

“The Purity of Blood Privilege for Honors and Positions”: The Spanish Crown and the Ximenes de Aragão Family*

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Introduction

In recent years the historiography on the Portuguese New Christians has been focused on the question of the identity or identities of this social minority. Research has emerged analyzing the accuracy of using the terms “nation” and “republic” as applied to the group of the conversos. Similarly, historiography has evolved from considering them a homogeneous social group—a community—to emphasizing their internal differences with regard to their religious beliefs, socioeconomic situation, and upward mobility strategies.¹

In this context the study of the Ximenes de Aragão family becomes particularly relevant.² They were one of the most important merchant families of the sixteenth century, and they carried out a process of successful upward mobility, outside the Spanish monarchy but within the Catholic world, in places such as Flanders and Tuscany. At the same time, they tried to become assimilated into the Old Christian majority in Portugal through the means provided by their enormous wealth. They also maintained a changeable attitude regarding the general pardon granted by Clement VIII to the New Christians in 1604. And finally, they tried a novel procedure of integration into the Old Christian group that, as we will see, ended in failure. The case of the Ximenes family allows us to understand the different mechanisms used by the Portuguese New Christians to move upward in society; it also provides us with an example we can use as a basis for

analyzing the different identities and tensions that existed within the Portuguese converso minority.

The Family Strategy in the Iberian Peninsula

In the first decades of the sixteenth century, a man named Duarte Ximenes de Aragão lived in Lisbon. The sons from his marriage to Isabel Rodrigues da Veiga built a commercial empire during that century. Members of the Ximenes de Aragão family settled in the most important commercial cities in Europe, such as Lisbon, Seville, Cadiz, Florence, Venice, Hamburg, and Antwerp. From there they dedicated themselves to selling a variety of products from Europe and overseas, among them spices, sugar, cereals, wood, jewels, and fabrics.³ Although we are especially interested in the upward mobility strategies used by the branch of the family that remained on the Iberian Peninsula, we should not forget the success of those who immigrated to Antwerp and Florence.

In Antwerp, brothers Fernão Ximenes de Aragão and Rui Nunes Ximenes, two of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's sons, founded a prosperous commercial company in 1572. After Rui's death in 1581 and Fernão's departure to Italy in 1590, their commercial house was left in the hands of Rui's sons. Duarte, Rui's first-born son, eventually became the Lord of Leugenhagen, while Manuel, the second-born son, became Lord of Blauwhof and a Commander of Saint Stephen. Gonçalo, another of Rui's sons, married Catharina van Eeckeren, daughter of the knight Robert van Eeckeren, while Rui's daughter Ana married her uncle, Simão Rodrigues de Évora, Baron of Rodes.⁴

The social ascension and ennoblement of the Ximenes de Aragão family in Italy has been studied by Lucia Fischer. Thanks to this author we know that in 1591 the Grand Duke of Tuscany granted privileges to Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's sons to settle in his territory. The Florentine branch of the family was formed by two of his sons, Fernão Ximenes de Aragão and Manuel Ximenes (a Jesuit) and by his grandsons Nicolau and Tomás (sons of Rui Nunes Ximenes) and Sebastião (son of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão). Fernão, the head of the family after Duarte's death, established a commendation of the Order of Saint Stephen based in his house in Antwerp. Nicolau was, like his uncle, Knight of Saint Stephen, but instead of marrying a Portuguese woman, he married an Italian. From this moment onward, his family became Italianized: his sons married Italian women, one of his daughters entered a Florentine convent, and another of his sons eventually became bishop of Fiesole. Nicolau's brother, Tomás, was a canon in Florence. Sebastião also settled in Florence, where he became Lord of Saturnia and Knight of Saint Stephen, and he

founded the priory of Romagna for himself and his descendants. Like his cousin Nicolau, he decided to marry an Italian woman and chose Catarina de Medici, daughter of Raffaele di Francesco de Medici, a member of a minor branch of the powerful Florentine family.⁵

What was the social progression of the family members who stayed on the Iberian Peninsula? Three of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's sons—Tomás Ximenes de Aragão, Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes, and André Ximenes de Aragão—stayed in Portugal. After this kingdom was included in the Hispanic monarchy, their bond with the Crown was strengthened, since the Ximenes de Aragão family provided it with financial services. For example, in 1595 André and Tomás entrusted 20,000 *cruzados* for preparation of the ships that traveled to India. The following year, André lent 60,000 *cruzados* to the Indian armada.⁶ In addition, first Tomás, and later Jerónimo and their nephew António Ximenes, moved to the royal court in Madrid. There they established contact with the financial advisers of Philip II (r. 1556–1598). This all seems to indicate that Tomás's son Duarte Ximenes de Aragão, from Lisbon, and António Ximenes, in Madrid, participated in the *asientos* (contracts) of the monarchy, providing credit to Genoese bankers such as the Saulis. For this reason they were affected by the Spanish economic bankruptcy of 1596 and the *medio general* (settlement of royal debts) of November 1597.⁷ These financial activities continued during the reign of Philip III (r. 1598–1621), to whom Jorge Ximenes Serrão and António Ximenes lent money; they were therefore affected by the *medio general* of 1608.⁸

From the last decades of the sixteenth century onward, the family turned to different strategies of promotion and social legitimization based on their solid economic stability and their ever-closer relationship with the monarchy. The Ximenes de Aragão family tried to prove their nobility by joining the military orders, especially the Order of Christ, which, as Fernanda Olival has pointed out, had the greatest number of conversos. In this way André Ximenes de Aragão and his nephew António Ximenes, general paymaster of the Castilian guards, became members of the Order of Christ in 1602 and 1609, respectively. On the other hand, Diego Ximenes de Vargas, son of António Ximenes, who was also general paymaster of the Castilian guards, was Knight of Santiago (Saint James).⁹

Access to the title of nobleman of the royal household was another of the strategies used by the Ximeneses to join the nobility. Despite the fact that we do not have complete lists of the members of the Portuguese royal household during the Philippine period, we can assert that some members of the Ximenes de Aragão family received the title of nobleman of the royal household. Among them we

can find at least three of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's sons (Tomás, Jerónimo, and André), two of his grandsons (Tomás Ximenes de Aragão and Jerónimo Ximenes de Aragão), and his great-grandson Rodrigo Ximenes de Aragão e Veiga, and his descendants.¹⁰

As Fernanda Olival has pointed out in her research on the conversos who joined the Order of Christ, despite the statute of purity of blood, the Crown granted exemptions in order to reward the services provided by the New Christians.¹¹ The gift of the title of nobleman of the royal household can also be interpreted as a means the monarchy used to reward services. It seems evident that Philip III awarded these favors to the Ximenes de Aragão family in exchange for economic services. Apart from the loans to the Crown already mentioned, André Ximenes de Aragão also committed himself, possibly in 1595, to lending the Lisbon city hall enough money to import wheat from Castile, so solving that city's lack of supplies, "expecting only the divine award of God and the human award of the king, our master, which would surely be according to his magnanimity."¹² We do not know whether he received the divine award as expected, but he did receive the human one: a few years later Philip III made him nobleman of the royal household and Knight of the Order of Christ.

