Hernando de Talavera on Conduct: Cultural Hegemony in Post-Conquest Granada

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Over forty years ago, Giovanni Maria Bertini praised Hernando de Talavera as one of the pre-eminent spiritual authors of the fifteenth century and best vernacular prose authors of the Spanish "pre-Renaissance." Since then, his prolific oeuvre has rarely attracted more than passing mention, if at all, in modern inventories of medieval Castilian literature (such as Alvar and Lucía Megías). The reasons for scholarly neglect of his work are not difficult to imagine: first, most of his writings treat issues of religious polemic, moral theology, ethics, or conduct for which there are few peers in the medieval Castilian corpus; second, his long career of service to the Castilian crown vastly overshadows, for modern historians, his contributions as a vernacular author. This essay assesses the contribution of three works by Talavera to the medieval European corpus of moral and ethical literature, and concludes with a suggestion to understanding their value as theoretical justifications for the forced assimilation of Muslim Granada after its annexation to Castile in 1492.

To begin with the contribution of Talavera's work to the medieval corpus of Latin and vernacular conduct literature: depending on how broadly one defines this body of material, it embraces a plethora of genres, ranging from wisdom literature and treatises on moral theology or pastoral care to "mirrors for princes," manuals of chivalry, courtesy books, advice from parents to children, guides to estate management, monastic rules, and many other specialized texts of instruction on behavior (Ashley and Clark; Johnston, *Medieval Conduct*). Examples of conduct literature appear in virtually every period of the European Middle Ages, but proliferated in the vernacular languages especially after the thirteenth century. Medieval Castilian includes some notable "mirrors for princes" (Nogales Rincón; Rucquoi and Bizzarri) and many works of wisdom literature (Haro Cortés; Ramadori), but few specialized texts such as manuals of chivalry, courtesy books, treatises on pastoral care, and so forth. The examples most commonly cited in literary histories are the *Libro del cavallero et del escudero* of Juan Manuel and the anonymous fifteenth-century *Castigos y dotrinas que un sabio dava a sus hijas*. Of the other, more specialized genres, scarcely half a dozen individual treatises exclusively focused on conduct exist in Castilian.

Three of these treatises came from the pen of Hernando de Talavera, who included them in a collection of his writings printed at Granada in 1496,[1] where he was serving as the newly-acquired Muslim territory's first archbishop. Talavera presumably published this

collection as a guide to pastoral care for the clergy of his new archdiocese, as is clear from the table of contents (RAH 3–4) for the entire volume:

1. *Breue y muy prouechosa doctrina de lo que deue saber todo christiano* (RAH 21–36)
2. *Confessional o auisacion de todas las maneras en que podemos pecar contra los diez mandamientos* (RAH 39–151)
3. *Breue tractado de como auemos de restituyr y satisfazer de todas maneras de cargo* (RAH 152–66)
4. *Breue y muy prouechoso tractado de como auemos de comulgar* (RAH 167–211)
5. *Muy prouechoso tractado contra el murmurar y dezir mal de otro en su absencia que es gran pecado y muy vsado* (RAH 212–50)
6. *Deuoto tractado de lo que representan y nos dan a entender las cerimonias de la missa* (RAH 254–310)
7. *Solazoso y prouechoso tractado contra la demasia de vestir y de calçar y de comer y de beuer* (RAH 314–414)
8. *Prouechoso tractado de como deuemos auer mucho cuydado de espender muy bien el tiempo y en que manera lo auemos de espender para que no se pierda momento* [letter to María Pacheco, Countess of Benavente] (RAH 419–62)

Among the eight separate works compiled in this volume, the three treatises on conduct (items 5, 7, and 8) seem almost anomalous, if not incongruous, contributions in a guide to pastoral care. Written earlier in Talavera's career for different audiences and occasions, they offer very diverse kinds of moral and ethical guidance. The *Tractado de como deuemos espender el tiempo* is a letter of advice on the management of daily affairs, composed in the 1470s for María Pacheco, Countess of Benavente; the *Tractado contra la demasia de vestir y de calçar y de comer y de beuer* defends sumptuary laws proposed by the city of Valladolid in 1477; and the *Tractado contra el murmurar y maldezir* is an undated theological treatise against slander. Much conduct literature, in both Latin and the vernaculars, has the reputation of being derivative, poorly organized, and badly written. However, all three of these works by Hernando de Talavera are noteworthy as very readable, thanks to their stylistic sophistication; their careful argumentation; and their illustration of how texts on behavior could serve as interventions in specific social, political, and economic circumstances.

