

**Seducing Slander: Hernando
de Talavera on Eliciting
Disparagement of Others**

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Seduction, as an exercise of human language, rarely enjoyed a positive reputation in Western medieval culture, to judge from its representation in most works of literature or moral philosophy from the Middle Ages. One has only to remember the roles of *Male Bouche* [Evil Tongue] and *Faux-Semblant* [False Seeming] in the *Roman de la Rose* to see that seduction typically attracted bad company.¹

Seduction was, simply, an exercise of what medieval moral theologians typically counted among the *vitia linguae* [sins of the tongue]: cursing, gossip, mockery, obscenity, loquacity, fatuity, fraud, flattery, dissimulation, hypocrisy, slander, and so forth.² For many authorities on moral theology in the thirteenth century, these verbal offenses were grave enough to merit classification as an eighth cardinal sin, most famously in Guillaume Perault's widely circulated *Summa de virtutibus et vitiis*.³ The subtypes of the *vitia linguae* cataloged by Perault and his contemporaries rationalize and organize the many abuses of language commonly treated in the vast corpus of medieval conduct literature, in both Latin and the vernaculars.⁴ Scarcely any mirror for princes, compilation of gnomic wisdom, treatise on moral theology, manual of chivalry, courtesy book, or guide to estate management (to name only a few genres that provided advice on conduct) failed to warn against the misuse of language. Although the *vitia linguae* did not survive, after the thirteenth century, as an eighth cardinal sin, attention to them remained keen and inspired a number of Latin and vernacular treatises devoted exclusively to the sins of the tongue, such as the *Pungilingua* by the fourteenth-century Italian Dominican Domenico Cavalca.⁵

In the Iberian Peninsula, Castilian authors of the Middle Ages made almost no contributions to conduct literature on speech, perhaps because mirrors for princes and compilations of gnomic wisdom, often adapted from Oriental sources, were already hugely popular in medieval Spain.⁶ To my knowledge, only one Castilian author, Hernando de Talavera, wrote a treatise on the sins of the tongue: this is his

Contra el murmurar o maldezir [*Against Gossip and Slander*], which is the subject of this essay. At first glance, Talavera's treatise appears to be simply a generic summary of conventional doctrine, without reference to any particular circumstance or occasion. Talavera nonetheless included the text in a collection of his writings, intended as a guide to pastoral care and printed in 1496 at Granada, where he was serving as the city's first archbishop. Considering the highly conflictual environment of Granada in the 1490s, I would argue that *Contra el murmurar o maldezir* in fact offers Talavera's attempt to provide social policy for managing that difficult environment, and an intervention, from the archiepiscopal pulpit of his moral and spiritual authority, against the many forms of violence that plagued the city in its first decade under Christian rule.

Hernando de Talavera

Hernando de Talavera (1430?–1507) was a prolific author of vernacular works on moral theology but is best known today for his political career.⁷ Originally a professor of moral theology at the University of Salamanca, he abandoned this academic post in 1466 to join the Hieronymite Order and quickly rose to prominence in its ranks, thanks to his talents as a preacher and reformer. In 1470 he became prior of the order's most important house, Santa María del Prado in Valladolid,⁸ where his talents soon attracted the notice of Queen Isabel of Castile, whose court was resident there at the time. The rest, as we say, is history. Talavera subsequently served almost twenty years as Isabel's personal confessor and as one of her most trusted political agents, responsible for managing some of the most important events of her reign, such as reclaiming the lucrative privileges conceded to the nobility by her brother and predecessor, King Enrique IV; heading the commission that reviewed Columbus's plans for overseas exploration; and negotiating with the papacy almost total royal control over ecclesiastical affairs in the future new territory of Granada.⁹ His reward for these, and for his many other accomplishments, was appointment in 1492 as the first archbishop of Granada, following Castile's acquisition of the kingdom, the last Muslim realm in the Iberian Peninsula.