The establishment of primogenitures was one of the mechanisms systematically used by all who wanted to be accepted into the nobility. In the case under study, the practice had already started in the first generation of this merchant house. Although my data are fragmented, I think that at least four of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's six sons established primogenitures. This was done by Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, who died in Florence in 1600. His brother Tomás Ximenes de Aragão established another one for his youngest son, Jerónimo Ximenes de Aragão. Another of Duarte's sons, Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes, also established a primogeniture with one third of his possessions (44,000 *cruzados* and 278,000 *réis*) for his son Jorge.¹³ Finally, André Ximenes de Aragão established one with 100,000 *cruzados*, plus the dowry of his wife, Maria Ximenes.¹⁴ The number of primogenitures continued to grow with the passage of time. For example, Catarina da Veiga, daughter-in-law of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão, established two: one for her son Rodrigo Ximenes de Aragão e Veiga and another one for her daughter, Teresa Ximenes;¹⁵ and António Fernandes Ximenes, son of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão, established a primogeniture that was to be inherited by his brother Sebastião Ximenes de Aragão.

The integration into the church, using the cathedral chapters and the religious orders, was the other way used by the Ximenes de Aragão family to strengthen their social standing. Without a doubt, the order preferred by the male members

of the family was the Order of Preachers. Three of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's grandsons were Dominicans.¹⁶ As for the women, two of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's granddaughters were nuns in the Convent of Esperança, in Lisbon, which belonged to the Order of Saint Francis, and another three were in the Convent of Chelas, which belonged to the Order of Saint Augustine.¹⁷ Some members of the family managed to enter the cathedral chapters. Fernão Ximenes de Aragão became archdeacon of Santa Cristina, in the Braga Cathedral, and renounced this honor in favor of his nephew Manuel Ximenes de Aragão. The entry of the latter into the chapter gave rise to some problems, as we shall see.

Undoubtedly, the two most visible manifestations of the social prestige acquired by the Ximenes de Aragão family were the ownership of the Chapel of Saint Catherine of Siena, in the Convent of Saint Dominic, Lisbon, which was converted into the family mausoleum, and the patronage of the Irish Seminary of Saint Patrick, also in Lisbon. It was relatively easy to establish primogenitures; the same was the case with the foundation of a chaplaincy. However, owning a chapel in one of the most important convents of Lisbon was something different, and having the patronage of the Irish Seminary was something that greatly distinguished this family from many other converso families in the process of social ascension. Still, we should not forget that the main requirement for achieving all this was always the same: having money. And the Ximenes family had plenty of it.

The most visible proof of the high social standing reached by the Ximenes de Aragão family was the ownership of the Chapel of Saint Catherine of Siena, in the Convent of Saint Dominic, in Lisbon. In 1594, representing other family members, André Ximenes de Aragão and his nephew Archdeacon Fernão Ximenes de Aragão reached an agreement with the Convent of Saint Dominic, by virtue of which they were assigned as owners of the chapel. The mortal remains of Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes and Brites Henriques, his wife, were moved there. The Dominican friars committed to celebrating a daily mass for the souls of the couple. In the month of November, the friars would celebrate a religious service of nine lectures with sung mass and funeral oration. Plus, on the days of the burials of the successive patrons, the Dominicans would celebrate a sung mass with a service of nine lectures. In exchange, the Ximenes family provided the convent with an annual revenue (*juro*) of 65,000 *réis*, placed in the customs office of Lisbon. Of this, 35,000 *réis* were assigned to the chapel and the obligations of the friars and 30,000 to the daily mass.¹⁸

The foundation of the Ximeneses in the chapel of Saint Catherine acquired even greater importance thanks to Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, who died in Florence

in 1600 without sons. He left 200,000 *réis* annually to the Misericórdia of Lisbon (a charity brotherhood), which would be used to support the prisoners of the royal prison of Lisbon (80,000 *réis*) and to provide two poor maidens with a dowry (120,000 *réis*). The condition was that the Misericórdia would be in charge of celebrating a sung mass on the day of the anniversary of the death of Ana Lopes Ximenes, wife of Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, and another one on the anniversary of the death of Fernão himself. Fernão Ximenes de Aragão also left an annual revenue (*juro*) of 40,000 *réis* to the Chapel of Saint Catherine, from which 36,000 would be donated for a daily mass and another 4,000 to the fabric of the chapel. Last, Fernão Ximenes de Aragão divided a *juro* of 432,964 between the four administrators of the chapel (his four brothers and heirs), so that each one would receive 108,241 *réis*. Each of the four administrators would have, for himself, one fourth of this income during the first thirty years following Fernão's death and half of it after that period. The remaining amount was to be distributed among the poorer relatives. Additionally, he aggregated to the foundation a *juro* of 121,648 *maravedís* that he had in Spain.¹⁹

The conversion of the Chapel of Saint Catherine into the Ximenes de Aragão family's mausoleum had enormous symbolic importance. This was, first of all, because of its location. The Convent of Saint Dominic was one of the most important in Lisbon, and it was also closely bound to the Tribunal of the Holy Office, which was located in the nearby Rossio Square. On some occasions the autos-da-fé were celebrated in the church of the convent. Its friars were usually members of the Inquisition, working as censors. Only a few years after the establishment of the Ximenes family's chapel, the Dominican friars gave the general inquisitor, Don Pedro de Castilho, the chapel of Saint Thomas, located in the same church. This meant that the general inquisitor and the Ximeneses shared the same space for burials. The comparison between Castilho and the others was not very favorable for the general inquisitor. So, while Don Pedro de Castilho had to resign himself to three prayed masses a week, in the chapel of the Ximenes de Aragão family there would be at least one daily mass for the soul of Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes and another for that of Fernão Ximenes de Aragão.

The Chapel of Saint Catherine was not the Ximenes de Aragão family's only patronage. António Fernandes Ximenes, son of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão, financed the seminary founded for the education of Irish priests in the 1590s. In 1611 he bought a building that belonged to the Discalced Carmelite Order and donated it to the Irish school of the Society of Jesus. Also, either he or his brother, Jerónimo Ximenes de Aragão, established a perpetual income for a chair in theology. The

Ximeneses became the patrons of the seminary's church, something that also had very relevant connotations. Taking into consideration the fact that the future priests were trained and educated in the Irish schools and that they would be responsible for defending the faith and preaching Catholicism against the heretics, the patronage of the Irish Seminary in Lisbon established by the Ximenes family allowed them to present themselves as defenders of Catholicism against the heretics and to use this argument to show their firm commitment to the faith. A memorandum presented by the Ximeneses during the reign of Philip III stated that António Fernandes Ximenes had spent more than 30,000 *ducados* in the construction of the Irish Seminary of Lisbon, and according to a genealogical reconstruction of the early eighteenth-century family, this expense reached the amount of 100,000 *cruzados*.²⁰

The Great Aspiration and the Great Failure

Despite their enormous wealth and their undoubted prestige, the Ximenes de Aragão family's strategies of upward mobility and social promotion did not differ from those of other wealthy converso families. Giving money to religious foundations was not a novelty, though the Ximenes family undoubtedly stood out for the wealth of their foundations. Neither was joining the military orders, which were, as everyone knew, full of people with "tainted" blood. The convents were also full of friars and nuns in whose veins ran Jewish blood. If we compare the strategies used by the Ximeneses with those used by the Mendes de Brito family—studied by Fernanda Olival—we come to the conclusion that these were more or less the same.²¹

The fundamental element that differentiates the Ximenes de Aragão family from other converso families resides in their public acknowledgement of their "tainted" blood—an acknowledgement made precisely with the intention of overcoming this blemish. In other words, it was not a question of hiding the family's Jewish origin but of demonstrating the sincerity of its conversion and having the right to enjoy the same honors and privileges as the Old Christians. Regarding this strategy, we can emphasize two fundamental facts: the rejection of the general pardon granted by Pope Clement VIII in August 1604 and the request to obtain the privilege of purity of blood at the end of Philip III's reign, and again during the reign of Philip IV (r. 1621–1665).