Hernando de Talavera

Before reviewing these three texts by Talavera, it may be useful to recall that he was one of the most influential—and today most neglected—historical figures of fifteenth-century Spain. A brief summary of his life can scarcely do justice to his importance in the political affairs of Castile under the Catholic Monarchs. He was born around 1430 of humble and probably *converso* origins. No known documentation conclusively supports the claims regarding his *converso* heritage, but Coleman (83–84), assessing the consensus of modern scholarship on this question, concludes that the lack of proof probably confirms such an assumption. Suberbiola Martínez does not hesitate to cite Talavera's converso background as an explanation for his later choices of political allies (51, 61, 62, 101, 136, 268, and

passim). Data about Talavera's early life is almost wholly conjectural, but upon reaching adolescence he was able, with support from Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the powerful Lord of Oropesa, to study at the University of Salamanca, where he eventually became a professor of moral theology. In 1466 Talavera abruptly abandoned this academic post to join the Hieronymite Order. He quickly rose to prominence among the *Gerónimos*, gaining fame as a compelling preacher and effective reformer at the order's important monastery of Santa María del Prado in Valladolid (Resines Llorente). The court of Isabel was resident in Valladolid at this time, and Talavera's talents evidently attracted the Queen's notice, which led to his recruitment into royal service around 1475 or 1476. Talavera subsequently served for over twenty years as Isabel's personal confessor, acting also as one of her chief political operatives. He played a decisive role in some of the major events and initiatives of her reign, such as: leading the struggle to recover royal rents and privileges previously abandoned to the nobility (the notorious *mercedes enriqueñas*); chairing the commission that evaluated Columbus's plans for overseas exploration; negotiating with the papacy royal control over the future Church of Granada (the *Real Patronato*); and finally, serving for fifteen years as the first Archbishop of Granada after the Muslim kingdom's surrender to Castile in 1492. He died in 1507, just as a papal review exonerated his archiepiscopal household from harsh inquisitorial charges of "judaizing," accusations almost surely engineered by the many lay and ecclesiastical enemies that he attracted in his long career of service to the crown, as Suberbiola Martínez suggests (125, 253, 268, and 272–73).

The vast scope of Talavera's activity during the reign of Isabel and Fernando is probably the main reason that we still have no full account of his career by any modern historian. Almost fifty years ago, Azcona noted in his biography of Isabel that modern scholarship "no [le] ha dedicado todavía la atención que merece" (226). Since then, knowledge of his career has advanced piecemeal, beginning with research published in 1960–1961 by the late Francisco Márquez Villanueva, who made Talavera's religious polemic *Cathólica impugnación* the best-known of his many writings to modern readers. More recently, Suberbiola Martínez and Vega García-Ferrer have produced excellent detailed studies of his archiepescopal administration and liturgical works, with new analyses of his biographical data. The 1992 quincentenary of Granada's surrender to Castile also inspired several publications and republications of works about Talavera, but these contributed almost no new information, often imitating the quasi-hagiographical perspective of early modern biographies, such as the *Vida* composed by his former aide, Alonso Fernández de Madrid. For brief, reliable accounts of his career, interested readers may consult Quintín Aldea's introduction to his edition of Talavera's will and Ladero Quesada's essay "De la corte a la misión," which provides a well-balanced appreciation of Talavera's efforts as Archbishop of Granada.

