the perpetrators of betrayal, trickery, or self-delusion.

How, then, are we to take these eighteenth-century survivors of a Spanish medieval genre? Are they relics of the past or fore-shadowings of the future (i.e., the Romantic revival of native legend)? Are they art as play or art for instruction? Escapist or committed? Motivated by personal considerations or social ones? Poetry or history? They are all of the above, and therein lies their enduring appeal. Therein, too, resides the explanation for the disparate reactions they have elicited among modern critics. By heeding the lesson implicit in the eighteenth-century romance morisco, that is, by shunning the simplistic conclusion and recognizing the rich complexity of the Spanish ballad tradition, today's reader may at least win the occasional skirmish with that ever-present opponent, deception.

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APPENDIX OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Álvarez de Cienfuegos, Nicasio

BAE 67, p. 32 Canción.

BAE 67, p. 34 Canción guerrera.

BAE 67, p. 34 Fernando y Elcira. Romance.

Fernández de Moratín, Leandro

BAE 2, p. 573 La toma de Granada por los reyes católicos don Fernando y doña Isabel. Romance endecasílabo.

Fernández de Moratín, Nicolás

BAE 2, p. 8 Romance i: Amor y honor.

BAE 2, p. 8 Romance ii: Consuelo de una ausencia.

BAE 2, p. 9 Romance iii: Abdelcadir y Galiana.

García de la Huerta, Vicente

BAE 61, p. 233 Romance (Imitación de don Luis de Góngora).

BAE 61, p. 234 Romance ii.

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