Several authors have pointed out the role played by the Ximenes de Aragão family in the negotiations that led to the concession of the general pardon in 1604. We know that in 1591 Philip II sent Archduke Albert, general inquisitor, a memorandum that Tomás Ximenes de Aragão had presented him on behalf of the New Christians. This document, which asked for a general pardon for the crimes

of Judaism, was studied in the General Council of the Holy Office and rejected.²² At that time the Ximenes family were merely being part of a movement that also involved other important merchants such as Rodrigo de Andrade, Jorge Rodrigues Solis, João Nunes Correa, and from Lisbon, Heitor Mendes "o rico" (the rich).²³

At some point, however, even before the concession of the general pardon, the Ximenes de Aragão family decided to change their strategy and oppose this grace. They were not the only ones to do so. As has been demonstrated by Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, the Portuguese New Christians were not a closed, homogeneous community. Because of this, many of them opposed the general pardon, did not want to benefit from it, and decided not to take part in the payment of the subsidy (*servicio*) granted to the Crown. Among them we can find a considerable group of people who in 1605 sent a memorandum to the king in order to separate themselves from those who had requested and obtained the general pardon. Those conversos who opposed the general absolution, among whom were the members of the Ximenes family, gave power to their own attorneys to present their aspirations to the monarch.²⁴ As the Ximeneses stated, they had deliberately refused to grant power to those who negotiated the general pardon. Also, they claimed they had declared in the Holy Office that they did not want to benefit from the pardon but rather to be submitted to the court "like the other Old Christians," something that demonstrates the extent to which they were sure of their orthodoxy. Owing to this, Philip III declared them exempt from paying the 1,700,000 *cruzados* that the Portuguese conversos had to pay in exchange for the pardon.²⁵

This group's motivations are obvious: by opposing the general pardon, they were publicly stating that they did not need it, nor did they have reason to fear the Holy Office. However, although these reasons are clear, it is still complicated to explain why those who began asking for the general pardon ended up opposing it. Did they not know in 1591 that by asking for it they were marking themselves? Why did they decide to change their strategy? As noted by Claude Stuczynsky, some converso families quickly understood that their participation in the negotiations carried out on behalf of the community of New Christians hindered their own ambitions of social promotion. This, without a doubt, is true. However, I believe that the change in the Ximenes de Aragão family's attitude was influenced not only by the existence of a long-term family strategy but also by something that occurred in the 1590s, which the family hid, and that until now has gone unnoticed by the historiography. In January 1593, in Goa, António Fernandes Ximenes, son of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão abjured *de levi* (a slight suspicion of heresy).²⁶ Was the father's intervention in the business of the general pardon related to his son's imprisonment? If so, since

the son was released with such a light sentence, it is not surprising that the family decided to disassociate itself from the matter of the pardon, hide the jail term of one of its members in the inquisitorial prison (which was in distant Goa), and oppose the papal grace to provide proof of their firm adherence to the Catholic faith. In fact the Ximenes family opposed the grace even before it had been granted. But although Philip III ordered their names to be erased from the lists prepared for the payment of the subsidy, many years later it was still known that some members of this family had been involved in the initial negotiations made in the 1590s.

The Ximenes de Aragão family were not the only Portuguese conversos who disassociated themselves from the business of the general pardon, decided not to enjoy it, and refused to contribute to the subsidy. But it seems that they must have been some of the few people who, in the seventeenth century, turned to the monarch to ask for a somewhat strange favor: the purity of blood privilege.²⁷ Let us analyze what the Ximeneses asked for, on what their claim was based, and what the consequences were.

In 1617 António Ximenes, general paymaster of the Castilian guards and artillery, pleaded with Philip III to grant his whole family the privilege that the Esteves family had in Portugal and the Coronel family had in Castile. António Ximenes pleaded to have the privilege granted to all descendants, men and women, of his grandfather Duarte Ximenes de Aragão. He claimed that, following the male line, his family descended directly from the Jiménez of Navarre family, as his grandfather Duarte Ximenes de Aragão was Fernando Jiménez's son, a prisoner brought to Portugal during the War of the Castilian Succession.²⁸ In addition António Ximenes presented his own personal merits: he claimed to have served in the expulsion of the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Valencia, in the Larache campaign, and in the 1615 exchange of princesses. He also claimed that his family was related to the most illustrious houses of the Portuguese aristocracy, such as the counts of Redondo, Castanheira, and Fera.²⁹

António Ximenes's claim is quite surprising. We can put aside the obvious exaggeration regarding his relationship with the families of the Portuguese aristocracy and what is even more questionable—not to say unlikely—his bond with the Jiménez family from Navarre. What interests me more is that to justify his claim António Ximenes invoked monetary services rather than a special zeal for the Catholic faith.

What exactly was António Ximenes asking for when claiming for himself the same privilege as that of the Coronel and Esteves families? Initially, he was claiming the recognition of his nobility. Nevertheless, along with it was the (more important

for him) issue of the purity of blood. In 1492 the Catholic Monarchs granted Abraham Seneor—already baptized with the name of Fernán Pérez Coronel—letters patent for nobility.³⁰ Much broader was the privilege granted by King John III to Cristóvão Esteves, judge of the Royal Supreme Court and member of the king's council. As a reward for his services, King John III made him a nobleman (*fidalgo de solar conhecido*) in 1533. Furthermore, he granted to Cristóvão Esteves and his family the purity of blood privilege by establishing that he and his brothers “were born and remained as clean Christians and they are not descendants of Jews and I completely separate them from the Jews.”³¹ As becomes clear from the document, the king thought that this would encourage the conversos to persevere in Christianity, since it would demonstrate that the true Catholics, despite descending from Jews, would be rewarded.³²

As we can see, the privileges of the Coronel and the Esteves families, recently converted to the Catholic faith, consisted in their ennoblement. In the Castilian context of the time (the late fifteenth century), as well as in the Portuguese context (the first half of the sixteenth century), this was the priority. However, in the Hispanic monarchy of the early seventeenth century, priorities had changed because of the obsession with the purity of blood. For this reason I believe that António Ximenes was less interested in the nobility privilege than he was in the purity of blood issue. This becomes clear from a subsequent document in which Philip IV referred to this question as “the aspiration that António Ximenes had to be granted the purity of blood privilege for honors and positions.”³³

The request seems to be surprising because, although we could accept that Duarte Ximenes de Aragão descended from the Jiménez family (a family of Castilian Old Christians), it is indisputable that his progeny were also of his wife Isabel Rodrigues da Veiga, granddaughter of Constanza Coronel, of the Coronel family of Segovia. The daughters of this marriage also married men of undoubted converso blood: one married a member of the Fernandes de Elvas family and the other, António Ximenes's mother, married a member of the Rodrigues de Évora family. The children born of these marriages would also be pure of blood, if the favor requested by António Ximenes were to be granted.

