

**Gluttony and *Convivencia*:
Hernando de Talavera's Warning to the Muslims of Granada in 1496**

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When Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon victoriously entered the city of Granada on 6 January 1492, they faced a task that the Castilian crown had not confronted for over two centuries: incorporating under Christian rule an extensive territory that had lasted under Muslim rule longer than any Iberian region had ever been a Roman province. The Catholic Monarchs entrusted this enterprise to three loyal servants of the Crown: Hernando de Talavera, Isabel's confessor, named first Archbishop of Granada; Íñigo López de Mendoza y Quiñones, Count of Tendilla, named civil governor of the new territory; and Hernando de Zafra, Isabel's personal secretary and a leading member of the Council of Castile, named liaison between the Crown and the new territorial administration of Granada.

In support of his charge to guide the spiritual, moral, cultural, and social order of the newly-acquired territory, Talavera printed at Granada in 1496 an omnibus volume of his own writings, evidently intended as a guide to pastoral care for the clergy of his archdiocese. In addition to the usual instructions regarding Christian confession, communion, and worship, the volume included three writings on conduct that he had composed previously for other occasions. The most interesting of these is *Contra la demasia de vestir y de calçar y de comer y de beuer*, originally written to defend very specific sumptuary laws adopted by the city of Valladolid in 1477. The relevance of this text to the evangelization of Granada's Muslims, or even to the spiritual guidance of the territory's new Christian settlers, has puzzled modern scholars. The analysis below seeks to explain how Talavera's arguments in *Contra la demasia*, by invoking conventional Christian moral theology regarding the sin of gluttony within larger claims regarding providential history and the "natural, necessary, and reasonable" foundations of human behavior, define a vision of *convivencia*, which Granada's Muslims would ignore at their own peril. Talavera's treatise implicitly warns them that their social and cultural customs are not simply excessive (the standard for judging gluttony and other immoderate behavior in Scholastic moral theology), but unnatural, unnecessary, and unreasonable. Persistence in these customs disregards the fulfillment of divine providence now evident in the new Castilian state, and so exposes Granada's Muslims to the risk that their Christian conquerors will, quite literally, devour them.

Hernando de Talavera

Prior to his appointment as the first Archbishop of Granada, Hernando de Talavera (1430?-1507) had already served nearly twenty years as Isabel's personal confessor and one of her chief political operatives.¹ He was responsible for managing some of the most significant achievements of her reign: suppressing the lucrative privileges granted to aristocrats under the reign of her

¹ Talavera's role in the civil and ecclesiastical politics of his era was so extensive that there is still no comprehensive modern account of his life and career. Useful brief biographical summaries are available in the introduction to Aldea's study of his will, 513-23, and in Vega-García Ferrer's study of his liturgical works, 20-63. Much recent scholarship on Talavera continues to depend on the pioneering research of Márquez Villanueva. Iannuzzi's recent *El poder de la palabra* seeks to "contextualize" Talavera's life and career within 600 pages of information about the cultural, political, and social conditions of his era, but contributes no new information. The best bibliographies of the copious scholarship on Talavera are Fradejas Lebrero and Vega García-Ferrer, 317-35.

brother, Enrique IV; heading the commission that approved Columbus's plans for overseas exploration; and negotiating with the Papacy almost total royal control over ecclesiastical administration in the future Real Patronato of Granada.

Born probably of *converso* lineage, Talavera studied at the University of Salamanca and became there a professor of moral theology. For reasons still unclear, he abandoned this academic career in 1466 to join the Hieronymite Order.² Thanks to his skills as a reformer and talents as a preacher, he rose quickly to leadership in the order, becoming prior (in 1470?) at one of its major convents, Santa María del Prado in Valladolid. There he attracted the notice of Isabel, whose court was resident in Valladolid at this time, and she selected him as her confessor around 1475-76. Talavera remains famous to this day as a leading advocate in his era for the pacific evangelization of Castile's non-Christian minorities, thanks to his arguments in the treatise *Catholica impugnacion*³ and his subsequent efforts as Archbishop of Granada. His treatise *Contra la demasía* offers one, intriguing expression of a less pacific vision for the integration of Granada's Muslim population into Castilian society and culture.

The 1496 edition of Talavera's works

Even before his installment as archbishop in 1493, Talavera had worked diligently to prepare an ecclesiastical infrastructure for the future Real Patronato of Granada (Suberbiola Martínez). Once resident there, he moved quickly to implement that infrastructure, creating parish churches, organizing his archiepiscopal household, and establishing a seminary to train clergy equipped for the challenge of evangelizing Muslims.⁴ The omnibus volumes of his writings printed at Granada in 1496 was clearly a contribution to this larger endeavor.⁵ Talavera was already an enthusiast of the new technology of printing: while serving as prior of Santa María del Prado, he established one of the first presses in Castile. For his publishing projects in Granada, he recruited from Sevilla two Central European printers already active there, Johann Pegnitzer and Meinhard Ungut. In addition to the volume of his writings, they also printed thousands of broadsheets of religious images intended for distribution to Muslim households.⁶

Contra la demasía survives in two witnesses: 1) an early version preserved in Biblioteca del Escorial MS b.iv.26, ff. 31r-95r; and 2) the version printed at Granada in 1496. As Teresa de

² Pastore 102-03 offers interesting conjectures about the familial and political circumstances that may have motivated Talavera's decision, especially in relation to his *converso* lineage.

³ Not published until 1487, but written around 1480 in response to the scandal provoked at Sevilla by the dissemination of an anonymous *libelo* defending judaizing *conversos* (Márquez Villanueva 7). Although Talavera's treatise enjoyed extremely limited circulation (as emphasized by Pastore 104-08), it nonetheless represents his most extensive treatment of the *converso* question, and the edition by Márquez Villanueva has, perhaps disproportionately, made this text the most representative of Talavera's writings among modern scholars.

⁴ Garrido Aranda 12-128 is still useful as an overview of the challenge to assimilation posed by the cultural and social differences of Granada's Muslim population. The definitive account of Talavera's efforts to organize the Real Patronato is Suberbiola Martínez 9-280.