Talavera's importance as a political figure in fifteenth-century Castile, even if imperfectly studied, has largely eclipsed his contributions to the vernacular literature of the era. He wrote some two dozen works in Castilian, all featuring the same easy, but elegant prose praised by Bertini. Talavera's style probably reflects the humanist affinities and ideals that he imbibed while studying at Salamanca: his first known work, done as a student, was a Castilian translation of Petrarch's invective *Contra medicum quendam*, made

for his patron, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo. The large personal library that Talavera left on his death included many volumes of works by Classical and Italian Humanist authors.

Carta a la Condesa de Benavente

Of Talavera's three works on conduct, the best known today is his letter to María Pacheco, eldest daughter of the Castilian magnate Juan Pacheco, who married her in 1466 to Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel, Count of Benavente (Marino 121, 177). The circumstances of Talavera's letter are obvious from its preface: the Countess requested guidance regarding the orderly conduct of her daily affairs, and he complied by writing this missive (RAH 421–22). At the time, Talavera was evidently her "confessor" and "chaplain," as the letter indicates (RAH 419, 462). Ignoring this mention of his role, Codet conjectures that Talavera wrote the letter during the first years of his service to Isabel, when Pacheco's husband was a prisoner in Portugal, because the letter never mentions the count's role in managing their estate (1, 12). However, Talavera's text nowhere invokes this circumstance, and advice on estate management for aristocratic women was commonplace in conduct literature. Talavera's focus on María Pacheco's duties is therefore not conclusive evidence for dating the text, which probably predates his service to Isabel.

The letter to María Pacheco survives in two witnesses: an early, undated manuscript version and the text printed at Granada in 1496.[2] The two versions are essentially identical in their content. The lone substantive difference is replacement of the manuscript text's division into sections (in the manner of a learned treatise) with a simpler division into serial chapters for the printed version. Apart from variations in orthography, virtually all other differences between the manuscript text and the 1496 printed edition are stylistic. In its genre and style, Talavera's letter to María Pacheco is among the least academic of his writings, but still displays characteristics of a scholastic *quaestio*, most obviously in the original manuscript version's division of the text into topical sections. As one might expect from someone who began his career teaching moral theology, Talavera poses and answers questions, counters objections, and typically offers a final judgment on each issue that he treats.

Modern scholars have frequently mined this text for nuggets of colorful detail about courtly culture. Many more have cited it as a manifesto of late medieval anti-feminism, citing the now notorious sentence "[es] cosa natural y mucho razonable que la muger, que comunmente como tiene flaco el cuerpo y mucho menor el esfuerço, assi no tiene tan complida discrecion, sigua y obedesca el seso y querer del varon, que en todo es mas perfecto. Ca es ley general que todas las cosas inferiores & menores sean mouidas & regidas por las superiores & mayores" (RAH 433). Equally commonplace in modern scholarship is the claim that Talavera's letter seeks to impose a quasi-religious regimen on the life of an aristocratic woman. This interpretation, evidently initiated decades ago by Oñate y Pérez (33–36), continues to appear in recent studies: Codet argues that Talavera prescribes a "monastic" (*conventual*) lifestyle for the Countess (9); Strosetzki cites the letter as an example of "ascetic" guides to conduct (32–33). As I have argued elsewhere, these characterizations as "anti-feminist" and "monastic" are at worst, simply wrong, and at best, an incomplete reading of Talavera's text, because they ignore the structure of his advice to the Countess (Johnston, "Theology of Self-Fashioning"). He specifically tells María

Pacheco that she owes to God only a tithe of her daily time, which he therefore calculates at no more than 2.5 hours per day for all spiritual activities, and that a clerical schedule of devotion "es para los ecclesiasticos, mas non para vuestro estado" (RAH 441–42 , 445). Moreover, after the declaration of woman's natural servitude, just cited, Talavera goes on to argue very carefully that her obligations to God, the Church, and the Crown supersede submission to her husband the count (RAH 451), and then explains in detail how she must fulfill these higher obligations in her daily duties (RAH 452–59).