As archbishop of Granada, Talavera faced, along with other royal officials appointed to govern the new territory, daunting challenges: organization of Granada's civil society, regulation of its economy, and creation of an ecclesiastical administration, all with the goal of assimilating the Muslim kingdom into Christian Castile. For his part, Talavera labored tirelessly to create parish churches, establish a functioning archiepiscopal organization, train clergy for service in the new territory, and evangelize the remaining Muslim inhabitants of Granada.¹⁰

The 1496 Edition of Talavera's Writings

Toward this end Talavera published at Granada, in 1496, an untitled collection of his own writings, evidently intended as a guide to pastoral care for the Christian clergy recruited to serve in his new archdiocese.¹¹ The contents of this volume range

from basic instructions about the observation of Christian holy days, the symbolism of the Mass, and the practice of confession to a defense of sumptuary laws, his treatise on slander, and a letter of advice on personal conduct to the Countess of Benavente. In order to print this volume of his writings, Talavera brought from Seville two German printers, Johann Pegnitzer and Meinhard Ungut, who were working there at the time. They stayed in Granada only briefly, just long enough to print this collection of Talavera's writings, his Castilian adaptation of Francesc Eiximenis's *Vita Christi*, and thousands of devotional images for distribution to Muslim households.¹²

The 1496 printing of Talavera's works is not an exhaustive collection of his many known writings, which leaves modern scholars to ponder how the texts chosen for publication contributed to guiding the new Christian clergy of Granada in their duties of pastoral care. Some of the works are obviously relevant; others, such as his letter on using time wisely (written in the 1470s for the Countess of Benavente), his defense of sumptuary laws (originally composed for the city council of Valladolid in 1477), or his treatise on slander, less so.

Contra el murmurar o maldezir

Talavera's treatise on slander, *Contra el murmurar o maldezir* (hereafter *CMM*), includes no internal references to the circumstances of its composition, and there are no known previous manuscript witnesses, making it almost impossible to know when, where, or why Talavera composed this text.¹³ Like so many of Talavera's writings on moral theology, his treatise on slander offers a summary of received doctrine, written in an easy and engaging style: decades ago, Giovanni Maria Bertini ranked Talavera among the best vernacular prose stylists of fifteenth-century Castile.¹⁴ Some of Talavera's other writings, such as the *Confessional* included in the 1496 volume (RAH 39–151), organize their expositions of Christian morality through detailed explication of the Decalogue; this was a scheme increasingly common for instruction of the laity by Talavera's era.¹⁵ However, *CMM* instead broadly synthesizes conventional Catholic moral theology on the *vitia linguae*. 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.¹⁶ Unlike the *Confessional* and other treatises in the 1496 volume, which include very few quotations of sources, *CMM* bristles with citations from biblical, patristic, and medieval authorities.

In short, the treatise has the look and feel of a theological tractate written specifically for educating clergy. It does not argue any new definitions or conceptions of slander but simply synthesizes essential distinctions widely available from canonical authorities such as Aquinas¹⁷ and popular manuals of pastoral care, such as Guido de Monte Rochen's handbook for curates.¹⁸ Although Talavera's own library included works by many of the authors cited in *CMM*,¹⁹ it is unlikely that he combed their individual pages seeking precepts on the *vitia linguae*. He almost

surely found his citations preassembled in some popular guide to moral theology or pastoral care. We know that his library 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.²⁰ Modern readers can still find many of the same examples and quotations cited by Talavera on contemporary religious websites that offer spiritual counsel or Christian ethical guidance.²¹

Compared with other works on the *vitia linguae*, *CMM* is very narrowly focused: chapter 3 does mention the other *vitia linguae*, but the treatise focuses almost exclusively on slander (*maldezir*) and repeatedly conflates this *vitium linguae* with gossip (*murmurar*), as its title indicates. The treatise largely ignores the many other sins of speech analyzed in chapters 5 through 8 of Talavera's own *Confessional*, which treat the commandments against murder, adultery, theft, and false witness, specifically relating them to such *vitia linguae* as cursing, mockery, obscenity, loquacity, fatuity, fraud, flattery, dissimulation, and hypocrisy, all in addition to slander.

So why did Talavera elect to include this specialized treatise on slander in the volume of his writings published at Granada in 1496? The easiest answer is of course that it was among the only writings that Talavera had at hand to compile for this purpose. But it's impossible not to conjecture that Talavera may have considered slander an especially important problem to address in the highly conflictual social and economic circumstances of Granada after 1492. A brief review of those circumstances can help to illustrate the need for his attention to that problem.