⁵ The volume survives in thirteen copies, each with significant codicological variations, perhaps suggesting that the printers assembled each copy from separate impressions of its component texts; I thank my colleague Isidro Rivera for this possible explanation of the copies' codicological differences. The transcription published in 1911 by Mir (based on a still unidentified copy of the volume) is very unreliable. All citations of the volume below are from the copy held by the Real Academia de la Historia, available online in a digital reproduction; references indicate the pagination (added in a modern hand) of this copy.

⁶ Pereda 249-321 analyzes in fascinating detail Talavera's efforts to provide print materials and artwork (such as statuary) for the evangelization of Granada's Muslims.

Castro meticulously documents in her synoptic edition of these two witnesses, the 1496 version often differs significantly from the earlier manuscript text.⁷ Most notable among these differences is the printed text's suppression of the division into sections found in the earlier manuscript version. This division into sections is nonetheless extremely helpful in understanding Talavera's somewhat confused presentation of his arguments.

The contents of the 1496 volume, as detailed on a simple title page from the copy held by the Real Academia de la Historia (3-4), clearly demonstrate its function as a guide to pastoral care for clergy in the new Real Patronato:

0. [Title page] *Breue & muy prouechosa doctrina de lo que deue saber todo christiano, con otros tractados muy prouechosos conpuestos por el Arçobispo de Granada* (1)
- 0a. [A simple table of contents, listing the titles of items 1-8 below] (3-4)
- 0b. [An untitled list of feastdays: "Avn deuen saber que fiestas son de guardar . . ."] (5-8)
- 0c. [An analytical table of contents for items 1-8 below, listing chapter titles] (9-20)
1. *Breue & muy prouechosa doctrina de lo que deue saber todo christiano* (21-36)
2. *Confessional o auisacion de todas las maneras en que podemos pecar contra los diez mandamientos. El qual deue cada christiano cada christiana leer con atencion cada que se ouiere de confessar, porque non se le asconda cosa de lo que ha de confessar.* (39-151)
3. *Breue tractado de como auemos de restituыр & satisfazer de todas maneras de cargo, que son seys* (152-166)
4. *Breue & muy prouechoso tractado de como auemos de comulgar* (167-211)
5. *Muy prouechoso tractado contra el murmurar y dezir mal de otro en su ausencia que es gran pecado & muy vsado* (212-250)
6. *Deuoto tractado de lo que representan & nos dan a entender las cerimonias de la missa* (254-310)
7. *Solazoso y prouechoso tractado contra la demasia de vestir y de calçar y de comer y de beuer* (314-414)
8. *Prouechoso tractado de como deuemos auer mucho cuydado de esponder muy bien el tiempo y en que manera lo auemos de esponder para que no se pierda momento* (419-462)

The initial list of feast days, along with texts 1-4 and 6, have obvious relevance to pastoral care, and especially to evangelizing Granada's Muslim population. They prescribe the norms of

⁷ The Escorial manuscript also includes (ff. 1r-27v) an earlier version of Talavera's letter to the Countess of Benavente. Unlike the two versions of *Contra la demasía*, the manuscript version of this text and the 1496 version display almost solely stylistic variations.

Christian religious practice, often detailing the specific behaviors (crossing oneself, reverence for images, observing major religious holidays, etc.) expected of the laity.

The conduct texts in the 1496 edition

Less obviously relevant to evangelizing Granada's Muslims are the three texts on conduct (items 5, 7, and 8 in the list above), which Talavera had written previously for other occasions and audiences. The undated treatise on slander expounds comprehensively Catholic moral theology regarding this particular "sin of the tongue."⁸ Although it makes no reference whatsoever to the circumstances of any multi-cultural environment such as post-conquest Granada, its potential application to managing social conflict is implicit. The letter to María Pacheco, Countess of Benavente, is among the least academic of Talavera's many writings, but offers a careful defense, based on simple principles from contemporary moral theology, of her obligation and right as a Christian noblewoman to manage responsibly the conduct of her daily affairs.⁹ It perhaps served the needs of clergy counseling female members of the new Christian oligarchy that established itself in Granada after 1492.

Contra la demasía

Least obviously relevant to the evangelization of Granada's Muslim population in 1496 is the treatise *Contra la demasía*. Written in 1477, at the request of the city council of Valladolid, it defends the council's adoption of sumptuary laws restricting certain new female fashions, especially *caderas* (thigh padding), *gorgueras* (neck-pieces, "bibs") and *verdugos* (skirt hoops, "farthingales"). The treatise also criticizes many other contemporary extravagances of dress and footwear among courtiers of both sexes. Talavera's descriptions of these fashions are so detailed and precise that it is difficult to imagine how they would have been intelligible to the Muslim inhabitants of Granada. The very specific details of extravagant court dress (especially among women) would have been irrelevant to most of Granada's Muslim population after 1492: since so many of the kingdom's Muslim nobles fled the peninsula in late 1493 with Boabdil,¹⁰ few of its remaining inhabitants would have had any experience with the courtly fashions that Talavera censures. *Contra la demasía* also frequently cites precepts of Christian moral theology, as well as copious examples from Scripture, Patristic authorities, and the lives of saints, none of which were likely to have enjoyed much persuasive force for Muslim audiences unfamiliar with these traditions.

Consequently, virtually all modern scholars who have pondered why Talavera republished *Contra la demasía* at Granada in 1496 conclude that it must have served chiefly to reaffirm general claims regarding the right of civil and ecclesiastical authorities to legislate cultural, moral, and social norms of behavior. Pereda surmises that:

⁸ Casagrande and Vecchio provide the best survey of late medieval literature on the peccati linguae. See also Craun and Mazzio for briefer overviews of specific verbal sins. I have prepared for publication an edition and study of Talavera's treatise on slander.

⁹ On this text, see the study by Codet, which compares Talavera's advice for Maria Pacheco with the apparently misogynistic instructions about women's conduct from his other writings. In a forthcoming study, I analyze the specific argumentation of his treatise as a defense of her own agency.

¹⁰ On the circumstances and significance of this exodus, see Coleman 38-39; Elliott 50; and Garrido Aranda 105.