The Ximenes de Aragão family's aspiration was not new. It dated back to 1586, when Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, about whom we have already spoken, obtained a brief from the pope declaring that this family was noble and for that reason its members could join the military orders, both in Italy and in the Hispanic monarchy. Obviously, to a certain extent it was easy to interpret that this papal privilege that allowed them to receive various honors cleaned their blood of all the blemishes it

might have had. That is what the brief itself seemed to state:

And may they be considered, honored, and recognized across the world as noblemen, eligible in all situations and for all purposes, even those that require an explicit mention and without any legal fiction and if they were really and truly the children of an ancient, noble, and illustrious generation from both sides, as proven by the continuous series of several generations of great-grandparents and great-great-grandparents without that sign of infamy or blemish or infidelity.³⁴

Once he knew that the pope had ennobled and qualified one of his subjects, Philip II ordered the Royal Supreme Court (Desembargo do Paço) to study the document to clarify whether it was necessary to proceed against the Ximenes de Aragão family for having requested and accepted this grace. In the meeting of the Desembargo, two of the jurists thought it better that the king not intervene, to avoid conflicts with the Holy See, since the Ximenes family had not, in fact, made use of the brief, at least not in Portugal.³⁵ Since, as far as I know, the family did not use the brief in Portugal, the issue was left aside until António Ximenes decided to dust off the document in the time of Philip III.

Perhaps it is not a coincidence that António Ximenes decided to present his request in 1617. Since the later period of Philip II's reign, a line of thought had been gaining strength among the *arbitristas* (projectors), certain ecclesiastics, the *validos* (favorites), and the kings themselves, one that suggested limiting the purity of blood statutes to allow rewarding the merits of the vassals and the services rendered to the Crown. In 1619, Martín González de Cellorigo published his well-known memorandum in favor of the Portuguese New Christians, in which he defended the elimination of the legal discrimination the conversos faced.³⁶ A little earlier, sometime between the summer of 1615 and that of 1617, a committee met to analyze an *arbitrio* (project) in which, to put an end to the Jewish problem in Portugal, it was proposed that the king resort to the concession of the purity of blood privilege to the conversos, especially to those born of mixed marriages. The committee, formed by Friar Luis de Aliaga, royal confessor, Friar Aleixo de Meneses, Archbishop of Braga, and the Jesuit priest Hans Friedrich Helder, rejected this project but suggested that the privilege should be granted to the lineages in which there had been no members accused by the Holy Office. In particular, reference was made in the meeting to the Ximenes de Aragão family, which probably came to the ears of António Ximenes, who decided to take advantage of the circumstances, since they appeared to be quite favorable for his aspirations.³⁷ In fact this connection between the *arbitrio*, the committee, and the request of the Ximenes family may

help us prove the hypothesis that what they intended to obtain was, above all, the purity of blood privilege, even if disguised as a quest for nobility.

In August 1617 António Ximenes's request was studied in the State Council, and a favorable opinion was issued. Friar Luis de Aliaga agreed to grant him his request. Therefore, in November 1617 the only thing missing was the approval of the Council of Portugal. That council, however, expressed its opposition in a consultation in which very harsh words were used in discussing the New Christians. The Portuguese ministers considered the conversos to be, in general, unworthy of the favor being requested. Also, they maintained the opinion that the favors and the tolerance only served to further reaffirm them in the observance of Judaism. It was also stated that a penance from the Holy Office had been imposed on some people from the Ximenes de Aragão family.³⁸

The opinion of the Council of Portugal made the State Council change its mind. Had people in the Ximenes de Aragão lineage been accused by the Holy Office? Undoubtedly, the members of the Council of Portugal were better informed than those of the State Council. Among the former was António Pereira, who had been an inquisitor in Lisbon and whose memory was very useful in restraining the ambitions of the powerful conversos. Indeed, though Pereira had left the Inquisition years before, he apparently remembered the names of the accused in whose trials he had intervened. However, although we cannot doubt that the members of the Council of Portugal knew the Portuguese reality much better than did those of the State Council, we cannot evade the fact that their interest in this matter was also greater. Might it be that they were trying to restrain the upward movement of one family and, as a result, of a whole social group?³⁹

Whatever the case was, the State Council proposed consulting the general inquisitor of Portugal in order to know whether there had been, as was rumored, some members of the Ximenes de Aragão family who had had problems with the Holy Office. Among the opinions of the ministers, we can certainly emphasize that of Friar Luis de Aliaga, who again insisted that he thought it convenient to grant the favor they were asking for, provided they had never committed a crime (heresy). In his opinion the right balance between the political service rendered and the king's reward might achieve what the punishments and the infamy had not.⁴⁰

The investigations in the inquisitorial files did not show any obstacle for the Ximenes de Aragão family. Nevertheless, Philip III was not satisfied, and in January 1618 he asked for new investigations because apparently António Pereira remembered having tried a woman named Clara Álvares Ximenes. And, although the Inquisition made new inquiries and found out that Clara did not

have any kinship with the Ximenes family, the atmosphere in the middle of 1618 was already not favorable to their aspirations. Something had changed: not everybody believed the assertion, repeated by the Ximeneses hundreds of times, that none of them had had any problem with the Holy Office and that their only connection with the conversos was related to the family line of the prestigious Coronel family.⁴¹

At that point a poisoned tongue presented information to the Council of Portugal that contradicted the aspirations of the Ximeneses. The anonymous informer insisted that Duarte Ximenes de Aragão had been born in Portugal because his parents had been expelled from Spain in 1492. Certainly, coming to Portugal because of the expulsion of the Jews was not the same as coming because of the defeat of the Castilian forces in the Battle of Toro. As this work is not about genealogy, we will leave Duarte Ximenes de Aragão for now.⁴²

The strong points of António Ximenes's argument were his affirmations that all his relatives had been Catholic, that none of them had been persecuted by the Inquisition, and that the whole family had been opposed to the general pardon of 1604. But even this could not be sustained, since the informer remembered that Tomás Ximenes de Aragão and Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes were the ones who, in the beginning, had traveled to Madrid to ask Philip III for the concession of the general pardon. Apparently, the person was well informed to the point of remembering that one of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão's sons had been a prisoner of the Inquisition in Goa. It is quite interesting that someone in the royal court had more information than the Portuguese inquisitors themselves, who stated that no member of the family had ever been prosecuted by the court. Did they not have any feedback on what had happened in India? As previously stated, António Fernandes Ximenes had been convicted of Judaism and sentenced to abjure *de levi* by the Inquisition in Goa in 1593, and he was António Ximenes's cousin. Did he not know that? Why risk having these things dug up in the royal court if his family was already following other more common, albeit slower, ways of upward mobility and social consolidation? António Fernandes Ximenes himself tried to hide this incident involving the Inquisition and, once in Lisbon, built the Irish Seminary of the Society of Jesus, as has already been mentioned.

