Royal Blood, Aristocratic Ideology and Genealogical Imperialism in Early Modern Spain and America: the Inca Princesses and the Grandeza of Spain.*

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Antonio Terrasa Lozano
atterasa@gmail.com
CIDEHUS- Universidade de Évora
Bolseiro de Pós- Doutoramento FCT
 nº SFRH/BPD66015/2009

0. Introduction.
In September 1702, Don Juan Tomás Enríquez de Cabrera, Admiral of Castile, Duke of Medina de Rioseco and, therefore, Grandée of Spain, left Madrid with a large entourage that included his whole household. He had recently been appointed extraordinary ambassador by Philip V in the Louis XIV’s court. Notwithstanding this, the Admiral of Castile and his group never climbed the Pyrenees but instead they crossed through a closer border in Portugal. The Admiral took up residence in Lisbon where he declared his loyalty to the House of Habsburg and denounced denying Philip V of Bourbon’s rights to the Spanish throne he had inherited in 1700 when Charles II died. It was the second year of the so-called Spanish Succession War (1701-1715) and the Admiral’s exile in Portugal meant the first important defection of one of the Spanish Bourbon king’s vassals. Because the Admiral left almost all of his wealth, including domains and rents, in Spain, Spanish and French authorities were astonished. By the end of September, Versailles’ spies had a hypothesis to explain Admiral’s betrayal. According to some intercepted letters in Madrid, the Admiral of Castile’s intention was to go to the kingdom of Peru with his niece, son of his brother the Marquise of Alcañices and descendant of the Incas. In addition, French intelligence got a statement from a Spanish resident in Paris which related that he had a conversation with the Admiral when he came back from the Peruvian kingdom some years before. He remembered that the Admiral was very interested in news from Peru and that the aristocrat flaunted his niece’s rights to the Incas’ crown.1

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* I am really grateful to Elizabeth Kline for her kindness and generosity in editing this article. Despite her mastery, some grammar mistakes may remain due to my final revisions.
1 FERNÁNDEZ DURO (1902), p. 81. The Admiral of Castile died three years later, in April 1705, months before the Austracist allies’ invasion of Spain from Portugal. As far as I know, no more news about the project of crowning his niece as the new Inca is recorded.
The Admiral’s affaire confirms the history of a success: descendance of the Inca “imperial family”\(^2\) added cultural capital\(^3\) to his lineage which was already linked to the Houses of Alcañices and Santiago de Oropesa. The Admiral’s niece was related to Doña Ana María Clara Coya, Inca Princess and descendant of the dethroned and humiliated Manco Inga, the last Inca. Her mother was Princess Beatriz Clara Coya; her grandfather was the Inca Sayre Túpac; and her husband was Juan Enríquez de Borja, member of the Grandeza of Spain. In addition, they became Saint Francis of Borja and Saint Ignacio of Loyola’s relative.

In March 1614 Philip III granted her the title of the Marchisate of Santiago de Oropesa. Therefore, the new noble household included among its cultural capital and symbolic power the Grandeza of Spain, the sanctity of its ancestors and the Incaic royal blood. It was not an exceptional phenomenon from the early modern aristocrats’ dynastic state of mind.\(^4\) All Spanish Grandees families were considered cousins of the king and descendants of royal ancestors.\(^5\)

Admiral’s household was not unique in its attempt to link its history and social capital to Inca royalty. A famous picture was produced in 1718, the *Unión de los descendientes de los incas imperiales con las Casas de Loyola y Borja* [The union of the imperial Incas’ descendants with the Houses of Loyola and Borja]. The picture shows the marriages of the Inca princesses with Don Martin Garcia de Loyola and with Don Juan Enríquez de Borja. The last Inca rulers, holding their heathen imperial symbols, the lords of the noble Houses of Loyola and Borja, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, and Saint Francis of Borja are present in a picture produced to glorify the Jesuit Order and to be part of a cycle devoted to the life of Saint Ignatius.\(^6\)

The mixture of Catholic and Incaic traditions in the genealogical discourse of the Admiral’s family and in the glorifying visual narratives of the Order of Jesus are good examples of a phenomenon that began in the Iberian kingdoms in the Middle Ages: the genealogical imperialism of European nobilities, kings, and religious corporations.

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\(^2\) The fact that Tupac Amaru spent time and money at court in order to be recognized Marquise of Santiago de Oropesa at the end of the 18th century demonstrates to what extent that Household was legally, politically, and symbolically linked to the Inca royalty and memory. CAHILL (2003).


\(^4\) This precise and enlightening concept was firstly used by Duby applied to medieval nobility, establishing the link between noble political and social power and the ideology based on the memory of the ancestors of the lineages. DUBY (1976), p. 36.

\(^5\) For instance, according to its own genealogical propaganda, the Silva family, a powerful Luso-Castilian lineage, was related to all ruling European sovereigns in late 17th century. SALAZAR Y CASTRO (1685), vol. I, p. 155.

\(^6\) See on that picture TIMBERLANE (1999) and TIMBERLANE (2001).
Putting this phenomenon in context will allow us to attach deeper knowledge dealing not only with nobility, but also with the social and juridical transfers by Spanish conquerors around the Atlantic world. Since at least the 15th century, Portuguese and Castilians converted African and Moor nobilities and royalties into Catholic aristocracies. When Spaniards adapted this political practice in America the process acquired an Atlantic dimension.\(^7\)

From this starting point, one of the main aims of this paper is to analyze the transformation of the Incaic Princes and Emperors’ descendants into Catholic aristocracy according to Castilian laws and the Catholic and Spanish juridical traditions. As is known, power is based on juridical reasons.\(^8\) Juridical reasons were asserted by the Spanish Crown, Spanish aristocracies, and converted Indian former ruling classes to re-create a European nobility by crossing the Atlantic attached to the old and noble genealogical and aristocratic discourse. Those juridical reasons were the swords brandished by Spanish aristocratic genealogical imperialism in order to co-ordinate the history, prestige, and cultural capital of the surviving Inca royalty. Incas Princes’ history, legitimacy, and genealogical glory were incorporated into the royal discourse of the Habsburgs and to the genealogical patrimony of the Grandees.

My starting point is when Spaniards arrived in Peruvian lands. They could only observe that new world through their Castilian, Catholic, and dynastic-minded eyes. In official letters, in Spanish authorities’ reports sent to the Catholic court, and in chronicles, the Peruvian reality was translated into the European juridical language. Therefore, while encountering, conquering, destroying, and reorganizing the local Peruvian society, Spaniards believed that they were observing emperors, kings, vassals, households, domains, lineages, and so on. The misunderstanding of the Spanish winners was the starting point of a new Peruvian society. Laws and new juridical status came from Castile in order to adapt reality to the social and juridical Spanish views. In this context, surviving Inca elites and members of the “royal family” converted to Christianity and accepted new legal rules in order to preserve their status in the new European Catholic society which replaced theirs. Besides, they were treated with royal dignity, *encomiendas, mayorazgos* and, in some cases, given noble titles. In other

\(^7\) As is well known the Atlantic World paradigm refers to “the involving history of the zone of interaction among the peoples of Western Europe, West Africa, and the Americas”. BAILYN (2009), p. 1.