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. (Pereda 275)

Teresa de Castro, the most recent editor of *Contra la demasía*, conjectures more precisely that:

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)

The assertion of the general claim regarding civil and ecclesiastical authority is explicit in *Contra la demasía*. The treatise opens and closes by vigorously justifying the duty of secular and clerical leaders to regulate behavior, and of inferiors to obey their superiors, claims applicable both to the kingdom’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.¹¹

However, the argumentation of *Contra la demasía* also includes several other claims that bear even more directly, if not ominously, on the future of Granada’s Muslim inhabitants. The first is Talavera’s repeated invocation of Christian providential history as the foundation of “natural, necessary, and reasonable” human customs. He cites this justification so often that it may seem unnecessary to explicate, but its implications for the larger project of assimilating Granada’s Muslim population cannot be ignored, as explained below. The second is his invocation of traditional 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, finally, a curious claim about *convivencia*, based on the Biblical example of Noah’s Ark, and explicated to demonstrate its relevance to social and cultural conformity in the Christian commonwealth of the new Castilian state.

The argumentation of *Contra la demasía*

Understanding how Talavera weaves these claims into the discourse of *Contra la demasía* requires careful review of his overall argumentation in the treatise. *Contra la demasía* is not one of Talavera’s best-organized writings, something he recognizes in several apologues (noted below) for the treatise’s digressions into the subject of food and drink, which are, nonetheless, as will become clear, critical to the larger model of social regulation that he advocates. Talavera was a careful prose stylist,¹² so his self-conscious awareness of these difficulties in his text is hardly surprising.

The first functional part of the treatise’s argumentation, explicitly identified in the manuscript version as a prolog, consists of a general statement of the occasion for its composition, beginning with the emphatic declaration that inferiors must obey their superiors:

Tiene cinco partes. La primera que es como prólogo e introduction. Tiene tres capitulos.

¹¹ On the social conflict generated by the influx of colonists, see Coleman 13-31 and Galán Sánchez.

¹² Bertini 176-77 ranks Talavera among the best vernacular prose writers of the Castilian “pre-Renaissance.”

Capitulo primero, demuestra que los pueblos e qualesquier subditos e inferiores deuen simplemente obedescer a sus gouernadores e mayores sin demandar causas nin razones de los mandamientos que les son hechos.

El segundo capitulo, demuestra la causa e oportunidad de escriuir este tractado.

El tercero capitulo toca breuemente algunos motiuos e razones que allegan algunas personas diziendo que no se deue poner ley cerca de los trajes. (Castro 21)¹³

This prologue, in addition to explaining the circumstances of the treatise's composition at Valladolid in 1477, presents the fundamental issues and the criticisms of certain fashions that Talavera reprises again in the fourth section (described below), which effectively expands and recapitulates the prologue.

The second part of the treatise, as identified in the manuscript version, undertakes the detailed defense of laws regarding dress and footwear, but then introduces (beginning in Chapter Eight) an analogy to regulation of food and drink in order to support its arguments:

La parte segunda demuestra que en el uestir y calçar hay algo natural y como necessario y algo o mucho voluntario, y assi mesmo en el comer y en el beuer. Tiene ocho capitulos.

Capitulo IIII. Demuestra como es cosa natural que trayamos las carnes cubiertas.

Capitulo V. Demuestra que tambien es cosa natural que de vna manera se vista el varon y de otra manera la hembra, y que generalmente cada vno sea vestido como es menester para mejor executar su officio.

Capitulo VI. Demuestra que es tambien cosa natural que el varon traya la cabeça descubierta, saluo por necesidad, y que la muger la traya cubierta.

Capitulo VII. Demuestra que naturalmente se mudan las vestiduras y el calçado segund que se mudan los quatro tiempos del anno.

Capitulo VIII. Como en el vestir e calçar es algo o mucho voluntario, e como en esto, que es voluntario, acaece muchas vezes errar y pecar.

Capitulo IX. Que el comer y vestir andan y deuen andar por vna manera o por vna regla.

Capitulo X. Que tambien hay en el comer y beuer voluntario e natural como en el vestir y en el calçar.

¹³ All citations from Castro's edition suppress the editorial punctuation employed to indicate differences between the text's earlier manuscript version and its 1496 printing: since the vast majority of these revisions are purely stylistic in nature, Castro's synoptic collation of the two witnesses in fact provides a more readable text.

Capitulo XI. De como Nuestro Señor Dios nos enseñó que en el comer y beuer hay y deue auer muchas diferencias e diuersidades naturales apuntadas en el capitulo precedente. (Castro 22)

Although the treatise's title, and the section divisions included in the manuscript version, all mention the common topics of dress, footwear, food, and drink, it is only in Chapter Eight that Talavera actually begins to discuss eating and drinking. The first eight chapters offer only incidental references to food and drink, such as an allusion to the dietary laws of the ancient Hebrews (Castro 26) or the acknowledgement that food and water, like shelter, are human necessities (Castro 29).

Consequently, until Chapter Eight Talavera relies almost entirely on claims about providential history, along with nature, necessity, and reason. Enumerating every instance of Talavera's appeal to nature, necessity, or reason in *Contra la demasía* would amount to a virtual recapitulation of the entire treatise. One example, citing the original condition of human existence in the Garden of Eden, is sufficiently illustrative, especially because it invokes literally the "foundational myth" of Christian anthropology, the transition from pre-lapsarian to post-lapsarian life that occurred through the Fall in Eden. Chapter Four opens by citing that moment in order to explain why both men and women must naturally, necessarily, and reasonably clothe their bodies:

Para demostrar y conocer qu n justa y qu n razonablemente lo sobredicho fue ordenado es primeramente de saber que en el h bito y compostura, tambien de los varones como de las mugeres, es algo y avn mucho natural y que no se puede ni deue mudar, porque las cosas naturales son invariables y es algo adpacitum y voluntario. Natural cosa es que cubramos nuestras carnes, assi por que sean guardadas del frio y de la calura, y de las otras cosas que las podrian enpecer si andouiesen desnudas, como porque seria cosa vergonzosa no las traer cubiertas. De lo primero dize el sabio que lo substancial y necessario para conseruacion de la vida humana es pan y agua, vestidura y casa. De lo segundo dize la Sagrada Scriptura que luego que nuestros padres primeros peccaron ouieron verguença de se ver desnudos. (Castro 29)

Throughout *Contra demas a*, Talavera cites the major moments of providential history (the Fall, the Deluge, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and so forth) but this passage from Chapter Four exemplifies sufficiently how his argumentation typically invokes that history to explain what is natural, necessary, or reasonable.