Overall, Talavera's letter offers a careful defense of the Countess's right to craft for herself the daily regimen appropriate to her *estado*. The result is a work that "theorizes," as we might say today, a female aristocrat's conduct according to basic principles of moral theology. Talavera provides an unusually coherent model for María Pacheco's ongoing self-fashioning of her role as a noblewoman and realization of her individual agency in that role. As such, Talavera's letter to María Pachecho is one of the most concise and cogent texts of its era regarding the social, moral, economic, and cultural status of aristocratic women. Since Talavera evidently composed this work just before entering the service of Isabel, it's tempting to wonder whether it influenced her decision to appoint him as her confessor. María Pacheco was already, at this time, a principal lady-in-waiting at Isabel's court, and perhaps served as intermediary for Talavera's introduction to the Queen. If so, his letter to María Pacheco became, *de facto*, his "job application" for royal service.

Contra la demasía

Of the three works on conduct that Talavera published in 1496, his treatise *Contra la demasía* deserves notice as one of the most detailed contributions to the literature of sumptuary laws in late medieval Europe (González Arce), but is also equally difficult to understand as relevant to the pastoral care or evangelization of Granada's predominantly Muslim population in 1496. Originally written in 1477, at the request of the city council of Valladolid, the treatise defends the council's adoption of ordinances restricting certain new female fashions, especially *caderas* (thigh padding), *gorgueras* (neck-pieces, "bibs") and *verdugos* (skirt hoops, "farthingales"), which had evidently become popular at Isabel's court in Valladolid at this time. The treatise also criticizes many other novelties of dress and footwear among courtiers of both sexes. Talavera defends the municipal regulation of excesses in fashion with analogies to prohibitions against immoderate eating and drinking, as defined in received moral theology on the sin of gluttony. Nonetheless, the treatise's very specific details about extravagant court dress (especially among women) would have been irrelevant to most of Granada's Muslim population after 1492: almost all of the kingdom's Muslim nobles had fled the peninsula in late 1493 with Boabdil (Coleman 38–39; Elliott 50; Garrido Aranda 105); few of its remaining inhabitants (most from rural areas) would have had any experience with the courtly fashions that Talavera censures. *Contra la demasía* also frequently cites precepts of Christian moral theology, with copious examples from Scripture, Patristic literature, and the lives of saints, none of which were likely to have enjoyed much persuasive force for Muslim audiences unfamiliar with these authorities.

As a result, virtually all modern scholars have struggled to understand why Talavera republished *Contra la demasía* at Granada in 1496. Teresa de Castro, the most recent

editor of this treatise, conjectures that its strictures regarding excessive eating and drinking explain its relevance:

> La preocupación del arzobispo de Granada por las cuestiones alimentarias estaba totalmente vigente en las fechas en las que compiló esta obra. De hecho, entre 1492 y 1499 estuvo directamente dedicado a desarrollar su política de integración de los conversos, en la cual era imprescindible la eliminación de sus peculiaridades alimentarias. (Castro 15)

Castro's suggestion is historically premature: the task of assimilating Granada's Muslims did not become urgent until after the mass baptisms of 1500, and of course remained a source of conflict throughout the sixteenth century. More relevant, perhaps, is Pereda's observation about the treatise's broad claims regarding the right of civil and ecclesiastical authorities to regulate conduct. Pereda conjectures that

> No puede ser enteramente casual, que en estos mismo momentos Talavera rescatara del olvido para la imprenta un "Tratado sobre el vestir, calzar y comer" que había escrito años atrás, el cual comenzaba subrayando precisamente que los súbitos e inferiores tienen simplemente la obligación de obedecer los mandamientos de sus gobernantes en estas cuestiones de costumbres. (275)

Contra la demasía opens and closes by vigorously justifying the duty of secular and clerical leaders to control behavior, and of inferiors to obey their superiors, claims applicable both to Granada's existing Muslim population and to the Christian colonists who soon arrived to exploit the opportunities for enrichment and advancement available in the new territory (Coleman 13–31; Galán Sánchez). Talavera supports in two ways his claims about the right of authorities to legislate behavior. First, he repeatedly invokes Christian providential history as the exemplar of all "natural, necessary, and reasonable" human customs. Second, as noted above, he appeals to conventional Christian moral theology regarding gluttony as a paradigm for the definition of sinful behavior in dress and footwear. Introduction of this paradigm leads him to present a rather startling warning about *convivencia*, based on the Biblical example of Noah's Ark: the creatures gathered by Noah into the Ark co-existed harmoniously, without devouring one another, because God miraculously furnished them a special diet of *fructas secas*, while at the same time suspending the natural instincts of the carnivores to prey upon the herbivores (Castro 37). Talavera applies this story to the Muslims and Jews of Castile, admonishing them to accept the providential nourishment of the Christian covenant, or risk literally being devoured within the new Castilian state (Johnston, "Gluttony and Convivencia").