Furthermore, the malicious informer recalled that many other relatives of the Ximenes de Aragão family had passed through the Holy Office. He mentioned the case of one of António Ximenes's second aunts and her daughters, prisoners of the Inquisition in Lisbon. She was probably Leonor de Caminha, wife of Fernão Ximenes (nephew of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão).⁴³ Finally, the report mentioned

the case of Francisco Nunes Ximenes, who was accused by the Inquisition of Coimbra and who, apparently, was a cousin of the Ximeneses.⁴⁴

With this host of suspicions, it was to be expected that the Council of Portugal, which met in May 1618, would advise the king to reject the favor that António Ximenes requested. The Council argued that granting the nobility privilege to this family would imply reducing the prestige of the Portuguese nobles. Furthermore, the Duke of Villahermosa and Pedrálvares Pereira handed the above-mentioned information against the Ximenes de Aragão family to Friar Luis de Aliaga. This document and the opinion of the Council made the father confessor change his mind, and it seems that in the end he favored leaving the case unsolved, without making any decision.⁴⁵

From this point—the middle of 1618—onward, the Ximenes de Aragão family had lost the battle. It is true that their ambitions reappeared during Philip III's stay in Portugal and again in the time of Philip IV, but the shadows of suspicion that hung over their lineage had already emerged, and it was very difficult to clear them. Moreover, the fact that they asked for the favor and did not receive it helped, more than any rumor, to discredit the family's lineage. António Ximenes himself understood it and, taking advantage of Philip III's trip to Portugal, asked for the privilege again, since according to his understanding, no news had appeared in the inquisitorial files about his family. And again, Friar Luis de Aliaga, then general inquisitor, supported António Ximenes's ambitions and considered that this was the best way to assure the service and loyalty of the conversos. The royal confessor clearly defined what exactly could be granted to the claimant: "I think that Your Majesty could obtain advantages by granting the Old Christian privilege to António Ximenes and his descendants, men and women, as long as nothing more is granted to his lineage for now."⁴⁶

To a certain extent, this may seem astonishing: the general inquisitor of Spain was advising that the Old Christian privilege should be granted to a converso whose relatives had had problems with the Inquisition and had intervened in the business of the general pardon. Furthermore, he was doing it with a merely political intention: to reward the services given to the Crown and to assure the loyalty of the subjects. In fact Philip II, at the end of his life, the favorites Lerma and Olivares, and numerous politicians and *arbitristas* of the time also shared the opinion that it was necessary to soften the blood discrimination to reward those who served the Crown. Nevertheless, despite the support of the confessor, the opposition of the Council of Portugal and, especially, of its president, the Duke of Villahermosa, led to the thwarting of António Ximenes's ambitions again.⁴⁷

The beginning of Philip IV's reign and the choice of Olivares as a royal favorite brought new hope for the conversos of Portuguese origin. Everything seems to indicate that by then the Ximenes de Aragão family had abandoned their commercial activities because they were no longer part of the group of powerful Portuguese bankers to whom the Count-Duke of Olivares resorted from 1626 onward.⁴⁸ A little earlier, in 1624, the Ximenes family's ambitions reignited, and they asked to be eligible for all honors and positions, both secular and ecclesiastical. This time the person in charge of the negotiations in the royal court was Manuel Ximenes de Aragão, Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's grandson.⁴⁹ This Manuel acknowledged that the failure to obtain an answer to the request made to Philip III had damaged the honor of his family. That was why he was requesting again, this time of Philip IV, the confirmation of the brief of Sixtus V and a declaration stating that all of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão's descendants along the male line were "eligible for all honors, positions, and benefits." Thus the descendants of Manuel Fernandes de Elvas and Diogo Rodrigues de Évora, whose converso blood was more than obvious, were excluded.⁵⁰

This new Ximenes de Aragão family request was studied in January 1625 by a committee led by the president of the Castilian Council, which included the Portuguese inquisitor Sebastião de Matos de Noronha and Don Andrés Pacheco, general inquisitor of Spain, together with other Portuguese and Castilian ministers. Once again, the committee voted against granting the purity of blood privilege to this family. Evidently, the most favorable opinion for the conversos came from Don Andrés Pacheco, a declared enemy of the obsession with blood purity. The general inquisitor stated that the concession of this privilege to the Esteves family had been of great benefit and that the harshness had not been effective in solving the crypto-Judaism issue. For this reason he proposed granting the Ximenes family some kind of favor, even if not precisely the one they were asking for. Owing to the different opinions, Philip IV ordered that the issue be analyzed again by a new committee and, as far as I know, no decisions were ever made regarding the matter.⁵¹

Shortly afterward, Manuel Ximenes de Aragão had to resort to the monarch again because his uncle Fernão Ximenes de Aragão wished to resign the archdeaconry of Santa Cristina, in the Braga Cathedral, to him. Since Clement VIII and Paul V had forbidden the conversos from having ecclesiastical benefits in Portugal, Manuel Ximenes de Aragão had to ask the monarch to allow the expedition of the bulls, and he supported his argument with the brief issued by Sixtus V that made his family eligible for all positions and benefits. And once again it was the general inquisitor

Pacheco, member of the antistatutory faction, who proposed favoring them, to encourage the sincere conversos.⁵²

In 1625, Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, uncle of Manuel Ximenes de Aragão, published his *Doutrina catholica para instrucção e cõfirmação dos fieis e extinção das seitas supersticiosas e em particular do Judaismo*,⁵³ addressed to Don Fernão Martins Mascarenhas, which shows the good relationship that existed between the family and the general inquisitor. This treaty has recently been studied in a magnificent work by Stuczynski. Fernão Ximenes de Aragão, unlike other authors, underlined the sincere nature of the conversion to Christianity of a considerable share of the Portuguese Jews in 1496, but considered the general pardons and the discriminatory measures to have hampered their assimilation. On the contrary, assimilation would be achieved by rewarding the good conversos, starting with that small group—to which he belonged—that had always shown a firm accession to Catholicism.⁵⁴

The criticism against discrimination and the purity of blood statutes emerged again in the *arbitrio* addressed by Fernão Ximenes de Aragão to Philip IV in 1631. In it he gathered arguments that had been repeated since the late fifteenth century in favor of the good conversos and against the statutes. So he defended the dignity of the Jews' descendants and of the Hebrew blood that had run in the veins of Christ and the apostles themselves. He therefore proposed limiting the purity statutes, whose severity went against Christian piety, natural reason, and the teachings of the Catholic Church. These arguments might have been favorably welcomed by Olivares, but they were obviously inefficient in view of the growth of the obsession with the purity of blood that, unlike in Castile, was taking place in Portugal precisely at that time.⁵⁵

Epilogue

It would be extremely interesting to find out whether the important Portuguese merchants and suppliers in the court of Philip IV were acquainted with the Ximenes de Aragão family's ambitions regarding nobility and purity of blood. If so, what would they have thought of these compatriots who, being so similar to them, wanted to pursue other ways of social promotion? Apparently, the Ximenes family did not spread the news of their failure in the royal court, mostly because the denial of such a request—or the mere silence of the monarch—was much more harmful to their honor than all the converso relatives that any malicious informant could possibly unearth. It is astonishing to find that the Ximeneses, so intelligent in handling their business matters, were so unskillful in managing the intangible ones. Did they not know that there is no better way to perpetuate the memory of a blemish than to

formally ask to be forgiven with a public and solemn privilege? The early seventeenth century was no longer a time to show off one's Jewish blood. Ennoblement and access to privileges followed a different path, that of concealment.