Despite his repeated invocations of these principles, Talavera nonetheless struggles until Chapter Eight to justify Valladolid's sumptuary laws with arguments based on providential history and nature, necessity, and reason. This difficulty is easy to understand: the extant body of moral theology and philosophy available to him simply could not provide clear, definitive precepts for defending sumptuary laws. Scholastic moral theology typically mentions dress incidentally, if at all, in its analyses of the capital sins such as pride, avarice, or envy. The most popular late medieval guide to pastoral care, the *Manipulus curatorum* of the Spaniard Guido de Monte Rochen barely mentions dress or clothing.¹⁴ In the *summae* of the great Scholastic theologians, Talavera would have found equally little assistance. To cite only one famous example: Aquinas's discussion of immodest dress asserts the general principle that immoderate indulgence of any material good is

¹⁴ Composed in the 1330s, Guido's manual is extant in over 250 manuscripts, and was reprinted at least 122 times between 1468 and 1501; on the history of its reception, see the edition by Thayer and Lualdi xiii-xiv.

sinful, but also allows that magnates and prelates may wear precious clothes in order to signify the “dignity” of their status, while married women may dress well to please their husbands (*Summa theologiae* 2a.2ae.169). Arguments of this kind, which Talavera does occasionally acknowledge, nonetheless scarcely helped him to establish a coherent foundation for defending Valladolid’s strict prohibitions on specific types of clothing.

Fortunately, late medieval moral theology also provided a much more cogent and definitive paradigm regarding the regulation of social and cultural behavior: analysis of the sin of gluttony (*gula*). As one of the mortal sins commonly recognized in the traditional scheme of seven virtues and vices, gluttony was of course an obligatory topic in the literature of Scholastic moral theology, which Talavera liberally adapts in the second and third sections of *Contra la demasía*. His very brief Chapter Eight consists entirely of an appeal to this body of established doctrine. He begins by admitting, almost in exasperation, that choices of fashion are voluntary (because actions of free will), and so theologically occasions for sin, but he cannot explain how this is so until he introduces an analogy with eating and drinking:

Voluntario es en la vestidura que sea de lino o de fustán, o de fusteda o de cuero o de paño, o de oro o de seda, tambien es voluntario que sea sin pliegues o plegada, de tal o del tal manera obrada, y de tal o de tal aforro afforrada y assi mesmo en la compostura.

Y en esto que es voluntario acaece muchas vezes errar y peccar venial o mortalmente, segund que más o menos la persona se aparta y excede o fallece de lo natural y no necessario. Ca no es otra cosa peccar generalmente hablando sino apartarse ombre poco o mucho de lo que es natural y segund razon ordenado, y si mucho se aparta pecca mortalmente y si poco venialmente. Por manera que assi como en el comer y beuer pecca mortalmente o venialmente el que mucho o poco excede o fallece de lo necesario y razonable, bien assi es en el vestir e componer. (Castro 34)

This passage not only invokes moral theology on gluttony (with its foundational definition of excess as an index of sin) to serve as the paradigm for Talavera’s defense of regulations regarding fashion, it also neatly blends it with the axiomatic tenets of nature, necessity, and reason that he cites incessantly throughout *Contra la demasía*, with the implications discussed below.

Having introduced the moral theology on gluttony as a paradigm for evaluating human cultural practices and social conduct, Talavera offers in his brief Chapter Nine, almost triumphantly, a sententious restatement of the analogy between dress and food:

Y avn es razon que el comer y el vestir se junten y sean de vna manera, porque ambas cosas son las primeras que son más necessarias para conseruar la humanidad, como fue arriba tocado en la sententia del sabio ecclesiastico; y assi se suele dezir que o vistamos como comemos o comamos segund que vestimos si buenamente podemos. (Castro 35)

Having established this homology between standards for evaluating consumption and fashion, Talavera develops it in Chapters Ten and Eleven of his second section, which effectively constitute a separate sub-section expounding gluttony, as indicated in the chapter titles cited above.

This digression on gluttony (and assertion of its relevance to excesses of fashion) leads Talavera to conclude his second part with an extended discussion in Chapter Eleven concerning the harmonious coexistence in Noah’s Ark of carnivores, herbivores, and omnivores. In the Ark,

God miraculously provided nourishment sufficient to forestall the carnivores and omnivores from exercising their natural instincts to prey upon the herbivores and upon one another. Talavera apologizes for this digression—“avnque salga del proposito” (Castro 37)—admitting that he has strayed from his objective of defending the regulation of dress and food. Nonetheless, his apology for this digression rhetorically acknowledges, as a figure of *occupatio*, its importance: customs of food and dress are homologous elements of the *convivencia* implied in the example of Noah’s Ark. Talavera’s apology may also signal his awareness, if not anxiety, about the consequences of broadly applying moral theology on gluttony as a paradigm to justify curtailing the cultural and social diversity of Castile’s ethnic communities. His explication of the example of Noah’s Ark, by far the longest of any such explication in *Contra la demasía*, implies such uncompromising terms of *convivencia* that it requires a detailed analysis (below).

From this point forward, Talavera attempts to begin each chapter in the third part of *Contra la demasía* with some mention, however brief, of food and drink, in order to maintain the moral theology of gluttony as the paradigm for assessing natural, necessary, or reasonable qualities of dress and footwear. The extant literature of moral theology and pastoral typically identifies five species of gluttony.¹⁵ Not surprisingly, the third part of *Contra la demasía*, as defined in the manuscript version, likewise describes five modes of “excess” (*demasía*) common in dress and footwear. Each chapter of this third part consequently opens with an analogy to food and drink, as most of the chapter titles indicate:

Tercera parte demuestra más en espeçial çinco maneras en que en tomar el mantenimiento acaeçe comunmente peccar, y assimesmo en el uestir y calçar; tiene siete capítulos.

Capitulo XII. De la primera manera en que acaeçe peccar en el vestir y en calçar assi como en tomar el mantenimiento, que es quando se haze en demasiada cantidad.