The Historical Context of Talavera's CMM

First, the situation of Granada's Muslims was unenviably unique. The terms of capitulation by which the kingdom of Granada surrendered to Castile in 1492 were the most generous ever granted by the Castilian Crown, effectively guaranteeing to Granada's Muslim inhabitants the continuation of their society, religion, and laws.²² Nonetheless, the kingdom's ruling elite soon fled, effectively decapitating Granada's native body politic (*Creating Christian Granada*, 38–39).²³ At the same time, the pressures of Christian colonization led to a new crisis of internal migration: Muslims from rural areas flooded into the city, which they saw as their last refuge (*Creating Christian Granada*, 39–40). Predictably, social, economic, and religious tensions intensified, leading to a series of rebellions among the Muslim population and, finally, their forced conversion to Christianity in 1502. Needless to say, this measure hardly improved their situation. These "new Christians," or *moriscos*, as they were commonly called, remained targets of suspicion, contempt, exploitation, and mistreatment for decades to come. In 1526, as King Charles prepared to visit Granada, the royal chancery issued a lengthy decree of instructions regarding civic order, declaring (among many other things) that no one should refer, in public or

in secret, to the new converts as *perros o moros* [dogs or Moors].²⁴ None of these measures were effective. Later attempts to enforce prohibitions on Muslim customs ultimately led to another rebellion in 1568; in response, the Crown carried out an official campaign of “ethnic cleansing,” dispersing perhaps half of Granada’s *morisco* population to other regions of Castile.²⁵

As for the Christian colonists who arrived in Granada after 1492, they presented other unwelcome problems. The number of Castilian settlers was at first perhaps only 1,000 (*Creating Christian Granada*, 16) but swelled to almost 40,000 by the early sixteenth century.²⁶ Many of the Castilian nobility who came to Granada sought to expropriate Muslim properties in the city, leading municipal authorities to issue repeated decrees regulating the transfer of land among Christians and Muslims.²⁷ The common people who came to Granada were, evidently, not the best elements of society: contemporary chroniclers frequently describe them as fortune seekers and opportunists. Alonso Fernández de Madrid, a former aide of Talavera who composed a biography of the archbishop some thirty years later, wrote, in remarks often cited, that

como al principio aquella cibdad y reino, por la mayor parte, se pobló de gente de guerra y de personas advenedizas y vagabundos, que suelen ser las heces de las otras cibdades, había tantos mal industriados en la fe y buenas costumbres, que todo el trabajo y diligencia del pastor fué bien menester.²⁸

[since initially that city and kingdom was largely settled by soldiers, opportunists, and vagabonds, who are usually the scum of other cities, there were so many lacking in faith and good customs, that it required all the archbishop’s effort and diligence (to govern them).]

One example of their unwelcome presence suffices: Rafael Peinado Santaella has documented how the discovery of auriferous sands in the upper reaches of the Darro River, which runs through Granada, briefly inspired a small “gold rush” of fortune seekers, who, after the Crown suppressed their activities, reportedly made local taverns their homes rather than seek gainful employment.²⁹ Other examples of the social, economic, and religious conflicts among the new Castilian settlers and with their Muslim neighbors have filled many volumes of modern scholarship.³⁰

Whether so many of the Castilian settlers really were the scum and vagabonds denounced by Fernández de Madrid, it is undeniable that Talavera and his clergy faced challenges unknown elsewhere in Castile, where the conflicts of colonial settlement belonged to past centuries. Ángel Galán Sánchez, one of the Spanish historians who have studied most closely these difficult years, explains how authorities responded with aggressive measures to ensure segregation of the

city's Christian and Muslim inhabitants; this effort created a spectacular increase in conflict, of intense virulence, between the two communities.³¹ These measures included decrees in 1498 prohibiting the sale of such basic commodities as wine and shoes between Christians and Muslims.³² David Coleman, in *Creating Christian Granada*, summarizes thus the highly conflictual situation among the city's Christian settlers:

Granada was in many ways unique among Spanish cities, and not just in terms of the presence of an enormous *morisco* community within the city's walls. Granada's Christian immigrant social landscape was characterized by a level of fluidity and dynamism that exceeded that of most of Spain's other principal cities. Tradition among frontier Granada's Christian immigrant community was not something simply to be followed or observed; it was something to be created. (31)

It was precisely the creation of this tradition of civil society that presented the greatest challenge to Hernando de Talavera and the clergy of his new archdiocese.

Moral Theology as Social Policy

As guidance for clergy seeking to manage this highly conflictual environment, Talavera offered in 1496 his collection of writings, including his treatise on slander. For reasons explained already, this specialized treatise on moral theology seems unlikely to have served directly the need for pastoral care among Granada's Christian settlers or the efforts to evangelize its Muslim inhabitants. For Talavera's own clergy, applying the treatise's precepts to everyday situations would have required considerable extrapolation from its dense summary of theological doctrine and profusion of biblical examples.