The descendants of the Esteves family, whose privilege the Ximenes de Aragão family asked for, were well aware of that. As mentioned above, in 1533 King John III granted the title of nobleman to Cristóvão Esteves, erasing any defect he might have had for being Jewish. This privilege, so coveted in 1533, became a slab that weighed on the family name in the seventeenth century because it only served to remind others of the family's Jewish origin. Thanks to Fernanda Olival we know that in 1632 António da Gama Lobo, great-grandson of Mateus Esteves, presented a set of forged documents to Philip IV with the sole purpose of proving that Mateus was not Cristóvão Esteves's full brother. The Crown accepted the proof, and in 1634 Philip IV stated that António da Gama Lobo was of pure blood. It seems quite clear that António da Gama Lobo had used a strategy that was much more suitable for the seventeenth century than those used by the Ximenes de Aragão family. Purity of blood had to be proved—even with more than doubtful documents or with no documents at all—and not to be obtained as a privilege.⁵⁶

As Antonio Domínguez Ortiz said, "The only way to stop being converso was to be forgotten."⁵⁷ Those of the Ximenes de Aragão family who remained in Portugal followed this path only partially. Two of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão's sons married into families from the *fidalgua* and, thanks to that, lost the surname Ximenes and adopted other, more distinguished ones, such as Mendonça, Melo, and Coutinho.⁵⁸ It was of no use, though, because their grandchildren again became related to the branch of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão's first-born son and, in this family line, the surname was never lost.⁵⁹

Notes

- * This article was written within the scope of projects PTDC/HIS-HIS/118227/2010, HAR2012-37583, and HAR2014-52693-P. The quotation comes from: Consultation of the committee of the president of the Council of Castile (January 24, 1625), lib. 1580, fol. 223r-223v, Secretarías Provinciales–Portugal (hereafter cited as SP), Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter cited as AGS), Valladolid, Spain. After sending this article to the *Journal of Levantine Studies*, I was told of a forthcoming article by Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, to be published in Hebrew, in which the author studied the debates held in the Council of State and in the Council of Portugal between 1617 and 1625, about a request made by the Ximenes family to be “cleansed” of their converso-Jewish origins. I wish to thank the author for allowing me to read the unpublished Spanish version of the article, under the title “La transmutación del linaje como potestad del rey: La solicitud del foro de cristiano viejo por parte de la familia Ximenes.”
- 1 Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, “De la identidad, emigración e integración de los Cristãos Novos portugueses en la época filipina” [About the identity, migration and integration of Portuguese New Christians during the Philippine age], *Inquisição portuguesa: Tempo, Razão e Circunstância* [The Portuguese Inquisition: Time, reason and circumstance] (Lisbon: Prefácio, 2007), 169–172; and Pulido Serrano, “Plural Identities: The Portuguese New Christians,” *Jewish History* 25 (2011): 129–151.
 - 2 There were no fixed rules concerning the form that family names took in Portugal at this time. For example, a child might inherit an uncle’s name rather than a father’s. In the case under consideration here, I employ “the Ximeneses,” “the Ximenes family,” or “the Ximenes de Aragão family” to denote the clan, but I retain the complex names of the individual members.
 - 3 Hans Pohl, *Die Portugiesen in Antwerpen (1567-1648): Zur Geschichte einer Minderheit* [The Portuguese in Antwerp (1567-1648): On the history of a minority] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), 82. See also Hermann Kellenbenz, “I Mendes, i Rodrigues d’Évora e i Ximenes nei loro rapporti con Venezia” [The Mendes, the Rodrigues d’Évora and the Ximenes in their relations with Venice], in *Gli ebrei e Venezia (secoli XIV-XVII)* [Jews and Venice (XIV-XVII centuries)], ed. Gaetano Cozzi (Milan: Ed. Comunità, 1987), 142–161. João de Figueiroa-Rego, “Ximenes, família” [Ximenes family], in *Dicionário do Judaísmo português* [Dictionary of Portuguese Judaism], ed. Lúcia Liba Mucznik, José Alberto Tavim, Ester Mucznik, and Elvira Mea (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2009), 547–548. See the schematic family tree appended to this article.
 - 4 Pohl, *Die Portugiesen*, 81–82. Manuel Ximenes de Aragão’s wealth is apparent in his inventory, which is being studied by a research group directed by Sven Dupré and Christine Göttler. The inventory and a series of short articles are available at *Reading the Inventory: The Possessions of the Portuguese Merchant-Banker Emmanuel Ximenez (1564-1632) in Antwerp*, accessed August 1, 2015, <http://ximenez.unibe.ch/project/>.

- 5 Lucia Fratarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto: Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno, secoli XVI-XVIII* [Living outside the ghetto: Jews in Pisa and Livorno, XVI-XVIII centuries] (Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 2008), 78–85; and Fratarelli Fischer, "O processo de nobilitação dos Ximenes na Toscana" [The ennoblement process of the Ximenes in Tuscany], *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas* 10-11 (2011): 269–280. See also Giuseppe Maria Mecatti, *Storia genealogica della nobiltà, e cittadinanza di Firenze* [Genealogical history of Florentine nobility and citizenship] (Naples, 1754), 1:226. Ms. 48731, fol. 68-74, Additional (hereafter cited as Add), British Library (hereafter cited as BL), London.
- 6 Certificates of Pedro Guedes (January 30, 1596) and Vasco Fernandes César (March 19, 1605), lib. 1580, fol. 200r-204r, SP, AGS.
- 7 Leg. 152, exp. 14, 15, 16, 17 and leg. 199, exp. 32, Contaduría de Mercedes, AGS. On the bankruptcy and the *medio general*, see Juan Eloy Gelabert, *La bolsa del rey: Rey, reino y fisco en Castilla, 1598-1648* [The king's bag: Kingdom and treasury in Castile, 1598-1648] (Barcelona: Crítica, 1997), 30. Duarte Ximenes de Aragão was the son of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão and Dona Teresa Vasques de Elvas. António Ximenes was the son of Dona Grácia Nunes Ximenes and Diogo Rodrigues de Évora.
- 8 Memorandum of Constantino Ximenes (1632), lib. 1583, fol. 395-398, SP, AGS. Jorge Ximenes Serrão was the son of Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes and Dona Brites Henriques.
- 9 I wish to thank Fernanda Olival, who provided me with the dates on which André Ximenes de Aragão and António Ximenes joined the Order of Christ.
- 10 Explanation regarding the Ximenes lineage, lib. 1580, fol. 194r-195r, SP, AGS. Letter of Philip III to D. Miguel de Castro (January 27, 1616), lib. 1514, fol. 9v, SP, AGS. Consultation of the Council of Portugal (June 30, 1624), leg. 1467, fol. 381, SP, AGS. Nobiliário, 21-F-7, fol. 767-772, Genealogias Manuscritas, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (hereafter cited as ANTT), Lisbon. Ms. 344, fol. 52r, Egerton (hereafter cited as Eg), BL.
- 11 Fernanda Olival, "Para um estudo da nobilitação no Antigo Regime: os cristãos-novos na Ordem de Cristo" [For a study of ennoblement in the Old Regime: New Christians in the Order of Christ], in *As Ordens Militares em Portugal* [The military orders in Portugal], ed. Paulo Pacheco e Luís Antunes (Palmela: Câmara Municipal, 1991), 233–244.
- 12 Certificate of Gil Eanes da Costa (January 20, 1596), lib. 1580, fol. 200r-204r, SP, AGS. All translations are my own.
- 13 Jorge Ximenes Serrão was the son of Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes and Dona Brites Henriques.
- 14 At the end of the seventeenth century, for different reasons, a considerable share of the primogenitures established by the sons of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão were held by Inigo Caetano Ximenes Coutinho, a descendant of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão.
- 15 Catarina da Veiga, widow of Duarte Ximenes de Aragão, gave her daughter a dowry of 60,000 *cruzados in juros* (revenues) with which she established a primogeniture to marry Dom João de Almada. Manuel Álvares Pegas, *Tractatus de exclusione, inclusione, successione & erectione maioratus*,