Capitulo XIII. Demuestra que el tal exceso de vestir y de calçar es peccado de soberuia, y contrario a la humildad, que es vna de tres virtudes que en el vestir e calçar tienen el medio e guardan la honestad, y avn demuestran que el tal exceso tambien es peccado de auaricia y de rapiña.

Capitulo XIIIII. De la segunda manera en que en el vestir y calçar, assi como en comer y beuer, acaeçe peccar.

Capitulo XV. De la tercera manera de peccar, que es buscando mill maneras e nouedades de vestiduras y de trajes, como en el comer y beuer muchos guisados adobados e potajes y especialmente pone algunas practicas de como en nuestros tiempos han excedido y exceden en aquesta manera los varones.

Capitulo V. Pone practicas como en la manera susodicha han exçedido y exçeden las mugeres.

Capitulo XVI. Demuestra la quarta manera de exceder y peccar en comer y en beuer, y en vestir y en calçar, que es no guardando la conueniencia del tiempo.

¹⁵ Archetypal examples are Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2a.2ae.148,a.6 and Guido’s *Manipulus* 225-26.

Capitulo XVII. De la quinta manera de peccar en lo suso dicho, que es comiendo o vistiendo con grande ardor y deleyte, e haziendo nueuas inuenciones y trajes. (Castro 22-23)

The opening lines of Chapter Twelve neatly summarize how Talavera invokes excesses in eating and drinking (the five species of gluttony) as norms for evaluating excessive dress or footwear:

Agora, pues que el tomar del mantenimiento, y el vestir y el calçar se han por vna manera, es de saber que en tomar el mantenimiento pecamos no tomando quanto es menester, avnque esto acaesce pocas vezes, e muy muchas vezes tomando de más. Especialmente excedemos en çinco maneras. Conuiene a saber: tomandolo en demasiada cantidad, en vna vez o en muchas; y queriendo viandas costosas y exquisitas; iten, queriendolas mucho adobadas, avnque de suyo sean viandas despreciadas; e tomándolas otrosi no en tiempo deuido; y tomandolas con grande ardor y deleyte. Pues en semejantes maneras acontece faller y exceder en el vestir e conponer. (Castro 39)

Talavera's subsequent exposition of this homology allows him to incorporate many other arguments drawn from conventional moral theology regarding capital sins such as pride, avarice, and envy. For example, Chapter Thirteen appeals to traditional Christian ideals of charity and social justice when he argues that excess in clothing and eating is sinful (and so a manifestation of avarice) because it deprives the needy of sustenance and shelter. Other chapters from the third part of *Contra la demasía* decry excessive concern for social appearances as manifestations of the sins of ostentation or false humility. For example, in Chapter Fourteen Talavera explains how people who spend lavishly on food and drink:

no comen ni beuen en mayor cantidad ni más vezes de lo que deuen pero quieren e comen y beuen viandas e vinos costosos, e avn assi suelen dezir que quieren poco e bueno. (Castro 42)

Similarly, those who wear costly clothes

exceden en peccado de soberuia si por jactancia e vanagloria se mueuen, e por pujar e parecer mayor, o a lo menos no menor cada vno que el otro. (Castro 43)

Throughout *Contra demasía*, the general principles of natural, necessary, and reasonable behavior remain the standards for defining all sinful excesses of pride, envy, or avarice. Nonetheless, by adapting the moral theology of gluttony to dress and footwear, Talavera is able to incorporate much more specific, and relevant, interpretations of these sins into his argumentation, rather than appealing solely and repeatedly to nature, necessity, or reason.

Chapter Fifteen is intriguing for its somewhat confused division into two separate sections. In the first part, Talavera offers one of his occasional qualifications of Scriptural authority. As a one-time professor of moral theology, Talavera was perfectly aware that the Bible offers many examples inconsistent with the larger principles that he invokes. He dismisses these inconsistencies, with almost casuistic subtlety, as undocumented traditions, accommodations to historical circumstance, or adaptations to climatic conditions. For example, Talavera acknowledges how some believe that Christ and the Virgin Mary dressed lavishly:

De Nuestro Redemptor dizen algunos que traya manto azul e la saya de encima morada, mas del uestir de Nuestro Señor e de Nuestra Señora no hay scripta cosa cierta cerca desto, e lo que más se cree es que él e Nuestra Señora andouiesen vestidos de grueso e pobre buriel. E bien se sufre que traxiesse dos o tres sayas e manto encima por se conformar al vso de los sacerdotes e honestos judios de aquel tiempo, e por consolar con su exemplo a los flacos que non pueden passar con vna vestidura, especialmente en las tierras frias, pintanlos con vestiduras de color e que parecen preciosas por adornar la pintura, como pintan a Nuestra Señora uestida de brocada, y ella nunca lo uestió ni aun fino paño. (Castro 50)

Such passages are exceptions that prove the rule: for Talavera, quite simply, the overall record of providential history, as recorded in the Old and New Testaments, defines what is natural, necessary, and reasonable in human customs, and therefore the basis for evaluating “excessive” behaviors. The second part of Chapter Fifteen, devoted to the specific excesses of female fashions, appears as “Capitulo V” in the manuscript version, but with this rubrication suppressed in the 1496 edition. This confusion perhaps signals again Talavera’s difficulty in controlling the structure of his argumentation.

Typically, however, every chapter from the third part of *Contra la demasía* melds appeals to nature, necessity, and reason with precise explanations of the five species of excess defined by the moral theology on gluttony. The opening lines of Chapter Sixteen exemplify this tactic:

La quarta manera de exceder en el comer e beuer es no guardando la conueniencia del tiempo. Y esto en dos maneras: o anticipando mucho la hora sin causa e sin necesidad, lo qual reprehende la Sancta Escripura diziendo que la tierra es desuenturada, que tiene rey moço e príncipes que comen de mañana, o comiendo en los dias de abstinencia alguna vianda vedada. E assi contesce exceder en el vestir e traher, no guardando lo que conuiene al tiempo, ca mucho yerra y excede el que en tiempo de lloro e de tribulación viste vestiduras de alegria, e por el contrario el que en tiempo de alegria y de sollempnidad trahe vestiduras de tristeza y cuotidianas. (Castro 50-51)

After this initial equation of excessive consumption as disregard for necessary circumstances, Chapter Sixteen exclusively discusses examples (drawn from Scripture) of inappropriate dress, and concludes with no further reference to food or drink.