Perhaps for this reason, chapter 6 includes, as an example of the treatise's potential application, a paragraph that lists eleven colloquial phrases, which the archbishop specifically condemns as invitations to slander, as attempts to seduce someone into disparaging another. Since we have no earlier version of Talavera's treatise, it's impossible to know whether he added this section for publication in 1496, but it is striking as almost the only original material among the mass of conventional doctrines compiled in his treatise on slander. The phrases cited in this paragraph are especially intriguing for the range of social and economic conflictivity that they imply. Since these are all colloquial phrases, the English translations below can only attempt to offer an appropriately idiomatic modern equivalent:

Ca muchas vezes, no tanto con dañada o maliciosa intencion quanto con alguna curiosidad demasiada y con indiscrecion, induzimos y damos a otros causa o grande ocasion de murmurar,

preguntando y queriendo saber de los hechos y condiciones ajenas lo que no auemos menester. “¿Que vos parece?” solemos dezir. “¿Como sabe fulano bien vender lo que tiene y el otro bien recaudar lo que le deuen?” “¿Como sabe fulano vengarse de quien le haze o tracta mal? ¿Como se sabe bien alabar?” “¿Como se apega adonde ay bien de ayantar?” “¿Como se entremete donde no le llaman?” “¿Como sabe traher su agua a su molino?” “¿Que vos dizia aquel lisonjero?” “¿Aquel parlero?” “¿Aquel boca de mentiras?” “¿Quien fueron en matar a fulano?” (RAH 244–45)

[Frequently, without any injurious or malicious intent, but rather with excessive curiosity or indiscretion, we induce and give others occasion for slander, asking and seeking to know about someone’s circumstances and affairs where we have no need. “What do you think?” we often say. “How does so-and-so sell his stuff so well and that other guy collect what they owe him?” “How does so-and-so know how to get back at someone who treats him badly?” “How does he get off tooting his own horn?” (Or perhaps instead, as an insinuation, “Where to begin saying something good?”) “How does he get in wherever there’s food?” “How does he get in where not invited?” “How does he get water to his mill?” (a proverbial expression) “What did that flatterer tell you?” “That bigmouth?” “That big liar?” “Who was involved in killing so-and-so?”]

It is not difficult to see how the varieties of discord suggested in these phrases—economic competition, social climbing, schemes for vengeance, anxiety about one’s reputation, outright physical violence, and so forth—might correspond to the types of conflict that proliferated among the Christian colonists of Granada in the late 1490s.

I say deliberately “among the Christian colonists,” because there is nothing in *CMM* that specifically addresses conflict between Granada’s Christian and Muslim populations. This emphasis understandably reflects the circumstances of Talavera’s charge: in 1496 the Muslim residents of Granada still remained subject to their own laws and customs, while the growing community of Castilian settlers was the immediate responsibility of the archbishop’s pastoral care as Christian prelate of his new archdiocese. Talavera’s focus on slander may seem a rather narrowly conceived contribution to this endeavor, but the received doctrine compiled in his treatise also suggests a broader import for its subject. As noted above, *CMM* rehearses the traditional explanations of slander as the verbal equivalent of theft and murder, because it “steals” or “kills” someone else’s reputation. Talavera presents these analogies as the premises of his entire treatise in its very first paragraphs:

Es grande pecado porque haze gran daño, ca el que murmura o dize mal daña a aquel de quien murmura, quitandole su buena fama, la qual es en mayor bien, como dize Salomon, que muchas riquezas (Prov. 22.1). Item haze mucho daño a aquellos con quien murmura porque les causa que desdeñen en sus coraçones y quieran mal o menos bien a aquel cuyos pecados y males oyen. Por lo qual, quanto en si es, el que murmura los haze hocimidas [*sic*] ca, como dize Sant Juan, el que aborrece a su proximo, homicida es (1 John 3.15). (RAH 213–14)

[It is a great sin because it does great harm, for a slanderer damages the one that he slanders, stealing his good reputation, which is prized, as Solomon says, above much wealth (Prov. 22.1). He also does great harm to those among whom he slanders someone, by causing them in their hearts to dislike or like less the one whose sins or misdeeds they hear. Therefore, in so far as this is so, the slanderer makes them murderers because, as Saint John says, anyone who despises his neighbor is a murderer (1 John 3.15).]