\(^8\) WEBER (2005) [1922], p. 19.
words, in legal and juridical terms, some of the former Inca rulers were transformed into European nobility.

From the point of view of the Spanish aristocracy, becoming relatives to foreign nobilities was not a new or extraordinary experience. Centuries of aristocratic marriages across the borders of the kingdoms had produced Castilian noble households related by blood or marriage to Portuguese, Aragonese, and Italian families. It allowed them to own domains and networks in different kingdoms. This process received the Crown’s encouragement when the union of the Iberian kingdoms produced the Spanish Monarchy. According to some authors, Philip II planned to create a sort of imperial nobility taking advantage of this international marriage policy. Taking into account this aristocratic expansionist beyond-borders approach and the Spanish kings’ encouragement, marriage alliances with the Inca heirs expected despite the fact that, contrary to Portuguese, Aragonese, Castilian or Naepolitan aristocracies, the Inca noblemen were Indians and descended from pagans.

To what extend did these convert and racial factors made any difference in the early modern Monarchy of Spain will be also a question that I will try to answer in this paper. This paper is divided into four sections and conclusions. In the first section, I discuss the convenience of taking into account the early modern noble ideology, influenced by racial paradigms, in order to analyze contacts between Iberian kings and other Atlantic sovereigns and nobilities. I also put the Peruvian case analyzed in this paper into a context making reference to the main Iberian contacts with other non-Christian and ethnically different rulers and nobilities. I am referring to Portuguese relations with the kingdom of the Congo and the Castilian conquest of the Moor kingdom of Granada at the end of the 15th century.

In the second section I analyze the process of genealogical conquest of the Inca sovereignty by the House of Habsburg. Based on this conquest, the third section focuses on the transformation of the Peruvian elites into Catholic nobility through laws and rules such as Emperor Charles V’s laws of 1545 and 16th and 17th centuries legislation as the Leyes de Indias (“Laws of Indias”) (1697). Based on this framework, the last section focuses on the creation and history of the Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa, a symbol of the transformation of the Peruvian nobilities into Catholic nobility and heir to the Inca tradition. The Marquisate was, on one hand, a prestigious noble household

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according to the laws of Castile and, on the other hand, the noble title for the inherited rights to the Inca throne. It is a good example of what symbolic power crossbreeding with the Peruvian kingdom meant after the arrival of the European aristocratic ethos and the laws and juridical notions brought by the conquerors’ swords.

1. Noble racism, the kings of Congo, and the Moor princes of Granada.

Studies on early modern Atlantic societies have been framed by a “race” paradigm. Beginning with debates on the topic in the 1970’s and continuing over the next two decades, historians interested in this field focused on the analysis of the distribution of wealth and property, and division of labour according to race or caste. According to these studies, after the emergence of the first mixed-race generation in Spanish America, American inhabitants were categorized according to their “race” and their degree of purity or mixture with other “races”. In this sort of social ranking, the non mixed-races individuals were in the higher echelons. However, the racial paradigm applied to Spanish America has recently been criticized. According to Ruth Hill, applying race theories about Spanish American societies is problematic and unsatisfactory because they are anachronistic and they do not “distinguish between traditional (cultural, predominantly religious) and modern (racial) hierarchies”. In fact, this author states that Spanish New World societies were not racial societies but caste societies.

In order to analyze the transformation of Peruvian native elites into Castilian European nobility, the caste approach is more satisfactory than the racial one. If mixed-race condition was by itself a negative category, how could the mixed-race descendants of the Inca rulers have married Grandees of Spain and been considered parents of the Habsburgs? In this case it was not a matter of biological race but of other categories.

Medieval and early modern European societies were based on inequality and privilege. The social inequality was based on the noble ideology and aristocratic values. These values inspired laws and treatises and contributed to the creation of what has been

10 CHANCE and TAYLOR (1977); McCAA, SCHWARTZ, and GRUBESSERTICH (1979); CHANCE and TAYLOR (1979); SEED and RUST (1983).
11 These “racial” categorizations translated into a kind of racism in Spanish America based on biological determinism that had been traditionally thought to have been produced by 18th and 19th modern European science. CANIZARES ESGUERRA (1999), p. 35.
12 ESSED and GOLDBERG (2004).
called “the religion of the privilege”, “noble racism”,\(^\text{15}\), “myth of blood”\(^\text{16}\) and the “noble race”.\(^\text{17}\) All of these concepts make reference to a phenomenon described by Guillaume Aubert in these words:

_Sixteenth and seventeenth-century French metropolitan discourses of social order exacerbated the belief in the inherent superiority of certain groups of individuals or “races” by consistently emphasizing the transmissibility of physical characteristics and moral virtues through “blood” (sang) from one generation to the next. These metropolitan ideas of race were most clearly articulated with regard to the issue of _mésalliance_, or marriage between people of different ranks, which was considered to threaten the integrity, or “blood purity”, of the best races or families of the kingdom._\(^\text{18}\)

This sort of aristocratic racism was common in all Western European societies. Noblemen considered themselves members of a caste,\(^\text{19}\) destined to rule and guide the whole society. From this aristocracy minded approach, Spanish conquerors transformed the New World societies. By the sword they conquered the American lands, but also by establishing - socially and legally- the European principles of inequality and noble superiority. In order to legitimize their domain, Spanish kings linked themselves to the local “royal” legitimacy of the kingdoms and domain they inherited or conquered. In the non-European world, this process implied the “transformation” of local elites and rulers into emperors, kings and noblemen. Once native aristocracies were created, Spanish nobilities did not hesitate to become their parents and improve their symbolic and cultural capital by adding non Old Christian genealogies to their family histories. Since the aristocratic racism was more a matter of class\(^\text{20}\) or caste than of biological racism, the transformation of the local rulers into European aristocracies was possible. Thanks to narratives linking former native rulers to the Habsburg dynasty, thanks to conversions to Christianity, and thanks to accepting legal noble status and Castilian property systems, the union of royalties and nobilities from both sides of the Atlantic was feasible.

When the Spanish conquerors arrived in the New World they came with an Iberian experience of accepting non-Christian royalties as part of the community of the


\(^{16}\) MANDRON

\(^{17}\) JOUANNA.

\(^{18}\) AUBERT (2004), 4.


\(^{20}\) AUBERT (2004), 15.
sovereigns and in converting non-Christian nobilities into Catholics ones. I am referring to the relationships established at the end of the 15th century between the Portuguese kings and Congolese kings, on the one hand, and to the transformation of members of the Nazari Moor royal family into Castilian nobility, on the other hand. Since both cases constitute precedents of what happened some decades later in America, I will describe them.

Diogo Cão’s expedition to the river Zaire in 1482-1483 was the first contact between the kingdoms of Portugal and Congo. From the beginning, the kings of the House of Aviz did not attempt to conquer the so-called kingdom of Congo, but to control it politically. As Boxer stated, “the old Portuguese colonial empire was essentially a thalassocracy, a maritime and commercial empire, mainly concerned with spices of the East, the slaves of West Africa, and sugar, tobacco and gold from Brazil”. In order to grant themselves the West African slave trade, the Portuguese kings decided to consider the kings of Congo their “brothers” and allies. The kings of Portugal recognized the main chief of the Congo territory from the beginning as an equal. However, recognizing royalty and nobility in Africa was not enough. The Portuguese thought their duty was teaching their allies what being a Christian prince meant and how to behave.