- pars tertia* [Treatise on the exclusion, inclusion, erection and succession of the primogenitures, part three] (Lisbon: extytopographia Dominici Gondisalves, 1739), 254–256.
- 16 Friar Jorge Ximenes (son of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão), Friar Fernando Ximenes (son of Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes), and Friar António Ximenes (son of André Ximenes de Aragão).
 - 17 The Franciscans were two of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão's daughters; the three Augustinians were André Ximenes de Aragão's daughters. Other women of the family (granddaughters of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão) joined the monastery of Santa Clara, in Lisbon.
 - 18 Liv. 11, fol. 200r-208v, Hospital de São José (hereafter cited as HSJ), ANTT. The 30,000 *réis* assigned to the celebration of the daily mass for the souls of Jerónimo Duarte Ximenes and his wife came from the primogeniture established by the former with a third of his assets.
 - 19 Liv. 10, fol. 230r-240r, HSJ, ANTT. Tomás Ximenes, 200,000 *réis* of *juro*, liv. 15, fol. 117v, D. Filipe II, Padrões e Doações, Chancelaria Regia (hereafter cited as CR), ANTT. Tomás Ximenes, 148,241 *réis* of *juro*, liv. 13, fol. 139, Don Filipe II, Padrões e Doações, CR, ANTT.
 - 20 Explanation regarding the Ximenes lineage, lib. 1580, fol. 194r-195r, SP, AGS. Nobiliário, 21-F-7, fol. 767-772, Genealogias Manuscritas, ANTT. Francisco Rodrigues S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus na assistência de Portugal* [History of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese assistancy] (Porto: Apostolado da Imprensa, 1931-1950), vol. 2, pt. 1, 137–138.
 - 21 See Fernanda Olival, "A família de Heitor Mendes de Brito: um percurso ascendente" [The family of Hector Mendes de Brito: An upward path], in *Poder e Sociedade: Actas das Jornadas Interdisciplinares* [Power and Society: Proceedings of the interdisciplinary conference], ed. Maria José Ferro Tavares (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 1998), 2:111–129. See David G. Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil in the Seventeenth Century: A Socio-Economic Study of the Merchants of Lisbon and Bahia, 1620-1690" (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1975), 54–105.
 - 22 Letter of Philip II to Archduke Alberto (October 7, 1591), liv. 92, fol. 34v, Conselho Geral (hereafter cited as CG), Tribunal do Santo Ofício (hereafter cited as TSO), ANTT. Consultation of the General Council (December 7, 1591), liv. 92, fol. 35r-38r, CG, TSO, ANTT. Memorandum, liv. 92, fol. 75r-79v, CG, TSO, ANTT. Sometime between 1591 and the beginning of 1594, Tomás Ximenes de Aragão went blind and had to return to Lisbon. Thanks to Claude Stuczynsky, we know that the New Christians of Braganza were aware of the negotiations regarding the general pardon, knew that Tomás Ximenes de Aragão had lost his sight, and organized a Jewish fast to pray to God for his recovery. Claude Stuczynski, "New Christian Political Leadership in Times of Crisis: The Pardon Negotiations of 1605," *Bar-Ilan Studies in History* V (2007): 68. João Lúcio de Azevedo, *História dos cristãos-novos portugueses* [History of the Portuguese New Christians] (Porto: Clássica Editora, 1989), 153. António Borges Coelho, "Política, Dinheiro e Fé: Cristãos-novos e Judeus Portugueses no Tempo dos Filipes," [Policy, money and faith: New Christians and Portuguese Jews in the Philippine epoch] *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas* 1 (2001): 117. See also lib. 1580, fol. 219r-220v, SP, AGS.

- 23 Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, "Las negociaciones con los cristianos nuevos portugueses en tiempos de Felipe III a la luz de algunos documentos inéditos (1598-1607)," [Negotiations with the Portuguese New Christians under Philip III's reign in light of some unpublished documents (1598-1607)], *Sefarad* 66 (2006): 365.
- 24 Liv. 314, fol. 51r-52v, CG, TSO, ANTT. This document was analyzed in Pulido, "Las negociaciones con los cristianos nuevos," 367–370.
- 25 Memorandum of André Ximenes, cód. CV/2-9, fol. 399, Biblioteca Pública de Évora. Consultation of a committee on the previous memorandum (June 6, 1607), cód. CV/2-9, fol. 398r-398v, Biblioteca Pública de Évora.
- 26 *Reportorio geral de tres mil oito centos processos, que sam todos os despachados neste sancto Officio de Goa & mais partes da India* [General catalogue of three thousand eight hundred trials, which are all the prosecuted in this Holy Office of Goa and other parts of India]. The repertoire is available online, in a database, thanks to the work by Bruno Feitler (Unifesp) and his team: <http://www.i-m.co/reportorio/reportorio/home.html>, accessed August 1, 2015.
- 27 In the final remarks we will analyze the differences between the purity of blood privilege requested by the Ximenes de Aragão family and the documents through which Philip IV declared António da Gama Lobo pure of blood in 1634.
- 28 According to later genealogical books, Fernando Jiménez fought for the Catholic kings and was imprisoned in the battle of Toro and taken to Covilhã, in Portugal. There he married Joana Nunes de Aragão. Nobiliário, 21-F-7, fol. 757-805, Genealogias Manuscritas, ANTT. Cristóvão Alão de Moraes, *Pedatura Lusitana: nobiliário de famílias de Portugal* ["Pedatura Lusitana": Book of the noble families of Portugal] (Porto: Fernando Machado, 1947), vol. 5, pt. 1, 200–206.
- 29 Consultation of the State Council (August 8, 1617), lib. 1580, fol. 214r-215v, SP, AGS.
- 30 Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, "Coronel, 1492: de la aristocracia judía a la nobleza cristiana en la España de los Reyes Católicos" [Coronel, 1492: From the Jewish aristocracy to the Christian nobility in the Spain of the Catholic Monarchs], *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 200, no. 1 (2003): 11–24.
- 31 The terms of the privilege are as follows: "hey por supridos todos os deffectos do nascimento que elles e seus descendentes irmãos e filhos de seus irmãos e irmãs e todos seus descendentes . . . tenham e possuão ter por dizerem que nacerão judeus ou que descendem dessa geração." (I consider cancelled all the birth faults that they and their descendants, brothers and sons of their brothers and sisters and all their descendants . . . may have and could have because someone may say that they were born as Jews or that they come from that kind of generation.) Copy of the privilege of King John III, lib. 1580, fol. 224r-225r, SP, AGS.
- 32 On the Esteves family, see Fernanda Olival, "Juristas e mercadores à conquista das honras: quatro processos de nobilitação quinhentistas" [Lawyers and merchants achieving honors: Four