Similarly, Chapter Seventeen begins with an extensive description of excessive desire in eating and drinking (again using Scriptural examples common in analyses of this species of gluttony), and then explicitly applies this model to his treatise’s nominal purpose, condemning excess in dress:

Agora pues, viniendo a nuestro proposito, en esta manera acaesce exceder y excediendo peccar en el vestir e traher, ca son algunas personas que todo su deleyte e consolacion parece que ponen e tienen en aquello. (Castro 53)

This mention of returning to the treatise’s *propósito* once again suggests some anxiety on Talavera’s part about extrapolating the discourse of moral theology on gluttony to other realms of behavior. While this extrapolation certainly facilitates his task of defending restrictions on fashion,

it theoretically implies a general model for the regulation of cultural activity and social manners that Talavera may have been unwilling to imagine as globally applicable, in practice, to the assimilation of Castile's non-Christian communities.

Perhaps for this reason, the fourth part of *Contra la demasía*, as identified in its manuscript version, returns to defending the very specific laws adopted by the city of Valladolid. This section expands in detail many of the arguments presented in the first part of the treatise, while virtually abandoning Talavera's previous appeal to moral theology on gluttony as a paradigm for regulation of fashion:

Quarta parte. Demuestra que el hábito susodicho deshonesto y peregrino de las caderas y uerdugos se deuió y pudo muy bien uedar en la manera que fue uedado. Tiene ocho capitulos.

Capitulo XVIII. Demuestra que los prelados e regidores de las comunidades pueden y deuen ordenar e poner ley e leyes cerca de los trajes.

Capitulo XIX. Demuestra que Dios, Nuestro Señor, quando regía al pueblo de Ysrael por sí mesmo, antes que le diesse rey y despues, esse mesmo Dios humanado en la persona del hijo, e los Santos Apostoles, y despues los Santos Doctores antiguos e modernos, pusieron ley e leyes acerca de los trajes.

Capitulo XX. Que los prelados eclesiasticos pudieron e avn deuieron vedar, so pena de excommunication, que aquel hábito deshonesto non se vsasse más.

Capitulo XXI, y mucho de notar, demuestra quando el exceso y superfluo y demasiado comer y traher es peccado mortal.

Capitulo XXII. Demuestra por doze razones que aquel traje descomulgado de caderas y de uerdugos es muy malo e, por consiguiente, muy deuidamente reprobado y vedado; y aqui toca de los afeytes quando son peccado venial y quando peccado mortal.

Capitulo XXIII. Demuestra que los motiuos e razones de dubdar cerca de lo susodicho, que al comienço fueron apuntados, no son suficientes para impedir nin estoruar que lo sobredicho no sea muy bien ordenado y que deua ser muy bien guardado.

Capitulo XXIII. Demuestra que en la muy noble villa de Valladolid, más que en otro ningund lugar, se deuió aquello reprobado y vedado. Y pone fyn al tractado. (Castro 23-24)

In this final part of *Contra la demasía*, references to food and drink almost disappear completely, as Talavera focuses once more on the very specific novelties of dress and footwear that originally motivated the composition of his treatise in 1477. Chapter Eighteen in fact opens with an explicit admission that food and drink are not his primary topics, but instead provided a convenient analogy for analyzing excesses in fashion:

Agora es de saber que los prelados e regidores de los pueblos e comunidades, assi eclesiasticos e seglares, pueden e deuen ordenar e poner ley e leyes cerca de los trajes y

avn cerca de los comerres; avnque no era tanto de nuestro proposito dezir de los excessos del comer y del beuer mas como parece de lo susodicho, de lo vno e de lo otro, es quasi vna sentencia e vn mesmo juyzio (Castro 55)

As a result, returning to his *propósito* in this fourth part of *Contra la demasía*, Talavera reduces mention of food and drink to a handful of incidental references. Chapter Twenty-One, whose title (cited above) announces its applicability to both food and dress, almost disowns his earlier invocation of moral theology on gluttony and its conventional arguments regarding excess:

Mas quales comerres e traheres se deuan juzgar superfluos e tan excessiuos y demasiados que sean e deuen ser condenados, e auidos por mortales peccados, confieso la verdad que es muy difficile de determinar, porque en todas las cosas es verdad que es muy difficile y muy graue de conoscer el medio en que consiste la virtud. (Castro 60)

Faced with this conundrum, Talavera subordinates, midway through Chapter Sixteen, the definition of excess to the discretion of prudence, as exercised by the wise. The latter evidently correspond to the leaders who rightly govern their subjects, as Talavera initially argued at the outset of *Contra la demasía*:

E assi a nuestro proposito aquel comer y beuer es honesto y templado, e no superfluo ni demasiado que juzga tal e aprueua el varon prudente e sabio, e aquello que él reprueua es intemperado, vicioso e sobrado. E otro tanto en el vestir e traher aquello es moderado e honesto que aquél aprueua por bueno; e aquello es exceso, superfluo, deshonesto y peccado mortal o venial que aquél determina ser tal. (Castro 61)

From this point onward, *Contra la demasía* makes no reference, even in passing, to the excesses of food and drink defined in moral theology on gluttony. Talavera's twelve criticisms of *caderas* and *verdugos* in Chapter Twenty-Two instead offer a medley of moral and practical (even hygienic) arguments: these fashions alter the balance of humors in the body; help hide adulterous pregnancies; disguise the natural figure of the feminine body; encourage lascivious thoughts; are useless as protection against the elements; are too expensive; and so forth. Even here, Talavera sometimes vacillates in applying relevant moral theology on other sins, noting for example that he does not dare condemn a woman who uses makeup to attract a husband (Castro 67), thus echoing the conventional caveat (cited above from Aquinas) that wives may dress well to please their husbands. Almost in exasperation, he concludes this chapter by inviting those who seek more guidance to consult the writings of the Church Fathers on these questions (Castro 68).