The first and main step was conversion to Christianity. Prince Bemoim’s famous conversion was a recent and enlightening precedent of the advantages of Christening. According to the chronicler Ruy de Pina, in late 1488 Bemoym, black prince of the kingdom of Gelof, close to the river Senegal, arrived in Lisbon “with some blacks of his royal blood”. Prince Bemoim had been removed from the position of power he held in his “kingdom” when he first had contact with the Portuguese some years before. Now, Bemoim was in Lisbon looking for the protection, help, and justice from King John II (1484-1495). If Pina’s interpretation was right, prince Bemoim was behaving like a

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21 However, according to Gruzinski, the circumstances of the Iberian Peninsula and America were not comparable. In Spain and Portugal, Christians co-existed with monotheists (Jews and Moors) for centuries, in America they met suddenly and unexpectedly with the Indians. GRUZINSKI (2007) [1999], p. 87.


23 This episode is well-known thanks to the fact that it was carefully chronicled in chapter XXXVII, titled “Como Bemoym foy fecto Christão” of John II’s chronicle by Ruy de Pina. PINA, Ruy, Crónica de el-Rei D. João II, Coimbra, [c. 1504], 1950, pp. 90-96. Ruy de Pina’s narrative is a good case of how Portuguese manipulated alien behaviours in terms of their own political, social, and juridical culture, as well as a source for analyzing the assimilation process we are focusing on in this paper.

24 Ibid., p. 90.
vassal towards his lord. However, the king could not protect him nor recognize him as a vassal because he was not Christian. Therefore, after attending a mass, prince Bemoim and his “noblemen” expressed their fervent will to be christened. In November Bemoim was christened John, honoring his godfather King John II. Afterwards, he was knighted by the king and formally became John II’s vassal. It is difficult to know to what extent prince Bemoim was aware of the juridical meaning and implications of all these ceremonies. In any case, he received armed caravellas for his conquest expedition to the kingdom of Gelof.

The same approach was taken with the kings of the Congo who became Christians by 1490. The reign of King D. Afonso I (c. 1506- c. 1543) was the golden age of the conversion of the Congolese elites to Catholicism and acceptance into the Portuguese court culture. As pointed out by historiography, from the beginning the Portuguese tried to assimilate local customs and political organizations into their political and juridical culture and language. The chiefs were called fidalgos and courtiers in the Portuguese documents, Portuguese documents produced by those present in the African kingdom talked about palaces, vassals and nobility. In this narrative the Congolese social reality was described in terms of its European

25 In fact, Pina states that Bemoim considered himself as a vassal of the Portuguese king since John II was also lord of Guiné. Ibid., p. 92.
26 According to Pina, Bemoym expressed these intentions with words that “were not the words of a black barbarian, but of a Greek prince who grew up in Athens”. Ibid., p. 92. In the following decades getting Portuguese military alliances became more difficult thanks to conversions. In 1545 King Tagura, a far East lord, asked to become Christian. Since that chief needed a Portuguese military alliance against his local enemies, the Portuguese questioned Tagura’s sincerity and before trusting him they required reports about his faith from the Portuguese civil and religious authorities in Asia. By the mid 1540’s native kings were aware of the fact that conversion was a pre-condition for getting military support from the Europeans. BA [Ajuda Library], 51- VII- 22, ff. 2986- 2992.
27 The end of prince Bemoym’s story is violent and confusing. He was killed by Pedro Vaaz da Cunha, the captain of the Portuguese army, who brought him back to Africa because he distrusted his loyalty. According to Pina, the king was displeased with those news, but he did not punish the captain. Ibid. p. 96.
28 According to Boxer, D. Afonso I was a “genuine, fervent, and intelligent convert to Christianism who he did his utmost to implant the new religion by precept and example”. BOXER (1963), p. 20. Portuguese present in D. Afonso’s “court” agreed with this image of good Catholic king; in fact, they contributed to building that image. In 1516 Rui de Aguiar wrote to King D. Manuel of Portugal from Congo stating that Aguiar was not “a man, but an Angel sent by the Lord to this kingdom in order to make it Christian […] I assure your Highness that he is our master, he knows more about the Prophets and about Our Lord’s gospels and about the lives of the saints and about the Holy Church than ourselves [...]” After the mass, added Rui de Aguiar, he preached to the people. Letter reproduced in BRÁSIO (1952), pp. 361- 363.
29 BETHENCOURT (1998), p. 92. These statements are based on documents by historians writing about the Portuguese presence in the kingdom of Congo. They are mainly chronicles and collections of documents, especially PAIVA MANSO (1877); BRÁSIO (1952 and 1953); CUVELIER and JADIN (1954); JADIN and DICORATO (1974); PINA, Rui de, Crónica de el-Rei D. João II, Coimbra, [c. 1504]1950; DAMIAO DE GOIS; GARCIA DE RESENDE.
30 The same can be said about historiography in that period. See MILLER [1976] (1995); BALANDIER (1965). On the dangers of the Portuguese sources for the study of the “pre-Portuguese” Congolese societies and the evolution of the local social structures after 1482 see GONÇALVES (1985).
interpretation according to the 15th century Portuguese political culture. The kings of Portugal and their representatives in the Congo court were aware that the assimilation between both worlds - the Portuguese and the Congolese - was neither complete nor natural. Some adaptations, some pedagogy was required. So the kings of Portugal provided to his “brothers” the kings of Congo with an education on Christian royalty.

The letters sent by King D. Manuel of Portugal (1495-1521) to King D. Afonso of Congo are good examples of this phenomenon. In 1511, the Portuguese monarch sent an ambassador to the Congo with some letters. As the king explained in a letter addressed to the African sovereign, it was his custom “and other Princes and Christian kings’ custom” to send ambassadors and letters to other monarchs.31 Some years before (c. 1509), the Portuguese king sent to King D. Afonso some drafts and the definitive version with D. Afonso’s signature. An instruction was attached to the last signed copy sent to the Congo: “this is the signature that, according to the King our Lord [D. Manuel], the king of Congo must have from now onwards”.32 The kings of Portugal also provided the Congolese ones with a coat of arms following European standards.33 The king sent instructions to his agents in the African kingdom in order to let D. Afonso know about Portugal’s contributions of Royalty skills and instruments. Portuguese agents were supposed to teach the king of the Congo how to sign documents and use his hallmark in order to validate royal grants and letters. In addition, Portuguese laws, compiled during the reign of King D. Manuel and known as the Ordenações Manuelinas, were sent to the Congo in the beginning of the 16th century for his consideration. He was also given a list of the officers of the Royal Portuguese Household. The king of the Congo was expected to be taught about their functions and the organization of the Portuguese Royal House “just in case he wanted to introduce them in his kingdom”.34

If the contacts between Portuguese and Congolese kings in the beginning of the 16th century provides us with precedents of the transformation and manipulation of non-Europeans structures of power, the fate of some members of the Royal Moor family

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32 National Portuguese Archive of Torre do Tombo [ANTT], Gavetas, 15, Maço 1, N. 51. Published by BRÁSIO (1952) and FERRONHA (1992).
from Granada after the fall of the kingdom in 1492 provides us with a precedent of what would happen to the Incas’ descendants decades later.