...

Es otrosi grand peccado porque el daño que haze es muy malo de satisfacer y reparar. Ca el que furta o roba fazienda, ligeramente la puede pagar o tornar, mas el que murmura, ¿como podra restituyr la buena fama? ca no podra auer a todos aquellos a cuya noticia es ya venido el mal que diulgo o no le creeran avnque quiera dezir bien de aquel de quien dixo mal. (RAH 214)

[It is also a great sin because the damage that it does is very hard to expiate or repair. For whoever steals or robs property can easily return or repay it, but the slanderer, how can he restore a good reputation? He cannot gather all those who already heard the evil that he spread, and they will not believe his desire to speak well of the one about whom he spoke evil.]

These explications of slander as theft and murder are not simply exegetical subtleties but rather offer accepted principles of moral theology as “social theorizing” about the verbal medium of violence that threatened to disrupt civil society in Granada during the 1490s.

Slander is, in short, violence, and encouraging others to slander is an incitement to violence. Speaking ill of others was surely a linguistic counterpart to the crimes against property and person that civic authorities strived to suppress in

Granada at this time, through a stream of regulations designed to control a wide array of commercial and social affairs, as mentioned above. Talavera, as one of the three authorities, all trusted servants of the Crown, appointed to govern the new territory, surely contributed to crafting many of these regulations. But in his role as archbishop, his primary authority was moral and spiritual. His collection of writings printed in 1496 constituted in effect his “moral legislation” for the governance of Granada’s new Christian society. Talavera, seeking to control the many forms of interpersonal violence in the city, applies the strictures of moral theology as the best program of action available to him for this purpose.

In this respect, the publication of *CMM* in Talavera’s 1496 collection of writings serves the same function as his treatise *Contra la demasía* [*Against Excess*], also included in the 1496 volume. Most of *Contra la demasía* consists of detailed arguments in defense of very specific sumptuary laws adopted by the city of Valladolid in 1477: it censures particular fashions of aristocratic women (such as farthingales, thigh padding, and neckwear) that would have been unknown to Granada’s Muslims and unaffordable or forbidden to most of the city’s Christian population. However, the import of *Contra la demasía* for governing the new territory lies not in its denunciation of specific extravagant fashions but rather in its initial, uncompromising argument that civic authorities have the right to legislate customs of dress and consumption.³³ Similarly, *CMM* foregrounds the equation of slander with theft and murder, in order to extend its import, beyond simply censuring the *vitia linguae*, to controlling the whole verbal fabric of violence within Granada’s emerging Christian community.

Conclusion

Talavera’s treatise on slander is, as we might say today, an intervention in the “social policy” of language. I would compare his attempt to control language, as a medium of social violence, to the measures adopted in some American cities to deter gang violence by imposing dress codes in schools and banning the sale of spray paint used for tagging, or even to broader state and federal laws concerning hate speech. Talavera’s efforts, and those of Granada’s other civic authorities during the 1490s, ultimately failed. Conflict among the new Christian settlers and with the indigenous Muslim population remained endemic. Still, *CMM* usefully suggests how works of conduct literature, even a conventional treatise on the moral theology of slander, could function as deliberate interventions in contemporary social, political, and economic conflicts.

As a postscript to this discussion, it is interesting to recall that Talavera himself fell victim to slander during the last years of his life. In 1504 Queen Isabel, his longtime patron and protector, died. The following year, an aggressively ambitious inquisitor from Cordoba, Diego Rodríguez de Lucero, publicly accused Talavera and his staff of “judaizing.”³⁴ Members of Talavera’s staff, but not the archbishop himself, were arrested and tortured by the Inquisition. Talavera died in May 1507,

probably before learning that a papal commission, appointed to review the case, had completely exonerated him and his staff. (Rodríguez de Lucero was later removed from office and imprisoned.) David Nirenberg has argued that accusations of “judaizing” in late medieval politics manifested “a latent potential, under particular conditions of conflict, for the violent release” of resistance to sovereign authority.³⁵ Talavera, for decades a faithful servant of the Castilian Crown, would surely have agreed.