After reiterating the duty of Valladolid's leaders to regulate fashion, Chapter Twenty-Four concludes *Contra la demasía* with several lines (suppressed in the 1496 printed version) that mention, as another marker of the treatise's occasionality, the drought that afflicted the city's environs in 1477:

E assi acaba este tractado, hecho con muy sana intención de excusar las offensas de Nuestro Señor que muy a menudo y en toda parte se cometen en vestir y en calçar, y avn en comer y beuer mayormente en este tienpo en que su yra primero con el açote de la seca, y despues su grand benignidad en la pluuiá abondosa nos obligan a enmendar qualquier offensa o yerro aunque fuesse muy pequeño. (Castro 70-71)

The qualified appositive reference “y avn en comer y beuer” neatly reinscribes the difficulty of appealing to moral theology on gluttony as a paradigm for judging social and cultural deviance, which Talavera struggles to resolve throughout *Contra la demasía*. The treatise’s concluding mention of God’s wrath and benevolence invokes, not moral theology on gluttony, but rather the providential history that sustains Talavera’s repeated references to the natural, necessary, and reasonable bases of human customs.

Contra la demasía is not, as noted already, the most cogently argued or structured of Talavera’s many writings. The preceding review of his argumentation in this treatise attempts to show how it strives to defend the regulation of social and cultural behaviors by collating several fundamental principles, namely that:

- 1) inferiors must obey their superiors, whose wise and prudent judgment can guide behavior and customs
- 2) providential history, as recorded in Christian Scripture, has established divinely ordained norms of human behavior
- 3) these divinely ordained norms are congruent with nature, necessity, and reason
- 4) the moral theology of gluttony provides a paradigm for assessing immoderate behavior in cultural and social customs such as dress and footwear

Contra la demasía nominally integrates all these principles in defending the sumptuary laws adopted at Valladolid in 1477. However, Talavera’s digressions, qualifications of specific examples, and especially his inconsistent invocation of moral theology on gluttony as a paradigm for evaluating fashion, create opportunities in his discourse for applying his arguments to the larger endeavor of managing cultural and social differences.

Noah’s Ark as a model of *convivencia*

Talavera himself seizes one of these opportunities in Chapter Eleven when he explicates Noah’s Ark as an archetype for the pacific coexistence of antagonistic social groups. This digression, perhaps more than any other passage from *Contra demasía*, is directly applicable to the circumstances of Granada’s Muslims in 1496. Of course it is hardly insignificant that Talavera cites the Deluge, one of the most important events in the entire trajectory of providential history from Creation to the Resurrection, as an example. This lengthy passage, ignored by virtually all modern scholars who have discussed *Contra la demasía*, now deserves analysis in detail. It begins by citing the wisdom of Divine Providence in providing alternative sustenance for all creatures gathered in Noah’s Ark:

O marauilloso Dios, muy poderoso, muy sabio y muy piadoso criador y gouernador, que assi proueyó de la leche, que es manjar mucho tierno a todos los animales rezién nascidos, y que cessasse aquella vianda naturalmente y se enxugassen las tetas en todas las madres y hembras desque los tales animales touiessen fuerças para tomar viandas rezias. Su prouidencia ordenó y expressamente mandó que antes del Diluuio comiessen los ombres fructas solamente, que son de menos gouierno y de más rezia digestión, porque entonces tenia el ombre más rezia y más sana complession, y por esso biuián muy luengo tiempo. Mas despues del Diluuio dio licencia para comer carne y inspiró a Nohé que plantasse y labrasse viña, como hasta alli non ouiesse sabido qué cosa era vino ni avn sidra ni seruicia

mas solamente buena agua limpia. Y esto otorgó porque la haz de la tierra perdió mucha de su virtud, ca las aguas saladas del Mar Oceano salieron entonces de madre e andouieron por toda la tierra, y le consumieron y gastaron y estragaron la virtud e grossura de la haz e costra de encima que criaua las fructas mas gruesas e mas fumosas, mas tiernas e mas prouechosas. (Castro 36-37)

Talavera's explanation of post-diluvial agrollogical conditions illustrates perfectly how providential history has determined the natural, necessary, and reasonable circumstances of terrestrial geography (the condition of the earth's soil), which in turn has determined human cultural evolution (such as eating meat and the invention of viniculture) and specific rules of dietary science (the digestibility of different foods). After a paragraph that notes the continued consequences of these post-diluvian conditions for moderns, Talavera returns to describing the harmonious life of the creatures in Noah's Ark:

En esse mesmo tiempo del Diluio, que fue tiempo de affliction y de graue penitencia, ordenó Nuestro Señor que avn las aues y bestias que biuen de rapina y no saben comer syno carne hiziessen abstinencia. Ca puestas en la arca con el patriarcha Noé les dio por vianda fructas secas solamente y les suspendio y ató el desseo natural que tenian de las carnes, y les quitó toda enemistad, por manera que estauan junctos el açor y la perdiz, el neblí y la garça, el galgo y la liebre, el podenco y el conejo, el lobo y el cordero, el gato y el perro, y todos tenian paz y comian de vna vianda como si fueran todos de vna ralea, de vna especie y de vna casta.

Fue aquello grand miraglo de Nuestro Señor hecho, no sin grand misterio, y, avnque salga del proposito, es muy bueno de saberlo. Ca nos quiso dar a entender que despues que viniessse al mundo el perfecto salvador Ihesuchristo, Nuestro Redemptor—entendido por Noé—el qual mediante el precioso madero de la sancta cruz en que padeçio—figurado por aquella archa— libró al linaje humanal del Diluio e abundancia de los peccados, quebrantando el poder de Sathanas e dando abundancia de gracia y de caridad para con que más ligeramente puedan ser euitados, todos ternian mucha paz e concordia avnque antes fuessen contrarios; y todos ternian vnos sacramentos los que entrassen en el corral y red de su sancta fe—entendido por aquella archa del sancto Noé—porque todos entran en la fe de Dios crucificado, y rescibiendo la agua del sancto baptismo en nombre de la Sancta Trinidad. (Castro 37-38)

It would be difficult to overestimate the significance of the example of Noah's Ark in Talavera's social and political ideology. Though prompted by his introduction of moral theology on gluttony as a paradigm for evaluating excesses in fashion, it is, quite simply, his ideal model for the *convivencia* that must prevail in the Castilian state. His typological interpretation of Noah's Ark as a figuration of the Church easily leads Talavera to conclude Chapter Eleven by applying this example of harmony among natural enemies to the situation of contemporary Castile:

Al que la paz y concordia y vnidad de sacramentos, que son mantenimientos de las almas, fue profetizada por Ysaías quando dixo que venido so el Messias morarian en vno el lobo y el cordero, y la onça y el cabrito, el leon y la oueja y el bezerro, y que los guardaria e regiria vn moçuelo pequeñuelo, y que el bezerro y el osso pacerian de consuno e holgarian

en vno sus hijuelos, y que el leon comeria pajas como buey etc. Lo qual assi a la letra nunca se cumplio nin complira, mas veemoslo cumplido e cumplir de cada dia quanto a la spiritual intelligencia en el pueblo christiano de gentiles e judios ayuntado, que eran primero contrarios como gattos e perros, e como lobos e corderos. Y especialmente se cumple en las sanctas religiones donde todos son yguales en vestido y en mantenimiento y en otras muchas cosas los grandes y los menores, los buenos e los mejores. (Castro 38)

For Talavera, this moment of providential history (Noah's Ark), if applied with *spiritual intelligencia* to contemporary circumstances, offers an archetype for *convivencia* in the new nation of the Catholic Monarchs. Despite the mention of dress in this passage, and the concluding praise of egalitarian behavior fostered by all "sanctas religiones," it is clear that the fundamental conflict to resolve through this paradigm is the instinct of contrary creatures to devour one other. In short, the quest for survival, through consumption, is the foundational conflict that every human society must manage pacifically. The resolution of this conflict consists in submission to the Christian covenant that providential history has provided as *mantenimiento de las almas* ("nourishment for the soul").

Conclusion: the relevance of *Contra la demasía* to Granada in 1496

In his extended explication of the lesson of Noah's Ark, Talavera apparently strays far from his introduction of moral theology on gluttony and from the larger *propósito* of *Contra la demasía*. The unqualified model of *convivencia* offered in his explication also seems to contradict Talavera's reputation as an advocate for the pacific evangelization of Castile's non-Christian minorities, a question that has repeatedly agitated contemporary scholarship concerning his career. Pastore, casting Talavera as a hero of resistance to Inquisitorial zeal, has described the advent of Cisneros in 1499, with his tactics of forced conversion and mass baptism, 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 inconsistently realized, for achieving national unity (85).

The evidence available to evaluate such claims is undeniably difficult to synthesize. As Archbishop of Granada, Talavera certainly adopted pragmatic measures designed to encourage, but not compel, the assimilation of Granada's Muslims into Castilian society and culture, tactics that his later biographers approvingly recalled.¹⁶ For example, he sought to train his new clergy in Arabic; frequently preached (using interpreters) at churches throughout his archdiocese; instituted a form of the "Boy Bishop" festival adapted to local customs; and even substituted Moorish instruments and music in the mass, to make it more attractive to Muslim audiences.

At the same time, other evidence from Talavera's tenure as archbishop also indicates his support for the goal of unconditional assimilation implied in his example of Noah's Ark from

¹⁶ The primary source of evidence for most of these specific measures remains the quasi-hagiographical account of Talavera's career written in the 1520s by his one-time aide, Alonso Fernández de la Madrid, lix-lx, 82-3, 53-4, 98.

Contra la demasía. The most overt affirmation of this goal is the brief *Memorial y tabla de ordenaciones* (“Memorandum and list of ordinances”) that Talavera eventually issued for the newly baptized Muslims (now termed *moriscos*) in the city of Granada.¹⁷ The ordinances specified in the memorandum leave little doubt about the conformity now expected of Granada’s “new Christians:”

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. (Azcona 762)

And so forth, in fifteen other equally detailed and terse dictates. Finally, Talavera urges that:

para que vuestra conversaçion sea syn escandalo a los xpianos, de naçion y no piensen que aun teney 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 olvidando quanto pudieredes la lengua arauiga y faziendola olvidar y que nunca se hable en vuestras casas. (Azcona 763)

Talavera insists, in short, that the *moriscos* adopt the cultural and social norms of Christian life, even in their dress, footwear, and diet, an obvious echo of the strictures specified in *Contra la demasía*.

Viewed broadly, the *Memorial* exemplifies Talavera’s allegiance to a common ideal in the political thought of his era, namely the value of authoritarian and hierarchical power, which was of course the first principle of his argumentation in *Contra la demasía*. This appeal to authoritarian governance had superseded the acceptance of more communitarian and conciliarist ideals during the earlier fifteenth century. In Castile, Talavera’s contemporaries Juan de Torquemada and Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo were well-known exponents of the need for strong central power, in both Church and State (Watts 386-88).

By publishing a revised version of *Contra la demasía* at Granada in 1496, Talavera not only reaffirmed such authoritarian ideals, but also recapitulated the Christian moral theology that justified the application of those ideals to a wide range of cultural and social practices in fashion and consumption. His invocation of moral theology on gluttony as justification for that

¹⁷ Azcona published this undated document as a decree issued “soon after the conquest of Granada” *poco después de la conquista de Granada* (761-62), but the memorandum begins by declaring that it responds to requests regarding questions from the *moriscos* about which Christian practices they must observe, so it seems evident that the document dates from the period after the forced conversions and mass baptisms mandated by Cisneros between 1499 and 1502.

application—even though retracted in apologies for digression, qualified with casuistic exceptions, or simply disregarded—unequivocally defines cultural or social difference as sinful, because excessive, and so a deliberate rejection of the Christian covenant signified in Noah’s Ark.

In her delicious popular history of dinner manners, Margaret Visser quips that “behind every rule of table etiquette lurks the determination of each person present to be a diner, not a dish” (4). Behind every instruction in *Contra la demasía* lurks an equally urgent imperative: “o vistamos como comemos o comamos segund que vestimos” (Castro 34). For the Muslims of Granada in 1496, Talavera’s *Contra la demasía* offers a simple warning: abandon their gluttonous “excesses” of fashion and consumption and accept the natural, necessary, and reasonable nourishment of Christian moral theology provided in the Ark of the Real Patronato. To do otherwise is to refuse divine grace and leaves them prey to the omnivorous forces of providential history that had consumed them.

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