Hernando del Pulgar (c. 1436- c. 1493) wrote a book on the origins of the kings of Granada a few years after the fall of the Nazari Kingdom of Granada, which he dedicated to Queen Isabella the Catholic.\(^{35}\) Since Queen Isabella granted some of the former members of the Nazari royal family with the title of *infantes de Granada* lands with rents, and authorized some to marry Castilian noblewomen, Pulgar’s text provides enlightening information about the 15\(^{th}\) century Castilian perception of Moor nobility. The conquest of Granada was the last battle in the Peninsula in the seven hundred years-long war between Christians and Muslims (known as the *Reconquista*). Despite the war, Pulgar stated that during those centuries many marriages were celebrated between members of both nations, especially between kings and “great knights”.\(^{36}\) In addition, it was a common practice among the Christian monarchs to treat the defeated kings generously. As Pulgar emphasizes, after the Conquest of Mallorca in 1229, James I of Aragon (1213- 1276) prefigurated the Habsburgs’ relationships with Inca descendants, through his behaviour towards the Moor king’s son. The son was christened James, was granted with the title of Baron of Gotor, and married an Aragonese noblewoman.\(^{37}\)

When the war of Granada was close to its end, and the king of Cadiz, relative to the king of Granada, surrendered to the Catholic Kings no one could argue against the traditional policy of granting titles, arranging matches, and offering lands and rents to convert Moor kings. The main Nazari lords who remained in Castile after the war were brothers Don Pedro and Don Alonso of Granada, Don Juan de Granada, brother of the last Moor king of Granada. They were vassals of the Catholic Kings who granted them the royal title of *infantes de Granada*. The first person married a lady belonging to the noble family of the Venegas de Luque lineage and the second one married Queen Isabella’s lady-in-waiting, who was a member of the powerful Mendoza\(^{38}\) family. Don Juan, after his marriage to doña Brites de Sandoval, became related to his wife’s powerful lineage. During the early modern period, important families of the nobility of

\(^{35}\) I am following the 17\(^{th}\) century manuscript version of this *Orígenes de los Reyes de Granada* of the Ajuda Library, in Lisbon (Portugal). BA 51-II-11.

\(^{36}\) BA 51-II- 11, f. 2. Pulgar provides his readers with some examples; for instance, King Alfonso VI of León (1065- 1109), Galicia and Castile (1072- 1109) married the Moor king of Sevilla’s daughter, Zaida. *Ibid.*, f. 7.

\(^{37}\) Indeed, King Zeit Abenzui of Murcia was christened Don Vicente Beluis and was given the title of Baron of Arenosa. *Ibid.*, f. 8.

\(^{38}\) On the Mendoza’s power and importance in Castile see NADER (1979).
Granada descended from the *infantes* of Granada integrated with the local elite.\(^39\) The Nazarí nobility did not remain linked only to the Castilian and local nobility. Don Juan’s daughter, doña Magdalena de Granada, maid of the Portuguese Queen Catherine of Habsburg, married Don Luis de Lemcastre in 1540. Don Luis was Duke of Coimbra, leader of the House of Aveiro, and descended from Portuguese kings.\(^40\) Both Don Luis and doña Magdalena had royal blood. Don Luis’ royal ascendance was Portuguese and Catholic and doña Magdalena’s was Nazarí and converted Moor.

What is evident from the conversion of members of the Nazari royal family into Castilian nobility is the importance that royalty and nobility had in Iberian societies at the late 15\(^{th}\) and 16\(^{th}\) centuries. From an orthodox point of view, both the Congo kings and the noblemen and women of the so-called House of Granada were converts and of mix-raced. Neither circumstance was an obstacle to their juridical and social transformation into European sovereigns and nobilities because of support and collaboration with the Iberian aristocracies.

From the aristocratic point -of -view, classic statements about the *moriscos* in Spain in 16\(^{th}\) century are not supported by evidence. Deborah Root argued that “*moriscos* were not and could not be “truly” Christian because of their ancestry”\(^41\). In fact, due to their ancestry the Nazarí princes became complete and officially members of the Catholic Iberian’s highest aristocracy. In her recent work on the Moor culture in Spain after 1492, Barbara Fuchs has analyzed the phenomenon of the defeat and repression of the excluded Moors while Spain constructed its identity appropriating the Moorish cultural heritage.\(^42\) In this sense, Spanish aristocracy rejected Moor plebeian individuals and groups lacking purity of blood while appropriating the cultural capital (i.e. royal and noble blood) of nobles who converted and were of mix-raced. The surviving descendants of the Incas experimented the same form of appropriation.

\(^{39}\) On the Nazari nobility in the Christian Granada, see the works by Enrique Soria Mesa, especially SORIA MESA (1992, 1993 and 1995).
\(^{40}\) DE SOUSA (1953), pp. 118- 119.
\(^{41}\) ROOT (1988).
\(^{42}\) FUCHS (2008).

The history of the first decades of the new kingdom of Peru, created in 1542 ten years after the fall of the Inca Empire to the Spanish conquerors, was a history of rebellion and civil war. During the nuddle decades of the 16th century, the Spanish Crown faced two main rebellions against its authority. Firstly, the conquerors’ civil wars and rebellions took place from 1542 to 1554. Secondly, was the rebellion of the Mango Inca, the son of the last Inca emperor Atahualpa who was executed by the Spaniards in 1533. Between 1536 and 1572, the rebellious Incas defied the Spanish Monarchy and established a sort of new and ephemeral Inca Empire in Vilcabamba.

During this period Spanish authorities developed the discourse on the royal dignity of the Incas that was fully developed when Vilcabamba fell. From the second decade of the Spanish dominion over Peru, there is evidence of the royal dignity which gave recognition to some relatives of the Inca royal family. In 1546, Philip II, who was still Prince and regent of his father Emperor Charles V, allowed Don Gonzalo de Uchugualpa and Don Felipe Tupa Inca and their descendants to attend meetings of the royal councils and chancellerias (courts) with their hats on, like the Grandees of Spain. They were treated with respect according to their privileged status and were included as representatives in ceremonies as “Royal Persons and Ours [the king of Spain’s one]”.

In addition, Prince Philip ordered the Peruvian civil and ecclesiastical authorities to respect and obey Don Gonzalo and Don Felipe and their descendants since they were royal persons because of their birth as descents of Incas and representatives of “Our Royal Persons”.

The Catholic kings of Spain used the linkages to Incas to justify their inclusion of the kingdom of Peru into their domains and to acquire a better genealogical tree through ties to the Inca royalty. However, this process was potentially problematic. How could anyone consider a Habsburg related to Incas, who were traditionally incestuous and descendants of the Sun and the Moon? To answer this question the Habsburg narrative which considered the Incas’ descendants as royal blood and kin had to fit into a genealogical context. Aristocratic and royal people presented themselves as descendents of ancient Roman illustrious men and even of heathen gods and demigods.