Contra el maldezir

Finally, Talavera's treatise on slander, *Contra el maldezir*, is also noteworthy as a contribution to the European literature on conduct: it is one of very few Latin or vernacular texts specifically devoted to a single "sin of the tongue" (*vitium linguae*). Recognized as an eighth capital sin until the end of the thirteenth century (Bloomfield 124–26), the *vitia*

linguae were the subject of some of the most acerbic works of late medieval moral theology on conduct and behavior (Casagrande and Vecchio). Because Talavera's treatise includes no internal references to the circumstances of its composition, and because there are no known previous manuscript witnesses, it is almost impossible to know when, where, or why he composed this text.

Like so many of Talvera's writings on moral theology, his treatise on slander offers a well-written summary of received doctrine. Its structure seems, however, a bit old-fashioned: Talavera organizes his arguments about slander with reference to its implication in each of the seven capital sins. By the late fifteenth century, it was more common for popularizing accounts of moral theology to organize their arguments through explication of the Decalogue (Bossy). Some of Talavera's later writings, such as the *Confessional* included in the 1496 volume (RAH 39–151), do exactly this. *Contra el maldezir* offers no new doctrines on the *vitia linguae*, but instead simply synthesizes essential distinctions widely available from canonical authorities such as Aquinas (*Summa Theologiae* 2a.2ae.72–76) to popular manuals of pastoral care, such as Guido de Monte Rochen's handbook for curates. For example, the first chapter offers the usual equation of slander with theft or murder, while the fourth rehearses the common doctrine that slander derives chiefly from the mortal sin of envy (Diekstra). Unlike the *Confessional* and other treatises in the 1496 volume, which include very few quotations of sources, *Contra el maldezir* bristles with citations from biblical, Patristic, and medieval authorities. Although Talavera's own library included works by many of the authors cited in *Contra el maldezir*, it is unlikely that he combed their individual pages seeking precepts on the *vitia linguae*. He almost surely found his citations pre-assembled in some popular guide to moral theology or pastoral care. His personal library (Aldea) included two copies of Guillaume Perault's mammoth *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*, as well as a copy of his contemporary Angelus de Clavasio's *Summa de casibus conscientiae*, a "best-seller" of its era, noteworthy for its careful qualifications of the conditions of the *vitium linguae* of mendacity (Sommerville). Modern readers can still find many of the same examples and quotations cited by Talavera in websites that offer spiritual counsel or Christian ethical guidance ("Sins of the Tongue").

In short, the treatise has the look and feel of a theological tractate written specifically for educating clergy. It may have been something that he wrote in the early years of his career, when he labored to reform the Hieronymite Order: Vargas's study of Aragonese Dominican houses in the fourteenth century makes it easy to understand the need to impose basic controls on disruptive social behavior in the religious houses of late medieval Spain. But it's also impossible not to conjecture that Talavera may have considered slander an especially urgent problem to address in the highly conflictive social and economic circumstances of Granada after 1492. Once again, understanding this relevance requires careful attention to the exact argumentation of Talavera's treatise. Such a careful reading suggests at least two possible interpretations.

The first, which I have detailed elsewhere (Johnston, "Seducing Slander"), involves Talavera's opening explanation that slander is the verbal equivalent of theft and murder. By 1496, strife between the Muslim inhabitants and Christian colonists of Granada had become acute, prompting a stream of legislation from municipal authorities who sought to control especially the economic interaction between these populations (Galán

Sánchez; Peinado Santaella). It's not difficult to imagine that Talavera, preaching from his pulpit as the spiritual leader of this divided community, would seek to address the verbal manifestations of this strife by recommending that everyone "lower the volume" or "hold their tongues" in the conduct of their daily affairs.