- ennoblement processes of the sixteenth century], *Revista de História Económica e Social* 4, 2nd series (2002): 7–53.
- 33 Consultation of the committee of the president of the Council of Castile (January 24, 1625), lib. 1580, fol. 223r-223v, SP, AGS.
- 34 Lib. 1580, fol. 196r-199r, SP, AGS.
- 35 Consultation of the *Desembargo do Paço* (June 31, 1589), cód. 644, fol. 14v, Coleção Pombalina, Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Lisbon.
- 36 Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconversos en España y América* [The conversos in Spain and America] (Madrid: Istmo, 1971), 88–94. Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto, “La limpieza de sangre” [The purity of blood], in *Dogmatismo e intolerancia* [Dogmatism and intolerance], ed. Enrique Martínez Ruiz and Madalena de Pazzis Pi Corrales (Madrid: Actas, 1997), 44–46. Claude B. Stuczynski, “Harmonizing Identities: The Problem of the Integration of the Portuguese Conversos in Early Modern Iberian Corporate Polities,” *Jewish History* 25, no. 2 (2011): 229–257.
- 37 I do not know the exact date on which the committee meeting took place, but it probably happened between the arrival of Friar Aleixo in Madrid, in the summer of 1615, and the petition presented by António Ximenes, in the summer of 1617. Opinion of Friar Luis de Aliaga (September 10, 1617), n. 624, fol. 157, Manuscritos da Livraria, ANTT.
- 38 Consultation of the Council of Portugal (October 1, 1617), lib. 1580, fol. 213r-213v, SP, AGS.
- 39 On the opposition of the Council of Portugal to other favors promised to the New Christians, see Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, “Ennoblecimiento de cristianos nuevos portugueses en el siglo XVII” [Ennoblement of Portuguese New Christians in the seventeenth century], in *In the Iberian Peninsula and Beyond* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 1:228–249.
- 40 Consultation of the State Council (November 11, 1617), lib. 1580, fol. 211r-212v, SP, AGS. Letter of Philip III to D. Fernão Martins Mascarenhas (December 5, 1617), liv. 88 [cartas], fol. 85, CG, TSO, ANTT. Letter of Don Fernão Martins Mascarenhas to the inquisitors of Évora (December 15, 1617), liv. 631, fol. 21r, Inquisição de Évora, TSO, ANTT.
- 41 Letter of Don Fernão Martins Mascarenhas to Philip III (January 10, 1618), lib. 1580, fol. 229r, SP, AGS. Letter of Don Fernão Martins Mascarenhas to Philip III (February 24, 1618), lib. 1580, fol. 228r, SP, AGS. Letter of Philip III to Don Fernão Martins Mascarenhas (January 30, 1618), liv. 88 [cartas], fol. 87, CG, TSO, ANTT.
- 42 Account, lib. 1580, fol. 219r-220v, SP, AGS.
- 43 Leonor de Caminha and her daughters were imprisoned by the Inquisition of Lisbon in 1593. According to Leonor de Caminha, Fernão Ximenes, her deceased husband, was a first cousin of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão. So Fernão Ximenes would be a direct nephew of our Duarte Ximenes de Aragão. The memory and the bad intentions of the author of the memorandum against the Ximenes de Aragão family are truly astonishing. He remembered that a son of Tomás Ximenes

- had been arrested by the Inquisition of Goa and that the Caminhas lived in a lane that crossed Arcas street, in Lisbon. Through the testimonial given by Francisca Ximenes, daughter of Leonor de Caminha, we know that they lived precisely there. Proc. 4021 (Guiomar Ximenes) and proc. 12688 (Francisca Ximenes), Inquisição de Lisboa, TSO, ANTT.
- 44 We were not able to confirm if Francisco Nunes Ximenes was really a relative of the Ximenes de Aragão family, because his file is in a poor state of conservation. Proc. 2732, Inquisição de Coimbra, TSO, ANTT.
- 45 Consultation of the Council of Portugal (May 29, 1618), lib. 1580, fol. 216r-217v, SP, AGS. Opinion of Friar Luis de Aliaga (August 25, 1618), lib. 1580, fol. 218r, SP, AGS.
- 46 Opinion of Friar Luis de Aliaga (December 1, 1620), lib. 1580, fol. 222r, SP, AGS. Consultation of the State Council (October 17, 1619), lib. 1580, fol. 221r-221v, SP, AGS.
- 47 Opinion of the Duke of Villahermosa (May 19, 1621), lib. 1580, fol. 208r, SP, AGS. Gutiérrez Nieto, "La limpieza de sangre," 44–46.
- 48 Smith, "The Mercantile Class," 122. James Boyajian, *Portuguese Bankers at the Court of Spain, 1626-1650* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1983). I am aware of the existence of only one *asiento* proposed by Constantino Ximenes, natural son of Jorge Ximenes Serrão, which, however, was not signed.
- 49 Son of André Ximenes de Aragão and Dona Maria Ximenes.
- 50 Explanation regarding the Ximenes lineage, lib. 1580, fol. 194r-195r, SP, AGS. Memorandum of Manuel Ximenes (1625), ms. 1132, fol. 90r, Eg, BL.
- 51 Consultation of the committee of the president of the Council of Castile (January 24, 1625), lib. 1580, fol. 223r-223v, SP, AGS. Note by Philip IV (January 29, 1625), lib. 1580, fol. 210r, SP, AGS. Opinion of Sebastião de Matos de Noronha (January 24, 1625), ms. 344, fol. 109r, Eg, BL. See also Ana Isabel López-Salazar, *Inquisición y política: El gobierno del Santo Oficio en el Portugal de los Austrias, 1578-1653* [Inquisition and politics: The government of the Holy Office in Habsburg Portugal, 1578-1653] (Lisbon: CEHR-UCP, 2011), 207. Regarding Pacheco's attitude, see Gutiérrez Nieto, "La limpieza de sangre," 45–46.
- 52 Committee of the president of the Council of Castile (September 4, 1625), ms. 344, fol. 108r-108v, Eg, BL. Quoted in Claude Stuczynski, "Anti-Rabbinic Texts and Converso Identities: Fernão Ximenes de Aragão's *Catholic Doctrine*," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, ed. Kevin Ingram and Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 93.
- 53 The English translation of the title: Catholic doctrine for the instruction and confirmation of the believers and the extinction of the superstitious sects, and particularly Judaism.
- 54 Stuczynski, "Anti-Rabbinic Texts."
- 55 Memorandum of Fernão Ximenes de Aragão (1631), ms. 20958, fol. 82r-91v, Add, BL.
- 56 Olival, "Juristas e mercadores," 45–48.
- 57 Domínguez Ortiz, *Los Judeoconversos*, 223.

- 58 Jerónimo Ximenes de Aragão married Isabel de Mendonça, daughter of Dom Afonso de Noronha. From that moment onward, the surname Ximenes was lost because the couple's daughter (Dona Maria de Mendonça) adopted her mother's surname. She married Dom Martim Afonso de Melo, and their son, Dom António, used the surname Melo. Dom António de Melo married his cousin Dona Joana Coutinho, granddaughter of Joana Ximenes and Dom Henrique Pereira, from the house of the commanders of Pinheiro. However, the couple had no children, and the line ended. Moraes, *Pedatura Lusitana* (Porto: Fernando Machado, 1943-1944), vol. 1, pt. 1, 533–534 and vol. 2, pt. 1, 65.
- 59 Duarte Ximenes de Aragão, first-born son of Tomás Ximenes de Aragão, married Catarina da Veiga. A grandson of this couple married his cousin Dona Luísa Coutinho, granddaughter of Joana Ximenes. This couple's first-born son, Inigo Caetano Ximenes Coutinho, died in 1728 without heirs. For that reason, the primogenitures and *senhorios* went to his brother Francisco Ignácio Coutinho, who died in 1744. *Gazeta de Lisboa, terça-feira 7 de Julho de 1744* [Gazette of Lisbon, Tuesday July 7, 1744] (Lisbon: Officina de Luiz Jose Correa Lemos, 1744), 532. António Caetano de Sousa, *História genealogica da Casa Real portuguesa* [Genealogical history of the Portuguese royal house] (Lisbon: Officina de Joseph Antonio da Sylva, 1745), vol. 11, bk. 12, 704–705.