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43 BERNARD and GRUZINSKI (1993), vol. II, pp. 26-
44 Between 1536 and 1572 four Incas ruled the Vilcabamba kingdom: Manco Inca and his three sons: Sayri Tupac (doña Ana Clara Coya’s grandfather), Tito Cusi Yupanqui, and Tupac Amaru.
45 Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], Osuna, box 371, n. 8.
46 AHN, Osuna, box 371, n. 8.
47 AHN, Osuna, box 371, n. 8.
These assertions were more than rhetorical, even for Catholic nobility. From the Middle Ages people believed that gods and demigods were men deified because of their nobility and *grandeur*. The Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were supposed to be descendants of Aeneas. The Spanish branch developed a very sophisticated discourse that related Philip II to Jupiter combining Greek and Roman mythology with Biblical episodes. Habsburgs descending from Jupiter and Aeneas, were ready to add the Inca genealogical treasure their symbolic power. Once again, what counted was royalty, aristocracy, and superior blood.

Incas descended from a long succession of incestuous couples of married brothers and sisters. The way in which Spaniards accepted this marriage tradition shows the extend to which nobility was valued over social and religious prejudices and taboos. Since the Middle Ages, conflicts arose in Europe between the Catholic church and noble families because of the frequency of marriages between close relatives. Thanks to ecclesiastical dispensations to marry cousins, uncles, nephews and nieces, religious dogma and family interests achieved a sort of understanding. But certain marriages were unacceptable since they were considered incest and, therefore, an abomination. Moreover, incest was among the Indian sins and vices that justified Spain’s Conquest of the Indies. On the Peruvian side, according to the Inca Garcilaso, the Incas followed the example of the Sun and his wife and sister the Moon. The first ancestors of the royal lineage always married their sisters. As a consequence, the heirs were always of pure royal blood.

After the Incas converted to Christianity, they abandoned their incestuous marriage practices. However, their past was not forgotten and even became a sign of their nobility. Since Incas only married Incas, their blood could not be more pure. Spanish kings and nobility really appreciated this purity. Moreover, Catholic kings helped to eliminate ecclesiastical obstacles created by Incan reproductive practices. In September 1567, within the framework of peace negotiations with the rebellious Incas of Vilcabamba, Philip II authorized the marriage between the son of the Inca and Princess Beatriz Clara Coya, his cousin. Since all their ancestors were brothers and
sisters, they were in fact more than cousins, almost like brother and sister. Because of this relationship, Philip II required an ecclesiastical dispensation from the Pope and he obtained it.  

By mid-16th century, the narrative that considered Incas deserving royal dignity and nobility status was hegemonic. However, some Spanish authorities believed this recognition of Inca royalty to be mistaken and detrimental to the Spanish Crown’s legitimacy. Major criticism of this attitude came from Don Francisco de Toledo, viceroy of Peru between 1569 and 1581, who bloodily ended the Vilcabamba rebellion in 1572 and executed Tupac Amaru. In March 1571 Don Francisco complained about the general opinion that the “devils of the Incas were natural and rightful lords of this kingdom; that the caciques and curacas were also natural lords of this kingdom; and that they had inherited the cacicazgos”. According to the viceroy, those statements were pernicious to the government of Peru. Don Francisco de Toledo did not accept the official policy recognizing Inca royalty and he even considered it dangerous, especially in times of rebellion.

In 1572 after the fall of the Vilcabamaba Inca kingdom to his troops, the viceroy recommended punishment of Incas who participated in the rebellion as well as their relatives who “preserved their memories”. He wanted “the Inca seed in this kingdom to be consumed” in order to guarantee natives’ fidelity. Eradicating the Inca seed implied fighting against the idea of its legitimacy pointing out the fact that they were tyrants, not rightful sovereigns. In fact, he was just following the same statements that Pizarro had used in order to justify the conquest of the Inca Empire: the Incas were tyrants and

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53 Letter to Philip II by the graduate Castro, from Los Reyes, September 2 1567. LEVILLIER (1921), vol. III, p. 263.
54 Letter to the Council of Indies by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo from Cuzco, March, 25, 1571. Reproduced in LEVILLIER (1921), vol. III, pp. 441-446, p. 443. Don Francisco de Toledo was completely ashamed and shocked by the fact that the rebel Inca Tupac Amaru’s royal rights were recognized by Philip II’s royal warrant in the framework of peace negotiations between Spanish representatives and the Incas of Vilcabamba. Letter to the President of the Council of Indies by the viceroy Francisco de Toledo, n. p. n. d. Reproduced in LEVILLIER (1921), vol. III, pp. 447-449, p. 449.
56 In December 1573 Don Francisco informed Philip II about a history of the Gonzalo Pizarro’s rebellion by Diego Hernández. The book censorship, in the viceroy’s opinion, should go beyond the details of the rebellion and also included a very important topic: false facts about the Incas’ history. These false facts were: firstly, the statement that the Incas were rightful lords of the kingdom and that Manco Inga and his son Sayre Tupac were kings of Peru. Secondly, it was false that the Incas were chosen by their nobles and captains. According to Don Francisco de Toledo, since all the Incas and their principals were tyrants, all of this information was a dangerous lie. Letter to Philip II by Francisco de Toledo, La Plata, December, 26th, 1573. Reproduced in LEVILLIER (1924), vol. IV, pp. 310-313, pp. 310-311.
deserved to be dethroned.\textsuperscript{57} Notwithstanding this reference, the illegitimacy of the Incas was excluded from the Spanish official narrative after 1532, and Don Francisco de Toledo’s point of view was not commonplace anymore in Spanish relations with the Inca elite.

The Habsburg did not need to destroy the Inca past to declare them illegitimate lords of Peru in order to consider themselves the legitimate sovereigns of the Andean kingdom. According to Castilian law, a legitimate king could become a tyrant even though he had legally inherited his kingdom from his father.\textsuperscript{58} These laws also considered the possibility of a king becoming lord of a kingdom not because of his legitimate succession but as a consequence of the pope’s or emperor’s will and authorization.\textsuperscript{59} Kings of Spain based their right to the Peruvian throne, among other reasons, on the Papal Bulls, more specifically, the famous ones by Pope Alexander VI (1493). Based on these Bulls, the Habsburgs became legitimate kings of Peru and expanded their glory among their vassals the ancient kings and noblemens.

Since the direct descendants of the Incas were recognized as royal blood, an aristocracy following the Catholic noble model emerged in Peru. As in Europe, kings’ kin acquired aristocratic status, privileges, and rights to litigate based on European legal practices.

\textbf{3. The Inca aristocracy and the Catholic Inca.}

Castilian law commanded the king to love and to honor his people. One of the ways in which a sovereign was supposed to honour his subjects was to rewarding everyone according to his lineage, goodness, or his services.\textsuperscript{60} In this moral framework, recognizing Inca royal dignity in the Catholic Spanish new kingdom of Peru implied two facts. The first one dealt with the change in the former Inca elites’ juridical status and the legal framework in which they could exercise their power. It implied conversion to Christianity and juridical adaptation to the new property systems. As the \textit{caciques} and “principals” concerns, Spanish laws for America took into account that the Indian caciques owned Indians. It was considered unfair for the caciques to loose their Indians after those caciques converted to Catholicism. Hence, laws were created stating that the

\textsuperscript{57} BERNARD and GRUZINSKY (1991), vol. I, p. 460.
\textsuperscript{58} Partidas, Part. II, tit. 2, law 10.
\textsuperscript{59} Partidas, Part. II, tit. 2, law 9.
\textsuperscript{60} Partidas, Part. II, tit. 10, law 2.
caciques could not be judged by ordinary judges nor could they lose their “Cacicazgo”. As laws stated, this institution could be inherited from fathers to sons following the inheritance system of the mayorazgos. Apart from certain restrictions that nobility did not experience in Castile, the old caciques became part of the privileged estate of the kingdom of Peru since they were supposed to descend from the Inca royal lineage.