Notes

- 1 Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Armand Strubel (Paris, 1992).
- 2 Useful introductions to treatment of the *vitia linguae* in medieval literature are Sandy Bardsley, *Venomous Tongues: Speech and Gender in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2006); Carla Casagrande and Silvia Vecchio, *I peccati della lingua: Disciplina ed etica della parola nella cultura medievale* (Rome, 1987); and Edwin D. Craun, *Lies, Slander, and Obscenity in Medieval English Literature: Pastoral Rhetoric and the Deviant Speaker* (London, 1997).
- 3 No complete modern edition of Perault’s famous compendium exists; portions (including sections on the *vitia linguae*) are available online at <http://www.unc.edu/~swenzel/Sins%20of%20the%20tongue%20trial.html>.
- 4 For introductions to the vast medieval literature on conduct, see Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark, eds., *Medieval Conduct* (Minneapolis, 2001); and Mark D. Johnston, ed., *Medieval Conduct Literature: An Anthology of Vernacular Guides to Behaviour for Youths, with English Translations* (Toronto, 2009).
- 5 Domenico Cavalca, “Pungilingua,” ed. Mauro Zanchetta (PhD diss., University of Padua, 2011), available online at http://paduaresearch.cab.unipd.it/3327/1/Tesi_completa.pdf.
- 6 For surveys of the wisdom literature (*literatura sapiencial*) of medieval Iberia, see Marta Haro Cortés, *Literatura de castigos en la Edad Media: libros y colecciones de sentencias* (Madrid, 2003); and Alicia Ramadori, *Literatura sapiencial hispánica del siglo XIII* (Bahía Blanca, 2001).
- 7 As an author, Talavera is most famous to modern readers for his *Catholica impugnacion*, a lengthy treatise on the problem of *conversos* (converted Jews in late medieval Spain), thanks to the exhaustive study and edition of this text by the late Francisco Márquez Villanueva: Hernando de Talavera, *Cathólica impugnación* (Barcelona, 1961); still useful as well are Márquez Villanueva’s investigations of Talavera’s milieu in *Investigaciones sobre Juan Álvarez Gato: Contribución al conocimiento de la literatura castellana del siglo XV* (Madrid, 1960). Isabella Iannuzzi offers a voluminous compilation of received

- scholarship on Talavera's milieu in *El poder de la palabra en el siglo XV: fray Hernando de Talavera* (Salamanca, 2009). For a briefer appreciation of Talavera's career as archbishop of Granada, see Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Fray Hernando de Talavera en 1492: de la corte a la misión," *Chronica nova* 34 (2008), 249–75. For the extensive scholarship on Talavera's career, see José Fradejas Lebrero, "Bibliografía crítica de fray Hernando de Talavera," in *Pensamiento Medieval Hispano: Homenaje a Horacio Santiago-Otero*, ed. José María Soto Rábanos (Madrid, 1998), 2:1347–57.
- 8 On Talavera's tenure as prior of this important convent, see Luis Resines Llorente, *Hernando de Talavera, Prior del Monasterio de Prado* (Salamanca, 1993).
 - 9 The indispensable study on Talavera's efforts to create his future archbishopric is Jesús Suberbiola Martínez, *Real Patronato de Granada: El arzobispo Talavera, la Iglesia y el Estado Moderno 1486–1516* (Granada, 1985), pp. 1–144.
 - 10 On Talavera's ecclesiastical administration, see Suberbiola Martínez, *Real Patronato de Granada*, pp. 145–280.
 - 11 Only thirteen copies survive of this precious work, *Breue y muy prouechosa doctrina de lo que deue saber todo christiano con otros tractados muy prouechosos compuestos por el Arçobispo de Granada* (Granada, 1496). Miguel Mir published a very imperfect edition (based on an unknown original exemplar) as *Escritores místicos españoles I*, Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles 16 (Madrid, 1911). All references and quotations in this article are from the copy held by the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid (hereafter cited as RAH), available online (as of March 5, 2014) in a digital facsimile on the academy's website: <http://www.rah.es>. Subsequent references to this work are given in the text. All quotations from *Contra el murmurar o maldezir* cite the page numbers (in a modern hand) of the RAH exemplar.
 - 12 On these printers' work for Talavera, see the insightful analyses of Felipe Pereda, *Las imágenes de la Discordia: Política y poética de la imagen sagrada en la España del cuatrocientos* (Madrid, 2007), pp. 249–321.
 - 13 All quotations from *CMM* regularize the punctuation, modernize the spelling, and resolve the abbreviations from the RAH exemplar, following an edition of the text that I have prepared for future publication. All translations into English are my own.
 - 14 Giovanni Maria Bertini, "Hernando de Talavera, escritor espiritual (siglo XV)," in *Actas del Cuarto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas (1971)*, ed. Eugenio Bustos Tovar (Salamanca, 1982), 1:173–90.
 - 15 John Bossy, "Moral Arithmetic: Seven Sins into Ten Commandments," in *Conscience and Casuistry in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Edmund Leites (Cambridge, UK, 1988), pp. 213–34.