The second possible interpretation involves the Biblical *exempla* that Talavera cites in his treatise, specifically those that involve what Jeremy Cohen has famously dubbed the "hermeneutical Jew." *Contra el maldezir* cites some twenty examples of slander from the Old Testament and fourteen more from the New Testament. Of these, thirty explicitly concern Hebrew characters; fourteen specifically cite the Jewish Pharisees as negative examples. Nirenberg has argued that, by the late Middle Ages, the Pharisees and other "hermeneutical Jews" became tropes in accusations of "judaizing." Such charges, he suggests, were especially powerful as expressions of "a latent potential, under particular conditions of conflict, for the violent release" of resistance to sovereign authority (137). For Hernando de Talavera, struggling to manage the competing demands of royal expectations about the assimilation of Granada's Muslims with the reality of social and economic conflict in his new archbishopric, *Contra el maldezir* perhaps offered his best, albeit oblique, caution to his critics, a warning to them not to repeat the errors of the Pharisees (such as the *vitia linguae* of falsehood, calumny, insinuation, back-biting, and so forth) in the intrigues of court politics from which Talavera was now absent. Of course, it is equally difficult to ignore the historical irony that Talavera and his staff became subject to charges of "judaizing" upon the demise in 1504 of his patron and protector, Queen Isabel, after Talavera had served decades as a loyal and ardent agent of sovereign authority.

Conclusion

Within the 1496 edition of his writings, Talavera's arguments from *Contra la demasía* provide perhaps the best insights into the relevance of his three texts on conduct to the circumstances of post-conquest Granada. His insistence on the obedience of subjects to their rulers makes Talavera an advocate of the authoritarian models of government argued explicitly by his Castilian contemporaries Juan de Torquemada and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo (Watts). They also offer a possible answer to a question that has perplexed modern historians: how could Talavera, usually considered a proponent of pacific evangelization and non-violent assimilation of Castile's religious minorities, assent so easily to the forced baptisms mandated by Cardinal Cisneros in 1500? Pastore, casting Talavera as a hero of resistance to inquisitorial zeal, has described the intervention of Cisneros in 1499 as "un colpo mortale alla politica de moderazione e tolleranza che Talavera e Tendilla avevano deciso fin ad allora" (115). Nonetheless, Garrido Aranda emphasized decades ago that Talavera and Cisneros shared the same general ideals of religious reform, and so the ultimate common objective of their diverse tactics was hardly surprising (66). Ladero Quesada has declared more definitively that the implementation of Cisneros's harsh tactics of forced conversion were impossible without the "consentimiento al menos genérico" of Talavera (342), who simply acceded to the dictates of the Crown. Most recently, Coleman has reprised this hypothesis, emphasizing Talavera's role as a "subservient political operative of the crown" and hence as a willing instrument of its plans, however crudely realized, for achieving national unity (85).

The very specific topics of Talavera's three treatises on conduct—an aristocratic lady's management of her daily affairs, civic regulation of immoderate fashions and consumption, and censure of slander—may not seem immediately relevant to the evangelization of Muslim Granada in 1496, but combined with the works on catechizing and pastoral care in the printed volume of his works, they define a broad model, based on common principles of Christian moral theology, for imposing social and cultural conformity upon the newly-acquired Muslim territory. As a one-time professor of moral theology, Talavera understandably invokes basic tenets of Christian doctrine to justify norms of behavior and conduct. However, his arguments perform two ideological gestures: on the one hand, they subsume those norms into moral theology, so that they have no independent authority apart from divine law; on the other hand, they also elevate those norms to the level of theological doctrine, thus making it harder to dismiss local customs as acceptable deviations from accepted behavior. For the Muslims of post-conquest Granada, all their habits, practices, and rituals are now subject to scrutiny for their conformity with Christian moral theology. This comprehensive mandate to conform is obvious from the document known as the "Memorial," a seemingly draconian decree that Talavera issued sometime after 1500 to Granada's newly-converted Muslims. The "Memorial" begins by enumerating the Christian religious practices that the *moriscos* must now adopt:

> Lo primero que oluideys toda çerimonia y toda cosa morisca en oraciones en ayunos en pasquas y en fiestas y en nasçimentos de criaturas y en bodas, y en baños, en mortuorios y en todas las otras cosas.
>
> Que todos sepays y fagays que sepan vuestras mugeres e vuestros fijos e fijas grandes y pequeños sygnar y santiguar y entrar y estar en la yglesia y tomar alli agua bendita y desir pater noster y aue maria y credo y adorar alli a nuestro Señor en la Santa Misa y adorar la Santa Cruz y hazer a las ymagenes la reuerençia que les es deuida.
>
> Que procuren confesar y comulgar y confeseys y comulgueys y fagays confesar y comulgar a vuestras mugeres y a todos los de vuestras casas.
>
> Que procureys que vuestras criaturas sean bautizados a los ocho dias y antes sy vieredes ques menester.
>
> Que procureys que quanto mas ayna se pueda fazer sean confirmados. (Azcona 762)

After twelve similar mandates regarding the celebration of marriages and funerals, the creation of confraternities, the observance of Christian holy days, and the practice of charity, Talavera concludes with a sweeping admonition to the *moriscos* regarding the need to abandon as well their language, dress, and cuisine:

> Mas para que vuestra conversaçion sea syn escandalo a los xpianos, de naçion y no piensen que aun teneys la seta de Mahoma en el coraçon es menester que vos conformeys en todo y por todo a la buena y onesta conversaçion de los guenos y onestos xpianos y xpianas en vestir y calçar y afeytar y en comer y en mesas y viandas guisadas como comunmente las guisan y en vuestro andar y en

vuestro dar y tomar y mucho y mas que mucho en vuestro hablar oluidando quanto pudieredes la lengua arauiga y faziendola oluidar y que nunca se hable en vuestras casas. (Azcona 763)

The severity of these decrees should not surprise anyone who has read carefully the three treatises on conduct that Talavera included in the 1496 volume of his writings. Taken collectively, these three texts express the larger ideology that defined the Castilian crown's goals for the assimilation of Granada's Muslim population after 1492.

In short, Talavera's three writings on conduct constitute perfectly a blueprint of "cultural hegemony," in the broadest sense of this concept expounded by modern social theorists from Gramsci to Bourdieu (Lears). Of course, Hernando de Talavera was not a Marxist or Marxian social theorist *avant la lettre*. Nor did he need to be. No less than any inquisitor investigating accusations of refusing to eat pork or to fire an oven on Saturdays, Talavera understood that specific cultural practices could constitute ongoing resistance to larger social or political allegiances. Catlos has suggested that the Castilian crown may initially have sought to allow a "dual society" in Granada after 1492, but that Cisneros "understood that to undermine the Granadans' religious affiliation could not be separated from their ethnic identity" (217). By publishing his works on conduct within a guide to pastoral care, Hernando de Talavera signaled already in 1496 his tacit, if not overt, understanding of this same imperative.

Notes

[1]The 1496 edition of Talavera's writings survives in thirteen copies, some with significant codicological differences. All references in this essay are to the copy held by the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid (hereafter "RAH"): *Breue y muy prouechosa doctrina de lo que deue saber todo christiano con otros tractados muy prouechosos conpuestos por el Arçobispo de Granada* (Granada: Meinhard Ungut and Johann Pegnitzer von Nürnberg, 1496). This copy is available online in a digital reproduction at http://bvpb.mcu.es. The texts of the 1496 volume are also available in the very imperfectly transcribed edition by Miguel Mir: *Escritores místicos españoles*, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 16 (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière, 1911). 1–103.

[2] The text of the letter in RAH 449–50 is blank; quotations below from these missing pages are from the corresponding folios in Escorial b-IV-26, fols. 1r-27v. I am grateful to Nuria Silleras-Fernández for sharing with me a digital reproduction of this manuscript.

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