Secondly, the Habsburg Spanish kings thought that it was their duty to grant Inca nobility with wealth enough to live and behave according to their stature. The Habsburgs spent considerable amounts of money on these Inca. For instance, in February 1558, the Vilcabamba Inca was granted rent of 20,000 pesos and the title of adelantado. By 1565, Don Francisco de Toledo complained that the Emperor Charles V and his son Philip II had produced several Royal Warrants granting food and housing to the descendants of the Incas. In 1565, already forty-seven Guaynacapa’s children and nieces enjoyed royal rents that totalled 3050 pesos.

Once the Crown treated Incas’ descendants like Spanish nobility, they started behaving like Spanish nobility. They soon learned how to use and take advantage of the patronage system despite being physically separated from the King by a long distance. A good example of the use of the patronage system is the nobility’s attempts to get a school built in Cuzco for the Incas and curacas’ children during the first years of the 17th century. The request to the king was signed in 1601 by twenty Inca noblemen who were “the grandsons of the Incas, former natural lords of this kingdom”. These Princes of royal blood wanted a school for their children to educate their heirs in the Catholic doctrine. It would allow their successors to teach religion to “their subjects”. Moreover, these Inca lords proposed that the Jesuits take over their school project and mentioned complaints about the miserable situation of the Indians. Like European nobility of the period, the Inca nobility was acting as brokers for their allies (i.e. the

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61 Laws I (1557), IV (1596) and XI (1549), Book VI, tit. VII of the New Laws for the kingdoms of Indies. Recopilación de las leyes de los Reynos de Indias, pp. 245-248.
62 As Solórzano y Pereira wrote dealing with the maintenance of the Caciques in a power position within the Indians in the Peruvian political body. “[…] se ha llevado de conservarles á estos Indios sus costumbres, y goviernos antiguos, y que se vayan haciendo políticos, en quanto lo permetiere su capacidad, no solo se mandan continuar estos oficios, y ministerios de los Caciques; si no que en ellos se suceda por derecho de sangre, á imitacion de los Mayorazgos […]”. SOLÓRZANO (1736), p. 199.
63 In 1538 Charles V forbade the caciques to consider themselves as lords; in 1558 Philip II limited the caciques’ criminal jurisdiction to the punishment of crimes that did not imply the death penalty or mutilation. Laws V (1538) and XIII (1558), Book VI, tit. VII. Recopilación, pp. 246 and 248.
64 LEVILLIER (1921), vol. I, p. 322.
65 LEVILLIER (1924), vol. III, p. 54.
67 AGI, Patronato Real, 191, R21.
Jesuits), and as middlemen between the Crown and their subjects (i.e. the Indians). In this process, they were building their image as Catholic nobility.

The conversion of the Incas into Catholic nobility was not the only transformation that took place in early modern Spain and America. In the last decade of the 17th century, two priests who descended from Inca nobility were in Spain seeking special recognition of the Inca nobilities from the Catholic king. A file\textsuperscript{68} composed of two letters\textsuperscript{69} and five engravings\textsuperscript{70} exist which deals this sort of genealogical mission. In one of the letters, written by Don Juan Núñez Vela de Ribera from Seville in 1693 an interesting genealogical theory is developed.

According to Núñez de Ribera, Catholic kings were not only the successors of the Incas but so were the Incas themselves. According to these statements, Charles V was Inca number XII, successor of the last Indian Inca, and the ruling sovereign Charles II was the Catholic Inca number XVI.\textsuperscript{71} Crossbreeding of Inca and Castilian power symbols present in this interesting file is underscored by the engravings which represent noble Incas’ coats of arms which combined Indian and Spanish emblems.

By the mid-seventeenth century the process of genealogical conquest of the Incan lineage climaxed. The neo-Catholic Indian nobility had incorporated into their political culture the Castilian one. They were aware of the importance of genealogy. They accepted the inheritance mechanisms inherent to the mayorazgo property system, and developed international patronage networks like their Spanish counterparts. As for the Indians, they maintained symbols and the charisma of their Incan origin but they behaved like Catholic nobility in their relationships with the Castilian crown, nobility, and courts. Moreover, this process did not stop at this stage. At the end of the 17th century, Indian nobilities tried their own genealogical conquest of the Habsburgs in order to obtain even more recognition and privileges. This effort resulted in an internal conflict among Indians. By establishing a straight-line succession from Incas to Charles II, forgetting some Incas in the list, implied the elimination of the royal ancestry of some branches of the Incan nobilities.

Rivalry among Incas noblemen existed in Peru since the Spanish conquest. Their main ambition was to hold on to the legitimate succession of the Incas and, therefore, to

\textsuperscript{68} Published in MACERA [2004] 2006.
\textsuperscript{70} MACERA [2004] 2006, pp. 15, 21, 27, 33 and 39.
\textsuperscript{71} These ideas scandalized some Spanish public servants who claimed ironically that “he only forgot to add that the King of Spain was an Indian”. Quoted in MACERA [2004] 2006, p. 11, note 5.
be the *primus inter pares* among the Catholic Inca Princes. One aspect of this rivalry was the attempt to deny legitimacy to some former Inca rulers. The other one was the ambition to become Marquise of Santiago de Oropesa, the Household belonging to the straight-line heirs of Sayre Tupac.

4. The Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa.

Philip III signed a Royal Warrant in March 1614 creating the title of the Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa and extending its authority over the wealthy Peruvian places of San Benito de Alcántara, San Bernardo, Santiago de Oropesa, and San Francisco del Valle del Yucay. All of these properties were entailed constituting a *mayorazgo*. The Marquisate was created for doña Ana Maria Coya, Princess Beatriz Clara Coya’s daughter and Inca Sayri Túpac’s granddaughter. The new Marchioness received this exceptional grant which existed only in one other place in America: the title of the Marquisate of the Valle de Oaxaca created in 1529 for Hernan Cortes, the Conqueror of Mexico. Doña Ana Maria Clara Coya was a very special case. Like the *infantes* of Granada, she was descendant of defeated kings whose royalty was recognized by the Habsburg after their victory.

The creation of the Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa climaxed the process of giving royal rights and nobility to some descendants of former Incan rulers. It was the first example of complete transplantation of a noble House to the Andean kingdom following the Castilian model. The Marquisate was a title; a legal Household; and the domain of entailed properties, rents, and vassals. Moreover, it was the patrimony of a family whose genealogical background- its royal ancestry- was rich enough to build an impressive lineage narrative. In other words, the Peruvian princes became high Spanish aristocracy with all its consequences.