- 16 F.N.M. Diekstra, “The Art of Denunciation: Medieval Moralists on Envy and Detraction,” in *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Newhauser (Toronto, 2005), pp. 431–54.
- 17 *Summa theologiae* 2a.2ae.72–76.
- 18 Guido de Monte Rochen, *Handbook for Curates: A Late Medieval Manual on Pastoral Ministry*, ed. Anne T. Thayer and Katharine J. Lualdi (Washington, DC, 2011), 3.3.
- 19 Talavera’s will includes a detailed inventory of his extensive personal library; see Quintín Aldea, “Hernando de Talavera, su testamento y su biblioteca,” in *Homenaje a Fray Justo Pérez de Urbel OSB* (Silos, 1976), 1:513–47.
- 20 Johann P. Sommerville, “The ‘New Art of Lying’: Equivocation, Mental Reservation, and Casuistry,” in Leites, *Conscience and Casuistry*, pp. 159–84.
- 21 “Sins of the Tongue: The Backbiting Tongue” (translated from an unidentified work of P. Bélet [Basel, 1870]), available online from Catholic Apologetics Information: <http://www.catholicapologetics.info/morality/general/btongue.htm>.
- 22 The modern scholarship on postconquest Granada is vast; especially useful for the wealth of sociohistorical data that it compiles is José Antonio González Alcantud and Manuel Barrios Aguilera, eds., *Las tomas: antropología histórica de la ocupación territorial del reino de Granada* (Granada, 2000). For English readers, the best introduction to this subject is David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600* (Ithaca, 2003). Subsequent references to the latter work are given by page number in the text.
- 23 Brief but very readable accounts of these events are J. H. Elliott’s classic survey, *Imperial Spain 1492–1716* (New York, 1963), p. 50; and Brian Catlos, *The Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom c. 1050–1614* (Cambridge, UK, 2014), pp. 210–19.
- 24 Antonio Garrido Aranda, *Organización de la Iglesia en el Reino de Granada y su proyección en Indias, s. XVI* (Seville, 1980), p. 304. On the royal visit, see also Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 119–25.
- 25 Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 180–88; and Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, p. 237.
- 26 Ángel Galán Sánchez, “Segregación, coexistencia y convivencia: los musulmanes de la ciudad de Granada (1492–1570),” in González Alcantud and Barrios Aguilera, *Las tomas*, pp. 325–26.
- 27 Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 14–22; and Elliott, *Imperial Spain*, p. 49.
- 28 Alonso Fernández de Madrid, *Vida de Fray Fernando de Talavera, primer arzobispo de Granada*, ed. F. G. Olmedo (Madrid, 1931), ed. F. J. Martínez Medina (Granada, 1992), p. 52.

- 29 Rafael Peinado Santaella, "La Granada mudéjar y la génesis del regimen municipal castellano," *Chronica nova* 28 (2001), 365–66.
- 30 The bibliography in Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 235–48, offers an excellent inventory of the extensive available scholarship.
- 31 Galán Sánchez, "Segregación, coexistencia y convivencia," p. 331.
- 32 On these and the many other measures implemented to segregate the two communities, see Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada*, pp. 50–72.
- 33 It also includes, as I have argued elsewhere, an implicit warning to Granada's Muslims, based on an analogy to Noah's ark, of their need to assimilate into Christian society: "Gluttony and *Convivencia*: Hernando de Talavera's Warning to the Muslims of Granada in 1496," *eHumanista* 25 (2013), 107–26.
- 34 For a summary of this difficult final episode in Talavera's long career, see Julieta Vega García-Ferrer, *Fray Hernando de Talavera y Granada* (Granada, 2007), pp. 46–50.
- 35 David Nirenberg, "Christian Sovereignty and Jewish Flesh," in *Rethinking the Medieval Senses: Heritages/Fascinations/Frames*, ed. Stephen G. Nichols, Andreas Kahlitz, and Alison Calhoun (Baltimore, 2008), pp. 154–85, at p. 173.