The history of the House of Santiago de Oropesa began some years after the first contacts between the Spaniards and Sayre Topa Inca, one of the Incan rebels of Vilcabamba. In 1548, Sayre Topa left the Vilcabamba rebel Incan territory, was

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72 The Marquisate was also granted a rent of 10,000 ducados per year. FERNÁNDEZ DE BÉTHENCOURT (2002), p. 234.
73 LOHMANN VILLENA (1948).
christened Diego Saire, and granted a *repartimiento* that provided him with a rent of 11,000 *pesos* per year. After his death his daughter, christened Beatriz, inherited his wealthy domains and his royalty circumstances. So, she was a very attractive match among Incas and among Spaniards. Not by chance, one of the Vilcabamba pacification projects interested her. Lope García de Castro, governor and captain general of Peru between 1564 and 1569, planned to marry her to her cousin Don Felipe Quispe Titi, son of one of the remaining Incas of Vilcabamba. According to Castro’s plan, if they got married the king should entail the domains belonging to doña Beatriz, constituting a *mayorazgo*. This plan was quite ambitious and meant the introduction of a property system in Peru that was considered damaging to the Crown since it loosened the royal control over property. As Don Felipe Quispe concerns, the whole project was very attractive. Getting married to his cousin implied acquiring her rights to the Inca throne and the possibility of becoming the first owner of a *mayorazgo* in Peru. In fact, Don Felipe Quispe refused to allow the negotiations between the Vilcabamba Incas and Spanish authorities until the marriage was arranged.

In spite of Don Felipe’s opposition, Doña Beatriz married Don Martín García de Loaysa, a relative of the viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo. As Don Francisco pointed out in one of his letters complaining about the recognition of the Incas’ legitimacy that now, after the defeat of the Vilcabamba Incas, doña Beatriz was the rightful Princess to the Inca throne. Indeed, Princess Beatriz became a symbol of Inca royalty. In the 1590’s Martín de Murúa published his *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incaes del Peru* in which he summarized the legitimization discourse of both Beatriz Clara Coya’s relatives and the Habsburgs:

> This sad Infante Amaro [Tupac Amaru I, executed by the Spaniards in 1572] was the last Inca of this kingdom; [...] he was beheaded by order of the Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo; in this way the Empire of the Inga

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76 Sayre Inca left Vilcabamba during the government of the viceroy Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquise of Cañete (1556–1569).
77 The *mayorazgo* was a Castilian form of possession of entailed domains, indivisible and inalienable, that were ruled by the primogeniture inheritance system. On the *mayorazgo* see the classic CLAVERO (1974).
78 In fact, the establishment of the *mayorazgo* system had been one of the goals of the Castilian aristocrats who took part in the civil wars of the 14th and 15th centuries. The legalization of it by the Crown at the beginning of the 16th century was a product of the consolidation of noble power.
79 TEMPLE (1950), pp. 112–113.
80 Captain García de Loyola took part in the defeat of Villacamba by the Spaniards. The viceroy Toledo granted him the right to add to his coat of arms an image of the head of the beheaded Tupac Amaru, his wife’s uncle. However, the Council of Indies did not authorize it. Despite Toledo’s claims about his loyalty, it was said that he wanted to make his wife queen of Peru. TEMPLE (1950), pp. 113–114.
82 *The History of the origin and royal genealogy of the Incas Kings of Peru.*
kings and Lords of this kingdom of Peru ended, and they were succeeded
by the governors and Viceroy’s that the Catholic King of Spain had sent to
conquer all of this kingdom, where they ruled. [...] From this famous
Amaro descends the Coya Doña Beatriz who nowadays is the governor of
Chile. The value, the virtues and the being of all the Incas belongs to her
because she is a descendat of all these powerful Lords; thanks to her her
ancestors enjoy eternal memory; this Lady is the Sayretupa and Coya
Cusi Guacay’s sister, who were Mango Inca’s children, who got married
according to their law that allows the marriage of brother and sister if
they are royal heirs [...].

Princess Beatriz was a great match not only because of the political capital of
her royal lineage. Her power was also a territorial and political one. From her father, she
inherited from her father the strategic valleys of Yucay, Pissac, and Xaquixaguana, and,
as stated by Martín de Murúa, she was governor of Chile. Holding this position was
another way of showing her royalty since the women that ruled territories in the
Habsburg Empire as governor, viceroy or regent belonged to the royal family. For all of
these reasons, Viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo overcame his prejudices against
recognizing the royal dignity of the Indians and even wrote that his candidate, Don
Martín García de Loyola, was happy to marry her, “despite the fact that she was an
Indian”. Don Francisco de Toledo believed that the marriage was Don Martin’s service
to the king because it prevented another Indian from becoming doña Ana’s wife and,
therefore, the Incas’ successor.

Don Martín García de Loyola died fighting against the Araucanians in 1598 and
Doña Beatriz Clara Coya passed away in 1600. Their only daughter and heir, doña Ana
María Clara Coya, was sent to Spain where she married in 1611 Don Juan Enríquez de
Borja, nephew of the future second Jesuit saint, Francisco de Borja, and relative to the
Dukes of Gandia and the Marquises of Alcanices. As a consequence, by the beginning
of the 17th century the descendants of the last Incas were relatives of the most important
and richest Catholic aristocracy and the first two Jesuit saints: Saint Ignacio de Loyola
(1491- 1556) and Saint Francisco de Borja (1510- 1572). Saint Ignacio was beatified in
1609 and canonized in 1622. Saint Francisco de Borja was beatified in 1624 and
canonized in 1671. They belonged to the Grandeza de España; since 1614 they owned
the only mayorazgo existing in the kingdom of Peru.

83 MURÚA [c. 1592- 1598] (1946), pp. 149- 150.
84 Letter to the Philip II by the viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo from Cuzco, September 24, 1572.
LEVILLIER (1924), p. 483.
As a famous genealogist stated at the late 17th century, “the illustrious alliance of one family shows the quality of the other one”. 85 Therefore, the fact that the Grandees who were related to Jesuit saints accepted the marriage of the Inca Princesses meant that their nobility was perceived as equal or, even, of better quality.

Still, the Marquises of Santiago de Oropesa had to undertake a legitimizing discourse in order eventually to avoid some legal restrictions because of their origins. These legal problems emerged in the 1620’s when the Inca nobility legitimizing discourse was clearly elaborated. The Marquises of Santiago de Oropesa just had to adapt it to their particular circumstances.

In 1628 the Marquises of Santiago de Oropesa wanted his son and heir to be a member of the military order of Santiago. In order to be granted with the habit of Santiago, a person needed the approval of the king who, as usual, ordered an investigation about the purity of blood of the candidate, Don Juan Enríquez de Borja, the Marquises’ child, aged 12. 86 According to the genealogy submitted by Don Juan Enríquez and his parents, the candidate to the military order was the son of Don Juan Enríquez de Borja, from Alcañices, and doña Ana María Ynga de Loyola, from La Concepción (Chile), Marquises of Santiago de Oropesa. His grandparents were Don Álvaro de Borja from Gandia, son of Francisco de Borja (the future saint), doña Elvira Enríquez de Almansa, from Toro, Marquises of Alcañices, the Governor Martín García de Loyola, from Azpetia, and doña Beatriz Clara Coya, “from Cuzco, daughter of the last King of Peru, Don Diego Aire Topa Inga”. 87 Under the shadow of this genealogical tree the Marquises of Santiago de Oropesa faced the investigation about the purity of the blood of their child. The questions that the witnesses would be obliged to answer were well-known by everybody since those questions were standard. 88 Despite them, they did not hesitate to request the habit. Questions 4 and 5 were potentially embarrassing. According to question number 4, the witnesses had to declare if he or she knew or believed, or saw or heard that Don Juan Enríquez’s father and mother, and his father’s father and his mother’s father, were supposed to be and to have been considered hidalgos according to the custom and law of Spain. The witness also had to declare if the candidate had mixed blood with Jew or Moor or had converted.

85 SALAZAR Y CASTRO (1696), from the Introduction n. p.
86 The whole investigation in AHN, Órdenes, Santiago, exp. 2631.
87 AHN, Órdenes, Santiago, exp. 2631, f. 3.
88 POSTIGO (1988).
The last question was asked of Don Juan’s grandmothers in order to establish if they were long-time Christians and had not mixed with a Jew, Moor or had converted. Princess Beatriz and Ana Clara Coya had royal blood but also converted and had mixed blood. The answer to these questions will give us the key of the entangled relationship between juridical transformation into Catholic aristocracy and political discourse. I will focus on two answers provided by three witnesses.

Don Pedro Galindo, from Madrid, claimed that Don Juan’s grandparents were old Christians. He acknowledged that he descended from the last king of Peru and, therefore, from pagans. But he added that he knew that these gentle ancestors “belonged to a lineage of kings and they deserved all honour and dignities”. Another witness, Don Pedro de la Cueva, from Lima, gave the same argument in his answer, stating that Don Juan’s ancestors “did not belong to the race of Moors or Jews and that his great grandfather Don Diego Saire Inga converted to our Holy Catholic Faith and, because of it, he deserves all honour and nobility because he converted from paganism, which is the best origin”. Don Pedro de la Cueva from Lima argued, based on a very particular way of reasoning; the conversion of doña Beatriz’s father from paganism to Catholicism was voluntary and, therefore, he could not be considered a convert. Moreover, thanks to his example, the whole kingdom of Peru became Christian.

The converted blood of the candidate’s grandmothers, as argued by his witness, was not by people who converted from Islam or Judaism and, therefore, the purity of blood laws should not be applied in this case. In addition, these ancestral Princesses had royal blood and shared dignity and royalty with the Habsburg, the current sovereigns of the kingdom of Peru. Other witness added that Don Juan Enríquez deserved the habit of Santiago because he and his ancestors were kings and emperors of Peru and “there are a lot of the descendants [of the Inca rulers] in this court enjoying the habit of Santiago”. Therefore, the Enríquez de Borjas were not the first descendants of the Incas who (successfully) tried to define a special type of convert one who was “less” converted that others: the descendants of the royal Inca lineage whom the Habsburgs had transformed into Catholic European nobility.

89 AHN, Órdenes, Santiago, exp. 2631, f. 3.
90 AHN, Órdenes, Santiago, exp. 2631, f. 2v.
91 AHN, Órdenes, Santiago, exp. 2631, ff. 3-3v.
92 AHN, Órdenes, Santiago, exp. 2631, ff. 4v- 5.
93 AHN, Órdenes, Santiago, exp. 2631, ff. 3-3v.
As a result of this process, by the beginning of the 18th century the Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa was considered a great and very noble Household of the Monarchy of Spain and the one who hold the most rightful legitimacy of the Inca sovereigns. Like other Households in some European kingdoms, such as the House of Bragança in Portugal during the Spanish dominion, the House of Santiago de Oropesa represented the alternative succession to the Peruvian throne from the Habsburg line. Because of this rich cultural capital and political power, establishing familiar alliances with the Marquisate was very attractive for the most rich and powerful Households of the Grandeza of Spain. Moreover, powerful religious corporations, like the Order of Jesus, were also proud to show their linkages with the Marquisate’s lineage.

From the Indian point of view, the Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa was not only a rich Household linked to Castilian nobility, but also a symbol of Inca power. Being Marquise of Santiago de Oropesa meant being the direct heir of the Inca rulers. In 1741 the Marquisate returned to the Spanish Crown because of lack of legitimate heir. Since 1742 several Inca noblemen tried to be recognized as the new Marquise of Santiago de Oropesa. Tensions and ambitions involving Inca nobility and the Marquisate lawsuit climaxed between 1776 and 1780 when the main litigants were the Betencur family and Jose Gabriel Tupac Amaru, the famous 18th century rebel. The suit became a genealogical battle among between the candidates, each providing the judges with complicated genealogical trees that connected them with different branches of the Incas. The suit for the Marquisate was a struggle between two descendants of the Incas in order to be recognized as the first among the Inca noblemen, to acquire Incas symbolic power, and the veneration of the Indians. They used the same juridical and genealogical weapons used by the European nobility in their lawsuits.

(Provisional) Conclusions.

In the 18th century the Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa was one of the most ambitious and prestigious noble Households of the Spanish Monarchy. Its importance was based on its high noble title, its genealogical background, and the symbolic power of its royal Inca origins. The Grandées of Spain, the Jesuit Order, the Spanish Crown,

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94 The lawsuit has been studied in CAHILL (2004).
and the Peruvian nobility tried to take advantage of their relationships with the Marquisate or tried even to take possession of it.

During the Spanish Succession War, Admiral of Castile, who belonged to the powerful Enriquez’s lineage, tried to make his nephew, who was related to the Marquises of Santiago, the new Inca. Years later, the Jesuit Order included and emphasized in the (visual) narrative of his history the relationship between the founders of the Order and the founders of the Marquisate. In 1741, the Crown incorporated the Marquisate into its domains, which was potentially dangerous since the Marquises of Santiago de Oropesa were supposed to be the most direct descendants of the living Incas. Therefore, they held the rights to the Peruvian throne. For the same reason, during the second half of the century several Peruvian noblemen sued to become the next Marquise of Santiago and *primus inter pares* among the Inca nobility.

The Marquisate of Santiago de Oropesa was a crossbred product of the process of transformation of non-European elites into Catholic nobilities developed by the Iberian kings from the 15th century onwards in Atlantic Africa, the Iberian Muslim kingdoms, and the Americas. The process was the logical continuation of the marriage policies outside of the kingdoms’ borders, developed by aristocratic lineages and encouraged by the Crown, especially since the 16th century by the sovereigns of the Catholic Monarchy. As a consequence, legal concepts such as nobility status, royal person, household, vassal, and *mayorazgo* crossed from Europe to the Atlantic.

The European world of privilege based on an aristocratic ideology was recreated in America. Thanks to this phenomenon, the Spanish Crown and the great aristocratic lineages became legal and/or blood relatives. They could then add to their cultural capital the royal Inca blood, based on the same mechanisms developed in Granada after the fall of the Nazarí kingdom.

This process was not unidirectional. New Catholic Inca nobility learnt how to take advantage of the new legal and social rules. Genealogy was a powerful weapon to use in local conflicts. Being or not being an Inca descendant determined individual nobility. As important as including Incas into aristocratic and religious corporations’ genealogies and narratives was justification and dignity given to the Incas’ “race”, customs and symbols. In this framework, the no-problems related to race, mixed races, and converts has to be contextualized. Racial categorizations did not concern higher echelons of the Spanish American society. As much as possible, Spaniards recreated
their society based on privilege and aristocracy. In the new Peruvian society nobility, like in all kingdoms belonging to the Spanish Monarchy, was the key distinction.
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